APPENDIX:

LIFE IN LATE ROMAN AND EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT (WITH LATER REFLECTIONS).[1]

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From the third to the ninth centuries of our era, Egypt engendered a burst of creativity with lasting effects at home and in the wider world. This period, often called Late Antiquity,[2] saw fundamental changes, notably the rise of monotheism, including the birth of Christian monasticism in the Egyptian deserts. For many centuries thereafter, monastic institutions played decisive roles in societies of Europe and the Near East. In 2003, Philip Sellew organized a symposium at the University of Minnesota entitled "Living for Eternity: the White Monastery and its Neighborhood," to address the first flowering of monasticism, especially the role played by one major center, the White Monastery, under the guidance of its redoubtable abbot, St. Shenute.[3] At the same time, the University mounted an exhibition illustrating the material culture of those centuries, both in and out of monasteries.

The material culture gives insight into the richness and complexity of the changing times. Three local institutions provided the objects on exhibit: the University of Minnesota, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and Saint John's University in Collegeville. These local resources do not evenly represent the crafts of the period, but they do allow us to see how differently the crafts developed and some reasons why they did so. In each case, sophisticated age-old traditions met new demands. Each craft contributed differently to establising identities.

The objects fall into four categories: pottery, textiles, texts and coins. Fortunately, they range from unique and elaborate pieces owned by the Institute of Arts and Saint John's to simpler, mass-produced objects from the University of Minnesota. A few later objects demonstrate continuing effects of these centuries. Photographs illustrating monastic accomplishments in architecture and painting formed a background in the exhibition that will be mentioned only briefly here. This essay began as a pamphlet introducing the material to a general audience. The text has expanded to relate each craft to the interests of the Symposium.

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A primary theme running through the exhibition was the way cross-cultural currents met, sometimes warring and often mingling. Affecting these currents were

- the intervention of distant governments,
- the evolving relationships between older and newer populations
- and, most varied and dynamic, the rise, transmutation, and decline of specific religious beliefs and activities.

The long but increasingly interrupted line of Egyptian rulers came to an end in the fourth century BCE. A couple of decades later, Alexander the Great and his heirs, the Ptolemies, established a new order. A new capital city on the Mediterranean and an influx of Greek-speaking residents brought Egypt into the Hellenistic world. Under Roman rule, finally cemented by Augustus, that outward orientation continued, Greek and indigenous populations gradually mingled, and Hellenistic culture penetrated the whole valley of the Egyptian Nile..

In the third century of our era, the Roman Emperors Caracalla and Diocletian anchored Egyptians still more firmly into the Imperial structure, while the career of St. Antony the Great (c. 251–356 CE), monk and hermit, embodied radically new principles. Early in the century Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to all free residents of the Empire. In the late 290s Diocletian carried out major administrative reforms. The Coptic Orthodox Church remembers him today for his persecution of Christians, the "Era of the Martyrs," which forms the beginning of the church calendar.[4] Meanwhile, about 270, Antony withdrew into the desert to pursue 'prayer and discipline' (*VA* 51).[5] He became an inspiration for Christian asceticism, and for one form of monasticism, the eremitic or anchoritic, as glorified in the immensely influential biography written by his contemporary and friend, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria. In succeeding centuries, Christianity extended its power within the extant social structure while continuing to foster varying structures of monasticism. Pachomius (292–348) founded the first communities in the other major form of monasticism, coenobitic communities with a formal head and a written Rule for behavior: Several of his foundations lay near ancient Panopolis, present day Akhmim, on the east bank of the Nile. An associate of Pachomius founded the White Monastery on the opposite bank. Its third abbot, Shenute, governed an extensive monastic federation.[6] He remains a preeminent saint of the Coptic Orthodox Church, his name born by the present Patriarch.

Religious divisions multiplied, often contentiously. Paganism, or traditional religion, survived in various manifestations. Three clearly existed, although it can be difficult to identify them in specific situations. First, adherents of the traditional gods remained (e.g., Bowersock 1990, Russman 2009). Second, educated Christians and non-Christians both continued to read traditional texts and make use of traditional figures in their writing (Bowersock 1990, Cameron 2007, Frankfurter 2009). Third, for some religious change took the form of "selective absorption" rather than "conversion" (Frankfurter 1994 see n.39 below). Papyri attest to the presence of Manicheans, and the productivity of Gnostic thought (using that word loosely to cover the numerous papyri with non-canonical Christian writings as well as more strictly Gnostic texts). Both Athanasius and Shenute fought to suppress such variant views (on Shenute, see Moussa 2009). A lasting rift, however, developed within Christianity over the doctrine of the Trinity. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon adopted a formulation that many Christians in the East, including Egypt, rejected. The disagreement led to deep rupture, since the Emperors in Constantinople supported the Council's decrees, as did many people in Egypt.

The Arab Conquest of 642 CE (22 AH) introduced another religion and language with slowly increasing effects. At first the Conquest brought a small number of immigrants who eagerly supported the existing beaurocracy and material culture, facilitating wide-reaching changes only in succeeding generations. Most of the objects in this exhibition come before the Fatimid Dynasty (969–1171), by which time the majority of people living in Egypt were probably Muslim, almost all spoke Arabic, and a distinctive new material culture was emerging.

Traditionally, scholars have divided the material culture of Late Roman Egypt between Greco-Roman and indigenous Coptic manifestations. Recent studies, on the other hand, argue that a decline of such distinctions placed all of Egypt firmly in the Eastern Roman world by the third cenury of our era.[7] Forces including family backgrounds, contemporary education and religious adherence led inhabitants to form complex, overlapping, flexible identities. Artisans manipulated skills and modes of expression from a range of traditions to participate in these processes. Artisans and consumers of whatever ethnicity knew Pharaonic monuments and had absorbed Greek and Roman forms and motifs as part of their own culture.

Each of the four crafts represented in this exhibit played a different role in shaping identities, so changes in each followed a different trajectory. Pottery and textiles exhibited the strongest cultural unity and adherance to Hellenistic or Roman precedents. Coins, which followed distant dictates, and, especially, texts, which necessitated a choice of languages, reemphasized separate components in identity. A fifth craft, the wall painting in monastic contexts discussed by several scholars at the Symposium, followed still other paths, under active investigation (see pp. 16–17 below).

Potters showed long lasting fidelity to Roman practice in fine wares and lively inventiveness in others. Dining and other household uses of pottery did not generate major innovation until well after the Arab Conquest. Textile workers, on the other hand, introduced new materials and techniques to allow patrons more luxuriant display in clothing and some furnishings, display that drew mainly on traditional Hellenistic motifs, supplemented significantly by new Christian ones. Text making, especially book making, changed even more radically, serving the new needs of Christians, and particularly of monks. Finally, the Roman government changed the coinage to project Empire-wide values more clearly.

Urban workshops probably initiated the minor changes in pottery and the major changes in textile making. The changes that overtook book production also probably began in cities, but soon became dominated by monasteries (Brown 2006, Kotsifou 2007). Coinage was, of course, officially dictated. Coins, however, like the other products, circulated in secular and monastic communities alike. Production and consumption of some goods such as wall paintings or elegant clothing may have contributed to separating monastic and lay identities. Other goods involved more overlap in both production and consumption. The evidence is still unclear, but boundaries seem to have blurred.

In a Symposium paper offered as work in progress, Bentley Layton listed various activities inside the White Monastery as ways of tightening communal identity, a theme fully developed in a later article dealing with "world replacement and identity maintenance" (Layton 2003, 2007). At the same time, in her Symposium paper, Chrysi Kotsifou emphasized the links between the new monastic community and the world outside. "Nowadays, it is widely accepted that monasteries were in constant interaction with surrounding communities, lay or monastic. Monasteries and villages were mutually dependent and could not have survived and thrived without their ongoing dealings" (2003). She noted that the monks of the White Monastery continued to practice and earn from their previous lay professions. Drawing on the works of Besa and Shenute, she cited examples of a variety of possible economic alliances between monks and lay communities, also discussed by Ivančica Schrunk (2009).

I. SUMMARY

A. Pottery

Of these crafts, pottery serves the greatest range of functions and employs the greatest range of techniques, shapes, and decoration. Since sherds are relatively indestructible and easy to find, excavations and most surface surveys have yielded a valid cross section of the varieties in use. The degree of Hellenistic or Roman assimilation or local inventiveness relates to the functions of the vessels. Tablewares underwent the most obvious changes and provide the most immediately recognizable pottery types, but most of the pottery in use was coarse ware, often locally made and changing more slowly. Among the coarse wares, water jars stand out with their dynamic indigenous decoration.

Fine tableware is the craft where Western Rome made its most immediate and long-lived impact on Egyptian life (McNally and Schrunk 2000). Imitations of Roman fine tableware began to be produced in Egypt immediately after Augustus' conquest. One major center of production, perhaps first for the incoming army but soon dominating the total market, was at Aswan. It was already a center for pottery production, and the potters had relatively little to learn in the way of new techniques (McNally and Schrunk 2000, 97).

No other segment of Egyptian material culture responded in this way to Roman precedent. As striking as the early adoption of Plain Red Slip Ware is its long life.[8] Its role as an Empire-wide accoutrement of civilized dining may have aided its swift initial reception, but clearly it became a domestic norm.[9] Aswan and other centers continued to make this ware at least into the eleventh century, long after production elsewhere had ceased and Egypt no longer belonged to the Roman Empire or its Byzantine successor (Gempeler 1992, 15; Scanlon 1991).

During the later Roman period, Aswan workshops developed a related fine ware more independent in both decoration and shapes. Potters used creamy slips as well as red ones and began to explore possibilities for painting on the light surfaces, drawing on a Hellenistic Greek repertoire of patterns but transforming its effects. The shapes popular in Plain Red Slip Ware and in Aswan Painted White Slip[10] suggest that the painted vessels usually augmented plain table services rather than replacing them. Potters also sometimes painted on red slip. Aswan Painted Red Slip vessels often resemble those of Painted White Slip Ware in shape and decoration; distinctive forms also appeared.[11]

The greatest development of these painted wares came between the sixth and tenth centuries.[12] The centuries immediately after the Arab Conquest saw increased inventiveness, suggesting that the new market, the Arab settlers, may have preferred multicolored, patterned vessels to plain red ones. Ultimately, a new colored fine ware drove monochrome ware from the market, but only after several hundred years had passed.

By increasing connections to the east, the Conquest paved the way for that slow but ultimately radical change. Perhaps as soon as fifty years, perhaps a century, after the conquest, potters began putting glazes on the surface of their vessels. Examples early in the eighth century apparently represent an indigenous development, but by the end of the century eastern precedents made themselves felt. Technical and aesthetic change was greater than the more sudden change after the Roman Conquest. Artisans were combining slips and paints with glazes. Rejecting traditional painted designs, they applied splashes of several colors, an approach begun in T'ang China and imitated in the Near East before it appeared in Egypt.

Glazing has considerable advantages, both functional and aesthetic. Functionally, it seals the vessel walls against permeation by foodstuffs placed in them. Aesthetically, it seals the paints on the surfaces from damage during firing, making possible a greater range of colors. The advantages of glazing may at first have been balanced by its difficulties and strangeness. Several centuries elapsed before glazed wares appeared in significant quantities and drove earlier fine wares from the market.

The processes by which production of glazed ware in Egypt began remain debatable, but certainly they involved the traditional potters' center of Aswan, among other sites (Ballet

1997, 49; Gempeler 1992, 48, 58; Rodziewicz 1976, 63).[13] The glazes were applied to shapes already in use, presumably by artisans who been producing the plain and painted wares. Only later did vessel shapes change to accommodate changes in diet and table manners.

Neither Christianity nor Islam per se prompted much change. Pottery only occasionally invoked religious identity. Darlene Brooks Hedstrom's 2003 Symposium paper mentioned Christian motifs, including crosses and saints, on later Ayyubid and Mamluke vessels from the site of St. John the Little, expressing uncertainty as to where and for whom they were manufactured. One Christian activity did demand recognition: pilgrimage. Pilgrims acquired objects to carry blessing home. Schrunk mentions small containers for sacred oil or water (ampullae, an older form used for a new purpose) and figurines, both produced in great quantities at the major pilgrimage site of Abu Mina, and in smaller amounts at less prominent places (2009, 3).

It is clear, if at first surprising, that there was little difference between ceramic wares in and outside of excavated monasteries. Schrunk characterizes the assemblages from the Kellia as "urban and Mediterranean" (2009, 2; closer comparisons, 3). Brooks Hedstrom made a similar observation in her paper (2003). She concluded that the acquisition of expensive pottery by a monastery like that of St. John the Little raised issues about the relations between monasteries and cities to be addressed by further excavation. The fine wares found on monastic sites raise two issues: first, the relation between archaeological and literary information, and second, the meaning of asceticism as an ideal and a practice. Both issues apply also to other aspects of the material culture, and will be mentioned again.

Schrunk does report some peculiarities of the range of vessels used in monasteries in contrast to other settlements. The predilection for small and large bowls and the absence of plates at some monasteries may reflect the avoidance of meat and fish, and the methods of serving and eating described by Shenute and analyzed by Bentley Layton (Schrunk 2009, 6; Layton 2002). She nonetheless notes a discrepancy between the excavated material and Shenute's text, which "gives the impression of a very limited selection and use of pottery" (2009, 1).

Already in 1994 Ewa Wipszycka had noted that excavations, especially at the Kellia, Esna, and Naqlun, were changing the picture of Egyptian monasticism derived from texts. Not only ceramics but also glassware, textiles and codices, together with roomy accommodations and colorful wall paintings, testify to a relatively comfortable existence, although life in the desert must always have been hard (Wipszycka 1994, 1998). She suggests that a new ideal emerged when rejection of the teachings of Origen led to gradual abandonment of "aggressiveness against the body" (1995, 76–77; 1998, 107). Both she and James Goehring see ideals of extreme asceticism contrasting with more temperate practice, but Goehring tends to see a continuing ascetic ideal underlying and sustaining various adaptations (e.g., Goehring 2003, 2007).[14]

In their Symposium papers, Brooks Hedstrom and Schrunk discuss the relationship between monks and lay people in production as well as consumption of pottery. Probably fine wares always came from the few specialized production sites that also supplied lay communities. Kilns have been found at some monastic sites and not in others, such as the Kellia. It has been suggested that pottery production, requiring group interaction, might be more suitable to coenobitic than eremitic establishments. Schrunk questions whether even coenobitic monks would have found it suitable. She suggests that archaeological evidence for workshops in or near monastery sites may be evidence for interaction with nearby laity. She cites evidence for a variety of cooperative economic arrangements between monasteries and their lay neighbors that would have strengthened the ties between them (2009, 5–7).

B. Textiles

Textile makers introduced technical changes later than potters and proceeded further faster. Around the third century of our era, new desire for exuberant adornment of persons and spaces led artisans to create colored patterns and figural representations. Of all the crafts practiced during these centuries, figured textile making emerges as the one almost unanimously, if ambiguously, referred to today as "Coptic." The word has some validity if we take it to identify a geographic area, since indeed something basically new and impressive occurred in Egypt.[15] These innovations did not occur in isolation. Not all textiles found in Egyptian graves were necessarily made in Egypt, and adjacent areas of the eastern Mediterranean shared in the craft revolution or perhaps initiated it (Stauffer 1992, 24; Thomas 2007, esp. 149, 156), but Egypt's place in the markets seems to indicate its preeminence. An extensive industry, probably located in many Egyptian cities, supplied local customers and a large export trade (Bagnall 1993, 82–83, 85–86; Stauffer 1992, 22–38; Wipszycka 1965, 1991).

Looms underwent some changes, but the dyers' new arts were even more impressive. Since linen does not take natural dyes well, weavers combined colored wool with plain linen, usually through a tapestry weave. From a limited number of plant and animal sources dyers developed "manifold shades and sumptuous hues" of great durability (Rutschowskaya 1991b, 2215).[16] They used the colored threads in various ways, most commonly to create figured bands and other accents, such as roundels, on cloaks and tunics. From the third century on the tunic became the common dress for men and women throughout the Empire. Decoration applied to it followed a layout formula that Maguire has called "architectural" (1999, 10-11).[17.] Its verticals and horizontals recognized the structure of the body underneath, which the formal Roman toga had negated.

