

THE MONASTERIES AND MONKS OF NUBIA

ARTUR OBLUSKI



WARSAW 2019

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ARTUR OBŁUSKI

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To Joanna

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PREFACE

THE *MONASTERIES AND MONKS OF NUBIA* CAME into existence thanks to a grant awarded by the National Science Centre, Poland, for the project 'Nubian monasticism. Religious institutions on the fringes of the Byzantine world' (agreement no. 2014/13/D/HS3/03829). However, a significant part of the research was carried out with support of the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project, which financed the excavations at Ghazali, and thanks to the Columbus grant awarded by the Foundation for Polish Science, which enabled work on unpublished records of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition to Qasr el-Wizz at the University of Chicago. These institutions, as well as the Egypt Exploration Society, the Griffith Institute and the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford, as well as the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome, which graciously granted me access to their archival materials, all played an important role in the process of bringing this book to fruition.

Work on this book was possible thanks to the support of several institutions and people. First of all, thanks to a grant from the Foundation for Polish Science, I had an opportunity to spend nearly two years conducting research on material from the Qasr el-Wizz monastery at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. With funding from the Lanckoroński Foundation, I was able to visit the Egypt Exploration Society and access unpublished material from the survey conducted by Harry Smith. Fieldwork at the Ghazali monastery was possible thanks to a grant from the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project. However, the writing of this book was achieved primarily thanks to grant no. 2014/13/D/HS3/03829 awarded by the National Science Centre, Poland, specifically for this purpose.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CIG</i> IV	E. CURTIUS & A. KIRCHHOFF, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , vol. IV, Berlin 1856–1859.
DBMNT	Database of Medieval Nubian Texts, created and administered by Grzegorz Ochała (http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl).
<i>I. Faras Copt.</i>	S. JAKOBIELSKI, <i>A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions</i> [= <i>Faras</i> III], Warsaw 1972.
<i>I. Faras Greek</i>	J. KUBIŃSKA, <i>Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes</i> [= <i>Faras</i> IV], Warsaw 1974.
<i>I. Fitz.</i>	G. TH. MARTIN, <i>Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, c. 3000 BC – AD 1150</i> , Cambridge 2005.
<i>I. Ghazali</i>	G. OCHAŁA, <i>Catalogue of Funerary Inscriptions from the Monastery at Ghazali (I. Ghazali)</i> , forthcoming.
<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i>	J. VAN DER VLIET, <i>Catalogue of the Coptic Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Copt.)</i> [= <i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> 121], Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2003.
<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i>	A. ŁAJTAR, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Greek)</i> [= <i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> 122], Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2003.
<i>I. Lefebvre</i>	G. LEFEBVRE, <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte</i> , Cairo 1907.
<i>I. Mina</i>	T. MINA, <i>Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie</i> , Cairo 1942.
<i>I. QI</i>	A. ŁAJTAR & J. VAN DER VLIET, <i>Qasr Ibrim: The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions</i> [= <i>The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement Series</i> 13], Warsaw 2010.
<i>I. Tib.</i>	M. G. TIBILETTI BRUNO, <i>Iscrizioni Nubiane</i> , Pavia 1964.
<i>I. Varsovie</i>	A. ŁAJTAR & A. TWARDECKI, <i>Catalogue des inscriptions grecques</i>

- du Musée National de Varsovie* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement Series 2*], Warsaw 2003.
- P. Bal.* P. E. KAHLE, *Bala' izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala' izah in Upper Egypt*, vols. I–II, London 1954.
- P. Cair. Masp.* J. MASPERO, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, vols. I–III, Cairo 1911–1916.
- P. Köln Ägypt.* D. KURTH, H.-J. THISSEN & M. WEBER, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri* [= *Papyrologica Colonensia 9*], Opladen 1980.
- P. KRU* W. E. CRUM, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djême (Theben)*, Leipzig 1912 (reprint in: *Subsidia Byzantina lucis ope iterata* 18, with an introduction by A. A. SCHILLER, Leipzig 1973).
- P. Lond.* F. G. KENYON *et al.*, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vols. I–VII, London 1893–1974.
- P. Lond. Copt. I* W. E. CRUM, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905.
- P. Naqlun II* T. DERDA, *Deir el-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri, Volume Two (P. Naqlun II)* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement Series 9*], Warsaw 2008.
- P. QI II* G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim II* [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations 10*], London 1989.
- P. QI III* G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III* [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations 12*], London 1991.
- P. QI IV* G. R. RUFFINI, *The Bishop, the Eparch, and the King. Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim (P. QI IV)* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement Series 22*], Warsaw 2014.
- P. Sijp.* A. J. B. SIRKS, K. A. WÖRPER & R. S. BAGNALL (eds.), *Papyri in Memory of P. J. Sijpesteijn (P. Sijp.)* [= *American Studies in Papyrology 40*], Oakville, CT 2007.
- SB* F. PREISIGKE *et al.*, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, vols. I–XXVI, *variis locis* 1913–2008.
- SBKopt.* M. R. M. HASITZKA, *Koptisches Sammelbuch*, vols. I–IV [= *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 23*], Vienna – Munich – Leipzig 1993–2012.

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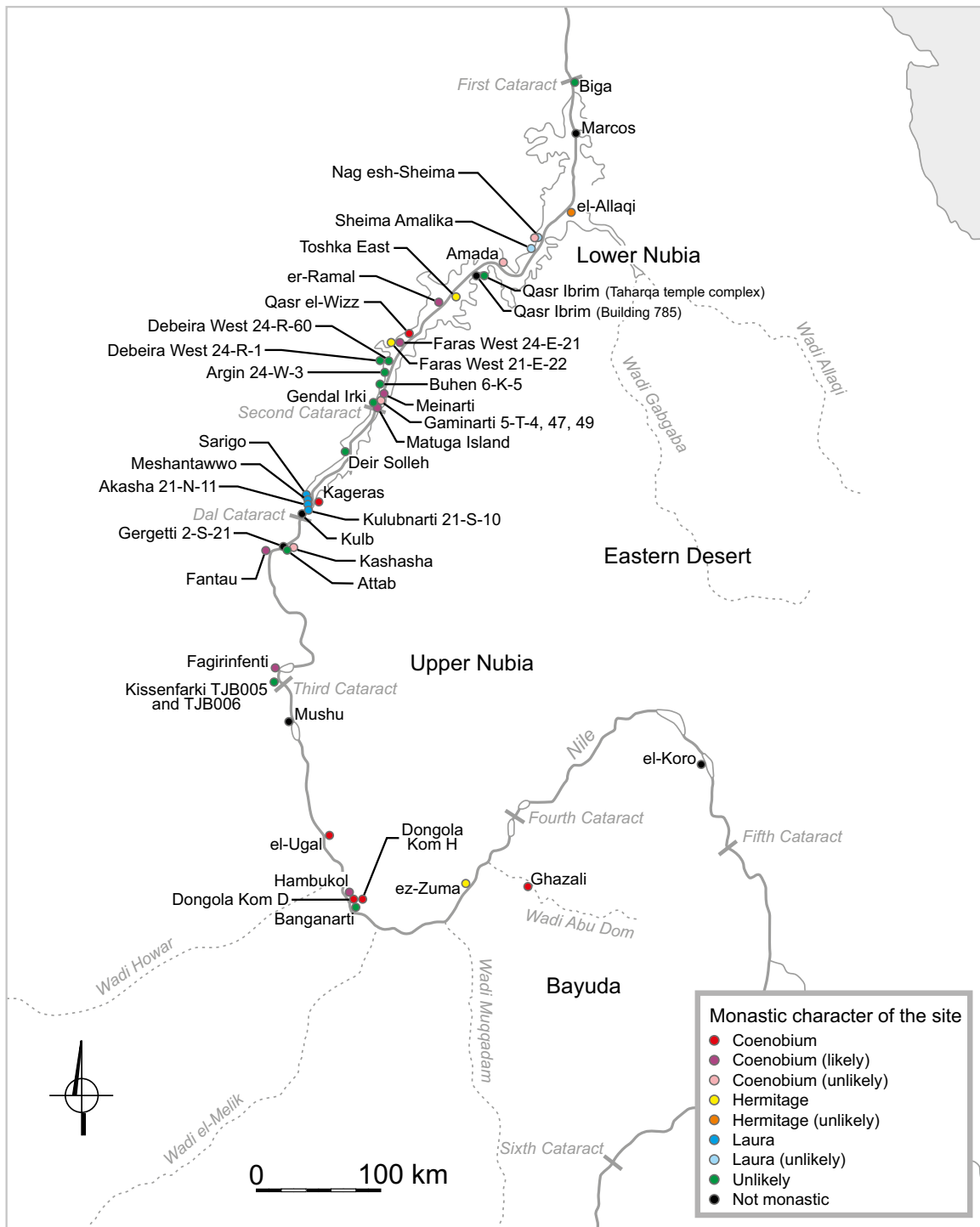


Fig. 1. Monastic sites of Nubia
(drawn by Szymon Maślak)

THE MONASTERIES AND MONKS OF NUBIA

INTRODUCTION

THE AIM OF THIS BOOK IS TO PRESENT the material record of Nubian monasticism in a systematic manner and to conduct a comparative analysis of this phenomenon. Research on monasticism is, inevitably, considered a part of religious studies. This book, which is based primarily upon archaeological evidence, can therefore be classified as a study on the archaeology of religion. Reliance on the material record was not a matter of choice. The source base for reconstructing the monastic movement in Nubia, or rather life in individual monasteries, is largely archaeological and epigraphic. Much of the presented information may seem obvious to some researchers. However, since this book is the first attempt to systematically review the state of research on Nubian monasticism, the picture emerging from it should, in my view, be as complete as possible. If its quality proves adequate, the book can serve as a point of departure for further in-depth research, but also for debate, which will ultimately improve our understanding of medieval Nubian societies.

In order to analyse sources regarding Nubian monasteries, it is necessary to place them in the wider perspective of the Christian monastic movement – a new social phenomenon never before or after repeated in the history of humankind. Looking beyond Nubia is motivated not only by the desire to find reference points in centres that influenced the formation of the Nubian civilisation, but also because such parallels are indispensable for the interpretation of archaeological finds. Inscriptions are not enough to understand the organisation of communities known thanks to material traces we find during archaeological investigations. The general paucity of texts concerning Nubian monasticism compels us to seek comparative material in other peripheral regions and, occasionally, also in the core zone of the Mediterranean Christian world. Such an approach has its perils, but I tried to minimise the risk of error

by reaching for information from various types of sources, both textual and archaeological. Regardless, the risk is worth taking, for otherwise it would be impossible to use the bulk of archaeological data collected to date for reconstructing the Nubian past. Thus, I felt it necessary to undertake a broad comparative analysis of monasticism in the Christian world. Particularly crucial are the Constantinopolitan and Egyptian varieties of this vast movement. These two regions seem to have been the reference points to which Nubians looked for inspiration and for models they could adapt to their purposes. In addition, a few other regions are considered, for instance Syria, Armenia and parts of Western Europe, to help view Nubian monasticism in the context of religious institutions functioning on the peripheries rather than in the core areas of the shrunken Roman Empire.

Indication of the paramount importance of monasticism for the Christian culture can be sought in the tradition of a different monotheistic religion, Islam. According to this tradition, young Mohammed met a monk called Bahira, sometimes referred to as Sergius, who foretold him his destiny (see S. H. Griffith 1995 for bibliography). The story ascribes the identification of Mohammed as Prophet to a person whose authority would have bolstered this message in society. Such a man of authority was a monk, a trustworthy ascetic who enjoyed the respect and trust of the people and, at the same time, had the air of being close to God.

Monasteries and monks were virtually a bridge built between Heaven and Earth. Their mission was spiritual care for every member of the monastic community in the first place, but also for the entire lay community through prayer, singing of hymns, holding Mass, and other religious activities associated with spiritual growth. Specifically this specialisation: greater progress in spiritual growth, and thereby being closer to God, was one of the factors that determined the prominent position of the monastic movement in society. Closeness to God also had economic significance, as in society there was, especially in hard times, a need for spiritual services, such as prayer for a successful business transaction, or the blessing of assets, for instance ships, not to mention male offspring.

Christian monasticism is a highly complex phenomenon, and the number of factors affecting its existence is virtually infinite: from social aspects and local traits of different communities, through political factors, such

as decisions to adopt Christianity by a given state, to climate. Christian monasticism developed in a vast territory, from the Euphrates to Gibraltar, from Ethiopia to Ireland. Despite several dominant trends, in each area it had its regional specifics.

Conversion to Christianity and the rise of the first monastic communities in Nubia occur when in the Mediterranean world both this religion and monasticism already have a long history. In Egypt, its beginnings date back to the turn of the third and fourth centuries, while in Syria, the earlier, pre-monastic forms of ascetic life yield to monasticism in the mid-fourth century. In Palestine, Asia Minor and Constantinople, monastic communities proliferate towards the end of the fourth century. For at least 200 years following the monastic boom and prior to its expansion beyond the First Nile Cataract, the monastic movement developed freely, without strict regulations, solely with sets of guidelines prepared by founders of monastic communities or their subsequent leaders. Monastic rules appear relatively late, no earlier than in the sixth century, and, in fact, with some exceptions their presence is limited to the West. Our sources do not hint at the existence of any factors that could impose a process of standardisation of the monastic movement by promoting uniform, ready-to-use models. Interferences of episcopal councils and emperors were initially sporadic and rather ineffective. The first meaningful attempt at regulation of monastic life on state level was made by Justinian (483–565), who promoted a model monastery in his *Novels*. However, his ideas did not have major impact beyond Constantinople and vicinity. Thus, a fundamental and permanent trait of the monastic movement was a diversity of forms. The spectrum ranges from hermitages inhabited by one or several monks, through groups of hermitages called *laurae*, each with a leader, administrative hub and cult centre, to monasteries in which monks lived together in communities. The latter form was promoted by Justinian. Coenobitism also seems to have been the most common form of monasticism in Nubia, but the figures derived from the limited archaeological investigations should be treated with great caution. The relative count may be skewed primarily by the fact that coenobia are easier to identify thanks to their distinctive spatial organisation: the presence of an enclosure wall and special communal spaces like the refectory and dormitory.

One of the fundamental questions posed repeatedly in this book concerns the models that inspired the creators of monastic communities in Nubia. The geographic arguments point primarily to Egypt, but other regions of the Late Antique East should not be ruled out prematurely. We have, for instance, sound evidence for Syrian influence on the culture of Christian Nubia, especially liturgy. Also Constantinople, a core region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the imperial capital, must be considered as a possible source of inspiration.

This book also addresses several fundamental issues, for instance the presence of various forms of monasticism (hermitages, *laurae* and coenobitic monasteries) in Nubia and their spatial organisation. Thus far, attempts to characterise Nubian monasticism in a synthetic manner have taken the form of short articles (Godlewski 2013; 2015) limited mostly to discussion of architectural features. In addition, with the notable exception of Adam Łajtar's *ad-hoc* publications spurred by the emergence of new evidence, no study published to date collects and discusses the various titles associated with the monastic milieu, investigating who stood at the head of coenobitic communities, what their internal organisation was like, and how the monastic, ecclesiastical and spiritual hierarchies were intertwined. Another area in need of investigation is the relationship between Nubian monks and society, including the roles they played in lay communities and whether they really 'abandoned' the world at large. The book seeks to determine whether the Nubian elites perceived monastics as a threat to their dominant position in the social hierarchy, or rather collaborated with monks, taking advantage of the fact that monasteries offered human resources with highly esteemed and useful skills that proved helpful, if not indispensable, in managing non-monastic communities ranging from individual settlements to the state.

CHAPTER ONE

COENOBITIC MONASTERIES, LAURAE, AND HERMITAGES IN NUBIA. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

THE FOLLOWING CHAPTER contains a description and analysis of archaeological sites in Nubia, which have been indicated as locations of confirmed or potential presence of anchorites, laurae, or coenobia. The sites are presented in alphabetical order. Whenever available, the site name is accompanied by a code according to system introduced by William Adams (Adams 2005a: 11).

1. AKASHA 21-N-11 (MONASTERY OF ST EPIMACHUS)

Location

21°5'59.55" N; 30°41'38.05" E

Research

The site was excavated in the 1960s by James Knudstad as part of a mission directed by Anthony Mills.

Description

The site is located on the west bank of the Nile, on a low rocky outcrop, which likely saved it from flooding after the construction of the High Dam in Aswan. Looking at the site on Google Earth, one can see to the

south of it a cluster of several dozen tombs most likely belonging to members of the neighbouring community. It is a small complex of buildings constructed of roughly hewn stone and surrounded by a wall. The site was a small monastery or the nucleus of a *laura* that brought together monks from dispersed hermitages. The first evident parallel that comes to mind on inspection of the site is the hermitages of Cellia.

The only entrance to the compound was located approximately in the middle of the eastern section of the wall. It led through a room added on the external face, permitting to avoid unexpected or unwanted visitors. The northern part of the compound featured a small church. The church is of exceptional interest and its layout is highly unusual, as it was constructed in a space that previously served other purposes. The *hierateion* together with the altar were located in a separate room added to the entire complex. The floor of the *hierateion* and the main nave was paved with stone slabs. The church also had a small *prothesis* and a northern aisle. The western part was also bipartite rather than tripartite, as is usually the case in typical Makurian churches. The eastern part of the northern aisle was separated from the southern part by a wall of sun-dried brick. The naos and the western part of the church were likely roofed with a pair of barrel vaults resting on two pillars in the east and on a wall in the west.

In addition to the church, the enclosure contained four sets of rooms. Two of these compounds consisted of four separate spaces of similar size. In the third complex located closest to the church, two of the four rooms formed a suite. The Akasha 21-N-II site is not, as previously thought, a small fort of the Christian period, but rather a modest-sized monastic complex. Given the presence of a church, it may have also been the centre of a *laura* with hermitages scattered across the surrounding landscape.

I have no information on movable objects from the Akasha 21-N-II site except for one vessel published by Jacques van der Vliet. It is a large, inscribed pottery vessel currently housed in the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (inventory numbers: 23038-A/23038-B; excavation numbers: 21-N-II/48A and 48B; *I. Khartoum Copt.* 24). The inscription reads as follows:

]ε ΠΠΔ-
 ΓΙΟΣ ΕΠΙ]ΜΑΧΟΣ
]ΗΜ



Fig. 2. Akasha 21-N-II, phase I
(after Edwards forthcoming: fig. 2)

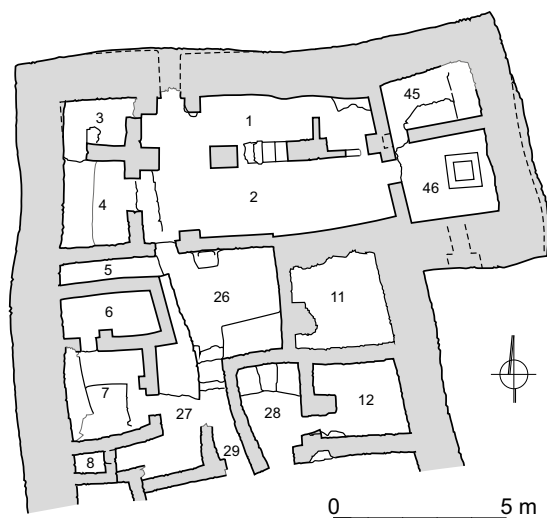


Fig. 3. Akasha 21-N-11, phase 4
(after Edwards forthcoming: fig. 3)

The vessel was decorated with stylised representations of fish with their heads turned toward the interior. As van der Vliet rightly noted, the symbolic meaning of fish is clearly evocative of the baptismal rite and the vessel was probably used in the church or monastery of St Epimachus (*I. Khartoum Copt.*: p. 84). It is therefore justified to call this small complex the monastery of St Epimachus. Epimachus of Pelusium was a popular saint in Nubia. A church of his name was located in western Qasr Ibrim (*P. 21* III 30). He was also the patron saint of the church inside the converted temple at Abu Oda on the east bank of the Nile between east Abu Simbel and Jebel Adda (F. Ll. Griffith 1913: 64–68; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 170–175).

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Mills 1965: 10; Anderson 1999: 81; Edwards forthcoming.



Figs. 4-5. Akasha 21-N-11, looking east (top) and south (bottom)
(after Edwards forthcoming: figs. 5 and 7)

2. EL-ALLAQI

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The location of the site was erroneously reported as Wadi Allaqi (Anderson 1999: 72, note 4), when it is, in fact, situated on the bank of the Nile, in a locality called el-Allaqi. It is found at a distance of about 100 m from Cemetery III, at the foot of a rocky rise on the desert edge (Firth 1927: plan II).

Research

Site investigated by Cecil Mallaby Firth during the archaeological survey of Nubia in years 1910–1911 (Firth 1927: III).

Description

A one-room dwelling found in this site was built of roughly hewn stone blocks in the lower part and of sun-dried brick in the upper part. The entrance to the room was on the western side. Lower parts of the walls were covered with limestone slabs adorned with chevrons and notches. Inside the room, in the southeast corner, stood an upper part of a column reused as a table, and a fragment of a smaller column, which may have served as a stool. Against the wall in the northern part was a bench, which easily could have been used for sleeping. Finds from the room included two oil lamps with a distinctive frog motif and a small cup, which may be assigned to the Early Christian period on the basis of Firth's description, as well as several Roman bronze coins.

Firth, who discovered the site, put forward a tentative suggestion that this one-room dwelling was a hermitage. Its isolation from other residential buildings in the vicinity seems to speak in favour of such an interpretation. Mention of monasteries and hermits living near Allaqi is also found in the *Synaxarium Arabo-Jacobiticum* (*Synaxarium Arabo-Jacobiticum*, in Vantini 1975: 442), but the account disagrees with the version of the *Synaxarium Arabo-Jacobiticum* published in *Patrologia Orientalis* (Basset 1904–1929: vol. IV, 277), which solely mentions the church of St Macarius and omits Allaqi.

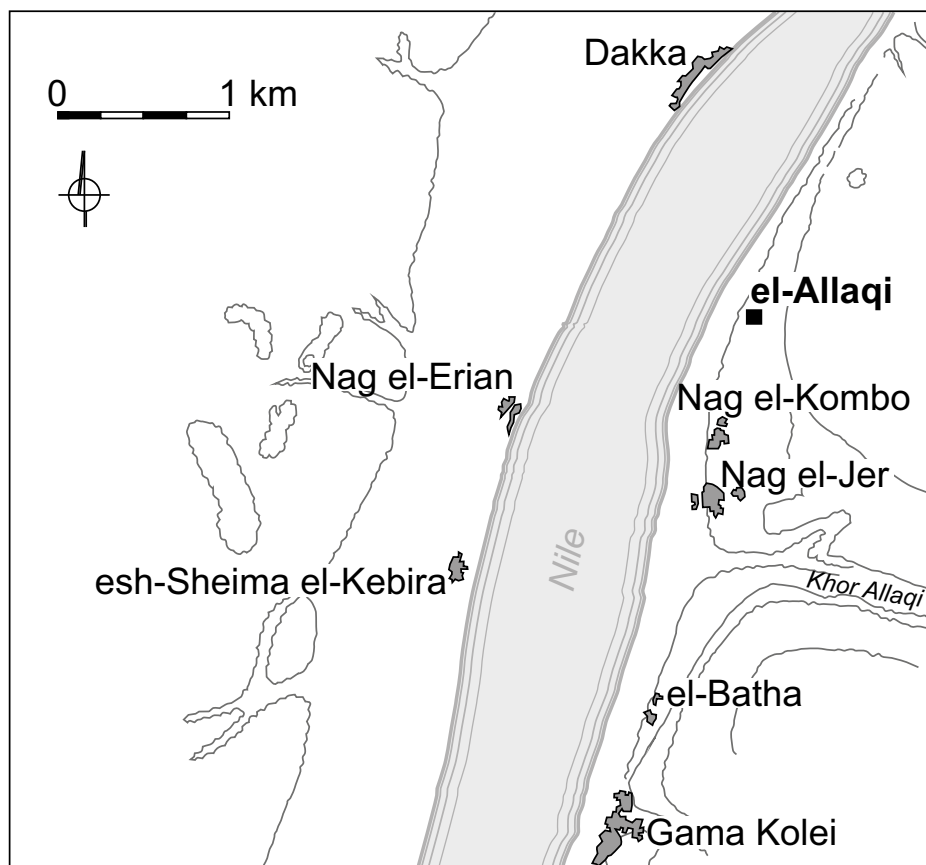


Fig. 6. Map of the part of the Nile valley near el-Allaqi
(after Firth 1927: map II)

The material evidence permitting to consider the site a hermitage is insufficient and ambiguous.

Dating

Early Christian period.

Bibliography

Firth 1927: III, pl. 2a; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 64; Anderson 1999.

3. AMADA

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

Ruins of buildings of sun-dried brick interpreted as a coenobitic monastery are located near the temple of Amun and Re-Khorakhty erected by Thutmosis III.

Research

Hans Stock, Dieter Arnold, DAI excavations at Amada.

Description

The first to mention the possible existence of a monastery near the temple converted into a church was Frederic Norden, who visited Egypt and Nubia in years 1738–1739 (Norden 1755: vol. II, 144):

We fastened the barque near to Amada, a village situated on the western shore of the Nile, almost opposite to Koroskoss. I landed there, to go and see an ancient Egyptian temple, which, in length of time had got into the hands of the Christians. They had made a church of it; of which the walls afford a very plain proof, since we see there paintings, representing the Trinity, the apostles, and divers other saints; and in the spaces where the plaster has fallen, the hieroglyphics that are underneath begin to appear. This temple is still entire; but the monastery that had been built near it is absolutely ruined.

A similar description is offered by Giovanni Battista Belzoni, who visited Amada in 1817 (Belzoni 1821: 216):

In about two hours we arrived at Almeida [Amada – AO], the ruins of a small temple on the north of the Nile. The river there takes its course from north-west to southeast. It is a small temple, and has served for a Greek chapel. The hieroglyphics are pretty well finished, but nearly covered with plaster by the Greeks. There are other apartments, of unburnt bricks, which served as a monastery to the works. Toward evening, we arrived at Seboua.

The site was also mentioned i.a. by Jean-Jacques Rifaud (Rifaud 1830: 268) as ‘les restes d’un clocher en briques crues’, Anton Prokesch (Prokesch von Osten 1831: 132–135, under name Hamada) and Charles Leonard Irby (Irby & Mangles 1868: 30, under name Armada, date: September, 5; incorrect reference by Monneret de Villard as page 95). The latter two, however, do not suggest a monastic function of the ruins.

Despite the visitors’ repeated indications of the monastic purpose of the sun-dried brick buildings adjacent to the temple, such an interpretation cannot be taken at face value. The plan of the building drawn by Ugo Monneret de Villard (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 80) rather seems to indicate that the structures interpreted as dormitories were part of a storehouse, a common element associated with virtually every Egyptian temple. The plan drawn during DAIK excavations at the site reveals several structures. One of them is probably the remains of a church, but the existence of a monastery cannot be confirmed with certainty.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Norden 1755: vol. II, 144; Belzoni 1821: 216; Gau 1822: tables 48 and 49; Rifaud 1830: 268; Prokesch von Osten 1831: 132–135 (under name Hamada); Irby & Mangles 1868: 30; Gauthier 1913; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 94–99.

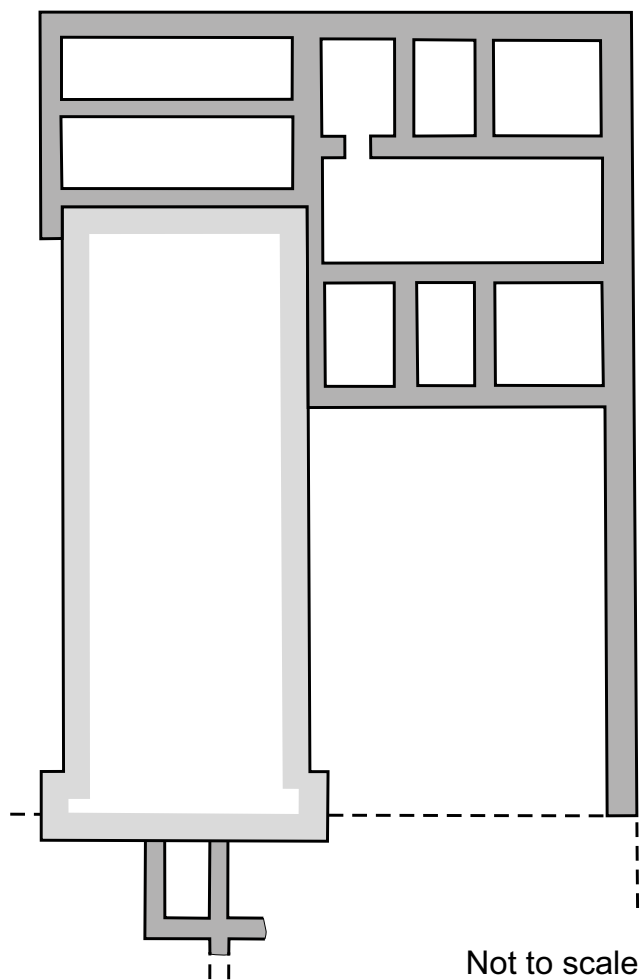


Fig. 7. Plan of the medieval remains near the temple at Amada
(after Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 80)

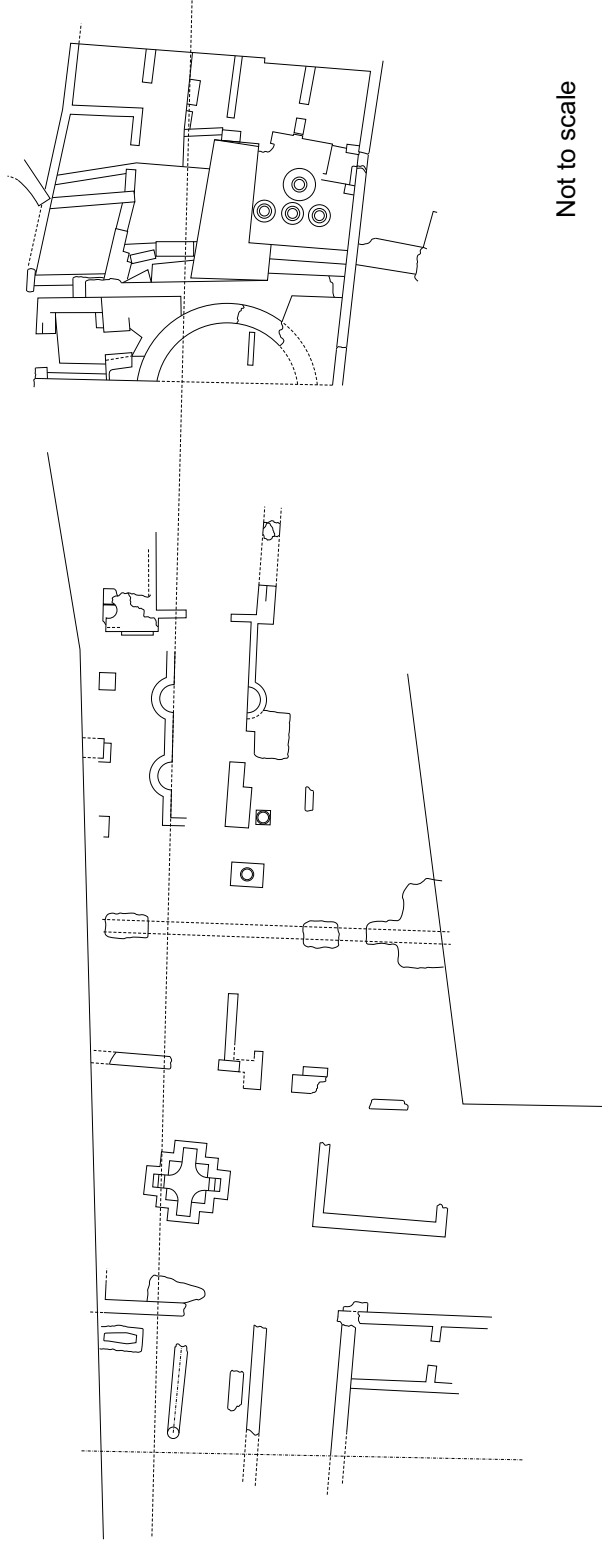


Fig. 8. Plan of the DAI excavations at Amada (courtesy of DAI Kairo)

4. APA DIOS(CORUS) (QASR EL-WIZZ)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The monastery was located on a high sandstone promontory on the bank of the Nile, 2.5 kilometres north of the Faras agglomeration.

