



## DRESSED FOR ETERNITY: A PRELUDE



**Eunice Dauterman Maguire  
Johns Hopkins University**

I would like to dedicate this paper fondly and with deep gratitude to the memory of Ernst Kitzinger, who brought textiles from Egypt into the broader study of Byzantine art. <sup>1</sup>

*To an abbot trained in Egypt, like John of the Ladder, monasteries although unconcerned with the vanities of fashion, are laundries and dyeworks where spiritual robes are made clean and splendid for the heavenly city. The image suggests a consciousness of earthly monastic clothing. There is enough visual, material, and textual evidence to help us begin to picture Egyptian monks and perhaps nuns, before and after the coming of Islam, and to consider how their dress distinguished them from lay contemporaries and non-monastic clergy. Since Egypt was the cradle from which monasticism grew and traveled it is also instructive to look outside Egypt for ways that dress may express some concepts separating urban priests from desert monks when Byzantine Egypt, for almost a century after Chalcedon, shared a material and cultural world with the wider empire.*

The first of the paper's four sections addresses the theme of arrival at the gate, and takes for its text the verse "blessed are they who wash their robes that they have the right to the tree of life, and that by the gates they may enter into the city" (Revelation 22:14). I suggest that these words from the Apocalypse had great appeal to Egyptian monastic leaders, and also found frequent visual expression. They may provide a key to a group of woven wall-hangings, like a fragment in the Benaki Museum, where bearded pious men, or women with covered heads, stand in prayer framed by arches, wearing colorful garments, and flanked by trees or tree-like plants. The inscription on one such fragment with two figures, a man and a woman, is addressed to Apa Makarios, while the name Cyriakos is there in the nominative, as if in a votive petition, perhaps by the man portrayed.<sup>2</sup> The male face, like the face with a pointed beard in a painting of the monk Mark from Bawit, borrows from the pagan antiquity of Greece and Rome an established type for holy men.<sup>3</sup>

The two persons on the Benaki textile appear without the soul guide André Grabar observed when he identified the moment of arrival in Paradise as a subject of funerary

representations framed by the pointed or rounded arch of the heavenly gate. Another fragment in the same loop-pile technique, on loan from the Kelekian collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, does introduce the soul guide as an archangel, in the same formula as the stele in Copenhagen with which Grabar opens his argument. All that survives in the textile is the upper part of the orans figure; the archangel's white-sleeved arm and hand holding a staff; the upper part of his blue wing with red secondary feathers; and part of the cross from the top of his staff.<sup>4</sup>

With or without the soul guide, and whether or not the praying persons are monastic, I believe these textiles probably depict that moment, honoring subjects like the man and woman here dressed for glory, not for daily life. For such a moment of splendor, the man and the woman — whether or not monastic — may be depicted full-length to display both their piety and the unwonted finery of their dress, just as after discussing heaven with his sister, the ascetic proto-monastic leader Macrina, Gregory of Nyssa wished her to be magnificently presented in death, with unaccustomed jewels and handsome garments, like a bride.<sup>5</sup>

The jewelry and rich clothing of women in these hangings may be a sign that they had forgone worldly wealth and pleasure; and a promise that therefore, having given up the gifts of the earth commonly represented in the person of a bejeweled woman, they themselves would forever be endowed with them as heavenly gifts.<sup>6</sup> Gregory compares Macrina with the holy virgin Thekla, who became a frequent model for monastic women.<sup>7</sup>

The second syllable of her name survives beside a rosy-cheeked and well-dressed orans woman in one of the loop-pile fragments, in the Textile Museum in Washington.<sup>8</sup> Her belt patterned with crosses recalls belts found in Christian burials in Thebes, and one, as we shall see, depicted in the Sinai monastery.<sup>9</sup> Her head and shoulders appear to be covered by a hooded mantle, and she wears large hoop earrings. At the top of a more complete loop-pile hanging fragment in Stuttgart, a woman who stands in an archway in line with the cross wears gold bracelets and earrings with strings of pearls. Her tunic vibrates with many colors.<sup>10</sup> Two persons preserved among the many fragments of another large loop-pile hanging, in the Choron collection, wear shoulder coverings that parallel certain apparently monastic fashions we are about to discuss in better-preserved male representations.<sup>11</sup>

All these figures share the attribute of prayer with known funerary portraits and with devotional depictions of the godly in salvation, images that are not by their nature reliable records of how people looked during their lives on earth. In a woodcarving, a panel from Bawit, Daniel with his now lost hands raised in prayer stands under the arch. He is richly dressed as if for heaven, not for the arena where he faced the lions in the real-time narrative. They are there to identify him, and to represent his qualifications for salvation. Having achieved his destination he wears a fifth or sixth-century interpretation of courtly Asian style.<sup>12</sup> The same principle of meta-dressing may apply to the persons in the textiles. In searching for monastic fashions it is instructive nevertheless to make a three-way study, comparing depictions with

actual garments, and holding both against the light of descriptive monastic texts. This paper, being an introduction to the challenges posed by the study of Coptic monastic dress, will concentrate its observations in the early period, before Arab rule.

For my task, to discuss actual monastic dress from the viewpoint of an art historian, the evidence is neither straightforward nor consistent. Few portraits are real-time representations of monastic persons. Yet sometimes texts do coincide with visual images or with material survivals. Actual garments can show us details that also appear in images, or in the tantalizing descriptions of Shenute's garments that Rebecca Krawiec has brought to our attention.<sup>13</sup> Textiles removed from Egyptian burials allow us to search for look-alikes in the representations, and to speculate about the materials, construction, and design of monks' garments, as we attempt to picture how they were worn. Unfortunately, since garments have seldom been studied in burials that were still intact, an untold quantity of archaeological information has been lost.

The Egyptian monastic rules of Pachomius, translated into Latin by Jerome at the beginning of the fifth century, tell us that standing at an entrance is an important act for monastic persons, male or female.<sup>14</sup> A person seeking to join the community must stand outside the gate for several days. An approved candidate, during this trial, must give proof of the will to renounce the world. In a parallel pose, the persons in the textile hangings, raising their arms in the orans position of prayer, appear to be making petition, or giving thanks for admission. Under guidance, the monastic candidate also prays at the gate, and recites psalms. Images of persons at the entrance, praying, are our first visual resource, since some of them designate by their inscriptions the heads of monasteries dressed, unlike most of the more scarce images of ordinary monks, in notable detail. An alternative possibility, nevertheless, is that these persons are not the famous holy monastics, but their namesakes.

In order to judge the dignity with which the Egyptian monastic imagination envisioned the soul's arrival for its eternal reward, we may want to understand more broadly from the Pachomian texts what it means for a monastic person to come to a gate or entrance.

The prayerful ritual outside the monastery's gate prepares the candidate for daily monastic life. The individual approach to the church entrance was marked, coming and going, by private repetition of a scriptural passage. But like the grille behind the orans woman on a limestone stele from Karnak or Luxor, the monastic gate had set an irrevocable division between inside and outside.<sup>15</sup> Monks returning from errands are forbidden to speak of anything or anyone outside. When Pachomius finds himself forced to banish a group of troublemaking monks, he chooses a door bolt as a weapon for chasing them out. Later, the ailing Pachomius experiences in a vision, reflecting the gateway experience of a would-be monk, his own approach to the Door of Life. The guard of Paradise, who turns out to be St. Paul, rejects him, and sends him back for a time to his body. Angels, in a scene reminiscent of this limestone relief in Mainz, return him to the dead body that will revive and receive him, to wait until

his final suffering qualifies him to enter the mystical archway into the heavenly city.<sup>16</sup> Antony refers to his death as a daily event.<sup>17</sup> Depictions of the heavenly locale without human figures support the hypothesis that most orans figures are dressed for heaven, not earth. The selective gilding of these silver plaques from a sixth-century church hoard in Syria suggests the light of heaven where the view through the gate frames the cross between the trees of Paradise that bow toward it in a place where, to quote the vision of Pachomius, “the light is very beautiful and never goes out, for the Lord is the light of Paradise.”<sup>18</sup> A limestone stele inscribed to an Abbot Sansno, and believed to be his gravestone, varies this format.<sup>19</sup> Such formulations inform our understanding of the loop-pile orans figures. We see another interpretation of the tree of life/ gate of heaven theme in the green plants beside the bearded praying man in a fragment from a loop-pile wall hanging, in the Choron collection. The green color of his beard, which he shares with the Benaki orans man, requires another explanation.<sup>20</sup> The figures on these wall hangings are woven into the cloth in supplementary loops of woolen pile that function much like individual tesserae in a mosaic. This technique allows us to examine details in color in a way that most carvings no longer permit, and to question how true to life these colors may be. The probable reason for the green beard color has nothing to do either with the green of paradise or with how actual monks looked, if the weavers substituted green because they could not obtain the much less common grayish blue yarn used for the hair and beard of a figure in this technique recently on view at Dumbarton Oaks. Gray-blue is a common choice in mosaics for apostles’ and prophets’ shadowy white hair and beards.<sup>21</sup>

The clothing of the figures executed in loop pile, whether or not it represents the washed robes of the monastic blessed, is neither the frequently apostolic white of Revelations 6:12, nor the shabby dress of monastic poverty or penitence. But the monks who enter a Pachomian monastery, like the Benedictines who follow them through Jerome’s translation of the rule, give up the clothing of their former lives. With broad straps passing over both shoulders the bearded man in the Choron collection wears an obscure brown garment, like an apron with a red initial on his chest. Who is he?

### **Appropriate dress**

In search of an answer, the second section of my paper confronts the topic of identity and appropriate dress. A marble relief icon or votive panel in Vienna, datable to the sixth century by the capitals that support the arch, honors St. Menas in a short tunic and long chlamys: high-ranking military dress.<sup>22</sup> Beside him, above his camels, stands a pious couple, donors or petitioners, presumably in their best and most characteristic clothes, which are not carved in great detail. But to Menas the sculptor gave crosses on his clothing wherever this style of dress permits: in the lining of the chlamys, the officer’s military cloak that hangs from his shoulders; on the square shoulder-marker at the top of the sleeve; and on the vertical tapestry bands that drape along his legs, identifying their location, a detail now mostly effaced. His belt buckle, now rubbed, was cruciform. It is entirely possible that a Byzantine military

officer in Egypt might have had such crosses on his garments; were he to become a monk, however, he would relinquish this finery, and receive garments that may not have been similarly adorned. Before we leave him, note how Menas wears his belt, and how the sculptor centers it in the composition.

We learn from the writings of great monastic fathers, from Pachomius, from Shenute or from John of the Ladder, that monks were men unconcerned with the vanities of fashion, who had abandoned the concerns of earthly cities to make their difficult and often painful progress toward the eternal city. Yet Shenute takes as a metaphor for monastic ills that work against salvation a robe soiled by disease. The scriptural praise of laundering, or the washing of robes, prompts John of the Ladder, a seventh century abbot at Mt. Sinai, to liken “a monastic community” to a laundry, and “the solitary life” to dyeing cloth (1982, 253).

Monastic leaders easily found models in the Bible for their concern with the relation between clothing and godly behavior or spiritual events. A conspicuous scene on a virtually complete loop-pile wall hanging illustrates Elijah’s handing-over of spiritual authority to Elisha, betokened by the passing on of a garment.<sup>23</sup>

They resemble our green-bearded figures, rather than the clean-shaven secular hunters and horsemen who also appear on this group of hangings. Their gesture is not one of the earthbound man catching a voluminous cloak blown off by the whirlwind that carried Elijah’s chariot away. Elijah seems rather to be enacting a Christian ritual in which he bestows a small, compact ceremonial garment with a particular significance. If this is a monastic garment the hangings in this group are a probably monastic genre. Whereas hangings depicting allegorical personages related to time and the seasons, including figures from pagan mythology and hunters on their horses, were probably woven for private villas, these hangings with the orans figures transpose a secular format to frame the greater boon of timeless salvation. Instead of a row of waiting servants offering the delights of the table (and possibly representing months of the passing earthly year), the loop-pile arches frame the ready servants of the Lord, who transcend time.

If we question the role of hunters and wild beasts on the loop-pile hangings as surprising company for paradisaical orans figures, since the peaceable kingdom of paradise precludes hunting to kill, there is still clear affirmation of the hope for heaven in the narrative scenes included on these hangings, such as Elijah’s rising in the chariot, the bringing of the grapes of Escher, or Jonah’s emerging from the whale.

