

ANNA MUTHESIUS

Textiles and Dress in Byzantium

Textiles and dress in Byzantium reflect much about Byzantine civilisation. They act as a rich medium for the exploration of power systems in relation to social structures across the elite, as well as the ‘middling’ craft and professions-based sectors of Byzantine society. In Byzantium, signifying systems were constructed around cloth types and tailored cuts, and these systems assumed the role of hierarchical social signifiers. At the same time, the development of elaborate ceremonial and/or ritual display of the most precious of these fabrics, costumes, ecclesiastical furnishings and vestments¹, offered a public arena for the demarcation of boundaries between church and state, and between state and society in Byzantium. On a more private and personal level, textiles and dress served as symbols of both material and of spiritual well-being. ‘Outward appearance’ in relation to private and to public identity, and within open and closed spaces, definitely mattered in Byzantium. The purpose of this paper is to ask why. The research method applied is that of inter-disciplinary Byzantine textile history, and this is characterised by the combination of technical data drawn from the surviving textiles, with evidence gathered from documentary sources, pictorial as well as written².

TEXTILES AND DRESS AS A SIGNIFYING SYSTEM

Between the fourth and the tenth centuries, elaborate associations of power, prestige, and hierarchy were built up around the use of precious silks by the Imperial house³. Imperial silk also became a tool for putting administrative, civil, military and ecclesiastical systems into order. Highly developed forms of suitably tailored court attire, and correspondingly splendid tailored uniforms of silks, linen, cotton, and wool distinguished members of the Imperial court, the civil service, the military service, and the professional hierarchy⁴. These robes acted as a badge of office, and at the highest level, with the bestowal of silk Imperial robes of office, it is reasonable to suggest, went the transfer of power and authority⁵. John Chrysostom, Justinian (CJC), Sophronios of Jerusalem, and Symeon Metaphrastes variously describe the use of uniforms, and they indicated that uniforms served to distinguish the ordinary citizen from the military and the professional sectors of society⁶. In court, the judges wore a special uniform, and this Ibn Battuta likened to a thick, black wool-

¹ For surviving silks, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving, AD 400 to AD 1200*. Vienna 1997.

² An explanation of this method is found in A. MUTHESIUS, *Crossing Traditional Boundaries: Grub to Glamour in Byzantine Silk Weaving*. *BMGS* 15 (1991) 326–64 (Reprint in EADEM, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*. London 1995, 173–200).

³ For court ceremonial in general, see *Byzantine Court Culture*, ed. H. MAGUIRE. Washington 1997, section on Imperial Costumes and Cult objects, in particular, E. PILTZ, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume* (39–51). Earlier, see P. CANARD, *Le Cérémonial Fatimite et le Cérémonial Byzantine*. *Byz* 21 (1951) 355–420. See three papers by the present author: *Silk in Byzantium*. Inaugural Professorial lecture, Surrey Institute of Art and Design, University College, March 1997; *The Cult of Imperial and Ecclesiastical Silks in Byzantium*. *Textile History* 32/1 (2001) 36–47 and *Courtly and aristocratic patronage and the uses of silk in Byzantium*. Paper read at University of Nicosia, January 1997 (First publication of papers one and three, and reprint of the second in EADEM, *Studies in Silk in Byzantium*. London 2004, chapters I, II and V, respectively).

⁴ Ph. KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios kai Politismos*, II/2. Athens 1949, 5–59.

⁵ For the concept of a ‘robe of honour’ consider the woollen mantle presented by John Kantakuzenos, see Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia rhomaïke* XII 8 (II 600 SCHOPEN).

⁶ John Chrysostomos, *De Lazaro Concio* VI. *PG* 48, 1035; Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Narratio miraculorum ss. Cyri et Johannis* I 13 (246 FERNANDEZ MARCOS or *PG* 87/3, 3428); Dig. 12.39; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Acacii Cappadocis*. *PG* 115, 236.

len monastic habit⁷. The wills of provincial magnates, such as Gregory Pakurianos⁸ and Michael Attaliates⁹, indicate that silk military tunics, originally presented as Imperial gifts, might later be recycled for use as altar cloths in their private religious foundations.

The Kletorologion of Philotheos dated 899¹⁰, the tenth century compilation known as the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine VII¹¹, and the fourteenth century Treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos¹², describe a marvellously rich and varied selection of court costumes. According to the Book of Ceremonies, the Emperors wore the *chlamys* or mantle, which was adorned with a panel called *tablion*, over different types of tunic, the *skaramangion* and *sagion*¹³. The *loros* or long heavy scarf was wound across the body and hung down in front as an Imperial insignium¹⁴. Other garments mentioned include the *divition*¹⁵, *tzitzakion*¹⁶, and *kolobion*¹⁷, all tunics. The *tzitzakion* was based upon ancient Khazar costume from the time of the Emperor Constantine V, who had married a Khazar princess¹⁸. The simplest non-parade costume was worn as a sign of humility on Easter Thursday¹⁹. The significant thing about the court costumes is the symbolic pairing and tripling of different items, in a strictly regulated order and colour coding, to serve for key feasts, liturgical celebrations, and Imperial rituals. The golden *chlamys* was used for the funeral of an Emperor²⁰, whereas the scarlet *chlamys* was worn for the acclamation of the demes²¹. Purple marks the feasts of the Ascension, of Orthodoxy, and of the Presentation and the Dormition, the coronation and the birthday of the Emperor²². Also there was use of the golden *loros* by ‘twelve dignitaries’ during Easter²³. The very rich purple *chlamys* of Tyre was worn by the *kouropalates* at his promotion, and the *chlamys* made of silk of purple of Tyre, with green yellow medallions, was worn by senior dignitaries at Christmas²⁴. In Pseudo-Kodinos, the significance of colour is also clear with each rank and office assigned its own particular colour code²⁵. Many other costumes are mentioned including the linen *sabanion* tunic of the protospatharian eunuchs²⁶ The eparch on the occasion of his promo-

⁷ For special court uniforms, see John Chrystomos, In Acta apostolorum homilia XVI. PG 60, 127. For the report of Ibn Battuta, see The Travels of Ibn Battuta 1325–1354, ed. H. A. GIBB, I–II. Cambridge 1962, II 506 and 514, for silk, linen and wool robes, cf. KOUKOULES, *op. cit.* 14.