Research

Archaeological research on cemeteries adjacent to the monastery was conducted by Harry Smith in 1961 (Smith 1962). Subsequently, exploration of the coenobium was launched by Keith Seele in 1964 (Seele 1963–1964; Seele & Devries 1971), and then George Scanlon conducted intensive field-work in autumn 1965. Currently the publication of these excavations is prepared by Artur Obłuski, Katarzyna Danys and Alexandros Tsakos with contributions by Robin Seignobos and Dobrochna Zielińska (Obłuski forthcoming).

Description

The monastery of Apa Dios(corus) was likely a community with ties to the capital of Nobadia. Its distance from the Faras citadel matches the distance separating the monastery on Kom H from the citadel of Dongola. The entire complex was surrounded by a wall built of roughly hewn stone, and following an enlargement of the monastery in the early eleventh century its dimensions were 48 m (N-S) × 28 m (E-W). The monastery was initially accessed through two gateways in the south stretch of the wall, one passage in the western part next to a structure interpreted by George Scanlon as the gatekeeper's dwelling, one gate leading to the riverside slope on which tombs of figures important for the community were located, and one service entrance on the north, leading to the industrial area. The southern part featured a large courtyard. The church, which lay to the north of it, practically split the monastery into two parts. An annex added to this building at the beginning of the eleventh century played the role of a second church. The early church was a basilica with a return aisle, structurally altered and enlarged at least three times. In its origi-

nal phase, it was remarkably similar to fifth-century Egyptian churches, but subsequently it received Makurian traits (tripartite western part and a *synthronon* in the apse) (Obłuski 2016). Further to the north was a series of passageways and a set of three rooms of uncertain function. The dormitory was located in the northwest part of the monastery. The monks' cells were on two sides of a central corridor: two on the west and three on the east. At its north end, the corridor opened on a refectory furnished with four oval benches. To the east of it, in turn, were service areas, a kitchen, a pantry, and a bakery.

The early eleventh century brought a major structural change to the coenobium. Additional rooms were added along the western and northern walls. This new building project must have been due to the high intensity of pilgrim traffic, as a new kitchen and bakery were constructed. Excavations in the monastery yielded the only dossier of texts coming from a monastic milieu in Nubia. It comprises literary texts, documents and letters, currently prepared by Alexandros Tsakos for publication in the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition series (Tsakos forthcoming). The pottery assemblage has been studied and is due to be published by Katarzyna Danys (Danys forthcoming).

Dating

The founding of the monastery coincided with Nobadia's official conversion to Christianity around the mid-sixth century. The complex went out of use in the thirteenth century.

Bibliography

Smith 1962; Seele 1963–1964; Scanlon & Hingot 1968; Scanlon 1970; Seele & Devries 1971; Scanlon 1972; Scanlon 1974; Obłuski 2016; Obłuski forthcoming; Danys forthcoming; Tsakos forthcoming.



Fig. 9. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz),
plan of the monastery (after Scanlon 1970: plan I)



Fig. 10. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz), church, looking east
(courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



Fig. 11. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz), refectory, looking northwest



Fig. 12. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz), dormitory, looking south
(both figures courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

5. ARGIN 24-W-3
(DEIR EL-BOHL, DEIR EL-BOLLOR)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site was located on the west bank of the Nile, north of Argin, on an outcrop slightly raised above the surrounding area.

Research

None.

Description

According to the account of George Somers Clarke, already in the early twentieth century this complex was almost completely destroyed and hardly any structures were preserved above foundation level. The church in Deir el-Bollor shown on the enclosed plan was the smallest known church in Nubia and it seems that if indeed this site was a monastery, then this was rather the second church serving the community. The available data do not permit to assign a monastic function to any of the rooms. However, an argument in favour of the site's monastic character is its location on the outskirts of the village, on slightly elevated terrain.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Somers Clarke 1899: 13; Somers Clarke 1912: 57–59, pl. 10, fig. 1; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 209–210, fig. 205; Adams 2005b: 27.

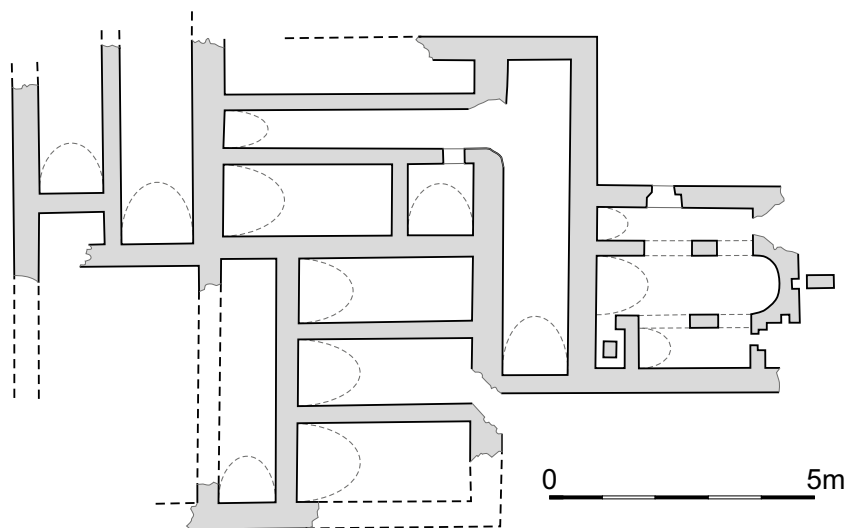


Fig. 13. Argin 24-W-3, remains of a church and a monastery (?) (after Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 205; after Somers Clarke 1912: plate X, fig. 1)

6. ATTAB

Location

No data.

Research

None.

Description

No one besides Frederic Cailliaud saw this site or has since been able to identify it. The most reliable testimony are the results of a survey conducted by André Vila in the late 1960s – early 1970s, which failed to corroborate the account of the French traveller.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Cailliaud 1826: vol. I, 361; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 236; Vila 1975.

7. BANGANARTI

Location

18°10'00.4" N; 30°47'04.8" E

On the eastern bank of the Nile in an area covered by moving dunes.

Research

Bogdan Żurawski since 2001.

Description

The site is an enclosed settlement with a centrally located church. In fact, there are two churches, one dated to the seventh century, the other to the eleventh century and built over the earlier one. The church was surrounded by domestic buildings, which included a granary and a bakery. The first church was 'a regular diocesan church' later turned into a pilgrimage church (Żurawski 2012: 376).

As the excavator puts it (Żurawski 2014: 3):

After the 2010 season it became fairly certain that Banganarti, at least in the seventh–eleventh centuries, was a fortified enclosure rather than a monastic compound. The excavations hitherto carried out did not reveal anything to substantiate the identification as a monastery. (...)

(...) A monastic character can be attributed, however, to the *extra muros* enclosure built against the eastern section of the girdle wall. The cross-shaped pier placed centrally in the biggest room of the compound could in fact have supported a table rather than the roof. This enclosure could have housed a small monastic community serving the pilgrimage centre from the eleventh century onwards.

No structures excavated inside the enclosure and published so far support the hypothesis concerning the existence of a monastery inside the enclosure. The cross-shaped pillar does not offer sufficient support for the claim of the monastic character of the eastern extension of the settlement.

Dating

Seventh–eighteenth century.

Bibliography

Żurawski 2010; 2012 (with a list of other publications on the site); 2014: 3.



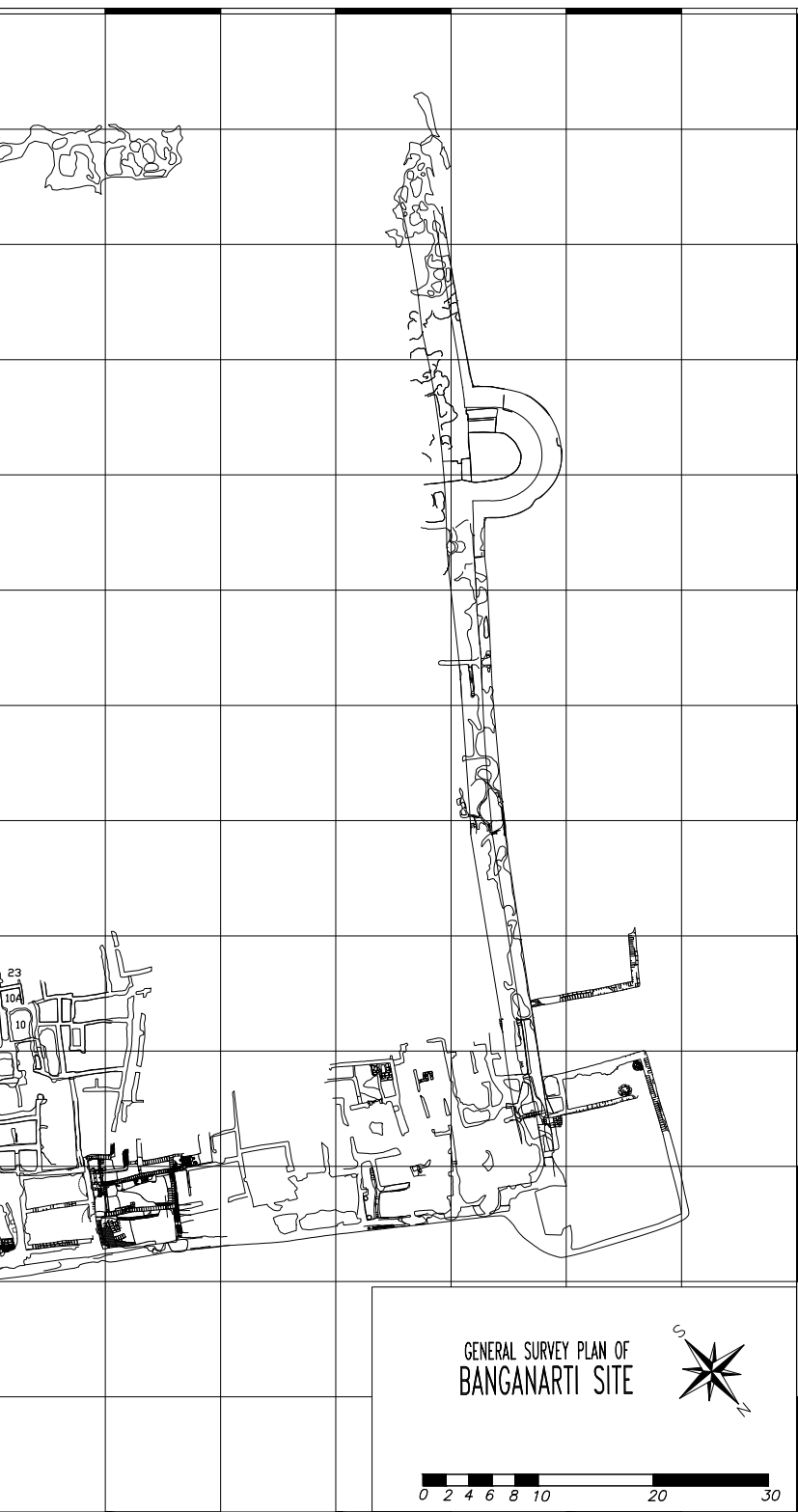


Fig. 14. Baganarti,
general plan of the site
(Roman Łopaciuk,
courtesy of Bogdan Żurawski)

8. BIGA

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

Rocky rise on the island of Biga.

Research

None.

Description

The first to suggest the existence of a monastery on the island was Arthur Weigall in a report on the antiquities of Lower Nubia. He writes as follows (Weigall 1907: 35):

On the rocks above this group of inscriptions there is a small mediaeval monastery built of crude brick. There are three rooms with vaulted roofs, more or less intact; and a stairway, under which is a closet, leads to an upper story, now ruined. The ruins of what may have been the church stand on the north side of this building.

The monastic function of the mentioned structures was refuted already by Ugo Monneret de Villard (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 13, fig. 10).

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Weigall 1907: 35; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 13, fig. 10.

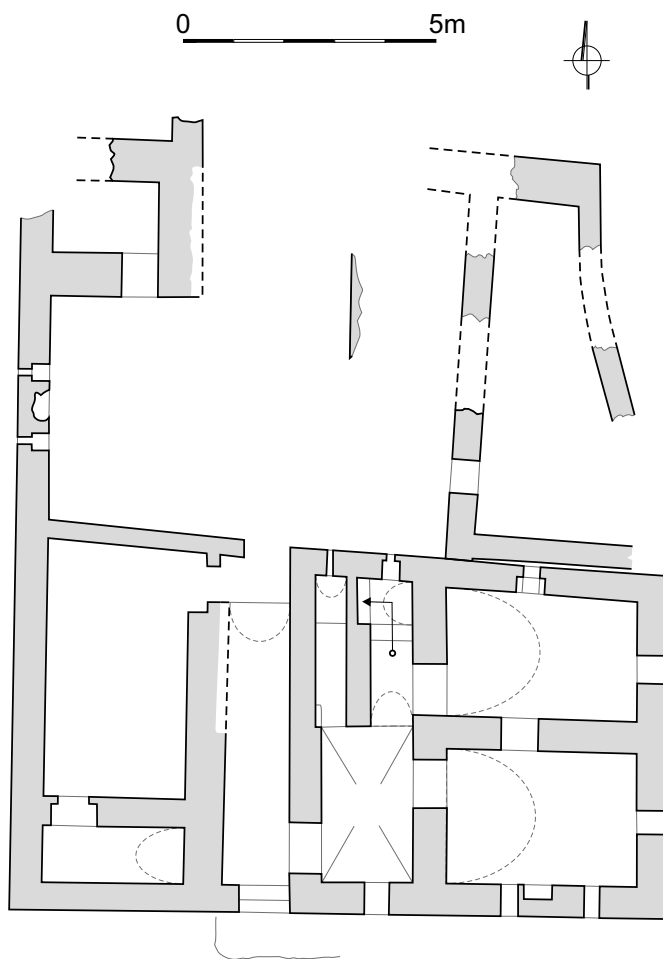


Fig. 15. Biga
(after Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 10)

9. BUHEN 6-K-5
(CHURCH NEAR WADI HALFA)

Location

No data.

Research

Geoffrey Mileham partly excavated the church (Mileham 1910: 48–56, pls. 37–38).

Description

The existence of a monastery in Buhen was proposed by Julie Anderson (Anderson 1999: 71, note 4). However, I was unable to find any information confirming the presence of a monastery on this site. The church, partly excavated by Geoffrey Mileham (Mileham 1910: 48–56, pls. 37–38), was visited by William Adams (Adams 2005b: 27).

Dating

Classic Christian period.

Bibliography

Mileham 1910: 48–56, pls. 37–38; Anderson 1999: 71, note 4; Adams 2005b: 27.

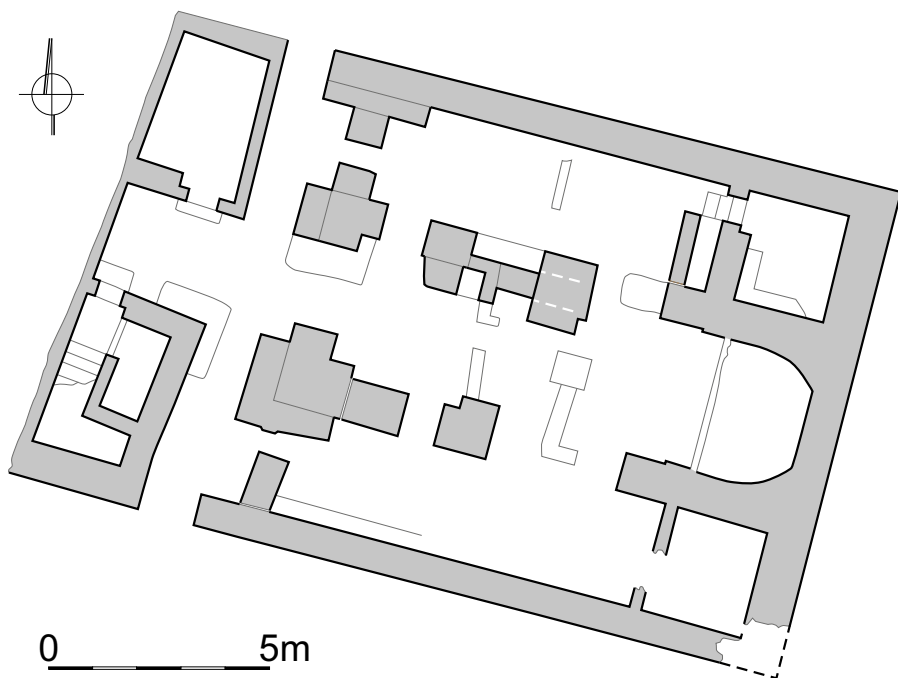


Fig. 16. Buhen, church
(after Mileham 1910: pl. 37)

10. DEBEIRA WEST 24-R-1

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site is located to the north of the city and constitutes a separate, distinct cluster of buildings.

Research

Peter Shinnie excavated the site during the Nubian Campaign (Shinnie & Shinnie 1978).

Description

In this complex, Peter Shinnie excavated one building with a staircase and a large chamber (Room VI) unconnected with other spaces, furnished with a long structure built of brick, aligned with the room's main axis. The excavator proposed to interpret the feature as a bench for sitting, the room as a refectory, and the entire complex as a monastery (Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: 42, fig. 32). Unfortunately no photographs of room VI were included in the publication and the information provided was too scarce to permit a broader discussion. The long structure, if this space indeed served for dining purposes, was rather a table support than a bench. In known examples of monastic refectories furnished with such long tables, there were benches along its longer sides. Thus, if these were to be remains of a bench, there should be two of them.

Dating

Site R-1 was dated to the Classic and Post-Classic Christian periods, i.e. no earlier than *ca.* 750.

Bibliography

Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: 41-44.

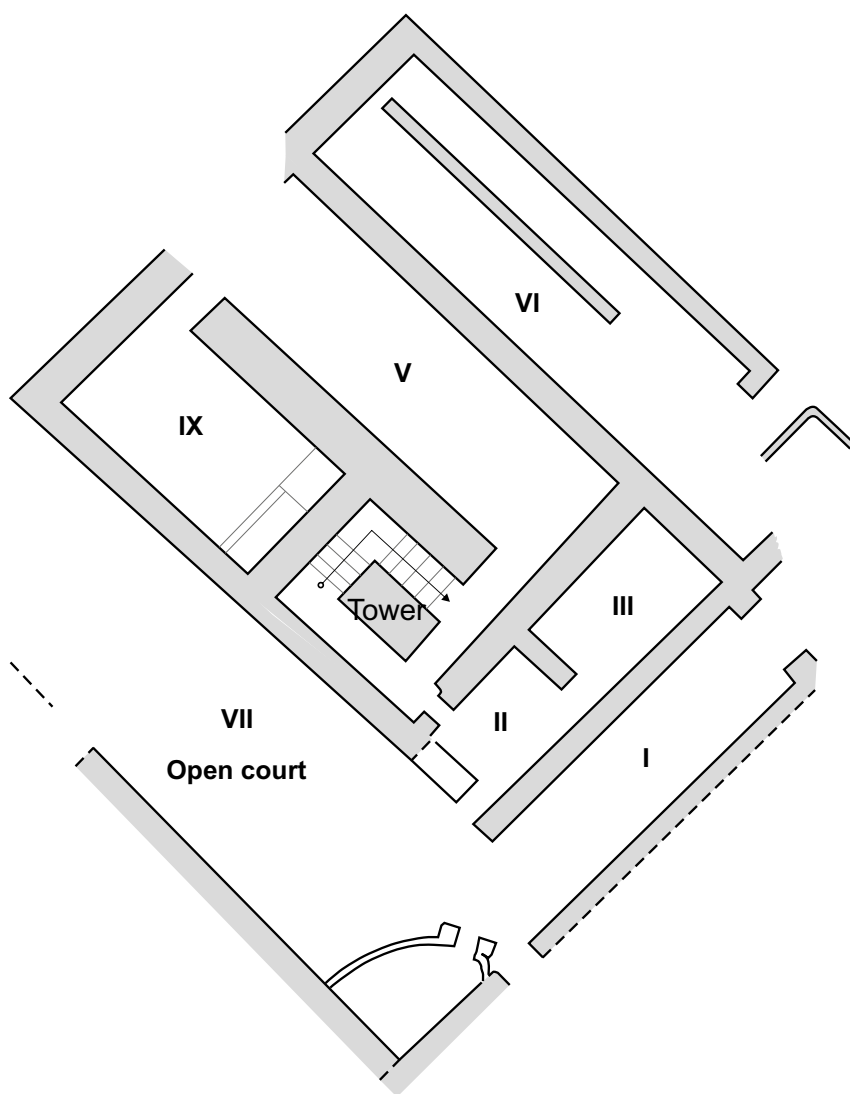


Fig. 17. Debeira West 24-R-1, plan of the site
(after Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: fig. 32)

11. DEBEIRA WEST 24-R-60

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site was located on the northern edge of the city, at a distance from the main built-up area.

Research

Peter Shinnie during the Nubian Campaign (Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: 33-41).

Description

According to Peter Shinnie, rooms designated as R-60 constitute a single walled compound, radically different in character from the urban layout of the town, the plan of which appears to be completely random (Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: 33). Indication of the monastic function of the complex is found in Room XXV, furnished with a structure analogous to the one found in Room VI on the site of Debeira 24-R-1 (Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: fig. 36) – a supposed bench for sitting during meals. Examining the stratigraphy of the site, the excavator determined that the room constituted one complex with a building referred to as the tower (Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: 36, fig. 28).

Unfortunately no photographs of the structure in room XXV were published. The position of the structure on the plan of the room, as well as its dimensions, may suggest that it was a casing for a bench built along the walls and intended for sitting.

Dating

The pottery finds indicate that the building may have been erected very early in the Christian period or even in the so-called post-Meroitic period (Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: 35).

Bibliography

Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: 33-41.

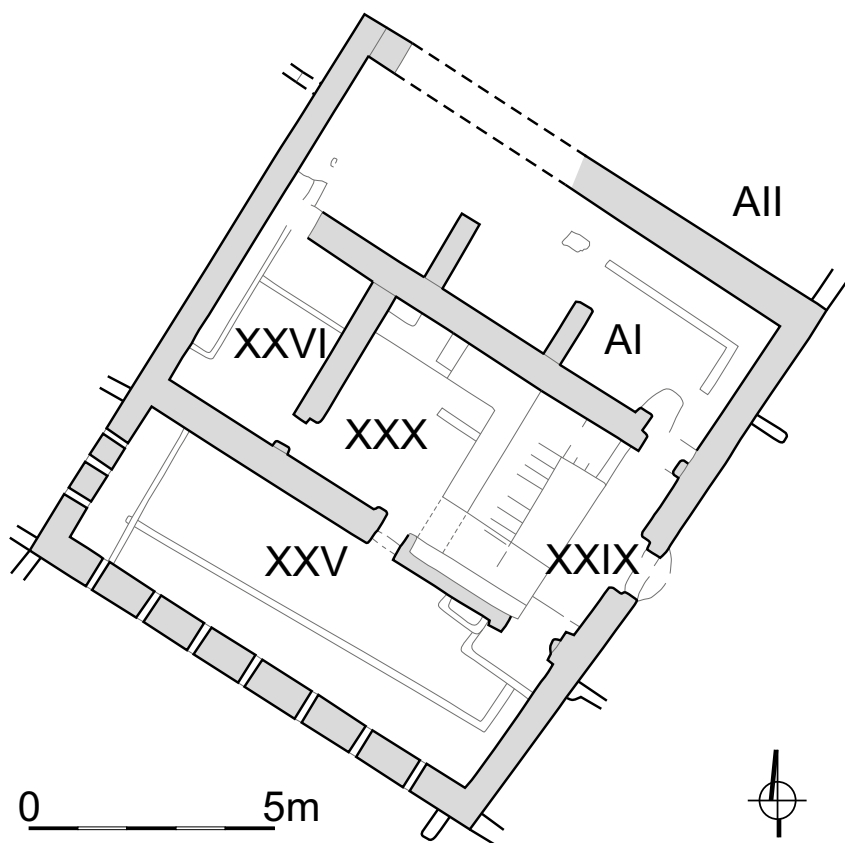


Fig. 18. Debeira West 24-R-60, plan of the site
(after Shinnie & Shinnie 1978: fig. 26)

12. DEIR SOLLEH (GIMEI, GEMAI WEST, QASR ANTAWU, KASR KASANTAWU)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site was located on the west bank of the Nile, on a rocky rise.

Research

The church crypt was excavated by the Sudan Antiquities Service in 1956. Excavations in the church were conducted by Hans Åke Nordström in 1964.

Description

The site comprised a church and relics of dwellings, which Cailliaud called 'ruines d'un couvent et d'habitations coptes' (Cailliaud 1826: vol. I, 332). George Somers Clarke refers to the site using the name Gimei (Somers Clarke 1912: 50, pl. VI, fig. 3) and describes the church as a small basilica lacking a passage behind the apse and well preserved in the western part. As a curiosity, Clarke reports that the western part of the church was not tripartite, but that the building probably lacked internal division altogether, since it was roofed with a single barrel vault, still preserved at the time. The entire structure was built in a fashion typical for Nobadia: the lower part of the building was constructed of roughly hewn stone bonded with mud mortar, and the upper was of sun-dried brick. Monneret de Villard added some details to Clarke's drawing, i.e. a tomb located in the eastern part of the nave (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 218). William Adams reports that there were 14 other graves inside the church but does not specify their location (Adams 2009: 94).

Dating

The only indications of the dating can be derived from the description of the church. The first is the technique of using different materials for the lower and upper parts of the walls. The second is that the west part of the church was roofed with a single vault and, therefore, lacked the tripartite division characteristic for Makurian sacral architecture. Instead, it featured a return aisle typical for Egyptian and Nobadian churches of

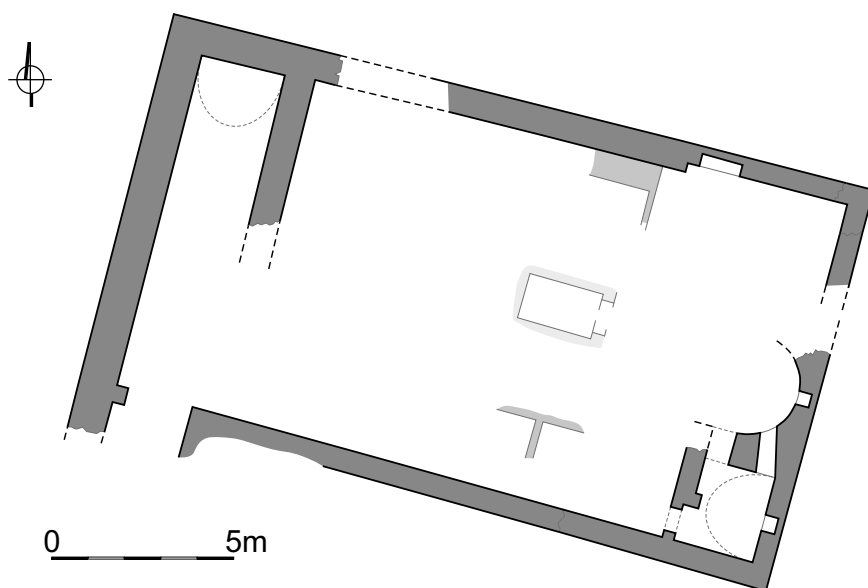


Fig. 19. Deir Solleh, church
(after Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 218)

the sixth and seventh centuries (Obłuski 2016). Unfortunately there is no ground upon which to call this site a monastic settlement.

Bibliography

Cailliaud 1826: vol. I, 332; vol. III, 258–259; Somers Clarke 1912: 50, pl. VI, fig. 3; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 227, fig. 18; Adams 2009: 93–94.

13. DONGOLA KOM D

Location

18°14'16.86" N; 30°44'22.6" E

The site is located on a plain, on the southern outskirts of the modern village of el-Ghaddar, *ca.* 2 km from the centre of Dongola, the capital of Makuria. In the medieval period, this was most probably the edge of the city, as a similar distance lay between the heart of the capital and the monastery on Kom H.

Research

The site was explored by a mission of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, directed by Stefan Jakobielski in years 1986–1990. Research on Kom D was conducted by Jarosław Dobrowolski.

Description

The state of preservation of the site was very poor, with structures preserved at foundation level. Fortunately, among the preserved relics were the lower parts of three oval benches in a nearly square room, which undoubtedly constituted the monastic refectory. The refectory measured 6 by 7 m, and the maximum diameter of the benches was *ca.* 1.8 m (Anderson 1999: 78).

Also preserved are the fragmentary walls of a dozen or so rooms adjacent to the refectory on the east and west, as well as the remains of two churches, the lower of which most likely predated the establishment of the monastery.

Dating

Classic Christian period.

Bibliography

For the churches: Dobrowolski 1987; Dobrowolski 1991; Jakobielski 1991b: 66–69, incorrectly designated Kom B; Jeute 1994: 71–74; Anderson 1999: 78.

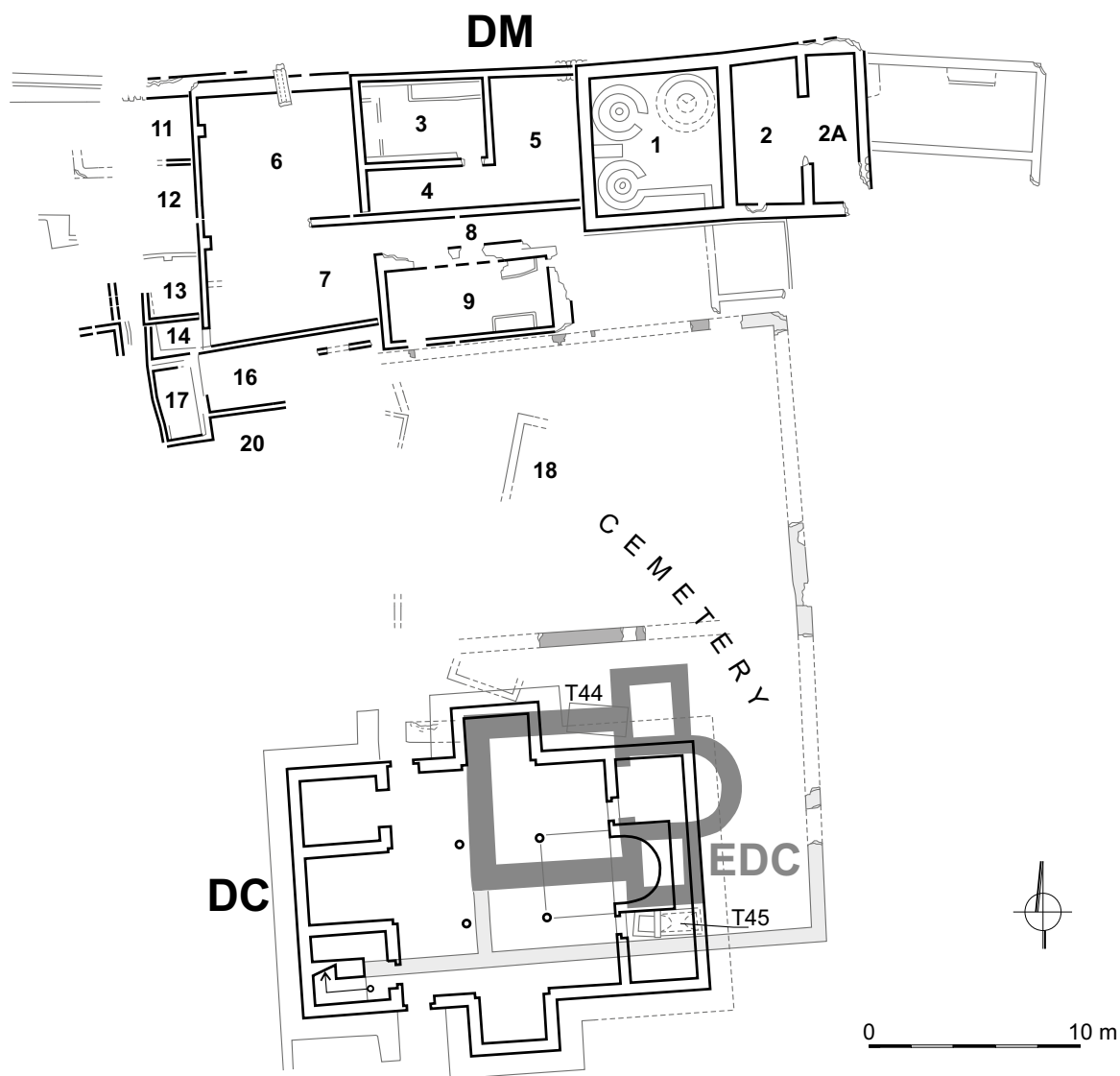


Fig. 20. Dongola, Kom D, plan of the site
(Jarosław Dobrowolski, courtesy of PCMA archive)

14. DONGOLA KOM H

Location

18°14'3.18" N; 30°44'44.32" E

The site is located on the east bank of the Nile, on a rocky plateau slightly rising towards the east. The distance separating the monastery from the so-called Citadel of Dongola is nearly identical to the distance between the latter and the monastery on Kom D. Surface surveys confirmed that the northern edge of the Dongola agglomeration was located approximately in this zone.

