


2017

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Mossakowska-Gaubert, Maria, "Tunics Worn in Egypt in Roman and Byzantine Times: The Greek Vocabulary" (2017). *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*. 20.
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In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*, ed. Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, & Marie-Louise Nosch (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017), pp. 321-345.

doi:10.13014/K2XD0ZVC

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Tunics Worn in Egypt in Roman and Byzantine Times: The Greek Vocabulary¹

Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert

The principal element of the fashion in clothing introduced in Egypt with the arrival of the Romans was a tunic made of two rectangular pieces of fabric sewn together. Such a tunic either would leave the arms naked, or cover the arms to the elbow (fig. 1). This fashion changed with the turn of the 2nd and 3rd century AD. At this time, in addition to the tunics without sleeves, the inhabitants of Egypt started to wear tunics with ‘true’ sleeves – long or short, wide or tight – inspired by the Eastern fashion: the manner of making the tunics changed and the decorative motifs became richer.² The tunics were woven to shape, either in one piece (fig. 3)³ or, probably starting from the 5th century AD,⁴ were made up of three pieces stitched together (fig. 4). As for

the sleeveless tunics, they were also woven in only one piece (fig. 2). In the 6th-7th century AD Egypt, one could see a certain influence of the style probably coming from Sassanid Persia.⁵ Amongst other things, this tendency was expressed in tunics with long sleeves, sewn in several pieces (fig. 5).

These changes in fashion are reflected in the vocabulary concerning the tunics, as attested in the papyrological documents and in the literary texts. Several Greek terms are employed to indicate tunics in the texts written in Egypt at this time: δελματική, καμίσιον, κολόβιον, λεβίτων, στιχάριον, χιτών. Studies focussing on Egyptian tunics and their vocabulary are dispersed in isolated comments and lexicographical articles, as well as in the publications of

1. I am grateful to Vivienne Callender who translated my paper into English.

2. Regarding the changes in the fashion of tunics, see Croom 2000, 30-40 and 76-85; Mossakowska-Gaubert 2006, 170-173; Pritchard 2006. On the technical details of constructing the tunics, see also Verhecken-Lammens 1997.

3. Up until now, the most ancient fragments of tunics woven to shape, for which the interpretation leaves no doubt, comes from Dura Europos: they are dated c. 256 AD (cf. Pfister, Bellinger 1945, nos 1-3, pl. V-VII, 14-15 and 17) and from Palmyre – c. 273 AD (Pfister 1934, no. T 20, 19, fig. 2; pl. VI and pp. 24-28).

4. Regarding this date and this phenomenon, see Pritchard 2006, 60 and 68.

5. See, for example, Calament 1996; Martiniani-Reber 1997; Lorquin 2002.

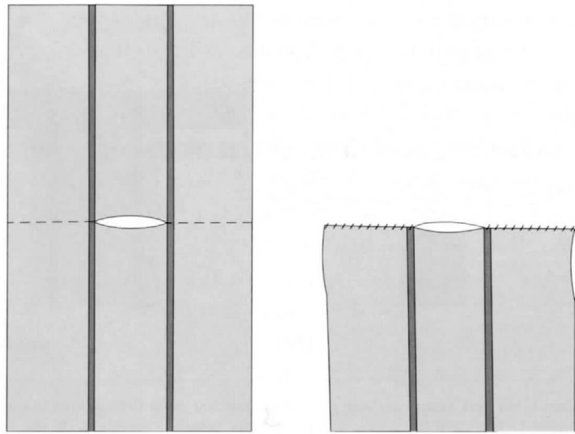


Figure 1. Tunic without sleeves, sewn from two pieces. Drawing: Mahmoud Bakhit © Ifao, after Granger Taylor, Sheffer 1994, fig. 28 and 29.

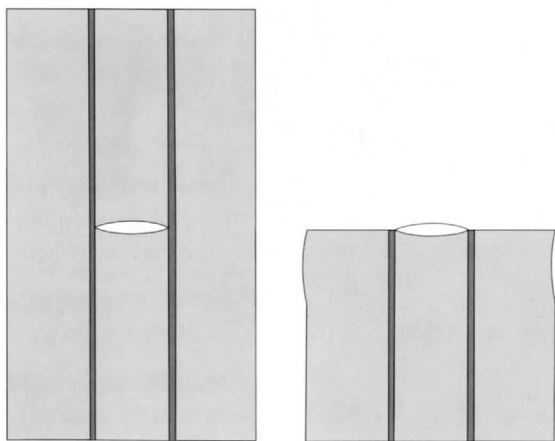


Figure 2. Tunic without sleeves, woven to shape, in one piece. Drawing: Mahmoud Bakhit © Ifao, after Wild 1994, fig. 31b.

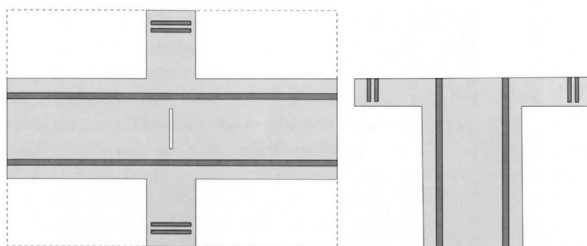


Figure 3. Tunic with long sleeves, woven to shape, in one piece. Drawing: Mahmoud Bakhit © Ifao, after Carroll 1988, fig. 12 A.

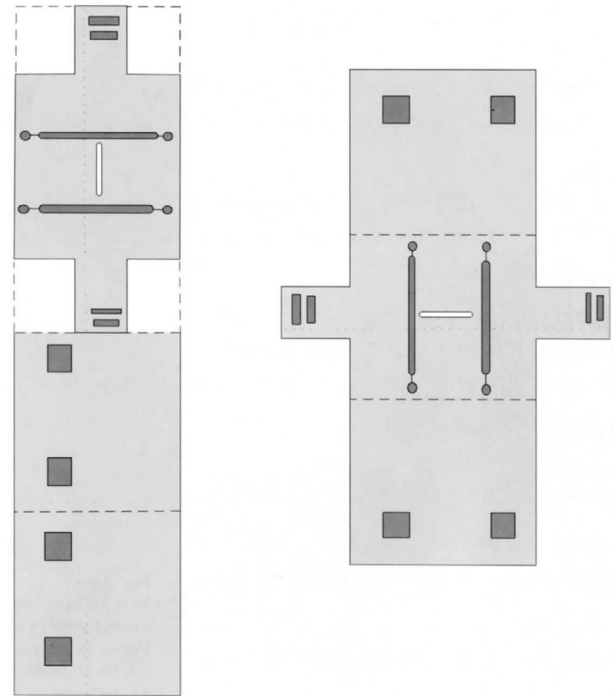


Figure 4. Tunic with long sleeves, woven to shape, in three pieces. Drawing: Mahmoud Bakhit © Ifao, after Lafontaine-Dosogne, De Jonghe 1988, fig. 137 and 138.

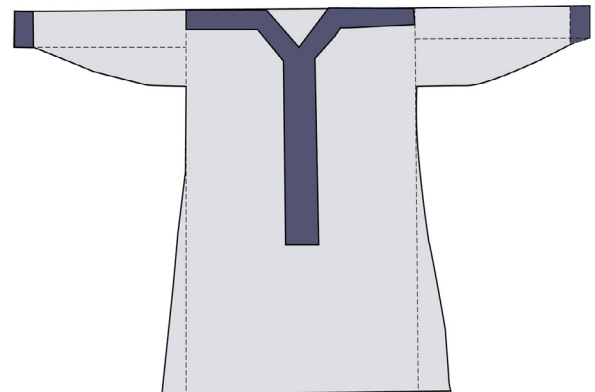


Figure 5. Tunic sewn from several pieces. Drawing © Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, after Tilke 1923, fig. 28.

objects coming from excavations or collections, and they do not exhaust the subject. It is the aim of this paper to present the evolution of the significance of these terms and their employment in the texts coming from Egypt.⁶

δαλματική / δελματική / δελματικίον⁷

Dalomatica is a term having a geographical character, suggesting that the source of this clothing would be from Dalmatia,⁸ but we do not have any archaeological or iconographic evidence confirming this etymology.⁹

The oldest known mention of the Latin word *dalmatica* is attested in an inscription containing the copy of a letter written by Claudius Paulinus,¹⁰ governor of Britannia Inferior, dating from 220 AD.¹¹

The first notification of the word δαλματική in the Greek language seems to be in a register of clothing written on an papyrus found in Egypt and going back to the end of the 2nd - beginning of the 3rd century, undoubtedly before the year 222 AD.¹² The word δελματική/ δαλματική/ δελματικίον is then frequently mentioned in the Egyptian papyri until the 5th century.¹³ We note that this term is almost absent in other Greek texts written in Antiquity, except for the Greek version of the *Edict on Maximum Prices* of Diocletian and the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis.¹⁴ Those two texts are from the 4th century AD.

The *dalmatica* is associated with the liturgical paraments used in the Roman Church at the end of the Empire.¹⁵ Textual testimonies regarding a possible use of the *dalmatica* in a non-liturgical context in the western

6. One section of the studies presented in this article, especially concerning the tunics without sleeves, has been published in Mosakowska-Gaubert 2004. My studies on the tunics were conducted as part of the PhD dissertation entitled *Le costume monastique en Égypte à la lumière des textes grecs et latins et des sources archéologiques (IV^e- début du VII^e siècle)*, prepared under the direction of Włodzimierz Godlewski, and defended in 2006 at Warsaw University. My research on the vocabulary of clothing continues, since 2012 in the collective program "Contexts et mobiliers" directed by Pascale Ballet, Jean-Luc Fournet and myself, hosted by the French Institut of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo – IFAO, and since 2017 in my Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship program MONTEX, hosted by the University of Copenhagen's Centre for Textile Research – CTR.

7. On this term see, for example, Bayet 1892; Murri 1943, 121-127; Wild 1968, 222-223; O'Callaghan 1982-83; Granger Taylor 1983, 139, and Dross-Krüpe in this volume.

8. Cf. Isidor of Seville, *Etym.* XIX 22, 9.

9. See Wild 1968, 222.

10. This letter enumerates the gifts offered by Claudius Paulinus to Sennius Sollemnis, a high dignitary from Roman Gaul. Among the gifts is found a *dalmatica* from Laodicea in Syria. The edition of the text: *CIL* XIII, I, 1, 3162, col. II 10. For a reedited text, with translation and detailed commentary, see Pflaum 1948. For the *dalmatica* see particularly p. 25. Cf. also Wild 1968, 222.

11. Despite a clear comment on this subject, made by Wild 1968, 222, n. 250, one still finds in several scientific publications indications concerning the use of the term *dalmatica* / *delamtica* and of the tunic thus named already about the middle of the 2nd century. This opinion is founded on testimony in the *Historia Augusta*, according to which Commodus wore this garment (8.8). However, that work had been written towards the end of the 4th century and the term *delamtica* used there reflects the vocabulary of its author, rather than the *realia* of the time of Commodus.

12. *SB* XXIV 15922, I 22, IV 5. In addition, from the year 230 AD comes another papyrus found in Egypt containing the term δαλματική (*CPR* I 21, 16). Furthermore, *P. Harr.* I 105, containing the word δαλματικαί (l. 8), is dated by its editor to the 2nd century, however, this dating has been questioned and was taken back to the 3rd century (see *BL* XI, p. 90). One other text, the *P. Oxy.* XII 1583, has been dated in an imprecise manner to the 'second century', and it may be that it was written towards the end of the 2nd century. In the thirties and forties of the 3rd century, the δαλματική term also appears in some papyri found at Dura Europos: *P. Dura* 30, 16-18 (232 AD) and *P. Dura* 33, 8 (240-250 AD) and in a *graffito*: Baur, Rostovtzeff & Bellinger 1933, 153, no. 300, L. 15 – *non vid.*

13. One isolated attestation of the word δαλματική, in a made up word: δαλματικομαφόριον, is found in a text from the 7th-8th century: *SB* VI 9594, 4, 5.

14. *Ed. Diocl.* (301 AD) XXVI, 39, 49, 59 and 72; (315-403 AD), *Panarion* I, 1 XV (*PG* 41, col. 245A).

