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The terminology of Egyptian monastic garments*

Monastic literature, albeit in a complicated way, has provided us with a description of, and terminology for, Egyptian monastic attire in the fourth century; that is mainly for the habit of the Tabennesian communities¹. First of all, we have the testimony of the Pachomian rule in the Coptic version², in Jerome's Latin version³ and in the Greek *excerpta*⁴. We also have literary evidence: not only the rest of the Pachomian material, but also Athanasios' *Life of Anthony*, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*; Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca*; Sozomenos' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, John Cassian's *Cenobitic Institutions*; Evagrius Pontikos' *Practical Treatise or the monk*, and so on, which provide a great amount of information about this matter. One of the problems that we find interesting is the translation of the terms from one language into the other and the transmission of the concepts, even if sometimes cultural circumstances made necessary an adaptation.

Proverbially the first anchorites at the peak of their asceticism wore nothing but their hair and beards to cover their bodies⁵. But in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* reportedly the tunic, the only garment a monk should wear, was thrown in front of a cell (although over three days nobody considered it worthy to be picked up). By the fourth century in the rules, the costume of the monk was considered alongside aspects of monastic life⁶. It also has to be said that the Pachomian rule is clearly against nudity, amongst other precautions, to avoid carnal temptations.

There is enough evidence to say that by the fourth century there was a monastic attire that clearly distinguished the monks from secular individuals. In the *Historia Monachorum* (X 9), Patermuthios is said to have been the first to devise the monastic habit: καὶ τὸ μοναδικὸν ἔνδυμα τοῦτο πρῶτος ἐφευρών. There is a description of the complete attire given by him to a disciple: a sleeveless tunic, a hood, a sheepskin and a linen cloth around his waist: ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐνδύσας αὐτὸν λεβιτῶνα καὶ κουκούλιον τῇ κεφαλῇ περιθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν προσεβίβαζεν τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους περιθέμενος καὶ λέντιον αὐτῷ περιζωσάμενος⁷.

In an *Apophthegma* preserved only in Coptic⁸ the origin of this, it is claimed, is due to Saint Antony. When fighting against the demons, he devised the stratagem of dressing a doll with the typical habits of the monk:

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¹ On this J. M. BESSE, *Les moines d'Orient*. Paris 1900, 248; B. KRAMER – J. C. SCHELTON – G. M. BROWNE, *Das Archiv des Nephros und verwandte Texte (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 4)*. Mainz 1987, 70–71; R. COQUIN, *À propos des vêtements des moines égyptiens*. *Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte* 31 (1992) 3–23, 10–14. See also K.C. INNEMÉE, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East (Studies in Textile and Costume History 1)*. Leiden 1992.

² L. Th. LEFORT, *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples (CSCO 159–160)*. Louvain 1956.

³ *PL* 23, 65–92, A. BOON, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de s. Pachôme, épître de s. Théodore et 'liber' de Orsiesius, Texte Latin de s. Jérôme (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 7)*. Louvain 1932.

⁴ P. B. ALBERS, *S. Pachomii Abbatis Tabennensis Regulae Monasticae (Florilegium Patristicum, fasc. 16)*. Bonn 1923; BOON 1932.

⁵ L. REGNAULT, *La vie quotidienne des pères du désert en Égypte au IV^e siècle (La vie quotidienne)*. Paris 1990, 65–7.

⁶ REGNAULT (see n. 5) 69.

⁷ Jerome in his *praefatio* to the translation of the Rule, 4 (*PL* 23, 66): *Nihil habent in cellulis praeter psiathium et quae infra scripta sunt, duo lebitonaria (quod Aegyptiis monachis genus vestimenti est sine manicis) et unum jam attritum ad dormiendum, vel operandum; et amictum lineum, cucullosque duos; et caprinam pelliculam quam meloten vocant; balteolum lineum, et gallicas ac bacillum itineris socium*, cf. Horsiesis, *Doctrina de Institutione monachorum 22 (PG 40, 879): sufficit nobis habere quod homini satis est, duo levitonaria, et alium attritum, et palliolium lineum, duos cucullos, zonam lineam, gallicas, pellem et virgam*.