Research

Research was conducted by a mission of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, under the direction of Stefan Jakobielski in years 1991–2007. Between 2014 and 2017 excavations were continued by Włodzimierz Godlewski, Dorota Dzierzbicka and Agata Deptuła.

Description

The site comprises a large kom, *ca.* 1.2 ha in area (100 × 120 m). The wall of sun-dried brick surrounding the monastic complex is reinforced with towers in several places. Archaeological excavations permitted to identify the following parts of the complex:

1. Church (HC) and the so-called South Unit (H-S) in the southern part of the monastery

The church was built of baked brick. However, the state of preservation of this structure is very poor, as the external walls were dismantled to foundation level in order to reclaim building material. Painted decoration was preserved on a wall that separated the nave from the northern aisle. The building had the form of a three-aisled basilica and featured a dome supported by four L-shaped pillars in the central part. The spatial layout was, typically for sacral architecture of Makuria, based on the principle of tripartite division. Each of the main parts of the building: east, central, and west, were also divided into three parts. In the *hierateion* (the eastern part), the components were the *prothesis* (the northeast room), the *diakonikon* (the southeast room), and the sanctuary on the eastern end of the nave, with a *synthronon* filling the apse. The eastern parts of the northern and southern aisles were also incorporated

into the *hierateion*. The central part of the church featured a main nave and narrower side aisles. The western part was also divided into three spaces, but besides the southwest one, which housed a staircase, their function is unclear.

2. The monastic courtyard located in the southeast corner of the complex (Courtyard A)

Research conducted in years 2014–2017 permitted to identify service buildings, as well as late medieval occupational layers unrelated to the monastery.

3. Northern building (H-N)

This structure, located beyond the monastic enclosure wall, was identified during a survey and no excavations were conducted within (Jakobielski 1993: 100–102; Jakobielski *et al.* 1993: 293–294, 312).

4. Structures in the northeast corner of the monastery (H-NE)

Rooms in this part of the monastery served industrial purposes. Among the identified spaces were two storerooms, a kiln most likely used for firing clay objects, and a small courtyard (Żurawski 1989–1990; Jakobielski 1993: 98–100; Jakobielski *et al.* 1993: 290–293, 311; Jakobielski & Scholz 2001: 24).

Other spectacular discoveries were brought forth by excavations outside the walls, in the annexes to the monastery complex. The crypts found inside were most likely tombs of representatives of the high elite of Makurian Church hierarchy. The walls, in turn, were covered with wall paintings, owing to which the site can, without much exaggeration, be called the second Faras.

1. Northwest Annex (H-NW)

This complex, built to abut the northeast corner of the monastery, consisted of 40 rooms. The entire compound was constructed of sun-dried brick and decorated with glorious wall paintings without parallel in the entire Christian cultural realm. Among the rooms we can distinguish two complexes used for the cult of saints. Local saints were buried in crypts beneath rooms that housed altars. One of these saints was probably Georgios, archbishop of Dongola (d. 1113), buried in an inscribed crypt. The results of epigraphic studies conducted therein by Adam Łajtar and Jacques van der Vliet were recently published (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017). In a part of the annex the painted decoration echoes that of Nubian churches, indicating the function of the decorated space. Bogdan Żurawski

suggested that the entire complex was converted into a *xenodocheion* either by Georgios or after his death (Żurawski 1999: 426–433). Established in the 10th century, it functioned at least until the end of the 13th century (Jakobielski & Scholz 2001: 24–25).

2. Southwest Annex (H-SW)

The annex has not been excavated completely. It was accessed through a monumental gate flanked by sandstone blocks. At the heart of the complex is a square building. The interiors, as in the Northwest Annex (H-NW), were decorated with glorious wall paintings.

Hermitage of Saint Anna

This designation was assigned to a complex of rooms built to abut the western wall of the early church on Kom H (Jakobielski 1993; Jakobielski *et al.* 1993; Godlewski 2014: 275–280). The building is referred to as a *kellion*, or a hermitage.

The hermitage consisted of a large hall measuring 2.88 m (N-S) by 6.5 m (E-W). St Anna divided the room into two parts with a screen wall located 2.32 m from the west wall of the church. The larger, eastern part measured 2.88 m by 3.18 m and was probably used by the hermit for his everyday activities. A passage in the screen wall, 0.65 m wide, was located at its south end. The western part of the hermitage measured 2.88 m by 2.32 m, and constituted the monk's bedroom, as indicated by a mastaba built against the screen wall. The remaining three rooms comprising the complex were successively added to this, so to say, 'basic' hermitage unit. It is obscure whether they were built in the monk's lifetime or already after his death. It is without a doubt that after the death of St Anna the two rooms added to the basic unit on the south functioned as a church. In it, the deceased ascetic was venerated, having been buried in the central part of the room with the altar. This room functioned as a *bierateion*. The naos, in turn, was a room located to the west of it. In accordance with the canon, it featured a pulpit built on the northern side, against the wall of the room. The dating of the entire complex is known thanks to inscriptions. One of them is dated to year 791 of the Era of the Martyrs, or year 1074/5 (Łajtar 2014), and the palaeography, in particular the presence of the Nubian majuscule, points to the eleventh century as the *terminus post quem*.



Fig. 21. Dongola, Kom H,
drone photo of the monastery
(photo Roman Łopaciuk)

According to the excavators, this was originally a hermitage inhabited by a single monk, who was ultimately buried in the chapel (Jakobielski & Scholz 2001: 23). It seems, however, that the history of this interesting complex could be interpreted differently. It would be more reasonable to suppose that the monk, who lived directly next to a church, would not need a separate chapel. The altar was erected in the hermitage after it was turned into a commemorative chapel in remembrance of the deceased (Łajtar 2014).

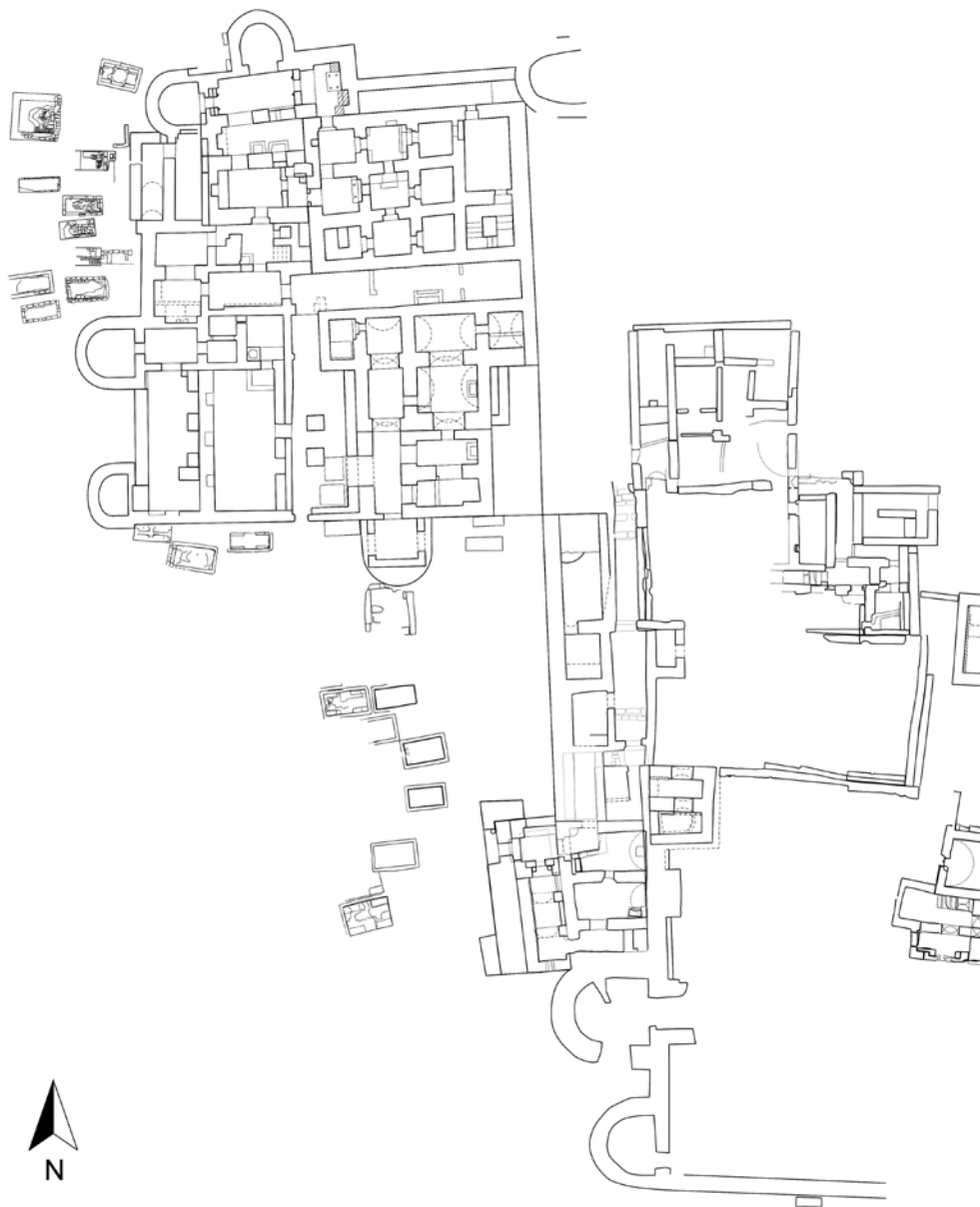




Fig. 22. Dongola, Kom H,
plan of the monastery
(after Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: fig. 3)

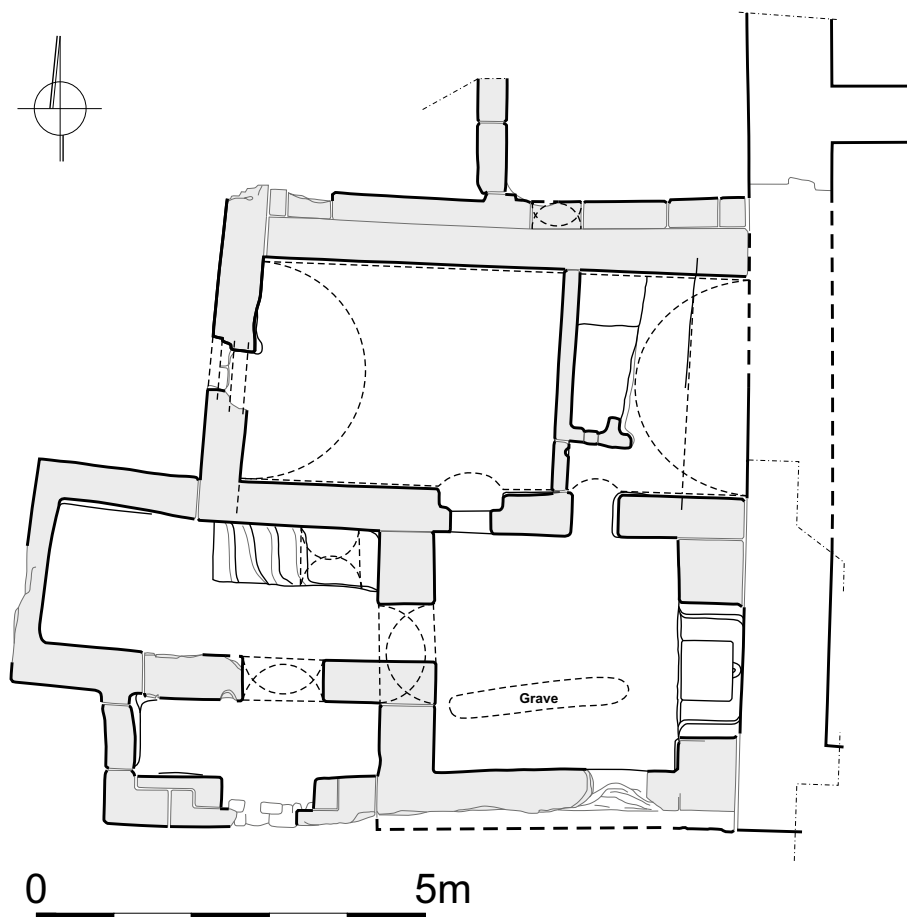


Fig. 23. Dongola, Kom H,
plan of the *kellion* of St Anna
(after Jakobielski 1993: fig. 5)

Bibliography (major publications)

Excavations: Jakobielski 1991b and his annual reports in successive volumes of the journal *Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean*; Żurawski 1997; Żurawski 1999; Dzierzbicka & Deptuła forthcoming.

Wall paintings: Martens-Czarnecka 2011.

Epigraphic finds: Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017.

15. FAGIRINFENTI (TJB023, 024)

Location

19°56'43.7" N; 30°17'73.5" E

West bank of the Nile, where the river turns east near the island of Arduan.

Research

Survey conducted and published by Ali Osman and David Edwards (Osman & Edwards 2011: 156–157, 233–236).

Description

The site comprises unidentified buildings, ruins of a church, and probably a so-called castle house dated to the late medieval period (thirteenth–fourteenth century) (Osman & Edwards 2011: 235). The external walls of the church are built of stone in their lower parts and of sun-dried brick in the upper. The survey conducted on the surface yielded a very large number of inscribed pottery fragments (probably not ostraka but short inscriptions in the form of names scratched on the vessels' surfaces) and a very interesting seal. It is necessary to highlight here the fact that inscribed potsherds were also numerous finds in the monasteries in Ghazali and on Kom H in Old Dongola.

The four sides of the seal were carved with the following inscriptions:

1. Georgios;
2. Theodoros;
3. ICXC, abbreviation of Iesus Christos and a monogram that may be read as the word *abba*;
4. Three crosses, which may be interpreted as a symbol of Golgotha, and a monogram that is impossible to decipher.

Dating

Seventh–fourteenth century.

Bibliography

Osman & Edwards 2011: 156–157, 233–236; Żurawski *et al.* 2017.



Fig. 24. Fagirinfenti,
drone photo (Roman Łopaciuk)

16. FANTAU (SAQIET EL-ABD, 2-V-1)

Location

20°48'8.55" N; 30°19'27.46" E

If the identification of the site with Saqiet el-Abd is correct, it lies on the west bank of the Nile at a distance of *ca.* 500 m from the river, on a plain with a substantial deposit of overlying sand.

Research

Surveys on site were conducted by André Vila (Vila 1978: 9–12) and by Artur Obłuski in 2017.

Description

The site is a single, small cluster of rooms of sun-dried brick encircled by a wall built of the same material. The entire site measures *ca.* 45 by 36 m. The upper floor of the complex was a church constructed of baked brick. Currently, it is almost completely destroyed: the walls are preserved no higher than 20–30 cm above the floor. The lower storey is intact, but its function is obscure; are we dealing with a site like Banganarti, where a later church was built exactly on the same spot as an earlier one, or did the ground floor have a different purpose? The survey conducted on the surface yielded a dozen or so stone blocks, some fragments of plaster with preserved painted decoration, and numerous potsherds dated to the twelfth–thirteenth century. Visible on the surface are also remains of plaster preserved on the walls of the destroyed church. The most intriguing elements of the entire complex are clusters of small compartments, 1 × 2 m in size. They were identified in the southwest and northeast corners of the site, and they seem to encircle the entire building. The wide main entrance to the complex was probably located in the south wall and was flanked by stone blocks found on the surface. The northwest corner of the compound is abutted by an annex. One of the compartments was excavated by robbers. In the excavation heap I noted a skull and several human bones. It is highly unlikely that they come from a different place than the uncovered compartment. This suggests that all the compartments could



Fig. 25. Fantau, kite photo (Miron Bogacki)

have been used for burials. This makes the site even more intriguing and worth excavating.

Dating

A secure dating can only be given for the abandonment of the complex, which took place in the twelfth–thirteenth century (pottery collected from the surface).

Bibliography

Cailliaud 1826: vol. I, 364–365; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 240; Vila 1978, 9–12; Obłuski forthcoming.



Fig. 26. Fantau, kite photo (Miron Bogacki)

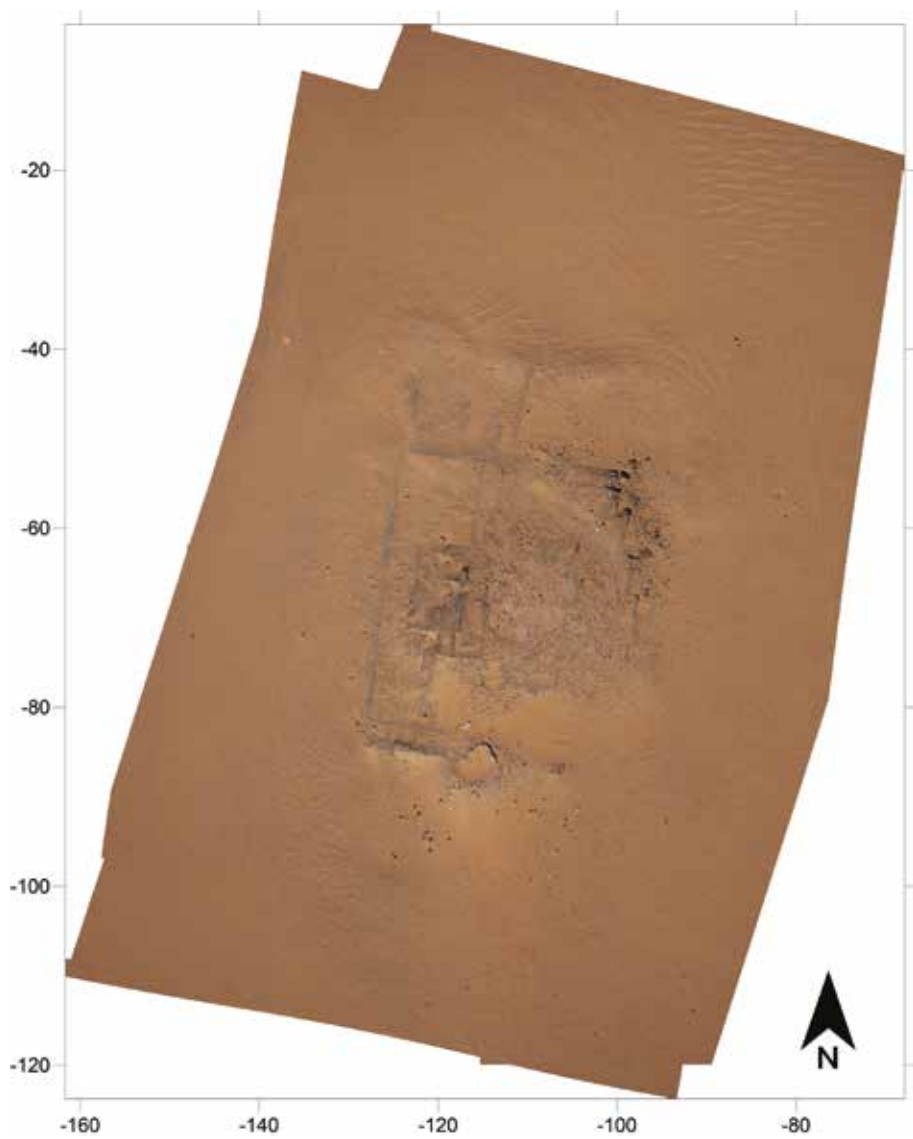


Fig. 27. Fantau, orthophotomap
(Miron Bogacki, Adrian Chlebowski)

17. FARAS WEST 21-E-22, HERMITAGE OF THEOPHILUS (ANCHORITE'S GROTTO)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

A rocky bluff with four New Kingdom tombs located west of Faras.

Research

The site was visited by several scholars attracted by its numerous inscriptions but the most information on the site we owe to Francis Llewellyn Griffith (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: 81-90).

Description

The hermitage was located in the third tomb counting from the south, in the room closest to the entrance. The room-turned-hermitage was trapezoidal in shape: the internal length of the front (east) wall was 5 m, the back wall 6 m, and the depth of the room measured 4 m. The room height was 2 m. In the central part of the ceiling there were holes, possibly for suspending a lamp. The floor in the southern part of the hermitage was located *ca.* 20 cm above the walking level in the rest of the room. The northeast corner was occupied by a mastaba. In the north wall there were two niches located near the corners, *ca.* 120 cm above the floor. The western one was almost completely destroyed, but the eastern was preserved intact (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: pl. LXIII, 1). Also the east wall originally had three niches (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: pl. LXV, 2; LXVI, 2). The tomb in the southwest corner served the anchorite as a bed (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: 82). No household items were found inside the hermitage, which may indicate that the cell was adapted to serve as a holy place, in which the inhabitant was an object of worship.

The walls of the room were largely covered with inscriptions and drawings. Theophilus himself wrote the texts and even signed his name in the year AD 738. The inscriptions fall into three categories: apotropaic, dogmatic, or tales and anecdotes from the lives of monks (van der Vliet 2017: 160-162). The first category includes incipits from the Four Gospels, a copy of the letter of Jesus to King Abgar, lists of names like the 40 Martyrs of Sebaste, Three Wise Men who visited Jesus after his birth,

the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and words (names of nails of the Cross) forming the Sator-Rotas square. These inscriptions had an apotropaic purpose and were to ward off demons in case they came to visit the hermit. They show the monk's cell as the main battleground in the constant fight against evil spirits. Dogmatic texts are represented by only one inscription: the Nicene Creed with an anathema against the Arians. This text was considered a hallmark of orthodoxy. The third largest group of texts seems to have served as inspiration for the monk. It consisted of anecdotes and stories from the lives of monks resembling those collected in *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Walter Crum identified some of them thanks to parallels in the *Paradise of the Fathers*, a compilation which survived in Syriac (van der Vliet 2017: 161). Also worthy of note are elements of figural decoration preserved on the east wall (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: pl. LXV, 2). The upper part bears stylised crosses rendered in the form of so-called seals of Solomon. The lower register features carved floral decoration identical to the motif painted on the *synthronon* of the church in the monastery of Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz) (Obłuski forthcoming).

After the anchorite's death, the cell was visited by ecclesiastics, i.a. Abba Kyros and presbyter Ioannes, who left their inscriptions on the south wall (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: pl. LXIV, 1, 2). The walls also bore figural graffiti, mainly representations of boats. They may have been left by ship owners as requests to the patron of this place for protection over the most important element of their wealth and likely the main source of income (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: pl. LXIII, 1; LXIV, 2; LXV, 2). Those who carved ships on the south wall (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: pl. LXIII, 1) also scratched long, horizontal lines leading away from the boats' sides. From these lines, in turn, further short, diagonal strokes lead downward. One may interpret these lines as representations of the waterline with an attempted depiction of waves, or possibly fishing nets.

Dating

Eighth century.

Bibliography

Weston 1894: vol. III, 78; Sayce 1898; Pietschmann 1899; F. Ll. Griffith 1927: 81–90; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 190; van der Vliet 2017: 160–162.

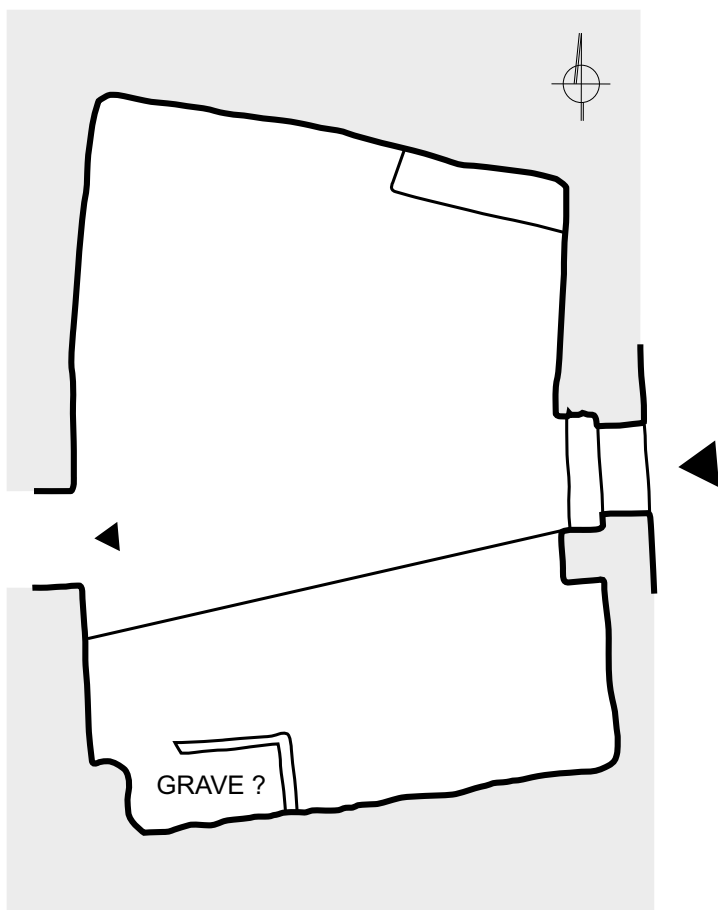


Fig. 28. Faras West 21-E-22, plan of the hermitage
(after F. Ll. Griffith 1927: pl. LXVI)

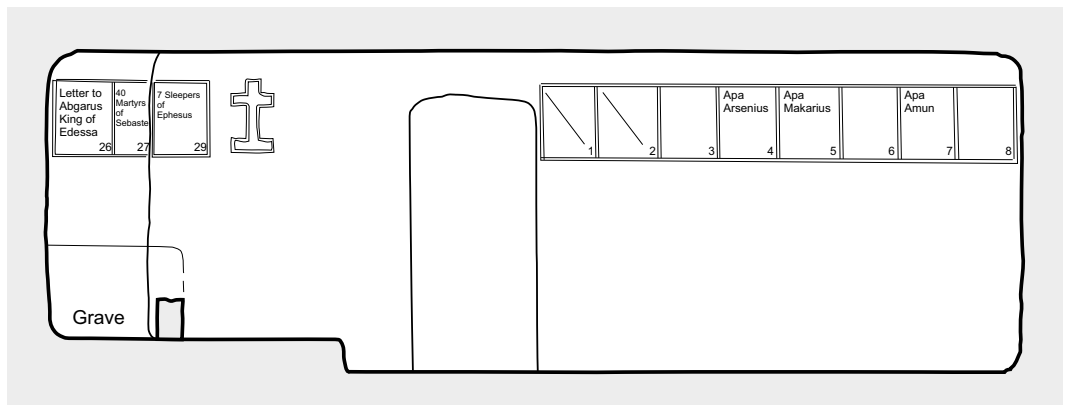
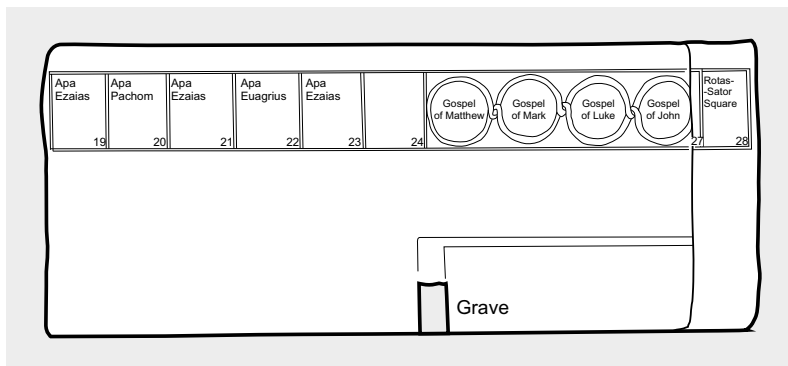
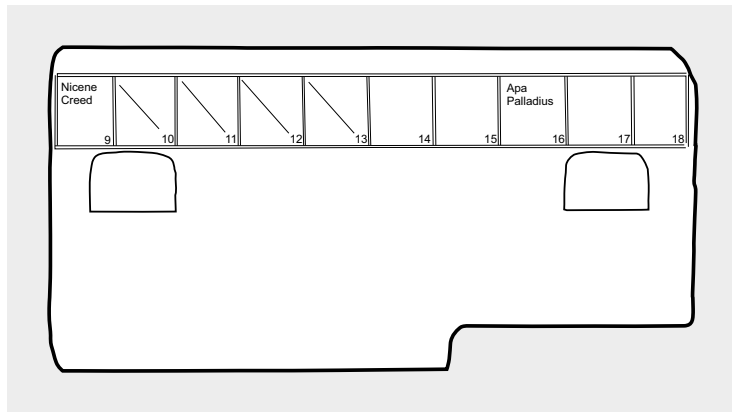


Fig. 29. Faras West 21-E-22
(after Godlewski 2013: fig. 14.2)

18. FARAS WEST 24-E-21 (‘CHRISTIAN POTTERIES’)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

Christian-period potteries in Faras were located north of the central zone of the fortified city.

Research

Leonard Woolley and Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1911–1912), published by Griffith (F. Ll. Griffith 1926: 63–65); William Adams, 20 February – 15 May 1960 (Adams 2005b: 71–89).

Description

The site suffered considerable damage, but in the central part the buildings were preserved to the level of the upper storey. In this complex, a sacral function was assigned by the excavators to Room 6, which may have been an oratory or chapel in the first phase of use, although neither an altar nor a place for it have been identified. In the centre of the east wall, at a height of *ca.* 1.25 m, there was a niche 90 cm in height, 80 cm wide and 40 cm deep. The niche was painted white, and inside it there were representations of several crosses, clumsily executed in brown paint within a geometrical border composed of triangles. The bottom edge of the vault projected from the face of the wall, forming a cornice, which bore an inscription decorated with pink crosses on a white background. Another cross preserved on the west wall is incorporated into a decorative band running horizontally across the wall. The centre of the cross is occupied by the Greek letter *chi*. Single letters are also found at the ends of all arms of the cross. Starting with the bottom arm and proceeding clockwise, they are *alpha*, *gamma*, *omega*, and *eta*. The room also contained a heavily damaged inscription comprising the palindrome *sator arepo tenet opera rotas*. Griffith suggested that in the first of three occupational phases distinguished by Woolley the complex was a monastery (F. Ll. Griffith 1926: 64).

The religious function of Suite A according to Adams (as well as Griffith) justifies the interpretation that the entire complex (rooms 1–5, 9,

10, 16–20, and 23–27, i.e. suites A, D and E) was a monastery (Adams 2005b: 74). In Adams's view, the flood that took place at the end of Phase 3 destroyed rooms 6 and 7, bringing an end to all activity in the complex besides the production of pottery (Adams 2005b: 80). Adams dates the establishment of the monastery to the second phase, which brought about a dynamic growth of the entire complex by agglutination (Adams 2005b: 72). Nonetheless, the researcher claims in the discussion that Phase 2 marked the building of an integrated complex of rooms that had a religious function but does not betray features characteristic for a monastery (Adams 2005b: 88). In his seminal *Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia*, Adams also seemed indecisive as to whether there was a monastery at the site or not (Adams 1986: 17):

It must be acknowledged that there is nothing very positive to identify the buildings at Faras as a monastery; however, it is not easy to conceive of any other function for a densely clustered, integrated complex of rooms with very restricted access from the outside. One may note, too, a vague general resemblance between the layout of the Phase 2 building and that of the middle group of rooms at the nearby monastery of el-Wizz, which I believe to be the direct successor of the institution under discussion here.

However, the presence of a monastery, and maybe even a female monastery is implied by a tombstone of Ⲡϣⲁⲁⲉⲛⲱ which might mention an abbess Ⲡϣⲁⲣⲉⲛⲱ (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 7).

Dating

Early Christian period.