The garment Elijah hands on to Elisha is shaped like a fringed panel, strapped for tying it over one shoulder. Since it does not resemble any familiar type of woven garment, it must be the special leather apron – the *schema* – given to the new monk to wear for his work and as a vocational sign, according to monastic texts: the “goatskin hanging from the shoulder,” required in the Pachomian rule.<sup>25</sup> Archaeologists have identified it with an apron-like

panel of black kidskin with red fringe found in burials at the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes and also at Deir el Medīnah and Deir el Bahri.<sup>26</sup>

Three functions for palm-weaving monks might explain the choice of kidskin, a soft leather so frail that in one excavated cell at Thebes the monks had been mending it. Just as chamois skins, or their substitutes, are still used for polishing, it may have served to rub off excess fibers shredding from the palm strips; it would protect the underlying tunics from the strips' sharp edges; and it would provide a speeding glide-path to support the hands for hours of frictionless work, as the monks looked down to avoid distraction. The dyeing of the garment and its use in the scene of Elisha and Elijah both confirm its special significance, beyond utility, as a badge of monastic identity. It was the last layer placed on the corpse before burial.

On the Abegg hanging the garment has on it the red initial we have just noted, which it shares with the dress of both Elijah and Elisha – their own initial in Greek or Coptic. The *schema* could be the special fringed garment Shenute describes, only if it were not woven, but leather; he may be referring to a cloth mantle. In the Biblical text, Elisha rends his garments at Elijah's departure. Was this violent expression reenacted by Shenute with torn clothing, perhaps the rending of the *schema*, as a ritual of parting when he had to expel his sinful monks?<sup>27</sup> A garment or strap going over one shoulder is known to have been worn by deacons, with whom Gary Vikan has identified a bearded man in a carving at Dumbarton Oaks that he attributes to a monastery in Saqqara;<sup>28</sup> certain types of one-shoulder fashions are also worn by civic authorities; and as we shall see, by ordinary Pachomian monks. Our supposed deacon wears his over a shawl tied with straps under his chin.

On a limestone stele from Sohag inscribed Shenute, the figure wears a similar shawl with long straps that appear to be kept in place by passing under his belt.<sup>29</sup> It fits the description of the Pachomian monk's shawl in going over both shoulders; but we cannot use this carved image, even as we question its uncommon attire, as an authoritative document of what Shenute actually wore. The stele is probably not his gravestone, but a commemorative portrait of unknown date, possibly the result of retooling a previous relief, much later than the other images we are considering.<sup>30</sup> The garment is belted in to follow the body's shape, not bloused over the belt in the usual secular mode we saw on St. Menas, but falling in strangely wide, unbroken vertical folds. The belt or sash, carved at a focal point in line with the column capitals, emerges from inside the tunic to tie in front. Although damage to the stone obscures the knot, the substantial sash is reminiscent of the many front-tied sashes of Pharaonic Egypt. The shoes are more like boots than sandals, although the feet that wear them turn sideways in the ancient Egyptian manner, unlike the pairs of shod feet turned in opposing directions, toes out, in several of the loop pile hangings. Of special interest is the outer garment that falls over Shenute's shoulders and halfway down the long, tapered sleeves of his tunic. Without color or any surface pattern here to help us it is hard to be sure that this wrap is the shoulder-covering scarf of the Pachomian list discussed below, since it narrows into straps that hang down in front like the legs of an animal skin. A pair of incised lines on one strap suggests division

into color zones, like the straps on an equally mysterious but more compact red garment shaped like a giant, very long headband or a type of belt.<sup>31</sup>

A military saint tooled in leather on a pen-case from Antinoe wears a belt shaped like the wide part of the red band, not tied in front. In the center it is emblazoned with a defensive eye; his eye-shaped shield has a design like a magic sign, an X with dots in the spandrels, at its center.<sup>32</sup> Monks, perhaps like the one who wielded the pens from this case, were the allies of such heroic saints, as we know from monastic texts and paintings. They were always on the defensive against demons; yet except for the occasional crosses, we have no repertory of apotropaic motifs on monks' clothing.

Along with the goatskin, every monk who joined a Pachomian monastery received, in exchange for his former clothing, two tunics: "one threadbare and worn, a scarf long enough to cover the neck and shoulders...shoes, two hoods and a staff;" since unbelting is recorded as a punishment, he probably also received a belt.<sup>33</sup> He was not allowed to keep such luxuries as his own "woolen tunic or cloak or soft sheepskin from an unshorn lamb, nor money, nor pillow of down for the head nor anything else" in his cell. At last we can compare a depiction with an inventory. The abbot Shenute in the limestone relief of uncertain date wears three of the five types of garment on this list of what a monk is given.

### Details of Clothing

In the third section of this paper, we are ready to look more closely at details, beginning with the belt. Carvings and paintings representing persons with famous monastic names vary in detail; not all these persons are belted, but most are impressively dressed. The clothes given up by monks joining a Pachomian monastery were kept in a chest, at the abbot's disposal (where as Shenute himself explained, they were sometimes attacked by insects). Did they come out of the chest to dress the dead? Shenute implies, in lamenting the loss of his beautiful garment, that the abbot wore the best garments himself for occasions requiring ceremonial dignity. His tunic in the stele is a long one adorned with a zone along the bottom that may have been figured to represent details of a tapestry band before the stone lost its painted surface; at the waist the garment is conspicuously sashed or belted. A belt, although not included in the initial list, is considered by Jerome's time at least, when he records this Pachomian regulation, so essential a part of a monk's dress that removing it is punishment: a monk who offends by speaking or laughing during prayer or readings or recitation "shall immediately undo his belt and go and stand before the altar with his head bowed and his arms hanging down" while the father of the monastery rebukes him. When all the monks go to eat at the refectory, the guilty one has to repeat his penance. His loose self-discipline and its negative effect on his spiritual status become visible in the slack and defenseless, humiliated posture of his body, and in the loosening of his dress. The belt was clearly both a spiritual sign and a physical means of control, when people wore garments that were not cut-to-shape and sewn to show the contours of the body.

We have noted how the military belt of St. Menas is made the center of the composition in the marble relief, level with the donors' heads; and how Shenute's belt is placed at the level of the column capitals.

The tunic itself, if we see it as characteristic of Egyptian tunics from the Roman, Byzantine, and at least the early part of the Islamic periods, would have been woven, together with its sleeves, in one piece.<sup>34</sup> Children, women, and men at all levels of society wore tunics of one kind or another. To make the sleeved tunic into a wearable garment when it came off the loom required only that it be folded in half at the shoulders, slit at the neck, and seamed up the sides and down the sleeves. Actual tunics, such as those I have been privileged to examine at the Textile Museum, can help us question the construction of depicted tunics. The Shenute relief, unclear at this point, may have been modified to depict a tunic that shows the belt. Since in the Byzantine period the garment would not be cut or sewn to shape its outline, only the belt would make the garment's folds around the torso, gathering in the width of the fabric at the waist. The horizontal marks across many preserved tunics show where a crosswise tuck was stitched in at the waist, overlapping the fabric.<sup>35</sup>

Since such tunics, whether of wool or linen, are never to my knowledge hemmed at the bottom to shorten them, the waist tuck serves to adjust the garment's length to the height of the wearer. Examination of tunics in Washington verified that this feature could also function in relation to the belting of the garment, cinching it in with a drawstring belt.

A diagram of a tunic in Brussels presumed to be Pharaonic, but possibly later, shows the tuck, an overlapped, stitched zone, under the armholes, where women in the Byzantine period wore their belts.<sup>36</sup> During examination of tunics at the Textile Museum, the question of this tuck's function arose. Was it for shortening, for belting, or both? The evidence we needed for Roman or Byzantine tunics appeared in the shape of a narrow cloth tube sewn onto the back of the tuck, to make what is clearly a channel for a tie belt that would permit a drawstring belt to come through and tie front of the garment, like pajama strings. Such a belt is Theodosia's, a woman from Antinoe arriving in heaven with her holy soul guides, as she appears in her tomb painting.<sup>37</sup>

Whoever wears it, and in whatever style, the knot is a fashion statement that often speaks of safety and security raised to the power of salvation, as in the magical Solomon's knot, and other knots familiar in both the Greco-Roman and the Egyptian vernacular: the knot of Herakles, originating under the chin to tie on the lion-skin helmet of invincibility; the ankh-like knot that holds together the garments of the goddess Isis, or terminates a drawstring, in later her representations; and the emphatic knot that belts the Christian Saint Thekla, whose holiness kept at bay the beasts sent to martyr her.<sup>38</sup> If in her representation on a clay ampulla in Berlin, and in some other depictions, we see the emerging tie as is a sign of strength or control, on representations of Christ or the Virgin Mary the mantle usually hides the belt entirely.<sup>39</sup>

It is tempting to see her dark, enveloping, and unadorned costume, like the garb worn by the Mary in Theodosia's painting, as a prototype for monastic women. Yet the emerging drawstring tie, worn in combination with an outer leather belt that was probably leather, does seem to be at least an occasional feature of monastic dress. On a scribe's tunic carved on a wooden cover for a box in the monastery of Bawit, the inside drawstring apparently comes through to tie, forming an upward loop, like the loop of an ankh, above an outer belt that holds its loose ends in place; this kind of frequently-represented knot (easy to reproduce by tying a shoelace into a bow with only one loop) ties an outer, unconfined tie-belt on a male and a female figure in two of the ivories reused in the pulpit of Henry II in Aachen.<sup>40</sup> The arrangement on the box explains the more glamorous fixture, a toggle or a button-like brooch, that serves this function for Theodosia. Fashion at the highest level translates the fixture into a gem surrounded by pearls, and the belt's two ends into pendant jewels, as worn by the city personification of Constantinople toward the end of the fifth century.<sup>41</sup>

The drawstring inside the tunic could have been a cord made of wool, like one from Antinoë, in the Louvre. A well-preserved red and blue wool tie belt is a relatively glamorous version of a simple garment, superficially resembling the corded chain of a gold necklace.<sup>42</sup> Weaving not infrequently imitates jewelry, as part of the integral design of tunics. One practice in weaving that serves this imitation, as with the colors of this cord and others, introduces chromatic, rather than reflective scintillation, in the same way as contrasting colors indicate the brightness of the archangel's wing in the Kelekian loop-pile fragment in New York. From Shenute's description of bright color, cording and tassels we learn that such luxuries were not beyond the pale of monastic leaders. Even an enclosed cord tie-belt could be an object of display. The option of showing a cord through the thin pale linen, but leaving it untied inside the waist tuck, perhaps to loosen the garment in hot weather, is what I think we see depicted in a painting on a clay jar in Berlin, where the tunic of an orans figure hangs free in a fashion evidently not permitted by the Pachomian rule.<sup>43</sup>

Another possibility for a tie-belt is a flat strip of linen, in plain-weave. A flat leather or linen belt worn outside the tunic could be studded with crosses, as we know from depictions and from at least one archaeological precedent; tooled patterns, in place of studs, decorated the leather belts found in the monks' burials at Thebes.<sup>44</sup> In a monastery a simpler, convenient and easily replaceable cord for the drawstring might have been one plaited or braided of the fiber used there to make ropes for sale. The Pachomian rule (4) asks that monks keep their hands busy weaving ropes even when they pray, and that they take care on their way to and from their places in communal worship not to damage the wet rushes underfoot that were waiting to supply this work. Leather belts with buckles are among the items of clothing brought to the wealthy man whose tomb paintings, in Silistra on the Black Sea, include such details. The tooled leather belts buried with the monks at Thebes substituted round or oval toggles for buckles, while belts of tooled and gilded leather which may not be monastic do not survive with their ends intact.<sup>45</sup> Such a belt could be worn outside a tunic, with the upper part of the garment bloused up over it.