⁸ For Gregory Pakourianos, see P. GAUTIER, Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos. REB 42 (1984) 5–145; P. LEMERLE, Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin. Paris 1977, 115–91. A. CHANDIZÉ, Le grand domestique de l’occident, Gregorii Bakurianis-dzé et le monastère géorgien fondé par lui en Bulgarie. Bedi Kartlisa 28 (1971) 133–66.

⁹ For Michael Attaliates, see P. GAUTIER, La Diataxis de Michel Attaliat. REB 39 (1981) 5–143; LEMERLE, Cinq études 65–112.

¹⁰ Kletorologion of Philotheos, ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de préséance byzantines du IX^e et X^e siècles. Paris 1972, 165–235.

¹¹ De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae, ed. J. J. REISKE, I–II. Bonn 1829–1830. Le Livre des cérémonies, ed. A. VOGT. Paris 1935–1940. ODB I 595–7.

¹² Traité des offices, ed. J. VERPEAUX. Paris 1966.

¹³ De Cerimoniis I 46 and I 69 (I 175, II 84 VOGT). For Imperial vestiture, consult J. EBERSOLT, Les vêtements impériaux dans le cérémonial, in: Mélanges d’Histoire et d’Archéologie Byzantines. Paris 1917, 50–69. ODB I 538–40. See also tunic (ODB III 2127–8), skaramangion (ODB III 1908–9), and kabbadion (ODB II 1088). Further see PILTZ, Court Costume (note 3) and EADEM, Le costume officiel des dignitaires byzantins à l’époque Paléologue (Acta universitatis upsaliensis, n.s. 26). Uppsala 1994.

¹⁴ On the loros, see E. PILTZ in RbK III 428–44, and K. WESSEL, *ibidem* 480–3. Also, E. CONDURACHI, Sur l’origine et l’évolution du loros impérial. Arta si arkeologia 11–12 (1935–1936) 37–45. Cf. ODB II 1251–2.

¹⁵ On this garment, see ODB I 639.

¹⁶ For the tzitzakion, see PILTZ, Court Costume 42.

¹⁷ For the kolobion, see PILTZ, Court Costume 43.

¹⁸ De Cerimoniis I 1 (I 22 REISKE, cf. I 17 VOGT).

¹⁹ De Cerimoniis I 178 (I 166 VOGT).

²⁰ *Ibidem* I 60 (II 84 VOGT).

²¹ *Ibidem* I 53 (II 36 VOGT).

²² *Ibidem* I 38 (Coronation, II 1 VOGT); I 37 (Sunday of Orthodoxy, I 145 VOGT); I 46 (Presentation and Ascension, I 178, 176 VOGT).

²³ *Ibidem* I 24 (I 18 VOGT).

²⁴ *Ibidem* I 32 (I 119 VOGT).

²⁵ See A. GRABAR, Pseudo Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XIV^e siècle, in: Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Venice 1971, 193–221. Cf. J. VERPEAUX, Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues. TM 1 (1965) 421–37. With regard to colour terminology and symbolism, see the paper of B. Popovic in the present publication.

²⁶ De Cerimoniis I 58 (II 61 VOGT).

tion wore the *kamision*, *pelonion*, and the *loros*²⁷. The *kamision* was also worn at the time of his promotion, so that this may have been a particular sign of his office²⁸.

Only the detailed listing of all the costume types and colours, and the occasions on which they were worn, will provide a full picture of the Imperial colour codes in operation. In general brightness rather than colour contrast seems to be emphasised in Byzantine sources²⁹. In relation to extant silks, one observes a move to monochrome and less ostentatious colour contrasts in the tenth to eleventh centuries, away from the bold, strong colour juxtapositions of the eighth to ninth centuries³⁰. The use of monochrome off-whites and pale yellows, olive greens, and deep blue purples may have been influenced by the use of monochrome colour codes, white and black respectively, in the Fatimid and the Abbasid courts³¹.

Another documentary source which details tailored Imperial silks is the Book of the Eparch³², and there, as well as in the Baggage Train account attached to the Book of Ceremonies³³, much of the textile and tailoring terminology proves to have no parallels in the surviving Byzantine sources. Scholars have guessed the meaning of terms with only the most tenuous of links. Time does not allow for discussion of individual terms such as *prasinodiblatta megaloxela*³⁴ but what must be noted is the undoubtedly complex language of Byzantine textile production.

Three practical categories of names may be applied to cloths: that is technical, trade, and brand names, and these exist quite apart from literary names, and also liturgically influenced textile terms³⁵. Literary scholars and historians have vastly simplified the problem in their attempts to provide interpretations of Byzantine textile terminology. The technical and trade names may or may not overlap and the brand names may or may not reflect the provenance or the quality. The technical names generally reflect the ratio of the warp to weft threads, and the trade names may refer to both weaving type and provenance when a particular weave has been taken over by a specific geographical location. These textile languages bear no relationship to the languages of common usage, and it is of no use searching for parallels in official documents or in everyday sources.

The terminology used in relation to Italian silk textiles, has been analysed by Donald King, former Keeper of Textiles of the Victoria and Albert Museum³⁶. Sophie Desrosiers has taken the term 'draps d'aresté' originally surveyed by King, and she has gathered several hundred extant examples³⁷. Her studies have dem-

²⁷ *Ibidem* I 61 (II 70 VOGT). The *kamision* was also worn by the *spatharokubikoularioi* (I 10) (I 73 VOGT) and by officials of the Imperial bedchamber (I 26 and I 31) (I 92 and I 116 VOGT).

²⁸ *Ibidem* I 53 (II 70 VOGT).