15. It is not clear in which period exactly the *dalmatica* became the official costume of the Roman deacons. The citations coming from the *Liber Pontificalis* and *Vita Silvestrii* on this use of the *dalmatica* as a sacerdotal vestment in the 4th century, at the time of Pope Silvester, do not seem to be reliable (on this subject to see Bayet 1892, 20). However, evidence concerning the 6th century (e.g., *Life of Caesarius of Arles*, I, 42; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, IV, 42, 2) and much later (e.g., Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* XIX, 22) does seem to be reliable.

part of the Empire are extremely rare.¹⁶ However, this term is usually associated with representations of roomy tunics, with long and wide sleeves, known from Roman art dating to the end of the Empire: they range in style either without a belt,¹⁷ or girdled under the chest (among women)¹⁸ or, more rarely, fastened around the lower part of the hips (among men).¹⁹ One finds tunics of this type in the archaeological material coming in particular from the eastern part of the Mediterranean (fig. 6),²⁰ but not exclusively.²¹ Moreover, one is unaware whether from the beginning this term indicated a tunic with long sleeves, and what the width of these sleeves would have been. A clearly described

dalmatica as a tunic with broad sleeves appears only in the later glossaries.²²

According to the papyrological documents, the δαλματική was worn above all by women,²³ but also by men, especially in the 3rd and 4th century AD.²⁴ However, one does not find in the Egyptian texts any mention of a δαλματική like liturgical vestment. In one of the documents, a δελματική is mentioned among the *vestis militaris*.²⁵ This clothing is not attested in the texts and documents concerning the monks.

The δαλματικάι mentioned in the papyrological texts are made in linen²⁶ or wool,²⁷ sometimes decorated with bands of colors: apparently, the *clavi*.²⁸

16. It should be noted that this term is absent in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. One of the rare examples of the wearing of the *dalmatica* in the context which does not seem to be sacerdotal is found in the description of the martyrdom of Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage (*Acta proconsularia S. Cypriani*, V, ed. Th. Ruinart, *Acta Primorum Martyrum Sincera and Selecta*, Amsterdam 1713, 218, and *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 3, 3, CXIII, 5): clothing that Cyprian removed before his execution, amongst which is found a *dalmatica*, were probably that type of garment usually worn and not liturgical – on this subject, see the comment by Bayet 1892, 20.

17. See the following examples:

Rome: Deckers et al. 1991, colour plate 4: orante (second decennial of the 4th century).

Sicily: Carandini, Ricci & de Vos 1982, 332. fig. 200: mosaic, mistress of the house, Piazza Armerina (4th century AD).

North Africa: Ben Abed-Ben Khader, de Balanda & Uribe Echeverria 2003, fig. 377: mosaic, young woman, Sfax, coll. Brado Museum, Tunis (4th century AD).

18. See the following examples:

Sicily: Carandini, Ricci & de Vos 1982, 332. fig. 200: mosaic, one of the maidservants of the mistress, Piazza Armerina (4th century AD);

Egypt: von Falck & Lichtwark 1996, 118-119, no. 66: stele of a Rhodia, Fayoum (5th century AD).

19. See the following examples:

North Africa: Ben Abed-Ben Khader, de Balanda & Uribe Echeverria 2003, fig. 196: mosaic, combats in the amphitheatre, – central figure Suirat (Amira), coll. Susa Museum (3rd century AD); Ben Abed-Ben Khader, de Balanda & Uribe Echeverria fig. 229: gymnastic show and boxing, – the men preparing decorations, Talh, coll. Gafsa Museum (4th century AD).

20. See, for example, Kendrick 1920, pl. I, no. 1: Egypt – Panopolis (late 3rd to early 4th century AD); Pritchard & Verheeken-Lammens 2001: Egypt – Panopolis? (3rd to early 4th century AD).

21. See, for example, Granger Taylor 1983: two ‘dalmatics of St. Ambrose’, Milan (4th-6th century AD?).

22. See *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz, Vol. V, Leipzig 1894, 356, 72: 91 *dalamtica: tunica latas manicas habens*. In addition, in two Greek texts of the 4th century, already quoted here, one δαλματική was associated with a tunic having short sleeves or without sleeves, called a κολόβιον, either as a garment of the same value, or identical (*Ed. Diocl.* XXVI, 39, 49, 59 and 72; Epiphanius of Salamis I, 1 XV: *PG* 41, col. 245A). The question one would like to answer is whether in this period the δαλματική indicated a tunic with short sleeves, or if a κολόβιον had long sleeves? One can advance the hypothesis that in the case of these texts it concerns a tunic with short and perhaps wide sleeves, however there is no indication on this last aspect. Moreover, in the scientific literature one finds the opinion that the term *dalmatica* relates to all kinds of tunics with long sleeves (e.g., Carroll 1988, 39), which seems incorrect to us, because each type of tunic with sleeves had its own designation (see below the terms καμίσιον and στιχάριον).

23. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* XX 2273, 12 (late 3rd century AD): δ. destined for a girl; *P. Oxy.* LIV 3765, 12-13 (c. 327 AD): δ. ταρσικῶν γυναικ(εῖων); *P. Stras.* III 131, 7 (363 AD) – marriage contract; *BGU XIII* 2328, 10 (middle of the 5th century AD?) – marriage contract; *SB XII* 11075, 9 (middle of the 5th century AD): given to a bride.

24. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* VII 1051 (3rd century AD): δ. of one Cyrillous; *P. Kell.* I 7, 11 (c. 350 AD): δ. for a Harpokration.

25. *P. Coll.* IX 247, 247 (324/25 or 325/26 AD).

26. *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 2-3 and 16 (3rd century AD): δ. λι[νοῦν] ριζόσημον, δ. λινᾶ; *P. Oxy.* LIV 3764, 12-13 (c. 359 AD): δ. ταρσικῶν γυναικ(εῖων).

27. *P. Oxy.* XIV 1741, 5 (early 4th century AD) and *P. Oxy.* VII 1026, 10-11 (5th century AD): δ. ξοῖτιον – ‘of the wool of Xoïs’. On this expression see Mossakowska-Gaubert 2006, 178-179.

28. *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 2-3 (3rd century AD): δ. λι[νοῦν] ριζόσημον.

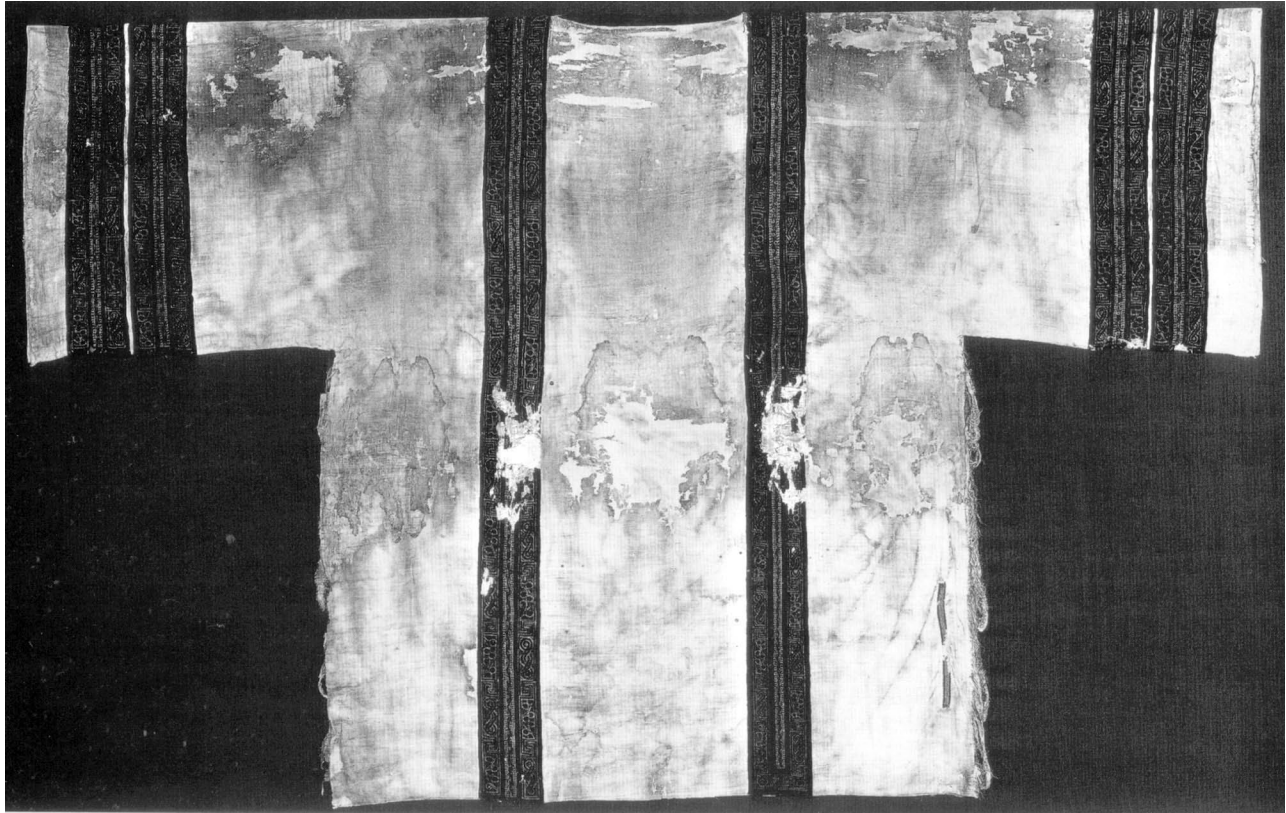


Figure 6. Roomy tunic, with wide sleeves (Panopolis; late 3rd-early 4th century AD). After Kendrick 1920, pl. I, no. 1, photo © Victoria and Albert Museum.

καμίσιον, ὑποκαμίσιον (καμάσον, καμάσιον, *camisa, camisa*)²⁹

It is not established from which language this term comes: certain linguists have tried to find its origins in the Germanic languages *via* the Celtic languages.³⁰

It seems that this term appears simultaneously in the Latin³¹ and Greek³² literature towards the end of 4th century. In the 6th century, the term ὑποκαμίσιον

makes its appearance. The words καμίσιον and ὑποκαμίσιον passed into the Coptic language (καμικιον, καμικια,³³ ζυποκαμικιον³⁴). Later, the καμίσιον term would be adopted, probably *via* the Aramaic, by the Arabic: *qamīṣ*.³⁵

The meaning of the *camisia* / καμίσιον term is also not clear. In a letter to Fabiola written in 395-397 AD, Jerome compares a sacerdotal tunic, very close-fitting, with a *camisa* in linen worn by soldiers

29. Regarding this term, see, for example, Wild 1968, 221-222; Kramer 1994; O'Callaghan 1996; Schmelz 2002, 118-119. I thank Adel Sidarous for his remarks on this subject.

30. Walde & Hofmann 1938, *s.v.*; Chantraine 1968, *s.v.*; Ernout & Meillet 2001, *s.v.*

31. Jerome, *Letter to Fabiola* (395-397 AD), 64, 11. Regarding the date cf. Jérôme, *Lettres*, ed. J. Labourt, vol. III, *Les Belles Lettres*, Paris 1953, 227.

32. Firstly, under the form of καμάσιον: see, for example, Gregory of Nazianze (381 AD), 'Testamentum' in *Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*, ed. J. B. Pitra, vol. 2, Rome 1868, 158, l. 7, 9, 11. In the 5th century, this word had taken the form καμίσιον (see Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 65,4).

33. Regarding the other forms, cf. Förster 2002, *s.v.* καμίσιον. Also see Boud'hors 1997, 24-25.

34. Förster 2002, *s.v.* ὑποκαμίσιον.

35. Frankel 1886, 44-45 – *non vid.*

– which was a garment with sleeves, moulded to the body.³⁶ In *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius (second decade of the 5th century) this term indicates a kind of tunic or an ‘undergarment’ worn by an imperial civil servant.³⁷ According to the texts of the 5th–6th century AD, a ‘hair shirt’ called a καμίσιον was sometimes worn by the monks.³⁸ In the *Chronicon Paschale* of the 7th century AD, the καμίσιον is a military garment.³⁹ Finally, Isidore of Seville explains in his *Etymologiae*, that a *camisia* is a garment for sleeping, as well as a liturgical vestment.⁴⁰ We recall that Paul the Deacon (8th century AD) in his epitome of the text *De significatione verborum*, written by Festus Grammaticus (end of the 2nd century AD), identifies the *camisia*⁴¹ with the *supparus*⁴² – a female linen garment, identified in its turn with the *subucula*⁴³ – a garment worn under another piece of clothing.