⁸ E. AMÉLINEAU, *Histoire des monastères de la Basse-Égypte*. Paris 1894 = *Annales Musée Guimet* 25, p. 40, l. 6.

the sleeveless tunic, the scapular and the hood. It is, however, anachronistic, since it does not seem possible that by the time of Antony there was any trace of a standardized monkish habit⁹.

The uniformity of the monks' outfit is mentioned, for instance, in the *Historia Monachorum* on Apollo (VIII 19), where a community is described as robed in white¹⁰. The habit was in a way standardized, and it acquired a symbolic importance, the imposition of the habit becoming a meaningful ceremony¹¹. It is also strictly forbidden in Pachomian regulations to change any element of the attire, or to add any ornament to it (*Praecepta* 98).

Basically the elements mentioned in monastic literature are as follows:

The tunic: a linen sleeveless tunic without any decoration. Generally the Egyptian monks had two, one of them for everyday use and for sleeping¹² and the other for special occasions, such as Sunday liturgy. It is considered to be the basic monastic garment of the Pachomian communities¹³, and it can, in fact, be identified with σχῆμα, a term which generally designates the whole attire in some texts¹⁴. And it was mainly the only garment they wore, if we believe Cassian when he says that the Egyptian *colobion* is not sufficient in the West, due to the rigours of the continental climate¹⁵.

Generally, in monastic literature the habit is called λεβιτών in Greek¹⁶, λεβιτογ and other variants in Coptic¹⁷, and *lebiton* or *lebitonarium* in Latin, often given together with another term, κολόβιον¹⁸, which we normally find in the papyri, mainly from the second to the sixth centuries¹⁹. This is the regular term in Egypt for this kind of tunic without sleeves, stemming from the word κολοβόω, 'to cut or mutilate'²⁰. The term λεβιτών is also attested in the Greek papyri, albeit in only three instances²¹. It is a peculiar phenomenon that

⁹ COQUIN (see n. 1), 6.

¹⁰ P. OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid im christlichen Altertum*. Freiburg 1931, 69–71. On monks robed in black, *ibid.*, 71–8; on natural colour: 78–81.

¹¹ REGNAULT (see n. 5), 70.

¹² In the *Letter to Ammon* 17, a Pachomian monk sleeps in a σάκκον λινούν: J.E. GOEHRING, *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism*. Berlin – New York 1985, 136.

¹³ OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 91.

¹⁴ *Apophthegmata Patrum, Collectio alphabetica, Poemen* 11. PG 65, 324D–325A: ἦρεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὸ σχῆμα ... καὶ ἦλθε ... βασιζών τοὺς λεβήτωνας τῶν ἀδελφῶν. R. DRAGUET, *Le chapitre de l'Histoire Lausiaque sur les Tabennésites dérive-t-il d'une source copte? Le Muséon* 57 (1944) 53–145, 95.

¹⁵ *Inst.* I 10: *neque gallicis nos neque colobiis seu unica tunica esse contentos hiemis permittit asperitas*.

¹⁶ Although Maximus Confessor (seventh cent.), for instance, uses κολόβιον (*Quaestiones et dubia* 67. PG 90, col. 840–1).

