

ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH

JEWISH SYMBOLS

in the

Greco-Roman Period

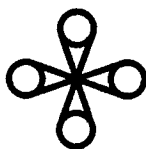
VOLUME NINE

SYMBOLISM IN THE DURA SYNAGOGUE

(The first of three volumes)

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BOLLINGEN SERIES XXXVII

PANTHEON BOOKS

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AAL, M. *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche.*
- AAL, N. *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Notizie degli scavi di antichità della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche.*
- AJA. *American Journal of Archaeology.*
- Amelung, *Sculp. Vatican.* Walter Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1903-1936.
- ARF. See Beazley.
- ARW. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
- ASAE. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.*
- ASE. *Archaeological Survey of Egypt.*
- Ashburnham Pentateuch. Oskar von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, London, 1884.
- AZ. *Archäologische Zeitung.*
- BAC. *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana.*
- BASOR. *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.*
- BCA. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.*
- BCH. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
- BD. *Book of the Dead.* Unless otherwise stated, as transl. by E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead: An English Translation*, 2d ed., London, 1923.
- Beazley, ARF. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942.
- Beyer and Lietzmann, *Torlonia.* H. W. Beyer and Hans Lietzmann, *Jüdische Denkmäler, I: Die jüdische Katakomben der Villa Torlonia in Rom*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930 (*Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, IV).
- Bieber, *Kleidung.* Margarete Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1928.
- Bieber, *Tracht.* Margarete Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, Berlin, 1934.
- BJPES. *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.*
- Bonner, *Amulets.* Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, Ann Arbor, 1950.
- Bousset, *Religion.* Wilhelm Bousset and H. Gressman, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3d ed., Tübingen, 1926 (*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, XXI).
- BT. *Babylonian Talmud*, with references to the various treatises. ET refers to the Engl. transl. made by various scholars under the general editorship of I. Epstein, London, Soncino Press, 1935 et seq. Similarly, GT refers to the German transl. of Lazarus Goldschmidt, pub. with the Hebrew text, Berlin, 1897; rev. ed. (German transl. only), Berlin, 1929.
- Butler, *Architecture*, 1899. Howard C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, New York, 1903 (Publications of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, II).
- Butler, *Architecture*, 1904-1905. *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909.* Div. II, *Architecture*, by Howard C. Butler: Sec. A, "Southern Syria"; Sec. B, "Northern Syria," Leyden, 1919-1920.
- By Light, Light.* See Goodenough.
- CBM. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1873-1937.
- Charles, *Apoc. and Pseud.* R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books*, Oxford, 1913.
- Christensen, *Types.* A. Christensen, *Les Types du premier homme et du premier roi*, Stockholm, 1917-1934 (*Archives d'études orientales*, XIV).
- CIJ. See Frey.
- CL. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. by Fernand Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907 et seq.
- Cohn-Wiener. Ernst Cohn-Wiener, *Die jüdische Kunst, ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929.
- Coll. de Clercq. *Collection de Clercq: Catalogue méthodique et raisonné: Antiquités Assyriennes*, Paris, 1888.
- Const. *Octateuch.* M. Uspenskii, "Konstantinopol'skii Seral'skii kodeks Vos'miknizhiia," *Izvestiia, Russkii Arkheologicheskii Institut v Konstantinopolie*, XII (1901), 1-255, and album of plates.
- Cook, *Zeus.* Arthur B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, Cambridge, 1914 et seq.
- CSEL. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna, 1866 et seq.
- Cumont, *Fouilles.* Franz Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922-1923)*, Paris, 1926 (*Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Services des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, IX).
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- Cumont, *Symbolisme.* Franz Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942 (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, XXXV).
- Cumont, *TMM.* Franz Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1896, 1899.

- Curtius. Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig, 1929.
- CVA. *Corpus vasorum antiquorum*, Union Académique Internationale.
- Danby, *Mishnah*. Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah*, transl. from the Hebrew with introduction and brief explanatory notes, Oxford, 1933.
- Daniélou, *Symboles*. Jean Daniélou, *Les Symboles chrétiens primitifs*, Paris, 1961.
- DS. *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, ed. by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, Paris, 1873 et seq.
- Du Mesnil, *Deux Synagogues*. Comte Robert du Mesnil du Buisson, "Les Deux Synagogues successives à Doura-Europos," *RB*, XLV (1936), 72-90, 1936.
- Du Mesnil, *Peintures*. Comte Robert du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les Peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos, 245-256 après J.-C.*, Rome, 1939.
- Edgar, *Coffins*. C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits*, Cairo, 1905 (Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, XX).
- Edgar, *Sculpture*. C. C. Edgar, *Greek Sculpture*, Cairo, 1903 (Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, IX).
- EES. T. Schreiber et al., *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin, Ausgrabungen in Alexandria*, Leipzig, 1908.
- Eisler, *Orpheus*. Robert Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher: Comparative Studies in Orphic and Early Christian Cult Symbolism*, London, 1921.
- EJ. *Encyclopaedia Judaica: Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1928 et seq.
- ET. English translation.
- Farnell, *Cults*. Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896 et seq.
- Ferrua, *Via Latina*. Antonio Ferrua, S.I., *Le Pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina*, Città del Vaticano, 1960 (Monumenti di antichità cristiana, Series II, Volume VIII).
- FR. A Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1904 et seq.
- Frey, *CIJ*. Jean-Baptiste Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum Judaicarum, Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du III^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VII^e siècle de notre ère*. I, *Europe*, Rome, 1936; II, *Asie-Afrique*, Rome, 1952.
- FT. French translation.
- Garrucci, *Arte cristiana*. Raffaele Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa*, Prato, 1872-1880. References unless otherwise stated are to the Jewish material in Vol. VI, 1880.
- Gauckler. See *Mosaïques*.
- GCS. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, ed. by the Kirchenväter-Commission der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Ginzberg, *Legends*. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1909 et seq.
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- GT. German translation.
- Hartman, *Gayomart*. S. S. Hartman, *Gayomart, Etude sur le syncrétisme dans l'ancien Iran*, Diss., Uppsala, 1953.
- HDB. James Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, New York, 1898-1904.
- Hempel, "Problem." Heinz-Ludwig Hempel, "Zum Problem der Anfänge der AT-Illustration," *ZAW*, LXVIII (1957), 103-131.
- HERE. James Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York and Edinburgh, 1908 et seq.
- HTR. *Harvard Theological Review*.
- HUCA. *Hebrew Union College Annual*.
- ICC. *International Critical Commentary*.
- IEJ. *Israel Exploration Journal*.
- IG. *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- JAOS. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JBL. *Journal of Biblical Literature*.
- JDAI. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.
- JE. *Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, ed. by Isidore Singer, New York, 1901 et seq.
- JEA. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- JHS. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- JÖAI. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*.
- JRS. *Journal of Roman Studies*.
- JT. *Jerusalem Talmud*, with references to the various treatises. FT refers to the French transl. of Moïse Schwab, Paris, 1871 et seq.
- Kraeling, *Prelim*. Carl H. Kraeling, "The Synagogue," in Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VI, 337-383, 391 f.
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- KW. Heinrich Kohl and Carl Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, Leipzig, 1916 (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, XXIX).
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- LS. Henry Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, new ed. of H. S. Jones, Oxford, 1925 et seq.
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- Marrou, M.A. Henri Irénée Marrou, *Mousikos anēr: Etude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, Grenoble, 1937.
- MDAI, Ath. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
- MDAI, Röm. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*.
- Mém., AIB. *Mémoires présentés par divers savants, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.
- Mém. Inst. *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*.
- Mém. Miss. *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*.
- Menolog. Basil. II. *Il Menologio di Basilio II*. Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613, Turin, 1907 (Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi, VIII).
- Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*. Samuel A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*, New York, 1952.
- MGWJ. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*.
- Migne. See PG, PL.
- Mon. ined. *Monumenti inediti publicati dall'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Rome, 1829-1885. Continued by publications of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, in Rome.
- Mon. Piot. *Monuments et Mémoires*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Eugène Piot).
- Morey, *Early Christian Art*. Charles Rufus Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942.
- Mosaïques. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1909-1925. 3 vols. in 2; Atlas in 6 fasc.
- MR. *Midrash Rabbah*, with references to the individual treatises. ET refers to the Engl. transl. made by various scholars under the general editorship of I. Epstein, London, Soncino Press, 1939 et seq.
- MSJ. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, Beirut.
- MW. C. O. Müller and F. Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, I, 1854; II, 1856.
- Naményi, *L'Esprit*. Ernest Naményi, *L'Esprit de l'art juif*, 1957 (Bibliothèque juive).
- Nilsson, *Griech. Rel.* Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, Munich, 1941-1950 (Walter Otto, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, V, ii).
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- PEF, QS. Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement*. After 1938 called *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (PEQ).
- PEQ. See PEF, QS.
- PES. *Syria, Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*, Leyden, 1914 et seq.
- Pfuhl, *Malerei*. Ernst Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923.
- PG. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*.
- PL. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*.
- Pope, *Persian Art*. Arthur U. Pope and P. Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, London and New York, 1938-1939.
- PRE. *Pirke de rabbi Eliezer* (*The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great*) According to the Text of the Manuscript Belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna, transl. and annot. by Gerald Friedlander, London, 1916.
- PW. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. by G. Wissowa, Stuttgart, 1894 et seq.
- QDAP. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*.
- RA. *Revue archéologique*.
- RB. *Revue biblique*.
- Reinach, *Peintures*. Solomon Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1922.
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- Reinach, *Vases*. Solomon Reinach, *Peintures de vases antiques*, Paris, 1891.
- REJ. *Revue des études juives*.
- RgVV. *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*.
- RHR. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.
- Riedin, *Cosmas Indicopleustes*. E. K. Riedin, *Khristianskaia Topografiia Kosmy Indicoplora po Grecheskim i russkim Spiskam*, Moscow, 1916, pt. I only.
- Robert, *Sarkophag-Reliefs*. Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs, im Auftrage des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin, 1890 et seq.
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- Rostovtzeff, *South Russia*. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient Decorative Paintings in South Russia* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1913.
- RQ. *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthums-kunde und für Kirchengeschichte*.
- RSV. The Bible: Revised Standard Version.
- SBE. F. M. Müller, ed., *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford.
- Scholem, *Jewish Mysticism*. Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, Jerusalem, 1941

- (Hilda Strook Lectures, delivered at the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, 1938).
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- Sonne, "Paintings." I. Sonne, "The Paintings of the Dura Synagogue," *HUCA*, XX (1947), 255-362.
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- Synagogue*. See Kraeling, *Synagogue*.
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- Torlonia*. See Beyer and Lietzmann.
- TU. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, Leipzig, 1882-1952.
- Vienna Genesis*. W. von Hartel and F. Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna and Prague, 1895.
- Ward, *Seal Cylinders*. William Hayes Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910.
- Weitzmann, *Joshua*. Kurt Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*, Princeton, 1948.
- Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*. Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton, 1947 (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, II).
- Widengren, "Juifs et Iraniens." G. Widengren. "Quelques rapports entre Juifs et Iraniens à l'époque des Parthes," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg, 1956*, 1957, 197-240 (Vetus Testamentum, Supplements, IV).
- Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien*. Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, 2d ed., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917.
- Wilpert, *Pitture*. Josef Wilpert, *Roma sotterranea: Le Pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903.
- Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*. Josef Wilpert, *I sarcophagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929-1932.
- Zaehner, *Zurvan*. R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955.
- ZAW. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
- ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
- ZNW. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
- Zohar. *The Zohar*. ET refers to the Engl. transl. of Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, London, Soncino Press, 1931 et seq. FT refers to the French transl. of J. de Pauly, rev. by E. Lafuma-Giraud, Paris, 1906 et seq.

EXTANT TREATISES ATTRIBUTED TO PHILO

The English titles, except as noted hereafter, are those of F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, with Supplements by Ralph Marcus, in the Loeb edition of the works of Philo. Roman numerals in parentheses refer to the number of the volume of that series in which the given treatise appears. I have furnished English titles for the Armenian works not in the Loeb edition.

- Abr.* *De Abrahamo*. On Abraham (VI).
- Aet.* *De aeternitate mundi*. On the Eternity of the World (IX).
- Agr.* *De agricultura*. On Husbandry (III).
- Animal.* *Alexander, sive de eo quod rationem habeant bruta animalia*. Alexander, or That Dumb Animals Have Reason. (Accessible only in Armenian and in Aucher's Latin transl.)
- Antiq.* *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*. (Pseudo Philo, ed. by Guido Kisch, 1949, transl. M. R. James, 1917: *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*.)
- Cher.* *De cherubim*. On the Cherubim, and the Flaming Sword, and Cain the First Man Created out of Man (II).
- Conf.* *De confusione linguarum*. On the Confusion of Tongues (IV).
- Cong.* *De congressu eruditionis gratia*. On Mating with the Preliminary Studies (IV).
- Cont.* *De vita contemplativa*. On the Contemplative Life (IX).
- Decal.* *De decalogo*. On the Decalogue (VII).
- Deo.* *De deo*. On God. (Accessible only in Armenian and in Aucher's Latin transl.)
- Det.* *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*. That the Worse Is Wont to Attack the Better (II).

- Ebr.* *De ebrietate.* On Drunkenness (III).
- Flac.* *In Flaccum.* Against Flaccus (IX).
- Fug.* *De fuga et inventione.* On Flight and Finding (V).
- Gig.* *De gigantibus.* On the Giants (II).
- Heres.* *Quis rerum divinarum heres.* Who Is the Heir of Divine Things (IV).
- Hyp.* *Apologia pro Iudaeis.* Hypothetica (IX).
- Immut.* *Quod deus sit immutabilis.* On the Unchangeableness of God (III).
- Jona.* *De Jona.* On Jonah. (Accessible only in Armenian and in Aucher's Latin transl.)
- Jos.* *De Josepho.* On Joseph (VI).
- LA.* *Legum allegoria.* Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis (I).
- Legat.* *Legatio ad Gaium.* Legation to Gaius (X, forthcoming).
- Migr.* *De migratione Abrahami.* On the Migration of Abraham (IV).
- Mos.* *De vita Mosis.* Moses (VI).
- Mund.* *De mundo.* On the World.
- Mut.* *De mutatione nominum.* On the Change of Names (V).
- Opif.* *De opificio mundi.* On the Account of the World's Creation Given by Moses (I).
- Plant.* *De plantatione.* Concerning Noah's Work as a Planter (III).
- Post.* *De posteritate Caini.* On the Posterity of Cain and His Exile (II).
- Praem.* *De praemiis et poenis.* On Rewards and Punishments (VIII).
- Prob.* *Quod omnis probus liber sit.* That Every Virtuous Man Is Free (IX).
- Provid.* *De providentia.* On Providence (IX).
- QE.* *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum.* Questions and Answers on Exodus. (Supplement II to the Loeb edition, transl. Ralph Marcus.)
- QG.* *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim.* Questions and Answers on Genesis. (Supplement I to the Loeb edition, transl. Ralph Marcus.)
- Sacr.* *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini.* On the Birth of Abel and the Sacrifices Offered by Him and His Brother Cain (II).
- Samp.* *Sine praeparatione de Sampson* [sermo]. On Samson. (Accessible only in Armenian and in Aucher's Latin transl.)
- Sobr.* *De sobrietate.* On the Prayers and Curses Uttered by Noah When He Became Sober (III).
- Som.* *De somniis.* On Dreams, That They Are God-Sent (V).
- Spec.* *De specialibus legibus.* On the Special Laws (VII, VIII).
- Virt.* *De virtutibus.* On Virtues Which, together with Others, Were Described by Moses; or on Courage, Piety, Humanity, and Repentance (VIII).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Symbolism of Dress

THE REREDOS has shown that the costumes may well be crucial for the Dura paintings, a fact recognized by most commentators.¹ The present chapter must address itself directly to the problem, and must try to establish some more methodical approach than seems to have characterized former answers. Clearly we must seek some objective point of view, for to decide by studying the paintings that the Greek costume means this, the Persian that, then to explain the paintings on that basis, and finally to complete the circle by showing that the paintings have in turn explained the dress, has little to commend it.

Only two objective approaches to the problem have occurred to me: to study the textiles found in the ruins of Dura itself, and to trace the history of the costumes as they were used in pagan and Christian art, to see whether the various types of dress in those milieus seem to have had, and kept, stable symbolic values.² If these same values consistently clarify the meaning of the Jewish paintings at Dura, we may reasonably suppose the paintings were designed with the values in mind.

We shall use both approaches, but shall find that the textiles in themselves tell us nothing about what sort of people wore them or on what occasions, so that for interpretation we are thrown back chiefly upon the second method. I shall therefore rely on the method that has proved useful throughout this study for evaluating symbols—studying the general development and associations of a symbol, in this case of the forms of dress in the ancient world.

A. THE COSTUMES IN THE DURA PAINTINGS

WOMEN'S COSTUMES can here be quickly dismissed. Apart from the naked woman getting the baby Moses from the Ark in the Nile there seem to be only two sorts of dress on characters recognizable as women. The commonest costume³ consists of a chiton with loose sleeves to the elbow—that is, the type usually called the colobium or dalmatic; see

1. For example, Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 71, 73, 81, 114 f., etc.

2. For "value" in the discussion of symbols, see above, p. 6, and IV, Chap. 2.

3. Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 146, n. 532.

figs. 335, 338.⁴ The chiton is sometimes marked with clavi, stripes of color from each shoulder to the bottom. This garment covers the upper part of the body and hangs down to the ankles, as the chitons of the men do not. An himation hangs over the chiton from one shoulder and is wrapped in some strange way round the waist. It nearly covers the chiton from the waist down, but allows a bit of the chiton to show at the bottom. A still more peculiar feature is a fold across the hips. Kraeling⁵ seems right when he says that the veil which covers the heads of women in this costume is made of one end of the himation.

The other type of women's dress appears definitely in only two scenes,⁶ but very importantly. Here the chiton is a tight-fitting sleeveless garment that again extends to the feet. Over it, as drawn, a skirt hangs from just below the bust; it has a wide flounce that ends at the hips with a stripe of the same color as the chiton. The garment would seem to be a misdrawn peplos. The veil in this case has no relation to the rest of the garment. Bracelets are on the bare arms. Since these costumes can best be discussed in connection with the paintings in which they appear,⁷ I shall only say here that both seem misdrawings from originals at whose exact nature we can only guess. The folds as drawn, and in places the structure, will appear quite unreal when we discuss them at greater length.

Men wear armor in the paintings—to indicate, I presume, that they are soldiers. To this obvious conclusion we shall add that the types of armor may prove to be helpful in identifying the origin of the art forms, but armor seems to me to have no special symbolic reference. When the children of Israel come out of Egypt, plate xiv, only some of them are armed, and I take it that their armor represents only that some of the men were thought to constitute a regularly organized fighting force, others not. Armor might well have had a spiritual significance, as does the spear of the St. George type of saints in paganism and Christianity. But in the synagogue I have seen no trace of more than the literal specification that those wearing arms were soldiers.

Other types of masculine dress cannot be dismissed so easily. Actually, apart from the armor, all the costumes of the men fall into two basic categories.

The first of these is the Persian costume of caftan and trousers. When a cape is thrown over these and all are richly ornamented, we have the garb of kings. Aaron and Orpheus are similarly clad, but with the cape fastened by a brooch across the chest. The Persian dress may be dark or light, but I have not been able to see that the shade marks any distinction in meaning for the characters.⁸

In contrast to this costume is the Greek dress of many other figures. This consists first of a long chiton with sleeves, almost always of a light color⁹ and ordinarily marked with

4. On these garments see A. Mau in PW, IV, 483, 2025 f.

5. *Synagogue*, 146, n. 532.

6. See figs. 335, 338, and, perhaps, 329.

7. See below, p. 228.

8. For example, in plate xvi four people bear the Ark, two in light Persian dress, two in dark.

The change of shade in Ezekiel's dress may well have meaning, plate xxi, but may only be a concession to the changed color of the background. See below, X, 183.

9. Exceptions are the chitons of two of Elijah's attendants, plate xvi, and the child in the bottom row at the right in plate xiv.

the darker stripes which run like ribbons one from each shoulder down to the hem. The chiton in most cases appears only partially, since it is covered with the himation, but without the himation it can be seen in the Exodus from Egypt, plate xiv, where it is the dress of the lowest row of figures, and still more clearly as worn by the servants of Elijah at the right part of plate xvi. In both of these it is belted up for active motion, an adjustment described in the biblical phrase as having the "loins girded."¹⁰ In a scene of the carrying of the Ark, plate xvi, small figures wear a knee-length chiton as the outer garment, with what Kraeling¹¹ properly calls an "unidentified garment" underneath it, one which protrudes with exaggerated emphasis over the right knee and shin. Kraeling takes these figures to be children and the dress to be the dress of children, but the only figures certainly children in the synagogue seem to wear the usual belted chiton.¹²

When outstanding figures wear the chiton, only the top and bottom of it can be seen from beneath a large garment worn over it—what the Greeks called the himation, a large rectangular shawl ordinarily draped over the left shoulder, wound round the body just above the right hip, and held by throwing both ends over the left arm. The right arm was thus left free. The himation could, however, for special reasons be pulled over into other positions, as in plates v, vii, and fig. 345. Greek representations of the same garment show similarly occasional departures from the conventional position of the pallium, as the Romans called the himation. This garment must not be confused with the Roman toga, which is a generally similar garment, but much larger and made with one long edge rounded, so that it was folded in quite a different way about the wearer.¹³ The himation in the synagogue is always of a light color, with the single exception of the one worn by David as he is anointed by Samuel, plate vii, and we shall find this contrast apparently significant. Most of these himatia—except, conspicuously, that of David—are marked, usually at each of their two corners, with a dark design, ending in squared prongs.¹⁴

Before the discovery of the Dura synagogue this costume of striped chiton and marked himation as used in Christian art appeared to me to have special significance, and probably to have come to Christianity from Judaism, for its use on Old Testament characters in Christian art seemed originally a Jewish heritage.¹⁵ I have since learned, and pointed out above, that it also appeared in Jewish art apparently worn by a figure in the Sheikh Ibreiq cemetery in Nazareth,¹⁶ by Abraham in the Akedah scene of the synagogue at Beth Alpha,¹⁷ and by a figure on a sarcophagus from the Catacomb Vigna Randanini in Rome.¹⁸ It also appeared on a bust marked "God-fearer" in Rome;¹⁹ it seems to be the

10. The chiton thus belted up is often called the "short chiton" in handbooks, mistakenly, I believe.

11. *Synagogue*, 115, n. 391.