²⁹ L. JAMES, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*. Oxford 1996.

³⁰ MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, chapter VII (polychrome silks, 65–79) and chapter IX (monochrome silks, 85–93).

³¹ See CANARD, *Cérémonial Fatemite*. On Abbasid court attire, see M. M. AHSAN, *Social Life under the Abbasids*. 786–902 A.D. London 1979, chapter 2 (Costume, 29–75).

³² J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (CFHB 33). Wien 1991.

³³ J. F. HALDON, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*. Three treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions (CFHB 28). Wien 1990.

³⁴ Eparchenbuch 8.1. (102 KODER).

³⁵ On technical names, see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 151–7 with diagrams on Plate 1. For trade (commercial) names in later Byzantine sources, consider the use of the Italian *camucas*. On this and other Italian terms, see D. KING, *Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376*, in: *Opera Textilia variorum temporum* to honour Agnes Geijer on her ninetieth birthday 26 October 1988, ed. I. ESTHAM – M. NOCKART. Stockholm 1988, 67–77. See also L. MONNAS, *Textiles for the coronation of Edward III*. *Textile History* 32/1 (2001) 2–35, and on *camacas* (English spelling) in particular, 7–9. Some Latin textile trade names have been identified with specific techniques from the evidence of surviving silks. See D. KING, *Two Medieval Textile Terms 'draps d'ache', 'draps de l'arrest'*, for example. *CIETA Bulletin* 27 (1968) 26–9. Technical and commercial names have to be distinguished from each other. See E. HARDOUIN-FUGIER – B. BERTHOD – M. CHAVENT-FUSARO, *Les Étoffes*. Dictionnaire historique. Paris 1994, 16–9. Branding occurred in connection with prestige attached to special place of manufacture. Consider the seal of the Eparch: Eparchenbuch 8.1 (102 KODER). – In the Islamic world, Spanish silks were inscribed, 'Made in Baghdad', probably for commercial profit, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 88–9 and note 33. Cf. H. E. ELSBERG – R. GUEST, *Another silk weave at Baghdad*. *Burlington Magazine* 64 (1934) 270–2, esp. 271; D. SHEPHERD, *The Hispano-Islamic Silks*. Textiles in the Cooper Union Collection. *Chronicle of the Museum for the art of decoration of the Cooper Union* 10 (1943) 355–440; F. E. DAY, *The inscription of the Boston Baghdad silk, a note on epigraphy*. *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954) 191–4.

³⁶ See KING, *Lucca*.

³⁷ S. DESROSIERS, *Cloth of Aresta*, in: *Ancient and medieval textile history in honour of Donald King* (= *Textile History* 20, 1989). Leeds 2001, 135–49. More recently by the same author, see *Draps d'aresté*. Extension de la classification, comparaisons et lieux de fabrication. *Techniques and Culture* 34 (1999) 89–119.

onstrated that the same terminology may cover many variations on a common technical theme, in this case a broken and/or chevron, or a plain twill. She has also indicated that these textiles, originally assigned only to Spain in the thirteenth century, were probably also woven in France³⁸. This illustrates only some of the possible pitfalls facing Byzantine documentary historians dealing with the translation of textile terminology. Only the painstaking and first-hand examination of all surviving materials and the thorough knowledge of weaving techniques, in conjunction with analysis of documented textile terms, can serve as adequate method for translation of textile terms³⁹.

Less of a problem are the more general terms used for clothing, some of which remain part of the modern Greek language. These include *roucha*, *phoresia*, *stole*, *allage* and *allaximo*⁴⁰. Categories of clothing are also fairly well understood. Niketas Choniates, for example, spoke of *roucha kala*⁴¹.

THE VERTICAL AND THE HORIZONTAL AXIS IN DRESS AND CLOTHING

The lengthy discussion of sumptuous court costume, together with the presentation of the pictorial evidence from Imperial manuscripts, suggests the tremendous visual impact that such sumptuous display must have had in Byzantium. The public religious ceremonies between churches of the Capital, as well as victory parades and other celebrations, brought this finery into open view⁴². It was essential that the contrast between the clothing of the court, and that of the ordinary, the trade/craft based, and the professionally orientated citizen, should appear extreme. This was the means by which to maintain order and to create a social balance between the élite, and the ‘middling’ sectors of Byzantine society. In a society where authority was expressed vertically, from the court downwards, the broad horizontal spectrum of society, might well have been rendered speechless by ostentatious display⁴³. It was also significant that the use of sumptuous and precious cloths became usual in ecclesiastical settings. Many of the most precious furnishings and vestments, designed to reflect the Glory of God, were the gifts of the Emperors themselves⁴⁴.

Documentary sources, and surviving archaeological textiles from Byzantine period sites in Syria and Palestine, indicate the types of cloths and costumes worn by the ordinary citizens of Byzantium⁴⁵. Linens, woolens, cottons, and mixed fabrics (linen and cotton, or silk or wool mixtures), and animal hair fabrics (goat, camel and rabbit), are both described and survive⁴⁶. Asterios of Amasia reported that linens were imported from Bulgaria, Egypt and the region of the Pontos. He also recorded silk and cotton from Caesarea. According to him, ‘God gave us linen for greater pleasure in the summer’⁴⁷. Fine silk and linen textiles, are described by Gregory the Theologian⁴⁸ and the term *aerina hyphasmata* is used by him. The tenth century Book of the

³⁸ See brocade, twill, broken twill, chevron twill, tabby, damask, tapestry, velvet, satin etc. in: Centre International d’Études des Textiles Anciens. Lyon 1964, vocabulary.

³⁹ There is a tendency for Byzantine historians to ignore technical factors. D. JACOBY, Silk in Western Byzantium. *BZ* 84/85 (1991/1992) 452–500, confuses brocading and embroidery, and treats dye and weave terminology in a superficial way, with a total absence of reference to (or knowledge of) surviving silks. This may lead to conclusions which do not concur with what survives.

⁴⁰ KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 20 and note 6; 21 and notes 2, 3, 5, 11–13.