¹⁷ J. DIETHART, *Lexikographische Lese Früchte. Bemerkungen zu "Liddell-Scott": Revised Supplement 1996*. ZPE 123 (1998) 165–76, 173: Coptic forms: ΛΑΒΙΤΕ Coptic Ostrakon 7/8th cent. (W. C. TILL, *Die koptischen Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Texte, Übersetzungen, Indices [Österr. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 78,1]. Graz–Wien–Köln 1960, n. 140, 15). ΛΕΤΩΗ, ΛΑΒΙΤΕ, ΛΑΒΙΤΟΥ and ΛΕΒΙΤΟΥ (W.E. CRUM in H.I. BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt. The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*. London 1924. 92–3 and 98 [*PLond.* 1920 and 1922 (AD 330–340)]); H.I. BELL – W. E. CRUM, *Wadi Sarga, Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations undertaken by the Byzantine research account*. Hauniae 1922, 134 (n. 164, l. 9); I. LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Vita bohairice (CSCO Scriptores Coptici* 41). Louvain 1951, 98, 49; A. BOUD'HORS, *Vêtements et textiles à usages divers: termes coptes. GRAFMA. Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l'Antiquité* 1 (1997) 25. ΛΩΒΙΤΩΗ (BELL – CRUM *op. cit.*, n. 161). ΛΟΥΒΙΤΟΥ in an unedited ostrakon (*PVindob.* K 11.375). ΛΕΒΙΤΩΗ in L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Documentary Papyri from the Beinecke Library* (Yale University). Cairo 1986, 35.

¹⁸ The terms appear identified in the Greek *Excerpta* to the Pachomian rule (178, 11): δύο λενητονάρια, ὃ ἐστὶ λινὰ κολόβια; and in the *Historia Monachorum* VIII 5: ὁ λεβιτών, ὅπερ τινὲς κολόβιον προσαγορεύουσιν. cf. Isidorus *Etym.* 19, 22, 22: *lebitonarium est colobium sine manicis, quali monachi Aegyptii utuntur*. A. GRILLI, *Liddell-Scott (1925–1975). Paideia* 31 (1976) 3–8, 6. For the difference between the κολόβιον and the δαλματική, R. MURRI, *Ricerche sugli abiti menzionati nei papiri greco-egizi. Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 106–27, 125.

¹⁹ Some examples: *PWarr.* 15 (second cent.); *POxy.* VI 921 (third cent.); *POxy.* XLIV 3201 (third cent.); *POxy.* I 109 (third-fourth cent.); *PHeid.* VII 406 (fourth-fifth cent.); *PLand.* VI 102 (sixth cent.).

²⁰ The Greek term κολόβιον appears also in Coptic: M. HASITZKA, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum koptischen Unterricht (MPER* 18). Vienna 1990, 272, 4; 215–6; I. GARDNER – A. ALCOCK – W. P. FUNK, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*. Oxford 1999, I 68 and 152 (*PKell.* I 18). It is also probably behind the Egyptian Arabic *galabiya* (COQUIN [see n. 1] 23; GARDNER – ALCOCK – FUNK, *op. cit.* 68).

²¹ *PBad.* IV 95 (seventh century AD, Hermoupolis); *PNeph.* 12 (fourth century AD, Thebaid); *POxy.* XIV 1683 (fourth century AD, Oxyrhynchus). Although λεβιτών is also considered to be a typically Egyptian term, originated in monastic circles (H. MIHĂESCU, *La terminologie d'origine latine des vêtements dans la littérature Byzantine*. In: *Byzance. Hommage à André Stratos*. Athens 1986, II 587–99, 596).

κολόβιον, the popular term, as proven by the occurrences in the papyri, is mentioned only in literary texts as a synonym of λεβιτών, which occurs only rarely in the papyri. It is also remarkable that the earliest attestations of the term λεβιτών, in AD 330–340, are not Greek, but Coptic (*P.Lond.* 1920 and 1922).

Jerome²² describes the *lebiton* as a typically Egyptian garment, a sleeveless tunic made of linen:²³ *duo lebitonaria quod genus absque manicis aegyptii vestimenti est; vestimentum id est tunicam lineam absque manicis quam lebitonarium vocant.* Cassian (*Inst.* I 4), writing in Latin, chose to use the word *colobion*, instead of λεβιτών, and describes it as follows: *colobii quoque lineis induti, quae vix ad cubitorum ima pertingunt, nudas de reliquo circumferunt manus, ut amputatos habere eos actus et opera mundi huius suggerat abscisio manicarum.* Sozomenos (*HE* III 14, 7) uses the term χιτών and describes it as a sleeveless tunic: τὸς μὲν χιτῶνας ἀχειριδῶτους²⁴.