12. See the child in the Exodus scene, plate xiv, and Ephraim and Manasseh in the reredos, fig. 323.

13. How different the Roman toga was can be seen at once in handbooks. See, for example, Smith, *GRA*, II, 845-850; F. Courby in *DS*, V, 347-352. Cf. J. Wilpert, *Die Gewandung der Christen in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, 1898, fig. 6; M. G. Houston,

Ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Costume, 1931, 57-67; L. Heuzey, *Histoire du costume antique*, 1922, 227-279.

14. See above, p. 88, and below, pp. 128, 163 f.

15. See above, I, 24-30.

16. Above, I, 99; cf. III, fig. 55.

17. Above, I, 246; cf. III, fig. 638.

18. Above, II, 27.

19. *Ibid.*, 44.

dress worn by Jonah on a Jewish amulet,²⁰ perhaps by an angel on another amulet,²¹ and by Solomon on still another.²²

In none of these, however, does the costume appear with such distinctness as in the synagogue paintings. There it is worn by Moses,²³ Elijah,²⁴ Jacob,²⁵ Samuel,²⁶ Ezekiel in his triumph,²⁷ the twelve heads of tribes at the exodus scene,²⁸ and figures whose identity in five other scenes is disputed,²⁹ as well as by the Throne Mates both of Solomon³⁰ and of the Great King of the reredos.³¹ In a few cases³² three threads hang below the mantle, threads that have usually been identified with the *zizith*, or ceremonial threads required by Jewish law for a prayer shawl.

B. THE TEXTILES OF DURA

HOPING TO DECIPHER the meaning of these various types of clothing, one naturally first asks how people in Dura dressed during the third century. We had high hopes of answering this question when a large number of fragments of actual textiles were found in the sand embankment hurriedly thrown up inside the wall at the time of the last siege, as well as other pieces in a cemetery. Those in the embankment, Frank Brown assures me, seemed to be the dumpings of what would correspond to a box of old rags, for many were already patched and mended, and no garment was preserved entire. These have now been well published³³ and show surprising affinities with details of the synagogue paintings, but just as surprising differences. First, there are fragments, some nearly intact, of sixteen tunics (what I am calling chitons), most of them with narrow or broad vertical stripes, or clavi, similar to those on the chitons of the synagogue, fig. 104.³⁴ Secondly, nineteen fragments show the pronged ornament; and these, by analogy with the synagogue dress, are all supposed by those who published the textiles to have come from himatia. The ornament sometimes takes the form of a stripe ending in an arrow, which also is represented in the synagogue.³⁵ The accompanying illustrations, text fig. 12,³⁶ show both types. In addition, however, a number of other stripes appeared, woven into the cloth or sewed onto it, and with very rich decoration and design; these differ strikingly from the simple monotony of ornament on Greek dress in the synagogue. The pieces had a great variety of color also, although here we may well take care, since some of the dyes may have held true, others may have faded. Much of the cloth had apparently not been dyed at all, but was

20. Ibid., 225; cf. III, 1042.

21. Above, III, fig. 1052.

22. Ibid., fig. 1056.

23. See, for example, plate v and figs. 324 f., 330 f.

24. See fig. 335.

25. See fig. 345.

26. See fig. 337.

27. See plate XXI and figs. 348 f.

28. See plate XIV and fig. 330.

29. See figs. 326, 334, 336, 341 f.

30. See fig. 329.

31. See fig. 323.

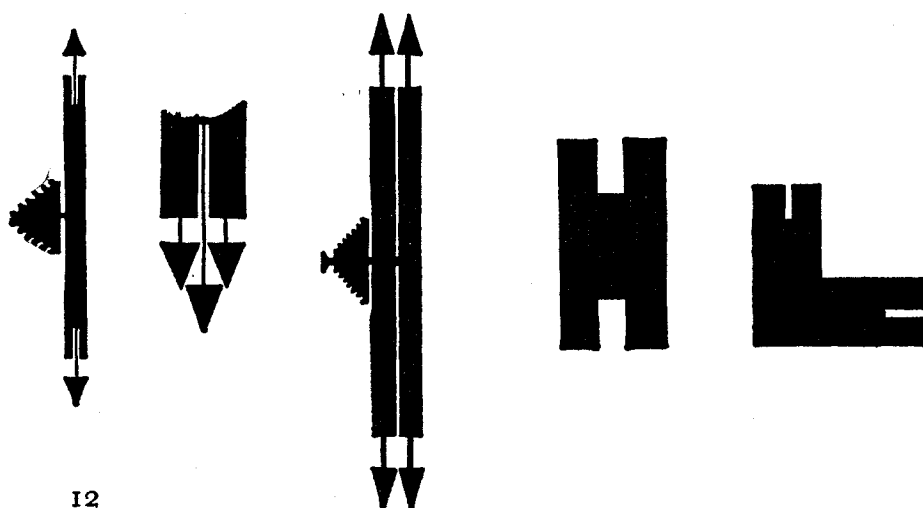
32. See figs. 324-326, 329-331, 336, 349.

33. R. Pfister and L. Bellinger, *Textiles*, 1945 (The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report, IV, ii).

34. See *ibid.*, plate v; cf. pp. 14 and 17, no. 1.

35. See the dress of the last person on the lower row of fig. 339.

36. From *Textiles*, 5, nos. 3, 11, 14, 19, 23.



12

what we call “unbleached”; and some of these may originally have been “white,” for pure whiteness, as any laundress knows, is extremely hard to preserve. Even in the sand of the desert, garments lying exposed for seventeen centuries could come out really white only by miracle. But the authors point out that a price list of the transactions of the dealer shows that white garments were quite the most expensive,³⁷ so we may presume that white was rarely worn. I can accordingly see no reason why the authors say: “Pictures, texts, and fragments alike testify to the fact that the clothing of Dura was, for the most part, white.”³⁸

We have, then, evidence about the clothing from three sources: from the paintings, the price list, and the textile fragments. But all our pictorial representations are from religious art (where the figures are either gods or priests sacrificing) or are pagan, Christian, or Jewish heroes—all, as such, presumably in distinctive dress. Furthermore, the price list shows white dress to have been very expensive, and the fragments of textiles, as the authors say, “are unlike any tunic or mantle in the pictures.”³⁹ We have little evidence, accordingly, from which to conclude either the color or character of ordinary dress at Dura. It seems to me highly unlikely that the ordinary clothing at Dura was either white or ornamented in the way we see it in the paintings or in original textiles. These ornate fragments may well have come from a sacred vestry instead of from a repository of ordinary clothing. It is perplexing that so many of them seem to have been rags when dumped into the embankment, but this in no way indicates that the place where they had been kept was a common or ordinary one. The cloth patches were presumably in much better condition when thrown into the sand in the year 256 than they are now, and it is quite possible that they represent a store of garments, especially of pieces on which were sacral markings, from a ritualistic treasure.⁴⁰ This, however, let me repeat, we can no more assert

37. *Textiles*, 12 f. But the meaning of “white” is dubious: see below, pp. 165–168.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. As a matter of fact the rags were found not far from the synagogue itself. On the discovery of

the textiles at Dura see also R. Pfister in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, VIII (1934), 86. I find the same danger in discussing the textiles from other cities of the region, such as Palmyra: *idem*, *Textiles de Palmyre*, I, 1934, 7–9; *idem*, *Nouveaux Textiles de Palmyre*, 1937, 7–9, 13; *idem*, *Textiles de Palmyre*, III,

than that they were ordinary rags. The fact is that for evaluating the costumes in the synagogue paintings, the textiles have nothing to tell us unless we beg the question of their origin and character. All the textile fragments tell us is that the ornaments shown on the painted costumes of the synagogue were used on costumes of some sort worn at Dura.

C. THE PERSIAN COSTUME

IF SURVIVING TEXTILES do not tell us when and why people wore a given costume or ornament, we must fall back upon our second possible approach to the costumes in the synagogue paintings and investigate how the sorts of garments and ornaments depicted were used throughout ancient times.

We may well begin with the Persian costume already mentioned, since that is a problem which can be quickly stated but cannot be solved at all. The dress is very often represented in the paintings, yet it still seems on the whole an intrusion into a basically Greek pictorial convention. The persons who wear it do not seem to fit into any classification.⁴¹ Persian dress appears first on the images of the two pagan gods that lie in fragments before the Ark of the Covenant, plate XIII. Here, we shall see, the artists seem to be transferring the incident from the old god of the Philistines to represent the utter futility of the pagan gods in Dura as compared with the God of Israel.⁴² The artist seems, that is, to have intended these figures to be recognizable. It will be noticed that the gods have a cape like a chlamys falling behind their caftan and trousers. Basically the same costume appears on Aaron, and, perhaps, on Orpheus, though Aaron's cape is not thrown over the back. In two paintings, plates VI and IX, enthroned kings wear the costume, but the cape has become a coat that has sleeves and a knee-length skirt. In another, a captain wears the Persian costume with the coat when leading his troops on horseback, but Saul has no coat when he sleeps if—as I believe, with most commentators—the upper sleep-

1940, 7-9, 11 f.; Pfister assures us that the Palmyrene textiles came only from graves, and we shall see there and elsewhere abundant reason to suppose that burial dress may have had symbolic character. The textiles show indisputable evidence for kinds of cloth people at the time were making, their materials and techniques, but must be treated with great caution as evidence of how people ordinarily dressed. In treating a similar lot of textiles found in a grave in another place in Syria, Pfister follows J. Lauffray in suggesting that the very considerable quantity of textiles at the one place shows that at the final siege people took refuge there and were slaughtered. They accordingly concluded that the fragments represent everyday dress. In view of the great luxury of many of them, this seems an

unlikely guess. If the textiles do indeed witness a final slaughter, as is by no means sure, the refugees may have put on sacramental and talismanic clothing for what they knew would be the end. See Pfister, *Textiles de Halabiyeh (Zenobia)*, 1951, 3, 66 f. (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, XLVIII).

41. As, for example, that of Kraeling, *Synagogue*, 73, who said of the Persian dress that it "is regularly associated with court and temple personnel" in contrast with the "'lay' group, including patriarchs, prophets, and members of the people not associated with either the religious or the official class." This is a distinction that seems to me not "regularly" made at all.

42. See below, X, 96.

ing figure is he, fig. 344. Such a coat with the trousers appears also on Mordecai, who rides with "royal apparel" by the king's decree,⁴³ where in contrast with Haman, his coat has become the chlamys again, billowing out behind him as does the coat of Mithra when he kills the bull, and so again is associated with divinity. We know that Mordecai on this occasion wore the royal robe, and that the cloak of the captain, when he is mounted, billows out in the same way. The royal figure is, *eo ipso*, a divine figure, and actually follows a type which appears on Syrian reliefs. To this we shall return.⁴⁴

The Persians, of course, represented their kings in caftan and trousers,⁴⁵ but when we have the whole figure on coins, fig. 105,⁴⁶ no cape or coat appears. The convention went east for coins of the hellenized Kushans in India, fig. 106,⁴⁷ where the kings more resemble the synagogue kings than do the Persian kings themselves. We have no tradition to suggest how or why the Jews of Dura came to think that they could not represent kings unless they clothed them in the oriental dress of royal divinities. In the synagogue the conventional two attendants of the king may be in Persian dress but without the royal cape,⁴⁸ or in the full Greek dress.⁴⁹ In any case, in these scenes and in the scene with Aaron, whose helpers wear the simple Persian dress, the contrast between the priest or king with the cape or coat and the attendants without it clearly marks an important distinction. This I say in spite of the fact that the greatest king of all in the synagogue, the one at the top of the vine, fig. 323, wears only the caftan and trousers, not the cape or coat, as well as Gute could make out from the remains of the painting. In Jacob's dream, the angels on the ladder have the cape, fig. 345, which strengthens the suggestion of Kraeling that these angels are also kings;⁵⁰ they may be indicated as divine kings.

As to the simpler Persian dress, I cannot see that it is put upon characters in any consistent way at all. In the reredos we saw Jacob blessing the thirteen tribes—he in the Greek robe, all the others in Persian dress—and in that dress they appear standing round the great throne above.⁵¹ They also wear this dress as they stand in their little booths receiving the miraculous streams Moses gets for them from the rock, fig. 331. But the same heads of tribes wear the full Greek dress twice in the Exodus scene, plate xiv. It is possible that they wear the Persian dress in the reredos as courtiers when with the king, but they can hardly be called courtiers with their father Jacob. They may, as was sug-

43. Esther VI, 7-11; VIII, 15. The dress in the painting has no resemblance to this description, fig. 336.

44. See below, pp. 180-182.

45. See above, p. 83.

46. From J. de Morgan, *Numismatique de la Perse antique*, 1933, Planches, plate xxi, 5 (E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III, *Monnaies orientales*, I). It is a bronze coin of Vologeses I, A.D. 51-78. A great number of such representations can be seen in the plates of this volume. The king is sometimes mounted on a horse: *ibid.*, plate xxii, 11 f.

47. From P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and*

Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, 1886, plate xxv, 6; cf. p. 124 (*Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, III). See also R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore I, Indo-Greek Coins*, 1914, plate xvii, 31; cf. pp. 173 f. It is a coin of Kadphises II, of the first century A.D. The inscription with the king is in Greek and Kharosti. Shiva stands on the other side with a humped bull.

48. See figs. 336 and 338.

49. See figs. 323 and 329.

50. *Synagogue*, 73 f. He calls the cape a chlamys. The original is so damaged that we do not know how it was fastened at the neck.

51. See above, pp. 104 f.

gested above, be servants at the throne.⁵² How Solomon was dressed on his throne we do not know, fig. 329, but his two attendants sit on either side in the Greek robe, while a person in Persian dress leads two women forward. The identity of the women is by no means established,⁵³ and that of the man in Persian dress even less so. With the Throne Mates here again in the Greek robe, we cannot take the Persian dress to be simply the costume of a courtier. Still less can we make it the costume of a priest, for while four men wear it carrying the Ark in fig. 339, the four who carry it in fig. 347 wear the belted Greek chiton with stripes. In this latter scene both of the two men with spears who attack each other on horseback wear the Persian dress, figures which, we shall see, also follow a convention.⁵⁴ We recall that the soldiers with Saul had Persian costume with bows and arrows, but no armor, fig. 344. It is hard for me to believe that in the great battle scene the Ark is carried by enemies of Yahweh: in their dignity, and with their military guard of honor, they seem to have quite as much claim to be Levites as the men in Persian dress who carry the Ark in fig. 339. The men in the Esther scene, fig. 336, who wear Persian costume, whether in court or not, are sharply contrasted with the four much larger figures in the center of the picture wearing Greek robes. We felt the same contrast between Jacob and the sons he blessed, and it seems expressed also in fig. 334, where the Ark returns from the temple of the destroyed pagan gods: the oxen (contrary to scripture) are whipped and guided by drivers in the Persian dress, while three majestic figures in the Greek robe walk behind. Even more striking is the contrast made in the Ezekiel scene, figs. 348 f., where Ezekiel himself, instead of the Persian dress, wears the full Greek robe for the final stages of the miracle, but, as I believe, returns to the Persian dress when he is arrested and beheaded.⁵⁵

Only one suggestion seems possible from these examples: the full Persian dress when shown with the cape is extremely sacred and marks a king or heavenly being; but the Persian dress without the cape may be used in almost random exchange with the Greek chiton, and figures thus dressed are shown to be of lesser significance than those in either the full Persian or full Greek costume. We shall watch for the usages of Persian dress as we examine each scene in greater detail, though we shall, I fear, find little to help us in making closer distinctions. But throughout we shall be asking ourselves, without definite answer, why the Persian dress should have intruded itself at all into a convention of art that will seem clearly to have begun with Greek costume only.⁵⁶

D. THE CHITON AND HIMATION IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

THE CONTRAST between the full Persian dress with the cape and the ordinary Persian dress without it has suggested that the full Greek dress with the himation may have some

52. Above, p. 106.

53. See below, X, 103.

54. Below, X, 172-175.

55. Below, X, 183-191.

56. Notably, in Christian tradition the Persian dress appears only for the three kings of the Nativity, and for the three boys in the furnace; see, in general, below, p. 157.

distinctive meaning also.⁵⁷ Lack of adequate background in Persian symbolic art makes it impossible to follow this distinction in Iranian tradition. We have, however, much evidence for the use of Greek costume, and can trace a continuity of its tradition that at least suggests meaning behind this distinction as made at Dura.

1. Classical Greece

NOTHING CAN BE FOUND in classical Greece analogous to the emphasis put upon the chiton and himation in the synagogue, and, we shall see, in Christian art. In early times Greeks appeared mainly in a long chiton, but in classical Greece the chiton, rarely with sleeves, was much shortened, and the long chiton put only on gods, priests in official function, actors, musicians, or charioteers—that is, on “persons who came before God or the people on ceremonial occasions.”⁵⁸ Soldiers and ephebes sometimes wore the chiton under their more typical chlamys, which was a cape fastened at the neck, one that could be spread over the shoulders or could hang directly down the back.⁵⁹ Figures with the chlamys and no chiton at all appear everywhere in this period.⁶⁰ The large shawl or himation of the Dura paintings was occasionally worn for warmth by older people, and when worn it usually was wrapped about the body as at Dura. But it could still be used as a shawl thrown symmetrically over the shoulders. It actually occurs more commonly on statues without the chiton under it.⁶¹ In contrast to this usual dress, both men and women appear with overwhelming regularity on grave reliefs wearing the chiton and himation, and this, we shall see, persisted into later usage.⁶² So it seems appropriate that Dionysus often wears them as he leads Hephaestus on an ithyphallic ass to Olympus,⁶³ and that king Polydectes and a courtier behind him wear them as Perseus holds the head of Medusa before their freezing eyes, fig. 107.⁶⁴

2. The Hellenistic Period

IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD these garments were little changed except to enrich the materials with fine threads, embroidery, and the like, a custom which had begun on garments of the classical period⁶⁵ but was elaborated for the clothing of Roman times to make the stripes and marks we are discussing, as well as much richer ornament.⁶⁶ The

57. The flying cape often became the Cosmic Cloak on which Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 1910, has uncritically assembled a great deal of material. Nothing indicates such a meaning for the cloak or cape on the synagogue figures, but wearers of the cloak are sufficiently distinguished from those in only the caftan and trousers so that the cloak in itself may have carried such a meaning in the synagogue also. Both the Persian cloak and the himation are essentially coverings over a basic garment.

58. Bieber, *Tracht*, 32.

59. See above, pp. 129 f.

60. Varieties of the chlamys are well illustrated

by Bieber, *Kleidung*, plates xxxv–xxxvii. See also Heuzey, *Histoire du costume antique*, 115–141.

61. Cf. Bieber, *Kleidung*, plates xxxviii–xlii.

62. See A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 1893–1922, *passim*.

63. See above, VI, figs. 187–190, 192; cf. Reinach, *Vases*, Millin, II, 66.

64. From Reinach, *Vases*, Millin, II, 3; cf. p. 45. It is a red-figure calyx-crater by the “Mykonos Painter,” at Catania. See Beazley, *ARF*, 355, no. 7.

65. See, for example, above, VI, figs. 192, 206 f., 209, 212.

66. See Bieber, *Tracht*, plates 43, nos. 2 f., 46–48.

chiton by this time often has short sleeves, as in fig. 108,⁶⁷ a hellenistic statue at Naples. This sort of dress could appear on people of various sorts, since, as Miss Bieber remarks, the Greeks followed personal taste in dress more than did the class-ridden Romans.⁶⁸ So it could appear at Delphi on a child, fig. 110,⁶⁹ or on merchants in a shop.⁷⁰ Such examples seem relatively rare, however, and the shops may be selling ceremonial wares. Most examples come from memorial statues or grave reliefs and at once raise the question whether the person depicted is wearing his ordinary clothes or a specially recognized holy garb. A statue from Cyrene for example, fig. 109,⁷¹ traditionally called "Hadrian," shows him in this dress instead of the toga. Miss Bieber noticed this antiquarian tendency in such places and concluded: "It must have the meaning that with this dress was connected the conception of some definite (*bestimmten*) divine or heroic personality to whom the living or dead person was in honor assimilated."⁷² Although Miss Bieber thinks that the dress recalled originally some "definite" divine personality, she sees people from all over the Roman world using these garments apparently without having any one deity in mind, a usage she calls careless. She thinks it marks the "closing period of hellenic civilization." Therein she may have missed the essential development of later antiquity, in which the "definite" god or goddess came to have little importance in comparison with the sense that Deity is One, and that the Saving Principle should be called by many names. A heroized and divinized mortal, royal or lay, was assimilated not to the ultimate One but to the Saving Principle or Person.

Miss Bieber seems right in saying that no specific deity can be associated with many, or even with most, of such representations in the Roman period,⁷³ but I cannot see that this would make the robe any less important for the figures wearing it, or for us. For Miss Bieber has, I believe, correctly sensed that this sort of dress, depicted long after it appears to have been commonly worn, had become a sacred robe. We may suggest as a parallel that the costumes of late antiquity and the early middle ages have survived as the sacred garb of priestly ritual, and of monks and nuns: on occasion, however modified, they even give some dignity to academicians. We shall accordingly watch whether usage suggests that the chiton and himation should be thought of as a religious symbol—not one that

67. Courtesy of Soprintendenze alle Antichità della Campania, Naples. See Bieber, *Tracht*, plate 33, no. 1.

68. *Ibid.*, plate 41.

69. *Ibid.*, plate 36, original in the Museum at Delphi, no. 1791.

70. *Ibid.*, plate 43, no. 1. It is a first-century A.D. relief at the Uffizi in Florence. See also the shop of the maker of knives at the Vatican, published by O. Jahn, "Darstellungen antiker Reliefs, welche sich auf Handwerk und Handelsverkehr beziehen," *Berichte, Königliche-Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Classe*, XIII (1861), 328–330, plate ix, 9a. The smith may be at the right in

ordinary clothes, selling a sacrificial knife to a priest in mantle and chiton. But in a wall painting at Pompeii a baker seems to be in the robe selling bread over a counter: Maiuri, *Roman Painting*, 144.

71. Courtesy of the British Museum: see Bieber, *Tracht*, plate 51, no. 1. Cf. the Egyptian relief of Antoninus Pius and his family, below, fig. 138.

72. Bieber, *Tracht*, 52 f.

73. For a fine collection of hellenistic reliefs see A. Mühsam, "Attic Grave Reliefs from the Roman Period," *Berytus*, X (1952/3), 53–114, with plates VII–XXIV. She speaks only briefly of the garments, but notes, p. 73, that fashion trends do not appear: "Men wear the himation, never the Roman toga."

distinguished a particular religion but one that was part of the lingua franca of symbolism at that time, adaptable to a number of religions.