⁴¹ Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 577 (VAN DIETEN).

⁴² See I. KALAVREZOU, Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court, in: *Byzantine Court Culture* (as note 3) 53–80, with reference to bibliography dealing with specific feasts in the footnotes. See also note 11 above.

⁴³ For an account of one type of military procession, on which occasion both victorious and vanquished received special uniforms, see A. A. VASILIEV, Harun Ibn Yahya and his description of Constantinople. *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932) 149–63.

⁴⁴ For instance, the altar cloth at Haghia Sophia, a gift of Emperor Justinian, upon which not only Christ’s miracles but also the Emperor’s good deeds were shown, see Paulus Silentarius, *Ekphrasis tou naou tes Hagias Sophias*, in P. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit*. Leipzig-Berlin 1912 (Reprint Hildesheim–New York 1969) 755, cited by C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents*. New Jersey 1972, 88–9.

⁴⁵ See special issue on mediæval textiles, *Textile History* 32/1 (2001), especially the articles by A. BAGINSKI, Later Islamic and Medieval Textiles from Excavation of the Israeli Antiquities Authority (81–92) and O. SHAMIR, Byzantine and Early Islamic Textiles excavated in Israel (93–105). For textiles excavated in Syria, see A. SCHMIDT-COLINET – A. STAUFFER – K. AL-AS ‘AD, *Die Textilien aus Palmyra*. Mainz 2000.

⁴⁶ KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 22 and notes 8 and 9.

⁴⁷ Asterios of Amaseia, *Homilia* I 2 (8 DATEMA). Source discussed by KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 22, note 12.

⁴⁸ Gregory the Theologian, *Oratio* VIII 799 (264–5 CALVET-SEBASTI = SC 405).

Eparch includes regulations for linen manufacture, and there a transparent form of linen is noted as being manufactured by the private linen guild of Constantinople⁴⁹. The textile guilds deal with various stages of the processing of raw silk, and of the weaving, dyeing, tailoring and retailing of Constantinopolitan silks, and manufacture of linen⁵⁰. There are also guilds of retailers of non-Byzantine, and of imported (Syrian and Cilian) tailored garments in tenth century Constantinople⁵¹.

The lustre of what is presumably bombyx mori domesticated silk is given the term *lampsin metaxes*. In connection with the shine of fine goat's hair⁵², wild as well as cultivated silk is known. Wild silk cloth is described by Constantine VII as *imatia koukoularika*⁵³. Prodomos mentions linens and silks, and linens with gold thread, *linochrysa*, are mentioned by Theophanes⁵⁴. Eustathios of Thessalonica reveals cloths, which were characterised by their use of gold and silver threads (*argyra kai chrysa nemata*)⁵⁵. Cloths using metal wires were given the name *symanteina* or *symakezika*⁵⁶. Some were entirely of gold (*holou chryshyphanta*) woven cloths, others were called *diachrysa* or *chrysopaston*, which seem to me to be technical terms, and not necessarily merely designations for part gold cloths as has been suggested⁵⁷. The use of gold threads takes different forms according to the types of threads used, and whether or not gold wire or gold foil twisted upon a silk or linen core is employed⁵⁸. The gold may also be overside (or surface) couched embroidery, or it may be woven with a brocading weft⁵⁹. Once again translators of textile terminology need to refer closely to the evidence of the surviving gold textiles.

Archaeological textiles reveal the range and qualities of linen, woollen, silk, cotton, and animal hair fabrics available to Byzantine society in the early period⁶⁰. Later sources, collected together by Matschke for Thessalonica in the fourteenth century⁶¹, indicate the continued availability of this kind of fabric alongside the silks, the provincial manufacture of which in the Peloponnese had particularly flourished from the twelfth century onwards. Twelfth century and later Venetian trade documentation in the archives of the Greek Institute in Venice, only partly read, also promises to increase our knowledge of what textiles Byzantium was producing at the lower end of the textile market, as well as at its upper end⁶². Certainly textile manufacture did not

⁴⁹ Eparchenbuch 6.7, 9.1 (98. 106 KODER).

⁵⁰ Eparchenbuch, chapters 4–9 (90–110 KODER) (cf. 13.1 in regard to linen, 118 KODER). On the organisation of the silk industry, see A. MUTHESIUS, From seed to samite: aspects of Byzantine Silk Production. *Textile History* 20/2 (1989) 135–49 and EADEM, The Byzantine Silk Industry: Lopez and beyond. *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993) 1–67.

⁵¹ Eparchenbuch 5.5.1 (94. 95 KODER).

⁵² For goat hair or goat hair mixed with silk, see KOUKOULES, Byzantinon Bios II/2, 24 and note 4 for *lampsin metaxes*.

⁵³ De Cerimoniis II 45 (678 REISKE or J. HALDON in *TM* 13, 2000, 234–5). Cf. D. JACOBY in *DOP* 58 (2004) 208.

⁵⁴ Theophanes, Chronographia 244 (DE BOOR). The present author has under publication the silk treasures of St John, Patmos and St Catherine, Sinai, which contain gold couched embroideries.

⁵⁵ Discussed by KOUKOULES, Byzantinon Bios II/ 2, 26; cf. J. EBERSOLT, Les arts somptuaires. Paris 1923, 118.

⁵⁶ KOUKOULES, Byzantinon Bios II/2, 26, with discussion of references to gold and gold workers.

⁵⁷ KOUKOULES, *op. et. loc. cit.* speaks of gold brocading, but in fact, we know little about this from surviving examples. Most extant Byzantine gold work is overside couched embroidery, see notes 58 and 59.