The Coptic text of the Pachomian rule uses the word **ϣΤΗΗ**, although there is another word which Draguet (1944: 96) supposes is the fore-runner of the Greek λεβιτών, at least in the sources for Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca*: **δαβιτων**. Originally it meant linen, but it came to mean a coarse linen garment, and it appears in the texts related to monastic habits²⁵. The term **ϣΤΗΗ** occurs in the Pachomian rule and this is rendered by Jerome, as *palliolo lineo*.

The term **δαβιτων** appears in two passages of the Lives of Pachomius²⁶ and it is described as a monastic garment: **ρβω** **μμοπαχος**. In the Prophecy of Karour, one of the disciples of Pachomios²⁷, the basic attire is described as a **δαβιτων**, a girdle or *cucullus* and a belt or scapular: **πτεπῆχιδαβιτων ριτολομωη ριμοχρ**. The meaning of the Greek and Latin correspondences for these terms will be reviewed below.

The hood²⁸ is rendered in Greek by κουκούλλιον, a loan word from the Latin *cucullus*; as in Evagrius (*Pr.* 2) and Palladios (*HL* 32, 26). Sozomenos (*HE* III 14, 7 and 13), however, also calls it **πάρα**. One Coptic term for it is **κογκλε**, which probably stems also from Latin *cucullus*. The ultimate origin of the word is probably Celtic²⁹. A second Coptic for hood is **κλαϣτ**.

The *cucullus* is described only by Cassian (*Inst.* I 3): *cucullis namque perparvis usque ad cervicis umero-rumque demissis confinia, qui capita tantum contegant*, (i. e. covering head and shoulders).

In the Pachomian rule it is obligatory to wear the hood while eating in the refectory. This is confirmed by the description of Tabennesians in the *Historia Monachorum* (III 1): **κεκαλυμμένω προσώπω ἐσθίοντας**; and in Athanasios' *Letter to Kastor* 7 (*PG* 28, col. 857): **καὶ τὰ κουκούλια ἕως κάτω τῶν βλεφάρων φοροῦσιν**. Cassian (*Inst.* I 3) also notes that the *cucullus* is worn day and night. The hood as monastic symbol can be understood from such a text as one of the *Apophthegmata*³⁰ where the monk threw his *cucullus* to the ground and trampled on it as a symbolic act, to express that he thought he did not deserve to be a monk.

In the Pachomian rule we find the term **τολομωη** when the habit is described as **ραρτογ ριτολομωη** (*Praecepta* 91). Although translated by Jerome as *cucullo et pelliculla*, (where *cucullus* corresponds to **τολομωη**, if **τολομωη** is the Greek word **τελαμών**), then it can designate a kind of belt³¹. But again when Pachomios mentions the **τολομωη** carries the distinctive mark of the congregation³², then we have to think that he means the *cucullus*: the confirmation is in the text of Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca* (32, 3), and Sozomenos' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (III 14, 13), when they say that these special marks are carried on the hood. This word appears again in the Prophecy of Karour, mentioned above, where the **τολομωη** is symbolically understood as the obedience of the child, and this is more or less the significance of the *cucullus* in monastic

²² *Praefatio* 4 (*PL* 23, 66).

²³ Also described as a sleeveless tunic in a late Coptic Apophthegma, AMÉLINEAU, *Annales Musée Guimet* 25, p. 40, l. 6.

²⁴ Cf. Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epistula* I 216 (*PG* 78, 317).

²⁵ W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford 1939, 844b. See for example a text from a Coptic apophthegma about Apa Dioscorus (G. ZOEGA, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum*. Rome 1810 [repr. Leipzig 1903] 351, 1–2), which mentions the garments of a monk: **ογ δαβιτων ... μπιογκλεϣτ πδαβιτων αγω κεδαβιτων**, “a tunic, a linen hood and another tunic”, rather than “une cuculle de tunique”, as Draguet translates (see n. 14, 97).