Motifs remained primarily those of the Hellenistic Greek world. Values from pre-Greek Egypt survived in broad themes, such as vegetation, partying and an occasional motif, notably the ankh. Weavers also produced fine examples of Christian subject matter for both clothing and furnishings (see B2). Crosses, for instance, were woven into tunics, sometimes accompanying motifs from earlier religions. These combined allusions have been interpreted as indicating that the dancers had lost meaning, or, alternatively, that they could enhance the power of the whole assemblage (see pp. 9, 50 n. 35 below).

Simple weaving continued in homes. Urban workshops employing a range of specialized artisans produced the fine figured fabrics. Monasteries also produced cloth for their own use and for sale. They probably produced and consumed a more limited range of textiles than lay communities, although the evidence is ambiguous. Rebecca Krawiec and Eunice Maguire both discuss monks' clothing. The former emphasizes documentary, the latter artistic and archaeological evidence (Krawiec 2009a, Maguire 2009).

Shenute, Abbot of the White Monastery, had an elaborate cloak he greatly valued. Female monks had made it, and after its destruction they made a replacement, also fine but less to his liking (Krawiec 2002, 2009a, 2009b). Most monks' clothing, however, although possibly complicated to wear, was probably of simple cloth. Monastic weavers could easily have made it. In her book and later essays, Krawiec points out that female monastics made the clothing for the inhabitants of the White Monastery, following the example of the earlier communities founded by Pachomius, while men engaged in "basketry," i.e., hand weaving fibers and leather into ropes, mats and containers.[18] Elsewhere, both basketry and cloth weaving were common occupations of male monks, and frequently involved production for sale (Wipszycka 1996, 341–343; see Kotsifou 2003 for sale of linen cloth at the White Monastery).

It seems unlikely, but not impossible, that monastic weavers produced the most elaborate textiles. Wipszycka noted that "delicate" cloth and fine boucle had appeared in excavations at Naqlun (1994; 1998, 105). Did the monks make it? Wipszycka suggests that the simple, repetitive activity of weaving may have been common in monasteries because it did not interfere with prayer and meditation (1996, 342; cf. Winlock and Crum's reference to "occupations which leave the mind free," cited by Schrunk 2009, 7). Stewart's examples describe monks alternating weaving with prayer, either alone or in groups (2009, 4).[19] Weaving usually required two people: a couple of female monastics cooperated in making Shenute's fine cloak. Making fine tapestry embellishments required more specialists to prepare materials and produce finished products. We cannot exclude the possibility that monks trained as dyers and weavers might have continued to practice their craft after entering a monastery, perhaps working together to produce some goods for their churches and others for sale. City workshops, however, would have steadier reasons to assemble crews with interlocking skills.

A related question is how much of the finer products did monks consume? Both Krawiec (2009a) and Maguire (2009) note that representations of monastic figures often show them in elegant clothing. They suggest that the artists aim to idealize, perhaps representing

the clothing holy men and women will wear in Heaven. The images and anecdotes about appropriate clothing for the deathbed, funeral and next world all show the value attached to fine garments, which could express spiritual as well as worldly status. Krawiec, however, also refers to the discrepancy mentioned above:

> Other papers presented at the Living for Eternity conference provided archaeological evidence that monks in Egypt were not always living the "simple life" historians associated with monasticism. Luxury pottery ware, for example, runs counter to modern expectations of ancient monasticism. This evidence again cautions us not to rely too heavily on monastic rules to create an historically accurate picture of life in the monastery (2009a, 15 n. 45).

Shenute's allusions to his cloaks, however, do suggest comparative restraint. He mentions fine color, but not any combination of colors that could create patterns or figures. Decoration consisted of fringes, braiding and tassels (Krawiec 2009a, 7–9).[20] Apparently tapestry bands or other accents would not have been appropriate—or probably within the ability of the makers.

Without resorting to decorations, clothing would have made Pachomian and some other monks stand out from the laity. Maguire suggests there may have been "no standardization of monastic dress in the sixth and seventh centuries," although ways of wearing garments, especially hoods and belts, had particular significance. As required accessories, however, she mentions the *schema* and the *melote*. She equates the *schema* with the "special leather apron" mentioned in the rule of Pachomius, found in burials at several monastic sites and appearing on images. The *melote* she identifies as a skin worn over one shoulder (Maguire 2009, 5).[21] Animal skins worn this way would have marked monastic identity in striking fashion, calling to mind artists' representations of both Biblical prophets and followers of Dionysus, as Maguire points out (2009, *passim*).

The tapestry medallion from Saint John's (B1 below), a decoration for clothing, probably would not have found its way into a monastery except, possibly on the discarded cloak or tunic of a new entrant. Maguire remarks of such garments: "we cannot say whether their display of capering Bacchic dancers remained forever hidden after entering the abbot's coffers" (2009, 15). The Minneapolis tapestry cross (B2 below) could well have hung in a monastery church. Bolman (2006b) has presented evidence for the early existence of sanctuary barriers, often including curtains, in Egyptian churches. Given the rich carving and painting of Shenute's White Monastery church, we can suppose that if it had curtains, they would have been of the finest. It seems likely that he would have turned to city workshops for them (on production and consumption of hangings with Christian motifs, see Stauffer 1992, 34–35, 131).

The industry commanded respect from the Arab conquerors, who purchased its products for Mecca (see p. 48 n. 15 below). It continued long after the Arab conquest with little alteration, except an occasional Arabic inscription recognizing new consumers.[22] Christian Egyptians continued to dominate textile making until the virtual disappearance of hand weaving in the last years of the twentieth century.[23]

C. Texts

Written texts underwent the most basic and wide-ranging changes during Late Antiquity. Changes in language, subject matter, techniques of production and organization of production and distribution affected all texts, including letters, contracts, wills and other personal and public documents; but books exhibited the most dramatic results, brought about by an overarching alteration in their function.

Use of multiple languages continued, even increased. After Alexander the Great's conquest, Greek had become the language of officials and most literate people. From the fourth century of our era, Coptic, that is, Egyptian written in the Greek alphabet with additional letters, began to rival Greek. This change shows the cultural assimilation, as the language handed down from Pharaonic times became more visible when it adopted a Greek format (cf. Bagnall 2007, pp. 6–7). Once interpreted as nationalism, the increase in Coptic writing was rather a response to religious change, particularly to the new need for texts among Christians. Writers used the Coptic language primarily for Christian (and Manichaean) texts, which also continued to be produced in Greek. In spite of the integration referred to above, large parts of the population were probably truly comfortable in only one language or the other. (Wipszycka considers the practical difficulties that might arise: 2007, 342.)

Coptic papyri have received much less attention than Greek, causing a serious imbalance in our knowledge of the period, firmly addressed although hardly remedied in recent years (cf. Emmel 2007).

From the late third century on, Latin acquired more importance, due to its role in government rather than in literature. It became the language of coin legends from 296 to 518 (see p. 13 below). Even for the majority who could not read them, the unfamiliar letters linked Latin with Imperial power. Official activities might require more familiarity. Dioskoros of Aphrodito, sixth century poet and lawyer, had "a basic command of Latin" relating to law (Beaucamp 2007, 282). Some Classical Latin texts, such Vergil, were also read more in the fourth and fifth centuries than earlier (Cribiore 2007, 60–61). The language probably never became widespread or popular since Egyptians, like others in the Eastern Empire, considered Greek superior. For most of the elite, "a veneer of Latin satisfied most of [their] needs" (Cribiore 2007, 60).

Greek continued as the official language of Egypt for about two generations after the Arab conquest. Then, in 706, the new rulers changed the language of official documents to Arabic, a process taking about ten years (Kadi 2010). Use of Arabic also spread through conversion or "Islamization," which proceeded slowly. It "took off only after Arabs moved into the countryside, became involved in agriculture, and started to intermarry with the Copts" (Sijpesteijn 2007, 453), changes first attested in the eighth century, the century following the adoption of Arabic by officialdom. Religious change paved the way for cultural change. By the ninth or tenth centuries Christians were a minority, and the Fatimid period (909-1171 CE) saw decisive steps toward the Arabization of Christian culture. (On Islamization preceding Arabization generally, see Gervers and Bikhazi 1990.) During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Christian church in Egypt began to use Arabic, first for records and then for services. The last hundred years have seen a revival of Coptic for liturgical use.

Proficiency in making papyrus and in training professional scribes goes back to the beginning of the Old Kingdom. The physical characteristics of texts changed radically in the Roman period, together with equal changes in function. During the first three centuries of our era the codex replaced the roll as the common format for books throughout the Empire. From about the fourth century on, parchment began to replace papyrus. Egypt's important part in these changes is probably overemphasized by the survival of so many texts in its dry, stable atmosphere: note the predominance of Egyptian examples for the first centuries CE in the 2006 Sackler exhibition "In the Beginning: Bibles before the year 1000" (Brown 2006). Classical texts continued to be produced and studied, but selectively and in declining numbers (Cribiore 2007, 48-52).

It was once suggested that Christians in Egypt invented the codex as a cheap means of making scriptures widely available. Although that is not true, Christians clearly exploited the format, probably at first for purely practical reasons, copying texts in "unpretentious" form as "the essential handbooks or manuals of the Christian community" (Gamble 2006, 26). We do not know who produced or used the earliest codices with Christian content (Gamble 2006, 24). They were poorly executed and inaccurate. From the fourth century on, some codices became more skillfully made and decorated.

Kotsifou argues that monastic communities, both male and female, dominated the later, more professional production in Egypt (2007). She notes both the expense and relative rarity of books, and their wide desirability, which caused much lending and exchanging. Surviving examples show both skilled scribal hands, and large-scale decoration based on the shape of the cross. Elaborate covers indicate a changing role for sacred texts: the "book as icon," for display rather than reading (Kessler 2006; Kotsifou 2007, 64-65). Production of large, elaborate books began in the sixth century if not before. A notable example of the book as icon is a fourth to fifth century gospel book from the library of the Monastery of Apa

Jeremiah in Saqqara. In the seventh century the book was given covers that would have prevented the it from being opened, “the images of the gospelers (painted on the covers) effectively serving as a substitute for their inaccessible gospels” (Brown 2006, 269).[24]

Monasteries also became centers for composing and preserving texts. At the White Monastery, Shenute created some of the first important Coptic literature. His writings mention papyri the monastery possessed, and some papyrus fragments now in European libraries have been thought to come from the monastery of his time or slightly later. Orlandi dismisses these identifications, at the same time describing the importance of the collection:

> It is sufficiently sure that in the White Monastery, under the care of Shenute, the «real» Coptic literature was created, and many Greek works were translated. The works by Shenute testify to a very cultivated environment, where many people read and discussed important works of spirituality, of history, and of theology. All this presupposes the possession of many books, and a cultural activity around them, possibly a school not only elementary (this must have existed in any case) but of a high level (Orlandi 2002, 224).

It is noteworthy that Orlandi thinks of the books as resources for study, rather than for liturgical reading or display, probably following the emphasis in Shenute’s writing.

He argues that reliable information about specific contents of the Monastery’s library only begins in the eleventh century. Then, centuries after the Arab Conquest, the Monastery had a collection he estimates at about a thousand codices, more than double the size of contemporary western monastic libraries. The books had been obtained by purchase, gift and local production (2002, 225).

He lists text collections from other monastic libraries between the fourth and twelfth centuries. Numerous fourth to fifth century manuscripts came from Dishna. We know there was a monastery at that site, but not that it had a library. If the texts did come from the monastery, then its library “was very special, because of the mixture of Greek, Latin and Coptic texts, and of classic-pagan and christian literature” (Orlandi 2002, 227), The later monastic libraries Orlandi lists consisted solely of Christian books, in Coptic or in Greek, indicating the development of a differently framed monastic identity, based strongly on belief and to some extent on language. That selection was a change. Through much of Late Antiquity, upper class Egyptians like their peers all over the Empire of whatever religious persuasion knew and imitated classical literature. That continuity is particularly striking in Panopolis, across the river from the White Monastery (Cameron 2007). Shenute wrote in one language, but was certainly proficient in two. He used Coptic to proclaim the importance of a church hierarchy headed by Greek-writing Alexandrians. “Wholly loyal to Alexandrian authority,” he cited Athanasius (a text he attributed to) and travelled to Ephesus with Cyril (Moussa 2009, 3, 4, 7).

Monks at his monastery might follow a narrower path. Like Pachomius, he required that those who had not been literate learn enough to read scripture, but perhaps little else, and probably only in the language most familiar to them.

In time, the two dominant languages became associated with different religious groups. As variations in Egyptian Christianity crystallized after the Council of Chalcedon, those who opposed the Council’s decrees generally used Coptic, while those who accepted it used Greek. Works such as the Kacmarcik codex indicate that the Coptic Church continued, none the less, to value its Greek inheritance.

Monasteries continued their roles in both producing and disseminating books, as well as collecting them for study and ceremony. After the Conquest, some monasteries gradually atrophied, but others prospered to varying degrees through easier and harder times. One such was St. Antony’s (Gabra 2002). It is there that the Kacmarcik codex (C10) was probably produced, six centuries after the Conquest (see pp. 26–27 below). Written by a professional hand, it reflects the continuing linguistic complexities of Egyptian Christianity by its unusual combination of Greek, Arabic and Coptic.

D. Coins

Coins embody the public presence of Rome, displaying officially dictated images and texts. The mint at Alexandria followed a formula found throughout the Empire, i.e., obverses with images and inscriptions referring to specific emperors or members of their families and reverses with mintmarks and imagery evoking imperial values, often through deities, or personifications. (On the general effectiveness of Roman coins as conveyors of imperial authority or persuasive messages, see Wallace-Hadrill 1986.) From Augustus to the Fatimids, Alexandria’s output went through four phases, characterized by changes in language together with changes in image sources.

In the first phase, lasting almost three centuries after the Roman conquest, the Alexandrian mint preserved considerable independence. It had been the Ptolemaic mint, and like other mints in the Eastern Roman Empire, it continued to use the Greek language, issuing “Greek Imperials.” Many of these Alexandrian coins bore specifically Egyptian references on the reverses.

This independence ceased in the second phase, initiated when the emperor Diocletian reformed Egyptian coinage in 296. (For the date and significance of the change see Metcalf 1987, 157–168).[25] Latin became the language of coin legends, which clearly marked them as representatives of a far away government. Obverses and reverses carry images found throughout the Empire. Emperors and occasionally their relatives appear with diadems and other jewels. Reverses stress military power in ways absent from other Egyptian media.

Reverses reflect religious change discretely. After the conversion of Constantine (313), major deities cease to appear. While explicit paganism was reduced, explicit Christianity was slow to appear, perhaps mirroring popular resistance (*RIC* 7, 61–64; *RIC* 9, xli; Grierson 1992, 32). Crosses occur only infrequently on fourth century coins, sometimes as objects like the labarum held by the emperor.

Even personifications become less common. In the twenties of the fourth century, after Constantine had converted to Christianity, a coin of his mother Helena still has a personification on its reverse: a woman holding a palm branch (D4, fig.40). After that, the previously wide and often ambiguous range of female figures referring to Peace, Plenty, Concord, Fortune and the like almost completely disappear from the coinage, probably less from any religious distaste than from preference for more bellicose messages. The more aggressive Virtus survives on a very popular mid-century reverse, see D9 (fig. 43) below.

One traditionally pagan goddess, Victory, appears frequently throughout this period (Grierson 1999, 31–32). The numerous cases in figural arts of the time where traditional deities, particularly minor deities, appear together with Christian inscriptions or objects show how deeply rooted they were in visual imagination, how necessary as symbols if not as objects of literal belief. Victory, just such a minor deity, continued her useful function as a messenger delivering the decisions of greater gods. Her accouterments, a long robe and wings, were being adopted during these centuries for representations of angels, the divine messengers of the Bible.