The earliest robe with striped chiton that I know appears on the strange "vase of the Persians," thought to be of the time of Alexander the Great, fig. 111.⁷⁴ It is worn by the man who stands before "Darius" in the middle of the Persian court depicted in the central register.⁷⁵ He makes what will appear⁷⁶ to be a sacred gesture toward the king, a gesture repeated by the last figure at the left. It is not in point to go into the elaborate discussion which full interpretation of the painting would require, but the Erotes or Victories on Darius' throne, the figures and activities depicted throughout, and the mixture of Greek and Iranian dress and motifs seem to indicate some Greco-Iranian mystic conception. In that case the man before the king would be taken to be a "mystic philosopher." His chiton and himation are Greek, but his hat and shoes may be Persian, and it may be that the stripe for the chiton came from the Orient, where ornament on dress was always more important than for the Greeks, for ornament on dress seems to have had little currency in Greek art.

The chiton-himation appears next a hundred years later, among the Etruscans, but with them so rarely that we have no reason to suppose it represented ordinary Etruscan clothing. Fig. 112,⁷⁷ a wall painting from a long-closed tomb near Querciola, shows the garb in the most striking way. The meaning of the scene is disputed, but Messerschmidt seems to me right in seeing in it a father welcoming his son to the lower world, represented by the gate as well as by the demons with their hammers. The dress of both father and son is strikingly the one we are tracing. If van Essen⁷⁸ is right in dating it between 230 and 200 B.C., it is the earliest funerary occurrence of the robe with its striping that I know. Notably the younger man's cloak is fringed. The same dress seems also to appear on parents similarly welcoming a son to the lower world on an Etruscan sarcophagus.⁷⁹ It reappears on many funerary reliefs, for example fig. 113,⁸⁰ where it is worn in full by three men while a fourth wears only the himation. The man on the right thus clothed is parting from his wife; the other three carry the little scrolls that we shall often see with people in this dress.⁸¹

74. From FR, plate 88; cf. Text, II, 146-149. See also Will, *Le Relief culturel gréco-romain*, 351-353.

75. Furtwängler's suggestion is quite acceptable that the *Persai* on the little *bema* under him applies to all the group.

76. Though perhaps, as sometimes also appears, it is the gesture of oration.

77. From F. Messerschmidt, "Ein hellenistisches Grabgemälde in Tarquinia," *Studi etruschi*, III (1929), 161-170, plate xxviii. Further bibliography is reported there. See also G. Q. Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca*, 1935, plate ccclxxxviii, 3. Here the scene, as usual, is reproduced without the gate, and hence misunderstood.

78. C. C. van Essen, *Did Orphic Influence on Etruscan Tomb Painting Exist?* Amsterdam, 1927,

38; cf. 23 f.

79. Messerschmidt, plate xxx, 1; R. Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, 1952, 74, c, no. 116; cf. p. 60. On Roman sarcophagi the iconographic tradition may be continued for Oneus standing thus attired before a gate when he quarrels with Meleager about Atalante's taking part in the fatal hunt: see Robert, *Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, plate lxxvii, 225, 226, 228. Oneus as king continues in the same dress on other Meleager sarcophagi: *ibid.*, plate lxxviii, 230; lxxix, 231; lxxx, 233, 235; etc.

80. Courtesy of the Soprintendenze alle Antichità, Palermo. Cf. Herbig, plates 55, 57, no. 76; cf. pp. 41 f. It is at the National Museum at Palermo.

81. See below, pp. 146 f.

At the left is again the gate of Hades: we feel that the costume here is used under very much the same conditions as in the other examples. With these in mind it is notable that the incumbents of Etruscan sarcophagi as carved on the lid in almost all cases wear this same garb, with or without the chiton, and that in many scenes where the dead man is in Hades, or on his way there, he is distinguished in the same way.⁸² The stripe was probably painted on the tunics, since it appears occasionally—as in fig. 114.⁸³ In fig. 115,⁸⁴ of the second century B.C., the dead person comes to Hades with the stripe again on the chiton. In the "Procession of the Dead" in the Tomba del Tifone, the same robe seems repeatedly used.⁸⁵ Most of these examples fall in the hellenistic period; comparison of them with the older wall paintings,⁸⁶ suggests that we have here an invasion of the Greek dress to take the place of a similar one original with Etruscans themselves in their funerary art. Indeed Bulard⁸⁷ may be right in saying that when the Etruscans took over the Greek chiton and himation for their ceremonial dress, they began making the chiton with the stripes that had long been meaningful to them, stripes which in Rome were soon to be called *clavi*.

In any case, from this time on, the Greek himation and striped chiton soon becomes the ceremonial dress, the divine dress, and in this form appears throughout the Mediterranean world. So it can be seen on two hellenistic tomb paintings from Cyprus in the British Museum, of which I publish one, fig. 116.⁸⁸ Scholars for a century have supposed that this costume was alluded to in the great mystic inscription from Andania, a town in Messenia in lower Peloponnesus.⁸⁹ The inscription, definitely dated in the year 92 B.C.,

82. For the portrait figures see Herbig, *passim*, and for the Hades scenes, or approach thereto, see *ibid.*, plates 12a, 29b, 40b-d, 43a, d, 50, 70a, b, 74b, 80a, 85a, 86a, 108c, 109b, c. One gets the same impression from reliefs on Etruscan vases: see E. Bruun, *I Relievi della urne etrusche*, 1870, *passim*, esp. plates xvii-xxv, lxxvii f. On plate lxxvii, 1 (cf. p. 74), it is worn by king Priam as he receives the Amazons, and so is again the robe of a king.

83. Courtesy of the Louvre Museum, Paris. Cf. Heuzey in DS, I, ii, 1245, fig. 1625, where the stripe, only faintly visible in the photograph, is clearly indicated.

84. From Messerschmidt, *Nekropolen von Vulci*, 1930, 49, fig. 43 (*JDAI*, Ergänzungsheft, XII), a sketch at the Gregorian Museum. See also the urn, *ibid.*, 53, fig. 49.

85. I do not publish this, since the photograph in F. Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, 1921, plate 49b (republished by Giglioli, plate ccclxxxix, 3), shows that it has now almost hopelessly flaked off. A reproduction published in F. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, 1922, fig. 45 at p. 58, gives much more detail, and so is from an earlier photograph or has been restored. A still earlier line drawing was published in *Mon. ined.*, II, plate v, from which

J. Martha, *L'Art étrusque*, 1889, redrew it for his fig. 280, p. 415. The earliest reproduction I know is in a quite impressionistic colored plate in Mrs. Hamilton Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres in Etruria*, 1841, frontispiece. From this perhaps we can get the original color effect. The robes are painted all in soft, light colors, and thereby recall the various tintings of the dress at Dura.

86. See, for example, Messerschmidt, *Nekropolen von Vulci*, plates 4 and 10; Giglioli, *L'Arte etrusca*, plates cviii, cx1; Martha, *L'Art étrusque*, plate iv at p. 428.

87. M. Bulard, *La Religion domestique dans la colonie italienne de Délos*, 1926, 63-66.

88. Photo courtesy of the British Museum. See R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings in the British Museum*, 1932, plate iii, 8; cf. fig. 6 on the same plate, and pp. 5, no. 6; 6, no. 8. It is of the third century.

89. P. Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, 1870, Part II (Inscriptions), Vol. II, Section 1, 2 (Explications), 161-176, no. 326a; H. Sauppe, "Die Mysterieninschrift aus Andania," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, VIII (1860), 217-274; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 1900, II,

gives us one of the most important documents about the mystery religions from antiquity. A considerable number of dignitaries are named, and the following is noted about the costume:

Those [men] to be initiated into the mysteries shall be barefoot and wear white clothing. The women [to be initiated] may not wear transparent dress, nor shall the marks (*sameia*) on their clothing be wider than a half-finger's breadth. Women of ordinary condition shall wear a linen chiton and himation worth not more than a hundred drachmas; young girls shall wear a *kalasēris*⁹⁰ or a *sindonitas*⁹¹ with a himation costing not more than a mina. Female slaves shall wear a *kalasēris* or *sindonitas* and a himation worth no more than fifty drachmas. The clothing of the *hierai*⁹² shall be as follows: women a *kalasēris* or undergarment (*hupoduma*) without a *skia*,⁹³ along with a himation, both worth no more than two minas, but the young girls shall wear a *kalasēris* and himation worth no more than a hundred drachmas. In the procession the adult female *hierai* shall wear a woman's undergarment and a woolen himation, on which the marks shall be not more than a half-finger wide; the young girls who are *hierai* shall wear a *kalasēris* and a himation which are not transparent. No one may wear gold, or rouge, or white paint, or a band in the hair, or braids, or any shoes unless made of felt or of skins of animals offered in sacrifice. The *hierai* shall have round wicker seats with white pillows or cushions having on them neither a *skia* nor a purple stripe.

These statements leave many questions open, but tell us a great deal. For although only the first sentence prescribes the clothing of men who are candidates for the mystic initiation, the elaborate specifications for the women show how important the matter was considered. I should guess that men came barefoot in white garments, and that stripes were on those garments. That was all taken for granted: but the women, apparently, had been getting out of hand, since elaborate prohibitions almost always suggest a practice. They had been coming with gold ornaments, their faces painted red and white, and wearing diaphanous clothing. That is, some of the women had been using the parade as a means of offering themselves,⁹⁴ and it is to this that we owe the detailed description. We

461-473, no. 653; *IG*, v(i), 1390; F. C. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism*, 1953, 31 f. (The Library of Religion, II); Kern in *PW*, I, 1894, 2116-2120; G. Daux, "Note sur le règlement des mystères d'Andanie," *Revue de philologie*, 3d series, XVI (1942), 58-62; also the bibliography in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, XI (1954), 172, no. 978. Cf. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, iv, i, 2, 6, 8; ii, 7, 10; xxvi, 6; xxxiii, 6.

90. A long Egyptian or Persian garment with tassels or fringe: see *LS*, s.v.

91. Any garment of fine cloth, usually linen.

92. I shall guess that the *hierai* and *hieroi* were called "holy ones" because they had been initiated in former years. We have thus descriptions of the dress for those about to be initiated, and for those

already initiated.

93. Literally, a "shadow." This use is unique and its meaning uncertain. It may mean "spotless," but in *LS*, s.v., it is conjectured that it means without any markings. A few lines below in the inscription the word reappears in contrast with "purple stripes" and so Le Bas guesses it means some kind of dyed pattern other than the *sameia* and "purple."

94. Philo describes how male prostitutes offered themselves as much like women as they could by "braiding and adorning the hair of their heads, painting their faces with red and white paint," a phenomenon especially conspicuous at the celebration of pagan mysteries: *Spec.* iii, 37-41. The words seem quite proverbial for prostitutes.

must, however, be cautious how we dissociate this from religion. It is entirely possible that we have here another of the slight traces of ritualistic and orgiastic copulation which was quite accepted in many ancient oriental religions, and tended to reappear, according to pagans, in worship of Dionysus, Aphrodite, and even Christ; according to Christians it was common in Gnosticism.

One wonders whether the *kalasēris*, which was a chiton associated with Egypt, was not the striped chiton that appears so much on Egyptian mummy portraits, and whether the dress was not already by 91 B.C. a standardized symbol to go from one mystery religion to another. Nearly two centuries later Plutarch witnessed the interchangeability of Dionysiac and Egyptian mystic values and ideas,⁹⁵ and the references to the dress and stripes in the inscription suggest that this interchange may well have been going on long before him. Be that as it may, the importance of attending mystery rites in a white chiton and himation with stripes has an indisputable witness at Andania.⁹⁶

3. *The Roman World* ⁹⁷

IN THE PAINTINGS of Pompeii robes with stripes have not yet been established as a fixed convention, but have importance in many scenes. At the *lararia*, figs. 117⁹⁸ and 118,⁹⁹ the striped garments are togas and tunics; but it is dangerous to infer from these scenes that we have the usual Roman garb with *clavi*, since the paintings unquestionably represent religious ceremonies. A young priest wears the himation and striped chiton on a fresco from

95. See above, VI, 75-80.

96. It may be worth suggesting that the seats and pillows which were *not* to have a purple stripe may indicate that this was peculiar, and that people ordinarily wanted the stripes on their mystic banquetting cushions. These may be the stripes on such cushions that have been remarked many times. See above, p. 67.

97. The following section was completed some time before the important article appeared by Margarete Bieber, "Roman Men in Greek Himation (Romani Palliati): A Contribution to the History of Copying," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CIII (1959), 374-417. I have added to my study a few examples which I learned from her, but little else, since in general only in the last section, pp. 411-417, does she comment on the meaning of the dress. She points out that the many statues in the himation with empty sockets for portrait heads "imply that the figures must have had a definite meaning" (p. 412), but then seems to minimize that meaning. She makes of the scrolls which the figures usually carry only that they indicate educated men (p. 413); she says that the garb expressed piety and modesty, and "therefore it

became the prescribed form for funerary, commemorative, and honorary monuments" (*ibid.*); again "We see it so frequently in art *because* it was a popular costume for everyday wear" (p. 415; in both quotations, italics mine). But she herself points out that the robe is the proper one in which to appear before Pluto and Persephone, and quotes Tertullian that the dress had religious association. It seems to me that the evidence goes farther in this direction than she indicates, and that the monuments, especially the funerary and ritualistic ones, give poor witness indeed to ordinary costume. But the reader will find in her study a rich collection on the dress, and a critical history of its various drapings.

98. National Museum, Naples. Photo Anderson, 25,709. From Pompeii. The figure with the pig recalls similar scenes at Delos from perhaps a century earlier: Bulard, *Description des revêtements peints à sujets religieux*, 1926, plates XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXV (Ecole Française d'Athènes, Délos, IX).

99. Photo Anderson, 24,875. Pompeii, Casa dei Vetti. Cf. Maiuri, *Roman Painting*, 147; Elia in *AAL, N*, 1934, 272, fig. 5; and an Isis shrine as published by P. Gusman, *Pompeii* (1900), 83.

Pompeii, fig. 121,¹⁰⁰ and one suspects that the similarly clothed Canace in fig. 119¹⁰¹ also has sacerdotal value.¹⁰² Three figures, identified as priests, in a procession of a thiasos of the Magna Mater at Pompeii have the same costume.¹⁰³ In the house of Menander at Pompeii a mural shows Cassandra prophesying woe to Troy at the entrance of the wooden horse. As prophetess she is the only figure in the painting who wears the striped chiton and mantle.¹⁰⁴ Figures with the striped chiton and himation bear divine gifts as they float in a heavenly ceiling with cupids and birds, fig. 21.¹⁰⁵

The striped chiton without the mantle again appears most strikingly upon a row of "slaves" painted in the late second or early third century on the walls of a house in the Via dei Cerchi at Rome, four of whose six figures can be seen in fig. 122.¹⁰⁶ One of these carries a light wand, two have cloths thought to be table napkins (*mappae*), one a garland, and one a dish or basket of fruit. The floor is strewn with undescribed utensils, boxes, vessels, and a pair of sandals. It has been customary to suppose that such a procession indicated that the room in which it was painted was the dining room, and because they are in the dining room the figures have been taken to be table servants. If, however, they are table servants, I suspect that the meal at which they are ideally serving is a sacred meal of some sort. For the cloths and the garland they carry, along with the vessels and closed boxes on the floor (dubiously an accompaniment of elegant banqueting), are much more conspicuous than the single tray of fruit the meal seems to offer. And the sandals removed beside one of the "servants" suggests the bare feet of religious ceremony in the ancient as in the modern East, as well as the bare feet of Moses at Dura, figs. 324 f. Lugli came to the same conclusion, that the room was a sacred chapel, by the obvious route of considering the wall paint-

100. Courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campagna. Cf. Maiuri, plate facing the table of contents, and pp. 89 f. It is at the National Museum, Naples. The dress seems too short for a woman.

101. Photo Alinari, 29,821. See P. Marconi, *La Pittura dei Romani*, 1929, fig. 137; cf. p. 103. It is at the Vatican Museum, where it was taken from the Roman villa of Tor Marancio. Canace is here represented with the dagger, ready to kill herself, and the artist may well have considered her suicide a sacrifice.

102. See the priest in the robe sacrificing with the three nymphs, fig. 189.

103. Spinazzola, *Pompeii*, plate xiv. See also Venus in dark purple with gold clavi, *ibid.*, plate xv.

104. Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro*, 1932, Tavole, plate v; cf. Text, 44-48.

105. Alinari (Photo Brogi 6534). It is a ceiling from Stabiae at the National Museum, Naples; see Curtius, 412 and 415, fig. 226; Swindler, *Painting*, fig. 619. The quartered design filled with symbols

recalls the ceiling of both the early and later synagogues at Dura: see above, p. 42. The striped tunic appears also on two of the famous portraits of Pompeii: Maiuri, *Roman Painting*, 100, 102 f. Maiuri tries to make the second represent a baker and his wife, "obviously unlettered, capable at best of entering up the accounts of their thriving bakery," in spite of the fact that the man holds a scroll, and that the woman holds a tablet while she crosses her lips with the stylus. To an American, such automatic ascription of low intelligence to bakers is quite unintelligible, granted that the man was a baker at all. In a portrait, the stylus to the lips would more obviously refer to secret writings than to perplexity about addition.

106. From a watercolor painting by F. G. Newton, published as plate III by Mrs. Arthur Strong, "Forgotten Fragments of Ancient Wall-Painting in Rome, II," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VIII (1916), 91-102. Cf. D. Marchetti in *AAL, M*, Ser. IV, Vol. X (1892), 44-48; Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei*, plates 29-31; cf. pp. 126-128.

ings together with the mosaics on the floor of the same room. Here, fig. 123,¹⁰⁷ are two lines of another procession made up of four men in each line, wearing the same striped chitons and with the high shoes of the Moses figure.¹⁰⁸ In the mosaic procession the figures carry banners and caducei. How the scene could have been more definitely flagged as a religious one, some sort of mystic procession, it is hard to imagine. Since the same strange boxes are on the floor in both processions, the painted and the mosaic, the only possible conclusion seems to be that the two processions mark different episodes in rites of the same cult, and that the room was a mystic chapel (where mystic meals may well have been served).¹⁰⁹ The same problem seems to me presented by a banqueting scene in a Pompeian mural where the servants are similarly dressed, and the banqueters wear a himation over their striped tunics.¹¹⁰ I should guess that they are a type of religious servitor called *camillus*, of which the Metropolitan Museum has a fine specimen in bronze, fig. 124.¹¹¹ Even in bronze, this figure shows the stripe up the left leg and shoulder put in by copper inlay.

Orpheus wears the full costume as he leads Euridice toward the gate of Hades, while an individual seated in front of him wears the striped chiton.¹¹² The Elysium to which Hermes leads the fortunate wearing the full robe shown in fig. 125¹¹³ may be a part of the same mystery as that of the house of the Via dei Cerchi. Both designs are of approximately the same date, early third century. It is just possible that the mystery here also was that of Sabazius, since we saw Vibia brought in to judgment by Mercury, and then to an Elysian banquet by the "Good Angel," where again the waiters, and those who were judged "good," wore the striped tunic.¹¹⁴ Hermes himself wears the stripes on another Pompeian painting.¹¹⁵

This dress appears again for the teacher, the philosopher, or the poet, a usage not at all in contrast to the mystic use, for by the second century the word "philosophy" had come

107. From G. Lugli, "La Sede degli araldi pubblici," *Capitolium*, IX (1933), 451; idem, *I Monumenti antichi de Roma e suburbio*, I, 1930, 405, fig. 88a, cf. pp. 402-406; idem, *Roma Antiqua*, 1946, 614-616. The eight figures were also published separately by M. E. Blake in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XVII (1940), plate 18; cf. pp. 96 f.

108. Wirth speaks of their wearing *hosen*, which appears in Miss Blake as "hose." I see on the legs no trousers, but only light-streaks as in the garments. Oriental trousers at this time are always represented as loose and baggy. See A. C. Levi, *Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture*, 1952 (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 123).

109. Lugli recognized the figures as mystical, which Wirth admitted to be possible, but thought it a room used for the training of slaves as waiters, so that its decorations were a "token of great pedagogical understanding." This Miss Blake followed: she called the painting "realistic pictures of ancient

waiters pursuing their profession . . . a glimpse into the intimate life of the Romans." That these are "simpler" explanations than the obvious religious one I do not comprehend. I take the room to have been the mystic chapel of the house, as Phyllis Lehmann understood the room she called the Hall of Aphrodite; see her *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1953, 76 f. (Monographs on Archeology and Fine Arts, V).

110. Marconi, fig. 116; cf. p. 82.

111. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897. For the *camillus* see E. Samter in PW, III, 1431-1433; L. C. Spaulding, *The "Camillus"-Type in Sculpture*, 1911.

112. Marconi, fig. 136, p. 103. It is a fresco from Ostia, perhaps of the late second century.

113. From Wirth, plate 38; cf. pp. 148 f.

114. See above, III, figs. 839, 841 f.; and II, 45 f.

115. Spinazzola, *Pompei*, plate XII.

largely to mean mystic teaching, as it does, for example, in Philo. So when Virgil is put into that costume with a Muse at either side of him, fig. 126,¹¹⁶ we feel that Virgil is being presented as the religious seer, almost, if not quite, apotheosized. The convention appears in a Vatican manuscript of Virgil of the fourth to the fifth century, fig. 127.¹¹⁷ We know that in Plato's time poets were thought to be seers, men inspired, and that Plato usually treats them with great respect in spite of his theoretical protests in the *Republic*. Socrates himself was told in a dream to "make music": he had considered his philosophy supreme music, but in prison thought it safe before he died to make some formal verses. The connection of poetry and immortality is obviously assumed throughout,¹¹⁸ and from Plato's time the works of the poets are cited with the reverence of a Calvinist preacher or an orthodox Jew citing the Scriptures.¹¹⁹

Figures in the chiton and himation have long been recognized as poets or philosophers in Pompeii¹²⁰ and at Ostia.¹²¹ Indeed, I cannot resist suggesting that the costume means the same in the Baths of Caracalla. Here in mosaic is a large series of representations of boxers and other athletes with amazingly powerful physiques, intermingled with men in the robe, of which fig. 129¹²² gives a good example. In this mosaic most of the figures in the robe gesture with one hand as though teaching. In itself this recalls the Greco-Roman ideal, which we usually use Juvenal's line to express: ¹²³ *orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*. But we notice that all but one of the men in the robe hold little palm branches in one hand, as do several of the athletes. With the human figures are four plaques where the palm branch seems to be represented with boxers' equipment. When we consider that the Baths of Caracalla were almost a community center,¹²⁴ with two large library rooms as well as club rooms, and that a large Mithraeum¹²⁵ was beneath it, we may well recall the close connection in the Roman mind, as formerly in the Greek, between athletics and religious philosophy. The Greek gymnasium was a place where both the body and the mind were trained, and we have seen that one of the most widespread conceptions of religion,

116. Courtesy of the Vatican Museum, where it is. Another, almost indistinguishably similar, is at the Musée Alaoui, Le Bardo, Tunisia.