In the 6th century, the term ὑποκαμίσιον⁴⁴ appears in the Greek texts, but the relation between the καμίσιον and the ὑποκαμίσιον remains obscure. Was the ὑποκαμίσιον a garment which one put under a

καμίσιον – as suggested by the prefix ὑπο-? Or else, was this a garment of the same form as the καμίσιον, but worn under the καμίσια as well as other clothing, and thus an ‘undergarment’? The word ὑποκαμίσιον is used in papyrological documents to the early 8th century.⁴⁵

With regard to the Greek papyrological documents, the καμίσιον term, sometimes in the form καμάσιον⁴⁶ or καμάσον,⁴⁷ appears in the Greek papyri at the beginning of the 4th century and it is attested until the beginning of 8th century. However, an abbreviation καμ(ι) exists in a document dated from the end of the 2nd–beginning of the 3rd century AD and has been interpreted by editors as καμί(σια).⁴⁸ As with other evidence of this term found in the papyri are dated from the 4th century AD and later, it either concerns the first mention of this term in the Greek language, or this reading must be called into question. The καμάσια quoted in the papyri were made in linen,⁴⁹ perhaps in cotton,⁵⁰ and in wool or with decorative motifs executed in wool.⁵¹ Some documents contain other indications about this clothing: the attestations

36. 64, 11: [...] *solent militantes habere lineas, quas camisas vocant, sic aptas membris et adstrictas corporibus ut expediti sint vel ad cursum vel ad proellia [...]. Ergo et sacerdotes parati in ministerium utuntur hac tunica [...].*

37. *HL* 65, 4.

38. Egyptian monks: Apoph. 80 (Ars. 42 = Sys. XV 11/10); Moschus, *Pratum spirituale*, 126 (*PG* 87, 3, col. 2988 B).

39. 394 (*PG* 92, 1012A).

40. Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* XIX 21, 1; 22, 29.

41. See the edition of Festus in J. W. Pirie & W. M. Lindsay (eds.) *Glossaria Latina, IV: Placidus, Festus*. Paris 1930, F 310 (p. 407): *Supparus vestimentum puellare lineum quod et subucula, id est camisia, dicitur*. Regarding the epitome of Festus made by Paul the Deacon, see for example Woods 2007.

42. With regard to the term *supparus* cf. for example, Wilson 1938, 164–165; Potthoff 1992, 186–190.

43. On the word *subucula* cf. for example, Wilson 1938, 164–165; Potthoff 1992, 184–185.

44. See, for example, Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 186 (*PG* 87, 3064B); Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, XIX, 67.

45. See, for example, *SPP* XX 245, 21 (6th century AD); *P. Apol.* 104, 2 (end of the 6th century or second half of the 7th century); *P. Wash. Univ.* II 104, 16 and 19 (6th–7th century AD); *P. Berl. Sarisch.* 22, 1 (7th century).

46. *P. Iand.* VI 125, 2 (4th century AD); *P. Heid.* VII 406, 4, 47 (4th–5th century AD); *P. Princ.* II 82, 41 (481 AD).

47. See, for example, *P. Gen.* I 80, 1 (4th century AD?); κάμασα δ – regarding this reading cf. *BL* VIII p. 135.

48. *SB* XXIV 15922, 31 – *editio princeps*: Pintaudi, Sijpesteijn 1996–1997, 193. On the dating of this text, see the well-founded arguments in Pintaudi, Sijpesteijn 1996–1997, 179.

49. *P. Rasin. Cent.* 157, 1 (6th century AD?); *BGU* II 550, 2 (Arabic period).

50. *P. Heid.* IV 333, v. 28 (5th century AD): καρπάσια καμάσια. On the adjective καρπάσιον understood as ‘in flax’, resulting from the substantive κάρπασος cf. D. Hagedorn, *Byzantinischer Brief aus Samaritanischem Medium. In Griechische Text der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung (P. Heid. IV)*, Heidelberg 1986, 234. The name κάρπασος, however, could also indicate cotton (cf. *LSJ* s.v. κάρπασος), therefore it is also probably that this text is recording a cotton garment.

51. *P. Apol.* 104, 16 (end of the 6th century or second half of the 7th century): μαλλωτ(ῶ) κ. Regarding the different ways in which one can understand the adjective μαλλωτός cf. Diethart 1989, 113–114 and Russo 2004, 140 and 141.

of καμίσιον worn by men⁵² are more numerous than those of a καμίσιον worn by women.⁵³

An analysis of written sources makes it possible to conclude that the καμίσιον term indicated a garment worn directly on the body and that it probably had the shape of a tunic with sleeves. Since the word καμίσιον is found in some texts beside the terms κολόβιον, στιχάριον, δαλματική⁵⁴ or χιτών,⁵⁵ this inevitably indicated different tunics. It seems that the καμίσιον was worn either like an ‘under tunic’ or ‘undergarment’ by both the laity and the soldiers, being as well a liturgical vestment, or again, like a ‘night-dress’. The appearance of the word ὑποκαμίσιον in the 6th century in Greek texts could suggest that the καμίσιον no longer qualified as a type of clothing worn under another garment, this role henceforth being allocated to the ὑποκαμίσιον.

Representations of tunics worn under another tunic are frequent in the Roman and late Roman epochs.⁵⁶ These ‘under-tunics’ appear at the neck edge and/or the sleeves of the tunic which is on top; they are always white or of a natural color, and are without decoration or with *clavi*, or with simple motifs around the neck – notably those belonging to women. The archaeological material of Egypt shows these tunics without decoration, and with tight sleeves. It seems that the garments of this type could be worn under an upper tunic.⁵⁷

Johannes Kramer proposed identifying the

καμίσιον / *camisia* with the tunics with tight sleeves, worn by ‘barbarians’, such as those represented, for example, on Trajan’s Column.⁵⁸ But in all likelihood, the word in question did not appear in the Latin vocabulary, and in all probability, Greek, until the 4th century. Consequently, at the beginning of the 2nd century, another name was most probably given to clothes of this type (for example, *tunica manica* and χιτών χειριδότης or another name). However, one cannot exclude, at least in Greek, that starting from the 6th century AD the word καμίσιον indicates a kind of cut tunic, short and tight, with long sleeves, perhaps worn above trousers, as in the Persian Sassanid fashion. We know some representations of such tunics in particular from the Eastern part of the Mediterranean;⁵⁹ these tunics also appear in the archaeological material coming from Egypt (fig. 7).⁶⁰ These are, however, only assumptions.

Despite all the attestations of καμίσιον / *camisia* or ὑποκαμίσιον, and in spite of the iconographic and archaeological richness of the material, a question remains: do these terms designate the particular form or the function of a specific garment?

κολόβιον⁶¹

The word κολόβιον was probably derived from the adjective κολοβός, which indicates “truncated”,

52. See, for example, *P. Ant.* II 96, 17 (6th century AD): κ. of a certain Menas; *P. Mich.* XV 740, 6 (6th century AD): κ. for a worker; *SB* XVIII 13750, 3, 4 (7th century AD): κ. τοῦ κυρ(ι)ου; *P. Lond.* IV 1352, 4, 10, 14 (710 AD): an order for an army’s necessities (?).

53. *BGU* II 550 (= *SPP* III 241), 2 (Arabic period) – a certain Euodia.

54. Gregory of Nazianze ‘*Testamentum*’ (*op. cit.* see note 32), p. 158, l. 7, 9, 1. See also the papyrological documents: *P. Princ.* II 82, 41 (481 AD); *P. Heid.* VII 406 (4th-5th century AD); *P. Berl. Sarisch.* 21 (5th-6th century AD); *P. Mich.* XIV 684 (6th century AD); *SPP* III 83 (6th century AD); *SPP* XX 245 (6th century AD); *P. Prag.* I 93 (6th century AD).

55. Apoph. 80 (Ars. 42 = Sys. XV 11/10).

56. See the following examples:

Rome: Deckers et al. 1991, color figure 21: painting with a representation of an orante (first decades of the 4th century AD).

Sicily: Carandini, Ricci & de Vos 1982, folio XXIV, 30. 53: mosaic representing hunters, Piazza Armerina (4th century AD).

Egypt: Walker & Bierbrier 1997, 99, no. 91: painting on wood with a portrait of a woman, Fayoum (c. 170-190 AD); Walker & Bierbrier 1997, 159, no. 178: painting on wood with a portrait of a woman, Thebes? (c. 220-250 AD).

57. See, for example, Bruwier 1997, no. 10; provenance unknown (4th-5th century AD?).

58. Kramer 1994, 140. For the representations of Dacians on Trajan’s Column in close-fitting tunics, see Settis et al. 1988, e.g., plates nos 21 (XVIII, 41-43); 31 (XXIV, 61-63); 39 (XXXI-XXXII, 75-77); 117 (LXX-LXXI, 179-181) and others.

59. See, for example, Piccirillo 1993, 138-139, fig. 169: mosaic – hunter on a horse. Jordan, Mont Nebo, *diaconicon* in the basilica (530 AD); Piccirillo 1993, 152, fig. 201: mosaic – hunter, Jordan, Mont Nebo, church of Saints and Martyrs Lot and Procopius (557 AD).

60. See, for example, Tilke 1923, no. 28: provenance unknown (6th century AD); Fluck, Linscheid & Merz 2000, no. 132: provenance unknown (Sassanian period: 6th-early 7th AD?).

61. On this term, see, for example Mau 1900; Wild 1994, 27; Mossakowska-Gaubert 2004, 157-161.



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Figure 7. Tunic sewn from several pieces (provenance unknown; Sassanid period). Photo: Antje Voigt © Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. 9935.

‘shortened’ or ‘short’.⁶² It became adopted to the Latin language in the form of *colobium*.

The oldest mention of κολόβιον in texts written outside Egypt is in the *Edict* of Diocletian.⁶³ The word κολόβιον/*colobium* is attested in the literature in particular in the texts concerning the Egyptian⁶⁴ and Palestinian⁶⁵ monks. It also appears, though much

more rarely, in other texts which do not have a monastic character.⁶⁶ It signified a tunic without sleeves or with short sleeves, sometimes identified with a λεβίτων.⁶⁷

They belong especially to men who work physically, who are depicted during Late Antiquity dressed in a tunic without sleeves⁶⁸ or, more often, with short

62. Chantraine 1968, s.v. κόλοβος.

63. *Ed. Diocl.* XXVI, 39, 49, 59 and 72: δαλματικῶν ἀνδρίων ἤτοι κολοβίων φόπμης ... κτλ.

64. See, for example, Pachom, *Praecepta - fragmenta graeca*, LXXXI (32) 26 (Lefort 1924, 17); *Historia Monachorum* VIII 6; *Ad Castorem* 1, 6 (PG 28, col. 856 D); Apoph. 559 (Nist. 4); John Cassian, *Inst.* I, 4; Moschus, *Pratum spirituale*, 124 (PG 87, 3, col. 2985 C); Anastasius of Sinai [attributed to], *Tales of the Sinai Fathers*, ed. Nau 1902-1903, XXXI, 22. For the *colobium* in the monastic costume, see, for example, Mossakowska-Gaubert 2004, 157-161.

65. Isaïe, *Asceticon*, VI 5F i, r. ξ; Barsanuphius and Jean, *Questions and Answers*, 53, 4-5, 13-1; 326, 12, 13; Dorotheus of Gaza, *Instr.* I 15, 5-6; I 15, 14; Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euthymii*, l. 73; Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 92 (PG 87, 3, col. 2949-2952C-D).

66. See, for example, Epiphanius of Salamis (315-403 AD) I, 1 XV (PG 41, col. 245A). See also, Servius Maurus Honoratus (late 4th century AD), *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, *Aen.* IX, 613; Isidor of Seville (early 7th century AD), *Etym.*, 19, 22, 24.