Cumulatively, these changes created a gulf between coins and other imagery produced in Egypt. This distance had not existed earlier, when personifications, deities, and heroes were common parlance and images of violence balanced images of prosperity in various media. Of all the images on late Roman reverses, only Victory appears in other local crafts, such as rare but significant textiles (Thompson 1971, 47; Schrenk 1998, 347). Types were now dictated from afar, although Alexandria may have occasionally dissented (*RIC* 9, xxxiii, 296–297; see the entry for D10 below).

After Diocletian's reform, Alexandria minted almost exclusively bronze coins, designed only for local circulation.[26] Their small size and relatively low value did not lead to any decline in the die maker's craft. Images remained clear and effective until the later Byzantine and early Arabic periods, when the level of skill did deteriorate.

These lively and well-made coins must have impressed their users, but it is hard to say how those users would have reacted to such a limited presentation of the benefits of empire

stressing military motifs that directed aggression against other Romans rather than external foes. The fifth century saw a decline in use of military motifs by Roman mints (Grierson 1992, 23), but the mint of Alexandria closed around 425, so in Egypt the older coins remained in use (Noeske 1998).

In 518 the mint entered its third phase. At the beginning of the sixth century the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius I instituted another coin reform, so when the Alexandrian mint reopened under his successor, Justin I, it used Greek legends. It became more independent, adopting a unique system of denominations. It produced coins with the value of 12 nummi fairly regularly from Justin's reign until the Arab conquest and probably thereafter. Imagery followed Constantinopolitan lead. The attitude to religious imagery had changed. A dominant motif was the cross on steps, also popular in Egyptian painting and weaving (see textile B2 and coin D15). This motif continued, perhaps reinterpreted, during the first generations of Arab rule.[27] Finally, in the early eighth century, Byzantine Greek types were replaced by a specifically Islamic coinage, called Inspirational Coppers, on which images gave way to religious phrases in Arabic.[28] Byzantine coins remained in circulation, however, for some time thereafter.

The coiners would have been Egyptian, whether Greek or Coptic speaking.

> Arabs, in seventh century Egypt, were ruling military aristocrats who did not engage in physical labor, nor is it imaginable that any Arab from Arabia had the experience to produce even a facsimile of a coin. Not only physical labor, but the ordinary administration of the country, was left to Egyptians. (Domaszewicz and Bates 2002, 96).

In this instance as in others, the new Arab inhabitants' earliest contribution to material culture was to support existing Egyptian crafts.

Coins circulated to monasteries as to other settlements. We know that monasteries played active roles in the overall economy, producing goods for sale, as well as for internal consumption. Wipszycka notes that the communities received gifts of money as well as commodities, and that Shenute had the funds to employ outside laborers in the construction of his impressive church (1996). In her 2003 Symposium paper Kotsifou depicted the White Monastery as vigorously involved in acquiring and expending wealth. She cited its need to pay taxes, and at times to carry out charitable work, eg., to purchase large quantities of foodstuffs for refugees or to pay ransoms for prisoners. Monks involved in these activities would therefore be as familiar as their lay counterparts with the images of authority and of the values that authority promoted.

Monastic Environments

Photographs created a background and partial context for the objects on exhibit. They showed architecture and painting from three monastic communities: Kellia in the north, the

White Monastery at Sohag and St. Antony in the Sinai. All well published, these images are not discussed here.[29] Little was said in the Symposium about architecture, more about painting.

Builders in both monastic and lay communities continued the age-old Egyptian custom of using stone for religious structures, now mainly churches, and mud or baked brick for others. Most art historical and archaeological work has focused on churches and other stone buildings.

Grossmann's recent review of the architecture of this period sees both religious and secular architecture as part of the larger Roman community, exhibiting greater indigenous characteristics in Upper Egypt (Grossmann 2007). His exception of monasteries because of their unusual asceticism needs reconsideration. Brooks Hedstrom has analyzed four categories of monastic habitation; three, reused temples or tombs and caves, "accord with the ideal of ascetic living," while the fourth, purposely built, "is significantly more elaborate and reflective of urban living than what appears in the literary accounts" (Brooks Hedstrom 2007, 377, 387, echoing her findings concerning pottery; see pp. 6, 8–9 above for other instances of this discrepancy. See also Wipszycka 1995, 1998, 104).

The only paper in this symposium that considered physical evidence for architecture was the progress report on satellite imagery and other proposed tools, now overtaken by survey work as yet unpublished in detail (Brenningmeyer and McNally 2009). Bentley Layton drew on documentary evidence, mainly Shenute's writings, to enumerate the buildings and agricultural areas at the White Monastery, beginning a study of the ways the monastery established an alternate world for its inhabitants. He later published that enumeration together with analyses of groups and actions mentioned in the texts in order to reconstruct the "institutional order" of activities that would establish monastic identity (Layton 2007). As the Yale project now investigating the site publishes fuller maps of some areas, these activities may be located spatially, thereby showing how they would cause monks to interact with each other and their visitors from day to day (cf. Brenningmeyer and McNally 2009).

Recent work has publicized wall painting in monastic settings ranging from the hermitages of the Kellia to the churches of numerous coenobitic monasteries (and now a funerary chapel, Bolman et al. 2010). Two Symposium papers discuss painting in monastic churches. Innemée gives a clear overview of the daunting methodological issues involved in dating and conserving paintings, using examples from two monasteries: the Monastery of the Syrians in Wadi Natrun, and the Red Monastery near Sohag (Innemée 2009). His discussion of the difficulties of dating images and constructing a history brings out the originality and variety of these art works. Since his paper was written, much more information has accumulated at the two sites he mentions, at the White Monastery, and at other sites (e.g., Bolman 2001, Bolman et al. 2010). When fully published, his information will solve some of the problems he outlines. Bolman's paper concentrates on the aesthetic power of one dramatic example, the Red Monastery (2006a). In another recent essay she vividly presents her view that painting in these monastic buildings promoted what she calls the "monks' spiritual work" of ceaseless prayer and striving for transformation: "(I)t is useful to consider that seeing itself was a dynamic and powerful act…" requiring particular types of imagery (2007, 425). Stewart also considers both the role of imagery in prayer, specifically in the cells of Kellia, juxtaposed to an ideal of "imageless prayer" (Stewart 2009, 9).

II. OBJECTS IN THE EXHIBITION

A. Pottery

The pottery in this exhibition came from excavations at Akhmim (Panopolis) conducted between 1978 and 1982 by the University of Minnesota. It is at present stored by the Department of Art History. Many of the pieces, those with numbers beginning 1.1, appeared in the habitation levels of two houses that had been occupied from roughly the seventh to the eleventh century. None comes from a totally unified, tightly stratified level. Much came from the make-up for successive floors. When a new floor was needed, loose earth was shoveled in over the existing floor and then topped by beaten earth or, less frequently, with tiles. The material in the make-up may be mixed in date, although clearly earlier than the floor above it. Some pottery comes from large scale dumping when these houses were finally abandoned and filled in so the area could be reused. Because of the amount and types of glazed ware, that dumping can be dated to the Fatimid period (the eleventh and twelfth centuries), although it can, of course, contain an admixture of earlier sherds. That dumping is distinguished from the mixed debris on top, created by a twentieth century construction project. Sherds with numbers beginning I.2 came from a different excavation area, with levels of industrial debris covered by major dumping (McNally and Schrunk 1993).

Fine or tablewares made in Aswan constituted most of the pottery exhibits. They consist of the Plain Red Slip wares made in imitation of North African products, of Painted White and Red Slip wares, and, finally, of glazed wares. They represent the four most common and varied types of this period: shallow bowls, deep bowls, beakers, and the less common jars. Two types of coarse ware were included, water jugs and amphorae.

Aswan Plain Red Slip Ware (A1-A4)

All the examples here are bowls, the most common forms in Late Antiquity. Plates, popular earlier, had almost completely disappeared. These broad names for types and their definitions follow Gempeler 1992, the most complete study of the pottery to date. (Subdivisions are now being revised by the team at his site, Elephantine.) The quality of this late

Plain Red Slip varies. A3 is well shaped and finished, like pieces from earlier centuries. A4 is more irregularly shaped and the slip, now eroded, was never of high quality.

Aswan Painted White Slip Ware (A5–A11)

This ware may be used for shallow bowls like those in plain red slip (A5, A6, figs. 5, 6). In the late sixth to seventh century potters introduced new shapes that appear only in painted ware, primarily on white but occasionally on red slip (white: A7, A8, A9; red A13, figs. 7, 8, 9, 12). Some are often referred to as "cups" (here as beakers), although they more probably served for condiments, and may reflect minor changes in diet. The height is equal to or slightly greater than the rim diameter. Some types flare out, others are almost straight, or curve slightly out and in again. These shapes are popular and long-lived, appearing at Elephantine in sixth century levels and at Fustat in much later ones (Gempeler 1992, 23; Scanlon 1991, 506).

A motif appearing frequently on these vessels is a double-arched sequence outlined in brown with red above and below the arches. It derives from the Greek cable ornament, cut in half so that the remnant sacrifices structural logic to a looser energy in keeping with its quick execution. This "in der Mitte halbierten Flechtband" appears on cups in the sixth century, on other shapes in the seventh (Gempeler 1992, 30).

Three pieces on exhibit (A7, A8 and A9, figs. 7, 8 and 9) display this sliced cable as part of the same overall formula. All have a brown rim stripe, broader light band, red band, space, brown sliced cable with red fill in every other loop, then a red band. This sequence appears again with slight variation on a painted red slip piece (A13, fig. 13).

Aswan Painted Red Slip Ware (A12–A15)

The examples consist of beakers similar to those made in Painted White Slip and of the jars. All of the pieces on exhibition come from disturbed loci. Two come, like A9 above, from the top level above the houses, which had been disturbed in the later twentieth century by excavation for a building. Two come from higher, mixed levels in another area, together with Mamluke glazed ware, but are probably earlier than.that ware.

Glazed Ware (A16–A20)

Most or all of the early glazed ware at Akhmim has the typical Aswan fabric and could be called Aswan glazed ware. One of the sherds exhibited may belong to a plate, a relatively unusual shape at this period. The others probably all come from bowls with parallels in unglazed wares.

Coarse Ware: Water containers (A21–A24)

Water containers include both smaller vessels for carrying and larger ones for storing, sometimes differentiated as jugs and jars. They were probably locally made. None of the Akhmim fragments are complete enough to allow reconstruction of a whole shape, but they clearly belonged to large vessels with broad shoulders set off from full bodies.[30]

These water vessels carry vibrant decoration. From a slightly later period, there is evidence that such water dispensers stood on stone stands. Already in these centuries, the jars clearly established an imposing presence inside the house. In this respect they differ markedly from the wine containers described below.

It has been suggested that the painted decoration distracted attention from poor production. This reflects a common misconception. Studies of potters producing traditional fabrics today have shown that making coarse wares designed to fulfill specific functions can be at least as technically challenging and as time-consuming as making so-called fine ware. Throughout Egypt such shapes were made from similar clays with similarly bold decoration, but great local variation in detail. Potters used coarse clay into which they mixed vegetal material, probably often straw. When the pots were fired, the added material burned out, leaving holes in the fabric that can clearly be seen on the surfaces of the pots. They create a porous fabric that allows slow evaporation of the liquid. This process keeps the liquid cool. The damp surface created by evaporation also gives the painted decoration an added glow (Egloff 1977, 123).

Paint, white, brown or black, was applied to a light slip. With broad brush strokes, painters divided the vase into horizontal areas, filling them with simple patterns of bold dots, with animals and with geometric complexes. Artists in different places preferred different animals: the best examples from Akhmim show birds and a pig. The geometric complexes resemble some designs found in magic texts and may have had protective power (on the importance of magic, see 23 and 50 n. 39).

Coarse Wares: Amphorae (A25–A29)

Amphorae, vessels for storing wine, fish sauce and oil, differ markedly from vessels for water. Amphorae are utilitarian, with little or no decoration, because they were used for transport as well as for storage. Usually the exigencies of transportation ruled out much decoration apart from ridging and touches of paint. Elegance surrounding wine was restricted to the serving vessels, i.e., pitchers and cups, the latter probably and the former possibly made in glass as well as more expensive metal.

These amphorae are long, narrow vessels having small, easily plugged mouths and two handles at one end, rounded "toes" at the other. The basic shape had long been used to transport and store a variety of liquid foodstuffs. Amphorae were known in New Kingdom Egypt, but a new shape appeared in the Ptolemaic period and spawned a number of indigenous variations (Ballet 1997, 45: she nonetheless considers Egyptian amphora makers more independent than most potters).

Bagnall has noted the apparent disappearance of beer, the age-old drink of ordinary Egyptians, in the fourth century, and the ubiquity of wine (1993, 32). People living in the area of the Nile Valley near Akhmim, often called Middle Egypt, generally consumed local wines, and did not often import amphorae from centers such as Aswan (Gempeler 1992, 55). The amphorae exhibited here, like most of the amphora fragments found in these excavations, are Middle Egyptian, but a few fragments of other types show that Akhmim also brought some wine from farther afield.

These examples belong to a large group, often called brown wine amphorae, specifically to a subtype, Late Roman Amphorae 7 (LRA 7) (Bavay et al. 2000, 59; see also Ballet 1991, 491; Ballet 1997, 45, 47), which includes Egloff types 173–177 (1977, 1, 115; Marquie 2007, 90; Lecuyot 2007, 200). They are made from Nile silt, often including mica, limestone or organic temper (Gascoigne 2007, 166). They are slender in proportion to their height, and marked by prominent ribs or ridges on the necks and bodies. Proportions, definition of parts and placement of ridges differ considerably, probably mainly reflecting the large number of production sites.[32] So far, little has been done to define subtypes and link them to specific places of production, or specific time periods (Lecuyot 2007, 200; Marquie 2007, 90). Production began in the fourth and continued to about the tenth century, perhaps later.

The vessels in the exhibition were found reused in a post-conquest level.[33] Since amphorae are well-made, strong-walled vessels, they are often reused in building and in other ways: see for instance the use of a neatly broken sherd for writing material (C6 below).[34]

B. Textiles

The two textiles featured here represent the two major functions of Coptic textiles. One decorated a garment and the other furnished a room. The former uses widely popular motifs that arose from Greek religion, and then acquired a range of meanings. The latter is a particularly elaborate example of the relatively small number of weavings with Christian themes.

The first is a medallion that probably once decorated a cloak or tunic (B1, Fig. 25).[35] It is also possible, if less likely, that this medallion might have been the center of a cushion. Schrenk points out that iconography is not linked to function (Schrenk 1998, 344, 345).

On a garment it would have been part of a system of decoration (Maguire 1999, 10-11; Schrenk 1998, 340-341, 350- 351; Zanni 1997). Such ornaments might be woven as part of the whole garment or, less frequently, made separately and appliquéd. They usually come into collections as separate pieces because their modern finders cut them to make them more salable (Schrenk 1998, 354-355).

A double frame surrounds the central figures (fig. 27). The narrow outermost pattern consists of a scallop with dots. The edges of the scallop sometimes look like columns with simple bases and capitols, but probably the weaver had no representational intent. The broad inner framing elements are certainly representational. In each corner is a small jug or *kantharos* out of which comes a scroll that runs up the border until close to the next *kantharos.* Each *kantharos* is slightly different: one is short and vertically ribbed, another tall and vertically ribbed, one short with a cross band of decoration, and one tall with a cross band. Scrolls proceeding from jugs in Greek and Roman art usually denote vines, and so the stylized forms within these scrolls probably represent grape clusters.

In the central field two dancers face right, each raising the right arms in front and lowering the left behind, a very common pose (fig. 26). The one in back holds something in the lowered hand. That, too, is not uncommon, and various objects can be held. This may be a pitcher held by one handle, mouth downward, either emptied or pouring wine to the ground. A band slanting across the torso of this figure could belong to several costumes, but the two dangling elements at the side, probably legs, indicate that this figure is wearing an animal skin. The figure in front has different drapery, with a vertical line on the torso and cloth apparently twisting around the hips and down one leg. Probably the weaver means to show a satyr behind a maenad, although the details are not now clear. The heads turn back. Straight lines delineate the sides of each face, indicating that much of the large circular area is not head but halo.