This style, probably in red leather, is worn in Theodora's court at S. Vitale. It provides roomy mobility for a man of action, even if the action is chiefly ceremonial.<sup>46</sup> Some of the humbler copper-alloy belt buckles survive with crosses attached. There is a small one, for instance, in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Collection.<sup>47</sup>

Leaving the belt in place, we move up to the monastic shoulders. We have seen, in the stelai, a shawl or mantle worn over both shoulders; in the chromatic medium of mosaic we see dark shawls with markers on both shoulders, pulled together symmetrically if not in front, on the Longinus and the deacon John, portrayed in the apse of the Justinianic Sinai monastery church.<sup>48</sup> The apostles' dress is varied, but most of them wear an asymmetrically draped mantle. The holy abbots and hermits in a wall painting in one of the cells at the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara are dressed in several styles.<sup>49</sup>

Here St. Apollo, venerated by the donor monk, wears a shawl in the Sinai style, but white, with crosses marking the shoulders and other axial or pivotal points. Its two halves clearly do cross in front, in a chiasmic pattern that may be significant. In Christian Egypt, on a clay lamp from Karanis, the X forming the body of an orans figure becomes an implicit part of the prayer, its shape derived from the simplest of all binding devices, a crossed cord. The appearance of the X engraved or incised on treasure chests and locks reveals it to be a sign for safety, security, salvation - the benefits sought at the spiritual level by the white-clad monk at St. Apollo's feet.<sup>50</sup> These shawls lend themselves to wearing in a number of different ways, since they appear to be made of a single length of uncut cloth, like a pashmina shawl from India today, in which the size as well as the material determines the level of luxury. The rule of Pachomius, in specifying that a shawl must be long enough to cover the shoulders, suggests that differences between shawls and mantles may be chiefly dimensional; the garment crossed over St. Apollo's shoulders is long enough to be a mantle.

Although the shawls with crosses to mark selected spots are certainly not spotted goatskins, there are two fashions that represent shaggy garments like animal skins. The Pachomian rule's stipulation that the goatskin be worn over only one shoulder links the monks' habits with the garb worn by Dionysus and his followers and also by John the Baptist. Dionysus in triumph, as seen in two well-known tapestry panels, probably from the top of a tunic, wears a spotted skin garment over one shoulder.<sup>51</sup> In the sixth-century apse mosaic of the Eufasian basilica at Porec, on the Istrian shore of the Adriatic, John the Baptist, the Forerunner, is a near look-alike to Dionysus.<sup>52</sup> John wears his spotted skin garment over one shoulder of a dyed woolen tunic with plain contrasting bands. The closest Egyptian match that I have found to this portrait is a figure dressed in a dappled garment worn on one shoulder over a long tunic, and flipped in a strange way over and under the other arm, on a tapestry band of a type common to tunics.<sup>53</sup> On the ivory throne of the sixth-century Archbishop Maximian of Ravenna, John in the Baptism of Christ wears his skin garment in the same over-one shoulder style, like the tunic *exomis* of a shepherd or working man. (Joseph's brothers wear it in the Old Testament narrative on this throne.)

But in the momentous scene of the Baptism John wears it, as at Porec, slung over a long-sleeved tunic. John the Baptist wears another quasi-monastic fashion, the so-called *melote*, or sheepskin, a shaggy variation of the monastic shoulder-coverings seen on the Dumbarton Oaks relief, the mysterious Shenute stele, and the mosaic portraits of the deacon and abbot. In the carved ivory panel centered on Maximian's throne, John's skin garment is this shaggy shawl. Its two halves end in ties that join in a fat knot at front and center. The garment covers both shoulders; and at a time when "icons had become theological texts," this garment also has a Bacchic parallel in the animal skin knotted over the shoulders of a satyr in an ivory carving at Dumbarton Oaks.<sup>54</sup>

John the Baptist's medallion portrait in mosaic on the East wall of the Sinai monastery church shows the same pale, knotted garment that the prophet Elias (or Elias) wears in the Transfiguration scene of the apse mosaic. Beginning with Christ's identification of John the Baptist with Elias, in Matthew 11:13-14, an extended chain of visual and conceptual associations links Elias and John to the monastic persons portrayed at the entrance to the apse, whose shoulders are covered with garments falling in similar configurations, if without the knot. In the mosaic composition Elias, like John, bears witness to the divinity of Christ, and turns his head in a similar way, juxtaposing these Old and New Testament holy men who withdrew into the wilderness and wore hairy garments; while in the written records Antony in his vita holds up Elias as a mirror for monks, and an abbess sends part of "the prophet" Shenute's garment to another monastery to effect a contact cure.<sup>55</sup> John wears this variation of a monastic garment again, in a sixth-century Sinai icon now in Kiev, where just enough paint survives on the damaged surface to show the shaggy texture and the big central knot. The layering of his dress is again different: draped over one shoulder of his *melote*, this evidently seventh-century John wears a pallium.<sup>56</sup>

His tunic, as in the Porec mosaic, is yellow-brown with dark clavus bands, like the ones worn by Elias in the Sinai mosaic and in the Abegg hanging; and also like the tunic in a monastic portrait we are about to consider. A pale shaggy shawl like those of Elias and John could alternatively be made of the artificial fleece woven in Egypt with supplementary wefts of linen since at least the eighteenth dynasty, and represented by examples from the Roman or Byzantine period at the Textile Museum and in other collections.<sup>57</sup> The shawl drawn toward the center from both shoulders, although without the shaggy surface, is a monastic style, seen in the Sinai mosaic's two monastic portraits as well as in images of monks from Syria.<sup>58</sup> Since John the Baptist's sojourn in the wilderness makes him a prototype for the desert monk, the monastic adaptations of his dress, the spotted skin over one shoulder, and the shawl worn over two shoulders, are in keeping with items in the prescribed wardrobe of Pachomian monks. Consider also why it might be that any detail of his representation – in this case the spotted skin over one shoulder – should derive from Bacchic figures. After all, monks, like Bacchic followers, were sometimes harvest workers; they were also branches of the vine of Christ.

The unruly monks whom Pachomius expelled had provoked him by taking his donkey for disrespectful revelry, behaving almost like satyrs, when the saint had carried refreshment to them on a harvest day. Unlike these bad monks, his ascetic practice protests against indulgence in the worldly life by inverting physical expectations; the frolicking monks mock him as he carries the empty containers away on his own back.<sup>59</sup> By conspicuous appropriation of a garment associated with revels as an escape from worldly concerns, the monks, and John the Baptist by extension, invert the spotted skin's allusions to undisciplined release, adopting it for a life of withdrawal and discipline.

Now we come to the head covering. The Pachomian list specifies two hoods, although depictions of hooded monks are hard to find in pre-Islamic Egypt. Monks have been found buried in their hoods, and there are hooded garments for children surviving, tunics made of wool.<sup>60</sup> Depictions of hooded monks are hard to find in pre-Islamic Egypt, yet there is good evidence that hooded tunics were not uncommon. Although by the rule of Pachomius meditating monks were to keep their heads uncovered, iconic representations of stylite saints, from Syria, tell us how expressive of holy self-denial a hooded silhouette could be. A number of Stylite images show the saint and a monk attending him both covered with hoods; they also show, even when the saint is depicted as a bust on his column, his shoulders covered with a wrap that gathers in narrow folds pulled toward the center.<sup>61</sup> A hooded secular figure, by contrast, wears the short tunic of a man of action, on his job of beating the bush for an equestrian hunter in a famous silk fragment found in Achmin, the ancient Panopolis.<sup>62</sup> An analysis by Petra Linscheid finds three types of hoods surviving: hoods on tunics, hoods on mantles, and hoods that were not attached to garments.<sup>63</sup> Egypt in this early period lacks the visual images of monks in hoods that would tell us more. For clothing in general, the images we have indicate considerable variation from one monastery or from one region or from one chronological moment to another, with little consistency in the depictions of monks or abbots. We have identified the *schema* on the prophets in the Abegg hanging without finding it in monastic reliefs or paintings; the *melote*, though worn by John the Baptist and Elijah in other media, appears in the stelai we have seen, without indications of hairiness, and only on the Dumbar-ton Oaks deacon and the puzzling Berlin Shenute. If these garments, along with hoods, were the daily attire of monks, even within specific regions, they are not considered appropriate for most of the portrayals that honor monastic persons.

The Pachomius in a limestone relief from the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara, wears an ornate tunic without hood or belt; everything about him differs from the saintly monastics we have seen painted in that same monastery, or those painted in Bawit.<sup>64</sup> If he does represent the proto-monastic Pachomius, rather than a lay donor named after him, then the carving documents a change from the painted Saqqara representations of ascetic saints, in dress as well as in portrait style, perhaps to acknowledge his origin in upper Egypt; but his dress is very different from the monk's clothing of the Pachomian rule. The portrayal matches a type of Christ portrait known outside Egypt that chooses a round, youthful, beardless face framed by a wreath of short curls.<sup>65</sup>

Of the three monastic garments we have considered, the *schema*, the *melote*, and the hood, none appears here.

It is the tunic, however, that demands our specific attention.

### Variations of style

For the last section of our discussion then, it behooves us to look at some variations of the tunic, including a curious way of wearing sleeves. An abbot in a different guise, in a wall painting from Bawit, is dressed to match the apostles in whose company he stands, wearing garments identical to theirs.<sup>66</sup> An abbot, Apa Abraham of Hermonthis, in a panel painting in Berlin, wears a dark wool tunic with white bands (we'll come shortly to the reason for recognizing it as wool); his white undertunic shows at the neck, like that of the abbot Apa Menas in a panel painting from Bawit.<sup>67</sup> Apa Menas is dressed in a tunic very much like those we have considered in depictions of John the Baptist and of Elias. The tunic is dark yellow wool with brown or purple bands and a plain neck. Menas wears it over a white undertunic, with a white shawl over his shoulders. The shawl is not crossed in front, but draped around him, with a short segment over his belly either fringed or shedding a fringe-like shadow; the visible end, draped over his left hand, is marked with a small undeciphered roundel.<sup>68</sup> Narrow dark red bands run all the way down both tunics, and on the outer tunic, clusters of dots, including a cruciform or lozenge formation in this color mark the garment's bottom edge.<sup>69</sup> We may assume from Christ's gesture that this abbot is dressed to enter heaven. The image echoes one in the Egyptian pagan tradition, where the deceased enters the afterlife under the protection of Anubis.<sup>70</sup> Purple bands on a tunic represent not only high status but luxury, because of the costly, imperially-controlled murex dye or its mollusk, lichen, or insect-based imitations, required for true purple color.<sup>71</sup>

Again, we must ask whether the abbot really wore a tunic with purple bands, or whether the painting follows a formula projecting worldly honor into the spiritual plane with this detail, to show the abbot worthy of the company of Christ by borrowing a feature of dress that might be expected of a man in imperial office. Coptic standards of verisimilitude depend on a different attitude from ours toward standardized personal appearances as signifiers of identity. While Kitzinger sees geometricized faces as an imitation of portraits from the life, Hans Belting has asked of this image, as of others we are considering, whether they are memorial portraits, or more like icons; from Thomas Mathews's investigation of the origins of Christian icons in pagan devotional panel paintings from Roman Egypt, from Paul Zanker's identification of the Charismatic pagan holy man as a model for Christian iconic usage; and most recently from Charles Barber's investigation of the nature of pre-iconoclastic icons, we also learn caution.<sup>72</sup> In memorial portraits as well as in icons, we may misunderstand what it was such images sought to communicate if we turn to them for reliable pictures of the real-time physical appearance of monastic persons. On the other hand, it is also possible that there was no standardization of monastic dress in the sixth and seventh centuries.

For dress styles, social norms were more important models than scriptural texts. We never see a monastic leader baring his knees in the short tunic of a workman, hunter, or soldier, and never clad in trousers, leggings, or pants. Abbots always wear the long robes of authority, in spite of Christ's warning in Luke 20.46 to "beware of the Scribes, who desire to walk in long robes," to advertise their piety. Yet John Climacus associates clothing with flesh when he warns the monks on Step 27.11 that just as it is unsafe to swim dressed in one's clothes, anyone who is a slave to passions should avoid theology. The heavy weight of linen or wool clothing saturated with water is a vivid metaphor for earthly passions that encumber the intellect and drag the spirit down. A few lines later he nevertheless likens a theologian to a teacher or philosopher, implying a well-dressed person whose garments might well include long purple bands, as we know from early Christian depictions of Christ teaching, to express his dignity and his authority. John uses this image as a foil or contrast to that of a penitential mourner who will sit, like Job, in rags. This contrast reminds us of the Pachomian provision for a monk to have two tunics, one of them shabby. Was the good one for ceremonial wear, and the threadbare one for dirty work, planting or harvesting in the monastery garden, or the daily rope making with rushes that were strewn over the floor? Or was it for humble meditation and penitence? Who decreed when either tunic was to be worn? The monasticism John knew could encompass both extremes of style.