⁵⁸ Surviving Byzantine overside couched embroidery, using gold thread, usually employs a silver gilt strip wound upon a twisted silk core. Fewer examples exist of the use of pure silver gilt or of pure gold wire. However, these two techniques do seem to stem from the Byzantine period. They are widely imitated in Post-Byzantine embroidery. Italian brocaded silks use either a silk or a linen core, around which a silver gilt membrane is twisted. Islamic and Near Eastern silks are brocaded either using this technique or with the use of gilt leather strips. Spanish and Near Eastern mediaeval silks appear to favour the latter technique, whilst most Eastern Mediterranean workshops elsewhere do not. Sicilian silks sometimes use both of these techniques, thus reflecting their Islamic as well as their Byzantine inheritance. Leather, either gold couched or gold brocaded, is not characteristic on Byzantine textiles.

⁵⁹ For couching, see A. CHATZIMICHALI, Τα χρυσόκλαβαρικά – συρμαντέινα – συρμακέσικα κεντήματα, in: Mélanges O. et M. Merlier, II. Athens 1956, 447–98. For brocading, see CIETA Vocabulary 1964, under brocade.

⁶⁰ See references in note 45 above.

⁶¹ K.-P. MATSCHKE, Tuchproduktion und Tuchproduzenten in Thessalonike und in anderen Städten und Regionen des späten Byzanz. *Byzantiaka* 9 (1989) 47–87.

⁶² JACOBY, Silk in Western Byzantium (as note 39), emphasises the rise of provincial silk manufacture. He makes assumptions on scant documentary evidence in some cases, which in his later articles he presents as fact. For example, the assumption that red silks were widely woven on Andros requires further documentary proof. He promises further documentary-based conclusions using source materials held in the archives of the Hellenic Institute in Venice. His works so far are collected in his Trade Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean. Aldershot 1997, and his Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean. Aldershot 2001. In the latter he promises a study on the silk industry of Latin Constantinople (XI 18, note 74). Whilst

cease with the Latin conquest of Constantinople between 1204–1261: operations were simply taken to Nicaea and elsewhere⁶³. Finishing of imported cloths in Constantinople, by Italian textile workers, was recorded in the fourteenth century⁶⁴. Several large, surviving, ecclesiastical gold embroideries datable from the end of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century onwards, suggest that an Imperial embroidery workshop was operating⁶⁵.

PROPRIETY OF DRESS

John Chrysostom saw ordinary simple wool as the best cloth. Silk for women he abhorred, but he did think that dress should indicate the difference between freeman and slave, and between servant and master⁶⁶. Basil the Great spoke of a Christian attitude towards dress that transcended the material world. Christian being in Christ allowed for the wretched physical human body to be transformed into the spiritual Christian soul⁶⁷. The Koran, on a human level, advocated a sense of modesty and propriety in regard to dress for women⁶⁸. Dress should be appropriate to status, and reflective of spiritual rather than material well-being⁶⁹.

Fallen nobles were advised to dress not in the costumes of excessive fabric, which formerly reflected their rich status, but in the clothes expressive of their disrepute and of their remorse⁷⁰. It was also possible for discredited members of the elite to hide more successfully if they did not seek to treat their dress as a form of cultural capital. On the other hand, in order to enhance their own status, rich masters might wish to dress their servants in silk and gold uniforms, and the servant lover of the master might enjoy the use of silks and gold belts⁷¹. Certainly the poorest in Byzantine society wore rags; and those people, little better off than the destitute possessing only the clothes on their backs, took to the practice of wearing old clothes turned inside out⁷².

Promiscuity through revealing costume is also documented. Michael Psellos mentions a place of refuge for harlots established under Michael IV, where sinful women wishing to enter had to discard fine clothing for the habit of nuns⁷³. One source complains of the women who dress so that the whole of their bodies are revealed *hoste ten holen tou somatos diathesin estin phaneran*⁷⁴: men, too, wore this kind of shockingly transparent cloth. Metaphors of dress were sometimes applied, so for instance stripes denoting debauchery

having first condemned the idea put by others, he now appears to agree that the Jewish contribution to the Byzantine silk industry was considerable, see D. JACOBY, *The Jews and the Silk Industry of Constantinople*, in: IDEM, *Byzantium, Latin Romania*, chapter XI, 1–20.

⁶³ Theodore Metochites, Nikaeus, ed. K. SATHAS in *MB I* 152, transl. C. FOSS, *Nicaea. A Byzantine Capital and its Praises*. Brooklyn 1996, 190–2 (chapter 18, 12–17). It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter the discussion on the extent of textile production in Nicaea, a topic, which D. Jacoby has promised to cover in a forthcoming publication (cf. his *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*. Aldershot 2001, X 72, note 115 and XI 19, note 75).

⁶⁴ MATSCHKE, *Tuchproduktion* 61–6.

⁶⁵ Textiles to be considered include the Vatican dalmatic, the Anastasis epigonation of the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens; the Chilandar epitaphios, the Thessalonica epitaphios; and vestments at the monasteries of St John, Patmos and at St Catherine's, Sinai.

⁶⁶ John Chrysostomos, *In epistulam ad Hebraeos homilia 12/28*. *PG* 63, 200.

⁶⁷ Basil the Great, *De spiritu Sancto XXVIII* 69 (492–6 PRUCHE).

⁶⁸ For the Koran on dress, refer to, *The Koran with parallel Arabic Text*, transl. N. J. DAWOOD. London 2000, 153, 352, 425.

⁶⁹ Basil the Great, *Epist. 45* (I 113–4 COURTONNE).

⁷⁰ For clothes reflective of penance, see KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios II/2*, 11, with several specific cases cited and documented in notes 3–5.

⁷¹ Specific examples and sources in KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios II/2*, 12 and notes 10 and 11. Cf. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Liturgiae Expositio*. *PG* 150, 372.

⁷² E. KURTZ, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*. Leipzig 1903, 63 (Nr. 99). Cf. Asterios of Amaseia, *Homilia III* 13 (36 DATEMA).

⁷³ Michael Psellos, *Chronographia IV* 36 (I 158–60 IMPELLIZZERI).

⁷⁴ Clemens of Alexandria, *Paidagogos* 2, 10, 107 (221 STÄHLIN).

were imposed on prostitutes⁷⁵. In the early period, actresses were prevented from wearing silks by Imperial decree; and later in the twelfth century, silk was still considered inappropriate for prostitutes⁷⁶.