The outer framing pattern of posts both with and without inner dots remains common over a long period. The inner frame design, on the other hand, in spite of the general popularity of the *kantharos* and vine motif on its own and in other configurations, is not common. A textile in Mulhouse (without inventory number) preserves one corner of a similar jug generating a scroll. That fragment, more carefully detailed than this one, has been dated to the fifth to sixth century (Rassart-Debergh 1997, figs. 190, 170). [36]

Dancing poses like these are also common over a long period. A medallion in Angers, better preserved than this one but with similar framing and still more simplified bodies, has been dated to the ninth century (du Bourget and Grémont n.d. (1997?) 71 n. 85). The vine pattern here is much more abstract than on the Mulhouse fragment, and the figures are as simplified as those on Angers piece. If departure from Hellenistic prototypes were the main criterion, this textile might be dated late, even after the Arab conquest, but stylistic dating of Coptic textiles is notoriously untrustworthy (Thomas 2007, 100).

By Late Antiquity, the imagery on this medallion probably transcended the boundaries of one practice or belief. Dancers form one of the most popular motifs in Egyptian textiles of the Late Roman and Early Islamic centuries. In these poses, they entered Egyptian art in the train of the wine god Dionysos. They revived a long-standing Egyptian interest, possibly intensified by continuing cult practice. In Christian and, later, Islamic circles they remained popular, perhaps simply as joyous figures, perhaps still with sacral overtones.

The Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt exalted Dionysos, whose popularity continued long after the rulers disappeared. Dionysiac mysteries were one of the most persistent forms of paganism, lasting well into the fourth and fifth centuries (Bowersock 1990, 41–53).

Dancing as entertainment, possibly with cultic overtones, had been a popular subject for Egyptian artists since the Old Kingdom, and Egyptian cult practice of later times may have affected the appearance and connotations of dancers on textiles. Renner-Volbach thinks that the prominently gesturing hands of many dancers reflect mime, perhaps in the mysteries of Osiris, and that the straight lines often edging faces may indicate pantomime masks (1982, 73 for references on cult; see also Stauffer 1992, 74–75). Bowersock suggests that such practices had a long life (1990, 57). This medallion has both the conspicuous hands and the straight lines bounding faces inside the outer circles of halos. Whatever their origin, such details might outlast specific ritual.

Egyptian weavers often show dancers by themselves, as here. Motifs with Dionysiac origins came to refer to the pleasures of food, drink, and celebration without any explicit religious application, but probably still with sacred connotations.[37] The wine jugs and grape vines that frame the figures on this appliqué might indicate that the wine god inspires their dance, or both frame and center might simply celebrate the good life. Assuming that the large areas outside the straight lines defining the faces are haloes, the weaver intended sacredness, with or without explicit reference to Dionysus.

The jugs and vine scrolls could easily be re-interpreted in a Christian context. They occur, for instance, in carvings in the church of the White Monastery and on the painted walls of the Kellia (White Monastery, Török 2005; Kellia, Rassart-Debergh 1990), where they have taken on new meanings. Dancing, on the other hand, may have occurred in Christian worship, but seldom in explicitly Christian art.[38] The combination of haloed dancers with framing vines strongly points toward Dionysian meaning, but does not guarantee it. Whether or not intended to assist a member of a specific cult, the medallion would evoke layers of sacred associations in contemporary viewers.

If, as is most probable, this medallion originally decorated a garment, it would have formed part of a system of figural decorations to create meaning or exercise power. When more complete garments survive, some display such Dionysiac motifs together with motifs of Christian origin, notably jeweled crosses. Such combinations have led some scholars to believe these subjects now reflected joie de vivre devoid of their original religious connotations. Stauffer, however, thinks later combinations remain sacred. She compares woven combinations with magical amulets in which elements of various religions come together to evince power. Monks would have grown up familiar with such compound meanings.[39] Brakke's Symposium paper notes the pervasiveness of magic in Egypt and emphasizes its relation to monastic life, now developed in his book (Brakke 2003, 2006).

The second textile (B2, in the Minneapolis Institute of Art, Figs. 28, 29, 30) introduces a Christian subject and may show how religious change introduced a new avenue for cultural transmission, where forms passed from Jerusalem through Egypt to Ireland (see p. 24 below). It was probably a curtain, perhaps for the sanctuary of a church, later reused to wrap a body for burial. It might also have been a wall hanging, but that usage would not account well for the pattern of damage analyzed by Lotus Stack (1983-86).[40]

At the bottom is a stepped base of green embellished with nine small red squares. Above it hovers a cross with a tenon at the bottom. The vertical shaft is approximately twice as long as the horizontal arms. All four ends splay out. Ten rectangles decorate the long axis of the cross with six more on the short arms. Each rectangle is divided into two triangles of different colors. Four arcs between the shafts of the cross give the impression of a circle that continues underneath them. Each of the four arcs contains three fruits, some of which seem to be pomegranates. A small cross appears in each wedge between the arcs and the cross arms. At the sides below the cross arms a sequence of three buds alternates with three flowers. Another bud appears above each arm.

This piece is unequivocally Christian, although details such as the wreath and the pomegranates carry meanings well established in pre-Christian art. The wreath connotes triumph in both Jewish and Roman tradition (Werner 1990, 109 n. 28). The fruits in the wreath make it fertile, assimilating the Cross to the Tree of Life (Werner 1990, 109 n. 18). The four small crosses might refer to the four "Living Creatures" accompanying the Second Coming of Christ in the Apocalypse (4, 6–8). [41]

The tenon indicates that this tapestry depicts a free-standing cross that could fit into a stand. The bisected rectangles represent jewels. The inspiration might be a portable cross for use in processions or a grander monumental cross.

Crosses are favorite subjects in textiles and murals of Egyptian religious buildings roughly contemporary with this cross, especially in the wall paintings of monks' cells at

Sakkara and the Kellia (on Sakkara, P. van Moorsel 1979; on Kellia, Rassart-Debergh 1981, 1990). On garments, crosses may form small medallions, or larger substitutes for pectoral crosses: they usually have jewels, and often the four smaller crosses between their arms.[42] Painted crosses, also jeweled, often have tenons, and may appear with vegetation. The wreath occurs infrequently.

In both painting and weaving, most Egyptian crosses have four arms of even length or a slightly longer lower shaft. In its proportions and type of overlapping, i.e., the length of the shaft and the extension of all four arms beyond and in front of the wreath, the Minneapolis example stands apart.

Two scholars have linked this design to works outside Egypt. Publishing independently in the same year, Walter Horn and Martin Werner suggest that a similar weaving might have travelled north and inspired the Irish High Crosses, standing stone sculptures that begin around the ninth century (Horn 1990; Werner 1990). Horn and Werner look to different sources for the configuration. Walter Horn, noting earlier efforts to derive the Irish High Crosses from wooden prototypes, thinks that this textile represents a wooden cross that could be both displayed on a base and then lifted out for liturgical use (Horn 1990). Werner, noting that scholars have linked features of the Irish High Crosses to the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, argues that the textile represents the famous jeweled cross erected by Theodosius II on the rock of Golgotha (Theophanes A.M. 5920; Werner 1990; Stalley 1996, 9–10, Photo 6).[43] Both Horn and Werner note similarities to the native Egyptian tradition of the ankh and crux ansata, but prefer a different, more chronologically immediate and religiously compelling stimulus. Both suggest that a similar textile might have traveled to Ireland (or, less probably, to the island monastery on Iona, site of the earliest surviving High Cross), and there been imitated in stone. Such imitation would be more likely if the textile was understood to refer to the cross at Golgotha.

The argument draws attention first, to the geographic extent of the textile trade, and second, to the role textiles could have in transmitting ideas. Egyptian textiles were sought-after luxuries, widely exported, although so far there is no archaeological or documentary proof that they reached Ireland or Scotland at this time. They were easy to transport, but unfortunately also highly perishable outside of the dry and stable climate of Egypt. Opinions differ as to the amount of contact between Ireland and Egypt. Egyptian goods more durable than textiles have been found in Ireland, and at least by 789, just before the production of the earliest High Crosses, some Coptic monks had lived and been buried there.[44]

C. Texts

The exhibition included eight Late Antique texts, a medieval codex and modern bilingual texts. The Late Antique texts consist of six papyri, one *ostrakon* (text on potsherd) and one text on hide.[45] All are in Greek. They range in date from the third century to the sixth and include a personal letter, a list of place names and several official documents, as well as other pieces either too fragmentary to identify, or incompletely studied.[46]

The later codex attests to the survival of Late Antique achievements in liturgy and monastic production. A trained scribal hand created it, almost certainly in a monastery, and several other hands annotated it. The contemporary bilingual texts included in the exhibition reflect the way the past still contributes to overlaps in language and identity today. The last two Popes have led a revival of Coptic in liturgies, presented with Arabic translations.

(1) Late Antique texts

These fragments illustrate the cultural mix in Egypt primarily through personal names and methods of writing dates. Dates in years follow an empire-wide system, invoking far off officials such as emperors or consuls. Dates in months, on the other hand, use local month names, usually Egyptian, but occasionally from other places. The personal names on these papyri are all Greek, with none of the Egyptian mixtures sometimes found in this late period as a result of intermarriage. The main indication of multiculturalism is the addition of Latin names (with Greek endings) found in two texts.

The first, C2, is a letter from two brothers, one of them named Orion, to their sister Aurelia. Two names, only partially preserved, follow a standard formula for cross-cultural identity. We find the Latin name Aurelios, with its Greek ending, and its feminine counterpart Aurelia. Both recognize that the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (commonly called Caracalla) had changed their legal identity through his extension of Roman citizenship. The document also incorporates a more unexpected manifestation: Poudrier argues that it uses a Macedonian month name, 4th Loou, although by Late Antiquity Greeks in Egypt commonly used Egyptian month names.[47]

C5 follows the same naming formula. It preserves the name of Aurelios Theodoros of Oxyrhyncos. The dating formula combines a reference to the Roman consuls to specify the year with an Egyptian name for the month. The document was written the year after the consulship of Flavius Eudoxius and Flavius Dioscurus, and in the month of Hathyr, November-December.

Two of the documents include phrasing indicating that professional scribes wrote them, and on others the handwriting suggests professional skill. In one case (C9, figs. 31, 32, 33) the poor handwriting and misspellings betray a non-professional writer. Noordegraf suggests that the writer was a monk (see p. 26 below), but this papyrus in no way represents the more professional writing also going on in monasteries (Wipszycka 1965, 1996, 343-344;

Kotsifou 2007). This is the only complete papyrus text in the University's collections, housed, unlike the preceding, in the James Ford Bell Library and referred to as the Bell Papyrus. It reflects a relationship between Egypt and the outside world, but so far the nature of that relationship remains obscure. The papyrus lists sixty-two place names with no further explanation except what may be gleaned from a small cross in the margin where the list of names begins, a monogram above it, and the relatively poor writing and spelling. The place names start with Heliopolis in Egypt (near the later site of Cairo), include a number of sites on or near the eastern Mediterranean sea coast, such as Antioch and Tyre, and many from what is now Turkey, including Constantinople.

A small cross in front of the first word on the lists, together with the three-letter monogram ΧΜΓ, may indicate that the contents have Christian significance.[48] Noordegraf classifies lists of names in ancient sources either as lists of stages on a route or specific journey, or as lists of administrative centers. She considers whether these names might be a list of bishoprics or of places along a pilgrimage route, and dismisses both hypotheses. Certainly, not all were bishoprics. Some are major pilgrimage sites and some are along the routes a pilgrim might take, but others seem to lead away from any practical route.

A number of the names are given unusual spellings; a few cannot be certainly identified. Noordegraf argues, therefore, that the writer had not traveled to these places. She thinks the "slightly sloping, rather large semi uncial hand…the careless style…and numerous mistakes in spelling indicate an uncultured writer of, possibly, the fifth century" (1938, 273). She concludes:

> [The papyrus] was found probably at Akhmim, the ancient Panopolis. Since the 4th century monastic life had found a great many adherents all over Egypt…. Pilgrims who had traveled along the great road to Jerusalem sometimes visited the monasteries of Egypt…; and doubtless in this way the monks were informed about the road. It may be suggested that accounts of these journeys are reflected in the text of the papyrus, written down at any rate by a Christian (Noordegraf 1938, 310).

Several essays from this symposium make use of texts in which well-educated visitors recorded what they saw in Egyptian monasteries. This papyrus suggests how such visitors might in their turn have expanded the horizons of unlearned monks. There is, however, little evidence to support the suggestion. More work on the geography might amplify the conclusions.

(2) Medieval Bilingual Codex (Kacmarcik codex, C10, Figs. 34, 35, 36).[49]

The codex incorporates Greek, Coptic and Arabic elements several centuries after both Greek and Coptic had gone out of common use in Egyptian churches. Its scribes probably worked at the Monastery of St. Antony in the fourteenth century (a provisional date from

paleography, Samir 1978a, 89; Macomber 1975, 394 specifies 1344/5, 1975; cf. Budde 2005, 126). According to a note added in the eighteenth century, they were copying a manuscript produced by Gabriel ad-Durunki in the year 1000 of the Martyrs in the Coptic Calendar, i.e., August 1283 to 1284 (Budde 2005, 126; Samir 1978a, 89). During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries St. Antony's monastery played leading roles in creating Christian Arabic literature, in manuscript production and in mural painting (Gabra 2002, 173). Its history includes an early period of adherence to the Byzantine church and later domination by Syrians. Its vibrant thirteenth century wall paintings have been called "resolutely Coptic" and "a sort of celebration of Coptic identity" (Vivian 2002, 15), while also showing receptivity to current Byzantine art (Bolman 2002, Bolman and Lyster 2002). The date that the note in the codex gives for the its prototype, the manuscript of Gabriel ad-Durunki, coincides with the date suggested for the completion of the major thirteenth century painting activities at the monastery recently conserved and splendidly published (Bolman ed. 2002). Paintings and manuscript were productions of the same milieu. Gabriel's book must have embodied a similar cultural richness, celebrating both the Coptic and the Greek heritage, and relating them to the Arabic in current use. A century later, its copy, the Kacmarcik codex, continued these relationships.

The codex contains the Greek texts of three Eucharistic liturgies used in the Coptic and other eastern churches: the Liturgy of St. Cyril (which the Greek Orthodox Church calls the Liturgy of St. Mark), the Liturgy of St. Basil and the Liturgy of St. Gregory. What we have is apparently only half of the original volume, which began with Coptic texts and their Arabic translations. The last page of that half survives, bound in front of the Greek texts when the Greek and Coptic sections were divided (Budde 2005, 126; Samir 1978, 83). The languages reflect the ecclesiastic history. All three liturgies were composed in Greek between the fourth and sixth centuries. Egyptian Christians soon began using them in Coptic. By the time this volume was written Copts had been using Arabic for their liturgies for about two centuries and no longer normally used the Liturgy of St. Cyril.

Scribes continued to produce manuscripts that contained elegantly written and decorated Coptic religious texts accompanied by Arabic translations on the right (see Atalla 2000). Other manuscripts, today found mainly in the Libraries of the Greek Patriarchate in Alexandria and the Monastery of St. Catherine's at Mt. Sinai, juxtaposed Greek and Arabic in same way, placing Greek on the left, and Arabic on the right. These bilinguals are commonly finely written and decorated. The Kacmarcik codex does not rival their high quality, but is nonetheless a clearly professional work. The main scribe writes Greek texts using the Coptic form of the Greek alphabet in uncials of some elegance. He includes a table of Greek declensions, suggesting lack of familiarity with that language. The first two Liturgies have Arabic translations written in a smaller column on the right-hand of the same page with the Greek text.

The codex demonstrates an unexpected and important use of Greek by Copts in the Middle Ages (Budde 2005, 128-129). There are few directions for the behavior of celebrants, which might suggest that the texts were designed for scholars' study rather than public use.