117. Courtesy of the Vatican Library, where it is in Codex Vat. Lat. 3867, fol. 3v. See Swindler, *Painting*, 409, and fig. 629. The mark on the himation will seem to be highly important, see above, p. 128, and below, pp. 162-164.

118. *Phaedo*, 60D-61B. Plato's rejecting of the poets in the *Republic* is better known than his usual treatment of them as divinely inspired. See esp. the *Ion*, *Phaedrus*, 244A-245E, and A. E. Taylor, *Plato*, 1929, 38-41.

119. See below, pp. 141-147, for the figure with the scroll.

120. See, for example, Curtius, fig. 162 on p. 273; Maiuri, 64; Spinazzola, plate xxvi.

121. Wirth, plate 26. See the god Silvanus in the same dress at Ostia, *ibid.*, plate 37.

122. Photo Alinari, 29,925. Cf. Blake, 111 f., and plates 28 f. Her plate 28 gives a general impression of the mosaics as they are set up in the Lateran Museum, and plate 29 selects all those wearing the chiton and himation, or only in the himation. Miss Blake describes these as "trainers." The full publication is by B. Nogara, *I Mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, 1919, 1-3, and plates I-IV.

123. *Satires*, IV, x, 356.

124. E. Ghislanzoni in *AAL*, N, 1912, 305-325. Bieber in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CIII (1959), figs. 61 f., pp. 413-415, shows two sarcophagi on which a couple wearing the robe appear before Pluto and Persephone, one led in by Hermes.

125. Zeus, Mithra, Helios, and Serapis seem here to unite in the "One": Ghislanzoni, p. 323.

found even in the letters of Paul himself, was that religion is the great *agōn*, or struggle. Victory, symbolized by the crown or palm branch, meant spiritual victory, immortality, quite as much as it did physical victory in the games. It is true that nothing but the contrast between the naked bodies and the robes suggests this here directly, but nothing whatever identifies the robed figures with Miss Blake's "trainers." The combination of the Mithraeum and libraries with the symbolic representation of physical and spiritual achievement at a bath suggests how the baths were adapted to Romans of all sorts, from the cynically Stoic to the members of mystery religions.

We obviously cannot here review all the appearances of the robe in Roman sculpture. I shall accordingly, as I have already done with similar problems, appeal to a "random sample," and take in this case the pieces in the Vatican Museum, and of these only the ones shown in the plates by Amelung and Lippold. In the three volumes of this publication I have noted the robe on only twenty-three people, which means that it is familiar but not common in Roman carving. Five carvings show the funerary couch with a man or woman lying on it in chiton and himation, two of them with cupids.¹²⁶ In one instance the cupid¹²⁷ sits on the man's leg and plays a lyre. This connects the whole with the hope of immortality which Marrou expounded for such symbolism.¹²⁸ Since we have supposed that such a pose assimilates the person to immortality, even though the appurtenances of the funerary banquet are not shown, this high proportion seems significant. The person on the couch occasionally wears a mantle without the chiton, but wears no other kind of dress. On a sarcophagus for a small child a boy wearing both garments holds a large bird and another bird looks up at him from his feet. The birds,¹²⁹ like the cupids¹³⁰ which have already appeared, suggest that the boy is thought of with reference to the future life. One fragment shows a woman standing in the chiton and himation, but all context is lost.¹³¹ On a cinerary urn a man and woman in the Greek clothing are being married:¹³² the reference may be to their eternal union in the urn, or to a mystic marriage that promised immortality.

On another sarcophagus a man and woman sit on either side of what we may call the mystic door or the door of death, fig. 128.¹³³ Both have scrolls and wear the chiton and himation, and a pair of Muses flank each of them. The Muses are similarly dressed. Under the chair of the woman is a female comic mask, under that of the man a male tragic mask,

126. See Amelung, *Sculp. Vatican.*, I, plate 70, no. 533, pp. 662 f.; plate 103, no. 121, pp. 853 f. (the cupid playing a lyre with this figure hardly indicates to me, as to Amelung, that the man portrayed liked love songs); II, plate 1, no. 1, pp. 3 f. (here again the person, a woman, is accompanied by cupids); plate 19, no. 73, pp. 179 f.; plate 58, no. 404, pp. 615 f.

127. The first listed in the preceding note.

128. Marrou, *MA*.

129. For the symbolism of birds, see above, VIII, 22-70.

130. For the symbolism of cupids, see above, VIII, 3-21. Amelung calls a recumbent female, in his I, plate 31, no. 6, pp. 314 f., a figure of Autumn surrounded by cupids with grapes. She wears the robe, as do four Seasons with cupid, *ibid.*, plate 29, no. 177, pp. 291-293. All wear the robe, and suggest to me the mystic meaning of Seasons: see above, VIII, 190-192.

131. Amelung, I, plate 31, no. 5, pp. 313 f.

132. *Ibid.*, I, plate 22, no. 34, pp. 194 f.

133. Courtesy of the Vatican Museum: see Amelung, II, plate 13, no. 48; cf. pp. 117-120.

while gorgonea and lion masks with rings are on the central doors that stand slightly ajar.¹³⁴ Here we have poetry as Music which takes one safely through the door of death. All these motifs—including, as we shall see,¹³⁵ the scroll—seem to point to hope of future life. In the Vatican Museum just below this piece is the lid of a sarcophagus with portrait busts of a couple, each in the robe and each portrayed against the curtain that serves on Roman sarcophagi as an alternative for the door.¹³⁶ Even more strikingly in another funerary relief a woman in the Greek dress is being trained by a “philosopher” or mystic teacher on either side of a central doorway;¹³⁷ apparently on the strength of her mystic knowledge, she goes behind the veil of death carrying her scroll and accompanied by a cupid. On a few pieces Roman dress is worn where we should expect the Greek, as on one sarcophagus where a man in a toga and a woman in a Greek mantle are led through the door together by a cupid,¹³⁸ and on another¹³⁹ where the man and wife, similarly clothed, stand on either side of the central door of death, each led by a small boy again, a boy whom we probably should take to be a cupid in spite of his wearing a tunic. One of these two boys carries a vase, the other a little casket. Many other figures are on this latter sarcophagus, but not so as to confuse the sense that here we have a very well established convention, in which the man may wear the toga but usually, like the woman, wears the Greek dress as one or both of them go into the future life with mystic tokens and the cupid as psychopomp.

One piece perhaps shows an anomalous use of the Greek dress: a child sarcophagus on which a group of children—many in the full robe, some only in the chiton—play at “castellated nuts.”¹⁴⁰ Some of the play is by girls in front of a curtain, which we have just said usually indicates death when on a sarcophagus, so that the whole may well have some eschatological reference.

It is not surprising that the persons clothed in the chiton and himation on funerary reliefs should seem to have tokens of immortality. We are surprised, however, that on only ten pieces other than funerary ones can I find any real indication of this sort of dress. Three of them are statues of enthroned goddesses,¹⁴¹ while one majestic standing figure probably represents a goddess also.¹⁴² A statue of Dionysus¹⁴³ has the full Greek dress, as does a figure of Hera¹⁴⁴ and a woman who stands at an altar sacrificing with a man wearing the

134. For the symbolism of masks see above, VII, 202–223.

135. See below, pp. 146 f.

136. Amelung, *Sculp. Vatican.*, II, plate 13, no. 49a, p. 126. Cupids at the ends of this lid seem to me to express both death and hope in death.

137. See above, IV, fig. 108, and p. 143. Cf. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Scultura del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, 1936, plate LXXXIII, 520 (Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte, VI). The two ends of this sarcophagus are also in the Vatican Museum: see Amelung, III, 176 f., nos. 573, 580; plate 66. They each show the same woman, simi-

larly clothed and with a scroll, between two Muses.

138. Amelung, I, plate 29, no. 169, pp. 288 f.

139. Ibid., II, plate 17, no. 60, pp. 153–158.

140. Ibid., I, plate 68, no. 497A, pp. 638 f. For the game see Smith, *GRA*, 247 f.

141. Amelung, I, plate 113, nos. 213, 215, 216, pp. 879–881.

142. Ibid., plate 114, no. 218, pp. 881 f.

143. Ibid., II, plate 4, no. 16, p. 45.

144. Ibid., plate 80, no. 442, pp. 717 f. This frieze has been so much restored, however, that it has little evidential value.

toga.¹⁴⁵ When, finally, a man wears the chiton and himation in a portrait statue,¹⁴⁶ one can accordingly conclude that he has been portrayed in ceremonial garments. For the use of the robe in this random sample has led us too often to monuments of ritualistic dignity, if not to mystical or eschatological associations or to the gods themselves, for us to suppose that this dress was ever used casually, or merely to correspond to what we might call "formal" dress.

4. Greco-Roman Egypt

WHETHER FROM ROME or from its own hellenistic infiltrations, Egypt took over the convention for its mummy portraits in a most striking way.¹⁴⁷ The chiton and himation appear, though not always, on people in the Isis mystery.¹⁴⁸ In one scene from Herculaneum, fig. 131,¹⁴⁹ at the Naples Museum, all are in white except a figure at the front, left, who has the striped chiton with a dark himation, a scene that may represent this person as being initiated. This, if true, would throw considerable light on the scene of the anointing of David at Dura, where the same contrast is represented.¹⁵⁰ Another procession of Egyptian worship in Rome likewise puts the priests in white garments.¹⁵¹ We know that the changing of robes had long been a highly important matter in Egyptian religion. Even in the age-old Pyramid Texts we read "O, N., take thy garment of light, take thy veil upon

145. Ibid., plate 61, no. 415, p. 647 f. A man wears a toga in what seems a mystic marriage also on another Roman sarcophagus: *ibid.*, III, i, 79-82, no. 522; plate 30. G. Lippold says the carving of the clothing has been entirely recut, so that the man may well originally have worn the himation.

146. Ibid., I, plate 51, no. 286, pp. 498 f.

147. The best collection of these in color that I know is by W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Hawara Portfolio, Paintings of the Roman Age*, 1913 (British School of Archeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, XIX), and *idem*, *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)*, 1911 (same series, XVII). Some are beautifully reproduced in *EES*, II, ia, plates vi-xi; and in W. de Gruneisen, *Le Portrait: Traditions hellénistiques et influences orientales*, Rome, 1911; D. B. Tanner published several in the *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum*, II (1932), 4-9. Since the publication of the interesting study by P. Buberl, *Die griechisch-ägyptischen Mumienbildnisse der Sammlung Th. Graf*, 1922 (with excellent reproductions), it has been agreed that the portraits date from the first to the fourth century after Christ. H. Drerup, *Die Datierung der Mumienporträts*, 1933 (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, XIX, i), dates them roughly the same, beginning from Augustus; he

supposes that the Romans introduced such portraits into Egypt, but this seems very doubtful to me, for C. R. Williams has instances of a much earlier use of Greek dress in Egypt: *JEA*, V (1918-19), 282-285; A. Reinach in *RA*, Ser. IV, Vol. XXIV (1914), 32-53; Ser. V, Vol. II (1915), 1-36. Older items are cited there. Interesting material and comment will be found in M. Dimand, *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien*, 1924.

148. See the "Festival in the Isis Temple" from Herculaneum, at the National Museum, Naples, published by Curtius, 315, fig. 180.

149. Courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità delle Campania; see Marconi, 80, fig. 108.

150. See below, pp. 187-196 and fig. 337.

151. It is the great Palestrina mosaic at the Barberini Palace in Rome. A drawing of the whole mosaic was in *BCA*, XXXII (1904), 260; the procession, in the lower right corner of the mosaic, can best be seen in Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Monuments de L'Egypte gréco-romaine*, I (1926), plate LVI, and in G. Gullini, *I Mosaici di Palestrina*, 1956, plates I and XIX; cf. Rostovtzeff, *MDAI, Röm.*, XXVI (1911) 59-62. See also the Isiac procession in Amelung, *Sculp. Vatican.*, II, plate 7, no. 55, and the sacrifice, *ibid.*, plate 82, no. 19.

thee, clothe thyself with the eye of Horus . . . that it may gain thy respect among the gods. . . . This is a sound garment which Horus has made for his father, Osiris.”¹⁵²

In the much later Book of the Dead the garment is said directly to have saving power: “Destroy ye [all] the evil which belongeth unto Amen-hetep by means of this garment of purity. Hold [ye] him guiltless, then, for ever and ever, and destroy ye [all] the evil which belongeth unto him.”¹⁵³ This “garment of purity” would seem to come to the corpse especially at burial. In the mysteries of Isis in Roman times, Apuleius tells us, the young men in the processions wore robes that were “snowy and festal,” probably the Greek himation. The initiates in general wore linen garments, *candore puro luminosi* “pure shining white.”¹⁵⁴ It is the shining, light effect that was the real meaning of the garments. Lucius himself got a “crude linen robe” to enter the mysteries,¹⁵⁵ but emerged with twelve stoles and in a religious dress.¹⁵⁶ The dress consisted of a fine linen garb covered with embroidered flowers, and a chlamys that hung down his back embroidered with beasts, dragons, and griffins. So clothed, crowned with a royal crown, and carrying a torch, he was adorned “like the sun.” This made him initiated only into the religion of Isis: he had still to go on into Osiris himself. The text does not say that he got the linen robe as culmination of the second initiation, but this is implied in that the priest of Osiris who visited him to encourage his coming into the higher state was thus attired.¹⁵⁷

Plutarch’s testimony is just as direct. The so-called “bearers of the vessels” and “wearers of the sacred robe” (*hierostoloi*) have the secret writings of the gods within them, the outer mark in the “sacred garb” (*hē esthēs hē hiera*). “Wearing a coarse cloak does not make a philosopher,” he continues, “nor does dressing in linen and shaving the hair make votaries of Isis.” It appears that the linen garment of the priest of Isis could also be a “heavenly blue.”¹⁵⁸ Apparently the special garment was widely worn.

It may be presumed that the garment thus described was our “robe.” That dress, with stripes, appears on a painted grave stele of the Ptolemaic period in Egypt, fig. 133,¹⁵⁹ in which the attendant wears only the chiton. But many more than half of the people portrayed in mummy portraits of the Roman period wear the robe.¹⁶⁰ One of the most interesting examples I know has been published as fig. 257 in Volume VI,¹⁶¹ while a fairly common

152. Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*, I, 141 f., lines 737a-d, 740.

153. *BD*, 580, (chap. CLXXI, 6).

154. *Metamorphoses*, XI, 10; *ibid.*, 9: *veste nivea et cataclista*. *Cataclista* is a transliteration of the Greek *katakleiston*, a word applied to the himation when it was folded over, or closed. There were white curtains in the shrine: *ibid.*, 20.

155. *Ibid.*, 23: *linteo rudique*.

156. *Ibid.*, 24.

157. *Ibid.*, 27. Cumont, *L’Égypte des astrologues*, 1937, 118, n. 4, has a large collection of parallel passages.

158. Plutarch, *On Isis*, 3 f. (352B-D). G. Parthey,

Plutarch über Isis und Osiris, 1850, 275, already pointed out that the monuments confirmed Plutarch’s statement.

159. From E. Breccia, “Nuovi scavi nelle Necropoli di Hadra,” *Bulletin de la Société Royale d’Archéologie d’Alexandrie*, N.S., VII (1930), plate XIV; cf. p. 116.

160. Taking the portraits in Edgar, *Coffins*, as offering a random sample, I found the stripe recognizable on at least fifty portraits as compared to twenty-six without stripes. Nineteen seem to wear the chiton and himation.

161. See also A. Reinach in *RA*, Ser. V, Vol. II (1915), 16, fig. 13; Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, 1919,

adaptation of the stripe for an otherwise quite Egyptian dress can be seen in fig. 255 of the same volume.¹⁶² In Volume V, fig. 186, a woman is shown wearing the Greek robe in an Egyptian ceremony getting the divine fluid. Another striking Egyptian representation shows the deceased in the full robe and carrying a scroll, coming into the presence of the gods, fig. 130.¹⁶³ We shall discuss the scroll with such figures later, but in this case we would assume he is carrying the Book of the Dead, or a part of it, or a later counterpart used in the Isis mystery. The figure in the robe going into the presence of the gods is not common, but at least two other instances exist;¹⁶⁴ so we may conclude that the mummy portrait busts only abbreviate this event: the people buried are dressed to come into God's presence. Most of the portraits show only the bust, and we cannot say how the dress was finished below the chest; but the presumption is that, especially in the instances when it is white, it went down to form the usual himation and chiton. It is worth suggesting, though no supporting evidence can be brought forward, that such uniform burial costume corresponds to the hints given by Apuleius. Thus the darker robe may be worn by one initiated only into the earlier rites, those of Isis, which Apuleius describes in terms of its rich embroidery, while the white robe may tell us that this person is clothed in the *candore puro luminosi* of the rites of Osiris himself, the robes that mark him "adorned like the sun." Whether the god was called Osiris or Serapis cannot be determined, for Serapis usually appears in the Greek robe in Roman times, as in a stele from Xanthos in Lycia in the British Museum, fig. 134.¹⁶⁵ though of course if stripes originally had been painted on this material, none are now left.¹⁶⁶ The same figure is called Dusaris in Syria.¹⁶⁷

In Egyptian material the Greek himation and striped chiton again seem to declare that the one who wears them has in some sense transcended ordinary human nature. It is interesting, therefore, to see that in Egypt a new feature appears with this uniform of sanctity, namely the peculiar bar with forked ends, described above as inevitably put on this robe in the Dura synagogue.¹⁶⁸ We shall discuss this mark below,¹⁶⁹ but note its appearance here. It can clearly be seen on the two mummy portraits, of figs. 255 and 257, Volume VI. Fig. 132¹⁷⁰ of the present volume shows the mark very distinctly, while the stripe on the chiton can be seen just below the grapes. The pronged bar on the cloth beside the lady's cheek is bent into a right angle in fig. 135,¹⁷¹ and the stripe is clearly in-

44, fig. 29; the painted Roman Egyptian tombstones described in that work, chap. II, repeatedly seem to have had figures in the robe upon them.

162. See also above, VI, 91 f. (with further examples cited in n. 165) and 117.

163. From Musée des Beaux-Arts Alexandre III à Moscou, *Pamiatniki*, n.d., plate xv. It is a shroud in the Golenishchev collection.

164. Ibid., plate xvi; Edgar, *Sculpture*, plate xxiv, 27.541.

165. Courtesy of the British Museum; cf. A. Michaelis, "Serapis Standing on a Xanthian Marble in the British Museum," *JHS*, VI (1885), 287-318, plate LVIII, where many parallels are given.

See also W. Drexler, "Der Isis und Serapis-Cultus in Kleinasien," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXI (1889), plates 1 f.; *EES*, II, ii, plate III, 8.

166. The stripes may well have originally been painted on the little statues of Serapis in Edgar, plate II, 27.436; plate III, 27.438.

167. See above, VI, fig. 245; cf. pp. 68 f.

168. See above, pp. 88, 126.

169. See below, pp. 162-164.

170. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. See Edgar, *Coffins*, plate XXI, 33.154; cf. plate XLVII, 33.281.

171. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. See Edgar, plate XXI, 33.155; cf. plate XXIX, 33.209.

licated in spite of the darkness of the costume in general. Such a darker dress, I suspect, may indicate an initiate into Isis rather than Osiris. When we see that a large swastika could take the place of this pronged bar on a robe,¹⁷² we must suppose that the bar itself carried some significance.

5. Syria

AS WE GO NORTH toward Syria, we find that the chiton and himation continue to be worn by prominent people, such as priests or the dead, though relatively little painting tells us how these garments were marked. Sarcophagi of the East, indeed, remind us of the hellenistic grave stele, in that the people portrayed on them almost always wear the Greek chiton and himation. As they lie on the funerary couch—celebrating, I believe, the eternal banquet of immortality—they usually wear the himation, as in fig. 90, a relief from Smyrna at Leiden, but this seems an abbreviation of the full costume, which does occasionally appear in such representations.¹⁷³ Standing figures, however, like those here accompanying the man on the couch, have usually the full dress. Men seem especially to be so attired, and women also, as they are portrayed under shells in niches, fig. 136,¹⁷⁴ or sit as “philosophers” reading scrolls, fig. 137.¹⁷⁵ The philosopher seems to be giving the saving instructions, a mystic knowledge or gnosis to the veiled lady beside him. A similar motif shows the two sitting opposite each other on a sarcophagus from Kolch-hissar at Konia.¹⁷⁶ One need only go through the rich collection of such sarcophagi by Morey¹⁷⁷ to feel the importance of the himation, usually with the chiton, on funerary portraiture.

These figures often carry scrolls, which seems to me by no means to indicate that they are all poets, or philosophers in the usual sense, as has often been suggested, though such people would certainly carry scrolls. Still less does Pfuhl seem right that the dress and scroll simply marked a person as having enough education to read.¹⁷⁸ The convention of robe and scroll carried over to the East, so that the two “magi” who flank the cult scene in the sanc-

172. Ibid., plate xxx, 33.210.

173. As it did on tombstones on the Rhine: J. Klein, “Grabmonumente aus Bonn,” *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, LXXXI (1886), 96–100, and plate III.

174. Courtesy of the Istanbul Archeological Museum. The right lateral face of a sarcophagus from Selefkah: see Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, 1924, fig. 63; cf. pp. 39 f. (Sardis, V). All three hold scrolls. For women see *ibid.*, fig. 62.

175. Courtesy of the Istanbul Archeological Museum. See *ibid.*, fig. 65; cf. pp. 40 f. It is the front of a sarcophagus from Sidamara at the same museum. On this and the foregoing sarcophagus see also T. Reinach, “Le Sarcophage de Sidamara,” *Mon. Piot.*, IX (1902), 189–228, with

plates xvii–xix.