Cloth types, as well as the use of gold borders and gold belts as insignia of status, real or imagined, unquestionably did occupy the mind of the Byzantine citizen. These types of dress seem to be clearly reflected in Byzantine manuscripts. Indeed, the degree of accuracy of the depiction of cloth is perhaps quite astonishing⁷⁷. The nature of 'working' clothing can be well appreciated in the eleventh century Agricultural treatise, the Pseudo-Oppian (Marcianus gr. Z 479). Here the artisan, shown wearing a long tunic, carves an ivory horn (Diagram, a)⁷⁸. The agricultural workers wear short tunics, and the two forms of tunic both hark back to the classical tradition of loose clothing.

Excavated tunics from Syria and Egypt survive, and indicate the general form of this type of dress⁷⁹. On the other hand, in the Eros scene, the buttoned fashionable short jacket imitates Persian fashion⁸⁰.

A range of surviving costumes, excavated in the Caucasus, indicate the type of tailored wear that was worn even in distant hill tribes, under the influence of what had originally been Sasanian costume⁸¹. The Caucasian finds amalgamate scraps of Byzantine, Central Asian, and Chinese silks, which the tribesmen received in exchange for guiding traders across the Caucasians passes on to the Silk Road. Amongst the finds was the Byzantine Imperial tablet woven silk band of an official stationed in the Caucasus, Ivanes, whose name suggests Bulgarian origin⁸².

Returning to the Marcianus gr Z. 479 manuscript, folio 47r shows a particularly interesting scene, with a dominant female figure⁸³. She is depicted in a white inner, thin, and delicate tunic with a long and wide sleeved mantle, and a cummerbund about the waist. A large, fashionable turban embellishes her head, which is encircled by a pearl band (Diagram, c). The other female figures shown on folio 47 are in long sleeveless tunics. In the hunting scenes (3r–4v), short tunics and fancy hose are the order of the day (Diagram, d). The depiction of 'the other' occurs on folio 53v, where two black individuals lead camels. One wears a striped Islamic head cloth and short tunic, whilst the other wears a long tunic and wrap (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* VI, fig. 20b). Only the headgear really distinguishes this costume. In further miniatures, other tiny details are interesting: the small fancy cap in the bear hunt on folio 44r (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* VI, fig. 9a), and the fur hats in the Eros scene, for example (Diagram, b). On folio 20r in a 'how to net a camel scene', a splendid pair of fancy stockings, and white boots are shown in combination with a short tunic bearing stripes, and a decoration or clavus about the neck (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* V, fig 30c). The fancy collar and hem of the tunic of folio 14r (Diagram, f) is reminiscent of West European mediaeval dress⁸⁴. The loincloth of the wrestler, tied at the waist with string, can be seen on folio 13v (Diagram, g); and the fancy long costume of the dancer appears with belt and pearled collar, on folio 12v (Diagram, h). The soldier's uniform is found

⁷⁵ For the subject of prostitutes and their dress, see S. LEONTSINI, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*. Wien 1988, especially 88–9 for references to fine clothes, some perhaps of silk.

⁷⁶ Theatre costumes were also elaborate. See KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios*, II/2, 15 with notes 8–10 for specific examples and source references.

⁷⁷ Cf. the contribution of B. Bjornholt – L. James in the present publication. The Madrid Skylitzes (A. GRABAR – M. MANOUSSACAS, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzes de Madrid*. Venice 1979) may well show non-Byzantine influences but other specifically Byzantine manuscripts (e.g. Pseudo-Oppian, Venice Marcianus gr. Z. 479) appear very precise in their depiction of Byzantine costume.

⁷⁸ I. FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana*, 1–6. Milan-Padova 1978–1997, V 18–46 (Marc. gr. 479), esp. tav. XII and fig. 51b.

⁷⁹ For Syrian tunics, see Palmyra reference in note 45 above. For Egyptian tunics, see E. KENDRICK, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt*, 1–3. London 1920–1922.

⁸⁰ The costume occurs on folio 33r and it is illustrated by FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati* V tav. XI and fig. 48b. The Sassanian short, buttoned jacket is reflected on a doll's jacket excavated in the Caucasus, see *Von China nach Byzanz*, eds. A. IERUSALIMSKAJA – B. BORKOPP. München 1996, 44, plates 28–32.

⁸¹ A. A. IERUSALIMSKAJA, *Die Gräber der Moščevaja Balka. Frühmittelalterliche Funde an der nordkaukasischen Seidenstrasse*. München 1996, part II, 233–313, plates XIII–XXX, LX–LXXXVIII.

⁸² See *Von China nach Byzanz* (as note 80) 68 and plate 79; A. JEROUSSALIMSKAJA, *Un chef militaire au Caucase du Nord? Le ruban en soie de Moščevaja Balka*, in: *Lithostroton. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte*. Stuttgart 2000, 125–30.

⁸³ FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati* VI, fig. 13a

⁸⁴ The Western element is the neck border with downward curled projections, cf. negative F1266 in the Venice Marciana slide archive.

on folio 6v (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* V, fig. 9a). The short tunic, tucked up in a way similar to that of agricultural workers in the West, is found on folio 3v in a hunting scene (Diagram, d).

In other manuscripts, the depiction of the drape of cloth (the head and shoulder veil on folio 23r of Marcianus gr Z. 538, for instance, Diagram, i), reveals what a marked grasp of the feel and the fall of cloth some Byzantine miniaturist enjoyed⁸⁵.

In the Imperial portraits also, very fine mastery of the depiction of cloth is displayed with painstaking depiction of every detail. Take, for example, the portrait of Alexius V with griffin tunic⁸⁶, or the portrait of Alexios Apokaukos (d. 1345), who is wearing a splendid rearing, addorsed panther in medallion motif silk. Close parallels for this design exist amongst the extant Byzantine silks⁸⁷.