²⁶ L.Th. LEFORT, *S. Pachomii vitae sahidice scriptae* (*CSCO* 99–100). Louvain 1933–34, 102 and 104.

²⁷ Codex P. Morgan 586 t. LI 3, LEFORT (see n. 2), 102. For the text see below symbolism.

²⁸ OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 142–74.

²⁹ S. GASELEE, Review to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1933) 331–2, 331; COQUIN (see n. 1), 7.

³⁰ *Collectio alphabetica*, Zacharias 3. *PG* 65, 180.

³¹ As LEFORT (see n. 2), 30, who translates ‘baudrier’ (but see ID. 1956, 120 and 122) and COQUIN (see n. 1), 11 and 22.

³² Pachomian rule, *Praecepta* 99. OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 144–5.

literature (see below, symbolism). Consequently, we have enough arguments to consider that **τολομωη** corresponds to the **κουκούλλιον** and is definitely not the Greek term **τελαμών**.

It is not clear from the texts, whether or not the *cucullus* was attached to another garment. Both alternatives are possible. There is a passage in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*³³, where Theodorus is found by a monk with all his clothes in disorder, his chest naked and his *cucullus* falling on his face. The monk draws his **μαφόριον** back so as to cover his shoulders, and brings his *cucullus* back, thereby covering his chest. This is initially understood by Draguet³⁴ as the hood being attached to the **μαφόριον**. But this cannot be the rule if we believe that the *cucullus* is worn day and night and the **μαφόριον** only at night, and if it is forbidden to be taken to the refectory, where the *cucullus* is mandatory.

The belt or girdle is an important part of the attire. It is usually a piece of linen cloth tied around the waist. However, Dorotheos (*Doctr.* 1, 2) mentions a skin belt: **ζώνη δερματίνη**. It is called **λέντιον** in *Historia Monachorum* (X 9), although the most common word is **ζώνη** (Palladius' *HL* 32, 25)³⁵. The Latin version of the rule by Jerome renders *balteolo lineo*: thus the Latin *balteus* or *balteolus*.

In Coptic the word **μοσχρ** or **μοσχϣ** is used for the girdle of the soldier or the monk, and mentioned as part of the attire, together with the **δαβιτωη ριτολομωη ριμοσχϣ** in the Prophecy of Karour, as we mentioned before. If **τολομωη** here is understood as belt, then the **μοσχρ** could be the scapular or **άνάλαβος**.

We do not know whether the monks took the belt off for sleeping, as the sources are not in agreement in this point³⁶. The act of taking off the belt is a sign of humiliation and penitence, carried out generally in the refectory, and in the synaxis for public penitence for a blame.

The scapular or **άνάλαβος** was similar to suspenders, shoulder-straps crossed over the back and chest, and attached to the belt, with the aim of holding the tunic's drapes close to the body so as not to hinder movements during work. Cassian (*Inst.* I 5) used the term *analabos* and explained it as *subcinctoria* or *rebracchiatoria*. We find the term **άνάλαβος** in Evagrius (*Pr.* 4)³⁷. Sozomenos uses the term **αναβολεύς**³⁸, from the verb **αναβάλλω**, "to lift", although **άνάλαβος** seems to me to be the correct term for this garment. It was probably a linen garment, and Oppenheim³⁹ connects it with Jerome's *amictus lineus*. But there was a similar skin garment. The term **σχῆμα** is generally applied to the whole habit, but it might also designate this very piece. Crum⁴⁰ has interpreted the term **ραρτογ**⁴¹ in Coptic, as a kind of leather apron⁴², a piece similar to the **άνάλαβος**. There is a passage in the Pachomian rule (*Praecepta* 99), which says that the **ραρτογ** has to be well adjusted or tied up. In the translation of Jerome into Latin, **ραρτογ** is rendered as *pellis*, and this could be both the **μηλωτή** or this kind of leather apron. There is another Coptic term, which probably designates this garment: **μογρϣηαζ, μαρϣηαζ, μορϣηαζ**⁴³.