67. Pachom, *Praecepta - fragmenta graeca*, LXXXI (32) 26 (Lefort 1924, 17); *Historia Monachorum* VIII 6.

68. See, for example, Piccirillo 1993, 173, fig. 224: fragment of a mosaic with a representation of a gardener, chapel of the priest Jean, Wadi ‘Afrit, Jordan (565 AD).

sleeves.⁶⁹ We also know of tunics of this type (fig. 8) coming from Egypt and elsewhere.⁷⁰

The word κολόβιον / κολόβιν which indicates a tunic appears in some inscriptions from Dura Europos, dated to about AD 235-240⁷¹ and from the same period in the papyrological texts from Egypt.⁷² It is mostly present in the papyrological documents of the 4th and 5th centuries, only to disappear during the 6th century.⁷³ The word κολόβιον could both indicate a tunic of a man⁷⁴ as well as that of a woman⁷⁵. The κολόβια were made either in wool⁷⁶ or in linen.⁷⁷ In some texts it is a question of a κολόβιν with a double

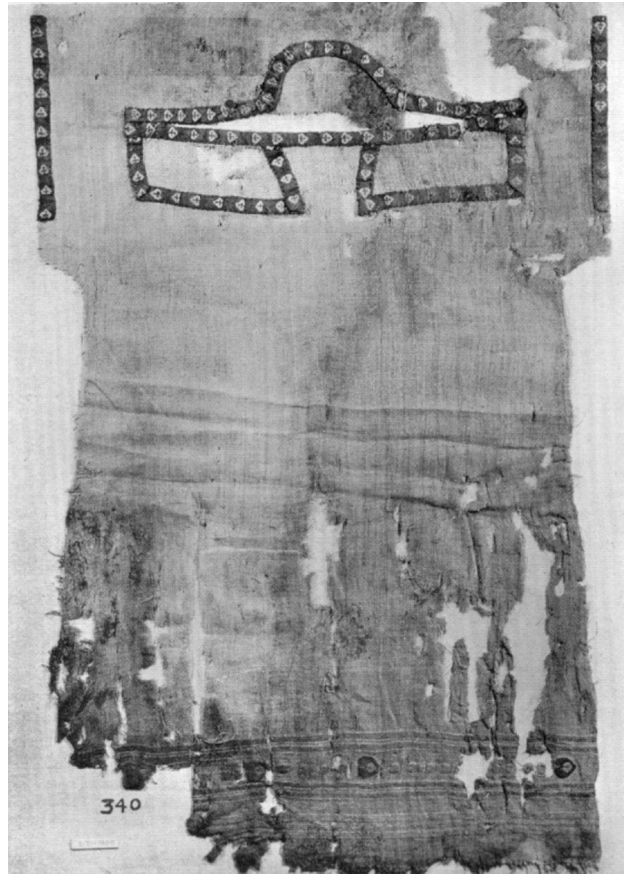


Figure 8. Tunic with short sleeves (provenance unknown; 5th-6th centuries AD). After Kendrick 1921, no. 340, photo © Victoria and Albert Museum.

69. See the following examples:

Rome: Deckers et al. 1991, coloured figure no. 20: the Good Shepherd (?), catacomb of the Via Anapo (two first decades of the 4th century); Nicolai, Bisconti & Mazzoleni 2000, 114, fig. 131: mural painting with a representation of some coopers, catacomb of Priscilla (3rd-4th century AD?).

Egypt: Dunand 1990, 222, no. 610: terracotta figure of a coachman (?); Antinoe (3rd-4th century AD).

70. See the following examples:

Egypt: Kendrick 1921, pl. XIV, no. 340: tunic with short sleeves; provenance unknown (5th-6th century AD); Bruwier 1997, no. 68: tunic without sleeves, provenance unknown (c. 7th century AD); Mannering 2000: tunic A (without sleeves), tunic B (with short, sewn sleeves); the two coming from Mons Claudianus (period of occupation: between the end of the 1st century to the middle of the 3rd century AD); Hodak 2010, no. 157: tunic without sleeves; provenance unknown (3rd-5th century AD).

Near-East: De Jonghe & Verheeken-Lammens 1994 and Wild 1994: tunic without sleeves (Near-East, Late Roman period?); Granger Taylor 2000: fig. 13: four little tunics without sleeves, and fig. 14: child's tunic with short sleeves; Khirbet Qazone, Jordan (2nd-3rd century AD).

71. Baur, Rostovtzeff & Bellinger 1933, 93 no. 219, 98 no. 227 – *non vid.*

72. See, for example, *P. Tebt.* II 406, II, 17 (c. 266 AD); *SB* III 7244, 24-26 (middle of the 3rd century AD); *P. Oxy.* VI 921, 6 (3rd century AD); *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 8-9 (3rd century AD); *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3201, 10 (3rd century AD); *P. Rein.* II 118, 5-11 (late 3rd century AD).

73. The only document for the 6th century AD, where the word κολόβιον indicates a vestment, is *P. Iand.* VI 102, 21. In the *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67001 (514 AD), I. 31 κολόβιον (l. κολόβος) indicates a measure of liquid – cf. Preisigke s.v. κολόβος and the commentary of P.M. Meyer in *Griechische Papyri in Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, Band I, Teubner 1910-1912, 104 [= no. 103, l. 16-17] on this subject.

74. *P. Rein.* II 118, 9-10 (late 3rd century AD): τὸ κ. Κυρίλλ[ης]; *P. Tebt.* II 406, II, 17 (c. 266 AD): an inventory of items left by the deceased Paulus; *O. Wilck.* 1611, 10, 11, 12, 14 (3rd-4th century AD): a list of male names and garments, the purpose of which we ignore.

75. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 14 (late 3rd-4th century AD): κ. γυνεκῖο[v]; *P. Wash. Univ.* II 97, 4 (5th century AD): κ. γυνηκῖον; *SB* VI 9158, 6 (5th century AD): κ. of a certain Nonna.

76. *P. Oxy.* VI 921, 6 (3rd century AD): κ. σμάλλα – translated by the editors, B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, as 'woollen?' (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. VI, London 1908, 285); *P. Ross. Georg.* III 1, r. 8-9 (3rd century AD): το εραιουν κολωβειν [l. ἐρεοῦν κολόβιον].

77. *P. Tebt.* II 406, II, 17 (c. 266 AD): [...] κ. λινούν; *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 8-9 (3rd century AD): κ. [λιν]οῦν; *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3201, 10 (3rd century AD): κ. λινούν [...].

stripe or rather – *clavi*,⁷⁸ and in others of a κολόβιν with a stripe,⁷⁹ sometimes described as being from a crimson vegetable dye.⁸⁰

λεβίτων (λεβήτων, λεβητωνάριον, λεβητονάριον, λεβητωνάριον)⁸¹

The Greek word λεβίτων was probably borrowed from the Semitic languages.⁸² In the Latin language it took the form *lebitonarium*, and it was adopted into the Coptic language in the following forms: ΛΑΒΙΤΕ, ΛΑΒΙΤΟΥ, ΛΕΒΙΤΟΝ, ΛΕΒΙΤΟΥ, ΛΕΒΙΤΩΝ, ΛΕΥΒΙΤΟΝ, ΛΛΕΒΙΤΟΥ and ΛΩΒΙΤΩΝ.⁸³

The term λεβίτων / *lebitonarium* appeared in the literature towards the end of the 4th century and it is well attested in the 5th century, only to disappear in the 6th century. The attestations of the term λεβίτων / *lebitonarium* are found in the texts, in

particular, those concerning Egyptian monks⁸⁴ and, more rarely, monks from other regions.⁸⁵ This tunic did not have sleeves.⁸⁶ We have illustrations of Egyptian monks dressed in a tunic without sleeves.⁸⁷ Tunics of this type (fig. 9) were also found on the bodies of monks.⁸⁸

Up until now, we know of only three Greek papyrological documents where one could hope to see the word λεβίτων. However, the reading of this word, written each time with an erroneous orthography, is extremely doubtful.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, this term is attested, without any ambiguity, in an inscription and in some papyri and ostraca written in Coptic. These documents date from the 4th to the 8th century AD and, in the main, we are sure that they were written in a monastic milieu.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the context of some documents where the word in question is found remains obscure.⁹¹

78. *P. Tebt.* II 406, II, 17 (c. 266 AD): κ. λινούν δ[ί]σημον; *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 4-5 (3rd century AD): [...] κ. δίσημον[α].

79. *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3201, 2 and 11 (3rd century AD): κ. ἐνσήμ(ου) [...].

80. *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 5-6 (3rd century AD): κ. [...] [ρίζό]σημον α.

81. Regarding this term see, for example, Mossakowska-Gaubert 2004, 161-163.

82. Cf. Sophocles 1900, s.v. λεβίτων.

83. Förster 2002, s.v. λεβίτων. See also Boud'hors 1997, 25.

84. Pachom (Lat.), *Praef.* 4 (Boon 1932, 6); *Praec.* 2 (Boon 1932, 13); *Praec.* 67 (Boon 1932, 33); 81 (Boon 1932, 37); Pachom, *Excerpt.* LXXXI (32) 26 (Lefort 1924, 17); *Liber Orsies.* 26 (Boon 1932, 127); *Pachomii vita prima* 14, 113, 134 and 146; Pachom (Gr.), *Paralipomena* IX 29 (ed. Fr. Halkin, *Paralipomena de SS. Pachomo et Theodoro* BHG 1399a, in *Le Corpus Athénien de Saint Pachôme*. Genève 1982, 73-93); *Historia Monachorum* VIII 6 and X 9; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 32, 3; Apoph. 296 (ThP 29); Apoph. 417 (Sys. VI, 8 = JnP 2); Apoph. 439 (Cros 5); Apoph. 585 (Poe 11); Apoph. 926 (Phoc 1); Apoph. 1132 B (N 132 B = Coislins 126, 413, I. 17); Apoph. 1132 D (N 132 D = Coislins 126, 414, I. 12 and 20); Apoph. 1172 (Sys. V, 26 = N 127); Apoph. 1358 (N 358).

85. For the Palestinian monks see, for example: Barsanuphius and Jean, *Questions and Answers*, 326, 14. The word λεβήτων is also present in the Greek tradition from a Syriac text of Ephrem the Syrian: *Capita centum (Quomodo quis humilitatem sibi comparet)* 88, 3. See in addition the *Lexicon* called of Suda (10th century) in which is found an explanation which, in the language of the inhabitants of Prusa (in Bithynia), λεβητωνάριον is a monastic χιτών made of animal hair: *Suidae lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, vol. 1 part. III, Teubner 1933, Λ, p. 242.

86. See Pachom (Lat.), *Praef.* 4 (Boon 1932, 6); *Praec.* 2 (Boon 1932, 13); Pachom, *Excerpt.* LXXXI (32) 26 (Lefort 1924, 17); *Historia Monachorum* VIII 6.

87. See, for example, Sauneron 1972, 14-15; fig. 57: *graffito* representing two monks. Esna, hermitage no. 4 (between around 550 and 630 AD).

88. See, for example, Castel 1979, 139, fig. 12: St-Mark's monastery, Western Thebes (6th-7th century AD); Winlock, Crum 1926, 70-71: *laura* of St-Epiphanius, Western Thebes (second half of the 6th century, up to the first decade of the 8th century); Bechtold 2008: *laura* of Cyriacus, Western Thebes (6th-7th century AD).

89. In all these texts it seems to be an erroneous form either, of the word λεβίτων, or of the word λέβης 'cauldron': *P. Neph.* 12, 14 (in the years 50 and 60 of the 4th century); *P. Bad.* IV 95, 105 (probably 6th century AD); *P. Oxy.* XIV 1683, 22 (late 4th century AD). Two of the first documents had been written in a monastic environment.

90. See, for example, *P. Lond.* VI 1920, 11; *P. Lond.* VI 1922, 5, 11 (c. 330-340 AD); *P. Bal.* II 263, 3 (675-775 AD); *P. Sarga* 161, 10; *P. Sarga* 164, 9 (late 6th - early 8th century AD); *P. Yale Copt.* 1, 32. V. 7, 7 (7th century AD); Heurtel 2004, inscription no. 25 (second half of 7th century AD?).

91. See, for example, *P. Mich. Copt.* 3, 9 (4th-5th century AD); *O. Vind. Copt.* 140, 15 (7th-8th century AD); *O. Crum VC* 118, 14 (7th-8th century AD).