176. G. Mendel in *BCH*, XXVI (1902), 224, fig. 2.

177. *Sarcophagus*. See also E. Michon, “Sarcophages du type d’Asie-Mineure,” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, XXVI (1906), 79–89; M. Lawrence, “Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XX (1951), 116–166.

178. A rich collection of ancient figures with scrolls was made by T. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, 1907. To some of his conclusions E. Pfuhl objected: “Zur Darstellung von Buchrollen auf Grabreliefs,” *JDAI*, XXII (1907), 113–132; see Birt’s reply, *JDAI*, XXIII (1908), 112–124. But see also Marrou, *MA*, 1–153; Cumont, *Symbolisme*, 253–350.

tuary of the Dura Mithraeum wear Persian dress as they sit upon thrones and hold each a scroll, containing, one must suppose, the mystic secrets, fig. 140.¹⁷⁹ In Christian funerary and ecclesiastical art, when the figures who hold it are Christ and the saints, the scroll would seem to refer to the saving Gospel or creed, in whose hope and power the saint has achieved his sanctity. Similarly, we thought that in fig. 130 the Roman-Egyptian would presumably have in the scroll all or part of the Book of the Dead. The figures on pagan monuments must have presented, ordinarily, the rich upper classes, and it is to me unthinkable that such people claimed especial dignity from the fact that they were literate. On the other hand, it was precisely from this class that the initiates of mysteries were largely recruited. My guess is, accordingly, as already indicated, that in paganism the scroll signified the mystic, or eschatological, hope of the people buried or celebrated, and that the Christian scroll similarly represented the message and hope of Christianity. A lady holds the scroll as she goes to the world behind the curtain of death in the central panel of a sarcophagus, while the side panels show her being given the mystic teaching; she seems to tell the story behind figures with the scroll in all funerary monuments, pagan and Christian.¹⁸⁰ What is important for our purpose here is that on this sarcophagus, as on practically every one illustrated by the authors quoted, the scroll is held by a person in the chiton and himation.¹⁸¹ It is the deified imperial family of Antoninus Pius that has the scroll along with other divine symbols in fig. 138,¹⁸² for in mystic Egypt deification was by no means a post-mortem achievement.

The mosaics of Antioch might well have presented our chitons and himations, but unfortunately the robe rarely appears—because, I dare suggest, the meaning of the decorations rarely called for them. The striped chiton appears in street scenes, but without significance,¹⁸³ so far as one can see. A waitress attending a dining and drinking couple wears the same dress, and here symbolism is a greater possibility, since a man and woman on a banqueting couch so commonly represent immortality or mystic achievement.¹⁸⁴ Closely connected with this is a handsome figure of the winged Comus, the patron demon of banquets, in the same striped chiton.¹⁸⁵ Still more direct would seem to be the testimony of a mosaic in a tomb, a mosaic that shows several women at a banquet.¹⁸⁶ Here the most important figure seems to be Mnemosyne, Memory. Levi interpreted this as the funerary or memorial banquet; if he is right, as I believe, the several people at the banquet who wear the striped chiton, if not the himation also, are appropriately clothed. More perplexing,

179. From a copy by H. Gute in the Yale University Art Gallery. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VII/VIII, plates xvi–xviii. For the place of this figure in the whole design see above, III, fig. 57.

180. See above, IV, fig. 108.

181. If the scroll is taken to represent a poet, we would have the same impression. We have already mentioned, above, pp. 139 f., that the poet was such by divine inspiration.

182. From Edgar, *Sculpture*, plate xxvi; cf. pp.

53–55.

183. Levi, *Antioch*, plate LXXIX; pp. 326–336.

184. Ibid., plate XLVd; pp. 203 f. For such scenes in general see *ibid.*, 189. Cf. the mystic attendants in the Roman house on the Via dei Cerchi, above, p. 139.

185. Levi, plate CLb; pp. 50–54.

186. Ibid., plate LXVib; pp. 296–304. Cf. Frank Brown in Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VII/VIII, 156.

again, are two scenes—one of Atalante and Meleager, the other of Hippolytus, the nurse, and Phaedra—in which certain characters wear the striped chiton and others not.¹⁸⁷

In several Antioch mosaics the robe is quite perplexing, as in a wrestling scene where the naked athletes seem from the fragments to be supervised by people in the striped chiton and himation.¹⁸⁸ What the men dressed in this way are doing cannot be judged from the fragments, but we recall that athletes and persons in the robe were strikingly presented together in the Baths of Caracalla.¹⁸⁹ Accordingly this mosaic cannot be used against the present argument that the robe is a mark of sacred distinction. In a very fragmentary mosaic of the months, "May" (one of the four preserved) is thus dressed; she seems thereby a sort of divinity and is performing some ritualistic act, or bearing divine tokens.¹⁹⁰ In another house King Ninus reclines on a couch looking at the portrait of his beloved Semiramis.¹⁹¹ The legend of Ninus and Semiramis is not fully enough preserved so that we can judge whether his dress, the full robe, has meaning. Again a mosaic centers in a pair of plaques, in one of which Tryphe, Luxury, appears as a woman, and in the other Bios, Life, a man wearing the full robe.¹⁹² It is impossible to say exactly in what sense Life is here represented, since the Greek word has many applications, including "livelihood." The two together, then, may represent luxury, and Bios the means of prosperity. But as Levi points out, the personal abstractions in these mosaics are usually on a higher philosophic level, and we may presume that Bios here stands for something exalted, as, in fact, Luxury might also do, in spite of her usually pejorative implication.

The full robe appears also in a mosaic of clearly philosophic inspiration, fig. 139,¹⁹³ where time and eternity are contrasted. Eternity, Aion, is represented at the left as an old man with a crown, only his head and hand still left. With this hand he holds a wheel.¹⁹⁴ We have no way of knowing how he was dressed, since all the rest of this part of the mosaic was destroyed in antiquity, and the lower part repaired with slabs of marble. To the right of him, however, are the three Chronoi, aspects of time as contrasted with eternity, labeled Past, Present, and Future. The Past, at the right, is an old man with wreath and cup. The Future, at the left, is a young man with only the mantle and a fillet. In one hand he holds the cup, and in the other a crown, which as Future he is apparently not yet ready to put on.

187. Levi, plate xia, b; pp. 68–75. Another scene in which three figures have this chiton is of very uncertain meaning, plate xiii, a scene which Levi, pp. 83 f., with some hesitation, interprets to represent Andromache and Astyanax. The interpretation is warranted only if, as Levi says, the large male is "dragging" the little child. I see no trace of cruelty in what is left of the mosaic.

188. Ibid., plate lxi, d, e; pp. 256 f.

189. See above, p. 140, where it was suggested that the gymnasium as a place both of wrestling and of philosophic discussion is a tradition that goes back to Plato, and continued throughout the ancient world.

190. Levi, plate vb; p. 37.

191. Ibid., plate xxa, b; pp. 117 f.

192. Ibid., plate li, a; p. 224 f. See also plate xliii, b, and p. 191 f., for Bios as a female.

193. Courtesy of the Department of Art and Archeology, Princeton University. See Levi, plate xliii, d; pp. 197 f.

194. We recall at once the wheel in the strange funerary plaque at the Lateran Museum: see above, IV, fig. 41. Eternity as a wheel is familiar in Indian philosophies, but I always hesitate to go outside the geographical limits of the Greco-Roman world to explain its symbols.

In the center is Present wearing a wreath and a white tunic with red clavi. He extends his right hand along the bolster toward an incense burner in the foreground. Levi reasonably suggests he may be putting incense on the burner, that is, offering sacrifice. It is the Present alone which can act to propitiate the gods, we are told: now is the time. Hence it is the Present who is marked as especially sacred.

The last instance of the robe at Antioch, so far as I know, is in a series of three plaques in each of which are a man and a woman, he each time in the full robe.¹⁹⁵ Since one of the men carries a money bag, Levi believes that the availability of the women as hetairae is indicated. He seems to me too assured on the subject: his explanation is possible, but no more than that. For it will be recalled that Hermes the psychopomp also carries the purse, and the wreath in the other hand of the same man could refer to immortality quite as well as to a banquet with hetairae.¹⁹⁶ The purse itself often has the same implications. Raingeard¹⁹⁷ has a most illuminating discussion of the purse of Hermes, in which he points out how frequent a funerary device it is, and says that it is strange Hermes should have it thus in so many scenes which have no relation with money at all, as when he presents it to Demeter, who certainly did not need to have Hermes enrich her. Raingeard also shows how others carry it in funerary art. It seems then an alternative of the caduceus to show hope of immortality through the help of Hermes. To carry the purse seems to mark one as having Hermetic power or association. I strongly suspect that the man who stands beside a woman in the Antioch mosaic and holds the purse and crown is marked as someone with superhuman prerogatives, whether in this world or the next.

The Antioch mosaics have been given so much attention here because they provide highly important evidence for the art and symbolism of the East, even though we could find little in them that defined significantly the meaning of the robe. We can conclude only that in a considerable number of mosaics a religious interpretation of the robes seems to give point to the scenes in which they appear, while no usage specifically contradicts such a meaning.

At the same time funerary stele in Syria show the deceased wearing the chiton and himation as in other parts of the Greco-Roman world.¹⁹⁸ At Nawa in the Hauran two very interesting helmets have been discovered. The relief on one of these has been sketched as in fig. 141.¹⁹⁹ Abdul-Hak rightly supposes that what is represented is a highly distinguished officer of the Roman army getting a crown from God himself for his services. Victory, the messenger who brings the crown, wears the same dress with the stripes as does the Helios (of whatever local name) above her, which suggested to Abdul-Hak that Victory was "considered to be an emanation of the power of the God."²⁰⁰ Here, then, we seem to have the

195. Levi, plate XLVIII, b, c; p. 217.

196. The other mosaics which went with this in no way suggest that the house was itself a brothel.

197. P. Raingeard, *Hermès psychagogue*, 1934, 418-423.

198. M. Meurdrac and L. Albanèse in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, III (1939), 50, plate VIII.

199. From S. Abdul-Hak, "Les Objets découverts à Nawa," *Les Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, IV/V (1954/55), 168-174, plate IV.

200. *Ibid.*, 170.

meaning of the striped tunic quite literally spelled out. Its wearer was, or shared in, divinity.²⁰¹

6. Palmyra

AS WE GO farther East, the robe is used with much more recognizable consistency than at Antioch, probably because our remains more commonly have funerary or religious reference. On the funerary portraits, of which Palmyra has left us many scores, the person portrayed may add to this dress embroidery or jewels in oriental profusion. But the robe clearly is the basic garb, at least for funerary wear, and usually it appears in simple Greek form. The quite representative bust of fig. 142²⁰² only abbreviates the costume of fig. 143,²⁰³ in the same way we saw being done in Egypt. Such figures frequently carry religious tokens in their hands, notably the scroll. But aside from telling us that at least funerary or memorial dress had this form, most of these stones tell little to our purpose.

One stone seems illuminating, fig. 144.²⁰⁴ Here a man in full Greek dress with a scroll stands beside a pedestal on which is a modius encircled by a wreath, as the headdress ascribed to the kings of Persia was encircled with a diadem.²⁰⁵ At the left is an assistant in a short belted tunic who carries what is probably a scroll case and what seems to me a box for sacred objects, though, as Ingholt and Simonsen suggest, it may be a tablet of several leaves. Perhaps the relief represents a "philosopher" with his scroll, and a pupil carrying school equipment. In any case I doubt that this is an ordinary man with an ordinary slave. When a man with sword and shield wears the costume,²⁰⁶ I must admit that the combination seems to me utterly unrealistic and that, if the figure is human at all, the robe shows

201. I do not analyze the figurines of Syria, a fine collection of which was published by M. Chéhab, *Les Terres cuites de Kharayeb*, 1951-54 (Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, X and XI). The robe appears here on a few scattered figurines, but since figurines have no context, it is hard to construe their exact implication. On plate LXIII, for example, four figurines sit with boxes in their laps, which may well be portable escritoirs, while a fifth stands in the robe holding a book; cf. plate LXIV, 4. The children wrapped in a mantle in plates LXX-LXXIII, LXXXIII, may also represent something more than a *jeu d'esprit*. But this cannot be determined either way.

202. Courtesy of the Istanbul Archeological Museum. See H. Ingholt, *Studier over palmyrensk skulptur*, plate IV, 1; cf. p. 34.

203. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; cf. *ibid.*, plate IV, 3; cf. p. 36. For these busts and figures from Palmyra see also D. Simonsen, *Sculptures et inscriptions de Palmyre à la Glyptothèque de Ny Carlsberg*, 1889; J. B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, 1922, esp. plates XXVI-XXXII; R. Amy

and H. Seyrig, "Recherches dans la nécropole de Palmyre," *Syria*, XVII (1936), 229-266; Ingholt, "Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra," *Berytus*, III (1936), 83-125, plates XVIII, XXVI, and V (1938), 93-140, plates XXXVI-L; Seyrig, "Sculptures palmyréniennes archaïques," *Syria*, XXII (1941), 31-44; Abdul-Hak, "L'Hypogée de Taai à Palmyre," *Les Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, II (1952), 193-251; [H. Ingholt], *Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture*, Yale University Art Gallery, 1954, plates 1-16; J. Starcky, "Inscriptions palmyréniennes conservées au Musée de Beyrouth," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, XII (1955), 29-44, plates XVII-XX.

204. Courtesy of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; cf. Ingholt in *Berytus*, II (1935), plate XXXIII, 2; cf. pp. 73 f. See also Simonsen, plate 1; cf. pp. 7 f. In Simonsen's reproduction the figure at the right has a head with a tiara which Ingholt showed did not belong on this piece at all.

205. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VIII, iii, 13.

206. Seyrig in *Syria*, XXII (1941), 39, fig. 8.

the soldier's happy fate in the future world quite as much as the arms show his occupation on earth. Certainly no soldier ever tried to fight (or to march) while holding the ends of the himation about him. Seyrig is probably right in regarding the figure as a deity. Or perhaps we have another reference to the spiritual *agōn*.

On Palmyrene monuments we meet for the first time as a common phenomenon the interchange of the Greek dress with oriental tunic and caftan. The dead man can be reclining in the typically Greek way in either dress, usually enriched with lavish bands of embroidery.²⁰⁷ The Greek bolster on which he lies becomes almost incrustated with such decoration. Occasionally the embroidered strips take the place of the simpler western ones on the western costume itself, and in one case the pronged ornament suddenly appears on the himation thus embellished, fig. 145.²⁰⁸ I know no other instance of this ornament on a Palmyrene monument, but it does appear on at least five pieces of Palmyrene textiles from tombs of the period,²⁰⁹ so that it was probably often used on funerary dress.

Why some of the funerary figures should have Persian costume and others the Greek robe does not appear. The choice may have been determined by whether the person depicted worshiped in Mithraic terms or in terms of some western rites. Any explanation must be a pure guess. The "duality" of costume perplexed Seyrig, for he was convinced, as am I, that neither the full Greek costume nor the elaborate one with caftan and trousers was commonly worn at Palmyra. He suggested that both were pretentious costumes, because it "seemed more flattering to appear in the style of Antioch or of Seleucia on the Tigris,"²¹⁰ especially for the rich on festal occasions. The suggestion can hardly be rejected: but it still seems to me less likely than that the costumes had some religious reference. If one supposes that the banquet scenes represent the dead at an earthly symposium, Seyrig's suggestion must indeed be accepted. But since these scenes have so often appeared to reproduce the dead as Dionysus at the eternal banquet, and to imply immortality, I must associate the costumes here, as we have done elsewhere, with religion.

Generalizations, however, are dangerous. In one relief from the temple of Bel two priests clothed only in the long chiton sacrifice at an altar between them, while men behind them wear the full Greek robe.²¹¹ Four figures, which seem to me divine figures with halos in another relief, likewise seem to have only the chiton.²¹² The gods Aglibol and Malakbel appear in trousers and halo, with companions in Persian dress in one relief,²¹³

207. For illustration of such cloth see Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre*, I-III, passim.

208. From Seyrig, "Armes et costumes iraniens de Palmyre," *Syria*, XVIII (1937), 25, fig. 16. He says that it is an unpublished relief on a sarcophagus, dated A.D. 260, but does not say where it is preserved. This study of Seyrig gives altogether the best account of Palmyrene dress. The person holds a pine cone, and hence apparently wears mystic garb. See Pfister, III, plate xc; cf. p. 30.

209. Pfister, I, plate v; III, plates A, III, IVc; and p. 16, fig. 6.

210. In *Syria*, XVIII (1937), 4 f. He goes on

here to describe the local costume from other monuments.

211. Seyrig in *Syria*, XV (1934), plate xviii at p. 156.

212. Ibid., plate xix at p. 158. Seyrig's discussion of these, pp. 160 f., as a group of bystanders with disheveled hair seems quite impossible. Bystanders are never introduced in reliefs or paintings of processions in any ancient piece of art I know. The veiled women in this scene must be part of the procession. For the scene and further discussion see below, fig. 167, and pp. 183 f.

213. Seyrig, 179, fig. 2.

but in another they wear armor beside a female in the Greek costume, who was thought by Seyrig to be a goddess. Two reliefs clarify the problem, if they do not solve it. Fig. 146²¹⁴ shows at the right two gods whom Seyrig here calls Aglibol and Iarhibol wearing the full Greek dress; at the left a haloed goddess also in Greek dress stands beside Heracles. This piece is dated in the first century before Christ. In fig. 147²¹⁵ the same two gods appear again with Baalshamin standing between them. All three wear the dress of warrior kings.²¹⁶ This piece is later, of the third century after Christ. Possibly the difference reflects only a greater hellenization on the part of the individual responsible for the earlier relief. More probably, however, the change reflects a shift quite general in Palmyra at the time. For in the centuries between these two reliefs the upper classes of Palmyra, who made the monuments we now find, radically changed. In the first centuries before and after Christ, long under the influence of the Seleucid empire, they were eagerly cooperating with Roman troops against the Parthians, and accepting Roman overlordship. Hellenization must long have been universal. By the third century, however, they were doing all possible to set up Palmyra as queen of the East, independent of Romans and Parthians alike. For this they seem to have sustained themselves from their own Aramaic roots, if their minds were not freshly open to Parthian ideas. It is quite to be understood, then, that the gods should wear the robe of Greek dignity in the earlier period, along with the oriental halos that kept their original character and value, but should appear as oriental kings in armor in the third century. This would not mean that either costume reflected the dress of men on the street: it rather indicates what was thought proper for the gods at each period.

The transition was marked by the confusion we have been noticing. So on a relief from the temple of Bel two pairs of priests sacrifice beside a sacred palm tree with the two bunches of dates.²¹⁷ Their costumes are not at all clear, but seem to combine something much like the chiton and himation with Persian trousers. On funerary reliefs²¹⁸ a man often lies in the familiar way with the cup in his hand. He usually has the tiara of priest, the pose of Dionysus, the full Persian dress, while behind him are his wife, seated, and two or three standing males, his sons, in the Greek dress. The sons usually have a tiara like the father's, but the Greek dress. In one, the father has a Greek himation with the trousers, but he and the two sons still wear the tiara.²¹⁹

Such confusion, it seems to me, drives us to the conclusion that either the Greek or the

214. From Seyrig in *Syria*, XXIV (1944-45), plate I at p. 64; see pp. 62 f.

215. From Seyrig in *Syria*, XXVI (1949), plate II at p. 25; cf. pp. 29-33. The date of the piece is uncertain. Seyrig dates it on artistic grounds in the first century A.D., but J. Starcky, *ibid.*, 40 f., shows that its dedication is clearly of the date A.D. 228, and I follow Starcky.

216. For their dress see A. Hekler, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Panzerstatuen," *JÖAI*, XIX-XX (1919), 190-241.

217. Seyrig in *Syria*, XV (1934), plate xxii at p. 182.

218. One is very well published by Seyrig in *Syria*, XV (1934), plate xxiv, 2. For discussion of this see Ingholt, *Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur*, 94-97, with extended bibliography at p. 94, n. 6; For a similar scene see Seyrig in *Syria*, XVIII (1937), 16, plate iv.

219. Amy and Seyrig in *Syria*, XVII (1936), 248, plate xlvii, 1; cf. p. 249.

Persian dress could be used alike by gods and priests or by great men. Yet we return to the fresco of a tomb at Palmyra discussed in a former volume,²²⁰ where a man in the Greek robe with stripes, and two tassels at the end of his himation, stands surrounded by grapes—clearly in the Dionysiac grape arbor.²²¹ Ingholt says that one of the vine stalks grows from a vase, and this, though not apparent in the reproduction, marks the vine all the more certainly to have religious implications.²²² A woman faces him wearing the himation drawn over her head, a skirt, and a green chiton with the clavus in light brown.²²³ She also stands in the vine, so that whatever relation to the Persian costume the Greek one may bear, the striped Greek clothing again impresses itself as religiously meaningful. This same impression is made by the other paintings from Palmyra, those in what is called the Tomb of the Three Brothers, or Magharat el-Djedideh.²²⁴ The portraits in these tombs are in medallions, each held high above the head of a Victory. These portraits have great importance for showing more exactly the dress of most of the funerary busts, and here, in fig. 148,²²⁵ we see that the dress, with the stripes, so much resembles that of the mummy portraits of Egypt at the time that we know we have been right in associating the Greek costume at Palmyra with the western funerary dress. In these portraits the persons hold a symbol of some kind, which, as in similar cases in Egypt, seems to indicate a religious implication in the dress also.

A word must be said about the remains of textiles found in the graves.²²⁶ The corpses were ordinarily wrapped in a linen cloth, with woolen or silk cloth twisted round it, the cloth being strips torn from old but highly decorated mantles and other garments. Nothing indicates that white was much worn in Palmyra, but the fragments were often dyed with expensive imported purple or indigo and may well represent sacred vestments.

Palmyra, then, has by no means solved all our problems. We still do not understand the significance of the Greek as contrasted with the Persian costume; but we do feel that both had deep meaning for the people who wore them, and that as in Egypt the meaning was connected with their hope of divinization, or quasi apotheosis, in the life after death. The costume we are tracing, the striped Greek chiton, which now seems increasingly to have been worn under a himation bearing the pronged ornament, seems to have been much more than ostentation, especially when placed on a funerary or memorial monument.