Bibliography

F. Ll. Griffith 1926: 63–65; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 193; vol. II, pl. 81; Adams 1961; Adams 1977: 496–498; Adams 1986: 16–22; Adams 2005b: 71–88; *I. Khartoum Copt.*

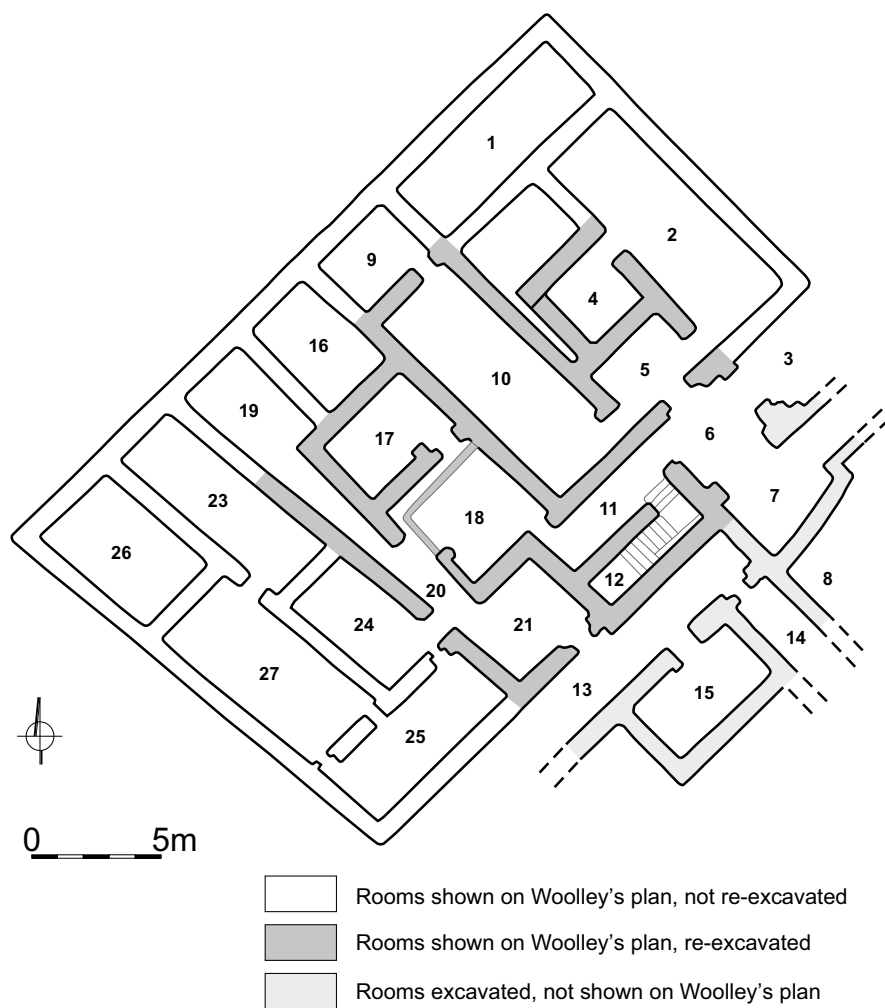


Fig. 30. Faras West 24-E-21, plan of the site
(after Adams 2005b: fig. 25)

19. GAMINARTI 5-T-4, 47, 49

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The island of Gaminarti. The church (5-T-4) was located atop a rocky rise surrounded by a settlement (5-T-47).

Research

Survey conducted by William Adams and Hans-Åke Nordström (Adams 2005b: 20, 48, 94, 119).

Description

A monastic function was suggested for this site by Julie Anderson probably due to the presence of a wall surrounding the church (Anderson 1999: 72, as Gamanarti). The small, very poorly preserved church (up to 50 cm in height) was surrounded by walls built of stone and sun-dried brick. Southwest of the church, on another rocky rise, was a pottery kiln. The publications do not refer to the monastic nature of the site. On the contrary, the church is described as a building surrounded by houses.

Dating

Late Christian period.

Bibliography

Anderson 1999: 72 (as Gamanarti); Adams 2005b: 20, 48, 94, 119.

20. GENDAL IRKI (FIGIR ANTAWU) (5-X-1)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The church was located *ca.* 50 m from the bank of the Nile (in the 1960s), on the alluvial plain.

Research

William Adams completely excavated the church and its vicinity (Adams 2005b: 21).

Description

The site was called Gendal Irki by George Somers Clarke, and Figir Antawu (spellings vary) by Geoffrey Mileham, Francis Llewellyn Griffith and Ugo Monneret de Villard. The church has a cross-in-square plan, popular in Nubia. To the south of the church lay a vast cemetery. There was also a settlement in the vicinity. There are no grounds upon which to call this site a monastery.

Dating

Classic and Late Christian period.

Bibliography

Mileham 1910: 12–13; Somers Clarke 1912: 50–52; F. Ll. Griffith 1913: 68; Adams & Åke-Nordström 1963: 35–36; Adams 2005b: 21.

21. GERGETTI 2-S-21

Location

20°49'33.53" N; 30°25'32.55" E

The site is located on a rocky rise on the island of Gergetti.

Research

CNRS survey directed by André Vila (Vila 1975: 32–37).

Description

The site is hexagonal in shape and measures 110 by 70 m. It is surrounded by a sturdy wall reinforced with towers. The wall was built in two layers: the internal layer is of roughly hewn stone, and the external layer is of sun-dried brick. Access is granted by a single entrance in the eastern stretch of the wall. Within, eleven identical buildings were identified. All of them measure approximately 5.50 by 5.30 m. The walls, 30 cm thick, are built of bricks measuring 50 by 30 by 6 cm. Bricks of similar dimensions were used in construction of building B.VI in Old Dongola, dated to the early fourteenth century (Obłuski 2014a). The spatial layout of these houses, consisting of a nearly square dwelling space and a long, rectangular storage room, is identical to the layout of houses from the last occupational phase on the citadel of Dongola. In the first room, the entrance is flanked by a screen wall, behind which there is a *mastaba* most likely used for sleeping. These houses illustrate a rather drastic change that occurred in residential architecture in the fourteenth century (Obłuski 2014a). Evidence of the site's monastic function is lacking.

Dating

The residential quarter documented by the team led by André Vila is not earlier than the fourteenth century. The walls, however, belong to an earlier period.

Bibliography

Vila 1975: 32–37; Anderson 1999: 72, note 4.



Fig. 31. Gergetti 2-S-21 (Google imaging)

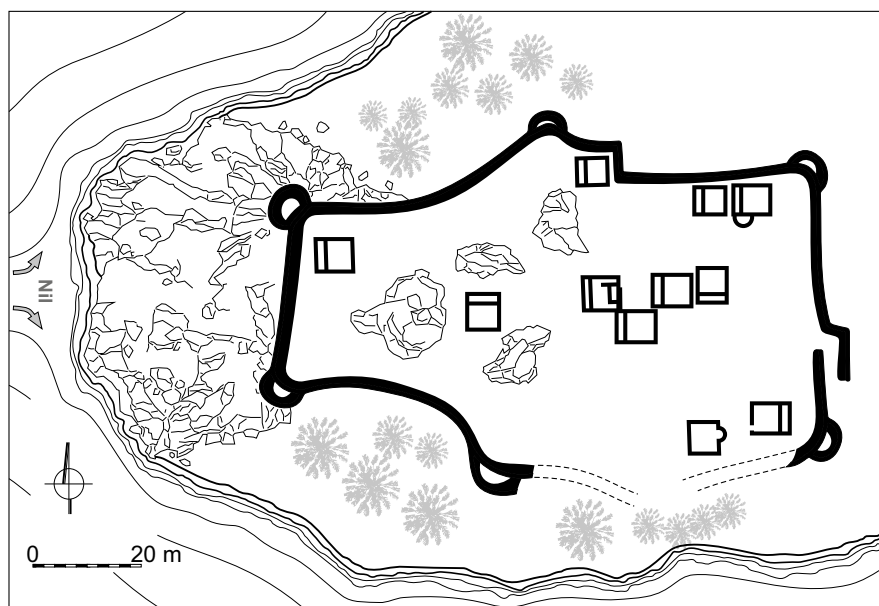


Fig. 32. Gergetti 2-S-21 (after Vila 1975: fig. 9)

22. GHAZALI

Location

18°26'31.14" N; 31°55'52.73" E

The site is located on the rocky edge of the Wadi Abu Dom in the Bayuda Desert, *ca.* 15 km from the bank of the Nile.

Research

The site was visited by many travellers in the nineteenth century. Carl Richard Lepsius even collected ten-odd stelae from the monastic cemetery and took them to Berlin. Excavations were first conducted by Peter Shinnie and Neville Chittick (Shinnie & Chittick 1961), and later by Artur Obłuski (Obłuski *et al.* 2015; Obłuski & Ochala 2016; Ciesielska *et al.* 2018; Obłuski 2018; Obłuski & Korzeniowska 2018; Obłuski *et al.* 2018).

Description

The Ghazali monastery is a large coenobitic complex (*ca.* 5000 m²). It was surrounded by a wall of roughly hewn stone bonded with mud mortar. The coenobium initially had three entrances: a main gate in the northern stretch of the wall opening on the wadi, a small service gate through the south wall of the complex leading out into the iron-smelting area, and another wide passageway in the southwest corner, in the west wall, opening on the south courtyard of the monastery. In a later period, two more entrances were cut, giving access to the Northwest Annex. Ghazali can be called a textbook example of a coenobitic monastery, as its spatial organisation was conceived and planned with proper know-how, or good knowledge of what coenobitism really represents. The spiritual part of the monastery, located in the southwest corner, originally featured one and later two churches. The first was a three-aisle basilica boasting the classic Makurian tripartite division and a roof supported by two rows of columns. In the late tenth / early eleventh century, the church underwent structural changes that turned it into a basilica with a central dome. In the same period, the second church was built of sun-dried bricks to the south of the North Church. The area to the east and northeast of the North Church housed the first sanitary complex with a row of 15 toilets

and bathing areas. In the late tenth / early eleventh century, the toilets were moved to the Northwest Annex. The western part of the monastery was an industrial area featuring a monastic mill, most likely a tannery and leather workshop or a rope production facility, as well as a kitchen. To the south of this complex were the monastic refectories and a room in which the monks stored water. To the east of the industrial area was the dormitory, which initially consisted of six cells, each housing three monks, and was subsequently expanded by adding six more cells. Unlike the other structures mentioned above, the dormitory was built of sun-dried brick, which gives us further indication of the builders' awareness of local climatic conditions and their conscious choice of material depending on the function of the building. In the northern part, flanking the main entrance to the monastery, were magazine spaces: the eastern for food, and the western for liquid commodities. On the west and north, the monastery was abutted by annexes, all built of sun-dried brick. The northern one may have served travellers who wished to rest in the neighbourhood of the monastery; the western one possibly had the same function, as neither is connected with the interior. As already mentioned above, the Northwest Annex replaced the sanitary complex that formerly occupied the eastern part of the monastic compound. To the south of the monastery lies the monastic cemetery, and to the southeast the iron-smelting site, which was founded at the same time as the monastery.

Dating

Foundation: 680–720; abandonment: between 1225 and 1275.

Bibliography

Shinnie & Chittick 1961; Obłuski *et al.* 2015; Obłuski & Ochala 2016; Ciesielska *et al.* 2018; Obłuski 2018; Obłuski & Korzeniowska 2018; Obłuski *et al.* 2018.

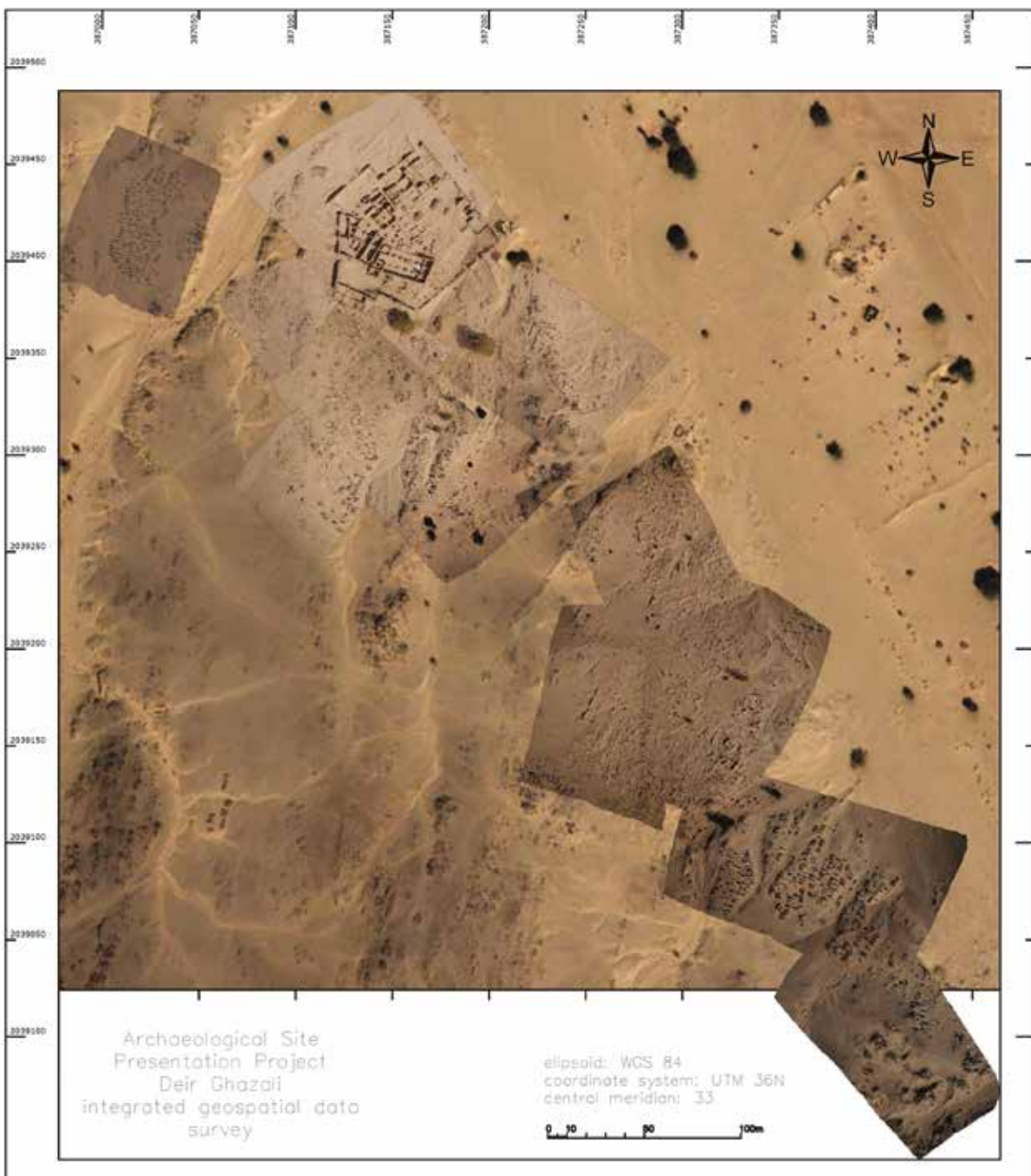


Fig. 33. Ghazali, plan of the site, orthophotomap (Adrian Chlebowski)



Fig. 34. Ghazali, plan of the monastery (Szymon Maślak *et al.*)



Fig. 35. Ghazali, kite photo (Miron Bogacki)



Fig. 36. Ghazali, kite photo (Miron Bogacki)



Fig. 37. Ghazali, kite photo, iron production area (Miron Bogacki)

23. HAMBUKOL

Location

18°16'3.39" N; 30°43'39.09" E

The site is located on the east bank of the Nile, *ca.* 6 km to the north of Old Dongola. Probably still in the medieval period this area was an island, but now, after a shift of the riverbed, the Nile flows to the west of the site.

Research

The survey and excavations on the site were conducted by a mission of the Royal Ontario Museum directed by Krzysztof Grzymski (Grzymski 1987).

Description

Note: the lack of consequence in the structures' designations follows the inconsistent nomenclature of the original publications.

Archaeological investigation on this vast and very promising settlement site was conducted on the so-called Kom N (north). The church uncovered there finds parallels in Old Dongola (church EDC, the Mosaic Church on Kom E). In Area A, in turn, excavations brought to light Building One (Grzymski 1990). The entrance to the building was on its south side. It led to a large vestibule, which, in turn, opened on a staircase on the west. Further to the north was a large hall, most likely roofed with a dome resting on arches supported by four pillars. This space comprised rooms 4a, 4b, 11, 10, 14 and 19, from which one entered rooms 5, 20 and 9. Rooms on the eastern side of the building were accessed only through room 15, which was connected to room 16 by a narrow passageway. The latter was a vestibule of a latrine (rooms 17 and 17a), from which a channel conducted the sewage to room 26, serving as a cesspit. The western side of the building, in turn, was occupied by two large spaces (1 and 2). The passage leading to them from room 4a was initially 2 m wide, but was later constricted to 0.65 m. The western part of room 2 housed a latrine with a cesspit. On the north side of the building (rooms 21 to 25) only two rooms (21-22) were preserved above foundation.

The fill deposits yielded Late Christian pottery, a glass *aryballos*, pincers, and a leather plaque decorated with crosses and a row of incised cir-

cles. The most interesting finds, however, were cups which constituted a foundation deposit hidden underneath foundations in the corners of the building (Grzymski 1990: 148).

Excavations in Areas B and C (House C-One) brought the discovery of more well-preserved complexes of rooms, the function of which, however, could not be determined. Building B-1 in Area B preserved fragments of wall paintings (mainly in rooms 2 and 5), i.a. an interesting representation of a nude figure kneeling in flames. Below it, an inscription consisting of only six letters probably constituted the word Nineveh. It likely refers to events recounted in the Book of Jonah 3-4, when God sent Jonah to Nineveh so that its citizens would express remorse and repent for their sins, for otherwise Nineveh would be destroyed. It seems, however, that it may also be a reference to Nahum 1:6: 'Who can withstand his indignation? Who can endure his fierce anger? His wrath is poured out like fire; the rocks are shattered before him' (the Bible, New International Version). In Area C, room 3 was identified as a kitchen due to finds of kitchenware used for cooking, and room 7 served as a barn.

Dating

Radiocarbon dates from Building One: the earliest date, most likely associated with the erection of the building, is AD 995 \pm 215, the latest AD 1295 \pm 45 calibrated. Other dates fit these chronological brackets, with the exception of a date obtained from seeds, AD 663 \pm 202.

Bibliography

Grzymski 1987; Grzymski 1989; Grzymski 1990; Grzymski & Anderson 1994.



Fig. 38. Hambukol
(Google imaging)

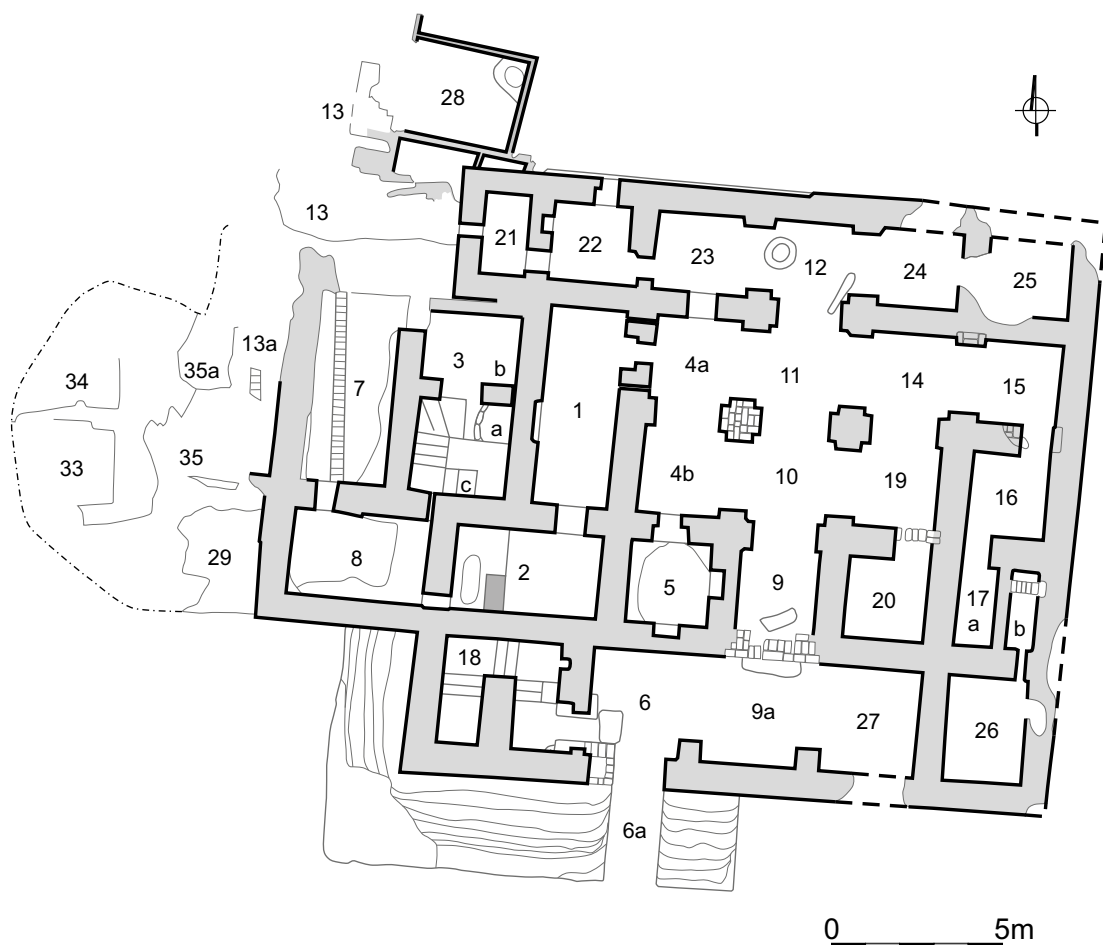


Fig. 39. Hambukol, Building 1
(after Grzymski 1990: fig. 5)

24. KAGERAS (UKMA EAST 21-N-1)

Location

21°7'8.88" N; 30°41'56.04" E

The site is located on the east bank of the Nile, just south of the mouth of Khor Kageras. The enclosure was built on the floodplain in close proximity to the river.

Research

Swiss expedition during the Nubian Campaign headed by Charles Maystre.

Description

The enclosure surrounding remains of two churches measured 43 by 37 m. The wall made of broken stone was *ca.* 3 m high (Chittick 1957: 42). The bigger church is of the basilical type with tripartite western and eastern sections. In the east, there is a passage behind the apse connecting two auxiliary rooms on both sides of the apse. The apse itself was furnished with a *synthronon*. The second church, not identified by the excavator, was smaller and abutted the earlier one on the south, like at the monastery of Ghazali. The rest of the enclosure was filled with ruins of other buildings made of sun-dried bricks or broken stone.

Dating

Classic Christian period.

Bibliography

Chittick 1957; Maystre 1970; Maystre 1996: 29–40, pls. XV–XXVI and LIV–LV.

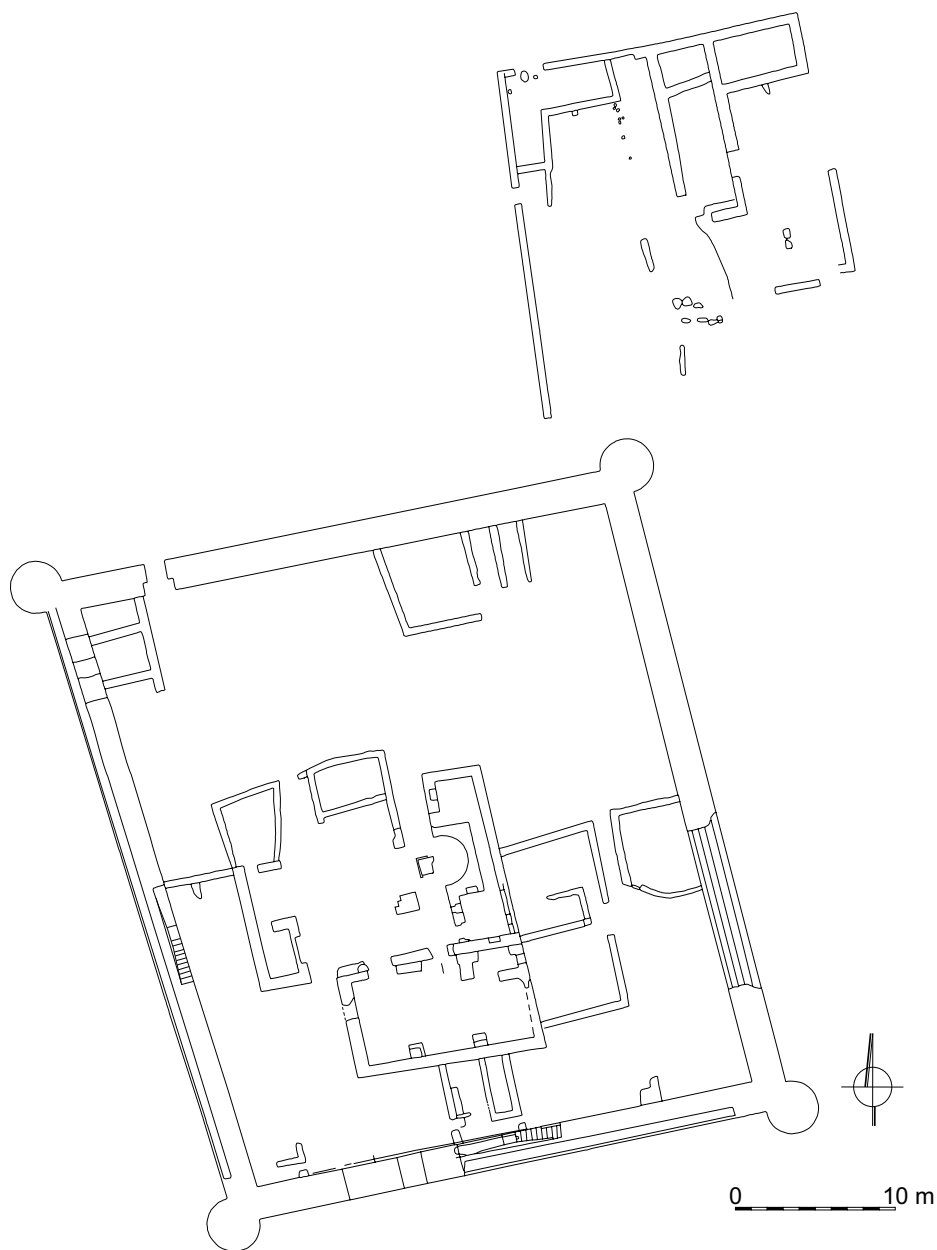


Fig. 40. Kageras, plan of the site
(after Maystre 1996: pl. LIV)

25. KASHASHA (GINIS W, 2-T-52)

Location

20°50' N; 30°30' E

The site is located on the west bank of the Nile, on the floodplain in close proximity to the river.

Research

CNRS survey directed by André Vila (Vila 1977: 112–113).

Description

The site, rectangular in shape and measuring 170 by 100 m, is surrounded by a wall built of sun-dried bricks (dimensions 30 × 15 × 7 cm) and of schist. To the south of the site there is a structure that resembles a corridor leading toward the river. Remains of houses are visible within the walls. The investigators proposed an urban or monastic function for the site (Vila 1977: 112). An argument against the second interpretation is the size of the complex. It would have been a monastery twice the size of the ones in Ghazali in Wadi Abu Dom and on Kom H in Old Dongola.

Dating

Classic Christian period.

Bibliography

Vila 1977: 112–113.

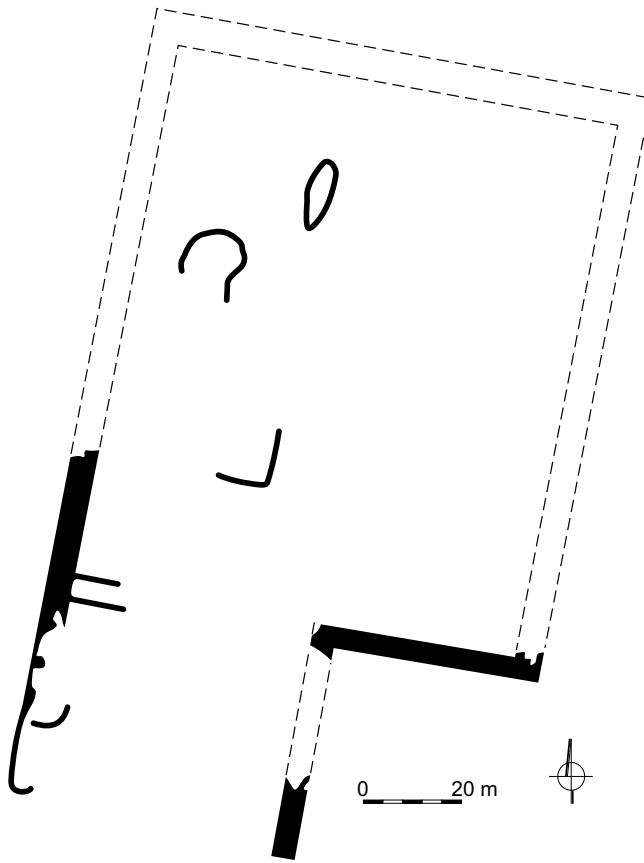


Fig. 41. Kashasha, plan of the site
(after Vila 1977: fig. 50)

26. KISSENFARKI TJB005 AND TJB006

Location

19°50' N; 30°17'15" E

The site is located on the west bank of the Nile at the mouth of Khor Kissenfarki.

Research

Survey conducted by Ali Osman and David Edwards (Osman & Edwards 2011: 151–155, 228–231). Subsequently, the site was visited and documented by Mariusz Drzewiecki.

Description

Two distinct settlement sites were identified at Kissenfarki.

The smaller, better preserved settlement (TJB005), measuring 20 by 18 m, was fortified with walls reinforced with corner towers. Two occupational phases were distinguished. The first was characterised by structures of sun-dried brick. The later one consisted in the structural reinforcement of the towers using stone. It was probably a modest-sized fort; such well-built towers rather exclude the site's monastic character (Osman & Edwards 2011: 228).

The second, larger settlement measuring ca. 100 by 45 m was also surrounded by a wall with at least three towers. The central part was occupied by remains of a building of sun-dried brick (20 by 12 m) with several preserved vaults and arches. David Edwards suggested it may have been a church but was unable to reconstruct a sound plan of a sacral building on the basis of the remains preserved on the site's surface. The exposed relics and the presence of well-made tombstones in the nearby cemetery led David Edwards to suggest a monastic function for the site (Osman & Edwards 2011: 231).

Dating

Surface pottery was mostly from the ninth–eleventh century, but later specimens were also present.

Bibliography

Osman & Edwards 2011: 151–155, 228–231; Żurawski *et al.* 2017.



Fig. 42. Kissenfarki,
drone photo (Roman Łopaciuk)

27. EL-KORO (KUDDIK, KUDUK)

Location

19°22'31.73" N; 33°22'35.05" E

The site is located on the west bank of the Nile, on the alluvial plain.

Research

Mariusz Drzewiecki, during research on fortified sites in Sudan (Drzewiecki *et al.* 2008: 8; Drzewiecki 2016).

Description

The entire site measures 82 by 41 m and consists of two enclosures, an upper (smaller) and a lower (larger) one. As rightly pointed out already by Osbert Crawford, this was certainly not a monastic complex but a defensive structure. The area yielded Greek and Coptic funerary stelae published by Adam Łajtar (*I. Khartoum Greek* 61–69) and Jacques van der Vliet (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 119–124). Out of five Coptic stelae from the vicinity of el-Koro published by the latter, one (124) was certainly and two (119, 121) were probably epitaphs of monks. None of the Greek stelae belonged to monastics.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Jackson 1926: 28, 31; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 264 (under name Kuddik or Kuduk); Crawford 1953: 31–33; *I. Khartoum Greek* 61–69; *I. Khartoum Copt.* 119–124; Edwards 2004: 247; Drzewiecki *et al.* 2008: 8.