The portraits clearly express the principle of authority betokened by appearance. In Byzantine Egypt, the painted Berlin portrait of Apa Abraham demonstrates, perhaps, an ideal compromise between humility and dignity of dress. The holy man is dressed neither in rags nor in the white robes of the philosopher, but he does present a philosopher's attribute in his bald head. Before you protest that he couldn't help being bald, it is noteworthy that Synesius, the Bishop of Ptolemais who lived well into the fifth century, reveals to us in his entertaining *Praise of Baldness* that a painter's model was not necessarily the person to be portrayed, but rather one whose appearance was appropriate. For painted panels, as for coins depicting philosophers or acolytes, he says, bald men are the models chosen.<sup>73</sup> So we may assume that an abbot's dress in a stela, like Apa Abraham's in the painted panel's depiction is as appropriate to his identity as is his baldness, although the stela may long postdate the abbot and may represent him in presentation dress. This Apa Abraham was not only Bishop of Hermonthis; he was the abbot of the Phoibammon monastery at Deir el Bahri near Thebes. He presents the high forehead and the beard of a philosopher.<sup>74</sup>

Responding directly, now, to some of Rebecca Krawiec's evidence about Shenute's clothing, I hope to connect several monastic portraits with actual garments. Like the tunic in the portrait of Apa Abraham, Shenute's prized garment was evidently made of wool. Wool is more susceptible than linen to moth damage. Wool fiber permits a garment to be the fine color Shenute so admired, such as the dark hue we see in the painting, or the red of the tunic in Washington. The bright coloring may be the reason the Pachomian rule prohibits monks from keeping their wool tunics. Wool cloth took its color either from dark or light natural fleece, or else from dye, because wool's properties as a fiber allow it to take and hold the dye better

than linen did with the technology of the time. Garments made of linen, which resisted dye, were usually the natural off-white, although washing and bleaching sometimes whitened linen yarn. But as we shall see, many monastic images of abbots and deacons depict garments of colors that show them to be made of wool. A political motivation for this choice, in late Roman Egypt, might have been a legacy of the white senatorial togas of pagan Rome. On the one hand, there is a conservative, but weakening preference for men of secular power to wear white garments, leaving colorful displays to women. On the other, under Eastern influence, military men may dress as brightly and richly as women, leaving white for churchmen, who benefit from the same intimation of power that often dresses Christ and the apostles in white; and as we have seen, an abbot in a monastic wall painting can be similarly dressed.

If we look at a red tunic in the Textile Museum as a guide to the tunic in the portrait, we see articulating tapestry bands woven into the garment's plain-weave fabric, not sewn on.<sup>75</sup> As so-called *clavi*, they pass over the shoulders and down the front and back, to terminate in a clumped fringe that helps to weight the edge along the hem. Such fringe, common on wool tunics, and mentioned by Shenute, is another sign that Shenute's beloved garment was made of wool. The wide spacing of the *clavus* bands, which we shall see presently on a stele bearing the name of Pachomius, is another characteristic of wool tunics. The red tunic's double sleeve bands girded the arms, matching the *clavus* bands with lions, fish, and dancers from the Bacchic repertory. If tunics like this, combining Christian motifs with the secular Dionysiac repertory, were worn by reasonably prosperous petitioners seeking entrance to the monastery, we cannot say whether their display of capering Bacchic dancers remained forever hidden after entering the abbot's coffers. We may ask, however, whether the white bands passing over Apa Abraham's shoulders are not the *clavi* of a deliberately plain and commonplace tunic, such as we saw on John the Baptist at Porec, rather than a liturgical omophorion, or stole, as has been previously suggested.<sup>76</sup> We may also note that the shoulders of this tunic, like Apa Abraham's shoulders, are free of tapestry markers. If his tunic was constructed like the one at the Textile Museum, the long bands would have marked the location of his legs within the garment in a dignified and subtle manner, just as they isolate and frame the axis of his head.<sup>77</sup> It is an effective garment design for someone, like an abbot, who needs to be seen and perceived by his subordinates both in stasis and in action. The stains on this tunic, resulting from the decay of the body buried in it, grimly remind us of the mortifying stains Shenute took for his text.<sup>78</sup>

Although richly-decorated clothing is contrary to the monastic ideal of poverty, the British Museum Saqqara stele of Pachomius, from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias, gives him a garment with a wool tunic's wide full-length tapestry bands, richly patterned and far apart. He looks suitably dressed for presentation at the court of heaven, rather than for doing his humble work of growing food and serving it to others. His shawl or mantle is long and fringed, recalling the fringe of a Jewish prayer-shawl, the *tallith*, in spite of Christ's criticism of excessive fringe in Matthew 23:5. This garment hangs behind him to his ankles instead of being crossed in front, where it dips in catenary curves.<sup>79</sup>

A tight pair of sleeves, like those commonly depicted on undertunics, ends at his wrists. The decorative features hanging in folds from his elbows are, I believe, the folded or perhaps pleated empty sleeves of his capacious outer tunic. Tunics with sleeves that could be worn off the arms may be, like designer jeans, a style of dress that begins as functional, worn at first by persons of low social status. Over time it becomes subject to many luxury versions of what in some designs makes practical sense. Rhodia, the woman whose presentation on a stele from Bultya has been compared to the shape of the ankh cross above her, wears her empty sleeves not dangling, but boldly belted in front of her.<sup>80</sup> One of the women in the loop-pile hangings, a fragment in Detroit, also wears dangling sleeves, in another style.<sup>81</sup> The empty sleeves of her white undertunic emerge through slits under the arms of the outer tunic.

Clear and frequent evidence for dangling sleeves both in linen and in woolen tunics survives in actual garments. Reinforcements below the armholes bear witness to the presence of a slit there, where the seams were left open to let the arms through. Some tunics also have sleeves too narrow to go around an arm, and too long to be proportionate to the body of the garment. One such tunic, preserved with the sleeves unstitched, is a child's woolen garment of the Byzantine period; a linen tunic with the sleeves fully seamed is a variant of the fashion attributed to the tenth to twelfth century.<sup>82</sup>

Since the Pachomian ideal for monastic life is the life of service, we may imagine that monks and nuns sometimes did wear tunics with sleeves dangling, as a fashion well suited in hot climates for people who carry things. On a floor mosaic of the fifth century in Madaba, a woman personifying the fields carries a game bird and bears on her shoulder a heavy basket of her fruits. She wears her tunic sleeveless in the warm Jordanian garden, with the narrow, tubular sleeves hanging at her back.<sup>83</sup> Her arms, unencumbered for work, have passed through slits at the base of the sleeves. In a tapestry depicting servants entering an arcaded dining hall, several arms emerge through slits that seem to be partway down the dangling sleeves.<sup>84</sup> The fashion survives a major change in tunic design, brought in with Asian styles of dress in the Arab period. In 703, less than 50 years after the Arab conquest, an orans figure on a stele records a new style of tunic, cut to the shape of the torso down to the waist, and flaring out below, like a wool tunic in Berlin.<sup>85</sup>

Further forward in time, in the late eleventh century, we find the flared style worn by a hooded man who has been assumed to be a monk. He is painted in a lusterware bowl, from a group with inscriptions in Arabic wishing good fortune (*sa'ad*); in one hand he holds a monumental censer.<sup>86</sup> Like his outer garment, it is embellished with a shorthand for richness that we may interpret as making the vessel glass, enameled and gilded, the clothing patterned silk with *tiraz* armbands; he is the antithesis of the desert-dwelling Antony dressed in wool who was not forgotten, but praised as a monastic precedent in a text attributed to the twelfth century.<sup>87</sup> He follows the old custom of wearing one arm in, one out, although his long pointed sleeves are manifestly not designed for heavy work.

Beside him stands a cypress tree transformed by a crossbar into the old Christianized ankh sign for eternal life, like the ankhs in a textile grid from the Byzantine period.<sup>88</sup> The Ankh survives as a hieroglyph for Life through Christian centuries because of its resemblance to the cross. As we look at this fortunate man we may guess that Coptic monks aspired to be dressed as finely as he for their eternal life beyond earth; it remains for us, after the observations in this prelude of a paper, to learn more about what they wore on their way there.

## Endnotes

1. With groundbreaking insight, Kitzinger crossed media and linked the Byzantine and Persian cultures to identify a unit of architectural sculpture as an apparent basis for the design of a tapestry wall hanging in “The Horse and Lion Tapestry.”

2. Benaki Museum 7145, Papanikola-Bakirtzis no. 291; for hangings in this group, see Schrenk, 1993; see also major examples in Rutschowskaya 1990 p. 131 (Abegg), *Ägypten Schätze* no. 422 (Stuttgart), and Schmidt-Colinet ill. 3 (Louvre). The technique of an example on loan (cited in note 4 below) is described by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as “closely-knotted slip-loop knotted pile” of wool, “discontinuous supplementary weft,” on plain weave linen. In relation to fragments from such hangings in the Choron Collection housed in New York and Switzerland, Maguire et al 1999 p.138-40 summarizes the historical context for the hanging with orans figures. There are precedents in a variety of other media for votive gifts from monastic donors, including a carved lintel in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, a silver cross in Berlin, a liturgical book cited below in note 8, and the Bawit wall painting cited below, in notes 6, 30, 49.

3. The Bawit portrait of the monk Mark is at the Musée des Jacobins 985.229, Auch, France, Institut du Monde Arabe 2000 no. 74. For the derivation of the face type for the Christian holy man from pagan models, see Paul Zanker, p. 14-15, 20-21, 108-113, 229, and 306-7; see note 55 below.

4. Grabar 1968, 1-10. Athanasius refers to the notion of the soul guide when Antony sees the guiding upward of the soul of Amun, after his unannounced and distant death, VA 60. In the Kelekian fragment, displayed as L.2001.61.28, the archangel holds the cross-staff in the same way in the Copenhagen limestone stele, Grabar’s key to the entrance scene, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek A.789 (Ae.I.N.884), Beckwith fig. 90. For ease of reference, Beckwith will be cited for illustrations wherever possible. Archangels have the same gesture and the same elegantly creased sleeve in the British Museum ivory panel or the Louvre limestone panel from the Monastery of Apa Apollo in Bawit, Beckwith figs. 89, 90, and 88. The plumage of the angel’s wing resembles the rows of U-shaped feathers on a limestone relief of an archangel, Coptic Museum, Cairo, 4311, Severin fig. 7, p. 373 in Emmel et al, vol. 1.

5. Story of Macrina: Rebecca Krawiec, “Clothes Make the Monk,” paper from Symposium published here, 5-6 [now see also Krawiec “Garments,” pp. 146-148 ed.] Tertullian, *De habitu muliebri*, 1:3, makes reference to the adornment of a martyred (?) woman for her funeral, as cited by Lynda Coon, p. 37 and note 31. Bishop Nonnos of Antioch, having begun life as a Pachomian monk at Tabennisi, compares the bejeweled Palagia with a soul adorned to meet Christ the bridegroom, Coon p. 78. Perpetua, in the midst of her martyrdom, gathers her torn tunic about her and asks permission to pin up her hair, *Martyrdom* 20. Such conceptions of the decorum of elegance for the blessed arriving in the next world stand in direct contrast to monastic stringencies in this world, as expressed in the West, for women, by Caesarius of Arles, Coon p. 39.

6. For the understanding of earthly bounty, see Maguire 1987; compare the Washington loop-pile orans woman, 71.46, Trilling 106, with the head of a woman sporting huge earrings on the end-tab of a tapestry band adorning a luxurious loop-pile furnishing fabric of linen fleece in the same museum, no. 71.121, Trilling 69. A monastic origin for the loop-pile orans depictions would be in keeping with the votive character of the carved refectory lintel at Mt. Sinai, with its heavenly scene of angels carrying the cross, and its Psalm inscription (112/113:7) “He lifts the needy from the dunghill,” Forsyth pl CII. See Sheldrake p. 92-116 on Egyptian monasticism’s otherworldly focus. Athanasius in the *Vita Antonii* repeatedly cites the principle of heavenly reward or super-recompense for ascetic deprivation on earth; cf. VA 1, 14, 16, 17, 44.