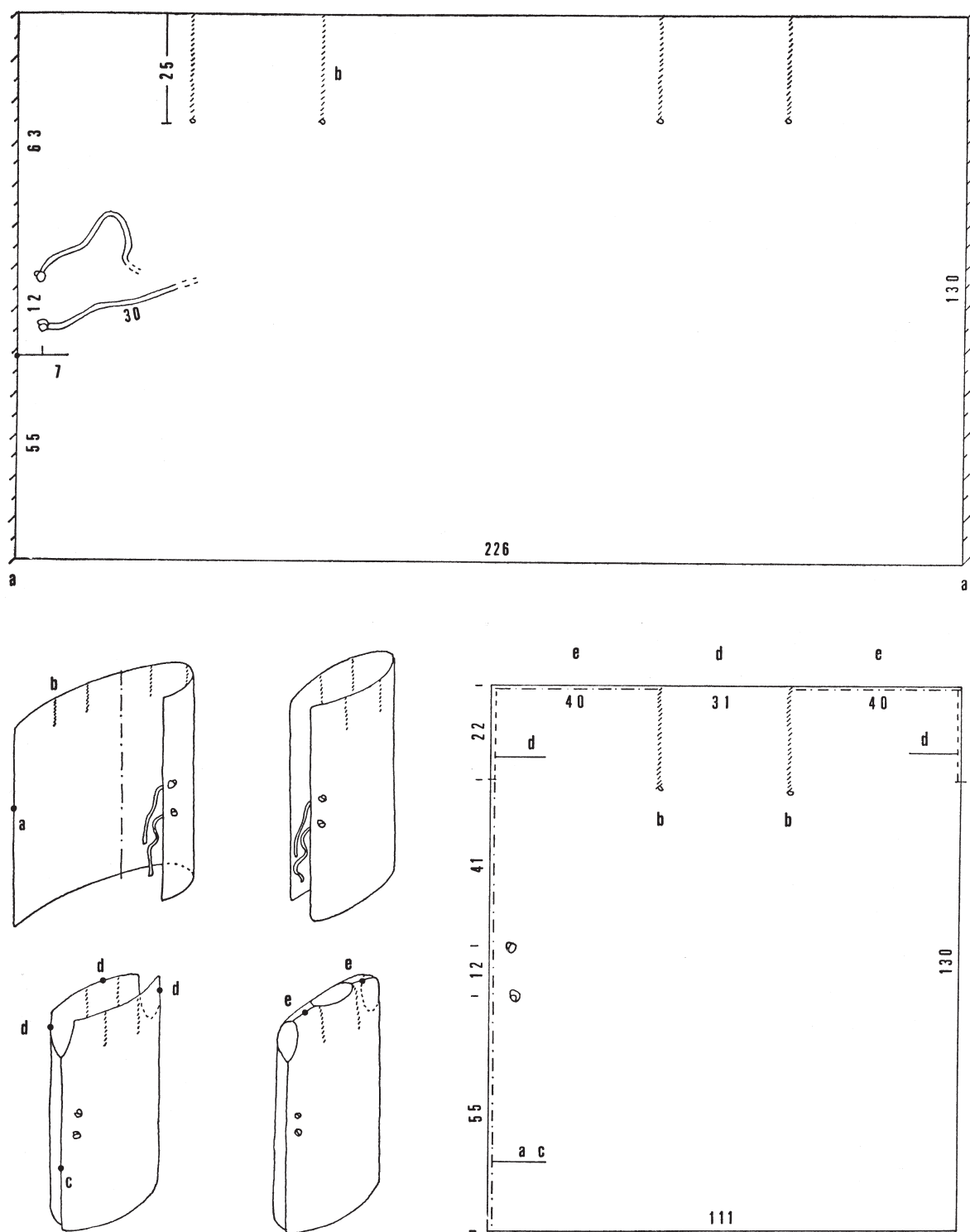


Figure 9. Tunic without sleeves (St-Marc monastery, Thebes West; 6th-7th centuries AD). Drawing: Georges Castel © Ifao (Castel 1979, fig. 12).

στιχάριον⁹²

The word στιχάριον is probably a diminutive of στήλη,⁹³ – a word in the *Edict* of Diocletian designating a kind of tunic.⁹⁴ In the Latin version it is translated as *strictoria*, which seems to be a neologism indicating a tunic which ‘is tight’ (the verb *stringo*).⁹⁵ This word has passed into the Coptic language in the forms: *CTIXA*, *CTIXAPIN*, *CTIXARION*.⁹⁶

In Greek literary texts, the word στιχάριον does not appear before the 4th century AD, when it would indicate either a liturgical tunic,⁹⁷ or a garment worn by the monks,⁹⁸ or an item of the imperial costume.⁹⁹ Finally, in the acts of the Synod of Constantinople and Jerusalem (536 AD) there is a passage concerning baptism: those newly baptized (νεοφωτιστοι) were barefoot and without their στιχάρια.¹⁰⁰

With regard to the documentary texts of Egypt,

the date of the appearance of the word στιχάριον is not certain. The word in question is frequent in the papyrological documents – in particular, from the second half of the 3rd to the 6th century, and it persists until the 8th century AD.¹⁰¹ However, an word starting with στ[is attested in a register of clothing dated earlier than 222 AD, mentioned above,¹⁰² and the term στιχάριον is attested in two papyri from Dura Europos, of which oldest goes back to 232 AD.

Given the numerous texts where στιχάριον is mentioned beside other terms for tunics, one must admit that it indicates a tunic with long and tight sleeves, different from the *dalamatica*, and quite distinct from all the tunics without sleeves or with only short sleeves.¹⁰³

Images of men dressed in short tunics with tight sleeves are very frequent in the art of late Antiquity,¹⁰⁴ while those with long tunics and long tight sleeves are

92. On this term see, for example, Schmelz 2002, 113-115.

93. Cf. Lampe 1961, s.v. στιχάριον; Chantraine 1968, s.v. στήλη.

94. *Ed. Diocl.*, 7, 56 and *passim*.

95. Cf. the commentary by S. Lauffer in his edition of the *Edict* (p. 240). See also Souter 1949, s.v. These attestations of the term *stictaria* in the Latin literature are extremely rare; moreover, it may have other meanings as well, such as ‘bandages’: cf. a Latin translation (5th-6th century) of a Greek text of Soranus (2nd century AD), ed. V. Rose, Teubner 1882, p. 16, 11.

96. Förster 2002, s.v. στιχάριον.

97. See, for example, Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos sive Apologia secunda*, ed. H.-G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, II/1, Berlin 1938, chap. 60, 2: στιχάρια λίννα imposed by Athanasius upon the Egyptian clergy. In addition, a στιχάριον of Athanasius mentioned by Palladius (*Historia Lausiaca* 63, 2) and one given by Gregory of Nazianze in his testament to Evagrius (*Testamentum*, *op. cit.*, see note no. 31, p. 158, l. 7, 9, 11) were probably also ‘liturgical’, however regarding to the context of these texts, one cannot exclude that there are simple tunics worn in everyday life. About the tunic called a στιχάριον worn as a liturgical vestment in Coptic Church, see Innemée 1992, 44-45.

98. See, for example, Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, XXII 5; Moschus, *Pratum spirituale*, 51 (PG 87, 3, col. 2905 D-2908 A); *ibidem*, 87 (PG 87, 3, col. 2944 D - 2945 A); *ibidem*, 106 (PG 87, 3 col. 2965 A); *Syntagma ad monachos* 6 (PG 28, col. 844 A); *V. Symeon Styl.*, 5, 8; *V. Symeon Styl. Jr.*, 37, 11; 26, 7.

99. For the costume of Justinian see, for example, Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1831, chap. XVII, 413, l. 15 (6th century AD): [...] στιχάρην δὲ ἄσπρον παραγαυδίν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἔχον χρυσᾷ πλουμμία βασιλικά [...]. This passage is included in *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. I, ed. L. Dindorf in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1832, p. 614, l. 3 (7th century). On παραγαυδία cf. e.g.: Lauffer 1971, 265-266.

100. *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, vol. III, Berlin 1940, p. 99, l. 31.

101. For the boundaries of the date, see *P. Apoll.* 103 (end of the 3rd or the beginning of the last quarter of the 7th century); *SB* VI 9594, 7 (7th-8th century AD); *P. Leid. Inst.* I 13, 5 and 28 (7th-8th century AD?); *P. Lond.* V 1743, 4 (Arabic period).

102. *SB* XXIV 15922 (late 2nd-early 3rd century AD).

103. However, certain researchers consider that the term στιχάριον indicates a tunic without sleeves (see, for example, J. A. Sheridan in his edition of *Columbia Papyri IX. The Vestis Militaris Codex*. ASP 39. Atlanta 1999, 76-77).

104. See the following examples:

Rome: Nicolai, Bisconti & Mazzoleni 1998, fig. 158: scribe, catacomb of the Giordani (4th century AD?).

Sicily: Carandini, Ricci & de Vos 1982, 29, fig. 12: mosaic with the figure of a soldier; Carandini, Ricci & de Vos 1982, 45, fig. 16: mosaic with a representation of a dignitary and his entourage; Carandini, Ricci & de Vos 213, fig. 118: mosaic representing some workers (?) in the port of Rome; Carandini, Ricci & de Vos 1982, folio XXIV, 30: fig. 53: mosaic representing some hunters; all of these figures come from Piazza Armerina (4th century AD).

North Africa: Ben Abed-Ben Khader, de Balanda & Uribe Echeverria 2003, fig. 70: mosaic from the domain of Julius, a nobleman

more rare.¹⁰⁵ It would seem that this latter tunic type is especially worn by women.¹⁰⁶ However, tunics with long and tight sleeves (fig. 10), woven in one or three pieces, are very frequent in the archaeological material coming from Egypt.¹⁰⁷

In the papyrological documentation, the *στιχάριον* was among the garments generally mentioned in

regard to clothing intended for the army.¹⁰⁸ This term is also present in the documents concerning monastic¹⁰⁹ and liturgical¹¹⁰ vestments or again 'civil' and 'laic' clothing: the *στιχάριον* was worn by men from all social strata,¹¹¹ slaves¹¹² and children.¹¹³ We note, however, that there are very few authentic mentions of tunics of this type being worn by women.¹¹⁴

of Carthage – servant, coll. Bardo Museum, Tunis (4th century AD); Ben Abed-Ben Khader, de Balanda & Uribe Echeverria 2003, fig. 152: mosaic of the hunting – horsemen and men on foot, Oudhna, so-called House of the Laberii; coll. Bardo Museum, Tunis (4th century AD).

Egypt: Gąsiorowski 1931, Fig. 1: papyrus illustration with a representation of five charioteers, Egypt, Antinoe (c. 500 AD); Rutschowskaya 1990, 52: fragment of cloth with a figure of a boy, provenance unknown (5th century AD); von Falck & Lichtwark 1996, 168, no. 147: representation of a boy on a ceramic container Egypt (6th-7th century AD).

105. See the following examples:

Greece: Åkerström-Hougen 1974, coloured fig. 2.2: mosaic with a representation of the months of July and August, Argos (c. 500 AD).

North Africa: Ben Abed-Ben Khader, de Balanda & Uribe Echeverria 2003, fig. 217: one of the people in the retinue of a lord, public baths of Sidi Ghrib, presidential palace, Carthage (5th century AD).

Egypt: Bosson & Aufrère 1999, 238, no. 61: funerary stela of Hierax and of Tersi, Fayoum (Byzantine period).

106. See the following examples:

Rome: Deckers *et al.* 1991, coloured figure 21: painting of an orante (first decade of the 4th century).

Egypt: Walker & Bierbrier 1997, 159, no. 178: painting on wood of a portrait of a woman, Thebes? (c. 220-250 AD); Alaoui *et al.* 2000, 125, no. 101: funerary stela for an orante, Egypt (5th century AD); Rutschowskaya 1990, 51: tomb painting – Theodosia, Antinoe (6th century AD).

107. As an example: Dunand & Lichtenberg 1985: embroidered tunic, Douch (middle of the 4th-early 5th century AD); Bruwier 1997, no. 84: unknown source (middle of the 6th - middle of the 7th century AD); no 85: unknown source (6th century AD?); Fluck, Linscheid & Merz 2000, no. 112: Antinoopolis (6th-8th century AD); no. 124: Sohag (7th-9th century AD); Benazeth & Rutschowskaya 2009, no. 75: unknown source (6th-7th century AD).