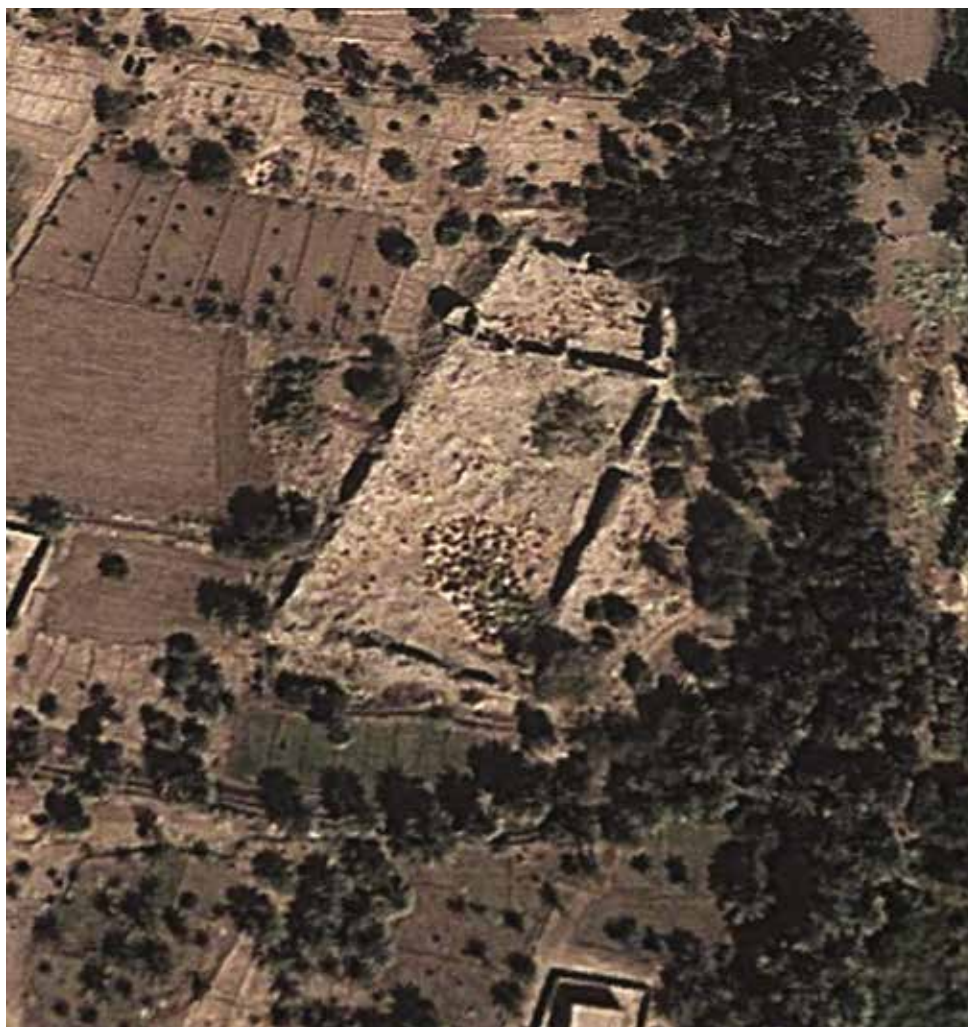
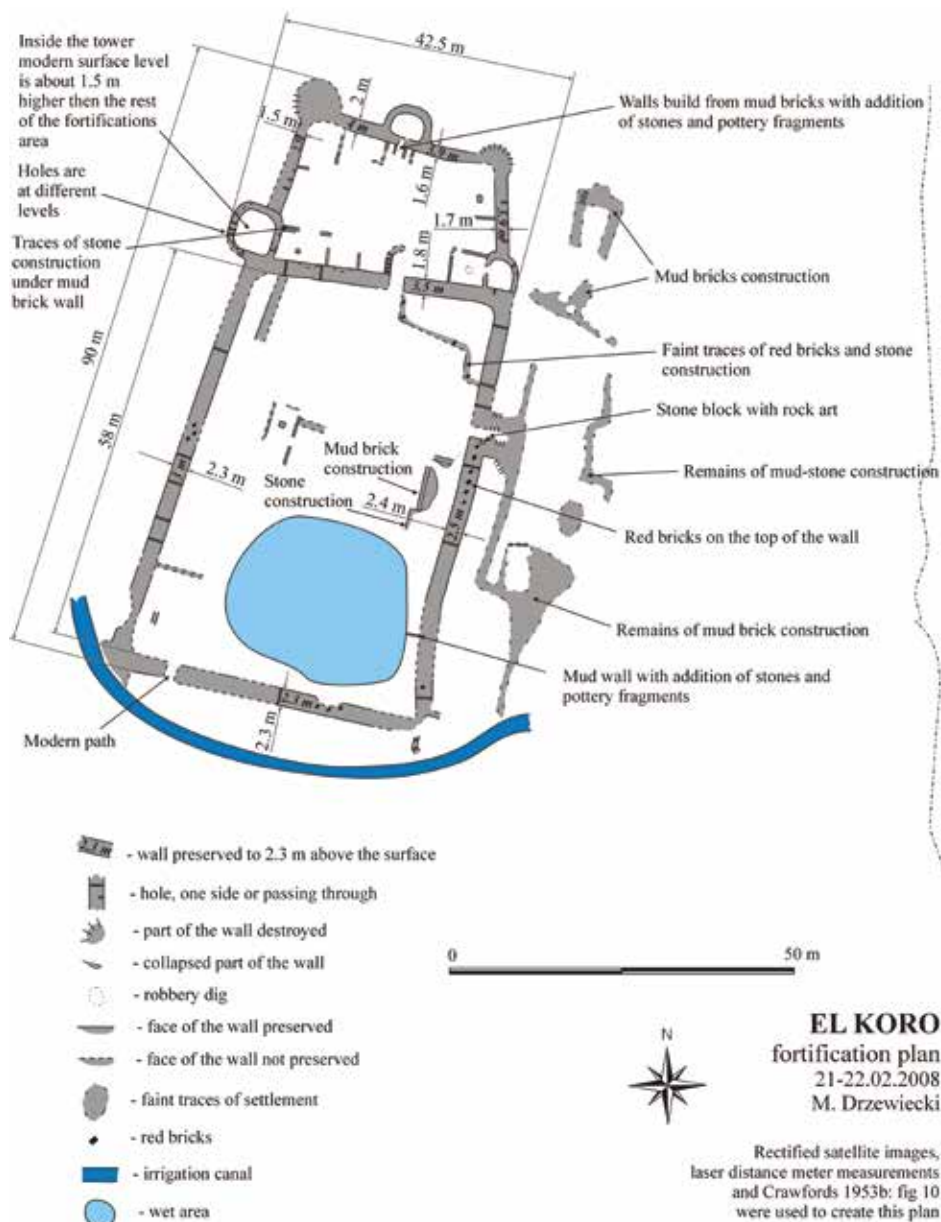


Fig. 43. el-Koro
(Google imaging)



28. KULB (21-R-3)

Location

21°3'9.15" N; 30°38'54.50" E

The site is located on elevated ground rising *ca.* 40 m above the floodplain on the west bank of the Nile, *ca.* 700 m air distance from Kulubnarti.

Research

Investigated by a West German mission directed by Erich Dinkler in 1969 (Dinkler 1970; Dinkler 1985).

Description

The compound, measuring *ca.* 70 m by 30 m, is surrounded by a wall *ca.* 3 m high. Along the walls there are a series of rooms devoid of furnishings. Almost every fourth room contained a large storage vessel. A fragmentary document on parchment found among the buildings mentions a monastery. Erich Dinkler, in his publication in *Nubian Letters*, raised the issue of whether Kulb was the monastery mentioned in the text (Dinkler 1985: 14). Confirmation was to be found in the spatial organisation of the structures inside the walled enclosure: it lacks communal monastic buildings and features only individual rooms or suites along the walls. Larger buildings in the central part of the compound may have had a communal function (Dinkler 1985: 15–16), but this is mere speculation.

When interpreting this site, one cannot ignore the fact that within the walls it was not possible, after all, to identify a building or buildings characteristic for coenobitic monasticism in Nubia, like a dormitory and refectory; also a church is lacking. A dormitory is not a *sine qua non* in a coenobium, and it can be replaced by rows of cells like in some Armenian or Byzantine monasteries. However, the structures in Kulb do not show signs



Fig. 45. Kulb (Google imaging)

of uniformity, which is expected of monastic cells. According to Dinkler, the monks could have attended a church located near the monastery.

Dating

800–1100.

Bibliography

Dinkler 1970; Dinkler 1985.



Fig. 46. Kulb, plan of the site (after Dinkler 1985; fig. 37)

29. KULUBNARTI 21-S-10 (JEBEL ABU JAI)

Location

21° 3'48.39" N; 30° 40'1.64" E

The site is located on a rocky, terraced outcrop on a promontory on the east side of the island.

Research

William Adams, survey and excavations of several sites on the island (Adams 1970; 1999; 2011).

Description

The site is a small, isolated settlement that was entirely separated from the island of Kulubnarti during the Nile flood. It consists of 17 dwellings scattered over two uppermost terraces of the rocky promontory. The buildings are separated from the rest of the island by a dry stone wall 1 m wide, built of roughly hewn blocks. The compound was accessed through single gate with a door. The interpretation of the site as a *laura* was proposed by Julie Anderson (Anderson 1999: 82). According to her, the clusters of rooms, e.g. House X (four rooms), House VII (three rooms) and House VIII (two rooms) may have been compounds consisting of a hermit's cell and an oratory/chapel or a cell for the hermit's disciple. William Adams was inclined to interpret the site as a settlement (Adams 2011: 197–219).

Dating

The phase corresponding to the medieval settlement is dated approximately to 800–1300.

Bibliography

Anderson 1999: 82; Adams 2011: 197–219.



Fig. 47. Kulubnarti, plan of the site
(after Adams 2011: map 5.1)

30. MARCOS (MORGOS)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site was located on an island. More detailed information is lacking.

Research

None.

Description

Frédéric Cailliaud, who saw the site in its entirety, described it in the following words (Cailliaud 1826: vol. I, 331):

À Mirqis, se trouve la partie de la cataracte la plus obstruée par les rochers. Sur un de ceux qui sont les plus saillants, se trouvaient des restes considérables de grosses murailles en terre, formant des enceintes; ce sont probablement les débris d'une forteresse: on trouve aussi enfoncés dans les sables des restes de maisons, qui dénotent assez l'emplacement d'un ancien village. Comme la position de cet endroit est élevée, la vue s'étend à une grande distance; mais on ne remarque point de chutes d'eau considérables, ni ce fracas impétueux qu'occasionne ordinairement le brisement des vagues contre les écueils.

The site was recorded by Arthur Weigall as a cluster of buildings of sundried brick and one large main building (Weigall 1907: 60). He noted that the site would most likely be flooded after building the Aswan Dam. This indeed happened, as Ugo Monneret de Villard, who visited the island twenty years later, did not see the remains (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 23).

Dating

Christian period (based on pottery finds).

Bibliography

Cailliaud 1826: vol. I, 331; Weigall 1907: 60; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 23.

31. MATUGA ISLAND (GEZIRA THET MATUGA)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site was located on an island.

Research

None.

Description

George Somers Clarke, who visited the site in 1909, wrote that it was severely damaged and little remained above foundations. He identified a church, which was a basilica with a passageway behind the apse and two entrances, one on the north and the other on the south. A building to the north of the church, with a corridor giving access to a series of rooms, may have been a dormitory. After the publication by Ugo Monneret de Villard, no other authors mention the site. Clarke's drawings seem reliable and constitute the decisive argument that there must have been a monastery on the island.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Somers Clarke 1912: 52, pl. VIII; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 222 (erroneously citing Cailliaud – the reference cited concerns the site of Marcos, not Matuga).

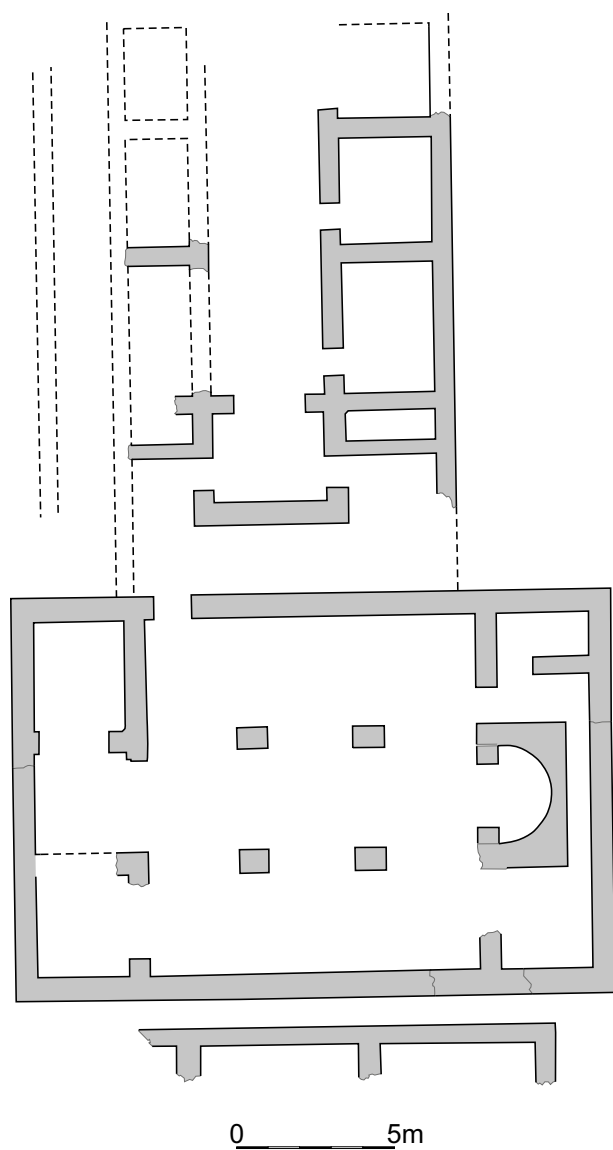


Fig. 48. Matuga, church and buildings remains
(after Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 209)

32. MEINARTI

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site is located on an island, on the southern edge of the town investigated by William Adams.

Research

William Adams, survey and excavations of the island town (Adams 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003).

Description

In the course of excavations, William Adams uncovered a group of buildings (Buildings II–III), which consisted of three sub-units (Suite C, E, F). Initially the researcher believed that they constituted the monastery of Michael and Cosmas (Adams 1964: 226), mentioned in textual sources. Thus, he identified Suite C as a refectory, Suite E as a kitchen, and Suite F as a sanitary complex. Later, however, he changed his mind and interpreted the whole complex as the seat of the eparch (Adams 2002: 22). If we consider the finds from the site, especially the amulets associated with Buildings II–III (Ruffini 2012), we may view the initial proposal of Adams as more likely.

Dating

Late Christian period (1100–1400).

Bibliography

Adams 1964; Adams 2000; Adams 2001; Adams 2002; Adams 2003; Ruffini 2012.



Fig. 49. Meinarti, plan of the site
(after Adams 2002: fig. 7)

33. MESHANTAWWO (UKMA 21-N-7)

Location

21°7'59.13" N; 30°40'51.71" E

The site is located on a rocky outcrop on the west bank of the Nile and is surrounded by cultivation on three sides.

Research

Survey conducted by Anthony Mills (Mills 1965).

Description

The site is nearly square in plan. It measures *ca.* 23.5 m (NE-SW) by 26 m (NW-SE) and is surrounded by a stone wall preserved to a height of *ca.* 2 m. Inside, a series of rooms are located along the walls, leaving an open space in the centre. The site was interpreted as a small fort by Anthony Mills (Mills 1965: 10), while Julie Anderson suggested that it may have been a monastery (Anderson 1999: 72).

Bibliography

Mills 1965: 10; Anderson 1999: 72; Edwards forthcoming.



Fig. 50. Meshantawwo (Google imaging)

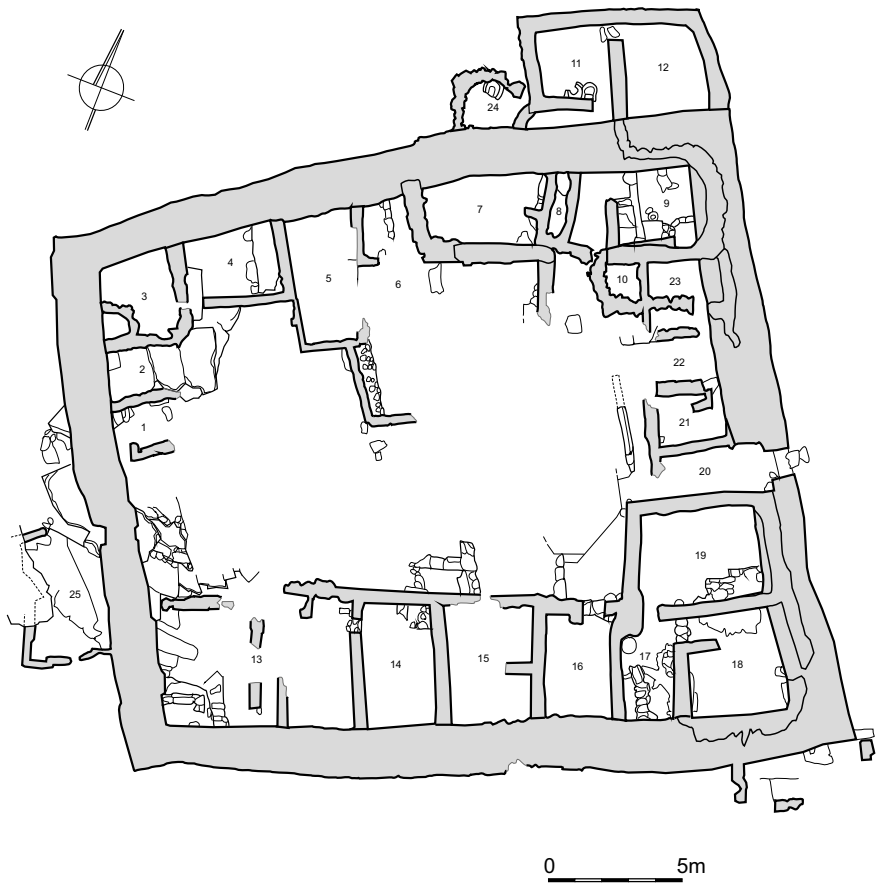


Fig. 51. Meshantawwo (after Edwards forthcoming: fig. 13)

34. MUSHU

Location

No data.

The site was located on the west bank of the Nile.

Research

None.

Description

The site of Mushu was reported to feature a small church and an adjacent settlement, if we identify Mosh from Lepsius's letters with Mushu (Lepsius 1853: 235). The existence of a monastery in this place has been suggested by Jacques van der Vliet on the basis of finds of funerary stelae now housed in the National Museum in Khartoum (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 28–42), though only one of fourteen stelae from this site belonged to a monk. During a survey conducted in 2017 we were unable to identify the site.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Lepsius 1853: 235; Edwards 1989: 108 (erroneously citing Somers Clarke); *I. Khartoum Copt.* 28–42.

35. NAG ESH-SHEIMA. MAIN ENCLOSURE AND 'SIEDLUNG E'

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The site was located on the west bank of the Nile, on a low rise. It was near a village and a cemetery (F), and only two kilometres away from the fortified settlement of Nag esh-Sheima (Bietak & Schwarz 1998: 420).

Research

Austrian archaeological mission directed by Manfred Bietak (Bietak & Schwarz 1987; 1998).

Description

Monneret de Villard identified the main enclosure at Nag esh-Sheima as a monastery (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 76–78). The site, to my mind, still remains a mystery. An argument in favour of it being a monastery surrounded by an enclosure wall is the character of the wall itself. The wall lacks reinforcing structures like towers or fortified gates that would support its defensive role. However, the epigraphic material lacks mentions of a monastery or monks. The other argument in favour of the non-urban character of the site is the presence of burials *intra muros*. The taboo of death in Christian Nubia resulted in the burial of the dead outside settlements, except foetuses. The only exceptions to this taboo were burials inside churches, probably restricted to people important to a local community. On the other hand, we must note the marginal position of the church and the lack of communal coenobitic spaces like a refectory or dormitory.

Siedlung E

In the publication of the fieldwork results, Manfred Bietak advanced a hypothesis that structures found on the settlement site designated with the letter 'E' (Einsiedelei E) were anchorites' dwellings (Bietak & Schwarz 1987: 187–199). The site was located between the villages Nag el-Bentikol and Umm Schiq. It comprised four rooms built in a row on the southwest-northeast axis. Three rooms opened on the side of the

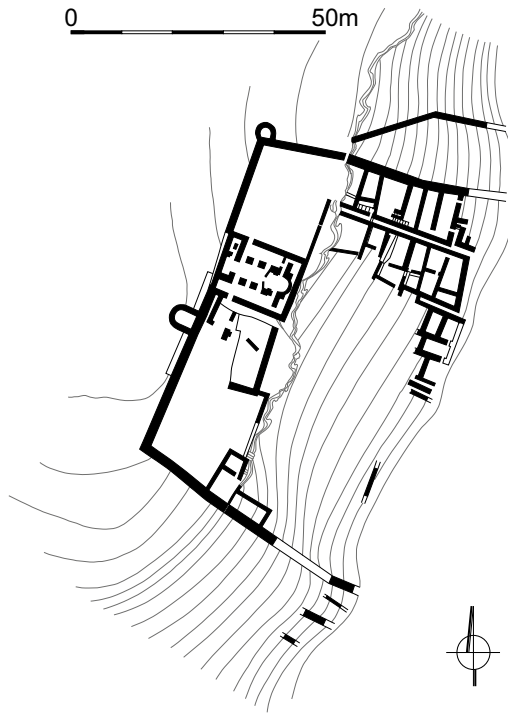


Fig. 52. Nag esh-Sheima, plan of the site
(after Bietak & Schwarz 1987: fig. 3)

Nile. Their furnishings were nearly identical: water jars, a grain mill, and a hearth, therefore they did not form one compound of rooms, each of which had a different function. According to Manfred Bietak, they were erected at the same time (Bietak & Schwarz 1987: 187). Occupational layers indicate that they were not inhabited on a permanent basis, but only temporarily (Bietak & Schwarz 1998: 418).

Dating

550–1200.

Bibliography

Bietak & Schwarz 1987; Bietak & Schwarz 1998.

36. QASR IBRIM (TAHARQA TEMPLE COMPLEX)

Location

22°39'1" N; 31°59'30" E

Temple of Taharqa.

Research

Excavations of William Adams (Adams 1996; 2010; 2013).

Description

In Qasr Ibrim and its vicinity there were undoubtedly monasteries. William Adams identifies the church built in a converted temple of Taharqa and adjacent buildings as a monastery. His reasoning is based on the observation that churches other than monastic ones are never abutted by neighbouring buildings (Adams 2010: 72–73). This observation generally finds confirmation in the architectural layout of the monastery of Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz) and the monastery on Kom H, but is not corroborated by evidence from Ghazali. Nonetheless, a few pages later Adams states that the church in the so-called Taharqa temple was the first parochial church (Adams 2010: 81). This statement is rather controversial, as we do not know how the institutional Nubian Church was organised beyond the fact that it had bishoprics.

Dating

Early Christian period (additional rooms razed in the Classic Christian period).

Bibliography

Adams 1996; Adams 2010; Adams 2013.

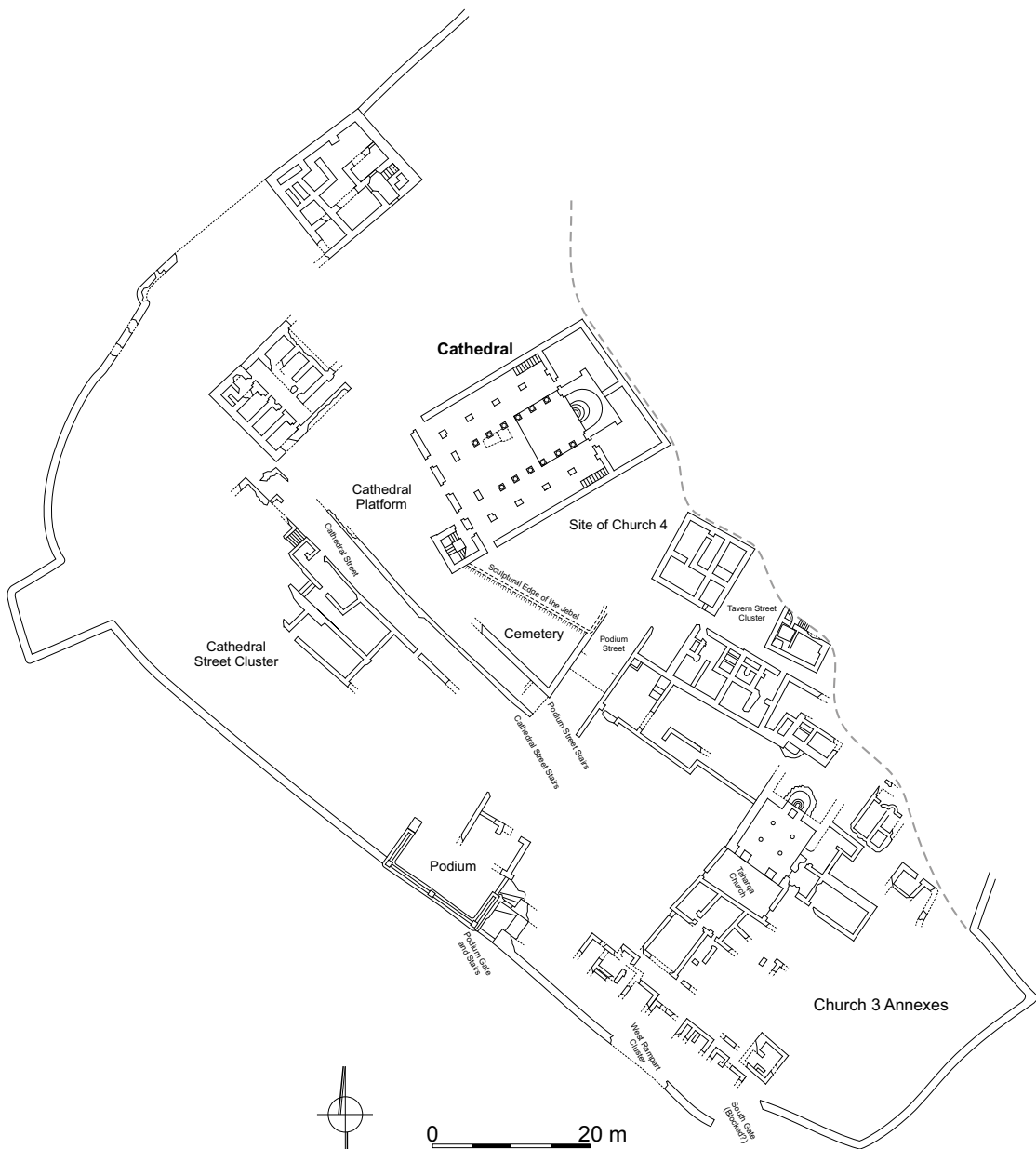


Fig. 53. Qasr Ibrim, plan of the site
(after Adams 2010: fig. 2)

37. QASR IBRIM (BUILDING 785)

Location

22°39'1" N; 31°59'30" E

The building was located to the northeast of the cathedral.

Research

Excavations of William Adams (Adams 1996; 2010; 2013).

Description

The large building featuring a central corridor flanked by transversely oriented rooms was found in the vicinity of the cathedral. Its plan, similar to monastic dormitories known from Nubia (Apa Dios, Ghazali, Matuga), prompted David Edwards to suggest its monastic function (Edwards 2004: 245). However, the walls lack niches, which were an integral feature of monks' cells, regardless of whether the community was anchoritic, semi-anchoritic or coenobitic.

Dating

Earlier than Early Christian period (Adams 1996: 42); later than Early Christian period (Edwards 2004: 245).

Bibliography

Adams 1996; Edwards 2004: 245; Adams 2010; Adams 2013.

38. ER-RAMAL

Location

22°24' N; 31°46' E

The site was located on the west bank of the Nile, on a low, elliptical hill, the longer axis of which was parallel to the river.

Research

Ugo Monneret de Villard investigated the site in 1933.

Description

Identified features of the site included the so-called church with four apses, cemeteries (referred to as Cemeteries A–E), and a complex interpreted as a monastic settlement.

Even a cursory study of the 'Chiesa a quattro absidi', limited to the plan and architectural section through the building (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, figs. 114–115), leaves little doubt that in this case we are dealing with not one but two churches. First of all, the section shows that these are two separate buildings founded on different occupational levels. Second, no known Nubian churches feature two ambos. Thus, it can be assumed that each one-nave space was a separate church.

The monastic complex consisted of a church and adjacent buildings. A part of them were built to abut the church directly, which may point to their monastic character, since churches located in settlements are invariably free-standing buildings (Adams 1996). The church is a typical Makurian structure featuring all the characteristic traits, such as tripartite division, staircase in the western part (northwest room), and a passageway behind the apse, permitting to move between the *prothesis* and the *diakonikon* without being seen by the congregation gathered for Mass. A *templon* ca. 120 cm high separated the presbytery from the naos. None of the structures uncovered by Ugo Monneret de Villard resemble a dormitory or refectory, buildings characteristic for coenobia. On the basis of the thickness of the walls recorded on the plan (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, figs. 122–124) it seems that initially the monastery was smaller and the western wall of the church formed part of the enclosure wall of the entire

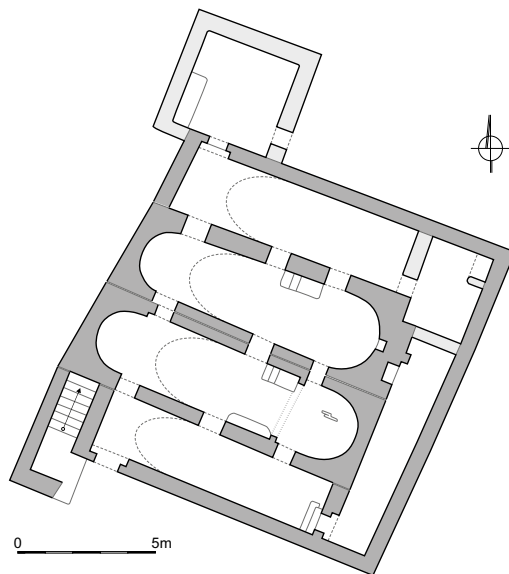


Fig. 54. er-Ramal, four-apsed church
(after Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 114)

complex. This wall continued toward the north and turned east at a distance of twenty-odd metres from the church. At a certain point, a thinner enclosure wall was built abutting the older wall, and a building with an upper floor was added. The northern part featured a series of elongated rooms, some of which were subdivided into smaller cubicles. The differences in orientation of these structures seem to indicate that they were not erected in a single building phase but rather came into being by agglutination.

Dating

Early Christian period.

Bibliography

Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 132–142; vol. II, pls. 42–45.

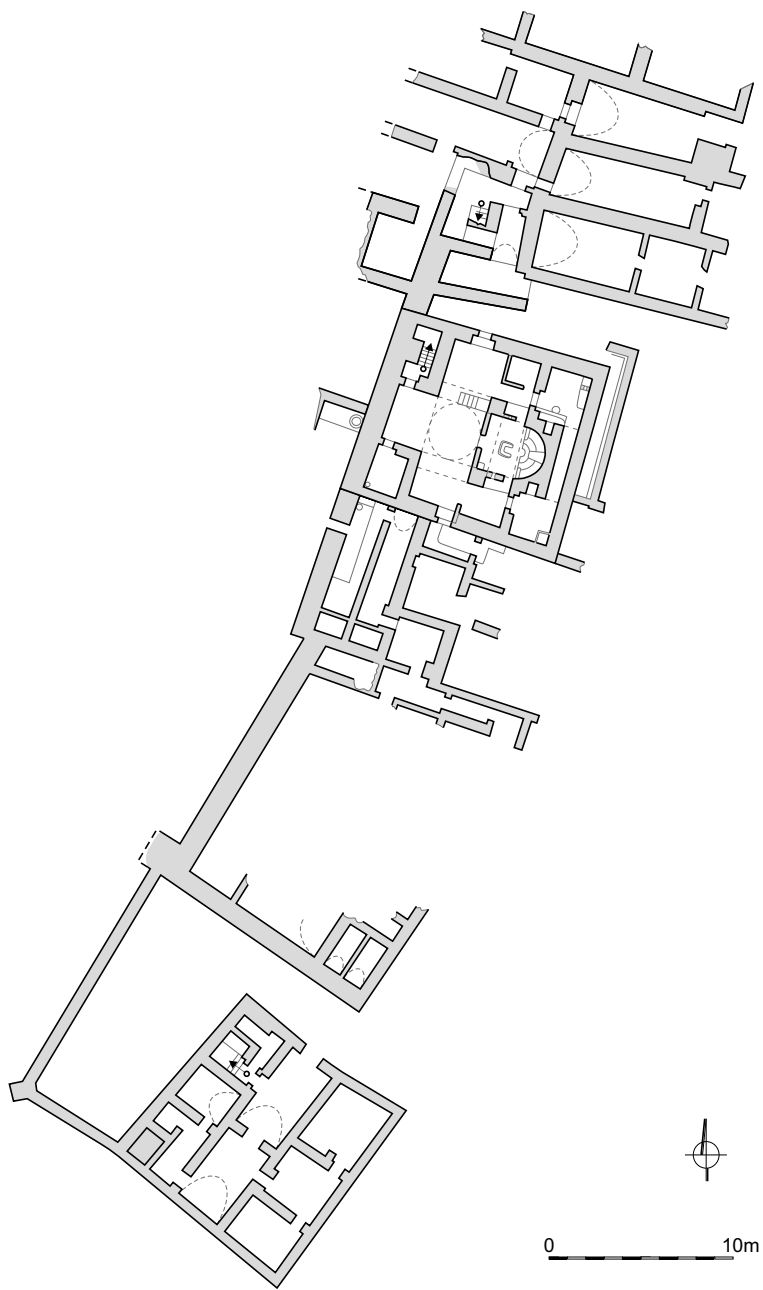


Fig. 55. er-Ramal, plan of the monastery
(after Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, fig. 122)

39. SARIGO (UKMA 21-N-9)

Location

21°8'28.39" N; 30°40'18.43" E

The site is located on a sandstone outcrop on the western bank of the Nile. In contrast to Ukma 21-N-7, it is not located in the immediate vicinity of arable land and the river, but *ca.* 100 m away from the water.