The surviving pieces typically date from the eleventh to twelfth centuries, and they represent the period of greatest technological experimentation, when the draw-loom with pattern device, developed in Byzantium over the previous five hundred years, was adapted for greater economy and efficiency⁸⁸. In Byzantium, in the tenth to eleventh centuries, there occurred the introduction of monochrome fashions, as mentioned earlier. Along with this hand draw-loom were adapted to produce new weaves, the lampases, whose advantage over the traditional twills was that the same motifs (now monochrome entities) required only half as much manipulation of the pattern creating device to produce them⁸⁹.

The textiles used for the costumes (with griffins or addorsed panthers), as shown in the mentioned miniatures, are strangely old fashioned for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries⁹⁰. It is almost as if the artist has depicted cherished favourites of the sitters in these thirteenth century manuscripts. With the intervention of the Latin occupation of Constantinople from 1204–1261, older costumes would have been pressed into use. What must be briefly emphasised is that images such as the eagle or the bicephalous eagle, the griffin, and the lion, took on great political significance in themselves⁹¹.

The variety of textiles and dress in Byzantine miniatures, and their close correspondence with surviving pieces and tailored garments, lends credence to the idea that they may indeed offer quite accurate records of actual costumes of the time. Imaginary cloths and fashions could have been much more simply depicted.

THE SUBVERSION OF SIGNIFYING SYSTEMS

Discussion of textiles which express material and spiritual well-being, propriety, morality, allure and yet not wanton abandon, suggest that a certain in-built restraint existed within Byzantine society. But there were also opportunities for subversion of signifying systems⁹². Certainly, by the thirteenth century, subversion of elite dress codes was a problem, under the influence of the import of foreign cloths and styles. John Dukas in Nicaea ordered the prohibition of sumptuous foreign dress imported into his Empire⁹³. The Venetian had

⁸⁵ For Marcianus gr Z. 538, see FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati* I 27–33. On folio 23r a female figure is shown wearing a fringed mantle. This covers her head, neck, shoulders, and two arms, uplifted towards her face. The mantle has two lower stripes. The drapery of the mantle is shown as a series of complex hanging folds. The stripes moving in and out across these folds are accurately depicted. Sound knowledge of how cloth drapes is demonstrated.

⁸⁶ For the portrait of Alexius V, see A. GRABAR, *Byzantium*. London 1966, 21, plate 2. Also, I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*. Leiden 1976, 152, 155–8, 180 and plate 99.

⁸⁷ For the Alexios Apokaukos miniature, see *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques Françaises*. Paris 1992–1993, plate 351 and G. MAKRI, *Alexios Apokaukos und sein Porträt im Codex Paris gr. 2144*, in: *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von G. S. Henrich und K.-P. Matschke*, hrsg. v. S. KOLDITZ – R. C. MÜLLER. Leipzig 2005, 164–73. Addorsed rearing griffins are found on extant silks, see colour cover of MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, and 50–4, Cat. nos. 47–9, 66 and 769a.

⁸⁸ On technical innovation, see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, chapter II (19–26) with bibliography in footnotes. Also chapter IX (85–93) and footnote 2 with reference to lampases.

⁸⁹ The pattern producing device is called the 'figure harness': CIETA Vocabulary 1964, under this name.

⁹⁰ Court costumes with gold or gold trellis designs are illustrated in *Byzance* (as note 87), plate 356 on page 463, and J. BECKWITH, *The art of Constantinople*. London 1968, 150, plate 202.

⁹¹ The bicephalous eagle motif is discussed in A. MUTHESIUS, *The Byzantine Eagle*, in: *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (as note 3), chapter XIII, 227–36, with reference to earlier literature.

⁹² See Joseph Bryennios, *Tines aitai tōn kath'ēmas lypērōn* 3, 121 (Boulgares) as cited by KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 10.

⁹³ F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, 3. Teil. Regesten von 1204–1282. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage, bearbeitet von P. WIRTH. München 1977, nr. 1777 (ca. 1243).

to issue strong sumptuary prohibitions against wearing of velvet, silk, or gold woven cloths, embroideries, and gold bands⁹⁴. Extortionate sums of money must also have been exchanged for these costumes at that time. In Egypt, even in the tenth to eleventh centuries, one pound of raw silk cost 2.5 dinars, a sum sufficient to maintain an average-sized family for a period of one month⁹⁵. The relative absence of sumptuary legislation in Byzantium, as against the stringent and repeated levying of such prohibitions in the Latin West, suggests that Western influence may have encouraged excesses in dress amongst those rich enough to enjoy such finery in Byzantium.

THE DISPLAY OF SIGNIFYING SYSTEMS IN RELATION TO PUBLIC AND TO PRIVATE SPACE

It is evident from housing legislation, that the concept of private as opposed to public space, and the respect for the boundaries between the two, did exist in Byzantium⁹⁶. The wealth of exposure to gorgeous and costly cloths enjoyed by the Byzantine citizen, particularly in the Metropolis, is also well attested; but how did textiles function in the privacy of closed and personal space?

The Emperor had a private as well as a public wardrobe⁹⁷. Would it have been a tremendous relief to wear some fashionable and comfortable item of one's own? Niketas Choniates playfully suggests that the Emperor Andronikos I enjoyed the sensation of tightly tailored garments⁹⁸. The personal observation and recording of a pattern on a lady's dress, found in a popular poem, and the existence of a Byzantine silk with precisely the described motif, a lion with multiple bodies, suggests that textiles could be enjoyed for themselves⁹⁹. Individuals might also identify with their popular heroes or heroines, described in Romances, as being dressed in idealised costumes¹⁰⁰. In the same way, they could identify with the purity of the Virgin, whose virtues were recorded in a series of weaving metaphors¹⁰¹. The homely practice of cottage based weaving is evoked also in Theodoret of Cyrus' description of God's ingenuity in developing the weaving arts¹⁰². These spiritual, romantic, and popular literary references to textiles, with their use of textile metaphors on a popular level, bring textiles and dress alive on a smaller and more intimate stage, quite distinct from that of the Imperial mass spectacle arena.