220. See above, VI, fig. 243, and pp. 67 f.

221. Above, VI, 46–50.

222. The vine growing from the vase or cup seemed very important above, VI, 56–58, 65, 67, and passim. The importance of the vine on Palmyrene funerary remains has been well pointed out by Will, "Le Relief de la tour de Kithot et le banquet funéraire à Palmyre," *Syria*, XXVIII (1951), 70–100. Will sees active Dionysiac symbolism and syncretism. We must never lose sight of the fact that the tree-vine of the synagogue reredos

seems originally to have grown from a vase.

223. Ingholt, plate III; cf. pp. 5 f.

224. For general description, and the inscriptions, with bibliography, see Chabot, 96–111. See also J. Starcky and S. Munajjed, *Palmyra*, "The Bride of the Desert," 1948, 16–18.

225. From B. Farmakovskii, "Paintings in Palmyra" (In Russian), *Izvestiia Russkago Arkheologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, VIII (1903), 172–198, plates xxiii, 2; xxv, 1, 2.

226. For bibliography, see above, p. 151, n. 207.

7. Pagan Dura

IN PAGAN DURA eastern and western dress are again so mingled that a clear-cut distinction of their meaning cannot be made. One very important painting in the nave of the temple of Adonis suggests a difference, however, that may help considerably, fig. 149.²²⁷ Brown's clever restoration from a great mass of fragments seems quite reliable, though he himself deplores the complete absence of evidence as to what sort of platform the god stood upon. There can be little doubt that the painting of the god looked very much as his sketch represents it. He wore the typical trousers and caftan of the East, with a cloak something like a chlamys, falling freely behind his back but fastened over the breast by a brooch. The bush of wavy hair is assured, the sword on which his left hand rests is highly probable, and he may well with the right hand have been making the oriental gesture of blessing which Brown has represented. The priests beside him all wear the Greek costume, as often in pagan sacrifices, and this I take to be an instance of the "veneer of Greek artistic influence," which Hopkins rightly says conceals in such cases "neither the fundamentally eastern conception of the godhead, nor the inherent stiffness and convention of the typically eastern rendering of the religious scene."²²⁸

In the Mithraeum of Dura, however, the god himself can wear the chiton, fig. 150.²²⁹ At the left Ahura Mazda as Zeus wears the Greek robe while he hurls the thunderbolt, and at the right, also in the robe, is a god whom Cumont and Rostovtzeff identify as the god of Time, Chronos.

Probably the god keeps his oriental character and dress in the temple of Adonis. The original white robes of the priests, however—robes shortly to be discussed—were changed into the Greek chiton and himation, even though the artist was so little acquainted with them that he shows the himation held in the right hand instead of the left.²³⁰ The priests also have the large pronged ornament conspicuously splashed across their himation,²³¹ the mark we saw on burial robes of Egypt and once on a funerary garb at Palmyra, fig. 145.

It is perplexing whether this mark is to be considered Greco-Egyptian or originally from the East, for it seems thoroughly indigenous when it appears on the white himation of Conon, fig. 151,²³² in the Temple of the Palmyrean Gods at Dura. Beside him two priests

227. See Frank Brown in Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VII/VIII, 159 f., fig. 44, plates xix f.

228. C. Hopkins, "Aspects of Parthian Art in the Light of Discoveries from Dura-Europos," *Berytus*, III (1936), 1-30; quoting from p. 28. Hopkins wrote this before Brown had restored the painting we are discussing, but his words fit exactly.

229. Courtesy of my colleague Frank Brown. See du Mesnil du Buisson, "Le Nouveau Mithréum de Doura-Europos en Syrie," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Ser. VI, Vol. XIII (1935), 8; Cumont and Rostovtzeff in Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VIII/IX, 105, and plate xviii, 1.

230. In Palmyra we saw that oriental gods took on the Greek dress with much greater freedom. See above, p. 151. Adonis kept his Persian caftan, though he covered his lap with a Greek himation as he lay on the funerary banquet couch in Palmyra: Seyrig in *Syria*, XXVII (1950), 228-236, plate ix and fig. 1. This still seems to be the garb in spite of the remarks of A. Alföldi, "Gewaltherrscher und Theaterkönig," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Freund*, 1955, 43.

231. Brown illustrates one of these in Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, VII/VIII, plate xx, 5.

232. From J. H. Breasted in *Syria*, III (1922), plate xxix at p. 190; see esp. pp. 191 f. F. Cu-

offer sacrifice in long white robes which, like their conical hats, seem to me entirely oriental. Greek art of the type associated with the Eastern Mediterranean is represented by the colonnade behind these figures, and by what seems to be Conon's utterly misdrawn himation. The splashes of red on his chiton reappear at the bottom as two broad clavi. Similar clavi appear on the chiton of three other men painted as sacrificing in the same temple,²³³ but on another painting there, of definitely later date, the white gown of the priests with Conon has disappeared: the sacrificants wear the white (unmarked) chiton and himation.²³⁴ The two assistants on either side, however, wear only the belted chiton with clavi, like many of the assistants in the synagogue.²³⁵

While Palmyra, then, went farther than Dura in adopting Greek dress for their gods, priests, and apotheosized dead, the tendency in Dura seems to have been in the same direction. No systematic or consistent use of the Greek robe, or of the markings on it, appears, but, as in Palmyra I see no reason to believe that the changes of mode in the dress of gods and priests occurred in response to a change in modes of common dress. In the second century, when the upper classes of Palmyra were returning to their oriental roots and seem to have been reverting to oriental dress for gods and heroes, Dura was held firmly as a Roman camp. Here no kings, queens, or aristocracy aspired to be independent of Rome, so that the white robe of priests, and divine dress in general, could change to the Greek chiton and himation, or, as with Adonis, could remain oriental. If we had sufficient evidence, we should probably see that some gods changed consistently to Greek dress, others did not. But such evidence does not exist.

In all of this, however, nothing really prepares us for the costumes of the heroes of the synagogue. Here suddenly emerges a strong convention which can be compared only with that of the mummy portraits of Egypt for its impressive consistency. Not that we can give a consistent explanation to the robes of either Egypt or the synagogue. But the Jewish painting in the synagogue, while it still shows a perplexing mixture of eastern and western dress, has succumbed to an influence only partly felt by the pagan art of Palmyra and Dura, a tendency to clothe kings in decorated eastern dress, servitors in simple eastern dress or Greek chitons, and great heroes of the Bible and what we shall suspect are heavenly beings in the full Greek dress. The pagan costumes represented in Palmyra and Dura make this sort of clothing seem quite natural in the synagogue paintings. In the synagogue, however, the full Greek robe has become so dominant a convention as to suggest a powerful influence

mont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-1923), I, 1926, 41 f., explains how the painting perished after its discovery. His reproductions of this painting, *ibid.*, plates xxxii-xlii, are not so good as those in *Syria*.

233. One can make it out only by comparing plate xlv in Cumont, *Fouilles* with the description, *ibid.*, pp. 76-81.

234. *Ibid.*, plate lv.

235. See especially fig. 342. Frank Brown in Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos*, IX, i, 162, and fig. 87,

shows a god being crowned under a grape arbor, in a strange little wall shrine painted on plaster. He wears the striped chiton. The symbol was so important that it was repainted six times on as many successive layers of plaster. We recall the people under the vine in the robe at Palmyra, above p. 153. The famous scene of the sacrifice of the Roman tribune before the Palmyrene triad, Cumont, plate L, has nothing to our purpose. The tribune and his company wear what may have been their dress for campaigning in the desert.

of some art tradition within Judaism itself, in which the Greek dress played a particularly important part in identifying what I may in general call religious heroes. We have seen the robe and its markings in Egypt, and also in scattered places in paganism from Etruria to Dura. Was the costume ever used anywhere else in the strongly conventionalized way it appears in the synagogue?

E. THE CHITON AND HIMATION IN CHRISTIANITY

THE QUESTION has only to be asked for one to recall the art of early Christianity, including that of the so-called gnostic monuments of Italy,²³⁶ in which exactly this conventional costume does appear everywhere, but always worn only by the great figures, the saints, or by God or Christ. Tertullian tells us explicitly that in adopting it the Christians knew they were taking over a traditionally sacred robe. In his *On the Pallium* he tells how it was used in the mysteries of Demeter, Bellona, Saturn (where there were unusually broad phylacteries), and Aesculapius. Now that Christians have adopted it, he says, it surpasses all the clothing of the gods or priests.²³⁷ He continues to record that scholars and philosophers and others also wear it, but concludes:

I confer on it likewise a fellowship with a divine sect and discipline. Rejoice, mantle, and exult! A better philosophy has now deigned to honor thee, ever since thou hast begun to be a Christian's vesture.²³⁸

Christians appear to have used it originally not for their own heroes but for Old Testament figures, which makes it likely that it came into Christianity from a convention that began not with Christianity at all but with Judaism.²³⁹ We can best approach this subject by moving from the known to the unknown—that is, from the assured use of the robe in Christianity back to its less assured use in Old Testament illustration, presumably in copies of, or selections from, the Septuagint.

In contrast to the scattered appearances of the Greek himation and chiton with their marks in paganism, Christian art supplies us with a superabundance. Hence Christian sarcophagi need not be systematically examined, for while the clothing we are investigating appears everywhere on them, the paintings and mosaics of Christianity show us the markings as reliefs do not, and give us in themselves more material than we can discuss. Christian sarcophagi, as we have seen, used much of the old vocabulary of pagan symbolism, but they also continued the pagan custom of showing the dead in their new glory, along

236. It will be sufficient for these monuments only to refer to the illustrations in J. Carcopino, *De Pythagore aux apôtres*, 1956, esp. those in the tomb of the Viale Manzoni, at pp. 83–221.

237. Tertullian, *On the Pallium*, iv, 10 (ed. V. Bulhart in *CSEL*, LXXVI, iv, 120).

238. *Ibid.*, vi, 4 (p. 125).

239. With this I come at last to the observations I made many years ago, which started me out on this line of study. See above, I, 23–30.

with incidents from sacred legends—in their case, of course, Christian legends. That the incidents portrayed by Christians were the raising of Lazarus and the drawing of water from the rock rather than Selene coming to the sleeping Endymion or the boar hunt of Adonis should by no means obscure the basic continuity in symbolism, namely that one should be buried with scenes of the cult stories in which divine power was so manifested among men that they could find hope in it even for life after death.

The paintings and mosaics, however, show us the same scenes with the garments more specifically identified, and show them in exemplars presumably of an earlier date.

In the paintings, dress was largely conventionalized for the various figures. Jonah appears almost always naked in his adventure with the fish, as well as when he lies under the gourd.²⁴⁰ Daniel likewise usually stands naked between the lions,²⁴¹ but may wear a short tunic or chiton.²⁴² Adam and Eve at the tree are naked, but in contrast to the figures on the Naasene amulet I published elsewhere, they cover their genitals with leaves in shame.²⁴³ The Three Boys in the furnace on the contrary wear a badly drawn Persian dress with cap and trousers;²⁴⁴ the upper part of this dress can become the striped chiton.²⁴⁵ The only other figures that wear Persian dress are the magi in scenes of the infancy of Christ.²⁴⁶

Several figures appear regularly wearing only the striped chiton: the mysterious quarryman cutting rock with an *ascia*;²⁴⁷ the paralytic carrying his bed;²⁴⁸ little David with the sling;²⁴⁹ a seated figure, which Wilpert, for some reason no doubt, identifies with

240. There seems no necessity to give complete references for the following statements. For Jonah, see, for example, Wilpert, *Pittura*, plates 26, 47, 104. He can appear under the gourd in the full Greek dress occasionally, as in plate 44; cf. pp. 338–351. In connection with the Christian use of the pallium, or chiton and himation, it is unfortunate that this volume was already in the press when the new Catacomb Via Latina, Rome, first became available for close study. In this catacomb the use of the Greek robe entirely agrees with my conclusions about its meaning elsewhere, but the new material would greatly have enriched my presentation. See Ferrua, *Via Latina*, passim, and my "Catacomb Art," *JBL*, LXXXI (1962), 113–142.

241. Ibid., plates 62, 103 f., 106, 169 (in one on this plate, and on plate 166, he has a loin cloth).

242. Ibid., plates 5, 25, 73, 89. Wilpert discusses the Daniel scenes, pp. 308–316.

243. Ibid., plates 93, 101, 169, 171, etc.; pp. 298–302. Cf. above, III, fig. 1145, and my "A Jewish-Gnostic Amulet of the Roman Period," *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, I (1958), 71–80. I should add that when being baptized, Christ is usually without clothes.

244. Wilpert, *Pittura*, plates 62, 78, 114.

245. Ibid., plate 196. For the Three Boys see Wilpert, pp. 329–333. In one of the paintings in the newly discovered Catacomb Via Latina the Three Boys wear the flounced female garment which elsewhere in this catacomb appears only on figures of Victory. With the three figures together wearing it, however, the effect is to make them look like the Three Nymphs discussed below, pp. 203 f., and figs. 186, 188 f. See Ferrua, *Via Latina*, 84 and plate LXXXIX, 1; cf. 47 and plate XIII, 2.

246. Ibid., plates 60, 116, 231, 239; cf. pp. 176–181. See also F. Deichmann, *Früchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 1958, 133.

247. Wilpert, plates 48, 59; the dress of the cutter in plate 69 is indistinguishable. That these are realistic scenes I challenged on good grounds above, II, 28 f. W. H. Gilmore was prompted by this passage to remind me that G. W. Elderkin, *Kantharos*, 1924, 109–114, plate ix, shows and discusses sileni assisting in the resurrection of Dionysus, each using an *ascia*.

248. Wilpert, plates 27 (without stripes), 69, 98; pp. 201–203, 243–245.

249. Ibid., plate 55; pp. 256 f.

Job; ²⁵⁰ Noah emerging from the sarcophagus-ark; ²⁵¹ and, most important of all, the Good Shepherd, though he often has a small cloak with his chiton.²⁵²

The figure of Noah takes us to the striped dalmatic, for Noah usually has the pose of what is called an orant, a praying or adoring saint, and his chiton has often become a dalmatic. This was a full-length garment, or one falling well below the knees, usually with long sleeves and again marked with the vertical stripes. Orants are so familiar as to need no discussion.²⁵³ But the striped dalmatic seems a step in sanctity above the striped chiton, for Mary often wears it as she is enthroned with the child, especially in scenes of the adoration of the Magi.²⁵⁴ Most of the orants in the dalmatic are females; when, rarely, orants wear the full Greek costume they are usually males.²⁵⁵

In all of this we seem to be following a definite series of conventions. The naked Jonah would appear to reflect the naked figures in the marine thiasos, whose value, we have had reason to suppose, Jonah carried over into Christianity.²⁵⁶ Scriptural story required the naked Adam and Eve, but the naked Daniel is an anomaly. We may reasonably suppose that the type was adopted by Jews ²⁵⁷ and perhaps independently by Christians, from a pagan original without clothes, since nothing in the biblical narrative indicates Daniel's nakedness, and neither Jews nor Christians would presumably have invented the naked figure.²⁵⁸ Both would have put clothes on him rather than the reverse. The immediate original may have been a figure of Dionysus with lions, since Dionysus so often appears with felines, but I know no such representation of Dionysus in pagan art, and the figure in itself is basically eastern.²⁵⁹

The Persian dress of the Magi reflects, I believe, the tradition that they were kings,

250. Ibid., plates 56, 71, 147, 166, 226; pp. 352-354. A pagan original for this figure, also in striped chiton, sits on a pile of rocks or a mountain with the "friends" addressing him in a painting in the Temple of the Palmyrean Gods: Cumont, *Fouilles*, Atlas, plate XLVIII. The newly discovered Catacomb Via Latina rather strengthens this identification, since it shows this figure twice, perhaps three times, with a woman holding out food to him on a stick, while, in one of the scenes that is clear, she holds her nose with her other hand. In this example, she wears a striped dalmatic, and the man has blotches on his leg which Ferrua identifies with his boils. See Ferrua, *Via Latina*, 56 and plate c; cf. pp. 42 and 70, plates VI, 1 and LVIII, 2.

251. Wilpert, plates 56, 60, 67, 186, etc.; pp. 316-322. See above, III, fig. 701; II, 120.

252. Wilpert, plates 63, 66, 69, 266, etc.; p. 81. Cf. H. Leclercq in CL, XIII, ii, 2272-2390.

253. Wilpert, plates 43, 57, 62, etc.; pp. 420-426.

254. Ibid., plates 81, 141, 144; pp. 176-184. She seems to wear it also when faced with a figure

in the Greek robe whom Wilpert identifies with Isaiah: pp. 172-175.

255. As ibid., plates 45, 61, 75. But a female orant seems to wear the chiton and himation in plate 25.

256. See above, VIII, 104.

257. For Daniel in Jewish representation, see above, I, 99, 255; VI, 32. He was an orant between confronting lions, as in Christian art, but so little remains of the Jewish figures that we can say nothing of their clothing.

258. A glance at the illustrations in CL, IV, 228-247, shows a wide variety of clothing put upon Daniel: the chiton, Persian dress, even full priestly dress. But the sarcophagi confirm us in thinking that the basic representation was nude: see Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, plates xcvi; cxxii, 3; CLXXXVIII, 3, 12; ccvii, 3-6, 9 f. I ask the question without prejudice: was the naked Daniel with the lions associated with the lion-taming Heracles?

259. W. Deonna, "Daniel, le 'Maître des Fauves,'" *Artibus Asiae*, XII (1949), 119-140, 347-374; see on Daniel's clothing, 124, n. 38.

fig. 159,²⁶⁰ and therefore parallels the clothing of kings in the Dura synagogue. One can only surmise why the Three Boys in the furnace wore the same dress. It is obvious to suggest that Christians in the West wanted to represent them as Easterners in Babylon, but such realism is so foreign to the figures in general that we must suppose some idea lay behind the convention. Perhaps they were first drawn in the East, where this Persian dress seems to have had a meaning, difficult as it is to ascertain it.

The paralytic, the boy David, the quarryman, and Job (if Job it be) certainly represent lesser lights by Christian standards, and we suspect that they all wear the chiton for that reason. The Good Shepherd may well have the chiton because it was the simple pastoral dress of the original figure which early Christians borrowed.²⁶¹ When, as in the chapel of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, Christians created their own design, in which Christ was seated and surrounded by his flock, he was given the Greek chiton and himation.²⁶² In baptizing the naked Jesus, John wears now a simple loin cloth,²⁶³ now a chiton,²⁶⁴ and then the full robe;²⁶⁵ the difference may express a changing evaluation of John, though I hesitate to draw conclusions from Wilpert's dubious chronology for these paintings.²⁶⁶

Why, when Noah emerges from the ark as an orant—that is, represents a soul rising to glory—he usually wears the chiton, I cannot say. His chiton, however, tends to become the dalmatic because his was the pose of an orant, and even the Virgin Mother wears the dalmatic in glory. Although the striped dalmatic came to express the soul's final achievement, the chiton and himation together were used much more commonly to represent the heavenly company. In spite of its appearance on Noah, perhaps the very obvious suggestion should be made that the dalmatic was properly a feminine dress, akin to what seemed to us the garb of an initiate into Isis, while the other was masculine and, originally, Osirian. The latter dress appears more commonly because the figures represented in heaven were ordinarily masculine. Christ, the Apostles, and the great company of saints appear almost exclusively in the chiton and himation, with their stripes and special marks. In what seems to me an important symbolic scene, fig. 152,²⁶⁷ the soul stands as an orant in the dalmatic before the great throne upon which Christ sits, balanced with his two Throne Mates or

260. On this tradition see P. Benecke in *HDB*, III, 206a. Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, III, 13, and *Against the Jews*, IX (ed. A. Kroymann, *CSEL*, XLVII, 398; LXX, 291), says in this connection that the "East generally held the magi to be kings." On the Magi see G. Vezin, *L'Adoration et le cycle des Mages*, 1950; L. Olschki, "The Wise Men of the East in Oriental Traditions," *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper*, 1951, 375-395 (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, XI).

261. For similar dress on Endymion as shepherd see Leclercq, *CL*, XIII, ii, 2287, fig. 9862. See A. Veyries, *Les Figures criophores*, 1884 (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, XXXIX).

262. C. Diehl, *Ravenna*, 1907, 31; von Berchem and Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes*, 93, fig. 105; Deichmann, *Früchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, plate 3.

263. Wilpert, *Pitture*, plate 27.

264. *Ibid.*, plate 29.

265. *Ibid.*, plates 29, 58.

266. Even though he estimates the dates too early, as all agree, he may still be right in putting the first two a century earlier than the others.

267. From Wilpert, *Pitture*, plate 247; cf. plates 205, 243, 245. An original photograph sent me from the Vatican shows few of Wilpert's details. Whether he supplied them in his copy or they were there in the original and have since chipped off, I have no way of knowing.

Guards in the ancient convention of royalty. Christ and the Guards wear the full Greek dress. We instantly feel the sense of contrast in the other costume, the sense of a soul come into the divine presence.²⁶⁸ That this orant, like most others in the catacombs, is a female seems to me to reflect the gender of *pseuchē* or *anima* rather than the sex of the person or persons celebrated.²⁶⁹ Even Noah coming out of the ark, we may now suggest, has become the soul coming out of the sarcophagus, and so appropriately he comes out wearing the dalmatic. More often, however, Christ sits in judgment alone, or with a number of saints, all in the full robe, fig. 153.²⁷⁰ A variant representation of eternal bliss was made by adapting the pagan and Jewish eschatological banquet, which seems to have meant in Christianity the heavenly Eucharist, and in these the banqueters usually wear the full Greek dress, though this is not always true of either Christian or pagan banqueters.²⁷¹ Again the Christians seem to be adapting a pagan convention. The change of robe has already appeared twice in the Christian-Jewish scenes we have illustrated. Fig. 94 shows Moses the shepherd in a tunic only, Moses on Sinai in the full robe. Fig. 100 shows Abraham seeing the three angels, he in a chiton, they in the full dress, but with Abraham wearing the full dress as he sacrifices Isaac.

It is in the figure of Christ himself, as well as of the saints portrayed with him, that the chiton and himation appear with predictable regularity in the Christian catacombs and mosaics, fig. 70. The assumption would be that for this the Christians had taken over another convention, and here we seem to me to be on firm ground.²⁷² For in the early representation Christ in the robe repeatedly balances Moses in the same robe. Usually in such a balance Christ holds a rod as he raises Lazarus.²⁷³ He also holds the rod when he multi-

268. The same sense of contrast appears, *ibid.*, plate 267, where Christ in the Greek robe multiplies the loaves (according to Wilpert perhaps he turns water into wine) before a banqueting table, with the banqueters in the same dress, while a female in a dalmatic balances Christ at the left.