Research

Survey conducted by Anthony Mills (Mills 1965).

Description

The site is trapezoidal in shape and its approximate dimensions are N 25.5 m; S 21 m; W 20.5 m; and E 20 m. Its spatial organisation resembles that of Ukma 21-N-7. Ten-odd rooms were built along the enclosure wall. The entrance gate was located in its western section. As in the case of 21-N-7, two functions have been proposed for this site in the scholarship to date: a fort (Mills 1965: 10) and a monastery (Anderson 1999: 72).

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Mills 1965: 10; Anderson 1999: 72; Edwards forthcoming.



Fig. 56. Sarigo (Google imaging)

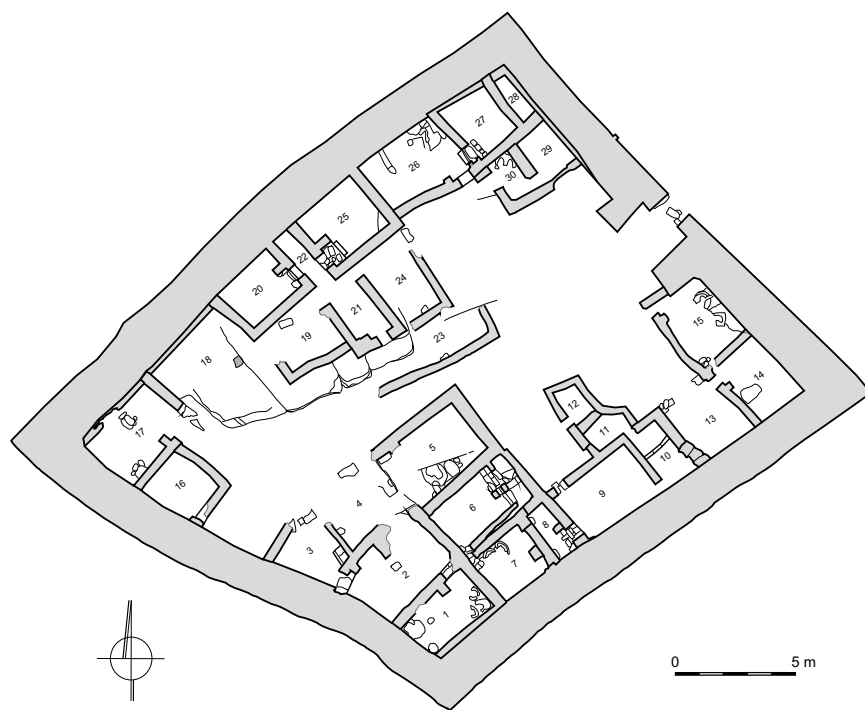


Fig. 57. Sarigo, plan of the site
(after Edwards forthcoming: fig. 15)

40. SHEIMA AMALIKA (MADEYK, MEDIQ)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

Arthur Weigall wrote that the site was situated in a place well protected from floods: 'Some high rocks which come down to water' (Weigall 1907: 96).

Research

None.

Description

We owe the most detailed description to Arthur Weigall, who visited the site in the early twentieth century (Weigall 1907: 96):

On ascending the hill at the north side one first finds a large area entirely covered with broken stones and fragments of pottery. On close observation it is seen that these stones are the ruins of a large number of little huts, not more than one or two metres square, and usually built over a crevice in the rocks, in order that the walls might not require to be raised very high. These hovels, where a man could never stand upright, and where the ground area was nothing more than a coffin-like cleft in the rock, seem to have served the monks for shelter from the summer sun and from the winter winds. When the writer visited the place in the autumn the rocks were still too hot to be touched by the hand, and in the height of summer the bare plateau must be literally scorched. In many of these clefts in the rock, under the fallen walls, lie the bones of the monks; and it thus seems either that it was the custom in this brotherhood for the dead to be buried where they had lived, or else that the monks were massacred at some time in their huts. A few metres to the south rises the little church, built of broken stones, topped with sun-dried bricks. Over the body of the building rises a dome now in ruins, and the rest of the roofing was supported on brick arches. At the east end is a recess for the altar, with a niche in the south wall for holding the sacred utensils. On either side of this recess there is a small chamber, and a passage runs behind the altar from one to the other. In the wall of the north chamber there is a niche, and in the corner a projecting slab of stone forms a rough shelf. A few metres further to the south there is another small ruined building, which seems to have been divided into a few small chambers; and, as the quarters of the monks have been

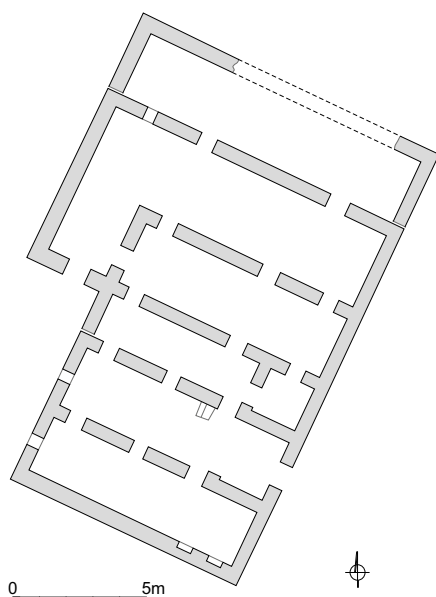


Fig. 58. Sheima Amalika, plan of the remains
(after Somers Clarke 1912: plate XXI, fig. 1)

already observed, this building is perhaps to be regarded as a guest-house. From this point the road leading to Tomas, cutting off the bend of the river, runs back into the desert; and there must have been many travellers who passed the monastery, and would be glad to claim its shelter.

The description is of much significance, not to say sensational. However, the basis for the claim that the deceased were indeed monks may provoke doubts. Buildings documented at the beginning of the twentieth century do not provide sufficient grounds upon which to call this a monastic site. Parts of the description, especially those referring to tombs, rather bring to mind Napatan tombs I excavated in the Fourth Cataract region.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Weigall 1907: 96; Somers Clarke 1912: 81-82; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 81.

41. TOSHKAI EAST (KOLOTOD)

Location

Coordinates unavailable.

The hermitage was reportedly located on high ground, in Tomb II located to the north of the tomb of Heka-nefer (Simpson 1963: 18).

Research

Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt directed by William Kelly Simpson (Simpson 1963).

Description

Traces of reuse of the tomb for dwelling purposes are visible already on the façade of the monument. The rectangular cut in the rock forming the typical entrance to the tomb was deepened, while its width was constricted and topped with an arch. The first room measured 6.40 m by 5.35 m. The walls of this space were heavily covered with soot, which serves as additional proof that it was used as a dwelling. Preserved on the walls are three carved crosses, as well as inscriptions published by Arthur Weigall (Weigall 1907: 126).

Dating

Based on the published pottery, the hermitage can be dated to the sixth-seventh century (Katarzyna Danys, personal communication; for parallels, see Danys-Lasek 2014).

Bibliography

Weigall 1907: 126; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 121-122 (as Kolotod); Simpson 1963: 18-20.

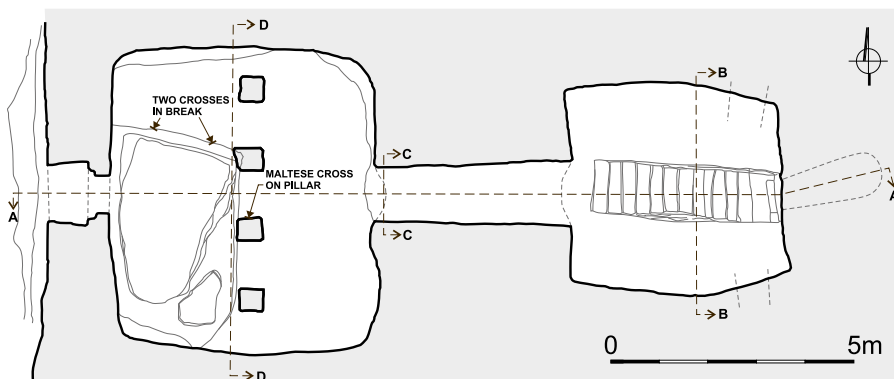


Fig. 59. Toshka, plan of the tomb (after Simpson 1963: fig. 15)

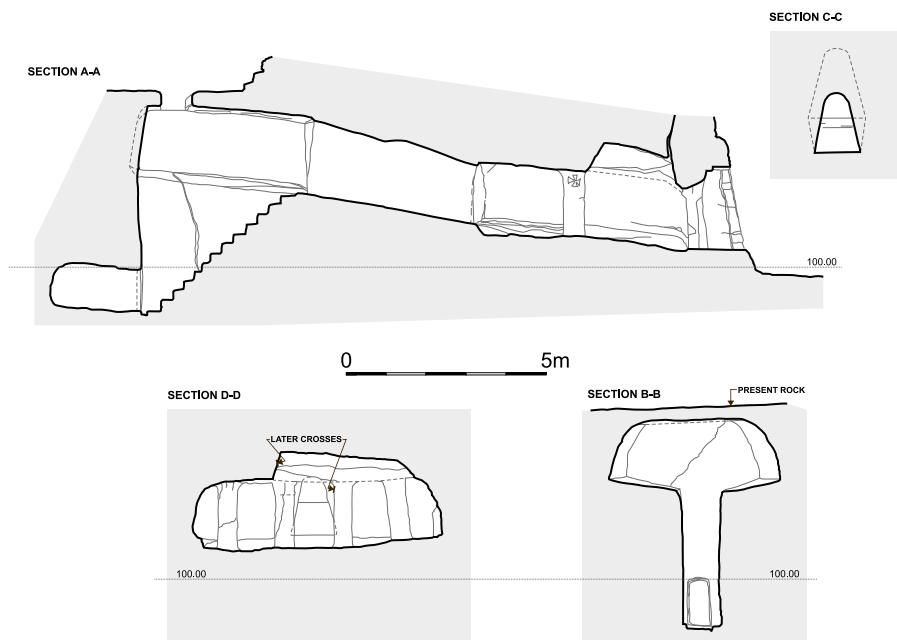


Fig. 60. Toshka, tomb sections (after Simpson 1963: fig. 16)

42. EL-UGAL (WADI ABU ZEIT, EI)

Location

18°46'23.94" N; 30°32'4.89" E

The site is located on the west bank of the Nile, currently *ca.* 275 m from the river. In the past this distance was certainly smaller.

Research

A survey conducted by Derek Welsby (Welsby 2001: 597).

Description

The site was investigated to a very limited extent. Only the tops of the walls were exposed in order to document the plan of the complex. Derek Welsby identified several buildings. Building 4 most likely belongs to the industrial and service part of the monastery, since one of its rooms housed two *gesebas* (large storage bins of unbaked clay). A large amount of ash found in one of the rooms of Building 5 also points to its industrial function. Building 6 was identified as a church on account of stone blocks, a large amount of baked bricks and fragments of lime mortar scattered on the surface (Welsby 2001: 21). Building 7 consists of several rooms, the largest of which measures 13 m by 9 m. Partition walls subdivide it into smaller spaces: four on the east and four on the west side of the room. Pillars in the middle of the room were aligned with the partition walls and supported the ceiling. The room may have served as a monastic refectory. Building 8, in turn, is rectangular in plan and features a central corridor *ca.* 4.5 m in width, giving access to transversely oriented smaller rooms measuring 8–11 m² in area (Welsby 2001: 597). The plan of the building immediately brings to mind the dormitories in Ghazali and Qasr el-Wizz. During a survey conducted in 2017, on the surface there was a very large number of potsherds with scratched inscriptions (over a thousand similar finds were documented during excavations in Ghazali), as well as a fragment of a terracotta funerary stela with the preserved word *abba*. The



Fig. 61. el-Ugal, plan of the site
(after Welsby 2001: fig. 3.7)



Fig. 62. el-Ugal, kite photo
(Miron Bogacki)

above data are enough to conclude that the interpretation of the site as a monastery, proposed by Derek Welsby, is correct.

It is also worthy of note that a cemetery was found *ca.* 120 m to the northeast of the kom concealing the monastery.

Dating

Classic Christian to Late Christian period (Welsby 2001: 21).

Bibliography

Welsby 2001.

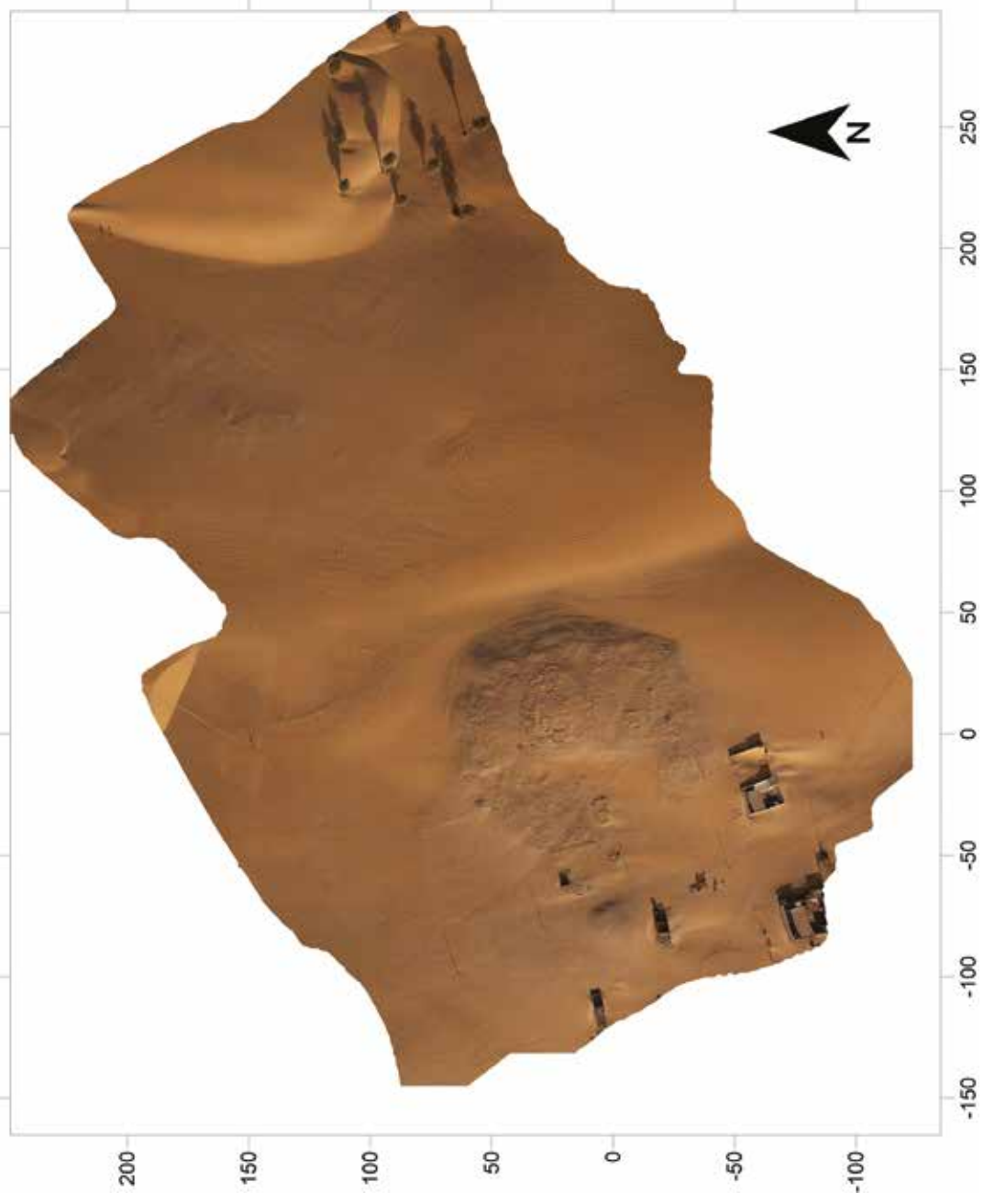


Fig. 63. el-Ugal, orthophotomap (Miron Bogacki)

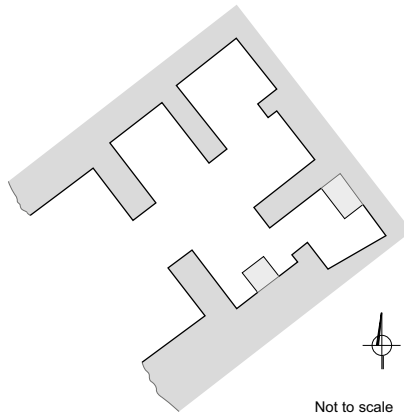


Fig. 64. ez-Zuma, plan of the tomb
(after Wilkinson's notes and Żurawski 2003: fig. 11)

43. EZ-ZUMA

Location

18° 21' 48.66" N; 31° 44' 14.82" E

Rocky rise near the village of ez-Zuma.

Research

Adam Łajtar documented inscriptions on the site during a survey conducted by Bogdan Żurawski (Łajtar 2003).

Description

The hermitage, called an 'Anchorite's Grotto' by researchers of the nineteenth and twentieth century, was a complex of rooms carved in the rocky outcrop rising to the west of the post-Meroitic cemetery in ez-Zuma. Bogdan Żurawski interpreted it as a quarry, but it was probably a tomb (Żurawski 2003: 379–380). The site was not fully excavated during the survey.

Dating

Not determined.

Bibliography

Wilkinson 1849: Ms. 22, XI, fol. 58; 35, XLII, fol. 100; Lepsius 1849–1859: vol. V, 253–254; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 251–252, fig. 230; Żurawski 2003: 379–380; Łajtar 2003.

*

The following table summarises the information given in the catalogue regarding the identification of monastic activity at given archaeological sites, as well as an assessment of their monastic character (coenobium, laura or hermitage). In several cases I did not take firm stand due to insufficient data and resorted to designations 'likely' and 'unlikely'. Only in less than half (20 of 43) of the cases the monastic status of a site can be confirmed or considered likely. The prevalence of coenobia over other varieties of monasticism (laurae, hermitages) cannot be unequivocally taken as a proof of their dominance in Nubia in general. It may well depend on the fact that physical remains of coenobia are the easiest to find and interpret.

Table 1. Monastic sites in Nubia

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Monastic type</i>
1	Akasha 21-N-11 (monastery of St Epimachus)	Laura
2	el-Allaqi	Hermitage (unlikely)
3	Amada	Coenobium (unlikely)
4	Apa Dios(corus) (Qasr el-Wizz)	Coenobium
5	Argin 24-W-3 (Deir el-Bohl, Deir el-Bollor)	Unlikely
6	Attab	Unlikely
7	Banganarti	Unlikely
8	Biga	Unlikely
9	Buhen 6-K-5 (Church near Wadi Halfa)	Unlikely
10	Debeira West 24-R-1	Unlikely
11	Debeira West 24-R-60	Unlikely
12	Deir Solleh (Gimei, Gemai West, Qasr Antawu, Kasr Kasantawu)	Unlikely
13	Dongola Kom D	Coenobium
14	Dongola Kom H	Coenobium
15	Fagirinfenti (TJB023, 024)	Coenobium (likely)

Table 1. Monastic sites in Nubia
(cont'd)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Monastic type</i>
16	Fantau (Saqiet el-Abd, 2-V-1)	Coenobium (likely)
17	Faras West 21-E-22, Hermitage of Theophilus (Anchorite's grotto)	Hermitage
18	Faras West 24-E-21 ('Christian Potteries')	Coenobium (likely)
19	Gaminarti 5-T-4, 47,49	Coenobium (unlikely)
20	Gendal Irki (Figir Antawu) (5-X-1)	Unlikely
21	Gergetti 2-S-21	Not monastic
22	Ghazali	Coenobium
23	Hambukol	Coenobium (likely)
24	Kageras (Ukma East 21-N-1)	Coenobium
25	Kashasha (Ginis W, 2-T-52)	Coenobium (unlikely)
26	Kissenfarki TJBoo5 and TJBoo6	Unlikely
27	el-Koro (Kuddik or Kuduk)	Not monastic
28	Kulb (21-R-3)	Not monastic
29	Kulubnarti 21-S-10 (Jebel Abu Jai)	Laura
30	Marcos (Morgos)	Not monastic
31	Matuga Island (Gezira Thet Matuga)	Coenobium (likely)
32	Meinarti	Coenobium (likely)
33	Meshantawwo (Ukma 21-N-7)	Laura
34	Mushu	Not monastic
35	Nag esh-Sheima. 'Siedlung E'	Coenobium (unlikely) Laura (unlikely)
36	Qasr Ibrim (Taharqa temple complex)	Unlikely
37	Qasr Ibrim (Building 785)	Not monastic
38	er-Ramal	Coenobium (likely)
39	Sarigo (Ukma 21-N-9)	Laura
40	Sheima Amalika (Madeyk, Mediq)	Laura (unlikely)
41	Toshka East (Kolotod)	Hermitage
42	el-Ugal (Wadi Abu Zeit, E1)	Coenobium
43	ez-Zuma	Hermitage

CHAPTER TWO

TEXTUAL SOURCES

LANGUAGES

THE MONASTIC COMMUNITIES of Nubia were multilingual, as was Nubia itself.¹ The language of everyday communication was Nubian, which existed in at least two different variants. Until approximately the end of the eleventh century, Nubian was a vernacular subdivided into several local dialects, although words in this language were first recorded as early as the eighth century. In the eleventh century, Old Nubian replaced Coptic, the language most commonly used in written communication until that time. Research conducted by Jacques van der Vliet and Adam Łajtar has shown beyond doubt that the Nubian writing tradition was hugely influenced by traditions common in Egypt. For instance, the phrase $\pi\epsilon\rho\theta\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\phi\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\phi \ \bar{\nu}\epsilon\eta\tau\bar{\iota}$ often appears on stelae from northern Nubia (i.a. in Sakinya, which yielded the largest assemblage of funerary stelae to date) and from the monastery of Anba Hadra in Aswan (*I. Khartoum Greek*: pp. 154–155). Jacques van der Vliet also draws attention to the phrase ‘Church of the Firstborn, who is in Heaven’, which is attested in Nubia. It appears, for instance, on a stela of an unknown monk, discussed in greater detail below (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 74), in the foundation inscription of the bishop Paulos (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 1), and on the stela of the archbishop of Dongola, Georgios (Łajtar 2002: 184). It is also found in the Coptic burial rite (Burmester 1967: 210–211), in the Bohairic martyrdom of St Eusebius (Hyvernāt 1886: 2),

¹The topic of multilingualism in Nubia, and in monastery of Ghazali in particular, has been elaborated by Grzegorz Ochała (OCHAŁA 2016).

as well as on stelae from the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara (Wie-theger 1992: 147, no. 52). Another example of Egyptian influence is found in the palaeography of inscriptions on stelae from Ghazali. The letter ‘μ’ is written in accordance with the Egyptian writing tradition present in both Greek and Coptic texts as two vertical strokes with one horizontal bar connecting them at the base (*I. Khartoum Greek*: pp. 150–151). Attestations of this can be seen on *I. Khartoum Greek* 42 and inv. no. Gh.2016.1.181. Remarkably, the first stela is in Greek and the second one in Coptic, but both contain examples of the letter ‘μ’ written both in accordance with the Coptic tradition referred to above and in the ordinary way. This fact points to fairly advanced literacy, as well as, definitely, to the teaching of the Coptic language and therefore to the ownership of Coptic texts, from which this tradition could be copied. Texts from Qasr el-Wizz, the only ones found in a monastic context in Nubia, are manuscripts most likely written in scriptoria of Middle and Upper Egypt, as indicated by their distinctive palaeography (Tsakos forthcoming).

The next distinctive feature is the duplication of the initial vowel, as in the word πααραϑοο in the epitaph of Aaron, a bishop of Faras (d. 972). This trait was characteristic for literary texts from the Edfu-Esna region and popular in non-literary texts from the Theban area (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 3, note 113). The same stela is decorated with an XOXOX-shaped motif on the curved edge of the conch carved in the upper part (*I. Khartoum Copt.*: pp. 22 and 25), which is also present on stelae from Meinarti (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 19) and Ghazali (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 90). Jacques van der Vliet believes it to be a simplified ‘Flechmuster’ attested on stelae from Egypt (Strzygowski 1904: 41, fig. 49). Lastly, it is worthy of note that Coptic fell out of use in Nubia more or less parallel to its abandonment by the Egyptians themselves.

Thus, in Nubian monasteries we are rather dealing with a polyglossia of three genetically unrelated languages: two languages of higher status (H), Greek and Coptic, and variants of Nubian functioning as lower-status languages (L). The latter were informal spoken Nubian languages, while Coptic (H) was the language of education in religious studies and the language of trade. Greek (H) was also the language of religion and certainly of liturgy, and it was used on the level of the high elite, by the royal court. This polyglossia evolved into a developed diglossia for Nubian and Greek on the one

hand, and into classic diglossia for the H-type Nubian and L-type vernacular variants of the Nubian language spoken in the late eleventh century.

LITERARY SOURCES

All known historical texts concerning Nubia with the exception of epigraphic sources were written outside this region. However, we cannot rule out the existence of texts concerning, for instance, the history or geography of Nubia written by the Nubians themselves. The existence of such texts is made probable by the high level of literary culture among Nubian elites, whose members were familiar with Greek poetic vocabulary (Łajtar 2009a). Also, as Alexandros Tsakos suggests, at least in the religious sphere the Nubians attempted to be creative (Tsakos 2014). It is certain that in the Nubian culture there existed oral accounts of historical events, passed down from generation to generation. Did the Nubians ever decide to put them in writing? As of yet, archaeologists have not found any such documents.

Passing on from hypotheses to texts preserved until our time, we find information on Nubian monasteries and monks in narrative, biographical and hagiographical texts. The first group is headed by *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*, a work formerly ascribed to the Armenian Abū Ṣāliḥ (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895). The author was in fact Abu l-Makārim Saʿdullāh ibn Jirjis ibn Masʿūd (d. 1208), and Abū Ṣāliḥ merely commissioned the work. The text was drafted most likely in the late twelfth century. The author lists names of Nubian monasteries and provides some additional information on the subject of interest to us:

1. The first place that a traveller could reach in Makuria (in Abu l-Makārim: 'in the province of Makuria') is the monastery of Safanūf, a king of Nubia, which is downstream from the Second Cataract (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 261, fol. 94a).

2. The monastery of Michael and Cosmas (location not given) was huge, and inside it was a sycamore, on which the annual high and low levels of the Nile were recorded each year (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 262, fol. 94a).

3. A monastery called Dairā was located between two huge mountains, near a Pharaonic temple.

4. In the city of Bausaka (Faras) was the monastery of Saint Shenoute. It was the refuge of Abū Rakwa el-Walīd ibn Hishām ibn ʿAbd el-Malik, leader of the rebellion against el-Hākim, a Fatimid caliph of Egypt, who fled Egypt in year 1006 after the revolt had failed (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 262, fol. 94a).

5. In a city on Zīdān mountain was the monastery of Abū Jarās (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 262, fol. 94a).

6. In the city of Tāfah was located the monastery of Ansūn, which was so splendidly constructed and executed that there was no need to repair anything in it for a century (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 262, fol. 94a).

7. A church of St Onuphrius (*Abu Nufr*) mentioned by el-Makārim (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 270, fol. 98a) requires a somewhat longer discussion. According to Abu l-Makārim, the church was not located in the Nile Valley, but in one of the *wadis*. Unfortunately, the manuscript did not preserve the name of the desert through which the *wadi* ran. It was reportedly the residence of the king Solomon (1077–1079/80) after he had forsaken the throne in order to devote himself to spiritual life. He was, however, unable to pursue this aim, as troops sent by Badr el-Jamali kidnapped him from his refuge and brought him to Cairo. Since the presence of a remote church in a desert *wadi* is absurd, one should assume that the church was located inside a monastery. At the moment we know of two Nubian monasteries located in *wadis*. One is the monastery of Ghazali, and the other is a monastery in Wadi el-Malik discovered by Jana Eger (Eger 2011). Abu l-Makārim reported that the place where the king was staying was 10 days' travel from Aswan and three days from the Nubian border. It therefore seems logical that if one piece of information concerned the distance from the northern border (Aswan), then the second concerned the border on the south. If so, then the distance of ten days seems to fit the Ghazali monastery better than the monastery in Jebel el-Ain. Crossing the Eastern Desert, the distance between Korosko and Abu Hamad could be covered in *ca.* seven days. One would, therefore, have three more days to get from Aswan to Korosko, which does not seem problematic. As far as the second distance is concerned, the term 'Nubia' should probably be understood as 'Makuria', so three days would have been the travel distance to the Makurian-Alwan border. The story of the kidnapping omits the fact that Badr el-Jamali sought to

intervene in the affairs of the throne of Makuria. This may be deduced i.a. from the fact that Badr el-Jamali acted immediately, as soon as he learned about 'the king's condition' from Sa'd ed-Daulah el-Kawāsī, the governor of southern Egypt. The latter must have been responsible for gathering intelligence on the neighbouring state of Makuria. Upon arrival in Cairo, the king was greeted not as a monk, but a head of state with all the honours and was placed in a glorious palace. Badr el-Jamali's efforts seem to have come to naught, as after a year of discussions 'on various topics' the king died (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 271, fol. 98b).

Abu l-Makārim supplies three more pieces of information on Nubian monasticism. First, he mentions a large monastery near the Fourth Nile Cataract, located atop a tall hill (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 273, fol. 100a), which, however, has yet to be identified. Second, in his description of Soba, the capital of Alwa, he reports that the city had many monasteries, but these monasteries were located around the city, on the bank of the river or at some distance from it (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 264, fol. 95b). The last reference concerns Nubia's conversion to Christianity. It was reportedly achieved through the efforts of Bahriyā, the king's son (el-Makārim, tr. Evetts 1895: 266, fol. 96a), although Stuart Munro Hay believes that he was the son of the king's sister (Munro-Hay 1982–1983: 96). This man not only brought Christianity to Nubia, but also fostered its institutional development by founding many churches and monasteries.

The second narrative concerning Nubia is earlier and originates from a different cultural circle. It is *Hudūd el-Ālam min el-Mashriq ilā l-Maghrib*, or *Borders of the World from East to West* – a geography of the world by an unknown author (Minorsky 1937: 154–155). It was penned in 982 for Abu'l Haret Muhammad, a ruler of the Farighunid dynasty. It mentions a land called Tari, located between Nubia and Sudan (used here as a designation of Black Africa). This land was said to have two large monasteries inhabited by 12,000 monks. The number is of course a gross exaggeration and simply means 'many monks'. It is intriguing, however, that Christian institutions in the medieval period emerged and, as it would seem, flourished outside the Nile Valley. It is likely that the land of Tari can, at least tentatively, be associated with the monastery of Jebel el-Ain in the Western Desert, discovered fairly recently by Jana Eger (Eger 2019).

The third narrative is *Ma'waiz wa el-'i' tibar bi dhikr el-khitat wa el-'athar* by Taqi ed-Din Abu el-Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abd el-Qadir ibn Muhammad el-Maqrizi, simply called Maqrizi (1364–1442). It repeats the mention on the presence of large monasteries in Soba (el-Maqrīzī, tr. Bouriant & Casanova 1900: 557). This author also refers to numerous monasteries when describing the landscape of a region of Nubia called the Safad Bāql (alternative reading Safadh Ba'al) (el-Maqrīzī, tr. Bouriant & Casanova 1900: 552).

Another group of sources is biographies with a substantial share of hagiographical additions. They include *Lives of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* written over an extended period of time by various authors. The first passage worthy of note is a mention that repeats an account from the time of the episcopate of Cyril, the sixty-seventh patriarch of Alexandria (1077–1093), concerning King Solomon, who abdicated in favour of his nephew Georgios. The account concerned his kidnapping by Badr el-Jamali (Atiya *et al.* 1959: 328).

The two remaining mentions do not concern Nubia in a direct fashion. They refer to two Nubian monks remaining outside the borders of Nubia. Unfortunately we do not know whether they were members of the Nubian diaspora in Egypt, or rather monks who travelled to Egypt from Nubia. The first mention concerns Zacharias, the sixty-fourth Patriarch of Alexandria (1003–1031), who together with a Nubian monk named Shishih (Sisih) was reportedly thrown to the lions by el-Hakim, but both miraculously survived (Atiya *et al.* 1959: 228). The same event is mentioned by the Coptic historian Jirjis ibn el-'Amīd el-Makīn, referred to as el-Makīn or George Elmacin (1205–1273), but in this case the Nubian monk is named Sawsanah en-Nūbī (el-Makīn, tr. Erpenius 1625: 263–264).