Recent analysis of the Greek orthography, however, indicates the opposite. The text "focuses merely on phonetics. Its intention was to provide priests, by then only used to reading Coptic, with a text for recitation …" (Budde 2006, 7). Questions remain: When would this be read aloud? For what audience? Graffiti and other sources attest to frequent foreign visitors at the Monastery of Saint Anthony, but not to Greeks in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Gabra 2002). The painting programs already mentioned nevertheless show continuing contact with Greek culture that may also have played a role here.

More clarifying comments have been added to the codex in an informal Coptic hand and in Arabic. The three series of annotations show the book evolved in response to needs, apparently by users of differing backgrounds. A climactic adaptation came around 1800.The original book came into the possession of a bishop who divided the Coptic from the Greek sections (Samir 1978a, 83-84, 90) The Greek part, i.e., the present Kacmarcik codex, was subsequently leant to a copyist. By this time, apparently the Coptic texts could still be used liturgically but the Greek could not. They nevertheless remained of value, as shown by the plan to make another copy. In the eighteenth century the Coptic Church was seeking to "reclaim and restore its Greek heritage" (Budde 2005 126–127).

Scholars have focused on the texts. Only Samir mentions the decoration. The artist used four colors: black, yellow, brown and red. Small interlaced knot patterns appear at the top of the first and last page of each quinion (e.g. Fig. 36). The decorations of the facing pages at the end of one quinion match those at the beginning of the next. Each pairing is unique.

> L'élément essential est celui qui est en jaune, et qui pourrait avoir comme point du départ les lettres de l'alphabet (hypothèse dont je ne suis pas sûr). Le marron sert d'entrelacs au motif dessiné en jaune. Le rouge donne l'impression d'ensemble (ici, un arbre.) Quant au noir, il délimite les contours des trois autres couleurs (Samir 1978a, n. 11 pp.77–78).

On two pages a band of interlace runs under the upper decoration and slants down toward the text at either end (e.g., Fig. 35). Interlace is common in Coptic manuscripts, and extended bands of this shape recur, but so far no close parallels have been identified.

D. Coins[50]

The sixteen coins in this exhibition range in date from the late third to the sixth or early seventh century and reflect the first three phases of minting (Greek, Latin and Byzantine) outlined above. Unfortunately, the University's collections do not include examples of early Arabic coinage. Fifteen of the coins have clear Alexandrian mintmarks, and the sixteenth is less certain.[51]

D1. W 18, S 250	286–287	Diocletian	Tyche	No legend
D2. W 19, S 248	286–287	Maximianus	Eagle	No legend
D3. L 1996.6.449		Maximianus	Emperor with Jupiter	Concordia Militum
D4. W 71, S 24	325–326	Helena	Woman holds branch	Securitas Reipublice
D5. W 62, S 114	326–330	Constantine I	Camp Gate	Providentiae Augg
D6. W 81, S 75	335–337	Constantius II, Caesar	2 soldiers flank 1 standard	Gloria Exercitus
D7. W 176, S 190	335–341	Constantine or son	2 soldiers flank 1 standard	Gloria Exercitus
D8. W 111, S 118	341–346	Constans	Vows, wreath	No legend
D9. W 116, S 26	351–354	Constantius II, Caesar	Soldier, fallen horseman	FeliTemp Reparatio
D10. W133, S 122	364–367	Valens	Victory	Securitas Reipublicae
D11. W 200, S 155	364–375	Unreadable	Victory	Securitas Reipublicae
D12. W 201, S 163	367–375	Unreadable	Victory	Securitas Reipublicae
D13. W 158, S 91	375–392	Valentinian II	Victory	Salus Reipublicae
D14. W 158, S 166	382–392	Arcadius	Vows, wreath	No legend
D15. W 192, S 201	383–393	Unreadable	Victory	Salus Reipublicae
D16. W 252, S 200	578–582	Unreadable	Numbers flank cross above lines	No legend

The earliest coins included here are two of the latest Greek imperials. Another third century coin shows the adoption of Latin. Eleven more fourth to fifth century coins have Latin inscriptions. The latest coin in the collection follows the Byzantine reform. Ten of the coins can be dated with some precision because the legends identify the portraits on the obverse. Legends on the remaining five obverses are partially or completely illegible, so those coins have been dated by the images on their reverses. Reverses usually remain in better condition than obverses, but give broader dates.

Obverses on all these coins except possibly D15 show heads or busts in profile facing right. The most striking change in the portraits is the replacement of the laurel wreath by the diadem, an increase in ceremony affecting imperial portraiture in all media. In coinage, the change occurs during the reign of Constantine's son (*RIC* 8, 535). Sometimes single or double rows of pearls can be distinguished on these coins, but their generally poor condition makes it difficult to note more precise variations such as forms of ties or presence of rosettes.

Most of the male busts were probably draped and cuirassed, but poor condition sometimes makes it impossible to be sure.

Reverses are clearer, and more telling. Two of the three Tetrarchic coins make reference to Jupiter or Zeus as the giver of power. On one coin his eagle appears holding a wreath of victory in its beak, and on the second he himself bestows victory on the Emperor (figs. 38, 39). The third Tetrarchic coin shows Tyche, the minor deity or personification of good fortune (fig. 37).

The earliest Constantinian coin in this collection shows his mother Helena and a female personification on the reverse (D4, see p. 42 below on the gender distinction); the second has a reverse with a camp gate under a star, the first example of the military emphasis that dominates rest of the century (D5, fig.41). Of the other coins of Constantine or his sons, two show soldiers flanking a trophy (D6, fig. 42; D7, fig.43), one celebrates anniversary wishes (D8, fig. 44), and the latest has the popular reverse with a striding Roman soldier striking a fallen horseman, labeled *Felix Temp Reparatio*, Happy days are here again (D9, fig. 45). Coins of Valens and Valentinian, including some with illegible identifications, show Victory, first with wreath and palm, later dragging a captive (D10–D13, D15, figs. 46–49, 51), as well as another anniversary wish (D14, fig.50).

The 12 nummii coin that is the latest in this exhibition has a cross with two steps under it (D15, fig. 51). That formation only appears in this denomination during the reigns of Tiberius II (578–582) and Heraclius (610–641). Presumably these crosses, although simpler than the cross potent on steps introduced on the gold coinage of Tiberius II,[52] also refer to the jeweled cross that stood on Golgotha (see p. 24 above). The obverse portrait of Heraclius, however, is frontal, while Fagerlie discerns a diadem on this coin indicating a profile (1982, 252, confirmed by her reexamination of the coin in March 2004). The coin must therefore date to the reign of Tiberius II. The mint mark also looks like his. If these resemblances are valid, the coin cannot be seventh century, and cannot represent either debased Byzantine or one of the early Arab coinages mentioned above

Later Reflections

Display of the Minneapolis tapestry led to further emphasis on later manifestations of the cross with their combination of variety and tradition. Photographs showed painted crosses on walls from the seventh century at the Kellia and the thirteenth century at St. Antony's. Each has characteristics in common with the Minneapolis cross. The Kellia cross has jewels, vegetation, and a tenon on the bottom (Kasser 1984, fig. 18). The St. Antony's cross has flowered medallions in the place of jewels and stands on two steps (Bolman ed. 2002, fig. 4.4, and p.75).

Crosses in use today include those worn on the breast, held in the hand, hung on walls and mounted on poles for processional and other uses (figs. 53–54). Interlace forms leather pendant crosses and decorates crosses in wood, metal, or other materials, a tradition well established in medieval manuscript illumination (fig. 51). This use of interlace has occasionally been traced back to the basket weaving that formed such an important activity of the earliest monks (see 8 above, 48 n. 18 below). Contemporary objects also included bread stamps (fig. 55) as well as the bilingual books mentioned above (fig. 54).

CATALOGUE

A. Pottery[53]

Aswan Plain Red Slip Ware (see pp. 17–18 above)[54]

A1. I. 1. 174.4.8114 (3 adjoining rim to base sherds. Restored). [55] Fig. 1.
Shallow bowl with sharp flange and rouletting on the rim. Rim diameter 8.5 cm; height 4 cm.
Comparison: Gempeler T 323 #7 on fig. 38, pp. 124–125, 5th–7/8th century.
From: One of the lowest habitation levels reached in the excavation, below a level with a Byzantine coin. About the time of the Arab Conquest.

A2. I.1.166.2.7966 (6 joining rim sherds). Fig. 2.
Bowl rim, two sherds show beginning of carination 4.2 cm from rim. Rim diameter, 17.7 cm.
Comparison: Gempeler T 342a on fig. 42, pp. 100–101, 6th–7th centuries. A2 is larger and has no remaining decoration.
From: Lower habitation. A level higher than the level with the small bowl above, and containing a Byzantine coin. Both levels probably 7th century, maybe pre-conquest.

A3. I.1.179.1.8233 (rim and body sherd). Fig. 3.
Shallow bowl. Rim diameter 42 cm. Broad rim upturned at edge, only slightly offset from body.
Comparison: Gempeler T 224a, fig. 15, # 13, p. 71, late 5th century and later. Same shape but A3 is a larger variant.
From: Early habitation level in a second house (house 2, room 6).

A4. I.1.138.4.6712 (3 rim to base sherds, 1 adjoining base sherd, 1 adjoining rim sherd, restored). Fig. 4
Bowl. Rim diameter 19.5 cm. Nearly straight sides to sharply offset rim.
Comparison: Gempeler T 228, #2 on fig. 18, p. 73, 5th–6th century. This piece is later. From the final habitation level in house 2, or a rubbish pit cut through it. Possibly Abbasid.

Aswan Painted White Slip Ware (see p. 18 above; fabric, n. 54)

A5. I.1179. 1.1828. Fig. 5.
Bowl rim. Rim diameter 51 cm.
Red/brown rim band, brown double wave pattern with red above and below waves,

space, broken cable pattern with red in alternate arches. At beginning of carination, dark band.
Comparison: Not enough remains of this to indicate original angle; some resemblance to Pierrat 1991, fig. 55, p. 183, 9th–10th century.
From: Early habitation level, house 2, room 6. Same level as #s. 3 and 6.

A6. I.1.179. 1.1241 (2 adjoining rim sherds). Fig. 6.
Bowl rim. Diameter 51 cm, nearly flat, with slightly thickened rim. Similar to # 5, but grooves and execution of decoration differ. Beginning of carination at bottom of sherds.
Red/brown rim band, brown wave pattern with red inserts, space, sliced cable pattern with red inserts. Dark band on carination.
Comparison: As # 5.
From: Early habitation level in house 2, room 6. Same level as #s. 3 and 5.

A7. I.1.150.1. 7044 (1 base-rim sherd, 4 adjoining rim sherds, restored). Fig. 7.
Beaker. Rim diameter 9.7 cm, base diameter 4.5 cm, height 6.8 cm.
Dark brown rim stripe, broader light band, red band, space, brown sliced cable with red fill in every other loop, red band. (For shape and decoration: See p. 18 above.)
Comparison: Gempeler T 642b, # 17 on fig. 75, p.132, 7th–8th century.
From: Late habitation. Pit in room 5, same locus as #s. 11, 16, 17.

A8. I.1.151.5. 7739 (rim sherd and adjoining body sherd). Fig. 8
Beaker rim with sliced cable. Rim diameter 10.7 cm.
Brown rim band, space, red band, space, brown sliced cable with red in alternate arches, space, red band (Décor as # 7, but straight body).
Comparison: Gempeler T 639b, #s 6–7 on fig. 75 p. 131-132 late 6th– 8/9th centuries.
From: Middle habitation level in house 1, room 2, containing two Abbasid coins.

A9. I.1.164. 2. 7927 (4 adjoining rim sherds, 6 adjoining body sherds). Fig. 9.
Large Beaker rim with sliced cable decoration. Rim diameter 13.2 cm.
Brown rim band, space, red band, space, brown sliced cable with red fill in every other arch, space, red band (as # 7).
Comparison: similar to Gempeler T 642b (as # 7 above), but larger, with slightly curving sides; Scanlon 1991, fig. 5, dated 9th–10th century.
From: Debris dumped on top of the habitation levels.

A10. I.1. 155.2. 7252 (2 adjoining base sherds, 1 rim sherd, 1 body sherd adjoining base sherd). Fig. 10.

Beaker with dot pattern. Rim diameter 7.2 cm; base diameter 4.4 cm; height 6.3 cm. Nearly straight wall, sharp curve in to flat base. Red band at rim, alternating red and brown dots about 3 cm lower.
Comparison: Gempeler form T621, # 4 on fig. 73, p.127 later 6th century only; this piece is larger and later.
From: Late habitation level, from rubbish pit cut from level 138 into earlier levels. Lower level in pit than A7. Abbasid?

A11. I.1.150.1.67931 rim to base sherd, adjoining rim and base sherds). Fig. 11.
Shallow bowl with floral medallion. Rim diameter 11.5 cm; base diameter 5.3 cm; height 3.3 cm.
Red rim band, space, narrow brown band, red band, narrow brown band at bottom of interior wall. Interior decoration: red band on lower body; on floor, four profile lotuses inserted between arms of a cross made from two pairs of lines intersecting at right angles.
Comparison: Shape, Gempeler T371a #5 on fig. 56, p. 110, 6th–9th century.
Decoration: Gempeler T373a #14 on fig. 56, # 5 on pl. 31, p. 111, 7th–9/10th centuries.
From: Late habitation, level of pit in room 5: same locus as #s. 7, 16, 17.

Aswan Painted Red Slip Ware (see p. 16 above; fabric, n. 54)

A12. I.1. 90. 3.4975 (rim sherd). Fig. 12.
Beaker rim. Rim diameter 10 cm.
Straight body with ledge 3.3 cm below rim. Dark stripe on rim, unusual pattern probably crude sliced cable immediately below sharp ledge.
Comparison: Gempeler T640, #s. 11–14 on fig. 75, p. 132 6th –7/8th centuries (decoration on Elephantine examples is more elaborate).
From: Unstratified debris over houses (area disturbed by recent construction).

A13. I 1.124.5.6005 (rim and 2 adjoining body sherds). Fig. 13.
Beaker rim, body with sliced cable decoration. Rim diameter 12 cm.
Straight body with ledge 3.4 below rim. Red rim strip (mainly on inside), narrow brown band, broad red band, sharp ledge 3.5 cm below rim, brown sliced cable, red band.
Comparison: Similar shape to 12, decoration like A7–A9 above.
From: Unstratified debris over houses (area disturbed by recent construction).

A14. I.2. 40. 1.388 (rim sherd, 2 adjoining sherds). Fig. 14.
Jar with dotted decoration, rim diameter 12 cm.

Curved neck, small ridge at beginning of shoulder, deep indentation at widest part of shoulder. Brown rim band; alternating brown and white dots above and on indentation.
Comparison: Gempeler T 507a, # 7 on fig. 66, p.119 end 6–7th centuries. This piece is probably later.
From: An area of mixed dumping including Mamluke glazed ware.

A15. I.2. 38.4.16. Fig. 15.
Jar with dotted decoration, rim diameter 12 cm.
Curved neck, small ridge at beginning of shoulder, deep indentation at widest part of shoulder. Brown rim band; alternating brown and white dots above and on indentation.
Comparison: Similar to A14 above: may be from the same pot.
From: An area of mixed dumping including Mamluke glazed ware, near locus 40.

Glazed Ware (see p. 18 above; fabric, n. 54)
A16. I.1.150.1.6743. (rim sherd, from flat plate?). Fig. 16.
Rim diameter 30 cm, no thickening at edge.
Ochre (NBS 69, deep Orange Yellow); stripes over it of green (NBS 125–126, medium to dark olive green) and brown (NBS 59, dark brown).[56]
Comparison: Shape like Gempeler T 270, # 16 on fig. 28, p. 85, 6th–8/9th centuries, earlier than this piece and unglazed.
From: Late habitation pit, as A 7, A11, A17.

A17. I.1.150. 1.6749. (rim sherd). Fig. 17.
Rim diameter 31 cm. Broad rim (3.0 cm) slightly offset from body, slight thickening at edge, groove at offset.
Yellow streaks (NBS 99, s.g.Y), green dots (color as A16), brown wavering outline (color as A16) around some combination of white, green and yellow.
Comparison: Rim shape like Rodziewicz O 35, pl. 30, p. 59, which is Plain Red Slip, and earlier in date.
From: Late habitation pit, as #s. 7, 11 and 16.