269. The dalmatic, even on women, is often short as garments for females would not have been in Roman art.

270. From Wilpert, *Pitture*, plate 170; cf. plates 96, 126, 148, 155, 177, 193, 225, 252; and pp. 360-383.

271. See, for example, *ibid.*, plate 41, no. 3. Most of the scenes are carelessly drawn, like this one, but a study of them all makes it quite clear that the banqueters ordinarily wear the striped chiton, and usually himation as well. See *ibid.*, plates 27, 57, 62, 133, 157, 265, 267. In plates 15, no. 2, and 65, no. 3, the representation is surprisingly like that of the Vibia scenes from the mystery of Sabazius reproduced above in III, figs. 842 f. The same gesture appears in both, and fig. 843 makes a point in the inscription that there are

seven banqueters, a feature reproduced in these and several other Christian scenes. See J. Baum, "Symbolic Representations of the Eucharist," *The Mysteries, Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, ed. Joseph Campbell, 1955, 261-273 (Bollingen Series, XXX, 2); originally published in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, XI (1944), 327-346. Only in relatively late catacomb paintings is this form fully adapted to Christianity by changing the seven to Christ with the twelve.

272. An important strand in the fabric of this symbolism is the tradition of the philosopher's robe, mentioned above, pp. 139 f. F. Saxl discussed this: "Der Dialog als Thema der christlichen Kunst," *Wiener Jahrbücher für Kunstgeschichte*, II (1923), 64-77. That for Christianity, as for paganism and hellenized Judaism, the word "philosophy" had come to mean a mystic doctrine for the purgation of souls, Saxl does not suggest.

273. See above, III, figs. 2 and 4; cf. Wilpert, *Pitture*, plates 46, 55, 58, 108, 143, 190, 192, 198, 212, 227, 240, 248.

plies the loaves, fig. 154,²⁷⁴ and changes the water into wine,²⁷⁵ or heals a leper, fig. 155.²⁷⁶ In all of these New Testament scenes the rod has no place, so that Christ with the rod seems to be a Christian adaptation of a figure with whom the rod was meaningful. That is, the Christ figure with robe and staff is an adapted Moses.²⁷⁷ If, as I believe, the Moses striking a rock on a sarcophagus fragment from the Catacomb Vigna Randanini is Jewish,²⁷⁸ we would have direct evidence that the Christians found this convention among Jews, and presumably adapted it from them. I should guess that Christians from the first thought of this miracle as a type of the Eucharist, after the anthology of the Jewish teaching that the rock which gave water in the wilderness actually gave the Logos or Sophia.²⁷⁹ We know from Paul²⁸⁰ and the Fourth Gospel²⁸¹ that this Jewish teaching was taken over directly for Christ and the Eucharist. Christians later came to call the figure striking the rock Peter,²⁸² but Moses had furnished the prototype of the figure of Christ with the rock giving the eucharistic fluid. Moses at the rock was apparently represented by Jews in two ways, first by Moses with the lifted rod striking the rock, which became the pose of Christ in raising Lazarus; and second by Moses using the rod to touch a spring from the ground

274. Courtesy of the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome. In this miracle Christ always carries Moses' rod: see Wilpert, *Pitture*, plates 45, 54, 68, 74, 105, 115, 120, 196, 228, etc., and pp. 269-278.

275. See above, III, fig. 3.

276. From *ibid.*, plate 68, no. 3. The leper wears only the striped chiton.

277. This was recognized by T. B. L. Webster in *JRS*, XIX (1929), 153 at no. 71. The same figure with robe and rod was painted in an illumination of the Vergilius Vaticanus (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225, fol. 13), in which Aeneas thus arrayed watches two workmen dig up, apparently, the horse's skull that portended wealth and victory in war: *Aeneid*, I, 441-445. See A. Grabar and C. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*, 1957, 94 (The Great Centuries of Painting).

278. See above, III, fig. 804; II, 29 f.

279. Above, VI, 181, 183-187, 193-204.

280. I Cor. x, 1-4.

281. John vi, 41-58, does not equate the blood of Christ with water from the well of the wilderness as it does the body of Christ with the manna, but the implication seems plain to me.

282. The original design simply represented Moses at the rock, as was recognized by G. Stuhlfauth, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 1925, 50-71, esp. p. 52. The design apparently needed new interpretation for most Christians, however, and I should guess that the

hero who brought new salvation from a rock early became Peter the Rock in popular Christian "explanations." Such a new explanation of the image itself, I continue to guess, prompted the Christians to create a new legend, still extant, that Peter struck the side of his prison wall to get water to baptize two guards whom he had converted. Christian artists then soon introduced the guards into the scene, though the artists' form of the legend would have been rather one associated still with the Eucharist than with baptism, since the little characters with Peter usually drink the water rather than plunge into it. The history of the form in Christianity obscures its apparent origin as Moses, and its earliest use as such by Christians. For the legend of the guards, Saints Processus and Martinianus, see *Acta sanctorum*, July, I, 1867, 270 f.; Stuhlfauth, 45-50; H. Lietzmann, *Petrus and Paulus in Rom*, 2d ed., 1927, 187-189 (*Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, I); P. F. de' Cavalieri in *Studi e testi*, XXII (1909), 35-39. E. Dinkler, "Die ersten Petrusdarstellungen," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI-XII (1938-39), esp. p. 18, ignores the Mosaic origin of the scene altogether. In the new Catacomb Via Latina, Moses strikes the rock as a single figure in one scene, but in another has two men with him, whom Ferrua properly calls Jews. See Ferrua, *Via Latina*, 53 and plate xxxv; 46 and plate xiii, 1. The later "soldiers" with Peter seem an adaptation of these two, one of whom here drinks and the other points toward the miracle.

at his feet. We seem to have examples of Moses in each of these acts at Dura.²⁸³ They both had great importance for Christian art, which used the one to show Moses (or Peter) striking the rock, and the other to represent the multiplication of the loaves and the changing of water into wine.²⁸⁴ Both poses appear in manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes.²⁸⁵

Moses could, of course, be represented by Jews without the rod, as we saw him in the panels flanking the reredos at Dura,²⁸⁶ and it was the figure without the rod that Christians more usually adapted for Christ. But the convention by which Christians commonly put all angels and saints in this robe corresponds to the convention in the Dura paintings by which, as we have said,²⁸⁷ it is worn by many prominent figures. The Dura paintings now finally assure us of what the use of the robe in Christian art had made highly likely, that although the convention began in paganism, it came to Christianity through its adoption by Jews for the holy figures of their Bible. The Jewish use itself now appears to have had behind it a long tradition in paganism by which philosophers and mystical saviors or initiates were put into this robe, so that when Jewish and later Christian saints were put into it, their especial Jewish or Christian sanctity seems announced in some way corresponding to that of pagan philosophers, saviors, and mystic saints. "Rejoice, mantle, and exult!"

An artist could use this convention in making his own designs much as he wished, as we have seen in earlier volumes was done with symbol after symbol. We have seen, for example, that the Female Principle was represented by, or with, the shell, and that the Principle or the devotee could appear in almost any design or combination with the shell without altering the symbol's meaning.²⁸⁸ So the robe symbolizes superhuman sanctity, attained through the mysteries, Christianity, or Philosophy (which here must be capitalized). This statement I have not "proved," but it becomes increasingly probable when we see the material as a whole. It is worth testing as a hypothesis in interpreting the Dura paintings that on Jewish characters it announced their Jewish-mystic sanctity.

F. THE GAMMAS

WE MAY FURTHER STRENGTHEN the probability that the tradition was consecutively an artistic and symbolic form by examining more closely the peculiar marks that have appeared with astonishing regularity on the himatia, marks which in Christian tradition came later to be called "gammias."²⁸⁹

We have already encountered these marks not only on Christian robes,²⁹⁰ but in hellenized Egypt,²⁹¹ Palmyra,²⁹² and pagan Dura,²⁹³ and they have occurred on the rem-

283. See fig. 331. He holds the rod up as he is about to strike the Red Sea, but down as he closes it, fig. 330.

284. See above, III, figs. 3 f.

285. See the illustrations in Riedin, *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, I, 228-232, figs. 229-236; plate XII.

286. See above, pp. 110-123; plate V.

287. Above, pp. 125-127.

288. Above, VIII, 95-105.

289. The marks were more commonly called *gammadiae*: see Leclercq in CL, VI, 610-614; but *gamma* and *gammadium* were also used: C. Duncange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitas*, 1883-1887, s. vv.

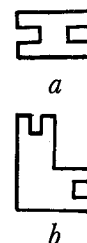
290. See figs. 100, 102, 152-154, 159.

291. Figs. 132, 135; IV, figs. 102, 114.

292. Fig. 145.

293. Fig. 151.

nants of clothing found in Dura.²⁹⁴ The mark appears (a) as a straight bar with two prongs at each end on the mummy portrait of fig. 132, and on the portrait of Virgil, fig. 127. Or (b) it could be bent at right angles, still with the prongs, as in fig. 156.²⁹⁵ It could become a simple angle without the prongs, or remain a straight bar with the prongs apparently at only one end, as in fig. 157.²⁹⁶ It appears in the latter form on all the "robes" in the paintings of the Dura synagogue, and on a figure on a sarcophagus lid from Palmyra, fig. 145. But the textiles of Dura suggest that prongs belong at both ends of the mark, and that folds of the garments conceal the prongs at the other ends of the bars.²⁹⁷ Actually I can find no instance of the prongs at one end of the bar in which the other end does not disappear in a fold or bend.



Most conspicuously it appears upon a banner from Roman Egypt, fig. 158,²⁹⁸ though here also its meaning does not become definite. The banner shows a figure which Rostovtzeff plausibly called Victory, though she has no wings. She stands upon a globe to indicate her deity, and she offers a palm branch in her left hand, a crown in her right. But Rostovtzeff does not mention the four right-angled marks with double-pronged ends which occupy the corners. If only this example existed, one would assume that the four simply framed the central figure. In view of the prominent funerary use of the mark in the period and later, however, this seems a dangerous assumption. What was the banner, and for what was it designed? Unfortunately, one cannot say; its origin is unknown. Rostovtzeff, after reviewing the various uses of such banners, ends by "not hesitating to regard it as a military banner," because of the Victory. He admits that the banner probably had been found in a grave, and hence thinks it was a *donum militare*, a sort of prize, or what we would call a decoration, which some officer wanted with him eternally. But Rostovtzeff does not even allude to the omnipresent funerary Victories which give crowns and palms to the dead. My own feeling is the reverse, that the marks in the corners show that the banner is a religious one, probably carried in the religious procession of some group that hoped for immortality. In fig. 123 we actually saw such a religious procession with banners, and we can now see that the banners which lead both columns there have the identical marks in the corners. Since Victory so commonly appears as a symbol of immortality, and such bars are so artificially emphasized on funerary figures, it seems more likely that the Egyptian banner, which, we assume, came originally from a grave, had had a religious rather than a military use. So we notice that on the two women, twice presented, in the scene of the Infancy of Moses, plate ix, the mark appears on the skirt of one woman in the group at

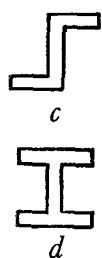
294. Above, p. 128.

295. Photograph by courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Cf. Edgar, *Coffins*, 65 f., no. 33.209, plate xxix. See the mark also on the Egyptian woman in fig. 135, and on Moses and Jeremiah in fig. 100.

296. Photograph by courtesy of the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria.

297. See also the marks in figs. 152-155, 159.

298. From Musée des Beaux-Arts Alexandre III à Moscou, *Pamiatniki*, n.d., plate xxiv: a Roman-Egyptian cloth in the Golenishchev Collection. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, Text, IV, 149-153; *idem*, "Vexillum and Victory," *JRS*, XXXII (1942), 92-106. In the latter study Rostovtzeff gives interesting examples of such banners used in religious ceremonies.



the right, on both at the left. We assume at once that they were special women indeed.

Such an ancestry of the mark explains for the first time its almost omnipresence on Christian robes, as well as the extreme diversity of its forms. On a mosaic representing Abraham at Santa Maria Maggiore²⁹⁹ the pronged bar is on his robe, along with *c*, which latter appears also on his robe in the lower register of the same mosaic. In these I see an incomplete rendering of the frequent *d*, which looks like the letter "I," and in this mark itself I see a degeneration of the straight bar with double-forked ends, *a*: the bar has become a simple vertical between two forks. Conspicuously the bar forked on both ends appears on the himation of the holiest of the three "angels" in this mosaic, the figure at the center of the upper group. Both appear, more or less fully, in fig. 159,³⁰⁰ where the prong-ended angle can be seen along with the "I" in various sorts of misrepresentation. Here distinctions in dress appear carefully indicated, as, I am sure, they are at Dura. The heavenly beings, including the boy Christ with the Magi, have the fully marked dress. Mary at the Annunciation wears what I have called the rich dress of Isis; Joseph, at the right, has only the striped chiton. The mark was often partially shown, I am sure, because it came in the folds of garments. Accordingly, later Christians, to whom the mark, like the robe itself, was probably known only in iconography, often represented it still more partially. Meanwhile the tradition of the original angle was preserved in the word *gamma*, used for the mark in any shape, a term which has perplexed lexicographers who know only the great variety of forms in which the mark could appear.³⁰¹ I have seen the band with square-pronged ends on modern goat-skin rugs of the Near East, where the mark seems to be quite traditional and conventional. The great care for its accurate representation in Greco-Roman Egypt,³⁰² however, and at Dura, along with the examples from Palmyra,³⁰³ suggest strongly that it had not yet lost a direct symbolic reference in those circles. Shall we then assume that the frequency and distinctness of the mark on the Dura and Palmyra textiles³⁰⁴ is to be evaluated from the religious art, so that the textiles, at least those having the marks, are to be considered as pieces of ceremonial garments; or are we to suppose that the actual textiles can be taken to indicate that the marks on the painted robes were "purely decorative," and without meaning? Again I feel that we must follow the long tradition of the art, rather than the isolated and unidentified scraps of textile evidence, and take it to be the greater probability that the marks had some symbolic force. That symbolic force, if I am right in assuming there was one, neither the paintings nor the textiles, unfortunately, make explicit.

299. See above, III, fig. 1.

300. The Annunciation and the coming of the Magi: a mosaic at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome (Photo Alinari, 30,122). See the marks on dress at Ravenna in Deichmann, *Früchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, passim, esp. figs. 316-321, and the mosaics in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. Among these the mosaic representing the kiss of Judas, fig. 187, especially intrigues us, since Christ and the Apostles have the prong-ended angle on the himat-

ion, but Judas does not. We can draw no conclusions, however, because the artist may have not shown it with Judas simply because in turning for the kiss Judas hides the part of the garment where the mark would normally have appeared.

301. See above, p. 162, n. 289.

302. Figs. 134, 156 f.

303. Above, pp. 143-146.

304. Above, pp. 128, 153.

G. LITERARY TRADITION ABOUT GRECO-ROMAN DRESS

ONE HAS ONLY to look at the section on "Kinds of clothes" in Pollux³⁰⁵ to despair of any accurate treatment of the subject.³⁰⁶ He gives names for so great a variety of articles without adequate distinction between them that we must clearly keep to such general terms as chiton, himation, peplos, chlamys, and dalmatic in discussing the costumes. For because of the inaccuracy of the representations and the confusion of literary terms it seems impossible to reconcile them. Only two points seem worth emphasizing from the literature, one the importance of the philosopher's robe, and the other the ceremonial importance of white or of light-simulating colors.

The philosopher's coat was a himation made of cheap coarse wool, hence scratchy and called *tribōn*, from *tribō*, which primarily means to rub.³⁰⁷ In later usage the term came to mean a "rubbed," hence shabby, garment. It was early popular as the garb of Spartans, part of their practice of austerity, and was worn, apparently on that basis, by Socrates and Antisthenes. From them it came to be the distinguishing mark of the philosopher, though always used by the poor. It is usually worn as a simple "wrap-around," without a chiton under it, so that any himation worn without a chiton could be said to be worn "as a tribon." Like all terms for clothing, this one lost distinctive meaning, and from the monuments we have seen one would judge that the mystic teachers, or "philosophers," usually wore the Greek chiton and himation.

Literary sources suggest that the color of the garment was much more important than the form; it certainly was much more often mentioned as marking an occasion of dignity or of sanctity.³⁰⁸ Yet, although the color is usually called *leukos* and translated "white," I am not at all sure that that translation is always right. To be sure, the word is used of snow, but it also describes the color of gray dust; it means white hair but also silver hair; it is used of "white" gold, or gold mixed with silver, which was probably pale yellow. It also means bright or shining, and so can be used of the sun, light, aether, the shining surface of glassy water, and even a "clear" voice and a happy day.³⁰⁹ The opposite is *melas*, black or dark or dull. When a garment is called *leukos*, accordingly, we know that it was of a light, bright color, but not at all that it was what we would now call white.³¹⁰ The sacred "white linen"

305. *Onomasticon*, VII, 46-61 (ed. Dindorf, 1824, II, 71-75).

306. Amelung, in PW, III, 1899, 2310-2335; 2342-2347; VIII, 1913, 1609-1613, does his best to explain forms of chiton, chlamys, and himation. Miss Bieber (see Abbreviations and above, p. 137, n. 97) cites both literary and representational sources.

307. On the *tribōn* see the articles s.v. by M. Brilliant in DS, V, 414-416, and by E. Schuppe in PW, A XII, 1937, 2415-2419, where detailed evidence is given. The definitions in LS miss the change in meaning which these other scholars demonstrated. That Spartans had worn shabby

and patched clothing as a distinctive form of dress is unlikely, and without evidence.

308. The subject is briefly treated by Karl Mayer, *Die Bedeutung der weissen Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer*, Diss., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1927, 19-28, a section on "Weisse Gewänder."

309. These are the meanings given in LS, with the sense of the bright or shining as primary.

310. My colleague E. L. Bennett told me that the word has still that meaning in Greece. He was asked whether he wanted his brown shoes polished "white or black," and said he wanted the "white," whereupon they were polished a light brown, not dark.

garments, for example, were probably a light yellow. Mayer thinks the light color (which he discusses always as white) actually had its primary value in its being apotropaic, but this his evidence by no means supports. A piece of leukos cloth was said by Plato to be a most suitable votive gift to the gods,³¹¹ where the "light" cloth is definitely contrasted with a dyed cloth and would seem to mean a cloth of the natural color of the wool or linen. The shroud for the chief man of Plato's ideal state must also be "light,"³¹² presumably in the same sense as in the other passage. The proximity of the two statements suggests that the color symbolism was much the same in both cases, and that the "lightness" expressed divine character, a character into which the deceased leader of the community presumably had come.

This conclusion is much strengthened by a passage in Plutarch, in which I keep the "white" of Rose's translation:³¹³

Q. Why do the women, when in mourning, wear white dresses and white kerchiefs?

A. (a) Do they, as the Magi are said to do, take sides against Death and darkness by this action, and assimilate themselves to light and brightness? (b) Or do they consider that as the body of the dead is dressed in white, so the relatives should be? They adorn the body in this manner because they cannot do so to the soul, which they desire to dismiss bright and clean, as one that has now come victorious from a great and complex struggle. (c) Or is frugal simplicity most becoming on such occasions, while dyed garments are some of them expensive, some, mere vanities? For we may say of black, just as truly as of purple, "These be cheating garments and cheating colours." Naturally black (wool) is really dyed, not by art but by nature, being mixed with a preponderance of dusky matter. Only natural white therefore is pure and unmixed, neither stained nor imitable by dyes; it is therefore peculiarly fitting to the dead at burial. For a dead man is become simple, unmixed, pure, in short freed from the ingrained dye of the body. In Argos, Socrates records, they wear white garments, washed in water, when in mourning.

The undyed sheep's wool would certainly not be white in our sense, but by its lightness it represented life as against the darkness of death; the lightness of a soul that had finished the *agōn* of this life, about which we have had such frequent occasions to speak;³¹⁴ the purity of one freed from contamination with the body—that is, moral purity as it was considered in all Platonic tradition. The newly clothed priests and those who worshiped at the shrine of Asclepius at Pergamum,³¹⁵ those who worshiped at Priene³¹⁶ and Andania,³¹⁷ all wore "white" garments, as did mourners in the procession of Aratus³¹⁸ and mourners of the third century before Christ at Gambreion³¹⁹ and of Iulis in Ceos of the fifth century.³²⁰

311. Plato, *Laws*, XII, 956A. Cicero later heartily approved this passage: *De legibus*, II, xvii, 45.

312. Ibid., 947B. Cf. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, IV, xiii, 3: "The Messenians used to carry out their chiefs for burial wearing crowns and dressed in white himatia."

313. Plutarch, *The Roman Questions*, xxvi, as tr. by H. J. Rose, 1924, 131.

314. See above, VII, 134–171.

315. M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*,

1890, I, 36, no. 40 (Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII, 1).

316. See above, p. 165, n. 308.

317. Above, pp. 135 f.

318. Plutarch, *Life of Aratus*, 53.

319. W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3d ed., 1920, III, no. 1219.

320. Ibid., no. 1218. The foregoing references were taken from Mayer, 19–28.

The reader should not misunderstand what I have said about the meaning of leukos: the Egyptian portraits so commonly show really white dress that apparently the Egyptians wanted a costume as near as possible to what we would call white. The Pompeian paintings give the same impression.³²¹ But any light color would do for contrast with dark clothing. We have seen³²² that the white of Lucius' costume of initiation was *candore puro luminosi*, which seemed to make of his dress an adaptation of the "robe of light" of earlier Egypt.