The second piece of information appears in connection with a description of miracles performed by a monk named Bessus. The events reported took place during the episcopate of Christodoulos, the sixty-sixth Patriarch of Alexandria (1046–1077) (Atiya *et al.* 1959: 296). Bessus informs the monks subordinate to him of the death of a certain individual before the news can reach them. Among the community members in the monastery of Abba Khame (Abū Kamā) is Macarius (Maqārah) the Nubian (en-Nūbī). The appearance of Macarius the Nubian in this text seems deliberate. He

was probably the only one of the anonymous brethren of the Abba Khame community to be referred to by name because he was an important figure in the monastic community and was likely known outside of it.

John the Deacon, one of the sources of the *History of the Patriarchs*, gives an account of a conflict between the king of Makuria Abraham and the bishop of Dongola Cyriacus (Evetts 1909: 141–143). The story is that of strife between a Church leader and a head of state, common in medieval courts also in Europe. Bishop Cyriacus, an octogenarian at that time, most likely saw the ascension of the young man to the throne as an opportunity to exert an influence on him, or, according to the *History of the Patriarchs*, ‘to warn him and instruct him’ (Evetts 1909: 141). Importantly, as the conflict escalated the patriarch of Alexandria asked the bishop to remain in one of the monasteries in Alexandria until the king’s wrath subsided. Following his refusal, a series of miraculous events occurred, namely the portrait of John Chrysostom hanging on the wall above the patriarchal throne fell down thrice, suggesting to the reader that the Heavens were not satisfied with the situation. However, at the end of the story a new bishop of Dongola was dispatched to take charge of his see. Cyriacus, in turn, departed to one of the monasteries of Nubia (Evetts 1909: 143). Based on this account, we can attempt to reconstruct the course of events in the conflict. It seems that the patriarch of Alexandria was able to find a clever way out of a difficult situation. First, a new bishop of Dongola was ordained to mollify King Abraham, who threatened that if there were no change on the episcopal throne he would take Makuria back into paganism. Cyriacus, however, did not remain in Alexandria but returned to a monastery in Nubia. According to the account, Cyriacus performed miracles for the rest of his life and lived to be 104 years old. After death, he was proclaimed a local saint. It seems, therefore, that the history of the Nubian Church was at times considerably dynamic and dramatic, and monasteries apparently played a role in it as well. We do not know in which monastery Cyriacus resided and whether it was a community that supported him in his conflict with the king or simply a form of house arrest applied fairly frequently also by other medieval rulers to both laity and ecclesiastics. The former possibility seems more likely, if the information concerning the posthumous cult of the bishop is true. We therefore have cause to

believe that Makurian monks were not only focused on spiritual development but also took an interest in the worldly affairs of the Church and actively engaged in them. There is also one more piece of information we can gauge from this story. If Cyriacus became a saint, then this source is the first, and so far the sole attestation of the cult of local saints in Nubia in literary sources while epigraphy confirms one other Nubian saint – St Anna from monastery on Kom H in Dongola.

The last category of sources concerning Nubia are hagiographies, which of course must be treated with great caution dictated by the nature of these texts, or rather the aim for which they were created. They were to provide the readers with models to imitate and examples to follow, as well as to raise their spirits. In consequence, historical facts were treated in a manner that was less than orthodox.

The first source of information concerning Nubia presented here is the *Synaxary of the Ethiopian Church* (Budge 1928). Synaxaries were collections of hagiographies arranged according to the dates of the saints' feasts. In general, we distinguish simple synaxaries, being ordinary lists of saints in a form resembling modern calendars, and historical synaxaries, which also carry biographical and hagiographical information on the given saints, events in their lives and miracles they performed, and possibly their martyrdom.

In the *Synaxary of the Ethiopian Church*, the entry for 2 July (25 Senne) supplies information on the life of Abba Peter (576–577/8), the thirty-fourth patriarch of Alexandria. Leaving aside the remarkably interesting story of Peter, I concentrate on the passage that conveys information on the monasteries of Noba, which adhered to the orthodox faith (Budge 1928: 593). It reads as follows:

In those days there were in the city of Alexandria six hundred monasteries, and two and thirty villages, and all their inhabitants belonged to the True Faith (except the [so-called] Christians of the city of Alexandria), and all the districts of Mesr (Cairo) and Upper Egypt, and all the monks of the monasteries of the desert of Scete, and Ethiopia, and Noba.

At first glance this is a vital testimony of the existence of miaphysite Nubian monasteries subordinate to the patriarchate of Alexandria in the early second half of the sixth century. It seems, however, that this informa-

tion is of little value for the study of Nubian monasticism in the sixth century, as the same sentence mentions monasteries located in Cairo. Cairo was founded by the Fatimids in the second half of the tenth century, so one can rule out the existence of monasteries in Cairo prior to that date. It is therefore highly likely that in this case we are dealing with an anachronism. The compiler of the synaxary or the author of this entry simply described the situation as it was during his lifetime, which most probably can be placed between the foundation of Cairo and the collapse of the Nubian states in the late fifteenth century.

The second piece of information to be derived from the synaxary, this time in the Copto-Arabic version, concerns a phenomenon similar to that attested in connection with the conflict between the bishop Cyriacus and King Abraham, or the abdication of the kings Zacharias and Solomon: the sojourn of members of the elite in monasteries voluntarily or against their will. According to the Ethiopian account (23 Kihak = 19 December), Anastasius said (Basset 1904–1929: vol. II, 514):

Sachez, mes frères, qu'en ce jour, Anastase (Nasṭâs) raconte ceci. Lorsque Qafra, le neveu du roi de Nubie (En-Noubah), vint embrasser chez nous la vie monastique dans ce couvent et que trois ans se furent passés, il vint me trouver et me dit: «Mon Père, je désire de toi une chose peu importante». «Quelle est-elle, mon fils?». «Je voudrais aller au couvent de saint Abou Chenoute (Chenoudah), car il y a là un moine qui demandait à *son père la permission* de venir me trouver et il l'obtenait: chaque nuit, il venait dans ma demeure et priait chez moi, puis il partait; personne des frères ne le savait» (tr. René Basset).

The passage makes it clear that Qafra, a nephew of the king of Nubia, sojourned in one of the Egyptian monasteries. The reason for this may have been the youth's wish to become a monk, but one may consider another possibility. In general, succession in Nubia was non-linear, meaning the throne was not inherited by the son of the king, but of the king's sister. Thus, Qafra who resided in an Egyptian monastery was not only a member of the Nubian elite but the heir to the throne. We do not know when or why Qafra ended up there. He may have been sent there by the ruling king, so that he would not pose a threat to his own son, or he could

have been kidnapped from Nubia, like King Solomon, to serve the rulers of Egypt as a pawn in the game for the Nubian throne. He also could have been kept hostage to ensure that the Nubians would act according to an agreement reached between them and Egypt. In any case, this serves as confirmation that to the Nubian elites monasticism was more than just a road to spiritual development or a breeding ground for human resources in administration, roles that will be discussed further on.

The last mention on Nubian monasticism that I was able to find in non-epigraphic textual sources is in the life of St Ewostatewos (Ma'akaba Egzi'e), a famous monk and saint of the Ethiopian Church. Around the year 1330, this holy man was expelled from Ethiopia, and during his travels he paid a visit to the Nubian royal family (Turaev 1955: 43–44):

The king of Nubia was a virtuous man and an orthodox; he believed in the Wood of the Cross of Christ. His name in Arabic was Sab'ā Nōl, and, in Ge'ez, Welūda ityōpiā (the Child of Ethiopia). His mother was a pious [woman], rich in faith, because she used to receive the needy and poor and the monks who were setting out on pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ. She washed their feet and used to drink that water with faith: in fact it was by their prayers that she conceived and gave birth to this king and for this reason she named him Sab'ā Nōl.

If we are to believe this account, then at this point the royal family were still adherents of the Christian faith, as was made clear in the text. As for Nubian monasticism, it is important to note that in the first half of the fourteenth century the monastic movement was still alive, so much so that Nubian monks pilgrimaged to Jerusalem.² Of course this was to be expected, but the passage offers confirmation that cannot be refuted only on the grounds of the text's hagiographic nature. What is more, the pilgrimage seems to have been a fairly important endeavour for the kingdom in decline and for the ruling family, given that the monks bound for Jerusalem were attended to by the king's mother. The text also suggests that Ethiopian monks travelled to Jerusalem through Nubia, we may therefore expect contacts between the monastic communities of the two states.

² Written sources on the presence of Nubian monks in Jerusalem were collected and discussed by Danilo Ceccarelli Morolli (CECCARELLI MOROLLI 1999).

EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

Epigraphic sources concerning Nubian monasticism can be assigned to three categories. They are as follows:

1. Epitaphs of people who were either designated as monks or connected to the monastic milieu through other data in the inscriptions;
2. Inscriptions on walls of buildings, mainly churches;
3. Graffiti scratched on ceramic vessels or their fragments, containing names of monks, monastic titles, and/or their abbreviations.

The epigraphic sources are presented in tables throughout the text, as well as in Annex 1. The set of textual data from Nubia concerning monasticism included herein is, of course, by no means complete. For sources concerning Nubia, I refer the Reader to the online Database of Medieval Nubian Texts (<http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>), created and maintained by Grzegorz Ochała, who has also helped me prepare the tables for this publication. The database is an indispensable tool for any Nubiologist studying the medieval kingdoms of the Middle Nile Valley.

CHAPTER THREE

VARIETIES OF MONASTICISM IN NUBIA

SUBJECT LITERATURE FEATURES a multitude of attempts to distinguish specific varieties of monasticism, to systemise this social phenomenon by dividing it into different types and categories. Samuel Rubenson lucidly presents the different varieties of asceticism, distinguishing six types of monasticism in the East. I adopt the division he proposes in a somewhat modified and augmented form:

1. Monks associated with a church or sanctuary, devoted to charity work and prayer, most frequently under the direct supervision of a bishop. A variation of this type is basilican monasticism, typical for Western Christianity. These communities were formed around a basilica built in honour of a saint or martyr. The community catered to the needs of the cult centre, providing protection and commemoration services. In Gaul and Italy, such monks received funding from the diocese and mainly took care of liturgical matters (Garrigues 1992: 151–221).

2. Households converted to monasteries by members of the Roman elite, i.a. Melania the Younger (Palladius, tr. Wortley 2015: 129–131 [chapter 61]; Platte 2013: 205). This phenomenon, however, is attested only in the early days of monasticism and it does not continue beyond the fifth century.

3. Wandering monks called *sarabaites* or *remnouth* in Egypt (Caner 2002; Choat 2004). Church authorities disapproved of them and took action to limit their numbers. In spite of this, the group is attested still in existence in the seventh century.

4. Recluses, stylites, dendrites and other hermits, who used physical barriers to separate themselves from the world – a practice that was

most likely modelled on the Greek tradition of the ideal life of a philosopher.

5. Anchorites who spent their lives in hermitages, usually with one or two disciples. They usually chose abodes in the vicinity of settlements and lived in symbiosis with them.

6. Inhabitants of a *laura*, or a so-called semi-anchoritic community. Anchorites spent most of their time in seclusion, in cells spread over a certain area. They usually met on Sunday to partake in the Eucharist and to share a meal.

7. Coenobites, monks living in institutionally organised monasteries enclosed by a physical barrier in the form of a wall. Over several centuries this form of spiritual asceticism achieved the greatest popularity, spreading through the entire Roman Empire and beyond.

The above divisions are merely heuristic tools used to describe monasticism, and their multitude serves as testimony of the complexity of the phenomenon and its polycentric development, especially in the medieval period. The division into anchoritism, semi-anchoritism (*laurae*) and coenobitism, though subject to the most ardent criticism, has managed to resist both critique and the passage of time. Naturally, all of these varieties of asceticism transcended one another. A combination of the coenobitic tradition and anchoritism can already be seen in the Shenoutean congregation. Shenoute himself lived in a hermitage near the main male monastery while standing at the helm of a coenobitic community (Layton 2002: 28). Although in coenobitic communities the majority of monks remained in the same monastery all their lives, the seekers of more rigorous asceticism perceived their residence in the coenobitic monastery only as a prelude to the more arduous life of an anchorite.

Studying the kinds of ascetic practices and types of monasticism in Nubia, we have two types of sources at our disposal: archaeological data and textual sources. Literary texts merely mention that there were many monasteries in Nubia and give the names and locations of some of them. Epigraphic sources, in turn, supply the names of monasteries but do not indicate their character. Thus, archaeology is the fundamental source of information about Nubian monasticism and its varieties.

In the coenobitic monasteries, spatial organisation permits to distinguish three zones attributable to different spheres of activity of monks and other



Fig. 65. Ghazali, churches (Miron Bogacki)

inhabitants of the given complex (see plans of Ghazali and Qasr el-Wizz [Figs. 9 and 36]). The first zone, dedicated to spiritual and religious activity, encompassed the monastic churches (Fig. 65). In both Ghazali and Qasr el-Wizz there was initially one church, to which a second one was added at a later date. In churches the monks took part in liturgy and communal prayer, as well as interacted with the local community. In the monastery of Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz), the churches were also frequented by sizable groups of pilgrims, as one may infer from the changes in their spatial organisation, as well as in the entire monastery.

The second zone was devoted to economic and household activity. Excavations permitted to identify a part of the monastery used for storage, production and preparation of food. Other activities, though present in monasteries, did not leave lasting traces in their architecture (Obłuski 2019). At the Ghazali monastery, these activities were concentrated in one building located in the northwest part of the enclosure. Excavated remains included the monastic mill and grain silos (Fig. 66), as well as an oil press (Fig. 67), a kitchen, a bakery, and a storeroom. The function of two rooms in this complex remains disput-



Fig. 66. Ghazali, Room H, mill (Miron Bogacki)

able. In the first one (Room E-F), the northwest corner is occupied by two shallow basins, which in successive phases of the monastery's development were divided with walls of sun-dried brick (Fig. 68). The second one (Room 77-80) was filled almost completely, besides a small space at the entrance, by three basins coated with waterproof plaster (Fig. 69) erected in the first phase of use of the monastic compound. We may, therefore, surmise that at least the second room was used for activity that involved a large volume of liquid, most likely water. This may have been the monastic laundry. Another possibility is the use of basins for softening hides for production of leather objects and/or fibres for making ropes. At the monastery of Apa Dios, the industrial sector initially occupied only the northeast corner of the enclosure, where it was possible to identify a bakery and most likely a monastic kitchen (Fig. 70). With the growth of pilgrim traffic and the rising numbers of visitors, the monks decided to enlarge the monastery by installing food production facilities for the needs of guests of the monastic community (II-R), as well as an additional refectory (III-M, O).

The third zone clearly distinguishable in the spatial organisation of Nubian coenobitic monasteries was meant to cater to basic human needs: nourishment and sleep. Both the monastery of Apa Dios and the Ghazali monastery were equipped with dormitories and refectories since the beginning of their existence. In the latter, it was also possible to locate lavatory



Fig. 67. Ghazali, Room 58, oil press (Artur Obłuski)



Fig. 68. Ghazali, Room E-F (Artur Obłuski)



Fig. 69. Ghazali, Room 77-80 (Miron Bogacki)

complexes (Figs. 71 and 72). Dormitories had two rows of cells that flanked a wide corridor (Fig. 73). Each of the cells at Ghazali was furnished with three benches built along the walls of the room, which suggests that every cell could house three monks. In the coenobium of Apa Dios, in turn, the number of benches varied. Cell no. II-F featured only one sleeping bench, which implies that the occupant of the room may have been an individual who stood high in the hierarchy of the community, perhaps was even the prior. In both monasteries the cells were furnished with ceramic bins and numerous niches, which give a fairly unambiguous indication that the monks were allowed to own private property. Among such personal belongings were, for instance, a piece of rope strung with beads, or a cruciform copper pendant found in Room no. 70 at Ghazali. In a storage compartment inside cell no. II-F of the coenobium of Apa Dios, George Scanlon found a codex. It is unknown, however, whether it constituted a monk's private property or formed part of a monastic library collection. The same cell contained a letter between high-ranking state officials (Obłuski 2019). Refectories of Nubian coenobia were organised according to the same principles. A single



Fig. 70. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz), Room II-T
(courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)



Fig. 71. Ghazali, Eastern lavatory complex (Miron Bogacki)

room was furnished with three to five oval benches built of baked or sun-dried brick (Fig. 74). The benches were open on one side to facilitate access to seats. The central spaces must have accommodated tables, but both in Ghazali and in the monastery of Apa Dios no trace of them remains.

The second type of monasticism archaeologically confirmed in Nubia is anchoritism. It most likely never gained major popularity in this region. Two well-known hermitages were located near Faras (F. Ll. Griffith 1927) and ez-Zuma (Żurawski 2003).

The so-called Anchorite's Grotto, located in the vicinity of Faras, was in fact one of four tombs dated to the New Kingdom – the only one converted into a hermitage (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: 81). Most likely no sooner than the early eighth century, it was inhabited by the anchorite Theophilus, who wrote in his own hand a series of inscriptions inside the dwelling and left his signature there in year 738 (van der Vliet 2017: 160–162). The hermitage consisted of two rooms. Scholarship on this complex, however, focuses only on the first one. As Włodzimierz Godlewski rightly pointed out, the hermitage contained no household furnishings typical for a hermit's dwelling, such as a stove or storage pit (Godlewski 2013: 163). Since the hermitage was frequented by pilgrims, these elements could have been removed in order to render the visit to the hermitage more appealing to the viewers. For this reason, the conclusion advanced by Godlewski that Theophilus spent little time in the hermitage and



Fig. 72. Ghazali, Western lavatory complex (Miron Bogacki)



Fig. 73. Ghazali, dormitory (Miron Bogacki)



Fig. 74. Ghazali, refectories (Miron Bogacki)

was rather a regular inhabitant of the monastery of Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz) is tempting, but requires some revision (Godlewski 2013: 163). Theophilus lived in his hermitage because he was one of the most spiritually advanced monks in the monastery of Apa Dios, exactly like Shenoute and the most prominent ascetics in the Shenoutean congregation. Thus, he rather spent less time in Qasr el-Wizz than in his hermitage.

The second attested hermitage is located in the vicinity of an elite tumuli cemetery in ez-Zuma investigated by Mahmoud el-Tayeb (el-Tayeb 2012). The hermitage was mentioned and described by several scholars, i.a. Sir John Wilkinson (Wilkinson 1849: Ms. 22, XI, fol. 58) and Ugo Monneret de Villard (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 251, fig. 30). The site plan was recorded during a survey conducted by Bogdan Żurawski in 2003 (Żurawski 2003: 379). Adam Łajtar published inscriptions from this hermitage in the same volume as the survey results (Łajtar 2003). Żurawski was inclined to identify this site as a quarry rather than a re-used tomb and considered it a

chapel rather than a hermitage. In the latter case, his inference was based on the presence of a structure identified as an altar. It seems, however, that this site (never fully excavated) was rather an anchorite's cave than a rock church akin to the structures found in Cappadocia. One other site identified as the location of a hermit's dwelling is Toshka (Anderson 1999: 71).

Identification of *laurae*, the third type of monasticism, was attempted by Julie Anderson in a much-cited article 'Mysterious monks of Makuria'. According to her, several sites in the region of Batn el-Hajar, such as Akasha (21-N-11), Kulb (21-R-3), Kulubnarti (21-S-10), and two sites in Ukma (21-N-7, 21-N-9), were *laurae*. The buildings in Kulubnarti, irregularly shaped and adjusted to the rocky terrain, comprised from one to four rooms built of sun-dried brick and roughly cut stone. At Akasha (21-N-11), the building complex included a church. While the arguments of Anderson are logical and convincing, especially when it comes to the walled enclosure surrounding a cluster of several similar small building complexes near Akasha, we cannot determine beyond doubt, as in the case of hermitages of anchorites or coenobia, that *laurae* existed in Nubia. Nonetheless, such a possibility is highly likely. The only argument against the presence of *laurae* is that, possibly with the exception of Egypt, gradually from the end of the fifth century onward monasticism experienced a consolidation and evolved toward coenobitic communities, which brought together small numbers of hermits who were usually monks of long standing.

LOCATION OF MONASTERIES

The geographical distribution of monasteries on the map of Nubia features some clusters indicating a more pronounced monastic presence. This pattern, however, is the result of the intensity and character of research in various areas. In the Dodekaschoinos and Lower Nubia, archaeological works favoured sepulchral sites, although some larger settlements were also excavated. Batn el-Hajar and the rest of the Nile Valley between the Second and Third Cataracts was surveyed, but excavated sites are few. The territory further south, the heartland of Makuria, was surveyed as well, yet excavations of medieval sites were limited to the royal capital and its

neighbourhood, as well as Ghazali. An enormous effort was made in the Fourth Cataract region, but an overwhelming majority of the sites have yet to be published. The area upstream is virtually untouched with the exception of Soba (Shinnie & Harden 1955; Welsby *et al.* 1991; Welsby 1998).

Looking beyond the research bias, the location of monasteries in Nubia appears to have been determined by both topographical and social factors, although the latter seem to have played a greater role. The anchoritic dwellings known from Nubia, namely Toshka, Faras and ez-Zuma, occupied prominent positions in the landscape, towering over the neighbouring settlements. The hermit at Faras chose one of the rock-cut tombs from the Pharaonic period as the location for his ascetic practice. Like the nearby monastic complex, the hermitage dominated over the area but was oriented towards the city. Inhabitants of the metropolis, for whom Theophilus was an important figure to judge by the inscriptions of visitors preserved in the hermitage, could observe the dealings of their patron. Theophilus, in turn, could watch over what was happening in the capital of Nobadia. As in the case of Toshka and Faras, the anchorite's cell near the village of ez-Zuma on the right bank of the Nile was established in an earlier tomb dating most likely from the New Kingdom and located on a rocky outcrop on the edge of the village.

The only hermitage that does not fit the same pattern is the *kellion* of St Anna, located inside the monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola. However, it is dated to a later period than the other hermitages, and its establishment was determined by entirely different social dynamics. While both Theophilus and Anna were associated with coenobitic communities, the former patterned his solitude on the Egyptian (Shenoutean) model, while the latter was inspired by Byzantine *enkleistoi* like those in the famous Studios monastery in Constantinople.

Comparing the location in the landscape of semi-anchoritic communities at Akasha 21-N-11, Ukma 21-N-7, 21-N-9 and Jebel Abu Jai, we find many common features. They were all located on rocky hills rising above the Nile Valley, which is extremely narrow in this spot. The first and last of these sites were located on the very edge of the *jebel*, and Ukma 21-N-9 was *ca.* 100 m from the desert edge. One may therefore risk a conclusion that, in addition to their spiritual function, these sites also played the role of symbols of Christian domination in this region. Another purpose of such a location may have been

observation: from each *laura* it was possible to see everything that was happening in the Nile Valley over a stretch of at least several kilometres.

Coenobitic monasteries are the most numerous and at the same time the most diverse in terms of their location. The coenobitic community at er-Ramal was set up in a spot that dominated in the landscape and rose high above the water level of the Nile. The monastery at Qasr el-Wizz was also located on a rocky rise, *ca.* 2.5 km from the Faras citadel, as reported by Francis Llewellyn Griffith: '(...) About two kilometers north from Faras on the top of the cliff where the desert, after turning sharply east, almost reaches the river, is a collection of ruined buildings known as Wizz' (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: 14). In this case the monastery dominated over the area, standing high above the plain. It was well visible to all who approached the city by river from the north or left it by the same route (Fig. 75). Such a location may indicate that it was necessary to emphasise the presence of Christianity in this region. A new place of worship, clearly visible from afar, must have been of great importance for the new religion as it strived to secure its position. The prominent location suggests an early date for the monastery's foundation, corroborated by fifth- and sixth-century parallels to Egyptian church architecture (Obłuski 2016). The monastery of Faras West 24-E-21, if it indeed existed, was located at the foot of the northern wall of the Faras citadel, on the bank of the Nile. Thus, its location was peripheral to the urban centre and hardly dominant. Unfortunately we have no data on the monastery on Matuga Island, as the island itself was flooded and the scholars who visited it did not convey any information about the situation of the monastery in the landscape. The monastery in Meinarti, Building II-III, in turn, was on the edge of the settlement, as was typical for other monastic complexes located in urban areas, but it was closer to the core of the urban area than Kom D and Kom H to Old Dongola.

The intriguing yet mysterious Fantau (Saqiet el-Abd, 2-V-1) is located on the west bank of the Nile, at a distance of *ca.* 350 m from the river, at the foot of a small rocky rise now almost completely buried in sand. Its location is rather curious, as in the vicinity, perhaps due to the massive accumulation of sand, there is no settlement site. It may therefore be concluded that the site is isolated, although on the opposite bank of the Nile several major medieval sites are on record, for instance the one on Sai Island, located only 4.5 km upstream.

No less puzzling are the relics on the site of Fagirinfenti, where besides the likely ruins of a monastery there is a small fort (Żurawski *et al.* 2017: 284–287). The monastery was at the foot of a rocky outcrop, on which the fort had been built. Thus, unlike the fort, it did not have a dominant position in the landscape. The monastery at el-Ugal, uncovered by Derek Welsby, currently seems to stand in isolation from the settlement network. To blame for this are dunes moving along the east bank of the Nile, which most likely conceal a medieval settlement in the vicinity. In any case, the nearest settlement is no farther than 2 km away, therefore the coenobium falls into the category of monasteries located on the edges of towns. The potential monastery at Hambukol is located on the outskirts of a small settlement lying *ca.* 6 km to the north of Old Dongola. The monastery was surrounded by a network of settlements scattered along the entire stretch of the Nile like a ‘never-ending ribbon of villages’, to quote Bruce Trigger (Trigger 1965).

In the capital of Makuria, the monasteries on Kom H and Kom D are both located at the same distance (*ca.* 2 km) from the heart of the city, which is encircled by a massive wall. Neither of them was in a spot that dominated over the landscape, though they must have been clearly visible from the so-called Citadel. It is what one might call the ‘classic’ location of many if not most Late Antique Christian monasteries in Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. Those complexes were also located on the edge or at a short distance from towns, permitting to maintain a kind of ‘negotiated neutrality’ of the communities. In such a relationship, the monks lived away from the rest of the population, in this case from the capital, separated not only by a wall but also by the distance from the nearest inhabited areas. At the same time, this distance was not large enough to impede daily communication with the city-dwellers when either of the communities was in need of such contacts. The monks could actively participate in social and economic life, but they could also retreat from it, for instance during Advent or Lent. Notably, the two monasteries did not attract attention or dominate the landscape near the capital. There was no need for it, as the role of beacons of Christianity in the kingdom and in the city itself was played by at least two huge churches built to the northeast of the citadel: the Cruciform Church (the Great Church of Iesou) and the Church of the Granite Columns.

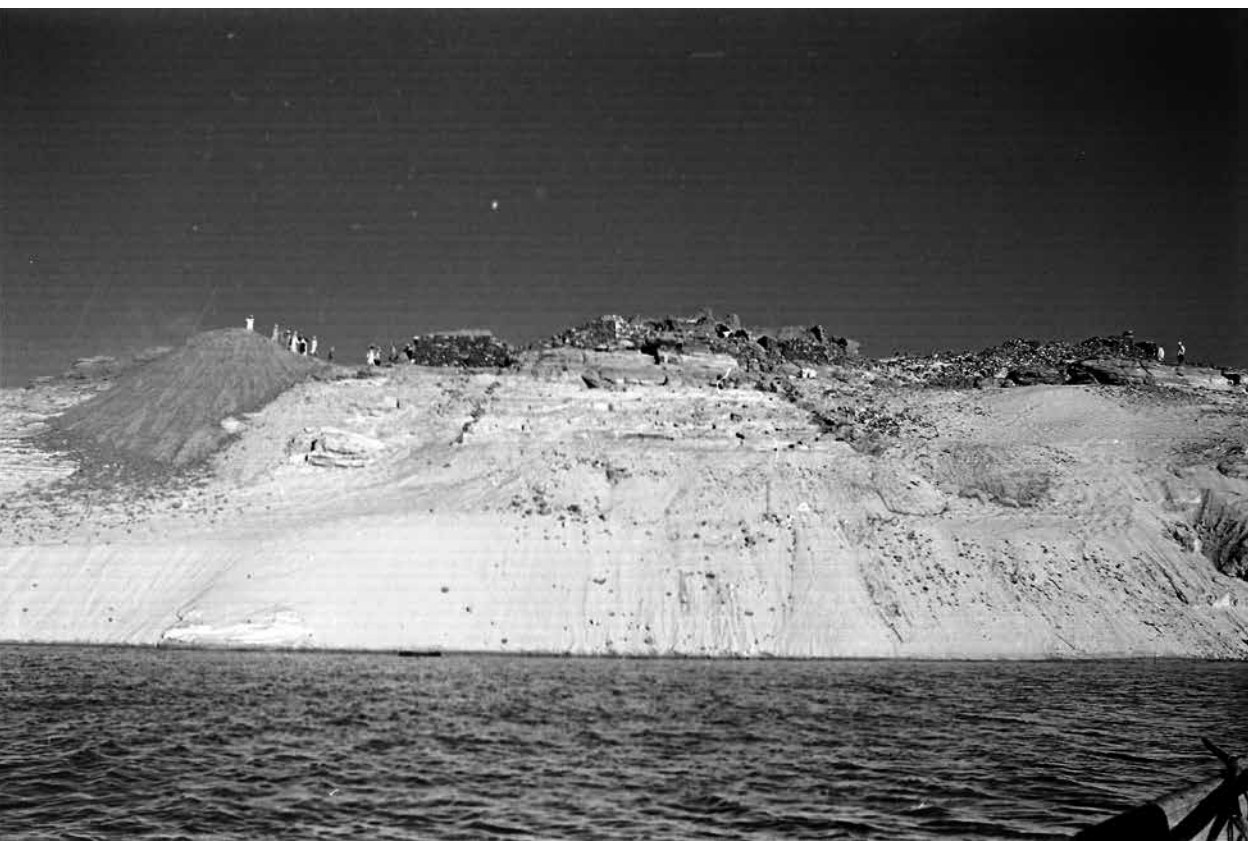


Fig. 75. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz), a view from the Nile
(courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

The motives behind the location of the monastery of Ghazali are enigmatic. The complex was built in a place where I have not uncovered any earlier structures except one location with Neolithic remains. The closest archaeological site is Umm Ruweim, *ca.* 7 km into the Wadi Abu Dom, dated to the Meroitic or post-Meroitic period (Lohwasser *et al.* 2018). The distance from Ghazali to the Nile is *ca.* 12 km. Meanwhile, the most intensively exploited catchment area around settlement sites is equal to the distance one covers on foot in an hour (Obłuski 2014b: 70), and the ethnographically confirmed zone of interaction between settlements falls within a range of 5–10 km (Ahmed 1984: 85, note 32). Ghazali lay outside both of these zones, it seems, therefore, that unlike the monasteries of Dongola, the complex was not intended for

frequent interaction with the Nile Valley, yet it was not so far as to render such contacts problematic. This means that the area of activity of the monastery was supposed to be the *wadi*, and in fact a large settlement measuring *ca.* 1.5 ha in area emerged there contemporarily to the monastery.

Thus, several patterns can be traced in the location of Nubian coenobia. The first group worthy of attention are monasteries situated in dominant positions both in the landscape and in the settlement network: er-Ramal, Apa Dios, Fantau, and Ghazali. Monasteries belonging to the second group – Dongola, Meinarti, Fagirinfenti, Faras 24-E-21, Hambukol, el-Ugal and Matuga – are located on the peripheries of towns or cities. The location of monasteries in Nubia and throughout the Christian *oikoumene* in general was affected by several important factors. The first of these was the founder or founding institution. Founders like Melania the Younger established monasteries within the boundaries of their estates or turned their villas into monastic complexes. They definitely preferred their foundations to be situated in a position of high visibility to help shape their image in the community. Another factor was the degree of Christianisation of a given region. In areas where the new religion was not yet well established, the location of monasteries, as well as of churches, was a tool for Christianising the landscape and converting cult places of earlier religions in order to convince the local population of the superiority of the new God over the old one. Thus, also in Nubia, they were built in spots that dominated in the landscape, as in the case of the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz, or in places associated with the former religion, like Pharaonic-period tombs that housed the so-called Anchorite's Grotto or the hermitages of ez-Zuma and Toshka. In the latter cases, not without meaning were certainly the models provided by Egyptian anchorites, who also transformed elite tombs of the Pharaonic period into hermitages.