7. Cloke, in observing this pattern, also notes the expectation that a woman heading a monastic community would come from a wealthy family, p. 165-6, and 166-175. Pachomius, in the Boharic Life (105) gauges heavenly status in terms of earthly riches, with high rank and riches in heaven more likely to result from communal monastic than from solitary eremitic life on earth.

8. Textile Museum, Washington D.C. 71.46, Trilling no. 106; it is published in color in Volbach 1969, pl. 33.
9. See notes 25 and 44 below. This [Thek]la's belt is red; the crosses have dots in spandrels, cf. Apa Sansno's stele, instead of the bars between the crosses of the belt worn by Elias at Sinai. For studded military belts, see note 40.
10. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum 1984-103, *Ägypten Schätze* no. 421; Schrenk fig. 4; see note 2 above. In this exploratory paper the clothing terminology is purposefully kept as general as possible, in order to avoid misleading distinctions or anachronistic categories; a shoulder-covering outer garment can be a shawl or mantle, while a mantle may, for example, be a pallium, but need not be one.
11. The collection is housed in New York and Switzerland; this hanging is no. C27, Maguire et al 1999.
12. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, said to be from the Bawit Monastery of Apa Apollo; *Ägypten Schätze* no. 92; Beckwith fig. 45. Compare the fifth-century version of Asian dress on the lower portions of the three magi in the S. Apollinare mosaic in Ravenna, Deichmann pl. 133.
13. Story of Shenute's garment(s); Rebecca Krawiec, "Clothes Make the Monk," Symposium paper published here 2009, esp. p. 9 [also now briefly in Krawiec "Garments," p. 145, ed.].
14. There is almost a typological relationship between the ascetic imagery of the gate or door of heaven and the use of gates or doors in the hagiography of martyrs. In the *Martyrdom of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, the heavenly gate (10, 12-13, 20) or its earthly prefigurings in the prison gate and the Porta Sanavivarium, or Gate of Life in the arena, are the martyr's destination; angels who go in to robe themselves, and spiritual advisors seeking counsel appear in a vision of the gate in walls made of light. At the end of chapter 4 in *The Martyrdom of Ignatius*, "a fair door of martyrdom was opened to him," Roberts and Donaldson trans. p. 129. After the age of persecution, the endurance and discipline of the ascetic life were accepted as the equivalent of martyrdom.
15. Coptic Museum, Cairo, Wessel pl. 80.
16. Pachomius uses a doorbolt as a weapon of choice in the First Sahidic Life 10-19; his soul returns to his deathbed in the Boharic Life 114. The scene on the Mainz limestone stele, Landesmuseum 3, *Ägypten Schätze* 54, with an angel at the bedside, although it has much in common with later Byzantine death scenes, was previously identified as the Dream of Joseph.
17. VA 19.
18. The plaques with the heavenly cross under an arch are possibly not book covers but revetment panels or votive plaques from southern Lycia (village of Kumluca, Turkey, the ancient Korydalla). For the paradisaical identification of this cross as "the tree of life in the midst of the garden" (Gen. 2:9), and further examples, see Kitzinger "A Pair of Silver Book Covers."
19. Staatliche Museen Berlin SMB-PK, MSB, Inv.-Nr. 4480, *Ägypten Schätze* 82. Instead of an arch, an architrave frames the heavenly cross in another, more abbreviated version on a limestone stele in the British Museum, where the columns, with their highly-detailed foliage capitals, replace the trees, Kitzinger 1940 pl. 15; on a related stele from Erment in Upper Egypt, Victoria and Albert Museum 220-1894, the Tree of Life is an Ankh cross with a pomegranate/rosette head, Beckwith fig. 130.
20. Maguire et al 1999, C25. A fragment of a secular and probably earlier wall hanging, in the Choron collection illustrates the possibilities of a mosaic-like chromatic range, with more than twelve distinct and blended colors of wool woven into bleached linen, Maguire et al 1999 no A1. Other features of his characterization appear outside Egypt, in mosaics and in other media. The 565 portrait identified by Piccirillo 1993, fig. 216, p. 160 as a priestly donor, in the Chapel of the Priest John, Mount Nebo, is a bulky, firmly-outlined frontal figure; a large, flat face, low brow, big oval eyes, and long nose, characterize an angel in a votive carving on the granite lintel at the Sinai monastery, executed in the name of an archdeacon and a priest by Samuel the monk (see note 6 above); the strong brows over emphatic eyes; a cap-like arc of hair; and a long nose flared at the tip occur in a bust on a clay lamp found in Istanbul, Hayes no. 138, pl. 25, p. 89-90. The concentric circles surrounding the bust are known on other lamps, including one from Alexandria, in the Louvre: no. 99 in Catherine Metzger, ed. *Musee du Louvre. Lampes en terre cuite grecques, Lampes en terre cuite chretiennes*, 1986; the face on another clay lamp in Berlin, SMB-PK, MSB inv. no. 10313, purchased in Luxor in 1903, takes us up the Nile; see *Ägypten Schätze* no 341a.

21. This figure, 52.2.10, one of three fragments of loop-pile hangings in the exhibition, wears a yellow-brown tunic with dark *clavi*, like Elias in the Sinai mosaic, or Apa Menas in the Paris panel painting, or John the Baptist at Poreč he wears a diagonal garment over his tunic. Like the Abegg Elijah he extends his right arm to hold or offer something.

22. Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, I 1144, *Ägypten Schätze 52*; possibly a direct copy of the cult image, Belting p. 88. In general the longer the shoulder covering garment, the more the prestige. For Gregory of Tours, Coon p. 67 suggests that Martin's cutting his chlamys is a sacrifice of his own dignity. For colors in military dress of rank, see Achilles's son Pyrrhus, transformed from herdsman to soldier, as described by Philostrates the Younger in the fourth century: he wears a purple chlamys gathered up to hang over his left arm from his right shoulder, and underneath, a white tunic that does not reach the knee: *Imagines* (Loeb ed) 1, 20-23.

23. Rutschowskaya 1990 p. 131. For both Elijah and Elisha as spiritual models for monks, see VA 8 and 34. Another Biblical narrative scene on this hanging is the spies of Moses returning with their grapes.

24. See note 83 below. Because of their dedication to service, the Pachomian Boharic Life 105 designates cenobites as royal servants in high favor, who not only come and go from the palace freely (reversing their gated life in the monastery), but give entrance to those greater than themselves. The apotropaic riders (in the Abegg and Stuttgart hangings) and animals on these textiles belong to the context of palace life; see Maguires et al, 1989 p. 11, 28. Stags or gazelles, a raptor, a running hare, and a green plant are all among the seal motifs found at the Monastery of Epiphanius, Winlock and Crum p. 80 fig. 33, 14-18, and see note 32 below; friezes of running animals, as in a hunt, punctuate the stele with the ankh cross, from Erment, cited above in note 19. Rannit no. 29, a loop-pile fragment, presents a crude-looking image of a bearded orans in company with a lion facing away from him.

25. Badawy p. 18; Winlock and Crum p. 76-78, 150-151; Pl. XXVI. I am grateful to Karel Innemée, Darlene Brooks-Hedstrom, and Richard Valantasis for helping me match the loop-pile representations with the *schema* and with the archaeological findings. A loop-pile fragment in Recklinghausen, Wessel p. 197 and pl. XVII, transfers a *schema*-type garment to a horseman who carries a cross: of an apron-shaped cuirass that hangs from both shoulders; below a damaged surface is the central contrasting shape of a splayed cross-base. The outlining of eyes and eyebrows in both red and blue, and the narrow, tapered nose put the weaving close to the Choron holy man cited above, note 20.

26. It is interesting that the unidentified holy man Choron C25 wears his *schema* over both shoulders, instead of only one. For leather garments in Roman military dress, see J.W. Waterer, "Leatherwork," in Strong and Brown, p. 187; see Palladius, LH 32 for fulling and leatherworking among monastic occupations.

27. Interpretation of Shenute's action, Krawiec, "Clothes Make the Monk," Symposium paper published here 2009 [see now also Krawiec "Garments," pp. 145-146, with references to discussions by Dwight Young and Caroline Schroeder, ed.]. See note 49 below for mantles with fringe; for fringed ends on apparently narrower shawls worn by a man and a woman, see the Saqqara Pachomius stele and the Karnak or Luxor stele cited here in notes 64 and 15.

28. Although Vikan, no. 21, points out that the stelai attributed to Saqqara do not show the figures under arches; the decorated frames surrounding Pachomius and this deacon could represent rectangular door frames, carved like the door jamb from Coptes in the Musée Guimet, Lyon, where, as on both sides of the Pachomius stele, a grape vine rises from a vase in a stand, Badawy 3.134. In the Walters Art Gallery 1947 no. 745 pl CVI, a liturgical book, Morgan Library ms 574, a Sahidic Coptic manuscript made for John, Archimandrite of the monastery of S.t Michael of the Desert in the Fayum, by two deacons, Basil and Samuel of Touton, appropriately shows the two archangels as if they were deacons, wearing a stole over the right shoulder.

29. Berlin, Staatliche Museen I.4475, inscribed across the base "Apa Shenute," *Ägypten Schätze 53*, Beckwith p. 26 and fig. 115.

30. My thanks go to Bentley Layton for informing me that the carving is suspected of being a forgery using an ancient Egyptian original; yet the design of the relief capitals belongs to the early Byzantine period. If the anomalies here are the result of a recarving, it could have taken its present form as a pious monastic adaptation for Shenute's cult, rather than as a forgery for the international art market. The tunic's conforming to the body shape suggests not only a posthumous date, but one after the mid-seventh century. In Shenute's long-lived cult

a silver cross in Berlin, of proposed seventh-century date, is dedicated to him by the nun Theodote, Wessell, p. 21 and fig. 16; some Shenute manuscripts are dated from the ninth to eleventh century, according to Stephen Emmel, "Editing Shenute: Problems and Prospects," p. 111 in Emmel et al, vol. 2.

31. For this unidentified woven garment of oval shape, with straps and fringe, Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.632, Gift of Edward S. Harkness 1890, see Stauffer et al no. 30; the equestrian hunter in armor, in one of the large ivory carvings inserted into the pulpit of Henry II in Aachen, Beckwith fig. 106, wears a sash around his waist, tied in front, but a similar shape, worn as a top-status alternative to the narrow tie belt in the companion carving described below; see note 40.

32. Louvre AF 5158, Institut du Monde Arabe no. 86. A cropped X ties the *orans* Rhodia's belt, in her stele cited below in note 80; an X and a circle, common in tapestry-woven textile patterns, secures the center of a cross on British Museum limestone stele 1533, reputedly from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, Beckwith fig. 124: both the X and the cross, with spandrel dots (as on Apa Sansno's stele), are repeated on the arms; compare the dotting with the 8-armed radiant crosses on the covers of Gospel books held by the 4 evangelists, on ivory panels in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge M. 19, M11-1904, Weitzmann 1979, p 486; a warrior with his shield, *orans* figures, and the cross with the four dots appear among the securing signs used for sealing amphorae at the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes; Winlock and Crum p. 80, fig 33: 22, 20-21, 2-3; also among those signs, and repeated on the panels of the door to the Justinianic Sinai church is the Solomon's knot, Ibid., fig 33:6 and Forsyth pl. XCVII, F, I, J; in relation to these defensive signs, the *Vita Antonii* is preeminent among the many texts referring to the battle against demons: cf. VA 4, 5, 13, 21, 23, 35, 44.

33. Rule 8 is the belt punishment. The monk's unbelted tunic reverses the honorific connotation of unbelted tunics in Perpetua's *Martyrdom* 10, 20. A typological study of tunics with and without tuck marks would help to isolate the types of tunic that were worn without belts; see notes 35, 36, and 80 below.

34. For tunic design, see Badawy 4:60 and Martiniani-Reber vol. 1, p.19-20.

35. Tunics of various kinds with tuck marks include, as a random sampling, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926 26.9.8; no. 42, and Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1926 26.9.6, Stauffer et al nos. 31 and 41; in Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum 12746, *Ägypten Schätze* 312; in the Louvre E 26108, a child's tunic, Institut du Monde Arabe 2000 no 218; in the Choron collection, Maguire et al 1999 A12; in Brooklyn, the tunic cited below in note 36. Tunics with stitched tucks at the waist include one said to be from Tuna el-Gebel, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George D. Pratt, 1927 12.185.3; a fragmentary tunic in the Field Museum, Chicago, Maguires et al 1989 no. 68 and fig 28 respectively; the fragment in the Choron collection cited in note 36 below; and the Pushkin Museum 5826, Shurinova no. 5, pl 2.