A18. I.1.138.3.6661 (rim sherd). Fig. 18.
Rim diameter 40. Rim 3.5 cm wide, slightly set off from body with groove at offset, but rim, unlike A17, does not thicken at edge.
Colors and patterns as # 16. Hole pierced through rim.

Comparison: No close parallel. Original vessel form not clear.
From: Debris over room 5.

A19. I.2.52.11.2424 (2 sherds, base and body). Fig. 19.
Shallow bowl. Low ring foot, diameter 13.2 cm.
Broad bands of white and ochre with narrow bands of dark brown and blobs of green over the ochre. Colors as above.
Comparison: No close parallel.
From: Unstratified fill at second area of excavation (see p. 17 above).

A20. I.1.62.3.1158 (base, 5 rim sherds, 1 body sherd). Fig 20.
Bowl. Rim diameter 11.2 cm, ring foot diameter 5.2 cm, height of bowl 5.00 cm.
Glazed: NBS 85, deep yellow, with brown dots. Clear glaze over white slip with red specks (specks often present in painted white slip).
Comparison: Shape resembles Gempeler 600a, # 3 fig. 70 (much earlier and unglazed) or Pierrat fig. 68, p. 90–91.
From: Unstratified debris above houses. Probably Fatimid.

Water containers (see p.19 above)

A21. I.1.17.2.7880. (neck and shoulder fragment). Fig. 21.
Wall thickness 1.4 cm; core 7.5YR3, outside 7.5YR5/6
Almost straight upper wall with protruding ridges, deep curve in. On upper part, pattern of bands and dots above a frieze of birds facing left. A band of dots runs under this frieze just above the inward curve.
From: Mixed debris at the top of the site, disturbed by recent construction.

A22. I.1.17.2.7884. (neck and shoulder fragment). Fig. 21.
Belongs with #21: no join. Drawing of a bird.
From: Mixed debris, with A21, A23, A24.

A23. I.1.17.2.7885. (body fragment). Fig. 22.
Curved fragment, same fabric and wall thickness as the two above
Drawing of a pig facing right and a bird facing left, only part of each preserved.
From: Mixed debris, with A21, A22, A24.

A 24. I.1.17.2.7882 (body fragment). Fig. 23.
Straight fragment, same fabric and thickness as the three above.
Drawing of a bird, head and chest preserved, facing an ornament of which little

survives. In style, the bird differs notably from those on A21.
From: Mixed debris, with the preceding three pieces.

Amphorae (see pp. 19-20 above)

A25–29. II. 61. Shoulders, bodies and toes Fig. 24.
Ridged Wine Amphorae LRA 7
All rims and necks broken off. Angular shoulder: diameter at offset from body, 19.00 cm; body 32.00 cm long, tapering slightly inward; sharp offset, diameter 18.00 cm; from offset, inward slant, then gradual inward curve to broad toe. Distance of spike from lower offset to bottom of toe, 17.00 cm. Total preserved height (toe to uneven break before neck) about 52-53 cm.
Probably all once had a "narrow raised moulding at the edge" of the shoulder similar to that on the amphora in Williams and Tomber 2007, 645, here battered. Rings on shoulder and on the body in two groups, at the top and the bottom. Four prominent ridges on the spike.
Alluvial clay, 5YR to 7YR.
Comparisons: Ballet 1991, fig. 6 on p. 74; Ballet 1997, figs. on pp. 44, 47; Egloff 1997, 2, pl. 58, 5. Lecuyot 2007, 200, fig. 2.6 (partial; diameter 21 cm, height of whole estimated at about 70 cm. Williams and Tomber, 2007, 645-646, fig. 1,13, fig. 2, 4. "at least seventh century AD in date" 645.
From: Location described below, 50 n. 33.

B. Textiles

B1. Medallion. (see pp. 20–23 above). Figs. 25, 26, 27.[57]
Uneven, originally about 16.5 cm square. Background, undyed linen, patterns added in blue wool yarn. Colors have darkened, so the blue is almost black, and details are unclear. Several rents, but otherwise well preserved.[58]
Motifs: A double frame: outer, scallop with dots, inner, vines proceeding from corner. Center: two dancers facing right (fuller description pp. 20–21 above).
Comparisons: Angers, du Bourget and Grémont n. d. [1977?], # 85 p. 71; Mulhouse, Rassart-Debergh 1997, figs 190, 170.
From: Provenience unknown

B2. Cross in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (83.126). (see pp. 23–24 above). Figs. 28, 29, 30.
135.5 by 64.8 cm; no surviving selvages, so the original size is not known. Wool and linen, tapestry weave, polychrome.[59] As in the previous example, figured elements

are created by inserting dyed woolen threads. In this case, however, a rich variety of colors appears. Such polychromy may have been a later and certainly more expensive development. The woolen elements are very well preserved: the linen has many rents. No signs of stitching for an original use remain, but Lotus Stack identified this as a curtain, probably for a sanctuary, because signs of wear and of patching occur where such a curtain would have been pulled to one side.[60]
Motifs: Stepped base, cross with tenon and wreath above base and between rows of flowers and buds (fuller description, p. 23 above).
Comparison: None known.
From: Provenience unknown.
References: Stack 1983–86, 97–104; Horn 1990; Werner 1990.

C. Texts

Late Antique Texts[61] (see pp. 25–26 above) Pictures of C1 through C8 are on *POC*: *Papyri and Ostraka Collection*, Special Collections and Rare Books, University of Minnesota; http://special.lib.umn.edu/rare/papyri.phtml

C1. UMN-1381990.
Document on papyrus. 7.00 by 4.80 cm. Writing on one side.
Condition good, top and bottom right edges missing. Six lines preserved, two more, illegible, at bottom.
Quickly written, perhaps for an everyday business transaction (fragment of a declaration on oath?).
Dated to the reign of Caracalla because at the bottom fragments of each of his three names survive.
References: Von Scherling 1952; Papyrus fragment 18 POC.

C2. UMN-762403.
Document on papyrus 9.0 by 3.0 cm. Writing on one side only.
Condition good, right edge missing. 12 lines.
Portion of a letter from two brothers, discussed p. 25 above. At the bottom of the document, part survives of a formula indicating writing by a scribe for unlettered client.
Dated to the third century on the basis of handwriting.
Analysis written by Almira Poudrier.
Reference: Papyrus fragment 5 *POC*, with transcription of surviving text.

C3. UMN-1381991
Document on hide (probably leather).[62] 7.00 by 4.00 cm. Writing on both sides
Condition poor. Five lines preserved, 2 more at top illegible: Writing on reverse illegible.
Dated by mention of the Emperor Gallienus, his father Valerian and his son Saloninus, so from the years of their joint reign, roughly 257 to 260 (precise dates disputed).
References: Von Scherling 1952; Papyrus fragment 5 *POC*, with transcription of text.

C4. UMN-1381992
Document on papyrus. 5.00 by 3.00 cm. Writing on one side only.
Condition poor.
Tentatively identified as part of a petition.
Dated by remains of the names of Constantine, Maximinus and Maximianus to the year of their joint reign, 305-306 CE.
Reference: Papyrus Fragment 20 *POC.*

C5. UMN-1381993
Document on papyrus 10.00 by 18 cm. Writing on one side only.
Condition poor. Six lines.
Provisionally identified as a prescript of an agreement.
Dated to 442 CE by consular year.
Details written up by Nanette Scott Goldman.
Names discussed p. 21 above. The document is written in a fine scribal hand using elegant letter forms: In her discussion Goldman calls it “typical of the high Byzantine style.”
References: von Scherling 1952; Papyrus Fragment 21 *POC.*

C6. UMN-554185. Writing on red potsherd (ostrakon).
Ridged sherd, probably from an amphora.
Condition excellent. The document appears to be complete. Neat, careful writing in strong black ink; probably work of a professional scribe.
Roger Bagnall has identified this piece as a receipt and suggested a 4th–5th century date (oral communication from Nita Krevans, 2002).
Reference: Ostrakon 1, *POC* .

C7. MN-554184.
Document on papyrus. 19.5 by 7.0 cm. Writing on one side only.
Condition generally good. 17 lines. A fine professional hand.

Script indicates this is probably an official document although too little survives to allow better identification.
Dated to the 6th century on the basis of the handwriting.
Reference Papyrus 2, *POC*, with transcription of text.

C8. UMN-554183.
Papyrus. 6.5 by 19.5 cm. Writing on one side only.
Condition fair. Right and top edges complete, left and lower edge ragged.
Right part of 17 lines preserved.
Contains some interesting vocabulary, but has been judged too fragmentary for interpretation.
Dated 5th–6th century on the basis of handwriting.
Reference Papyrus 1, *POC*.

C9. UMN Bell 400.
Bell Papyrus. Figs. 31, 32, 33.
Papyrus 22.50 by 15.90 cm Writing on both sides.
Poor condition: holes, and tear down center where folded. Text in two columns separated by undulating line.
Each column has a different number of lines of text.
Dated to fifth century and said to be from Akhmim, no evidence given (see p. 26 above).
In James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota.
Reference: Noordegraaf 1938.

Medieval Manuscript (see pp. 26–28 above)

C10. Bilingual Codex (Kacmarcik Codex).[63] Figs. 34, 35, 36.
Paper. 149 leaves in quinions. Each leaf, 15.7 x 12.3 cm. Some missing, all cut down in nineteenth century, resulting in occasional loss of the last line of text. Condition of leaves varies, generally fair to good. At least four hands: main text in Greek written in fine Coptic uncials; Arabic translation, with Arabic annotations possibly in the same hand; Greek and Coptic annotations in different hands, Decorated initials. Interlaced decoration at tops of first and last pages of quinions.
Modern leather binding. Recently well conserved. Leaves numbered in pencil with Western numerals on recto upper right. Older Greek numbers on verso. Arabic notes on production and history added to pages at the front and back of the book. Provisional fourteenth century date from paleography (see n. 63).
References: Macomber 1975, 1977, 1979; Samir 1978a (detailed codicological description, 76-88), 1978b, 1979; Budde 2005, 2006. Digital facsimile at *Vivarium: the on-line digital collections of Saint John's University and the College of Saint Benedict.*

http://cdm.csbsju.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/HMMLCollect&CISOPTR=5356&CISOSHOW=5038

D. Coins (see pp.28–30 above)

Each coin has a number assigned by the Weisman Museum of Art, and all but one have a number assigned in the catalogue of the Sarazyn collection. Both numbers are listed here, the former proceeded by W and the latter by S.[64]
Coin D3 her, Weisman 2003.2.448, was transfered from the University of Minnesota department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies. The othrs come from the Bequest of Andrew J. Sarazan.
In legends, words are separated for convenience according to accepted practice, although they run together on the coins. Spaces on the coins are indicated by a dash.

Abbreviations

A. Greek.
Dating: Λ symbol before date: "probably a modification of an ancient Egyptian hieroglyph"
(Curtis 1969, xiv).
Titles and names: Α Autokrator (Emperor); Κ Caesar; Γ Gaius; Μ Marcus; ΟΥΑ Valerianus; ΣΕΒ (CΕΒ) Sebastos (Augustus)

B. Latin:
Titles: AVG Augustus, Augusta; C Caesar; DN Dominus Noster; F, FL Flavius, Flavia; N nobilissimus; P Pius (often PF Pius Felix)
Mint marks: SM Sacra Moneta; AL or ALE Alexandria. At the end of the mint mark, the Greek letters Α Β Γ Δ continue to be used to indicate the officina (mint division: Alexandria had four).

D1. W 18 (S 250). 286–287. Fig. 37.
Billon Tetradrachm. Wt. 6.88 gm; Diam 18 mm. Condition fair to good.
Obv. Bust facing right, laureate, cuirassed. Α Κ Γ ΟΥΑ ΔΙΟΚΛ [ΗΕΤΙΑΝΟΣΕΒ] (Autokrator Caesar Gaius Valerianus Diokletianus Augustus).
Rev. Draped female figure (Tyche) standing facing left, right hand on rudder, left holding cornucopia; no legend; in field, ΛΓ (year 3).
References: *BMC* 10, #2524; Curtis #1969; Milne #4821; Vogt 168-69.
Nike and Tyche had always been highly popular on Greek Imperials; Tyche always shown with these attributes. Diocletian issued several versions.

D2. W 19 (S 248), 286–287. Fig. 38.
Billon Tetradrachm. Wt. 6.55 gm; Diam. 20 mm. Condition fair.
Obv: Bust facing right, laureate, draped, cuirassed.
AKMOYAMAXIMIANOCCEB (Autokrator Caesar Marcus Valerius Maximianus Augustus).
Rev. Eagle facing left, head turned back, wreath in beak. In field Λ B, (year 2)
References: *BMC* 10: #2595; Milne #4848, Vogt pp. 168–69.

D3. W 448, 294–305. Fig. 39.
Wt. 1.62 gm; Diam. 20 mm. Condition fair: aggressively cleaned.
Obv. Bust facing right, radiate crown?, draped, cuirassed?. IMP C MA–KIMI¬ANVS AVG (Emperor Caesar Maximianus Augustus).
Rev. At right, emperor in military dress facing left toward Jupiter (Zeus) leaning on scepter facing right and holding a figure of Victory toward the emperor, CONCORDIA MIL–ITUM. Mint mark illegible.
Comparison: *RIC* 6, p. 667 #s 46–48.

D4. W 71 (S 24) 325–326. Fig. 40.
Wt. 2.91 gm; Diam. 20 mm. Condition good.
Obv. Female bust facing right, draped, double strand pearl necklace, double strand pearl headdress; FL HELENA–AVGVSTA (Flavia Helena Augusta).
Rev. Woman standing facing left, left hand holding her garment and right hand holding a branch downward (see 52 n. 65); SECVRITAS–REIPUBLICE (Security of the Republic); in the exergue SMALA.
Comparisons: *LRBC* #1406; *RIC* 7, p. 709 # 38 (the double row of pearls with this mint mark is a variant).
Constantine's mother Helena, called Augusta in 324, died in 328. Between 326 and 330 she appears on seven Alexandrian issues, always with this reverse legend, which is not used on the coins of other family members.
Coins of Constantine and his family discriminate between obverses appropriate to men and those appropriate to women, a distinction that disappears later, when this legend and one used for Constantine's wife, Fausta, Salus Reipublicae, reappear on coins of emperors and an empress. There is a similar change in the accompanying images. Reverses of both Helena and Fausta show female figures who do not appear on the coins of emperors and caesars.[65]

D5. W 62 (S 114) 326–33. Fig. 41.
Wt. 3.18 gm; Diam. 20 mm. Condition fair to good.
Obv. Head facing right, laureate; CONSTAN–TINVS AVG.
Rev. Camp gate with two towers; star above; PROVIDEN–TIAE AVGG (Foresightedness of the Augusti); in the exergue SMAL[A].

Comparisons: *LRBC* I: #1402; *RIC* 7, pp.708–709.
This reverse legend, or PROVIDEN–TIAE CAESS, was used in Alexandria with portraits of all Constantinian males from 326–30. Accompanied by camp gate with two towers and star, it appears on coins of 13 mints from London to Antioch (*LRBC* I, pp. 31-32, 34).

D6. W 81 (S 75) 335–337. Fig. 42.
Aes. Wt. 1.27 gm; Diam. 15 mm. Condition poor.
Obv. Bust facing right, diademed (details unclear); FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C (Flavius Julius Constantius, most noble Caesar).
Rev. Standard in center, each side, soldier standing, holding spear and leaning on shield;
GLOR–IA EXERC–ITVS (Glory of the Army); in exergue SMALA.
Comparisons: *LRBC* I, # 1437; *RIC* 7, p. 712, #s 65–69 .
This reverse legend was introduced in Alexandria in 330 together with the image of soldiers flanking two standards. The arrangement with one standard appeared in 335 and continued to 341 used by Constantine I and his sons (cf. *RIC* 8, 535). The same combination appears at 13 mints (*LRBC* I, p. 34).