The broadening out of textile markets, to meet increased popular demand, is apparent in Byzantium as early as the twelfth century, when the fine silk dresses made in Thebes and Corinth are recorded¹⁰³. The use of individual provincial dress codes in the capital also points to a sense of fashion, as opposed to one of ceremonial display. At precisely this period the Abbasids were developing a marked sense of etiquette and fashion, with manuals on the subject, which drew attention to individualism and style¹⁰⁴. Time does not allow for elaboration along these lines of enquiry. Nevertheless any such discussion could make detailed use of the descriptions of the bridal trousseaux of the Cairo Geniza brides and all that these imply about gender roles,

⁹⁴ These prohibitions appeared not only in Venice but also in lands held under Venice. See M. M. NEWETT, *The sumptuary laws of Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, in: *Historical Essays*, ed. T. F. TOUT – J. TAIT. Manchester 1967, 245–78.

⁹⁵ S. D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, I–VI. Berkeley – Los Angeles 1967–1993, I 101–4, and on silk prices 222–4.

⁹⁶ See the contribution of C. Saliou in the present publication.

⁹⁷ On public and private Imperial wardrobes, see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 41 and note 37. Also see EADEM, *Courtly and aristocratic patronage and the uses of silk in Byzantium*, in: *Studies in silk in Byzantium*. London 2004, chapter V (85–108).

⁹⁸ Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 252 (VAN DIETEN).

⁹⁹ For the multi-bodied lion silk, see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 43 and note 53 with reference to literary description of this motif.

¹⁰⁰ Dress is vividly described for example in *Byzantine Epics*, see E. M. JEFFREYS (ed. and transl.), *Digenis Akritas (Cambridge Medieval Classics 7)*. Cambridge 1998, 59. Here a 'surcoat of purple silk, sprinkled with gold with white triple border and ornamental griffins'; a costume called 'Roman dress' is described.

¹⁰¹ Proklos, *Oratio* 1. *PG* 65–681. Discussed in MUTHESIUS, *Cult of Imperial and Ecclesiastical silks* (as note 3).

¹⁰² Theodoret of Cyrillus, *De providentia oratio* IV. *PG* 83, 617–20, esp. 617D or Y. AZEMA, *Thèodoret de Cyr. Discours sur la Providence*. Paris 1954, 167–8. See on the relevant passages, MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 23–4.

¹⁰³ On silks of Thebes and Corinth, see Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 461 (VAN DIETEN). Cf. E. KISLINGER, *Demenna und die byzantinische Seidenproduktion*. *BSI* 54/1 (1993) 43–52, esp. 44–5.

¹⁰⁴ For Abbasid etiquette, see AHSAN, *Social Life under the Abbasids*, chapter II on *Costume* (29–75), and chapter VII (275–96) on *Festivals and Festivities*.

social expectations, and the nature of well-being, in the privacy of domestic space in the eastern Mediterranean¹⁰⁵. Suffice it to note, that the Byzantine silk covers took pride of place in dowry lists¹⁰⁶.

CONCLUSION

This paper asked why textiles and dress played such a prominent part in Byzantium. The answer lies, perhaps, in the multiplicity of levels and the complexity of structures that cloth managed to penetrate. The evidence suggests that, within complex ritual and ceremonial display, the relationship of Church to state, and of state to society, might be anchored. Political and economic concerns could be addressed using silk, in particular, as valuable economic asset but also as powerful political weapon¹⁰⁷. At the same time, the development of intricate signifying systems for the purpose of social stratification, as well as the opportunity to subvert such imposed order, might have allowed textiles to act as a medium for the expression of greater individuality in Byzantium. This, taken in conjunction with the effect of widening markets and of greater exposure to foreign influences between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, might explain why some authors lamented the intrusion of foreign textiles and dress codes into Byzantium by the time of the fall of the Empire¹⁰⁸. It is perhaps ironic that Byzantine textiles and dress codes, initially developed by the court as symbols of power and authority, and subsequently variously adapted and appropriated into the private realm, became subject to overthrow, somehow foreshadowing the fall of the Empire itself.

¹⁰⁵ For the bridal dowries, consult GOITEIN, *Mediterranean Society IV* (section Bi, Clothing, 150–200), and Y. K. STILLMANN, *Female attire of Medieval Egypt: according to the trousseau lists and cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza*. Washington, D.C. 1972 (PhD), 93–6.

¹⁰⁶ The Byzantine bedcovers are described in GOITEIN, *Mediterranean Society IV* 105–37 and appendix C, 297–309, 303, especially, cites Byzantine brocade covers.

¹⁰⁷ The present author has under publication a paper ‘Silk as Politics’ delivered at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, as part of the public lecture series, *Byzantium as Oecumenical State*. This will be published by the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Emmanuel Georgelas „Limenites“, *To Thanatikon tes Rhodou*, in *Bibliothèque grecque Vulgaire*, ed. E. LEGRAND, I. Paris 1880 (reprinted Athens 1974), 206–9. Cf. A. MICHA-LAMPAKI, *To Θανατικόν της Ρόδου ως πηγή πληροφοριών για την γυναικεία ενδυμασία της νήσου*. *Byzantinos Domos* 3 (1989) 51–62.



Diagrams: Marcianus gr. Z. 479 (s. XI), Pseudo-Oppian, *Cynegetica*.

a – ivory carver (folio 36r), b – detail of Eros scene, showing figure in fitted jacket

and fur cap (33r), c – the mistress of the house from a domestic scene (47r),

d – detail of a hunting scene, with hunter wearing a tunic (3v),

e – detail of a figure wearing tunic with clavi decoration (20v), f – detail of a

costume with fancy collar and hem (14r), g – detail of a scene with wrestler

wearing a loin cloth (13v), h – detail of a dancer (12v),

Marcianus gr. Z. 538 (ca. 905), Job manuscript. i – detail of a figure wearing a

head veil and a shoulder wrap with fringe (23r).