³³ *Collectio alphabetica, Theodorus* 28. *PG* 65, 193D–196A.

³⁴ DRAGUET (see n. 14), 105–6.

³⁵ The Arabic *zunnār* seems to be a loan word from Greek, **ζωνάριον**, term which is however not frequently attested either in the papyri (just two instances: *PMich* XV 740, sixth cent. and *CPR* V, VindobG39847, 47) or in literary texts (*Historia Alexandri Rec. R.* 1441; Ephraem Syrus *Fragmenta Paraenetica* 2 Assemani III 358 and *In illud: attende tibi ipsi* 2, 30 Assemani I 232).

³⁶ DRAGUET (see n. 14) 98. *Apophthegma, collectio alphabetica, Vitimius* 33, *PG* 65, 276D: **καὶ ἦεν τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀναλάβους, καὶ ἔθηκαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ ψιάθιον ἔμπροσθέν μου.**

³⁷ The translator of Evagrius into Latin translates the Greek term with *scapulare*; OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 139.

³⁸ MURRI (see n. 14) 111–3: The terms **αναβολάδιον** and **ανάβολον** appear in the literary texts from the second century with a different meaning, a sort of feminine mantle worn over the shoulders. According to Murri, the nature of the garment designated by those terms cannot be determined.

³⁹ OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 138.

⁴⁰ H. E. WINLOCK – W. E. CRUM – H. G. E. WHITE, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. New York 1926, I 76; N. GOURDIER, *Costume of the Religious*. In: A. ΑΤΙΥΑ, *Coptic Encyclopedia*. New York 1991, II 650–55, 652.

⁴¹ R. A. PARKER, *A Late Demotic gardening agreement*. *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 26–27 (1940–1941) 84–113, 105 connects it with Demotic *rh□tw* with the determinative of the skin (cf. CRUM [see n. 25] 312).

⁴² Perhaps the piece presented by G. CASTEL, *Étude d'une momie copte*. In: J. VERCOUTTER (ed.), *Hommages à Serge Sauneron, II: Égypte post-Pharaonique*. Cairo 1979, 121–43, fig. 4.

⁴³ CRUM (see n. 25) 777b; *Coptic Apophthegma, Annales Musée Guimet* 25, 40; GOURDIER (see n. 38) 651; IDEM, *Rite et vêtements d'Égypte, l'habit et son histoire*. *Le monde copte* 21–22 (1993) 61–70, 62.

The maphorion (μαφόριον) was a sort of veil or cloak worn over the shoulders and back⁴⁴. It is attested in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*⁴⁵ and described by Cassian (*Inst.* I 6) as: *angusto palliolo tam amictus ... quae mafortes tam nostro quam ipsorum nuncupantur eloquio*. Draguet (1944: 103–104) connects it with Jerome's description: *sabano longiore, quod collo umerisque circumdatur*. Thus, Jerome uses *palliolum*, *sabanum* and *amictus* to designate the μαφόριον⁴⁶. But the situation is complicated: whenever he uses *palliolum*, it seems to mean tunic. But on one occasion, when he renders the Coptic term πρηϣ in *Praecepta et instituta* 6, a rule regarding the hanging of a cloak in the sun, this time it seems not to be a tunic, but rather a *pallium*. πρηϣ stems from the verb πορυϣ, to extend, and it appears in the rule for a cover used on the sleeping seat. This is most probably the designation for this garment, used by night, and hung outside in the sun during the day, perhaps for reasons of hygiene.

The meloté, μηλωτή, sometimes μηλωτάριον⁴⁷, *caprina pelliculla, quam meloten vocant* (Jerome, *Praefatio* 4, id. in Cassian *Inst.* I 7), is a mantle made of sheep or goatskin, knotted on the chest and covering the back and shoulders. It was intended for travelling, as a cover when sleeping, or as a sort of bag to carry things, thus the Latin synonym term *pera*, “saddlebag or knapsack” attested by Cassian⁴⁸. It is also used when having meals and in the synaxis, probably, as Draguet explains⁴⁹, because the monk sat on the back part of the μηλωτή on these occasions. It was the mantle of Elijah (I *Kings* 19, 13), or of the desert prophets in the *Letter of the Hebrews* (11, 37–8). In *Historia Monachorum* (III 14, 13), it appears as a characteristic feature of Tabennesian monks: μηλωτὰς φοροῦντας.