36. Vogelsang-Eastwood p. 151 and fig. 8:15. The mark of a waist tuck on a wool tunic, Brooklyn Museum 41.523, shows clear indentations on the central axis where the drawstring was tied, Thompson no. 37. On a fragmentary child's tunic of linen in the Choron collection, the terminals of reused tapestry bands are sewn over the tuck, Maguire et al 1999 C26.

37. The Antioch arcosolium places Theodosia between Colluthus and Mary fig. 4, Grabar 1968, p. 4-5; Belting p. 88 and fig. 39; for a color illustration, Institut du Monde Arabe, p. 104. Among the many other sixth-century depictions of high-belted women, see the Annunciation Virgin at Poreč cited in note 39 below, and Salome at Herod's feast in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cod. Suppl. Grec. 1286, fol. 10r, clearly illustrated in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1977 p. 72, along with an ivory carving in the Musée de Cluny, p. 42, where Ariadne with one bare breast, wears a belt with pendant jewels hanging from the two strings at a central circular clasp, an opulent treatment of the tie-belt fashion, perhaps indicating a golden belt worn outside the garment.

38. See the knot in the fringed shawl of the Earth (Ge) personified as Isis in a tapestry roundel in St. Petersburg, Hermitage 11440, *Ägypten Schätze* no 348; Maguires et al p. 3-4, fig. 4, a knot in the life-giving vine centered on a Christian gravestone in the Cairo Coptic Museum; and no. 101 p. 176, a Solomon's knot (for which, see note 32 above and 39 below) centered on a 6-7C buckle plaque from France; in the Monastery of Epiphanius the Solomon's knot marks a seal, Winlock and Crum fig. 33:6. Grabar 1951, p. 30 records a gold belt buckle inscribed ΚΘΠΙΕ ΒΟΕΘΗ (Lord have mercy), articulating the belt fastening as a locus for the security/salvation principle.

39. The belt is dramatically emphasized on this ampulla. The clay ampulla with St. Thekla is Berlin SMB-PK, MSB, Inv.-Nr. 6004, *Ägypten Schätze* 142b; see Beckwith fig 134, an ivory carving of the Ascension in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.46, where Christ does wears an external belt, but like all the other belts in this carving, with no buckle or knot or any other central fixture in the front. The Virgin's belt appears with a central buckle or clasp, perhaps in the shape of a Solomon's knot, in the Annunciation mosaic at Porec, Terry and Maguire fig. 22 and p.210, a part of the scene that appears to be unrestored.

40. The carved wooden writing-equipment box lid is in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, Institut du Monde Arabe 2000, no. 75. The box, from Bawit room 41, Cairo Coptic museum 8796, is attributed to the sixth or seventh century. See Badawy 3:22 for a stele from Egypt where the hawk of Horus, instead of the Christian cross, flanks a military figure, on which a similar configuration of the inner belt's central rising loop with loose ends hanging is held in place by a heavy, studded girdle. The lavishly dressed military S. Vitale, in the apse mosaic of his church in Ravenna, wears a studded belt, Deichmann pl. 352. In the Aachen ivories, Beckwith figs. 107,103,104, the tie belt with a looped knot and dangling ends: it is an alternative military style, as worn by the standing warrior, and tied in a similar way on the syncretic Isis who personifies Alexandria.

41. See the triangular fixtures above the belts of Rome and Constantinople on the ivory diptych in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Natanson pl. 25, and also the Cluny Ariadne's, belt-clasp, cited in note 37 above. When they pull the belt upwards they seem to be toggled through which the jeweled strings are drawn. See note 42 below on mutual imitation in clothing and jewelry. Button-like toggles made of coiled leather strips, through which slide pairs of thongs, are clearly depicted as the means of closing the shield-shaped pockets on the inside of the *schema* at the Monastery of Epiphanius, Winlock and Crum fig. 30. The toggle's approximation of concentric rings makes it visually a substitute for a jewel, through a common, and apotropaic, association of concentric rings with bronze mirrors and reflective gems; see Maguire 1989 p. 5-7, 29. Since the pockets, apparently, were emptied before burial, we do not know what the monks kept in them.

42. The wool cord, museum no E 29139, is no. 125 in the Institut du Monde Arabe catalogue. The gilding of leather belts (see note 45 below) argues that gold belts, as items of jewelry, were well known; although surviving gold marriage belts of the sixth century are not corded. Examination is needed to see whether the gold cording of a necklace supporting a cross and two amulet cases, 70.56.11 in the Burton Y. Berry Collection at the Indiana University Art Museum, is technically similar to the Louvre wool cord. The gold appears to imitate yarn in threadlike, twisted wire, worked into a "double quadruple loop-in-loop chain," as described by Maggie Duncan-Flowers in Maguires et al 1989 no. 90. On tunics in the Textile Museum, the effect of cording is achieved by more than one technical means. For bichromatic scintillation of vertical cording, with tassels as pendants, see a tunic fragment in the Choron collection, Maguire et al 1999 no. A16. A tunic with tassel-like pendants is painted in the Silistra tomb cited below; see Maguires et al 1989 fig. 44.

43. Staatliche Museen, *Ägypten Schätze* 147.

44. Seven brick-lined pits with seat-ledges for weavers working at looms wide enough only for making tapes or bands were found at the Monastery of Epiphanius, Winlock and Crum p. 68-9. See, for studded bands, Claudia Nauwerth, "Zu Spätantiken Leichentüchern aus Ägypten – ein Skizze," in Emmel et al, vol. 1, p. 305-8: more study is needed about the relationship between these dyed linen strips from Egyptian burials, studded with clay or stucco units, and the presumably metal studs on the studded military styles of belt cited in note 40 above, or the belts with repeated crosses worn by the woman in the Textile Museum hanging, (see note 8 above), and by Elias in the Sinai apse mosaic, Forsyth pl. CVI; a belt with crosses was found in a church burial at Thebes, while the pattern of design units separated by vertical dividers, as if in imitation of applied ornaments is found among the leather belts at the Monastery of Epiphanius, Winlock and Crum p. 77-8, fig. 31, as well as on a closely-related leather belt of unknown origin, Benaki Museum 13933, Papanikola-Bakirtzis 472. One section of the Benaki belt is embossed with seal-like studs.

45. See note 41 above for the toggles. Monks at the Monastery of Epiphanius plaited both leather and palm: compare in Winlock and Crum details of the belts and *schema* strap, fig. 31, with the fine, flat palm-leaf plaiting of pl. XIX A. One of the Silistra belts, with a round buckle is held by a wide cloth loop at the waist of footed leggings or trousers; see Maguires et al 1989, fig. 43 and p.158-160. For the tooled and gilded belts, see two fragments from the Offenbach, *Deutsches Schuhmuseum* 4358, 5730, *Ägypten Schätze* 430a-b.

46. Deichmann pls. 352 and 367 give a general view of this style on the red-belted figure lifting the curtain.
47. Collection number A 539; the small cross attached to this buckle by its upper arm also has an attachment fixture underneath. The shape is a known cross-shape of the fourth century. Entries for this buckle and other collection objects will be forthcoming in the Collection's incremental online website.
48. Forsyth pls. CXXXVI-CXXXVII for the full view of the apse mosaics, showing the significant placement of these two monastic portraits at the junction of the Old and New Testament portrait medallion series: the apostles under the arch, and the prophets around the curve of the apse. The shoulders of several apostles and prophets are covered with symmetrical folds similar to the shawls of Longinus and John (pls. CXXI, CXX), but lighter in color and without the cruciform shoulder markers.
49. The wall painting in the Cairo, Coptic Museum is from Saqqara, Monastery of St. Jeremais, Cell A, Rutchowsaya 1998 p. 12 and fig 9 (see note 70 below; the same style of dress is recorded for paintings in Saqqara chapel B, Badawy 4:4); the painting is reproduced in varying stages of preservation; Badawy 44:4 shows considerable losses; Belting, fig 30 shows it at its most complete; for additional color images see Bolman fig. 3.9, Wessel pl. 10, and Deneuve pl. 29, where the scale is large enough to show such details of the donor monk as what appear to be a deacon's band over his left shoulder, and an undyed fringe along the edge of his mantle where it drapes his back. A Roman official overseeing carpenters on in a gold glass medallion wears a chlamys with a similar pale fringe, Joan Liversidge, "Woodwork," in Strong and Brown, fig. 264; the muse Calliope's mantle is fringed all along its lower edge in a carving on an ivory box in the British Museum, Dalton p. 65; for six-century Christian currency, see the Berlin ivory diptych, where both archangels wear the fringed chlamys, and the Virgin a fringed mantle, Beckwith fig. 110. She wears a fringed shawl or mantle also on the Ravenna throne panels, in the scenes of her test with bitter waters, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the magi, Lowrie pls. 90a, 91a and 91b comparable to the fringed *melote* of the central John the Baptist cited in note 54 below. In the Baptism scene the mantle the angel holds for Christ appears to have a clumped fringe (see note 54 below).
50. See Maguire et al 1989 nos. 27, 30 and fig. 49. Trilling no. 97, Textile Museum 72.153, is a fringed linen fragment used in burial, which may have been a shawl; in the Reitz collection, Carroll no 1, is a purple tapestry square similar to the squares that mark the ends of the fringed and pleated shawl in the stele cited above on note 15. St. Apollo's shawl hangs full-length at the back. The preference for chests made of cypress wood noted by Joan Liversidge in Strong and Brown p. 155, may have been apotropaic in another way if the wood, like aromatic cedar chests today, discouraged insects.
51. Stauffer et al 1995. On a tunic in the Pushkin Museum woven in tapestry work very close to the Metropolitan's triumph panel, a belted version of this garment clothes Bacchic dancers, male and female, Shurinova pls. 3 and 4. See Walters Art Gallery No. 181, pl. XVIII, a wooden box on which, in an incised and inlaid bone panel, a Maenad dances in a spotted skin worn over one shoulder; and held in place with a high, studded belt.
52. For color Illustrations, see Terry and Maguire figs. 6, 15.
53. Berlin SMB-PK, MSB, I 6955, *Ägypten Schätze* 331.
54. John is on the front of the throne below the seat, centered between the four evangelists and the archbishop's monogram with paradisaical flora and fauna, including lions at an axial vase of Dionysiac derivation, Museo Arcivescovile, Beckwith fig. 22. See Corrigan for a full-page illustration of this John; and for the Baptism scene, Lowrie pl. 92a. The theology in images quotation is from Barber, p.59. Zanker, n. 68, p. 39, comments on the face in the central Ravenna carving as expressing John the Baptist's parallel role to that of the pagan "holy man." For the Washington satyr, on the back of a medicine box featuring an Isis-Aphrodite with a looped knot in her tie-belt, Dumbarton Oaks no. 47.8, see Beckwith fig. 20. The satyr is otherwise clad in a kilt-like loincloth with a big central knot, and his animal-skin shawl is short. Reading the garment Martin gave the beggar as a short piece of a chlamys adds an ascetic dimension to that story (see note 22 above; Mayo, p.13-14 proposes, improbably, that it was a tunic pinned together by a fibula). Without the fibula required to pin a chlamys at one shoulder, improvisation would tie the fragment symmetrically in front, as if to identify the man who accepted it (Christ in disguise) as a wandering holy man: an anti-satyr.

55. Forsyth pl. CXXIV and see note 48 above; VA 7-8, at the end of the chapter 7, and the opening of chapter 8, hints that this modeling arms Antony with strength against demons. But the visual image provides another dimension: see Stewart p. 96 for Cassian's monastic view of the Transfiguration as a spiritual goal, Conf. 14.11.1. Cassian, Conf 6:2 and 14.4.2 also cites John the Baptist, Elijah and Elisha as models for desert asceticism, and mentions their clothing as sheep or goatskins. The letter about the cure, in a fragmentary sixth-century papyrus, is presented by Michael Kohlbacher, "Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism: Editions in Progress," in Emmel et al, vol. 2, 144. Corrigan p.4 quotes a hymn of Romanos giving John precedence over all the prophets, in keeping with his presentation in the mosaic composition.