108. See, for example, *P. Michael*. 21, 4, 9 (285 AD?) – cf. *BL V*, p. 68; *SPP XX* 75, 26 (3rd-4th century AD); *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3191 col. I, 3 (302 AD) – cf. the commentary on l. 2-3; *SB I* 4421, 9-10 (302 AD – regarding the dating cf. *BL VII*, p. 184); *P. Cair. Isid.* 54, 8, 10 (314 AD) = *SB VI* 9071; *P. Cair. Isid.* 72, 16 (314 AD); *P. Oxy.* XII 1448 (c. 318 AD); *P. Oxy.* XII 1424, 7 (c. 318 AD); *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194, 9, 12 (323 AD); *P. Ant.* I 39, 8 (323 AD – regarding the dating cf. *BL IV*, p. 2); *P. Coll.* IX, 247 = *SB XX* 14661 (324-327 AD); *P. Oxy.* LI 3621, 16 (329 AD); *BGU I* 21, col. II 16 (340 AD); *P. Beatty Panop.* 2, 20, 21, 26 (340 AD); *P. Panop.* 19, I (c) 2, (e) 2; X (b) 3; IV (a) 2-3, (b) 2; VI (b) 2, (d) 2 (339-346 AD); *P. Oxy.* LXI 4128, 23 (346 AD); *SPP XX* 92, 1, 2 (348 AD – regarding the date cf. *BL V*, p. 144); *P. Lips.* I 59, 13 (371 AD); *P. Lips.* I 60, 14 (after about 371 AD); *BGU III* 620, 9 = *Chr. Wilck.* I 186 (4th century AD); *P. Köln IV* 190 (4th century AD); *P. U. G.* I 24 (4th century AD) = *SB X* 10258; *P. Warr.* 7, 9 (4th century AD) = *SB V* 7536; *SB VI* 9305, 6, 7 (4th century AD); *P. Oxy.* LXII 4348, 8, 9 (4th century AD); *PSI XII* 1264, 9 (4th century AD); *P. Oxy.* XVI 1905, 4, 6 (late 4th-early 5th century AD); *P. Oxy.* VIII 1136, 4, 5 (420 AD); *SB VI* 9306, 4 (5th century AD); *P. Vind. Tandem* 19, 4 (5th-6th century AD). On the *annona militaris* and the imperial fiscal system, see Mitthof 2001. Regarding the representations of Roman soldiers stationed in Egypt in the Late Roman epoch, cf. Paetz gen. Schieck 2012.

109. *P. Heid.* VII 406, 12 and 37-38 (4th-5th century AD); *P. Berl. Sarisch.* 21; 48 (5th-6th century AD); *P. Stras.* VIII 719, 7 (5th-6th century AD); *P. Paramone* 14, 7 (6th-7th century AD); *SB III* 6024 (7th century AD?).

110. *P. Leid. Inst.* I 13 (7th-8th century AD?): inventory of a monastic church (?); *P. Apoll.* 103, 1 (end of the 3rd or beginning of the last quarter of the 7th century).

111. See, for example, *P. Cair. Isid.* 132, 8-9, 13 (3rd century AD): σ. for one Hêrôkas; *P. Ryl.* IV 627, 2, 10 (early 4th century AD): σ. of Theophanes; *P. Oxy.* XIV 1775, 14 (4th century AD): σ. for a person named Ploutarchos; *PSI IX* 1082, 13 (4th century AD?) σ. of a ἀδελφός Ἀμμ[.....]; *P. Oxy.* LIX 4004, 13-14 (5th century AD): σ. of a Nathanaël.

112. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* LI 3616, 3 (3rd century AD?): σ. of a δοῦλος Φίλιππος.

113. See, for example, *P. U. G.* I 28, 4 (5th-6th century AD): σ. παιδ[ια]κά.

114. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 7 (3rd century AD): inventory of the business affairs of a certain Kyrrilloutos; *P. Oxy.* LIX 4004, 14, 15 (5th century AD): σ. belonging to women named Syncletikê and Kyra; two marriage contracts: *P. Dura* I 30 (232 AD) and *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67006, 64, 83, 84 (6th century AD).



Figure 10. Tunic with long sleeves (provenance unknown; 6th-7th century AD). Photo: Georges Poncet © Musée du Louvre, no. AF 12190.

The *στιχάρια* could be made either in linen,¹¹⁵ or out of wool¹¹⁶ or even with a mixture of linen and wool: *λινόπιξον*.¹¹⁷

χιτών (χιθών, χιτώνιον, κιθών, κιτώνιον)¹¹⁸

The *χιτών* term is probably of Semitic origin. In a general sense, it indicated a ‘tunic’, and in particular a

115. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* VII 1051, 7-8 (3rd century AD): σ. [λιν]οῦν; *SB* III 6222, 27 (late 3rd century AD): σ. λινούν; *P. Oxy.* LIV 3776, 24, 47 (343 AD): declaration of a price for σ. in linen; *SPP* XX 92, 1, 2 (348 AD): σ. λινῶν; *PSI* IV 287, 15 (377 AD): σ. λινῶν; *SB* V 7536, 9 (4th century AD): σ. λινούν; *SB* VI 9305, 6-7 (4th century AD): σ. λινᾶ; *P. Oxy.* XLVIII 3426, 10 (4th century AD): σ. λινῶν; *P. Oxy.* LXII 4348, 9 (4th century AD): σ. λινῶν; *SPP* X 188, 3 (4th century AD): σ. λινού; *P. Oxy.* LVI 3860, 29 (late 4th century AD): τὸ σ. τὸ λινούν; *P. Oxy.* XVI 1905, 6 (late 4th century AD or early 5th century AD): σ. λινούν.

Ταρσικά: *P. Panop.* 19, IV (a) 2-3; (b) 2; VI (b) 2, (d) 2 (339-346 AD); *P. Beatty Panop.* I 2, 20, 21, 26 (340 AD); *P. Stras.* IV 246, 6 (c. 380 AD); *P. Vind. Tandem* 19, 4 (5th-6th century AD). On the garments designated as *ταρσικά* and the artisans *ταρσικάριοι* cf. Wipszycka 1965, 110-112; Wild 1969; Mossakowska-Gaubert 2006, 177-178.

116. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* LI 3616, 3 (3rd century AD?): σ. ἐρεῶν[υ]; *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3194, 9, 12-13 (323 AD): σ. ἐρεῶν; *SB* VI 9305, 6-7 (4th century AD): σ. ἐρεῶν δλωρών; *P. Vars.* 26, 18 (4th - 5th century AD): τὰ ἐρεῶ σ. (cf. *BL* III, p. 254); *P. Oxy.* LIX 4004, 13-15 (5th century AD): among garments that had been fulled, there were some *στιχάρια*.

117. *P. Mich.* XIV 684, 8 (6th century AD) and perhaps, if the restoration of a lacune is well-chosen, in the *P. Wash. Univ.* II 97, 12 (5th century AD). On the *tunica pexa* (‘soft-finished tunic’ made out of wool) cf. Wild 1967, 133-134; Lauffer 1971, 269 (20, 12).

118. On this term, see for example, Amelung 1899; Blum 1919; Descamps-Lequime 1988, 93-94; Mossakowska-Gaubert 2004, 163-166.

‘tunic without sleeves’. The word χιτών is extremely frequent in Greek literature, from Homer to the 4th century AD. To indicate the tunics with sewn sleeves, worn by foreign people, one used the expression χειριδότης χιτών.¹¹⁹ Starting from the 5th century AD, the word χιτών becomes rare in the texts dealing with contemporary events,¹²⁰ while still remaining present in the commentaries on older texts or in the literature inspired by these texts,¹²¹ and in works having a lexicographical character.¹²² Furthermore, Sozomen mentions χιτῶνες ἀχειριδῶτοι¹²³ (‘tunics without sleeves’) – surely to distinguish them from others χιτῶνες – ‘with sleeves’.

In the papyrological documents, the term χιτών is attested at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period and it meant a tunic without sleeves. However, to indicate a tunic with ‘true sleeves’, coming from the local tradition, the documents of the Ptolemaic period used the same expression as in classical literature: χειριδότης χιτών.¹²⁴

From the 3rd century AD, when tunics with ‘true’ long sleeves would spread in Egypt and in all the Mediterranean, the word χιτών is always very common in the papyrological texts. It is mentioned in several documents beside other terms for tunics, either with sleeves (δαλματική,¹²⁵ στιχάριον¹²⁶), or without sleeves or with short sleeves (κολόβιον).¹²⁷ It seems that the word χιτών maintained its most elementary meaning (*i.e.*, ‘tunic without sleeves’) in these texts. The question of the difference between χιτών and κολόβιον should be asked at this point. One can suppose that this difference was visually clear in the appearance of these tunics. In this case, it may be that, whenever the two words occurred side by side in a text, χιτών indicated a ‘tunic without sleeves’ and κολόβιον a ‘tunic with short sleeves’.

The word χιτών is still attested in documents of the 4th century AD,¹²⁸ and then disappears. The

119. See, for example, Herodotus VII 61 (Persians); Strabo IV 4, 3 (Gauls), XI 13, 9 (Medes), XV 3, 19 (Persians); Joseph Flavius, *Antiquitates Jud.*, VII, 171 (Jews); Cassius Dio 49, 36 (Pannonians).

120. See, for example, Zosimus (second half of the 5th century AD), *Historia Nova* V, 32, 5, 7; Procopius of Caesarea (6th century AD), *De bellis* III, 25, 7. See also those texts concerning the Egyptian monks: Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 47, 3 (420 AD); Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* III 14, 7 and 13 (the forties of the 5th century); Apoph. 80 (Ars. 42 = Sys. XV 11/10); Apoph. 180 (Fel. 5) (5th century AD).

121. See, for example, *Catena in Matthaeum* (post 5th century AD), 30; John of Damascus (7th-8th century AD), *Orationes de imaginibus* III, 87, 12.

122. See, for example, Hesychius (5th century AD), *Lexicon*, χι, [87], *s.v.* χιτῶν and *passim*; Joannes Philoponus (6th century AD), *De vocabulis*, χι, *s.v.* χιτῶν, χιτών.

123. III 14, 7.

124. See, for example, *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59146, 2-3 (256 BC); *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59092, 9-10 (3rd century BC); *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59469, 4-6 (3rd century BC); *P. Tebt.* I 46, 34 (113 BC); *SB* VIII 9680, 3 (2nd half of the 2nd century AD).

125. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* I 114, 5-6 (2nd or 3rd century AD); *SPP* XX 31 II, 16 = *CPR* I 21 (230 AD); *P. Tebt.* II 405, 10 (3rd century AD); *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3201, 8, 9 (3rd century AD); *P. Mich.* III 218, 14 [?] (296 AD); *P. Oxy.* XX 2273, 12 (late 3rd century AD); *PSI* VIII 900, 7 (3rd-4th century AD); *P. Flor.* III 371, 7 (4th century AD).

126. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* XX 2282, 12-13 (late 3rd century AD); *P. Prag.* II 176, 6 (3rd-4th century AD).

127. See, for example, *P. Tebt.* II 406 (266 AD); *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3201, 2, 10, 11 (3rd century AD).

128. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* I 109, 13, 17, 19 (late 3rd-4th century AD); *P. Oxy.* XIV 1645, 10 (308 AD); *P. Kell.* I 65, 33 (early 4th century AD); *P. Kell.* I 66, 24 and 25 (early 4th century AD); *SB* XIV 11983, col. III 63 (c. 350 AD) = *P. Lond.* II 429; *P. Kell.* I 74, 10 (middle of the 4th century AD); *P. Flor.* III 371, 2-3 (4th century AD); *P. Münch.* III 126, 5 (4th century AD); *SB* VIII 9834 b, r. 8, 11 v. 47, 49 (4th century AD).

χιτών was worn by men¹²⁹ as well as women¹³⁰ and by children of both sexes.¹³¹ The χιτών could be made of linen,¹³² wool,¹³³ more rarely of cotton¹³⁴ or βύσσος¹³⁵ (fine linen or cotton).¹³⁶

Words derived from terms designating tunics

The papyrological texts offer many examples of words created from terms designating tunics. Most of the cases concern a tunic together with another item of clothing: μαφόριον, καρακάλλιον, φελόνιον.

In one case, the word combines the terms designating two different tunics: στιχαροκόλοβιον.