As mentioned, μηλωτή, stemming from the Greek μῆλον, “sheep”, is the common term in Greek for this garment⁵⁰, but we also find δέρμα in the *Excerpta Graeca* to the Pachomian rule (A 32) and δίφθερα in Sozomenos (*HE* III 14, 13).

Although this term seems to be the most common in monastic literature, known in both Greek and Latin texts, it appears rarely in the papyri and only then very early⁵¹.

The Coptic term for μηλωτή is βαλοτ or μελλοτ, which probably stem from the Greek term⁵², occasionally used in Coptic texts as well⁵³. There is also the expression ϣααρ ηβααμπε⁵⁴, meaning literally “goatskin”, (i. e. a literal rendering of δέρμα αἴγειον)⁵⁵. In the versions of Athanasios' *Life of Anthony*, the Coptic correspondence to the Greek μηλωτή is not uniform: once it is rendered as ϣτηνη ηϣααρ, and immediately after as μελωτη (§ 91), later as βαλοτ (§ 92). Even the Greek μηλωτή is once substituted by the synonym ἔνδυμα δερμάτινον (§ 47, 2), which corresponds literally to the Coptic ϣτηνη ηϣααρ.

The term ϣαρτοϣ in the Pachomian rule (*Praecepta* 91) was rendered in Latin as *pellis*, as we have seen above. We suspect that this Coptic term has to be understood as the ἀνάλαβος or scapular.

⁴⁴ Much has been said about this garment: A. BAZZERO, ΜΑΦΟΡΤΗΣ. *Studi della Scuola di Papirologia* II (1917) 95–102; J. BEAUCAMP, Organisation domestique et rôles sexuels: Les papyrus byzantins. *DOP* 47 (1993) 185–94, 187; on the origin of the term, P. Meyer 95, 6. The term in Coptic: μαρωρα, M. HASITZKA, Bekleidung und Textilien auf unedierten koptischen Papyri der Papyrussammlung in Wien: Termini. *GRAFMA. Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l'Antiquité* 2 (1998) 28–34, 31; μαφορτε, S.J. CLACKSON, Coptic and Greek Texts relating to the Hermoupolite Monastery of Apa Apollo (*Griffith Institute monographs*). Oxford 2000, *P.MonApollo* 55, 4.

⁴⁵ *Collectio alphabetica, Theodorus* 28. *PG* 65, 192B and 193D.

⁴⁶ As Draguet identifies all three terms (DRAGUET [see n. 14] 103–4).

⁴⁷ Mainly in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*collectio alphabetica, Macarius* 5. *PG* 65, 264; *Motio* 2. *PG* 65, 300; *Bessarion* 4. *PG* 65, 140; *collectio anonyma* 207, 215, 278; *collectio systematica* VII 48, 2.

⁴⁸ *Inst.* I 7.

⁴⁹ DRAGUET (see n. 14) 99.

⁵⁰ Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* II 89.

⁵¹ *PHeid.* II 217 (2 BC); *PMich.* VI 421 (AD 41–54); *PTebt.* I 38 (113 BC)

⁵² CRUM (see n. 25) 38b; E. DÉVAUD, Notes de Lexicologie Copte. *Le Muséon* 36 (1923) 83–99, 91.

⁵³ IV *Kings* 2, 8; III *Kings* 19, 13.

⁵⁴ For example, in *P.Yale Inv.* 1814, MACCOULL (see n. 17) 57.

⁵⁵ DRAGUET (see n. 14) 100. ϣααρ is used in *Vita sahidica* (LEFORT [see n. 26], 273, 15).