56. Corrigan fig. 1, and *passim.*, Belting p. 113 and fig. 85; for a full-page illustration in color, Weitzmann 1978, pl. 7. On the Ravenna ivory's *melote* the knot rises in a highlighted upper loop, like those described above on tie-belts, cf. notes 37 and 40 above.

57. On the Ravenna ivory horizontal rows on John's shaggy garment, clearly visible in Barber fig. 11, combined with careful tailoring and a fringed lower edge, suggest a cloth model. For a hood lined with this kind of artificial fleece in rows of shaggy looped pile, see British Museum Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, no. 73.7-1312.5, Petra Linscheid, "Kapuzen im spätantiken un koptischen Ägypten," in Emmel et al, vol. 1, p. 244 and fig. 10. 61. St. Martin himself ends up, according to Sulpicius Severus as "the Gallic Elijah in a hairy mantle," Coon p. 70, and see note 54 above. The implied sartorial association with John the Baptist, through Elijah, is appropriate to Martin's having witnessed to the humanity of Christ; see Corrigan p. 4-5.

58. On two sixth-century clay tokens of Symeon Styles the Younger in the Royal Ontario Museum (906.181.78, 906.181.84) he is portrayed as a large hooded bust supported by the column. In the first of these it is possible to recognize the monk's shawl pulled in folds over his shoulders; it is not clear whether his hood is attached to his tunic, or to the shawl, making it a hooded cape like those worn by men as one style of traditional winter dress in late twentieth-century Tunisia. On one of the tokens the cross appears not on, but above the hood, and again in a huge medallion centered under his beard, like a brooch closing a shawl of the kind John the Deacon and Longinus the Abbot wear at Sinai. The censuring monk below him also appears to wear a pointed hood. On the second token Symeon's hood is sharply pointed, and again he wears the symmetrically centered monastic shawl, its gathers barely registered by the worn mold; Maguires et al 1989 nos. 126, 127, p. 207.

59. In keeping with the disjunction between dress expected for the state of blessedness and that of the hermit on earth, the earliest known, perhaps sixth century painting of Antony depicts him in a white pallium over a white tunic, Bolman fig. 8, p. xiii, while Athanasius pictures his body in his last days as inseparable from an animal-skin garment, hair-side in, VA 47. The skin garments in the images of John the Baptist are skin-side-out. Pachomius, suffering mockery, is made into a kind of Bacchic donkey like the monks who, strapped into the *schema*, were "harnessed like asses," Winlock and Crum p. 151, although it seems the word *schema* came to stand for all monastic attire.

60. Winlock and Crum p. 76, n. 1; a child's tunic in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Maurice Nahman, 1912, 27.239, Stauffer et al no. 37, has an attached hood, a separately woven rectangle, fringed on 3 sides and seamed along the top. For another, Louvre E 26525, see Rutschowskaya 1990 p. 55.

61. See note 58 above.

62. In the V&A Zacharias silk, *Ägypten Schätze* 413, and Volbach pl. 45, the hood appears to be attached to this man's tunic, but not in the version of the scene on the closely related fragment at Dumbarton Oaks.

63. See Linscheid, note 57 above, and p. 238-249. Further study may someday make it possible to identify one or more monastic weaving workshops by distinctive motifs such as, in fig. 9, the small crosses in combination with narrow lines, resembling a type of tunic decoration in monastic paintings, for example on the tunic of St. Apollo, in the Monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara cited above in note 49. Depictions of women wearing apparently hooded garments include the Textile Museum loop-pile *orans* woman (see note 8 above), and the Virgin of the Berlin ivory diptych, where textiles are rendered in great detail, Beckwith fig. 10.

64. British Museum 1533, Beckwith fig. 123, or Badawy 3.203; the Dumbarton Oaks *orans* stele is also said to come from the Saqqara monastery of Apa Jeremais, cf. note 28 above. For a detail from a Bawit wall.

painting of an abbot with two apostles, see Hall 6, Badawy 4.31 (reproduced in color inside the front cover).

65. See Torp, p. 25, with reference to the Barberini ivory Christ; for related hairstyles, see also the mosaic Christ in the apse of S. Vitale, Ravenna, Mathews, p. 191 and fig. 116; a marble Menas relief in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, Beckwith fig. 10; the British Museum ivory Menas pyxis, Beckwith fig. 36; an ivory polyptych in the Ravenna Museo Nazionale, Beckwith fig. 40, the Berlin Daniel, see note 12 above; a head in an architectural limestone carving from Gizeh, in Berlin, I.4452c, Beckwith fig. 53 and p. 17; the Copenhagen stele cited in note 4 above; the Aachen warrior cited in note 40 above; and with the same reputed provenance as the Pachomius stele, the simpler figure of Apa Dorotheos in the British Museum, no. 1523, Beckwith fig. 127.

66. See note 64 above. In still another Bawit fashion, Apa George wears a tunic with short tapestry bands down the front, under his shawl or mantle. Tapestry roundels, unlike the bands on the tunic of Pachomius, mark the location of his legs, Chapel XVII, Badawy 4:61; for the role of tapestry markers in tunics, see note 77 below. Representations of white at the neck are not uncommon, as in the Auch portrait of the monk Mark; in Makarios or Cyriakos (?) on the Benaki hanging; and in the dangling sleeves of the woman in the Detroit Institute of Arts hanging, Walters Art Gallery 1947, no. 793, pl. CXI (reproduced in color, Volbach 1969 pl. 11).

67. The encaustic panel painting of Abraham, on acacia wood, Staatliche Museen, Berlin SMB-Pk-MS-bk-6114, is believed to come from his own monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el Bahri: Bolman fig. 3.7, p. 34; *Ägypten Schätze* 110; Wessel, frontis. and p. 174; Rutschowskaya 1998 p. 36; Belting p. 93 and fig. 45. The encaustic panel painting of Apa Menas and Christ is in the Musée National du Louvre 5718, Paris, Rutschowskaya 1998 p. 4 and fig. 1 and passim; Bolman fig. 3:10, p. 36; Belting p. 96 and fig. 48. Although the figures in wall paintings and panels have no monastic uniform or official habit in common, representations of white at the neck are not uncommon, as in the Auch portrait of the monk Mark; in Makarios or Cyriakos (?) on the Benaki hanging; the dangling sleeves of the woman in the Detroit hanging cited in note 66 above are another way of making the undertunic visible.

68. See note 21 above. The shawl Apa Menas wears and Christ's outer garment may both be versions of the mantle or pallium designating a teacher, singled out by Tertullian as Christian clothing. The pallium is a Greek garment, by origin, but by the late 3rd C, in Rome, Zanker sees it as equal in status to the toga, p. 279-82. He notes, p. 274, Tertullian's observation that the *pallium* gave instant public recognition to "professional intellectuals of all kinds," and on p. 267 quotes *De pallio* 6.2, where Tertullian refers only to the white version of the garment, which would blush at an immoral thought.

69. Rutschowskaya 1998 as cited in note 67 above, and p. 38. Surface losses before conservation treatment, seen in a photograph of the Menas and Christ panel at the time of its discovery, do not include these details of dress; see fig. 84 for a watercolor drawing from Bawit chapel III, where the monks' tunics show similar narrow red *clavi*, and red dot ornaments clustered along the bottom; see notes 49 and 63 above.

70. See note 4 above; Grabar 1968, pinpoints the pharaonic Anubis "psychopompe" iconography in Christian versions, p. 7-10, as a predecessor for that of the Copenhagen stele. Grabar observes that for Christian arrivals in heaven, the angel may replace Anubis; the Virgin may replace Osiris. See also Rutschowskaya 1998 fig. 42, a Roman Egyptian scene of Anubis presenting the deceased, Louvre N 3076; see fig. 84 for a watercolor drawing from Bawit chapel III, where the monks' tunics show similar narrow red *clavi*, and red dot ornaments clustered along the bottom; see note 63 above.

71. For murex substitutes, see Rutschowskaya 2002 p. 29; J. P. Wild, "Textiles," in Strong and Brown, p. 175; Marianne Erikson, "Golden Anonymous and St. Mena - or Daniel in the Lions' Den: Two late Antique Coptic Depictions in the Weave," in Emmel et al p. 112.

72. Barber 2002. A parallel phenomenon to the stelai from Christian Egypt are the commemorative reliefs known in India as hero-stones and suti-stones, ostensibly erected as memorials, but encouraging the development of local cults, and therefore not without economic motivation; see Thapar p. 341-2. In a dialogue between coin portraits and Egyptian monastic images, the encaustic panel painting identified by its inscription as the monk Mark cited in note 3 above conforms to the geometricized portrait style cited in note 65 above; see Kitzinger, "Icons of the Seventh Century." In the loop-pile hangings, however, this facial type, occurring in male orans portraits as well as in Elijah and Elisha, is associated by Belting with a "Semitic" Christ portrait, bearded but with a short cap of curls, with a 705 issue of coins by Justin II, p. 138 and fig. 82, and see p. 88-101 for

funerary portraits and icons; Mathews has added a chapter on the origin of icons to the 1999 edition of *The Clash of the Gods*; for Zanker, see note 3 above; for the operative understandings that shaped Christian images, see Barber.

73. Synesius. *Encomium calvitii*. [For a translation by A. Fitzgerald, with Migne page numbers, see [http://www.livius.org/su-sz/synesius/synesius\\_baldness\\_23.html](http://www.livius.org/su-sz/synesius/synesius_baldness_23.html) (accessed July 1, 2009) ed..]

74. Clement of Alexandria recommends the beard as a sign of authority (Paid. 3.11.60), although Augustine associates it with youth, strength, and speed (Enar. in psalm. 132 [Migne 37.1733]), Zanker p. 290; Zanker points to the unruly beard of Chrysippus (p. 108-113) as a statement of Stoic doctrine. For the long beard as part of the image of “the ultimate spiritual and religious authority,” and its appropriation to the Christian image of a holy man, see p 14-15, 20-21, 229, and 306-7.

75. The tunic, TM 711.8, Trilling 74, has borders representing goldsmith’s work, pearls on, with pomegranates and vessels between them

76. Wessel p. 174 and Rutschowskaya n.d. p. 36. Partly due to the flaking of the paint surface, the identity of a third white element at the neck and shoulder of Apa Abraham remains unclear.

77. A common design principle (Maguire 1999 p. 12-13) marks major functional nodes and axes, such as those of columns in a built structure or limbs on a human body, with focal and often apotropaic panels or carvings. This principle, shared between clothing and architecture, composes the presentation of the person in space and gives the static figure a kind of murality that is thoroughly in keeping with the monastic ethos.

78. Decay of Shenute’s garments, Rebecca Krawiec, “Clothes Make the Monk,” paper in this symposium, published here 2009, 7-9.

79. British Museum 1533, Beckwith fig. 123, or Badawy 3.203. For the rosette-like crosses in the diagonal (or “poised”) squares of the tapestry bands, see the framing of X and cross motif in the gridded mesh pattern of a tapestry roundel in the Royal Ontario Museum, 910.129.60, Maguires 1999 no. 76 .

80. Rhodia’s limestone stele is Staatliche Museen, Berlin, SMB-PK, MSB. 9666, *Ägypten Schätze* no. 66. Made mostly from published photographs, a preliminary list of stelai with orans figures who may be wearing empty sleeves would include, in addition to Rhodia and Pachomius, women and men in several styles. The women are, in Berlin, Staatliche Museen 9624, a woman with empty sleeves pleated into a double fold like those of Pachomius; she wears an ankh-like hood and stands in a niche between diminutive figures of Cosmas and Damian, identifiable by their medical bags, Badawy 3.199; in Turin, apparently in damaged condition, dangling narrow tubular sleeves between columns inscribed with crosses, Museo Egizio, Suppl. 1333, Badawy 3.2000. 80A man on a stele inscribed Phoibammon Metropolitan Museum of Art Rogers Fund, 1910 10.176.40, wears empty sleeves pleated in three folds; a beardless deacon (?) from Giza, Wessel pl. 79, with chin-length curly hair and a band over his left shoulder (see notes 49 and 28 above) wears tubular dangling sleeves; another beardless man with chin-length curly hair, holding up a cross and a wreath, dangles one or two small pleated sleeves under his arms, Coptic museum, Cairo, no. 114, Severin in Emmel et al, vol. 1, p. 368 and fig. 6, p.372; and the man guided by the angel, in Copenhagen cited here in notes 4 and 81; Apa Dorotheos, cited in note 65 above, wears his dangling sleeves, like Pachomius, in a double-fold pleat. All the male figures wear unbelted tunics.