Words composed with the term μαφόριον

The word μαφόριον¹³⁷ is attested in the literary texts from the 3rd century – or, at the latest, at the beginning of the 4th century AD, whereas in the papyrological texts it already appeared in the 2nd century AD, – only to disappear in the course of the 7th century AD. It indicated a shawl worn by women as well

129. See, for example, *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59087, 3-4 (258-257 BC): χ. belonging to Helenos; *P. Petr. 2 Will.* 13, 18 (238-237 BC): χ. ἀνδρείου; *P. Yale* I 42, 13 (229 BC?) = *SB* VI 9259: χ. belonging to Nechthosiris; *P. Lille* I 6, 8, 24 (3rd century BC): χ. belonging to Petesuchos; *PSI* VII 866, 13 (3rd century BC): χ. belonging to Andrikos; *P. Erasm.* I 2, 11 (152 BC): κ. belonging to a Nous and a Horos; *P. Dion.* I 10, 20, 21, 22 (109 BC): κ. belonging to a Sotionchis, a Plenis, and a Papytis; *P. Oxy.* II 285, 11 (c. 50 AD): χ. belonging to a Sarapion; *P. Turner* I 18, 13 (84-96 AD): κ. belonging to a Petronios; *SB* XII 10947, 22-23 (middle of the 1st century AD): κ. belonging to a Heron; *SB* VI 9275, 4-5 (1st-2nd century AD): κ. belonging to an Antonios; *O. Claud.* I 161, 5 (100-120 AD): κ. belonging to an Ailouras; *P. Giss.* I 77, 6 (98-138 AD): κ. belonging to a Teeus; *P. Sarap.* I 1, 16 (125 AD): χ. belonging to a Pamounis; *P. Oxy.* X 1269, 30 (beginning of the 2nd century AD): κ. left by Isas, deceased; *P. Fay.* 108, 17 (c. 171 AD): κ. owned by a Pasiôn; *P. Lund.* VI 1, 13 (2nd century AD): κ. ἀν[δ]ρείος; *SB* XII 10876, 10-11 (2nd century AD): χ. belonging to an Alkibiades; *P. Oxy.* LIX 3991, 13-15 (2nd-3rd century AD): χ. for an Ischyron; *P. Oxy.* VII 1069, 3, 24 (3rd century AD): κ. for a Troilos; *P. Oxy.* LVI 3855, 4 (280/1 AD): κ. for Isidoros; *P. Oxy.* XII 1489, 2-3, 8 (late 3rd century AD): κ. belonging to a Sattos; *P. Kell.* I 65, 33 (early 4th century AD): χ. owned by a Philammon; *P. Flor.* III 371, 2-3 (4th century AD): κ. Owned by an Apollonios.
130. See, for example, *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59087, 17-18, 22, 23 (258-257 BC): χ. for a Satyra; *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59319, 3, 8 (249 BC): χ. γυναικείος; *P. Hib.* II 200, 10 (246-222 BC): χ. belonging to a Chrysis; *P. Petr. 2 Will.* 13, 18 (238/237 BC): χ. γυναικείου; *P. Tebt.* III 894, fr. 9, 3 (c. 114 BC): κ. γυναικείος; *P. Tebt.* I 46, 34 (113 BC): χ. γυναικείου; *P. Tebt.* I 120, 109 (97 or 64 BC): γυναικείου χ.; *P. Mich.* XV 688, 12 (2nd-1st century BC): χ. γυναικείου; *P. Ryd.* II 151, 14 (40 AD): χ. belonging to a θυγάτηρ; *P. Tebt.* II 565 (113 AD): γυναικείους χ.; *P. Wisc.* II 73, 19-20 (2nd century AD): κ. for a Thermouthis; *P. Oxy.* I 109, 27 (late 3rd-4th century AD): γυναικεία χ.
131. See, for example, *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59060, 9 (258/7 or 257/6 BC) = *SB* III 6717: χ. for a young Pyrrhos; *P. Lond.* II 402, v. 14 (152 or 141 BC): χ. παιδα[...]; *P. Tebt.* I 127 (114 BC): χ. παιδι(κόν); *P. Tebt.* IV 1096, 29 (113 BC): χ. παιδι(κός); *P. Oxy.* XLI 2971, 27 (66 AD): χ. for a minor Heraklas; *P. Tebt.* II 565 (113 AD): παιδικούς χ.; *P. Tebt.* III 891, 19 (2nd century AD): χ. τῆς μικρᾶς; *P. Oxy.* XLII 3060, 9-10 (2nd century AD): χ. [...] παιδικόν; *P. Heid.* IV 334, 1-2 (2nd century AD?): χ. παιδικῶν; *P. Oxy.* Hels. I 40, *passim* (2nd-3rd century AD): χ. παιδικοί; *P. Mich.* VIII 514, 13 (3rd century AD): κ. τῇ μικρᾷ; *P. Oxy.* XIV 1645, 10 (308 AD): κ. παιδικόν.
132. See, for example, *P. Hib.* II 200, 10 (246-222 BC): χ. λινούν; *P. Coll. Youtie* I 7, 16-17 (224 BC): [...] ἱμάτιον καὶ χ. δύο ἐρε[οῦ]ν καὶ λινούς [...]; *SB* XVI 12375, col. IV 53 (c. 180 BC): χ. λίνου; *UPZ* I 84, col. I 12 (163/162 BC): κ. λεινοῦν; *P. Oxy.* II 285, 11 (c. 50 AD): χ. λεινοῦν; *P. Oslo* II 56, 3-5 (2nd century AD): χ. λινούς δύο; *P. Mil.* II 76, 6-7 (2nd-3rd century AD): τ]ὸ λιν[οῦν] κ.; *BGU* III 816, 18-19 (3rd century AD): χ. ἐριοῦν καὶ λινούν; *P. Turn.* I 43, 7-8, 14-15 (3rd century AD): χιτωνία made of a λινόφυρος.
133. See, for example, *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59176, 251-257 (255 BC): γ]ναφεῖ τῆς Ἱεροκλέους χλα[μύδος καὶ χι]τῶνος καὶ ἱματίου κτλ. – the price for the cleaning of clothing at a fuller's, therefore made out of wool; *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59398, 8 (3rd century BC): χ. γνάπτρα (γνάπτρα 'honorarium for a fuller' cf. *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59176); *P. Petr. 2 Will.* 13, 18 (238/237 BC): χ. ἐρεοῦ γυναικείου; *P. Tebt.* I 120, 109 (97 or 64 BC): τιμὴν ἐρίω(ν) γυναικείου χ.; *SB* XII 10947, 22-23 (middle of the 1st century AD): ἐρίων εἰς τὸν κ.; *P. Mert.* II 71, 10-11 (163 AD): κ. λευκοὶ δύο ἄγναφοι; *P. Tebt.* II 406, 14 (266 AD): κ. πρ[ω]τό]γναφον 'cleaned by a fuller'; *BGU* III 816, 18-19 (3rd century AD): χ. ἐριοῦν καὶ λινούν; *P. Oxy.* I 109, 17 (late 3rd-4th century AD): χ. οὐλίριος – the editors, B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, remarked that the word οὐλίριος is composed of οὔλος and ἔριον (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. I, London 1898, 176); *PSI* VIII 900, v. 11-13 (3rd-4th century AD): πέμ]ψον πόκον ...ιδίων καὶ ποιήσω σοι κιτόνιν [...].
134. See, for example, *SB* VI 9025, 31 (2nd century AD): [...] Οὐχ εὔρον τὸν χ. τὸν ἐρεόξυλον ὡς ἤθελον [...]; *P. Oxy.* LIX 3991, 13-15 (2nd-3rd century AD): [...] τὸν χ. σοι τὸν ἐριό[ξ]υλον ἢ μήτηρ σου κ[α]τεσκεύασε [...]. Concerning the meaning of ἐριόξυλον cf. the commentaries: Winter, Youtie 1944, 250 and H.G. Ioannidou, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. LIX, London 1992, 128.
135. See, for example, *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59087, 4, 12, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27 (257 BC) = *SB* III 6783; *BGU* VII 1525, 3 (3rd century BC).
136. Regarding this term cf. Wipszycka 1965, 40-41 and 107-110.
137. Mossakowska 1996.

as by men. This garment was worn on the shoulders, the head, or was sometimes used like a loincloth. The papyrological documentation lists several words derived from μαφόριον and from terms indicating tunics of all kinds.¹³⁸

• **δελματικομαφόριον**

Δελματικομαφόριον refers to a garment made of a tunic with long and wide sleeves, and of a shawl. It is attested in some papyri dated from the 3rd to the 5th century,¹³⁹ as in the *Edict* of Diocletian, where it appears in the form δελματικομαφέριον / *dalmaticomaforium*.¹⁴⁰ In the papyri as well as in the *Edict*, this garment was intended for women.

• **κολοβιομαφόριον**

This term is only attested in some papyri, all dated from the 4th - 5th centuries.¹⁴¹ It designates a tunic without sleeves or with short sleeves in association with a shawl.

• **στιχαρομαφόριον**

The term στιχαρομαφόριον appears in many papyrological documents dated from the 5th to the 7th, and perhaps to the 8th century AD.¹⁴² This garment, made up of a tunic with long and tight

sleeves, combined with a shawl, was worn by women¹⁴³ as well as by men.¹⁴⁴

The commentaries concerning the garment terms composed of the word μαφόριον are numerous. According to one of the hypotheses, the στιχαρομαφόριον term is made up of the adjective στιχαρο-, from στίχος ('striped'), and the noun μαφόριον.¹⁴⁵ However, most researchers consider that στιχαρομαφόριον and other terms – δελματικομαφόριον and κολοβιομαφόριον – are designations of the particular shawls worn with this or that tunic.¹⁴⁶ In accepting this last explanation, a question arises: if the στιχαρομαφόριον were a particular μαφόριον that one put on over the στιχάριον, and if the κολοβιομαφόριον were intended to be worn on over the κολόβιον, while the δελματικομαφόριον accompanied the δελματική, in what way exactly, would these μαφόρια differ from each other and be distinguished from the simple μαφόριον mentioned in the same documents?¹⁴⁷

It is thus necessary to seek another explanation for these composit terms. It is useful to quote here the note by Friedrich Preizigke on στιχαρομαφόριον: 'ein mit dem Rocke verbundenes Kopftuch, Kapuze (?)',¹⁴⁸ as well as the comment by Siegfried Lauffer on the

138. Cf. Mossakowska 1996, 33-36.

139. *P. Oxy.* X 1273, 12 and 15 (260 AD): marriage contract; *P. Louvre* I 67, 5 (last decade of the 3rd century): private letter; *P. Ross. Georg.* III 28, 10-11 (343 or 358 AD): marriage contract; *SB* XII 11075, 9 (middle of the 5th century AD): given to a young bride.

140. *Ed. Diocl.* 19, 8.

141. See, for example, *P. Heid.* VII 406, 36 (4th-5th century AD); *P. Princ.* II 82, 36 (481 AD).

142. See, for example, *SB* III 7033, 39 (481 AD); *P. Wash. Univ.* I 58, 3, 4 (5th century AD); *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67006, v. 80 (6th century AD); *P. Coll. Youtie* II, 85, 1, 2, 6 (6th century AD); *P. Naqlun* I 11, 6 (6th century AD); *P. Oxy.* XVI 1978 (6th century AD); *SB* XX 14208, 2, 3, 4 (6th century AD); *SPP* XX 275, 6 (6th century AD); *SB* XX 14319, 2 (7th century AD); *P. Leid. Inst.* I 13, 5 (7th-8th century AD?); *SB* III 6024, 2, 3, 7 (date?).

143. See, for example, *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67006, v. 80 (c. 566-570 AD): marriage contract – on the reading of στιχα<ρο>μαφόρια cf. *BL* VIII, 70; *P. Oxy.* XVI 1978 (6th century AD): marriage contract(?).

144. Monks: *SB* XX 14319, 2 (7th century AD); *SB* III 6024, 2, 3, 7 (date ?). Other contexts: *SB* III 7033, 39 (481 AD): objects stolen from the house of a deacon; *P. Coll. Youtie* II, 85, 1, 2, 6 (6th century AD): inventory of a church (?), monastic context (?); *P. Leid. Inst.* I 13, 5 (7th-8th century AD?): inventory of monastic church (?).

145. Sijpesteijn 1980.

146. P. van Minnen in F.A.J. Hoogendijk & P. van Minnen, *Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute*, Leiden 1991 = *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV, p. 55: commentary on the text no. 13, l. 5. This solution has been adapted following Montserrat 1992, 83; T. Derda, *P. Naqlun*, Warsaw 1995, 151: commentary on the text no. 11, ll. 6-7, and Schmelz 2002, 115-116.