SYMBOLISM OF THE MONASTIC GARMENTS

Evagrius Pontikos in his prologue to the *Practical Treatise* explains to his friend Anatolios the symbolism of each of the garments. The *cucullus* is the symbol of the grace of God, protector of reason, and symbol of Christ's childhood. The κολόβιον exposes arms and hands and thus symbolises a life devoid of hypocrisy and vain glory. The ἀνάλαβος or scapular in the form of a cross, is the symbol of the faith in Christ. The ζώνη or belt holds the kidneys and restricts any desire or temptation⁵⁶. The μηλωτή, being a goatskin, symbolizes mortification, and thus, by wearing it, the monk wears, as it were, the death of Christ.

Cassian (*Inst.* I 3–7) on the other hand, assigns the following symbolism to the pieces of the monastic habit: the *cucullus* is simplicity and innocence, related again to childhood. The *colobion*, and the fact of having naked arms, means the renunciation of all the actions of this world. The linen tunic reminds the monk that he is dead to all material life. This symbolism is applied by Evagrius to the μηλωτή. The ἀνάλαβος, which he also calls *rebracchiatoria* or *subcinctoria* and describes quite accurately, symbolizes the disposition to work, easily explained by the function of this article of clothing. The μηλωτή symbolises the fastness in virtue. The belt has the same symbolism as in Evagrius, (i. e. the avoidance of any carnal desire).

The *Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio anonyma 55)*⁵⁷ provide a description of the symbolism of these garments, too. The hood is the symbol of guilelessness, the scapular of the cross, and the belt of strength and courage:

Περὶ τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν μοναχῶν. Ἔλεγον οἱ γέροντες ὅτι τὸ κουκούλιον σημεῖόν ἐστι τῆς ἀκακίας· ὁ ἀνάλαβος τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἡ δὲ ζώνη τῆς ἀνδρείας.

And according to Maximos Confessor, in his *Quaestiones et dubia 67* (PG 90, 840–1), the tunic, κολόβιον, leaving the arms naked, means that ἠθικὴ φιλοσοφία has to be put on after it has removed the active effects (τὰς πρακτικὰς ... ἐνεργείας) of sin. The hands are the symbol of πράξις, action, and ἐνέργεια, energy or strength. The belt, ζώνη, because it is made of dead skin and embraces the kidneys and the navel, symbolizes necrosis or mortification by continence. The scapular, having the form of a cross, means that we have to crucify ourselves to the world and the world to ourselves. The hood is the Grace of God, which guards and keeps our mind safe.

Finally, let us look at the text of the Prophecy of Karour⁵⁸, one of Pachomios' disciples:

επιμα ἡτδᾶβιτων ἡπα παρομα ατετηκαττηγητη καρηγ ἡτερεπιστημει. επιμα ητολομοη ατετη
χι μιμαγ ητηποτακη ἡτμητκογι. επιμα μπημοχη ητατημογρ ητετηηπε ηρητη, ατετηωωπε ετετη
βηλ εβολ.

“Instead of the tunic of Apa Pachomios, you have stripped yourselves of his prudence. Instead of the hood, you have taken away the obedience of childhood. Instead of the belt with which you tied your loins, you have become dissolute.”

As we have seen above, with the help of this text in comparison to the others, even if they present a very altered line of tradition, we have reached a conclusion regarding the meaning of the Coptic term τολομωη (*cf.* above).

There is, of course, much more to say about the subject. Not only about other terms in Coptic and Greek in other works of Patrology, but also about the evolution of this terminology, as well as about the reality behind the words in later centuries. This has been merely an elementary analysis of the basic texts on the monastic habit, which has tried to clarify the problems of transmission and adaptation from one language into the other.

⁵⁶ This symbolism goes back to Philo Alexandrinus, *Quaest. Exod.* I 19.

⁵⁷ Ms. Coisl. gr. 126, ed. F. NAU, *Histoires des solitaires égyptiens. ROC 12–14* (1907–09).

⁵⁸ Codex P. Morgan 586 t. LI 3, LEFORT (see n. 2) 102.