Such continued to be the significance of the robe in early Christian literature. In the transfiguration story Christ's divine nature was manifested to the disciples by the fact that his face shone like the sun, and his garments became white like light.³²³ The "young man" who sat in Jesus' tomb, "dressed in a white robe," as described by Mark xvi, 5, became in Matthew xxviii, 2 f., the angel of the Lord descended from heaven. "His appearance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow." In Luke xxiv, 4, the apparition was of two men in garments "like lightning" or "of lightning." John xx, 12, has them simply two angels in white. The "two men in white" who appeared at the ascension, like Mark's young man, have always been taken to be angels. Simply an allusion to the dazzling garments meant at once "garments of light," and revealed the heavenly nature of those who wore them. So in Revelation iii, 4 f., 15, those who "conquer" in the great *agōn* will walk with Christ in white garments, while in vii, 9-14, we read of the great multitude of the victors in Christ who stand before his throne, wearing garments which they have made white in the blood of the Lamb. Revelation makes so many references to white³²⁴ that even the white horse³²⁵ and the white throne³²⁶ seem likewise to be this supernal light. Paul spoke directly of this change of vesture on two occasions, and made it specifically our changing the garment or tent of flesh in which we now dwell to don a new garment. In the new garment we shall not be "naked," but will be clothed with incorruptibility (*aphtharsia*) or immortality (*athanasia*), two terms for deification, one from philosophy and the other from popular religious parlance. "Behold I tell you a mystery," Paul says as he gets into the heart of this conception, and I surmise the figure was much closer to the symbolism of the new robes in mystery religions than we can ever document. Paul was sure he had received this "victory" from Jesus Christ, as, I judge, Lucius thought he had had a similar victory through donning the robes of Osiris. The Giver has changed, but not, I suspect, the gift.³²⁷ Probably the same idea lies behind I John iii, 2 f.:

321. See above, p. 137.

322. Above, p. 145.

323. Matt. xvii, 2. Mark ix, 3, has the garments a shining white that no fuller could equal; Luke ix, 29, speaks of lightning brilliance in describing garments. All agree that Jesus was changed into a being of light. See Cumont, *Lux*, 429-431.

324. Cf. Rev. iv, 4; vi, 11; xix, 14.

325. Rev. vi, 2; xix, 14. See below, X, 172-175, for the contrast of the white and black horses in the Dura synagogue.

326. Rev. xx, 11.

327. I have freely combined I Cor. xv, 42-57, with II Cor. v, 1-4. The body as a tent appears in

the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel, where the Logos "became flesh and lived in a tent among us," which I can understand only as a hendiadys meaning that the Logos lived in a fleshly tent among us, or as we live. The idea was probably a common one, for Ecphantus says of the king: "He is like the rest of mankind in his earthly tent (*skanos*), inasmuch as he is formed out of the same material; but he is formed by the supreme Artificer, who in making the king used himself as an archetype." The "king" is obviously different from the material tent in which he lives. See my "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies*, I (1928), 76.

It does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he appears we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is. And every one who thus hopes in him purifies himself as he is pure.

With so much on the bright robe of light and purity in the New Testament, the Church inevitably continued the symbolic use of white robes, so that the *Catholic Encyclopedia* in discussing the symbolism of color in vestments, can succinctly say: "White, the symbol of light, typifies innocence and purity, joy and glory."³²⁸ The continuity of this tradition need not here be traced. For example, St. Perpetua in a vision saw the divine pastor "with many thousands of white clad figures standing about him."³²⁹ It may be pointed out, however, that "We shall be like him" is the Christian reinterpretation of the old pagan dream of apotheosis. The pagan value of apotheosis, expressed symbolically in the pagan white robe, was still expressed and affected for Christians by continuing the symbolism of the robe, which was now worn by Christ, God, and his saints alike.

H. JEWISH COSTUME

BEFORE CONCLUDING, even hypothetically, that the costume which has appeared symbolic for pagans and Christians had similar value for Jews, we must look at the records of Jewish costume at the time.

Krauss³³⁰ tells us that the Jews then paid great attention to their clothing, and dressed as richly as their means allowed.³³¹ In particular, the religious and political aristocracies of Palestine took care to show their social importance by their clothing. For example, Josephus tells that shortly before the fall of Jerusalem the Levites persuaded King Agrippa to call a sanhedrin, with instructions to its members to reverse the former law and grant permission to Levites to wear the same linen garments as priests.³³² It is generally presumed that these were white, or at least "light." Jews distinguished between "white" and "colored" garments, with, I suspect, the general meaning of "light" or "dark." White was the garb of joy, of purity, and of social dignity, while colored clothes were left to women, and to men of the lower classes.³³³ God himself, Daniel had said, is clothed in a garment white as snow,³³⁴ while a Psalm says, "Thou coverest thyself with light as with a garment."³³⁵ God appeared to Moses as a flaming bush, and on Sinai as insupportable light and glory, and the light was so transferred to Moses himself that his face also shone.³³⁶ This idea continued in Jewish tradition. God has a face of fire, and the light of the universe at creation

328. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913, IV, 135b.

329. *Passio, SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, iv, 8 (ed. C. van Beek, 1938, 21).

330. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, 1910: "Kleidung und Schmuck," I, 127-207. For this subject see also the rich collection of material in H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus transfiguré*, 1947, 115-129 (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis, XVI).

331. Krauss, 130-136.

332. Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, 216-218 (ix, 6).

333. Krauss, I, 144 f.

334. Dan. vii, 9. Cf. A. Rosenzweig, *Kleidung und Schmuck im biblischen und talmudischen Schriften*, 1905, 38. God has fringes at the corner of his robe: Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 362.

335. Ps. civ, 2.

336. Exod. iii, 2; xix, 16-18; xxiv, 17; xxxiii, 18-23; xxxiv, 29.

was kindled from God's light, while Enoch, who saw this, was himself given a robe of light.³³⁷ The risen righteous and elect will have garments of glory and light,³³⁸ in which they will be like the angels.³³⁹ Krauss sees the white-robed angels of the New Testament, whom we have just discussed, to be a part of the tradition, continued in the Talmud, that angels wear white.³⁴⁰ The garment seems the same as the celestial clothing, that "of light," which the rabbis say Adam originally had, but lost at the Fall, a garment which Gabriel brought to Enoch.³⁴¹

Connected with this, though in what way I cannot say, is the white robe of the rabbi on the Sabbath, for when R. Judah ben Ilai washed himself for the Sabbath and sat in his fringed linen robes he "was like an angel of the Lord of Hosts."³⁴² Blau said that the rabbis, like the philosophers, had a distinctive mantle, but that we do not know what it was.³⁴³ I strongly suspect that R. Judah ben Ilai has given us the hint: it was a white or light dress much like those we have been discussing, a robe of holiness which the Essenes also took over. For we know that the Essenes gave a white robe to each new member as a mark of his final entry into the order—that is, upon his initiation—and that thereafter he wore white always.³⁴⁴ Herein the Qumran community probably resembled the Essenes, for members of the community called themselves "sons of light," in anticipation of heaven where, in a life of eternity, they would wear "a crown of glory and a raiment of majesty in everlasting light."³⁴⁵ The community could also have had no more fitting mark of their dedication and hope than to wear white robes in this life. For their dress we have no such evidence, however, as for the Essenes. But the Jewish tradition that angels wore white is early witnessed by the Testament of Levi,³⁴⁶ who "saw [in a dream] some men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of priesthood," etc. He was thus invested by seven heavenly figures, a conception that seems to me reflected in the scene of the anointing of David at Dura, plate VII.

The convention of the sanctity of the white-robed figure may have been very old. We most obviously think of it in connection with the high priest who took off his official garments on the Day of Atonement and went into the Holy of Holies wearing only a white linen ephod,³⁴⁷ a garment that seems to have been the robe of light, at least in later interpretation.³⁴⁸ We must also note that Samuel as a boy wore a "linen ephod,"³⁴⁹ as did David when he danced before the ark,³⁵⁰ in both cases probably the same garment the high priest

337. II Enoch xxii-xxv.

338. I Enoch lxii, 15; cviii, 12; cf. v, 6 f.; xiv, 18-21.

339. Ibid. lxxi, 1; lxxxvii, 2; xc, 21 f., 31.

340. Krauss, I, 550, n. 212.

341. Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 79, 135, 139; V, 103, n. 93.

342. *BT, Shabbath*, 25b (ET, I, 111).

343. L. Blau in *HUCA*, III (1926), 210.

344. Josephus, *Jewish War*, II, 123, 137 (viii, 3 and 7).

345. The Manual of Discipline, as published by

M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1955, 375.

346. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Levi, viii, 2. See above, VII, 169.

347. Exod. xxviii, 4; Lev. xvi, 4.

348. It is to this aspect of the problem that Riesenfeld, 115-129, has made especially rich contribution.

349. I Sam. ii, 18 f. See the remarks on the articles of clothing by K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, 1902, 20 (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, VIII).

350. II Sam. vi, 14.

wore when he entered the Holy of Holies. Each year Samuel's mother made for him in addition a little *me'il*.³⁵¹ It was in this latter robe that he was still dressed when he appeared from the grave to the witch of Endor.³⁵² As such he looked like God to her, or a god.³⁵³ Josephus expanded the sentence to say that Samuel appeared to her "distinguished and of divine majesty (*theoprepēs*)," so that she reported that he had a "form like God."³⁵⁴ The Septuagint reads "gods," and is best expounded in the Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo:³⁵⁵

"what is his form (*species*)?" And she said: "Thou inquirest of me concerning the gods. For behold his form is not the form of a man. For he is arrayed in a white robe (*stola*), and has a mantle (*diplois*) wrapped around it, and two angels lead him." And Saul recalled the *diplois*³⁵⁶ that Samuel had rent when Samuel saw him.

Here the Septuagint plural, "gods," is interpreted to mean Samuel accompanied by two angels, and the clothing is distinctly understood to be the "white" chiton and himation. Pseudo-Philo seems to have taken the *stola* to be the long Greek chiton, for on it he says the *diplois* is draped; and the *diplois*, which the Septuagint here uses to translate *me'il*,³⁵⁷ seems to be an abbreviation of the *tribōn diplous*, a form of the philosopher's *tribōn*.³⁵⁸

Whatever the original form and significance of the *me'il*, therefore, it would appear that by the time the Septuagint translation of I Samuel was made, the garments of Samuel, which made him look like God, or a god, were already associated with the Greek dress of sanctity we are investigating. We may suppose that at least Josephus and Pseudo-Philo envisaged Samuel as wearing this dress. If anyone were to represent the incident in an illumination for the Greek text, he would inevitably have represented Samuel (with or without the two angels) in the Greek robe, and would have done so fully convinced that Samuel actually wore such clothing in life and death. That Samuel should be painted as he is in Dura, plate VII, accordingly, seems not only natural but inevitable. It may be that this passage was the bridge over which the white wardrobe of the Jewish saints was carried from paganism to Jewish art. If Samuel was thus dressed, it is very possible that other Jewish heroes would be put into these garments, and so shown to be "in the form of God."

351. Cf. Exod. xxviii, 4.

352. I Sam. xxviii, 13 f.

353. On how Elohim is to be understood here commentators disagree: see Budde, 181. The AV translates "gods"; ARV "a god"; P. Ketter, *Die Samuelbücher*, 1940, 172; cf. 175 f., "gottähnliches Geistwesen" (Die Heilige Schrift für das Leben erklärt, III, i).

354. Josephus, *Antiquities*, vi, 332 f. (xiv, 2). Marcus properly translates that Samuel looked to the witch as *ho theos*, which can only mean "God."

355. Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, LXIV, 6; ed. G. Kisch, 1949, 269 (Publications in Medieval Studies, University of Notre Dame, X).

356. I Sam. xv, 27 (LXX).

357. This is true not only here but in I Sam. ii, 19; xv, 27. It also translates the *me'il* as the robe of Saul in I Sam. xxiv, 5, 12. But *me'il* has other translations: I Sam. xviii, 4; Job i, 20; ii, 12.

358. In their studies of the *tribōn* (see above, n. 307) both Brilliant and Schuppe recall that the *tribōn*, the commonest term for the himation of the philosophers, was often worn "doubled over." The Cynics especially wore the *tribōn*, and Diogenes, a Cynic, is the only pagan I can find who wore the *diplois*: *Greek Anthology*, vii, 65 (Loeb ed., II, 39 f.).

The "bridge," however, may have been less the convenient passages about the dress of Samuel ³⁵⁹ than a general adopting of the robe by Jews other than Essenes. For there is some reason to suppose that this dress was commonly seen in Jerusalem as the garb of Scribes and Pharisees. Our evidence is late, indeed the fourth century; I have not seen Epiphanius' remarks on Palestinian clothing at the time of Jews considered in discussions of the subject. He says in commenting upon Matthew xxiii, 5: ³⁶⁰

They [the Scribes] had certain "borders" (*kraspeda*) ³⁶¹ as tokens of their citizenship (*politeia*), alike to show their pride and to win the commendation of those who saw them. And they put "phylacteries" ³⁶² upon their himations, that is broad purple stripes (or marks, *sēmata*). Now one must not think, because in the Gospel they are given this name, that the reference is to amulets (*periapta*, lit., amulets of the type bound around) since some people are used to understanding "phylacteries" [in the Gospel] as amulets of this kind. The account has no reference to this sort of thing. But since these people dressed in outer garments of the type of *ampechonai* ³⁶³ and dalmatics of the type of colobia, adorned with broad stripes ³⁶⁴ of purple made of purple cloth, those who were most accurate were accustomed to call the stripes of purple "phylacteries," and for this reason the Lord called them "phylacteries" as worn by these men. What follows makes clear the meaning of the words, "and the borders of their cloaks." For he [the Lord] said "borders (*kraspeda*) in the definite sense of fringes (*krossoi*), and "phylacteries" in the sense of the stripes of purple, when he said "Ye make broad your phylacteries and deep the fringes on your cloaks." And each of them wore certain tassels at the four corners of the cloak (*tribōn*), ³⁶⁵ attached to the cloak by being extensions of the warp itself, ³⁶⁶ during the time when they were fasting or living as virgins. For as each man appointed for himself a time of holiness or discipline, so these were their tokens to be seen of men by which they made it known that no one should touch them while they were sanctifying themselves.

In the next section Epiphanius says of the dress of the Pharisees:

They outdid the scribes in the above described dress (*schēma*), that is in the *ampechonē* and other articles of dress and in their effeminate himatia, going beyond them in their broad high boots (*en plateiais tais krēpisin*) and in the lacing of their boots (*hupodēmata*).

Epiphanius seems to have had amazingly detailed information about the dress of the religious aristocracy of Judaism at the time of Jesus. His account tallies so perfectly with

359. The special power of the mantle of the prophet has no such tradition of color and form in the Bible, but that the "virtue" of the prophet was in his mantle appears in Elijah's leaving it for Elisha: II Kings ii, 8-14.

360. *Panarion*, xv, i, 3-7; ed. K. Holl, I, 209 (GCS, XXV).

361. Cf. Matt. ix, 20, where the woman touches the "border" of Jesus' garment.

362. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, loc. cit.

363. *Ampechone* is a variant of *ampechonon*, which

Mau, PW, I, s.v., describes as a cloak (*periblōma*) of great size: "In the temple inventory of Diana Brauronia it is distinguished from the himation, but the distinction between the two is not known."

364. *Platusēma*, the word most used in Greek for the *latus clavus*.

365. The confusion of the *ampechonē* with the *tribōn* is noteworthy. Sharp distinctions in terms cannot be made.

366. Such tassels, made in exactly this way, are shown in the Dura paintings, figs. 324, 326, etc.

the Dura paintings that if he had had them before him he could not have given a more accurate description of the costume. Perhaps the most striking feature of this passage is Epiphanius' description of the shoes, for the type he mentions, the laced *krēpis* or *hupodēma*, was called by the Romans the *calceus*, and such boots distinguished the Roman patrician or senator, though occasionally they are found in the provinces upon representations of Roman officials of lesser dignity. In the Dura paintings men clothed in the white robe wear sandals, but the boots are twice shown beside Moses as he stands barefoot before the Lord. All the details—*ampechonē*, *colobium*, himation, stripes, tassels, fringes, and boots, as Epiphanius describes them—correspond perfectly to the dress of the chief figures in the Dura paintings. Epiphanius characterizes the garb as effeminate because the effeminacy of the *ampechonē* was proverbial, and an *ampechonē* with fringes and tassels would all the more merit the scorn of both Greeks and Romans. When he distinguishes the “phylacteries,” as stripes or marks of purple cloth appliqué, from the *periapta* with which many were associating the word, it is quite likely that the original meaning of “phylacteries” was already being forgotten, and that the tradition had begun of identifying the “phylacteries” with the tefillin, the little box with scriptural quotations bound to the forehead worn by Jews in prayer, a tradition still reproduced in all commentaries with the confidence of repetition. Epiphanius obviously had definite information, but from what source, and how reliable was it?

Unfortunately we have no way of answering the question. Epiphanius as a historian does not have the standing of Eusebius or Hippolytus, and he not only used poor sources uncritically but seems not to have been averse to filling in gaps from his imagination.³⁶⁷ His explanation of the phylacteries as stripes rather than tefillin, however, makes sense, since there is a definite limit to the size of tefillin—the limit of the breadth of one's forehead—and that the reference should be to stripes is inherently quite plausible. Still Epiphanius may have been drawing not upon an ancient and reliable source but upon illustrations in some one of the now lost, and so to us still hypothetical, illustrated texts from hellenized Jews. His description of the costumes, even to the shoes, makes it highly unlikely that he was here improvising as he wrote. I should myself guess that he was right, that Jews took over the sacred white costume with its stripes, not only for biblical illustration, as Dura shows, and not only for actual dress in the Dead Sea communities, but also for a mark of their piety by Scribes and Pharisees.

Such a conclusion must, of course, be subject to evidence on dress in rabbinic writings. This was fortunately collected by Krauss, and we find that as with other evidence much

367. The best discussions of the sources of Epiphanius are still: R. Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius*, 1865; idem, in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 1880, II, 149–156. Lipsius here, pp. 152 f., calls him “an honest but credulous and narrow minded zealot,” and speaks of his collecting “a large but ill-arranged store of historical information.” He adds, “His communications concern-

ing the various Jewish sects are for the most part worthless,” but they seem to me to be like his records of Jewish-Christian and Gnostic sects, in “exhibiting a marvellous mixture of valuable traditions with misunderstandings and fancies of his own.” See also A. Hilgenfeld, *Judenthum und Judenchristenthum*, 1886, who discusses the passages on the dress of the Scribes and Pharisees on p. 72.

of it supports our conclusion, and nothing that I can find discredits it, although nothing definitely "proves" it. We have already mentioned the angelic resplendence of Rabbi Judah in his white garments.³⁶⁸ Rabbinical Hebrew and Aramaic had many words for different sort of clothing, but the influence of Greek civilization was such that the Tannaim themselves borrowed and transliterated the Greek word *colobium*, explaining it as a sort of dalmatic, a word they also transliterated.³⁶⁹ To these words, which seem to have been used for the undergarment we here ordinarily call the chiton, corresponded an outer garment, called, among other names, the pallium—a word likewise transliterated. This mantle, more usually called the *tallith*, carried the tassels of piety.³⁷⁰ The Aramaic word for ornament on clothing came to have as a variant a transliteration of the Greek word for purple stripes, or for a garment trimmed with such stripes, *periporphuros*,³⁷¹ and Krauss tells us that the rabbis were careful so to arrange their clothing that its ornament would be visible,³⁷² another detail which recalls the carefully shown ornament on the garments of the Dura synagogue. It then becomes significant that the word for such ornament was also transliterated by the rabbis, and became *gam*, used several times for ornament in clothing. The great Babylonian scholar of the eleventh century, Hai Gaon, explained the *gam* as the Greek gamma, and described it as "a piece of fine stuff, like purple cloth, sewn on a seam."³⁷³

Only one hypothesis seems to me to account for all these facts: the Jews—not only the Essenes and Qumran sects, but the learned and distinguished rabbinic Jews—borrowed this robe, borrowed it in such a way that it kept its pagan value as the dress of piety, even of divinity; but by adding fringes and tassels, they made it the dress of Jewish piety. Indeed Blaufuss suggested, on the basis of a statement in the Tosefta to the *Abodah Zarah*, that the Jewish white robe of the time not only was the robe of Isis but often still had on it for Jews the moon and stars of Isis symbolism.³⁷⁴ Without any evidence but his profound knowledge of antiquity, Lidzbarski suggested that the white robe still worn by the head of an orthodox Jewish household on especially festal occasions is a survival of the ancient usage, pagan as well as Jewish, of such garments. A pious Jew will be clothed in that robe when he is buried, "so that he may appear white before God."³⁷⁵

In short, the Greek robe seems to have been treated like all the other borrowed symbols we have been considering. Originally the robe of philosophic mystical piety, the robe of Osiris, it was borrowed by Jews, but could no more be the robe of Osiris for them than it was for Christians when they put it on their saints. In Christianity, like the halo, it marked divine, or supernal, holiness in heaven or on earth. For Jews it seems to have

368. See above, p. 169.

369. S. Schemel, *Die Kleidung der Juden im Zeitalter der Mischnah*, Diss., Berlin, 1912, 28, n. 4. The meaning of these words seems to have changed with different times and places.

370. Ibid., 36, n. 2; cf. Krauss, I, 167; Rosenzweig, 64.

371. Krauss, I, 163 f.

372. Ibid., 589, n. 439.

373. Ibid., 596, n. 499.

374. H. Blaufuss, *Götter, Bilder und Symbole nach den Traktaten über fremden Dienst (Aboda zara) in Mischna, Tosefta, Jerusalemer und babylonischem Talmud*, 1910, 30, 44 (Jahresbericht des K. Neuen Gymnasiums in Nürnberg für das Schuljahr 1909–10, Suppl.).

375. M. Lidzbarski, *Auf rauhem Wege*, 1927, 43.

meant much the same in terms of Jewish holiness. When used in the synagogue as the garb of the great heroes, it suggests that the heroes—Moses, Jacob, Elijah, Samuel, to name only a few—by their having this robe in contrast to those beside them are marked as people of a distinctively holy character. When others whom we cannot so easily identify are put into the same dress, we must be careful before concluding that they are merely bystanders, let alone the accursed prophets of Baal.

At this stage I do not draw firm conclusions. But the tradition of symbolic dress in the period has shown new possibilities of interpreting the paintings. The conclusions of this chapter, I repeat, must be taken as only hypotheses. We have, I believe, found an objective approach to the dress of individuals in the paintings of the synagogue, but whether the conclusions from general use in the period can be used as a basis for interpreting the Jewish paintings does not yet appear. As we go into an examination of the paintings, we shall see whether our hypothesis of the meaning of the robe helps consistently to explain their significance.³⁷⁶

376. Just as my proofs were released for printing I received a new book, F.-N. Klein, *Die Lichtterminologie bei Philon von Alexandrien und in den hermetischen Schriften, Untersuchungen zur Struktur der religiösen Sprache der hellenistischen Mystik*, Leiden, 1962. On pp. 61–65 Klein discusses “Das Lichtkleid als

Symbol des Besitzes göttlichen Lichtes,” and comes to much the point of view I have expressed above, but of course on the basis of relatively little material. He does not use archeological sources, has not seen the volumes of this series, and contributes little that is new on the whole subject.