147. The word μαφόριον in the same text as στιχαρομαφόριον: *SB* III 7033 (481 AD); *SB* XVI 12251 (6th century AD); *SPP* XX 275 (6th century AD); *P. Coll. Youtie* II 85 (6th century AD); as also δελματικομαφόριον: *P. Oxy.* I 114 (2nd or 3rd century AD); *P. Michael.* 18 (middle of the 3rd century AD).

148. Preisigke s.v. στιχαρομαφόριον.

subject of the *dalmaticomaforium*: ‘Ärmelgewand mit Kopfbedeckung’.¹⁴⁹ It seems to us that one can extend these interpretations, by rejecting however the translation ‘hood’ for μαφόριον, to all compounds containing the word μαφόριον: thus we would have different tunics with shawls attached (probably sewn), being used to cover the shoulders or to veil the head.¹⁵⁰ It is true that, until now, no tunic with a shawl stitched to it has been found. On the other hand, there are some examples of tunics with a hood;¹⁵¹ that gives an idea of how one could attach a small shawl to this garment.

Other composite terms

• στιχαροκολόβιον

This term is attested in a list of clothing from the dossier of Dioscorus (*P. Lond.* inv. 0584, 14; 6th century).¹⁵² It is not easy to imagine a combined garment derived from two tunics, one with long sleeves (στιχάριον), the other without sleeves (κολόβιον). Jean-Luc Fournet understands this term as ‘a long tunic without sleeves’. However, another solution appears equally possible: ‘a tunic with ‘true’ short sleeves’ – that is to say, woven in the style of a tunic with long sleeves (στιχάριον), but with the form of a κολόβιον with short sleeves.¹⁵³

• στιχαροκαρακάλλιον

In a list of clothing coming from Oxyrhynchos,

probably from a monastic context, one mention is made of two στιχαρ(ο)καρακ(ά)λλια.¹⁵⁴ The word καρακάλλιον is borrowed from Latin *caracalla*.¹⁵⁵ The exact form of a Roman *caracalla* is not clear. It is interpreted by scholars in different, sometimes even contradictory ways: ‘a kind of fur-lined mantle with a hood and sleeves’,¹⁵⁶ ‘type of garment without sleeves and with a hood’,¹⁵⁷ ‘a hooded cape of wool’,¹⁵⁸ or again ‘una veste [...] forse non sempre caratterizzata dal cappuccio, ma spesso fornita di applicazioni decorative multiformi e multicolori’.¹⁵⁹ Considering the state of the sources, it is not impossible that, according to the place and the time, the garment called καρακάλλιον / *caracalla* changed its appearance, while keeping the same name. As for the word στιχαροκαρακάλλιον, it seems possible to us that it meant a tunic with long sleeves provided with a hood (fig. 11), an element which despite certain objections, remains characteristic of a καρακάλλιον.¹⁶⁰

• στιχαροφελόνιον

The στιχαροφελόνιον term appears in a private letter dated to the 6th century.¹⁶¹ It is also mentioned as a liturgical vestment in a text attributed wrongly to Sophronius of Jerusalem,¹⁶² as well as in the *Pratum spirituale* of Moschus, like the single habit worn by two ascetics.¹⁶³ This garment combines a tunic named στιχάριον and a mantle

149. Lauffer, *Ed. Diocl.* p. 262.

150. On this proposition see Mossakowska 1996, 34-35.

151. For some examples see *infra*, note no. 159.

152. This unpublished document is being studied by Jean-Luc Fournet, whom I warmly thank here for having given me permission to utilise the results of his ongoing research.

153. See, for example, a tunic worn by a Fructus on the mosaic from Uthina conserve at Bardo, Tunis (5th century AD): Ben Abed-Ben Khader, de Balanda & Uribe Echeverria 2003, fig. 214. Furthermore, a tunic with short sleeves is conserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum – cf. fig. 8.

154. *SB* XX 14319, 3, 4 (7th century AD).

155. Cf. Ernout & Meillet 2001, s.v. *caracalla*.

156. Freund 1866, t. I, 420, s.v. *caracalla*.

157. Ernout & Meillet 2001, s.v. *caracalla*.

158. Wild 1986.

159. Russo 2004, 142.

160. For some garments of this type see, for example, Wulff & Volbach 1926, 62, fig. above-left: Akhmîm (6th-7th century AD?); Benazeth & Rutschowskaya 2009, no. 74: provenance unknown (6th - 8th century AD).

161. *P. Michael*. 38, 2, 10.

162. Pseudo-Sophronius, *Comentarius Liturgicus* 7 (*PG* 87, 3, 3988, C).

163. 171 (*PG* 87, 3 col. 3037, C).



Figure 11. Tunic with hood; sides and sleeves opened, but could be attached with small cords (provenance unknown; 6th-8th century AD). Photo: Georges Poncet © Musée du Louvre, no. E 26525.

called φαλόνιον, which is a Greek form of the Latin term *peanula*. A *peanula* was a mantle with the shape of bell, sometimes split at the front, fastened with hooks to close it, generally stitched, and presenting only one opening for the head. This mantle was frequently provided with a hood (*peanula cucullata*). The *peanula* was already known in Roman society during the Republic, at the beginning of the 4th century AD became one of the most common mantles.¹⁶⁴

The shape of the garment named the στιχαροφελόνιον is not clearly identifiable. D.S. Crawford

suggests “that in compounds στιχαρο- meant ‘striped’, from στιχος; a στιχάριον would then be a ‘striped thing’ by etymology, a ‘tunic’ by use only”;¹⁶⁵ he has thus translated the term in question as a ‘striped cloak’. It seems to us, however, that this explanation – which is also used by certain scholars to explain the significance of the στιχαρομαφόριον term – is not correct.¹⁶⁶ Thus, what was the στιχαροφελόνιον? Does it refer to a tight tunic with long sleeves, easy to wear under a mantle, stitched at the front and provided with a hood, or it is a tunic with a little hood, the characteristic element of a φελόνιον?

164. Cf. Leroux 1905, 291-293; Wilson 1938, 87-92; Kolb 1973, 73-116.

165. In *Papyri Michaelidae*, Aberdeen 1955, 67.

166. For a discussion see *supra*.

Conclusion

An analysis of the written and iconographic sources and the preserved clothing allows us to conclude that in Egypt, until the end of the 2nd century AD, the only Greek word indicating a tunic was χιτών; for a tunic with sleeves one used the term χιτών χειρίδιος. With the arrival of the new fashion wearing of tunics with long, sewn sleeves, towards the end of the 2nd - beginning of the 3rd century AD, the vocabulary became richer. The tunics without sleeves are from then called κολόβιον or λεβίτων, in parallel with the term χιτών, until the end of the 4th century AD. The λεβίτων term seems to be specific to the vocabulary used in the monastic environment, and in the papyrological documentation is attested in texts written only in Coptic. Until the end of the 5th century AD, tunics with wide sleeves were designated by the term δελματική, and those with tight sleeves by στιχάριον, a word still present in the 8th century AD in the vocabulary employed in Egypt. Finally, it may be that the καμίσιον term in the Greek language of Egypt at one time meant a tunic worn like an 'undergarment', at other times – in particular in the texts of the 6th and 7th centuries AD – a tight tunic known as 'Persian', stitched from several pieces, different from the 'local' style, and always called στιχάριον.

From the beginning of the 3rd century AD, new garment types also appear combining, a tunic and another element of clothing, such as a shawl, hood, mantle or another tunic. The garments of this type have their own specific composite vocabulary, not always identified in a definitive manner (δελματικομαφόριον, κολοβιομαφόριον, στιχαρομαφόριον, στιχαροκαρακάλλιον, στιχαρο-κολόβιον, στιχαροφελόνιον).

We note that certain terms are used differently according to the period, and that their meaning varies, depending on the types of texts in which they appear. Indeed, the vocabulary from the literary texts and that used by the inhabitants of Egypt, which is reflected in the papyrological documents, are sometimes dissimilar. These socio-linguistic phenomena are very evident, particularly in the case of the terms δελματική, κολόβιον, λεβίτων and στιχάριον.

Abbreviations

| | | |
|----------|---|--|
| B.A.S.P. | = | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Papyrologists</i> |
| BdE | = | Bibliothèque d'Étude |
| BIFAO | = | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> |
| BRHE | = | Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique |
| FIFAO | = | Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale |
| JEA | = | <i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> |
| MDAIR | = | <i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> |
| MMAEE | = | Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition |
| TU | = | Texte und Untersuchungen |

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Table 1.

| Greek word | The most common meaning | Date of use attested in papyrological documentation | Other meaning | Date of use attested in papyrological documentation |
|--------------------|--|---|---|---|
| δελματική | Roomy tunic, with wide sleeves | late 2nd/early 3rd – 5th century AD | | |
| δελματικομαφόριον | Roomy tunic, with wide sleeves, and a shawl attached (?) | 3rd – 5th century AD | | |
| καμίσιον | Tunic with long sleeves, worn like an “undergarment” | • late 2nd/early 3rd century AD (uncertain) • 4th – 5th century AD | cut tunic, short and tight, with long sleeves (?) | 6th – early 8th century AD |
| κολόβιον | Tunic without sleeves or with short sleeves | middle 3th – 6th century AD | | |
| κολοβιομαφόριον | Tunic without sleeves, and a shawl attached (?) | 4th – 5th century AD | | |
| λεβίτων | Tunic without sleeves | Greek: uncertain | | |
| [ΛΕΒΙΤΟΝ] | | Coptic: 4th – 8th century AD | | |
| στιχάριον | Tunic with long, tight sleeves | late 2nd/early 3rd – 8th centuries AD | | |
| στιχαροκακακάλλιον | Tunic with long, tight sleeves, and a hood (?) | 7th century AD | | |
| στιχαροκολόβιον | Tunic with “true” short sleeves (?); Long tunic, without sleeves (?) | 6th century AD | | |
| στιχαρομαφόριον | Tunic with long, tight sleeves, and a shawl attached (?) | 5th – 7th (8th ?) century AD | | |
| στιχαροφελόνιον | Tunic with long, tight sleeves, and a hood (?); Tunic with sleeves, easy to wear under a mantle called a φαιδόνιον (?) | 6th century AD | | |
| ὑποκαμίσιον | Tunic with long sleeves, worn like an “undergarment” | 6th – early 8th century AD | | |
| χειριδότης χιτών | Tunic with tight sleeves | 3rd century BC – 2nd century AD | | |
| χιτών | Tunic in the general sense | 3rd century BC – 2nd century AD | Tunic without sleeves | 3rd – 4th century AD |

Table 2.

| Kind of tunic | Greek name and date of its use in papyrological documentation (1) | Greek name and date of its use in papyrological documentation (2) | Greek name and date of its use in papyrological documentation (3) |
|--|---|---|---|
| Tunic in the general sense | χιτών 3rd century BC – 2nd century AD | | |
| Tunic without sleeves | χιτών 3rd – 4th century AD | κολόβιον middle 3th – 6th century AD | [ΛΕΒΙΤΟΝ] 4th – 8th century AD |
| Long tunic, without sleeves (?) | στιχαροκολόβιον (?) 6th century AD | | |
| Tunic with short sleeves | κολόβιον middle 3th – 6th century AD | στιχαροκολόβιον (?) 6th century AD | |
| Tunic without sleeves, and a shawl attached (?) | κολοβιομαφόριον (?) 4th – 5th century AD | | |
| Roomy tunic, with wide sleeves | δελματική late 2nd-early 3rd – 5th century AD | | |
| Roomy tunic, with wide sleeves, and a shawl attached (?) | δελματικομαφόριον 3rd – 5th century AD | | |
| Tunic with long, tight sleeves | χειριδότης χιτών 3rd century BC – 2nd century AD | στιχάριον late 2nd-early 3rd – 8th century AD | |
| Tunic with long, tight sleeves, and a shawl attached (?) | στιχαρομαφόριον (?) 5th – 7th (8th ?) century AD | | |
| Tunic with long, tight sleeves, and a hood (?) | στιχαροφελόνιον (?) 6th century AD | στιχαροκακακάλλιον (?) 7th century AD | |
| Cut tunic, short and tight, with long sleeves (?) | καμίσιον (?) 6th – early 8th century AD | | |
| Tunic with long sleeves, worn like an “undergarment” | καμίσιον 4th – 5th century AD | ὑποκαμίσιον 6th – early 8th century AD | |