D7. W 176 (S 190) 337–341. Fig. 43.
Wt. 1.50 gm; Diam. 15 mm. Condition poor.
Obv. Bust facing right, diademed; CONST[ ]
Rev. Standard in center, each side, standing soldier holding spear and leaning on shield; GLOR[IA EXERCITVS] (Glory of the Army); in exergue, SMAL[A] (probably no dot at the end).
Comparisons: *LRBC* I, #s 1455–1457, 1467–8 if dot after mint mark. *RIC* 8, pp. 539, 535–6 on dating.
The partially illegible legend could refer to Constantius or Constans, both of whom appear diademed after 337.

D8. W 111 (S 118). 341–346. Fig. 44A
Wt. 1.73 gm; Diam. 16 mm. Condition poor.
Obv. Head facing right, diademed (pearls clear: possibly rosette); DN CONSTA–NS PF AVG. (Our Lord Constans, Pious and Happy Augustus).
Rev. In wreath VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX (Votis Vicennalibus Multis Tricennalibus, formulaic anniversary wishes, difficult to translate, see *RIC* 6, pp. 19-21; *RIC* 8, pp. 50–53, p.536); exergue SMALΓ.
Comparisons. *LRBC* I: #1476; *RIC* 8, p. 541 does not record this reverse with this obverse legend.

D9. W 116 (S 26). 351–354. Fig. 45.

Wt. 2.17 gm; Diam. 18 mm. Condition fair to poor.

Obv. Bust facing right, bare headed, draped; D N CONSTANTI–VS NOB CAES (Our lord Constantius, most noble Caesar).

Rev. Man in military dress with shield advances to right, spearing a fallen horseman who stretches one arm out behind him; FEL TEMP –REPARATIO (Happy Days are Here Again); in exergue, ALE Δ.

Comparisons. *LRBC* II, # 2845.

This reverse legend was very popular from 346 to 361 with a variety of images (*LRBC* I, 41), including four versions of the "falling horseman" (*LRBC* I, pp. 41, II, p. 108; *RIC* 8, pp. 38–39). This is the third type, much the most popular, found at 15 mints (*LRBC* II, p.108). The advancing soldier has been identified as Virtus.

D10. W 133 (S 122). 354–367. Fig. 46.

Aes 3. Wt. 2.86 gm; Diam. 17 mm. Condition fair.

Obv. Bust facing right, diademed, draped (cuirassed?); DN VALEN–S PF AVG (Lord Valens, Pious and Happy Augustus).

Rev. Victory advancing to the left, holding wreath and palm; SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE (Security of the Republic), in exergue ALEB.

This legend, which in the Constantinian period only appears on coins of Helena together with Pax or Securitas, later appears on coins of three emperors together with images of Victory. It was a widespread form, appearing at 14 mints, but Pearce says that the Alexandrian mint tried to avoid it because it initially referred to "the unity of the Empire under western primacy" (*RIC* 9: p. 296).

Comparisons. *LRBC* 1, #2863 (ALEA only); *RIC* 9 p. 298 # 3b

D11. W 200 (S 155). 364–375. Fig. 47.

Aes 3. Wt. 2.16 gm; Diam. 16 mm. Condition fair to poor.

Obv. Bust facing right, draped, (cuirassed?), double pearl diadem; Legend unreadable.

Rev. SECVR[ITAS] REIPVBLICAE (Security of the Republic); Victory advancing l, holding wreath and palm; in exergue ALEΓ.

This legend was used by Valentinian I, by Valens between 364 and 375, and by Gratian between 367 and 375.

Comparisons. *LRBC* II: 2858–2861, 2862–2864 (all from officina A), *RIC* 9: pp. 298–299.

D12. W 201 (S 163) 367–375. Fig. 48.

Aes 3. Wt. 1.68 gm; Diam. 14 mm. Condition fair to poor.

Obv. Bust facing right, probably diademed, no other details visible; legend unreadable.

Rev. Victory facing left, holding wreath (probably palm); SECVR[ITAS REIPVBLICAE] (Security of the Republic); in exergue ALEΓ.

Comparisons. See D11.

D13. W 158 (S 91) 375–392. Fig.49

Aes IV. Wt. 0.88 gm; Diam. 14 mm. Condition fair.

Obv. Bust facing right, diademed, details unclear; [DN VALEN]TINIANVS PF AVG (Our Lord Valentinianus, Pious and Happy Augustus).

Rev. Victory moving left, trophy on shoulder, dragging captive by left hand; SALVS REI–PVBLICAE (Health of the Republic); in exergue ALEB.

Comparisons: *LRBC* II: #2898.

D14. W 158 (S 166) 383–392. Fig. 50.

Aes IV. Wt. 0.88 gm. Diam. 13 mm. Condition fair.

Obv. Bust facing right, pearl diademed, draped; DN ARCAD–IVS PF AVG (Our Lord Arcadius, Pious and Happy Augustus).

Rev. VOT / X / MVLT / XX (Votis decennalibus multis vicennalibus) 4 lines within wreath; in exergue ALE Δ.

On this basic formula for anniversary wishes, see D8. This is the later of two issues of Arcadius to bear the formula with ten and twenty years respectively. The formula does not appear later.

Comparisons: *LRBC* II: #2892 (from officina A); *RIC* 9, p. 302, #. 19(d), see also p. 297 on Arcadius' use of this formula.

D15. W 192 (S 201) 383–392. Fig. 51.

Aes 4, Wt. 1.09 gm; Diam. 13 mm.

Obv. Bust facing right, draped (no diadem visible); legend unreadable.

Rev. Victory moving left, trophy on shoulder, dragging captive by left hand; SALVS REI–PVBLICAE (Health of the Republic); in exergue ALEA; in field, cross at right.

This reverse with the cross above the mint mark can occur on Alexandrian coins of Valentinian II, Theodosius I, or Arcadius.

Comparisons: *LRBC* II #s 2901–2903; *RIC* 9, p. 303, # 20 (388–392).

D16. W 252 (S 200). 578–582? fig. 50.
12 nummi coin. Wt. 2.29 gm; Diam. 14 mm. Condition poor.
Obv : Bust facing right ?; legend illegible.
Rev: Ι (Greek notation for 10) and Β (Greek notation for 2) flank a small cross above 2 lines, one slightly longer than the other; in exergue, ΑΛΕΧ.
Comparisons: Bellinger 1966, Tiberius II, 286, type 56 pl. LXV
On the denomination and iconography of this coin, see p. 30 above.

ENDNOTES

1. I am grateful to Philip Sellew for suggesting that this text, provided as an introduction for exhibition visitors, should be extended for possible publication with the Symposium papers. I also wish to thank the readers for their comments. I have followed one reader's suggestion of a wide-ranging reorganization both for clarity and to stress relationships to the Symposium papers, while still addressing a general audience. (Editing this in 2009, I have added some references to the authors' later work, and to a few other works that I hope may be helpful to that audience.) In addition to the funding sources mentioned in Sellew's acknowledgments, and to whom I would also like to express lasting gratitude, the exhibition was supported by the Art History Department, which made available its computers, scanners, software, and expertise; the Center for Medieval Studies which supplied proofreading, and especially the firm of Hammel, Green, and Abrahamson, which enlarged and mounted a number of photographs. An abundance of expert and enthusiastic help (listed at the end of this appendix and deeply appreciated) made the multiple activities of preparation and installation both pleasant and successful.

2. Numerous discussions of the chronological limits of "Late Antiquity" cast doubt on the usefulness of defining and setting strict chronological limits for a "period." Scholars' definitions reflect their specific aims. Most of the activities discussed and the objects exhibited fall between the later third and the tenth century of our era., that is, between the beginnings of monasticism and the Arabization of Egypt. The end is more indeterminate than the beginning. Another common term for objects from these centuries in Egypt is "Coptic." For the problems and possibilities with this term, see ns. 7 and 15 below.

3. The White Monastery (Dayr al-Abyad) is the popular name given to a site near Sohag in Middle Egypt because of the pale limestone of its oldest standing monument, its church. More formally it is known as the Monastery of St. Shenute, (Dayr Amba Shinuda) after its third abbot (d. 466, at a great age).

4. The persecution took place from 303–311; the Coptic church calendar considers the persecution equivalent to Diocletian's reign and its calendar starts at 284, the year of his accession, or 1 A.M, 1 Anno Martyrum.

5. Athanasius' authorship has been questioned, which does not change the wide and long lasting effect of the text.

6. "Shenoute's monastic federation … originally comprised two men's monasteries (the White Monastery and the nearby Red Monastery with its own well-preserved late antique church) and an urban nunnery (presumably located in the ruins of Atripe), along with male and female hermits who lived in the wilderness adjacent to the monastery. Nowhere else in the ancient world does one find such a multivalent and extensive documentation of Christian monasticism all from the same place, consisting of archaeological remains, standing architecture with decorative art, and texts." http://www.yale.edu/egyptology/ae_white.htm, accessed Nov. 2009. This site includes a map of the federation.

7. E.g. Török's expressed aim of "delineat(ing) a more realistic picture of Coptic art as an integral part of the late antique-early Byzantine art of the Mediterranean," following the work of scholars such as "Peter Brown, Glen Bowersock, Peter Grossmann, Hans-George Severin, or Jas Elsner;" Török 2005, xxiii; more discussion of changing attitudes in ch. 2 and *passim*. See the recent inclusive characterization: "However, Coptic art is not only an expression of Christian Egyptian believers, but also greatly reflects the cosmopolitan atmosphere with various ethnic groups living in the country during this period. Among them were Greeks, Romans, Armenians, Persians, Jews and Arabs who all had an impact on the local art production." Nadja Tonoum (Member, Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities) cited by Kamel 2008. Scholars such as Wipszycka (1992) reject links of "Coptic" with "nationalist" as anachronistic, preferring contemporary interest in what has been called the "global Mediterranean" expressed by Török, and extending to Tonoum's unusual emphasis on pluralism in Egypt itself. Interest in characterizing traditionally recognized groups has given way to interest in complex or multiple identities.

8. For terminology, see Ballet 1991, 488. This ware is a subgroup of Rodziewicz' O ware, Adams' Aswan wares: Adams 1986, I: 55–57; Rodziewicz 1976, 12.

9. Schrunk questions that In Late Antiquity Egyptian producers or users would consider different wares representative of different ethnic or religious groups: 2009, 7–8).

10. This is a subgroup of Rodziewicz' Ware W, Adams' AW (Aswan white), Pierrat's Wp (ware W, painted): Rodziewicz 1976, 12; Adams 1986, 1: 55–57; Pierrat 1991. Ballet suggests that Aswan Painted White Slip is less original, more connected with the Near East than commonly thought, but she is referring to its more complex and unusual achievements, which may be stimulated by that connection: Ballet 1997. In this article Ballet stresses the overall integration of Egyptian artisans into the Mediterranean, especially the eastern Mediterranean world. She sees only the coarse wares discussed below, storage jars and amphorae, as truly indigenous.

11. This variety has been less well studied than the first two. Gempeler mentions it only in passing. Adams is the only scholar to give it extensive recognition as an independent ware (1986). Pierrat includes it in Op, (type O, painted); 1991.

12. Gempeler places the beginning and high points a little earlier than some other scholars: 1992, 22–23, 58, so correlation with the generations after the Arab Conquest remains flexible.

13. The common terms for the early glazed ware, "Coptic" and "Fayoumi" Rodziewicz 1997, Scanlon 1991, are notoriously misleading. In this publication, I have only distinguished pr,e-Fatimid and Fatimid, somewhat optimistically. In her 2003 symposium paper, Brooks Hedstrom provided a useful discussion of the classification of early glazed ware with evidence from her work to that date at the Monastery of St. John the Little. She has withdrawn the paper because of her continuing work at the site, from which much may be expected.

14. These are not necessarily opposing views, dealing as both do with the complexities of asceticism and various types of evidence (cf. e.g., Büchler 1980). Contrasting archaeology and texts, Wipszycka refers to belief that the body is the main barrier to religious perfection. Goehring stresses the ideal of the desert, citing inconsistencies in the written record: see also Stewart 2009, 1–2.

15. The word "Copt" was not used until the end of Late Antiquity, and never to divide one segment of Egyptians from another. It probably originates as the Arabic transliteration of the Greek Aegyptoi, referring to Egyptians. Among the first uses are statements about textiles. In the centuries immediately following the Arab conquest Omayyad and Abbasid rulers ordered "qibti" or "qubati" textiles, i.e., Egyptian imports, for the Ka'aba in Mecca: Kühnel 1964, 257; see also Rutschowscaya 1990, 46. Probably some of the weavers spoke Coptic while others spoke Greek, and some were Christians while others may not have been. "Coptic" has come to have a range of partially contradictory meanings, and appears in this essay mainly to refer either to a language (see sections on texts, C) or to the Coptic Orthodox Church. See now Thomas 2007 on some uses of the word Coptic, and on the relation of Egyptian finds to the wider Byzantine world (cf. n.7 above). Torp's review of the books engendered by the "large exhibition of Coptic art held in Essen, Zurich, Vienna, and Paris in I963 and I964" indicates the serious disagreements at that time among scholars, many of them relating to efforts to differentiate and define "Hellenistic" and "Coptic" artistic activities in unproductive ways: Torp 1965.

16. For brief summaries of the possible materials and techniques, see Rutschowskaya 1990, 24–32; 1991a, 1991b; Stauffer 1992, 45–48. A later and still more basic innovation was the introduction of silk weaving. In silk, more detail can be created on a small scale, and so this production led to elaborate decorations including extended narratives; on the development of silk industry, see Muthesius 1997.

17. Polychrome tapestry woven bands and other shapes already adorned the tunics of Tutankhamun and occur in other New Kingdom contexts, Stauffer 1992, 23–24, but they are rare and not arranged according to this later formula.

18. On basketry, a ubiquitous craft in monasteries, see Wipszycka 1996, 339, n. 3; 341.

19. The three instances that Stewart describes (3–5) show St. Antony or later monks stopping their work to pray, then taking up the work again. In anachronistic terms, they are living in the moment rather than multitasking, so the suitability of a craft for monastics seems to correlate with the ease of stopping and starting again, rather than the degree to which the work itself "leaves the mind free." The greater attention required for tapestry weaving would not in itself be a detriment.

20. In her paper, posted from 2009 to 2011 and now withdrawn, Krawiec provides her own translations of passages from Shenute's letter *My Heart is Crushed*. He speaks of a garment that has been ruined, and its replacement. Of the first he says "I liked its color and its decoration." Then he complains that the braid, fringe and tassels on the replacement garment have been applied less pleasingly.

21. Karel Innemée has also examined the sources and some of the same representations. He and Maguire agree that the apron and animal skin were important elements of early monastic attire, but differ on other points that have no relevance to their effect on identity. He argues that Pachomian monks had clearly prescribed ways of dress and has different views about the terms *schema* and *melote*, finding both unclear. The *melote*, he says, "was originally a travelling-coat which one takes off on arrival" (1992, 106) but the term was used in various ways. The *schema* he also sees as a word with several meanings, including the whole attire of the monk (cf. Maguire 2009, 24 n. 59). He does not equate it with the apron (apron, 102–104; *schema* 124–127).

22. du Bourguet and Kühnel trace post-conquest organizational and stylistic developments to the different dates at which they consider truly "Coptic" character to disappear: du Bourguet 1964, 231–232; Kühnel 1964, 257–258 and 1998, 381–386. The same issues are addressed in many catalogues, but can create untenable distinctions between textile workers. Kühnel particularly stresses the difficulty of distinguishing "Coptic" from "Islamic" in much production. Cf. Tonoum' s inclusion of Arabs among makers of Coptic art, quoted in n. 7 above.

23. Twenty-five years ago, many individual weavers in Akhmim were working in their own houses for a diminishing market (personal observation). Now (2003), a small factory continues to produce fine textiles in traditional techniques.

24. Codex Washingtonensis, a strangely assembled text, Brown 2006, 268–270, Lowden 2007, 21–23. The exhibition mentioned above included a number of other Egyptian texts ranging from the crude to the elaborate. Recent studies of the early Christian book as physical object as well as text include the series of essays in Klingshirn and Safran 2007: Rousseau has summarized some of the consequences its authors say these physical conditions had for their producers and users, both communal users and individual ones, both viewers of exteriors and readers of content: 2007. Bagnall 2009, deals with earlier centuries.