81. The style of the tunic worn by the woman in the Detroit fragment (see note 69 above), with wide full-length *clavi*, is similar to the TM red tunic. For a color illustration, see Volbach pl. 11. Around her neck, she wears a bulla, like Rhodia (see note 80 above). A drawing based on an image in a manuscript dated 1000 appears to continue the empty sleeve style, in a woman hailing the equestrian St. Theodore as he slays a serpent, Vatican Copt. 66, fol 210 v, Badawy 4:57. If the drawing is rightly understood, a pair of bands across the end identifies the sleeve, as in the Detroit hanging and the Copenhagen stele; but the supposed sleeve is not visible in a published photograph, Bolman fig. 4:1.

82. Maguire et al no. B11, a child’s tunic in the Choron collection; *Ägypten Schätze* 311, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, SMB-PK, MSB, Inv.-Nr.9917, a tunic with narrow long tubular sleeves and slits for the arms

83. Picirillo [1986] gives a general view of the Hippolytos hall in the House of Phaedra at Madaba. IV, the figure with dangling sleeves is at the left of the Aphrodite and Adonis panel. Three male figures, possibly personifying months, and like the Madaba personification, carrying their offerings with both hands, dangle the empty, tubular sleeves of their undertunics on a large tapestry panel in the Brooklyn Museum, 46.48,

Thompson no. 22. Similarly standing under ornate arches like attendant servants, are male figures whose arms come through a slit half-way down a wide sleeve, on a tapestry fragment in different style, Abegg 1638, Rutschowskaya 1990 p. 21, and another at Dumbarton Oaks; see note 24 above. The empty sleeves in the Brooklyn tapestry are so tiny that it is tempting to consider a miniature wool sleeve cut off a garment, from Karanis, dated before 460 in the fourth or fifth century, in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Ann Arbor, Wilson no. 134. It resembles the dangling sleeves in the Brooklyn tapestry, as well as the Berlin child's tunic (see note 82 above) and the Detroit and Copenhagen depictions in being crossed by two dark bands (in this case not woven in but sewn on); could it be an example of such an undertunic sleeve designed as an accessory, to be seen on the person but never to clothe an arm? It is only 3 3/4 inches wide, and 6 inches long.

84. The Abegg Stiftung tapestry is cited in note 83 above. The fashion gains a degree of elegance when the personification of Ktisis in the baths of Eustolius at Curium, in Cyprus, wears one sleeve on and one sleeve off a braceleted arm, Maguire 1987 p. 48 and fig. 64. Still, as she betokens an activity, she could be said to represent the work of the building profession as much as the wealth of the sponsors, holding a measuring tool or metal clamp for joining two stone blocks.

85. This limestone stele from Medinet-al-Fayum, *Ägypten Schätze* 67, is inscribed to Pusei and Kosmas: Berlin, Staatliche Museen SMB-PK, MSB, Inv.-Nr. 4477; the flared tunic in the same collection is *Ägypten Schätze* 315.

86. Cf. the tree of life as an ankh, note 19 above. For the Fatimid bowl, Victoria and Albert Museum C49-1952, its dating to the second half of the eleventh century and attribution to Luxor, putting it in the vicinity of the Theban monasteries, see Marilyn Jenkins-Madina's entry, no. 273 in Evans 1997; also Contadini p.86. Christ is painted on a lusterware sherd, Cairo Islamic Museum 5397/1, Institut du Monde Arabe 2000 no. 189. Compare these sleeves with the long, dangling sleeves of a dancer on a luster bowl of the same period in the Freer Gallery, Grabar and Ettinghausen, fig. 89, p. 200. His one arm in, one out has a pre-Islamic precedent in the Baths of Eustolius at Curium, with the personification of Ktisis (Foundation or Creation). Maguire 1987, fig. 64 and p.45, 48.

87. Tim Vivian "St. Antony the Great," p. 5, note 20 in Bolman 2002. In the same volume, see William Lyster "Reflections of the Secular Worlds; Secular Elements in Theodore's Program," p. 109-111 on lusterware, and its relation to the depiction of legible tiraz bands in the paintings of a monastic church.

88. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, tapestry fragment with a grid of ankhs. Martiniani-Reber no. 103, color pl. p. 21. vol. 1; cf. also a Berlin fragment, SMB-PK, MSB I p236, *Ägypten Schätze* 342.

**Bibliography:**

- Ägypten Schätze aus dem Wüstensand : Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil : Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Hamm, Gustav-Lübcke-Museum der Stadt Hamm and Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Wiesbaden 1996.
- Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantiker und christlicher Zeit, Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses*, Wiesbaden 1999, vol. 1 and 2
- Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii*, PG 26.835-976; *The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, Robert C. Gregg trans. and ed., Mahwah, NJ (Paulist Press) 1980.
- Alexander Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology: the Art of the Christian Egyptians from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, MA 1978.
- Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: on the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton and Oxford 2002.
- John Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture 300-1300*, London 1963.
- Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence : A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Chicago and London 1994.
- Elizabeth S. Bolman, ed. *Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*, New Haven and London 2002.
- “The Boharic Life of Pachomius,” *Pachomian Koinonia I: The Life of Saint Pachomius*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1980
- Brooklyn Museum, *Coptic Egypt*, New York 1941.
- Peter Brown, “The Rise and Fall of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *JRS* 61, 1971 p. 80-101.
- Diane Lee Carroll, *Looms and Textiles of the Copts*, Memoirs of the California Academy of Sciences Number 11, Seattle and London 1988.
- Gillian Cloke, *‘This Female Man of God’: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 340-450*, New York and London 1995.
- Anna Contadini, *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1998.
- Lynda Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia 1997.
- Kathleen Corrigan, “The Witness of John the Baptist on the Early Byzantine Icon in Kiev,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 1988 1ff.
- O.M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum*, London 1901.
- Freidrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Frühchristlichen Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Baden-Baden 1958.
- Gustave Deneuve, *L’Arte Copta, Forme e Colore* 67, Florence [1970].
- Marilynn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: from the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford [2000].

- Stephen Emmel, Martin Krause, Siegfried G. Richter, Sofia Schaten eds., *Ägypten und Nubien in Spätantike und Christlicher Zeit*, vol. 2, Weisbaden 1999.
- Helen C. Evans ed. *The Glory of Byzantium*, New York 1997.
- Helen C. Evans,, Melanie Holcomb and Robert Hallman, *The Arts of Byzantium*, reprint of *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 63, 2001.
- George H. Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann, with Ihor Sevcenko and Fred Andereg, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor 1973.
- Heinrich Glück, *Die Christliche Kunst des Ostens*, Berlin 1923 .
- Andre Grabar, “Un Médaillon en or provenant de Mersine en Cilicie,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6, 1951, 27-52.
- \_\_\_\_\_ “Deux monuments Chrétien d’Egypte,” in *Synthronon; Art et Archologie de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 2, Paris 1968, 1-10.
- Oleg Grabar and Richard Ettinghausen *Art & Architecture of Islam*, Harmondsworth 1989.
- John Hayes, *Excavations at Sarachane II: the Pottery*, Princeton 1992.
- Institut du Monde Arabe, *L’Art Copte en Egypte: 2000 ans de christianisme*, Paris, 2000.
- John, Climacus (John of the Ladder), *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, tr. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell, New York 1982.
- A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds of Egypt*, London 1920.
- Ernst Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art in the British Museum*, London 1940.
- \_\_\_\_\_ “The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks (A Study in Coptic and Sassanian Textile Design),” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3, 1946, 1-72
- \_\_\_\_\_ “Icons of the Seventh Century,” *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West*, W. Eugene Kleinbauer, ed., Bloomington [1976] p. 162-191
- \_\_\_\_\_ “A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasure,” *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, Baltimore 1974, p. 3-17
- Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil*, Zurich 1963.
- Rebecca Krawiec, “Clothes Make the Monk: the Rhetoric of Clothing in Late Antique Monasticism,” Living for Eternity Symposium paper, published on line, 2009, and here.
- \_\_\_\_\_ “‘Garments of Salvation’: Representations of Monastic Clothing in Late Antiquity,” *J ECS* 17, 2009, 125–150.
- Walter Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, New York 1947.
- Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Maryline Parca, Andrea Kirstein, Susan Layton, and Rose Choron, *Weavings from Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic Egypt, The Rich Life and the Dance*, Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1999.
- Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Henry Maguire, and Maggie Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House*, Chicago 1989.
- Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art*, University Park, Pennsylvania 1987.

- “The Martyrdom of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas,” in Herbert Musirillo, ed. and trans., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford 1972.
- Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: a reinterpretation of early Christian art*, revised and expanded, Princeton 1999.
- Marielle Martiniani-Reber, *Tissus Coptes*, 2 vols., Geneva 1999.
- Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, New York 1984.
- Joseph Natanson, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, London 1953.
- Palladius, *Lausiac History*, W.K.L. Clarke, trans (The Lausiac History of Palladius), London 1918.
- Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis ed., *Κατημερινε Ζοε στο Βηζαντιο*, Athens 2002
- Michele Picirillo, *I Mosaici di Jordania*, Rome [1986].
- \_\_\_\_\_*The Mosaics of Jordan*, Amman [1993].
- Aleksis Rannit, *Coptic Art: Exhibition of Coptic Art by the Olsen Foundation*, Guilford, CT 1955.
- Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya, *Coptic Fabrics*, Paris [1990].
- \_\_\_\_\_*Le Christ et l'abbé Ména*, Paris, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_*“The Arts Using Color,”* in Massimo Capuani, ed. *Coptic Art and Monuments through Two Millenia*, Colledgeville MN 2002.
- Sabine Schrenk, “Der Elias-behang in der Abegg-Stiftung,” *Rigisberger Berichte1: Begegnung von Heidentum un Christentum in spätantiken Ägypten*, 1993, 167-181.
- Annemarie Stauffer, Helen C. Evans, Daniel Walker, and Marsha Hill, *Textiles of Late Antiquity*. New York 1995.
- Andreas Schmidt-Colinet, “Deux carrées entrelaces inscrits dans un cercle. De la signification d’un ornement géométrique,” in *Textiles d’Egypte*, Annemarie Stauffer, ed, Friboug 1991.
- Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory, and Identity*, Baltimore 2001.
- R. Shurinova, *Coptic Textiles: Collection of Coptic Textiles*, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Moscow 1967.
- Erika Simon, *Meleager and Atalante: ein Spätantike Wandbehang*, Bern 1970.
- Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, Oxford 1998.
- Donald Strong and David Brown, *Roman Crafts*, New York 1976.
- Ann Terry and Henry Maguire, “The Wall Mosaics at the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč: A Preliminary Report,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, vol. 4, 1998.
- Romila Thapar, *Early India, from the origins to 1300*, Berkeley 2002.
- Deborah Thompson, *Coptic Textiles in the Brooklyn Museum, Wilbour Monographs II*, Brooklyn [1971].
- M. Hjalmar Torp, “Baouît et Sakkara au VI e siècle,” *Synthronon; Art et Archologie de la fin de l’Antiqueté et du Moyen Age*, Paris 1968. p 11-27.
- James Trilling, “The Roman Heritage: Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 A.D.,” *Textile Museum Journal* 21, 1982.

- Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing, Studies in Textile and Costume History*, vol 2, Leiden 1993.
- W. Fritz Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, London, 1969.
- The Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art: an exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art*, Baltimore 1947.
- Klaus Wessel, *Coptic Art*, New York, 1965
- Kurt Weitzmann, ed. *The Age of Spirituality*, Princeton, 1979.
- Kurt Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century*, New York 1978.
- Lillian M. Wilson, *Ancient textiles from Egypt in the University of Michigan Collection*. Ann Arbor, 1933.
- Gary Vikan, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, from the Ptolemaic period to the Renaissance*, Washington, [1995].
- Herbert Eustis Winlock, Walter Ewing Crum, and Hugh Gerald Evelyn-White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. Vol. 1 *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian expedition*, [vol. 3], New York 1926.
- Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: the Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*. Alan Shapiro trans., Sather Classical Lectures vol. 59, Berkeley 1995.