25. Noeske, looking at the coin finds in Egypt in their Near Eastern context, divides the coinage between this reform to the end of the fifth century into eight periods, not useful for the small number of examples and the concerns addressed here. Thirteen of the sixteen coins fall into the following of his phases: phase 1, D3; phase 2, none; phase 3, D4 to D8; phase 4, D9, D 10; phase 5, D11–13; phase 6, D14, D15: Noeske 2000.

26. Made from argentiferous copper and "virtually pure copper," which could not circulate widely: Metcalf 1991. The Alexandrian mint did not supply all of Egypt's coins: in the mid fourth century, for instance, a large number came from Antioch, some from other Eastern mints, and from Rome: *RIC* 8, 95.

27. Rather surprisingly terming references to the crucifixion and resurrection "superficial," Nadia Jamil says "the cross on steps also signified a much richer nexus of meanings, which …were to be assimilated and transformed by Islam," 1999: 15, thus positing a situation similar to what Stauffer and others propose for Dionysiac motifs in Christian contexts, see p. 22 above. She goes on to discuss this nexus, involving the *qutb,* "a polyvalent concept.the origins of which are preserved in early Arabic poetry."

28. This pattern held throughout the newly conquered territories: Walker 1956. Walker's conclusions about events in Egypt have been greatly modified by Domaszewicz and Bates 2002.

29. For bibliography on the recent excavations at Kellia, and on the Red and White monasteries, see Grossman 2002 and Török 2005. On the paintings of St. Anthony's Monastery, see Bolman, ed. 2002.

30. Two other local varieties have been studied in Egloff 1977 and Jacquet-Gordon 1972; for additional examples, called jars, jugs, and kegs see Ballet 1991, #s. 484, 485, 492.

31. The use of these vessels for wine is supported by the very frequent use of resin on the interior and, especially, insertion of a hole at the base of neck to allow for fermentation: Bavay et al. 2000, 59. Egyptian wine production can be traced back to Pharaonic times, Bavay et al 2000, 59.

32. Ballet, ed. 1992 mentions production sites. For a list of excavated kiln sites making river mud amphorae, not necessarily LRA 7, see Williams and Tomber, 2007, 643.

33. Nine containers (five exhibited, three more in Minnesota and one in the Islamic Museum in Cairo) had been placed upside down in a row embedded in a level of about 10 cm of potsherds, (II.locus 63, containing an Abbasid coin). Seven of them had been deliberately turned into long open tubes by having both toes and rims broken off: two retained toes. They were standing on a level (II.locus 64) that contained a Byzantine coin. Neither level was sealed, but they suggest a date shortly after the Arab Conquest for this reuse, presumably shortly after the original contents had been used. The amphora line was adjacent to an area of glass production. A mound of ashy soil containing glass and slag accumulated beside them (II.locus 62). Nothing remained on or in the pots that might clarify their secondary use: McNally and Schrunk 1993, 59, plan p. 66, photograph p. 110, drawing 1 p. 76.

34. More common reuses to demarcate areas also occurred: McNally and Schrunk 1993, photographs p. 107, cf. Gayraud 2007, 722, figs. 8–10 on 725.

35. Lent by the Kacmarcik Collection of Arca Artium, Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN. We thank Columba Stewart OSB for graciously agreeing to lend two objects from this collection, and Mary Shaffer, then curator, for her capable and enthusiastic assistance at all phases of our work.

36. This medallion also has two figures, a maenad before a satyr, in the center. The pose and drapery of the maenad are typologically, not stylistically, similar to the Saint John's maenad. The satyr differs..

37. Stauffer emphasizes the levels of meaning dancers may have: 1992, 68, 74–75.

38. Zanni mentions apocryphal and Gnostic references to dances of Christ with the apostles, and of the angels. She also lists the references to dancing in the Old Testament: 1997, 81–82. To non-canonical mentions may be added the youthful Virgin Mary's dance when she enters the Temple: Protevangelium Jacobi 7.3. That reference accounts for a rare depiction of a specifically Christian dancer in what Thompson has called the "crouching" dancer pose on the Mary Silk in the Abegg Stiftung: McNally 2002; Thompson 1971, 52.

39. On several tunics dancers appear in one area of decoration, crosses in another: Renner-Volbach 1982, # 38, inv. T 71, Color plate 5, dated early fourth century, which seems early for the cross (p.74); Thompson 1971, # 36, Inv. 38.753 with a nude orans dancer above a jeweled pectoral cross, dated to the tenth century, p. 82, fig p. 83. Thompson thinks the juxtaposition shows that the dancers had lost meaning, but Stauffer uses the examples of magical invocations and amulets to suggest that such combinations may have held deeply significance for their users: 1992, 19–22. Compare Frankfurter's insistence that " 'magic'—healing stelae, oracles, amulets, shrines, and mortuary traditions [constituted] the [traditional Egyptian] religion's life-blood among the populace." He cautions against a simple polarity of Pagan and Christian: " 'Pagan' may have its uses for discussing Christian rhetoric, but in such a complex ethnic and religious arrangement as Greco-Roman Egypt's and contrasted with a religion whose local assimilation would more accurately be described as selective absorption than "conversion" such a binary category [may be misleading]": Frankfurter 1994.

40. Long slim curtains, not so elaborately decorated, appear in a number of contemporary images like the mosaic images of a palace in the church of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, or, in San Vitale, of the Empress Theodora approaching a curtained door identified by some as part of a church, by others of a palace. On curtains and wall hangings see Schrenk 1998, 343. She mentions traces by which use can be determined, not found on this piece, but see pp. 23, 38 above. On the production and use of pieces with Christian themes, see Stauffer 1992, 34–35, 131. On possible sanctuary use of such curtains, Friedman 1989, 214; Bolman 2006b; on reuse of textiles including hangings in burials, Schrenk 1998, 339–340 and fig. 1.

41. Werner 1990, 105, bases this interpretation on Coptic liturgy; cf. Stack's interpretations of these and other elements, 1983–86, 100. Whatever their meaning, they are common in Coptic weavings, see n. 42 below.

42. E.g. medallions, Vatican Inv. T73 and T 55, Renner-Volbach 1982, #s 58, 59, pl. 39; parallels for plain crosses in circles with small crosses cited p. 99; also small jeweled cross in circle with dots replacing crosses, Vatican Inv. T 71 #38; pectoral cross, Thompson 1971, # 36, Brooklyn Inv. 38.753, cited n. 19 above. Jewels are usually plain rectangles: On Brooklyn Inv. 41.798 they consist of two wedge-shaped color blocks like those on the Minneapolis cross, but much less well executed: Thompson 1971, #7, dated fifth to sixth century.

43. This cross stood from 420/21 to 620: Werner 1990 109 n. 18; cf. Frowlow 1948, 84–86 mentioning earlier and later crosses on Golgotha, and the impact this particular cross had on cult. The 420–620 time span coincides with Stack's dating of the textile: Stack 1983–86, 100. On coins, various numbers of steps appear, but two lines, whether representing steps or a single base on a hill, seem to be sufficient to make the allusion: Grierson 1968, 95–97.

44. Attested in the Book of Litanies written by St. Oengus and completed about 789 AD: cited by Blanc-Ortolan and du Bourguet 1991, 253–254 and Raferty 1964, 265. These authors are concerned to deny claims that hristian Egypt exerted an early and sweeping influence on Irish art. Horn and Werner, however, suggest a single, late connection. Werner cites steadily increasing evidence for Egyptian imports in more permanent materials: 1990, 110 n. 41. For a recent cautiously hopeful popular allusion to an Irish site with possible Egyptian connections, see Metropolitan Seraphim of Glastonbury, "On the Trail of the Seven Coptic Monks in Ireland," posted on the web Oct. 17, 2008: http://mycoptic.blogspot.com/2008/10/seven-coptic-monks-in-ireland.html (accessed Sept 2009).

45. Five papyri, the ostrakon, and the hide are now in Special Collections and Rare Books in the Elmer L. Andersen Library. We thank the curator, Timothy Johnson, for allowing us to borrow these pieces, making them available for preliminary study and digital photography for tthe exhibition beside the originals. The sixth papyrus is in the James Ford Bell Library and was made available by that library's then curator, Carol Urness, who allowed arrangements for photography.

46. In 1993 these texts were studied by a graduate seminar co-directed by Nita Krevans and a visiting expert, Jennifer Sheridan Moss. Moss oversaw conservation and placed the papyri in their present mounts. Some of the papyri were found too fragmentary for publication, others remain unstudied. Most of my information comes from the student papers and later work by Almira Poudrier and Nanette Goldman, which Goldman kindly allowed me to see in 2002. My comments are restricted to cross-cultural implications. 2009 update: Timothy Johnson has placed digital photographs of these and the other papyri in Special Collections and Rare Books on a website: http://special.lib.umn.edu/rare/papyri.phtml. Jennifer Carozza supplied the accompanying text.

47. Poudrier (see n. 46 above) cites Hagedoorn (1976) who points out that when a Macedonian month name is used it is usually followed by the Egyptian name, which is not the case here.

48. This monogram can have various meanings, some of which are not Christian, such as χαρ μεγαλη γεγονεν (Oikonomidēs 1974, 111). It is the combination of this monogram with the tiny cross on the left margin of the document that led to the conclusion that the first letter here may refer to Christ, as in Χριστον Μαρια γεννα. The cross, however, is an inconspicuous element, perhaps to mark where the lines should begin.

49. Generously lent by the Kacmarcik Collection of Arca Artium, Saint John's University, Collegeville, MN. (see n. 35 above, also n. 63 below).

50. We thank Lyndel King, director of the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum at the University of Minnesota, for agreeing to let us borrow the coins (see following note), and Laura Muessig, Associate Registrar, for patiently and cheerfully facilitating study, photography and installation.

51. Its excavators at Khirbet Shema in Israel made this tentative attribution in records now in the Weisman Museum. The excavation publication refers to the coin only briefly: "There are two coins of Maximinian from the years 285–305 CE. One is quite clear" (Meyers 1976, 155). Our coin is presumably the other. Thomas Kraabel, associate director of that excavation, was a member of the Classics Department (now Classical and Near Eastern Studies) at Minnesota and was able to bring a small study collection back to the University. Kraabel was also instrumental in Andrew John Sarazyn's decision to leave a modest collection of antiquities to the Classics Department for teaching purposes. Proveniences are not known, but Sarazyn probably obtained much of his collection in Lebanon, and the government of Lebanon generously approved its consignment to the Frederick R. Weismann Museum of Art for teaching purposes. In 1982, students working under the direction of Joan Fagerlie produced a catalogue of the coins from which comes much of the information published here: Fagerlie 1982. Joan Fagerlie very kindly came to the Weisman Museum to look again at the coins and at this text, saving me from a major error and confirming a detail I had been unable to see.

52. The “cross potent” is a cross with short lines perpendicular to the ends of its arms and upper shaft, lines probably linked in origin to the widening ends of the tapestry cross C1 and of many painted Egyptian crosses, but missing on these bronze reverses.

53. Most of the identifications here were made by Ivančica Dvoržak Schrunk. The painted fine wares have been studied by Anne Salisbury (1994). For terminology of wares, see pp. 4–5 above.

54. All the fine wares in this catalogue are similar in fabric: “Paste: Fine grained, hard (5–6 on the Mohs scale), dense. Color light red to pink, 10R 6/6 to 2.5YR 6/6. Inclusions: density 20–40%, fine to medium size. Red Slip, thick, even, smooth, polished, dark red (10R 5/8). White slip, thin (flakes), smooth, dull, cream color (7.5 YR 8/4):” Schrunk 1993, 78 [condensed].

55. Many of the ceramics in this catalogue are pieced together, each sherd having a separate number. Only one number, the lowest, is given here.

56. NBS=National Bureau of Standards.

57. Lent by the Kacmarcik Collection of Arca Artium (see n. 35 above). Gift of Frank Kacmarcik, provenance unknown.

58. This textile is mounted under glass and could not be closely examined. Arca Artium supplied the color identification; the dyestuff has not been identified. Analysis of excavated textiles has revealed that blue could come from woad, grown in Egypt, but more often from indigo brought either from India or from Nubia and farther south.

59. This textile was purchased for the Collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1983 from Arnold Herstand by the Centennial Fund: Aimee Mott Butler Charitable Trust, Mr. and Mrs. John F. Donovan, Estate of Margaret B. Hawks, Eleanor Weld Reid. Being fragile, in the Exhibition it was represented by a same-size photograph provided by the Institute through the courtesy of the Curator of Textiles, Lotus Stack.

60. State of the textile, especially nature of the damage, oral information from Lotus Stack, September 2003. The dyes used have not been established. For sources discussing possibilities, see n.16 above.

61. All of these were at one time owned by the Dutch dealer von Scherling, and most were bought from him: C6, C7, C8 in 1933; C2 in 1937; C1, C3, C4, C5 around 1952, the year when they were listed in von Scherling’s bulletin (1952). The last purchase, in 1983, was C9, the papyrus sheet Bell 400, owned by von Scherling when von Noordegraaf published it, but according to the Library’s records”probably” purchased from Frances Edwards, London.

62. From at least the New Kingdom on, Egyptians wrote on animal hide, i.e., parchment, leather and variants that can only be distinguished by expert testing: Leach 1995.

63. Purchased by Frank Kacmarcik from a New York dealer, conserved and rebound, brought to the attention of scholars and finally given to Arca Artium. What can be known or surmised about its origins and subsequent history comes from the volume itself, especially from two notes added around 1800 CE on pages at the beginning and end. Macomber cites these briefly, dating the manuscript to 1344/45 and sketching its later history: 1975, 393–394; 1977, 310-312. Samir presents a fuller discussion: 1978a, 76–90. Rejecting Macomber’s argument for a precise date, he tentatively proposes a fourteenth century date on the basis of paleography. Budde accepts Samir’s version of the dating and history with added interpretation: 2005 126–127.

64. All the Weisman numbers are preceded by 2003.2, which is omitted here (i.e., W 18 is 2003.2.18).

65. The woman on the reverse of the coin of Helena is identified in Fagerlie as Helena (1982, 71), on similar coins in *LRBC* I, 34 as Pax, and in *RIC* 7, 750 as the empress as the security of the republic. The combination of this legend and image was widespread, appearing at 15 mints (*LRBC* 31–32, 34).

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Abbreviations

BMC 10 Poole, Reginald Stuart. 1892. *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nome* Vol. 10 in *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of the British Museum*. London: British Museum.

CE *Coptic Encyclopedia*. Edited by Aziz S. Atiya. New York: Macmillan, 1991.

*CCE. Cahiers de la céramique Égyptienn*e. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

LRBC. Hill, Philip V. et al. *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*. 2 parts in 1 volume. London: Spink, 1960.

POC. *Papyri and Ostraka Collection. Special Collections and Rare Books, University of Minnesota*. http://special.lib.umn.edu/rare/papyri.phtml

RIC. Mattingly, Harold et al. eds.1923–1994. *The Roman Imperial Coinage.* 10 vols. London: Spink.
RIC 6 Sutherland, C.H.V. *From Diocletian’s Reform (A. D. 294) to the Death of Maximinus (A. D. 313)*. 1967.
RIC 7 Bruun, Patrick M. *Constantine and Licinius*, *A.D. 313–337.* 1966.
RIC 8 Kent, J.P.C. *The Family of Constantine I, A.D. 337–364.* 1981.
RIC 9 Pearce, J.W.E. *Valentinian I–Theodosius I.* 1933, reprinted 1951.

VA *(Vita Antonii)* Athanasius. 1892. *Life of Antony.* tr. H. Ellenshaw. Pages 195–221 in *Select Writings of Athanasius.* Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers II.4. Eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Reprinted 1927, 1957, 1994. Peabody MA: Hendrickson. Available on Internet: *Medieval Source Book*, ed. Paul Haskell. http://fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-antony.html

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