Coenobitic monasteries, including those in Nubia, were established in various places: near cities, as in the case of the monasteries on Kom D and Kom H in Old Dongola, or in remote and sparsely populated spots like Wadi Abu Dom, thus creating new centres of civilisation and generating new economic opportunities. In Western Europe, monastic orders were invited to settle and become 'beacons of civilization' – they were to attract new settlers and spur the development of a given region, thus increasing the revenue of its sovereigns. According to Jerzy Kłoczowski, there is a marked difference in the

location of monasteries between the Mediterranean region and the lands to the north (Germany, England). While, for instance in Italy prior to 817–819, for every 146 rural monasteries there were 152 urban ones, in England and Germany only one in five newly founded monastic communities was located in a city (Kłoczowski 2003: 82). The latter points to a different role of monasteries in the West (or rather in less urbanized and developed areas of Europe, since the same phenomenon occurs in Poland in the High Middle Ages), or at least to a different aim behind their location. As hubs of civilisation, in Europe monasteries Christianised parts of the continent, but also had a major influence on the development of these regions by introducing innovations or attracting settlers. Decisions to build monasteries were not only related to the spreading of a religion, but also to the economic and civilizational transformation of a given area. It is in this context that we should probably interpret the location of the monastery of Ghazali, which represent a pattern alien to the monasticism of well-urbanised areas of the Empire in the East.

The monastery of Ghazali was located in the Wadi Abu Dom, which traverses the Bayuda Desert. The *wadi* now connects Begrawiya with Merowe, and in the times of the kingdom of Kush it linked Meroe with Napata. However, we have no proof that it remained a major communication route in the medieval period. Parallel to the establishment of the monastery, a settlement emerged and reached a considerable, for Nubian standards, size of *ca.* 1.5 ha. Next to the settlement was an iron-smelting site, and another such site was associated with the monastery. Radiocarbon analyses have shown that the production of iron began at the same time as the establishment of the monastery. Inhabitants of the newly founded settlement adopted the technology used by the monks and opened their own iron-smelting site nearby.

Analysing the locations of monastic activity in Nubia, one may therefore distinguish three groups, which are not mutually exclusive, meaning one monastery could belong to two categories. They are as follows:

1. Sites located on rocky outcrops dominating over the landscape. This category includes all hermitages and laurae, but also coenobia built on a rocky rise. The role of such a location was to manifest the presence of Christianity and its victory over the past system of beliefs in a given area. The location of hermitages was determined by the presence of remains dating from the

Pharaonic period, which could be Christianised. In this case one might pose a question, which will be difficult to answer with confidence in the present state of research: was the occupation of Pharaonic tombs determined by the influence of literary sources on decisions made by individuals? For instance, Theophilus of Faras likely did not need to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over the gods of the pharaohs, which had long fallen into oblivion. The decision was, in this case, likely guided by examples of holy men moving into abandoned tombs in Egypt. Finally, from a practical perspective, such a location also gave a sense of control over neighbouring settlements.

2. Sites located on the outskirts of cities or villages, such as the monasteries of Dongola, Apa Dios, Meinarti, el-Ugal, or Hambukol. Such a location can be considered typical for the entire Christian *oikoumene*. Especially coenobia were located in places permitting to adopt a convenient position in relation to the settlement and its social life. Such a location of monasteries is attested for the imperial capital at Constantinople and is mentioned by Abu l-Makārim in his description of Soba, the capital of Alwa. He reports that the city had many monasteries, but these were located around the city, on the bank of the river or at some distance from it (Vantini 1975: 326).

3. Monasteries in relative isolation, for instance Ghazali with its satellite settlement, as well as Fantau (Saquiet el-Abd). Their role was most likely to boost civilizational development. This experiment resulted in success in the case of Ghazali, where a settlement was established at the same time as the monastery. If the location of the Fantau monastery had the same objective, it failed due to the movement of sand dunes that covered the entire area with Fantau as the sole structure visible above the sand.

DESIGNATIONS OF MONASTERIES

Literary texts presented in the chapter on textual sources preserve names of the following monasteries: Safanūf, monastery of Michael (Mikā'il) and Cosmas (Quzmā), Dairā, St Sinuthius in Faras, Abū Jarās,¹ Ansūn in Tafa, and the monastery of St Onuphrius located in a *wadi*. All are known solely

¹Abū Jarās is probably a corrupted version of Apachoras, a variation of the name Pachoras attested in inscriptions from Faras (Adam Łajtar, personal communication).

in Arabic transliteration. While the patron saints of monasteries of Michael and Cosmas, as well as Shenoute, are self-explanatory, the others are fairly enigmatic. Nonetheless, the pairing of Michael and Cosmas is unusual, as Cosmas usually appears together with his twin brother Damianus as two holy healers, *anargyroi*. The name of the monastery of Ansūn in Tafa most likely derives from a name of a holy patron or patrons of the monastery, as in the case of Abū Jarās on the Zidān Mountain. Zidān should most likely be identified with Adindan, although Robin Seignobos proposed to identify the monastery of Abū Jarās with Qasr el-Wizz. The designation of the monastery of Dairā will probably remain a mystery to us.

In the case of the monastery of Safanūf, a Nubian king, the situation seems more complex. We may be dealing with two possibilities: either Safanūf, the king of Nubia, was its patron, or the monastery belonged to or was founded by him. Safanūf could be a corrupted version of the name Stephanos. If so, then the individual in question could be identified with a king of Makuria by that name, who ruled in *ca.* 1027. This, however, is pure speculation.

Ugo Monneret de Villard was the first to suggest that the church of St Onuphrius, located in a *wadi* and mentioned in the *Lives of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* as the place of sojourn of the king Solomon after abdication, should be identified with the monastery of Ghazali (Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 256). Information concerning the location of this monastery, indicated with the distance from the borders with Egypt and Alwa, can be matched to Ghazali. This interpretation is further supported by an inscription, which reads ο αριος ονοφριος (Fig. 76) and is found on the south wall of the North Church at this site. It is likely that a believer wrote this name on a wall of a church dedicated to a particular saint alongside the names of other frequently evoked figures like Jesus, Mary or archangels. Notably, no names of other saints appear in these inscriptions. However, this reasoning is more speculative than it is scientific, especially that, in recent years, another church identifiable with the place mentioned in the *Lives of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* has been discovered. It is the church in Jebel el-Ain, in Wadi el-Malik in the Western Desert (Eger 2011; 2019).

Epigraphic sources provide us with designations listed in Table 2. They mention the following monasteries: the Great Monastery of Anthony, monasteries of the Holy Trinity, Apa [...], Raphael, Michael,

Four Apocalyptic Creatures in Pachoras, Mary in Pachoras, Jesus in Tillarti, Mary in Timaeie, Apa Dios(corus) (Qasr el-Wizz), St Epimachus (Akasha 21-N-11), and monasteries in [.]enganarti, Danionyjer, Pashshe, Eittde, Maurage, Poukō, and Pot. From the above list one may infer that in Nubia there were several ways of designating monastic centres:

With the name of its patron, a divine being or beings, like the Holy Trinity, the Four Apocalyptic Creatures, Archangels, or saints like St Anthony and Apa Dios(corus);

With the name of its patron, a divine being or beings, in combination with a toponym: the Four Apocalyptic Creatures in Pachoras, Mary in Pachoras, Jesus in Tillarti, Mary in Timaeie;

A toponym: [.]enganarti, Danionyjer, Pashshe, Eittde, Maurage, Poukō, Pot[...].

The first group of designations can be considered standard. It includes names that refer to the principal divine beings in the Christian faith, such as the Holy Trinity or archangels. It also features historically attested individuals that played a key role in the development of Christianity, for instance St Anthony the hermit, the renowned forefather and patron of anchorites, whose patronage is hardly an oddity even for a coenobitic monastery.

Another example in this category of designations is Apa Dios/Dioscorus. The latter calls for a more detailed discussion. The name of Apa Dios/Dioscorus is reconstructed on the basis of the following sources:²

1. Two inscriptions on the east wall of the church in the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz, which are prayers for intercession to the 'angel of Apa Dios', one left by a certain Manoute, and the other by a Benjamin;
2. Document no. 65-11-105, found in the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz, containing a list of landed property belonging to the monastery of Apa Dioscorus;
3. Manuscript 65-10-73 – the *Life of Apa Dios*;
4. Manuscript 65-11-120 – the *Life of Apa Dioscorus*;
5. 65-10-6, a terracotta funerary stela of Apa Ioannis, 'begoumenos of the monastery of the martyr Apa Dios', found in a secondary context at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz.

²An edition of textual sources from the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz is currently prepared by Alexandros Tsakos, who, i.a., identified the two *vitae* mentioned below (TSAKOS forthcoming).



Fig. 76. Ghazali,
 ΑΓΙΟΣ ΟΝΟΦΡΙΟΣ inscription on the south wall of the North Church
 (Grzegorz Ochała)

Two of these five sources, namely the lives of saints, are of the least relevance and gain meaning for the issue of the designation of the monastery only when viewed in the context of the other sources. Of the other texts, the epitaph of Apa Ioannis provides a fairly secure indication that the monastery carried the name of Apa Dios. This mention may have concerned a different monastery than Qasr el-Wizz, but this is rather improbable, given that it was found on this monastic site.

The most reliable sources are the inscriptions found on the wall of the church, since they could not have been brought to the site from elsewhere. The texts in question were placed inside a border on the eastern wall of the church. They cannot be later than the wall of the *memorium*, which became the *hierateion* of the new church at the beginning of the eleventh century, as the structure completely conceals the text. The supplications of the authors: Samuel, Manoute and Benjamin, are addressed to 'the angel of this place' and to 'the angel of Apa Dios'. The transcription of the texts is known from documentation executed by a team led by Keith Seele, who began excavations under the auspices of The Oriental Institute of the Uni-

versity of Chicago at the Qasr el-Wizz monastery in 1964. The author of the inscription is unknown. The location was also obscure until its identification thanks to photo enhancements I made during work on the publication of the monastery. The texts read as follows:³

ΑΝΟΚ ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ
ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΜΑ
ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΩΛΗΛ
ΕΧΩΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΑΝΟΥΤΕ
ΜΗΔ ΑΠΑΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΑΠΑ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΩΛΗΛ
ΕΧΩΙ

Ρ ΑΝΟΚ ΒΕΝΙΑΜΗΝ ΠΑΝΑΓΝΗΣΤΗ . Χ
ΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ
ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΔΑΒ ΧΙΣ ΖΣ ΝΤΑ ΔΙΠ
ΝΕΒΕΙΝΝΑΥΟΝΠΙΝΤΝΑ ΡΕΙΠΙ Δ
ΑΥΕΙ ΙΟΥΛ ΗΝΥ ΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΝΟΥΟΠ

It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the place referred to in the texts was under the patronage of Apa Dios. One might ask, however, which place was it, specifically? Does the designation ‘of Apa Dios’ apply to the church or to the entire monastery? For Nubia we have no information as to whether the churches inside monasteries had different patrons than the monasteries they were in. Such a situation was attested for other regions, but we cannot automatically apply it to the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz, all the more so that for the monastery itself we have a source that is, in my opinion, decisive, namely the epitaph of the *begoumenos* of the monastery of Apa Dios. Of course, also in this case the value of this source may be undermined, as the mentioned monastery need not have been the same as the one in which Ioannis was buried, i.e. Qasr el-Wizz. In my opinion, however, the number of attestations is sufficient to assume that the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz was the monastery of Apa Dios. As for Dios and Dioscorus, we may be dealing with a conflation of two saints, similar to the one attested in Egypt for Peter the bishop of Alexandria and

³ Copied from the Oriental Institute documentation with additions by Alexandros Tsakos.

St Peter the Apostle. Analysis of architectural changes to the monastery church has indicated that the abovementioned inscription on the wall of the church is earlier than the late tenth / early eleventh century. At the same time, Alexandros Tsakos suggests, on the basis of research carried out by Grzegorz Ochała (Ochała 2011: 59), to date the list of land possessions (65-11-105) to a period between the seventh and the tenth centuries. It seems, therefore, that the conflation of the two saints occurred at a fairly early date, certainly prior to the end of the tenth century.

The second category is a combination of the word 'monastery' with a toponym. For the monastery of Pouko, Adam Łajtar points out (Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 340):

Since the monastery is referred to only by the place-name and not by its generic name, we may suppose that Pouko was a small village with the monastery as the main, or the only, element of its cultural and religious landscape.

This statement may be too far-fetched. However, we could say that the monastery referred to with a toponym was most likely the only monastery in this place and thus there was probably only one monastery in Pouko.

The last category is virtually a combination of the other two. The designations of monasteries included in this set consist of a patron's name and a toponym, as in the case of the monastery of Mary in Pachoras. In this case, the question of nomenclature is also relatively straightforward: the name consists of two elements because in a given locality there was more than one monastery and because there were more monasteries with the same patron in other locations.

In conclusion to the discussion of monastery designations, it is worth pointing out that the great majority of sources concerning the names under consideration are either inscriptions of owners of pottery vessels or epitaphs of monks. These sources have their peculiarities and limitations. For instance, with epitaphs there may have been cases in which the person who composed the inscription did not have complete knowledge of the life of the deceased, not to mention of the religious topography of the given locality, therefore the information included in the inscription was limited to what was known to its author, but not all of it was necessarily correct.

Table 2. Names of Nubian monasteries attested in epigraphic sources
The texts are referred to by their numbers in the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts
(<http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>)

No.	<i>Monastery's name</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
11	(monastery of) [.]enganarti ([.]ENGANARTI): l. 6	el-Khandaq (reportedly)	unknown	VIII-X
1358	Great (monastery of) Anthony (AN`T' ME`Γ'): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, NW room, 'cellar'	X-XII
560	Great (monastery of) Anthony (AN`T' ME`Γ'): l. 6; (O MEΓAC AN`T'): l. 14	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2	29 June 1113
667	(monastery of) Apa [—] (ΑΠΑ[—]): l. 10	Qasr Ibrim	A) street between Ottoman houses 30 and 35; B) outside S face of unit C 2, S bastion, in fill of gir- dle wall GWC-4	VIII-X
565	monastery of Apa Hadra (ΠΑΔΗΩ(ΠΕ) ΑΠΑ ΧΑΤΡΕ): ll. 13-14	Aswan	monastery of St Simeon, church, S wall of N aisle, 1.9 m above floor level	19 April 962
581	(monastery of) Archangel Michael in Ourm() (ΟΥΡ`Η` ΧΠΘ): l. 37	Qasr Ibrim	house 177, room 2, in jar beneath floor (Archive 3)	22 August 1155
2182	(monastery of) Danionyjer (ΔΑΝΙΟΥΦΘΕΡ): l. 3	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto'	X-XIII
49	(monastery of) Eittde (ΕΙΤΤΔΗ): l. 10	Sai	unknown, perhaps cathedral	15 May 1054
560	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ΤΡΙAC ΔΓΙΑC): ll. 13-14	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2	29 June 1113
1337	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ΤΡΙCΔΓΙΑC): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1338	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ΤΡΙC[ΔΓΙΑC]): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1339	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ΤΡΙAC): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Editio princeps</i>	<i>Latest edition</i>
epitaph of Ioannes, monk of the monastery of [.]enganarti	stela	epitaph	Greek	Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. 1, pp. 242–243	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 15, pl. 14
inscription of abba Christophorou, archimandrite of the Great (monastery of) Anthony	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	unpublished	
epitaph of Georgios, archbishop	stela	epitaph	Greek	Łajtar 1997a: pp. 120–121 (no. 4)	Łajtar 2002: pp. 164–184, pl. after p. 164
fragment of epitaph of a monk	stela	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. QI</i> 39, fig. on p. 149	
epitaph of Petro, monk in Deir Anba Hadra	wall	epitaph	Coptic	Bouriant 1894: p. 136 (no. 4)	Dijkstra & van der Vliet 2003: pp. 31–39, figs. 1–2
royal proclamation concerning church of Epimachus in Phrim West; king Moise Georgios appearing (as nephew of king David)	manuscript	document: official	Old Nubian	<i>P. QI</i> III 30, pl. 1	
inscription left by unknown person, archimandrite	wall	visitor's inscription	Greek	Łajtar 2003: p. 514 (no. 3), fig. on p. 514	
epitaph of Iesou, bishop of Sai	stela	epitaph	Coptic	Steindorff 1907–1908: pp. 71–74	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 27, pl. 20
epitaph of Georgios, archbishop	stela	epitaph	Greek	Łajtar 1997: pp. 120–121 (no. 4)	Łajtar 2002: pp. 164–184, pl. after p. 164
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite and <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242, fig. 2	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 345 (no. 17), fig. on p. 345
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242, fig. 3	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: pp. 345–346 (no. 18), fig. on p. 345
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 346 (no. 19), fig. on p. 346, pl. 63.1

Table 2. Names of Nubian monasteries attested in epigraphic sources (cont'd)

No.	<i>Monastery's name</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
1341	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁϥ): l. 2	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2, E wall	XII-XIII
1345	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁϥ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1346	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁϥ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1349	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1352	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁϥ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1359	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity ([---] ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁϥ ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲣⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, heap of broken amphorae close to outer W wall	XII-XIII
1360	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲣⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, heap of broken amphorae close to outer W wall	XII-XIII
2148	(monastery of Four) Living Creatures in Pachoras (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲱⲁ): ll. 3-4	Sonqi Tino	church, narthex; to the right of painting of Christ protecting King Georgios	probably XII-XIV
989	(monastery of) Jesus (in) Tillarti (ⲓϥ ⲧⲭⲗⲁⲣⲧⲣⲓ): l. 8 Tillarti (ⲧⲭⲗⲁⲣⲧⲣⲓ): l. 8	Dongola	not recorded	probably IX
581	(monastery of) Makarios in Eittde (ⲉⲓⲧⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲱϥ): ll. 37-38 (probably the same as monastery of Eittde)	Qasr Ibrim	house 177, room 2, in jar beneath floor (Archive 3)	22 August 1155
1791	(monastery) of Maria in Pachoras (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲭⲓ): l. 1 Pachoras (ⲡⲁⲭⲓ): l. 1	Faras	cathedral, baptistery ('Bishops' chapel'), niche in wall E; to the right of painting no. 54 (Christ Emmanuel); below list of bishops (DBMNT 97)	probably XI

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Editio princeps</i>	<i>Latest edition</i>
inscription commemorating abba Georgios, archbishop and <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, containing Ps 129:2–8	wall	commemorative inscription	Greek/Old Nubian	Browne 2004: p. 61 (Psalm); Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: pp. 347–348, pl. 20 (Greek subscription)	Browne 2006 (Psalm) and Łajtar 2002: pp. 188–189 (no. 3; subscription)
inscription of abba Stephanos, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 350 (no. 23), fig. on p. 350	
inscription of abba Georgios, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 237, 242, fig. 4	Łajtar 2002: pp. 189–190 (no. 4)
inscription of Matias, deacon (?) of the monastery of Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 352 (no. 27), fig. on p. 352	
name of the Holy Trinity	pottery	name of divine entity/saint	Greek	Pluskota 1998: p. 242, fig. 4	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 354 (no. 30), fig. on p. 354
inscription mentioning monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	tag	Old Nubian	unpublished	
inscription mentioning monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	tag	Old Nubian	unpublished	
prayer to Archangel Michael for 3 (?) persons, Petro, Tottina, and Symeon	wall	private prayer	Greek	unpublished; in preparation by international team	
fragment of epitaph of Marianou, archimandrite of the monastery of Jesus in Tillarti	stela	epitaph	Greek	Burkitt 1903: p. 586 (α)	<i>I. Fitz.</i> 110
royal proclamation concerning church of Epimachus in Phrim West; king Moise Georgios appearing (as nephew of king Daud)	manuscript	document: official	Old Nubian	<i>P. 21</i> III 30, pl. 1	
inscription left by Mariane, deacon, brother of Iesou, archimandrite of monastery of Mary in Pachoras	wall	visitor's inscription	Greek/Coptic	<i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : pp. 117–118, fig. 31	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 43, fig. 30

Table 2. Names of Nubian monasteries attested in epigraphic sources (cont'd)

No.	<i>Monastery's name</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
74	(monastery of) Maria (in) Timaeie (ΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΙΜΑΕΙΕ): l. 17	Dongola	Church of Granite Columns, in pavement of main nave; next to DBMNT 75	14 April 797
89	monastery of Maurage (ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ [...] ΜΑΥΡΑΓΗ): ll. 6–8	Faras	unknown	16 July 862
1355	(monastery) of Michael (ΜΙΧΑΗΛ): l. ?	Dongola	unknown	XII–XIII
653	(monastery of) Raphael (ΡΑΦΑΗΛ): l. 10	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	XII
1350	monastery of Pot() (ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΤ΄): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
77	(monastery of) Pouko (ΠΟΥΚΩ): l. 10	Qasr Ibrim	cathedral cemetery terrace (plaza 758), W of S church (church 294)	11 November 1036
1321	(monastery of) Pouko (ΠΟΥΚ΄): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
1322	(monastery of) Pouko (ΠΟΥΚ΄): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
1323	(monastery of) Pouko (ΠΟΥΚ΄): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
1324	(monastery of) Pouko (ΠΟΥΚ΄): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
1325	(monastery of) Pouko (ΠΟΥΚ΄): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
1326	(monastery of) Pouko (ΠΟΥΚ΄): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
653	(monastery of) Raphael (ΡΑΦΑΗΛ): l. 10	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	XII
654	(monastery of) Raphael (ΡΑΦΑΗΛ): l. 13	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	8 June 1132

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Editio princeps</i>	<i>Latest edition</i>
epitaph of (I)stephanou, priest, <i>chartoularios</i> , notary, archimandrite, <i>choiakishsbil</i> , and <i>joknaishsbil</i> , called also Einyitta, son of Maranya	stela	epitaph	Greek	Łajtar 1992: pp. 113–129, pl. 2 (mistaken caption)	<i>I. Varsovie</i> 110, pl. 110
epitaph of Thomas, bishop of Pachoras	stela	epitaph	Coptic	Sayce 1898: pp. 111–112	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 719
unidentified inscription mentioning abba Ephanne, priest and archimandrite of the monastery of Michael	stone block	unidentified	Greek	unpublished	
epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Phrim	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. QI</i> 20, fig. on p. 69	
inscription of unknown person	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: p. 242	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 353 (no. 28), fig. on p. 353
epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Pachoras	stela	epitaph	Greek	Plumley 1971: pp. 77–84	<i>I. QI</i> 22, fig. on p. 87
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242, fig. 4	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: pp. 336–337 (no. 1), fig. on p. 336
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 337 (no. 2), fig. on p. 337
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 337 (no. 3), fig. on p. 337
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242, fig. 4	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 338 (no. 4), fig. on p. 338
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242, fig. 4	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: p. 338 (no. 5), fig. on p. 338
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unknown	Pluskota 1998: pp. 236, 242, fig. 4	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: pp. 338–339 (no. 6), fig. on p. 338
epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Phrim	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. QI</i> 20, fig. on p. 69	
epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. QI</i> 21, fig. on p. 79	

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

Monastic walls

The walled monasteries attested in Nubia are Qasr el-Wizz, Ghazali and the monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola, as well as small complexes in Batn el-Hajar, i.a. Akasha (Edwards forthcoming). In every case except Old Dongola, the walls were built of stone. At Qasr el-Wizz, the building material consisted of roughly hewn stone blocks laid in mud mortar. At Batn el-Hajar and Ghazali, the mortar layer between the stones is much thinner and difficult to distinguish to an untrained eye due to weathering of the joints, to a point that they seem to have been laid in the dry wall technique. At Old Dongola, the wall was constructed of sun-dried bricks and in this single case the structure was reinforced with towers (Fig. 24). The entire extent of the monastery wall in Old Dongola is unknown, so the total number of towers beyond the six found to date, as well as the number of gates, has yet to be determined. Two of the towers were built around earlier entrances to the monasteries, blocking them in the process. The walls of all Nubian monasteries were *ca.* 4 m high and 1–1.5 m thick.

In every case except the small complex in Akasha, the interiors were accessed by means of several entrances. The monastery at Qasr el-Wizz had four gates (Fig. 9). Two of them, which can be called main entrances, were found in the western curtain wall. These passageways exceeded 1 m in width. In addition, there were two narrower entrances that likely had a service function: one was located in the northern wall and led to the monastic kitchen. The other was in the east wall and led to the high bank of the Nile, where four tombs had been cut in the rock on the axis of the church, indicating their importance for the monastic community.

In Ghazali, the situation was similar: there were two broad entrances (Fig. 24), one on the north, opening on Wadi Abu Dom, and the other in the southwest corner, leading to a spacious inner courtyard. Communication between this gate and the rest of the monastery was difficult: passage to the main complex of monastic buildings led through the North Church or along the outer face of its western wall. The other one was so narrow that it barely allowed for passage of a single slim individual. Moreover, it was

blocked after changes introduced in the early eleventh century. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that it may have been an entrance for visitors who stayed overnight. Unfortunately the furnishings of rooms directly connected with this entrance, and in fact their lack, do not help with the interpretation. In the southwest corner of the courtyard there were several post-holes of diverse diameters and evidence of attaching temporary screen walls of perishable materials, which may suggest that animals were kept inside. However, no other elements that might support this hypothesis are preserved, not even animal dung. Two more entrances were found in the south wall. Both opened on the cemetery (one was blocked), and may have also been used by the monks and their service staff working in the iron-smelting area. The last entrance did not lead directly to the monastery but was located on the southern side of the Northwest Annex. This was also a service entrance, which gave access to the monastic rubbish dump, to judge by the amount of pottery found in close proximity to it in archaeological deposits between the Northwest and West Annexes.

The main entrances to Nubian monasteries were, as elsewhere, controlled by a porter. Near the gate there was a hall or courtyard for receiving guests. At Ghazali, Qasr el-Wizz and Kom H at Dongola, these were southern courtyards, which were the largest spaces that lacked structures (Figs. 9 and 24). In the entire Christian world monasteries never turned away visitors, but their hospitality also had its limits, for instance in Shenoute's community guests received food and shelter for two days in a room by the gate (Layton 2002: 39).

In Egypt, the walls of monasteries did not have a defensive function with one exception: the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai (Grossmann 2002: 307; Torp 1964). The symbolic rather than defensive character of monastery walls in Makuria is indicated by the lack of sturdy towers, attested in somewhat earlier fortified settlements built in the region, as well as by the absence of fortified gates. An additional argument is the presence of several entrances, which are not defensive in character, and annexes, which would have further decreased the defensive value of such structures. It may, therefore, be concluded fairly confidently that the walls of Makurian monasteries played a symbolic role and created a symbolic border between two worlds for the monks and the laity alike.

Churches

The investigated Nubian monasteries each had two churches. Their architecture does not betray any distinctive traits that would set them apart from other sacral buildings in Nubia. Structural changes to them followed the general trends current in Nubia in a given period. For instance, in the church at Ghazali, which was initially a basilical building, one may observe a change aimed to alter the orientation of the structure. The main element of this transformation was the dome built above the central part of the church. This trend can also be traced in non-monastic sacral architecture. The organisation of space inside monastic churches also mirrors that of other church buildings. One may, for instance, expect a *synthronon* in every monastic church, since from preserved inscriptions that include titles we know that monastic communities included a fairly large number of priests. Naturally we cannot reverse this reasoning – not every church with a *synthronon* in its *hierateion* was a monastic church.

Cells and dormitories

Cells of anchorites in Nubia were located in tombs of the Pharaonic period (an exception is the *kellion* of St Anna, found in the southwest part of the monastery on Kom H in Dongola). The architecture of the tombs, despite changes made to suit the monks' everyday needs, remained sepulchral in nature. Unfortunately, such cells have yet to be completely investigated and properly documented. Hermitages in Faras and Toshka will never be sites of archaeological fieldwork due to their flooding by the waters of Lake Nasser. A third hermitage was investigated during a survey conducted between ed-Debba and ez-Zuma by Bogdan Żurawski. Inscriptions visible on the walls were documented, but the hermitage itself was never excavated.

The results of work in laurae in the Batn el-Hajar area, investigated by the expedition of Tony Mills, have not yet been published. According to David Edwards (Edwards forthcoming), it seems that these monastic sites were stone enclosures, rectangular or nearly square in plan, measuring *ca.* 35.50 m by *ca.* 14.50 m (Akasha), or *ca.* 24 m by *ca.* 26 m (Ukma 21-N-9).

Inside, there were ten-odd rooms and a church, as in the case of Akasha 2I-N-II, or only complexes of rooms. Among them were several rooms measuring *ca.* 4 m by *ca.* 3 m, accessed directly from a corridor, and these may have served as monks' cells.

Data on dormitories and individual cells inside monastic compounds can be derived from the sites of Matuga, el-Ugal, Old Dongola Kom H, Qasr el-Wizz, and Ghazali. Two dormitories were tentatively identified at Matuga and el-Ugal (Building 8) (Fig. 61). At the latter site, the size of cells varied from 8 to 12 m². At Matuga, two rooms measured 7.5 and 8.75 m² respectively. In the monastery on Kom H in Dongola, the dormitory was most likely located to the northwest of the monastic church. Its southern part was largely destroyed. Similarly to the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz (see below), the dormitory was connected with a refectory located to the north of it. Nonetheless, these sites require further research. Much fuller data is available for Wizz and Ghazali monasteries. The dormitory at Qasr el-Wizz was a building rectangular in plan, consisting of a corridor (II-B) flanked by seven cells: four on the west and three on the east. The corridor was roofed with a Nubian barrel vault and had two main entrances: one opening on the refectory (II-A), and the other leading to II-G and out into the monastery. The doorways from the corridor to the monastic cells were arched, fairly narrow (50–70 cm) and *ca.* 1.70 m in height.

The walls of the corridor were made of broken stone laid in mud, plastered, whitewashed and painted. At least two layers of plaster are visible in this space, and Dobrochna Zielińska was able to identify an illusionistic portal of the door to room II-C (Fig. 77). On the left side of the doorway, a kind of a horn bent downward is visible. Apertures in the walls next to the doorways could be traces of mountings of textile screens. A slit window opened at the top of the rise of the vault over the corridor and three arched niches were found in its eastern wall. The corridor was floored with mud and the space along the eastern and western walls between the archways leading to the cells was occupied by mastabas, each about 0.40 cm wide. The most intriguing features of II-B were structures associated with the southern wall. Such installations may have served the purpose of cooling water, as is evidenced by an analogous structure at the monastery of Ghazali (Obłuski forthcoming).



Fig. 77. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz),
dormitory, entrance to one of the cells
(courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

The monks' cells in the Apa Dios monastery at Qasr el-Wizz were *ca.* 12 m² in size. The rooms were roofed with Nubian barrel vaults oriented E-W or N-S, all made of sun-dried bricks. The walls were covered with mud plaster and whitewashed, and the floors were of tamped mud. The furnishings of the cells were typical for living quarters in monastic but also secular architecture in Nubia in this period. They consisted of wall niches and mastabas built along the walls.

In the architectural history of the dormitory in Ghazali we can distinguish three building phases, which correspond to the main phases of development of the entire monastic complex. Initially, the dormitory was a six-cell complex built of sundried bricks. A doorway in the south wall led to a wide corridor, on each side of which there were entrances to three cells. The floor of the corridor was paved with well-made rectangular ceramic tiles. There was a bench running along the entire corridor, interrupted only by the entrances to the cells. The thickness of the outer

walls of the dormitory could allow for the existence of a second floor. The adjoining cells were not interconnected and each cell had a separate entrance. Every room was furnished with three benches running along all walls except the one with the doorway (Fig. 78). Some of the benches had headboards. Several cells featured niches for storage of personal belongings. Variety in the number of niches in the rooms, as well as the presence or absence of headboards on the benches indicate an individual approach to spatial organisation of the cells.

Monks made all efforts to use every inch of space in the tiny rooms. They built low shelves against the walls and reused kitchen pots sunk in the benches as storage bins (Fig. 79). Floors of the cells were paved with different-sized pottery tiles, square and rectangular in shape, and sometimes plastered over. The radiocarbon dates obtained for samples taken from structural elements belonging to the original part of the dormitory are AD 684 (39.6%) AD 718; AD 670 (95.4%) AD 770.⁴ This dating corresponds to the dates of the erection of the North Church, as well as of the outer monastic wall (680–720).

The second half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century brought significant changes to the monastery. The dormitory was enlarged by adding a second block of six cells on the north end of the original building. The sun-dried brick walls of the new structure were thicker. Floors were laid in the same manner as in the original building, with either bricks or pottery tiles. The furnishing of the rooms was also similar and featured benches and niches. The latter were more numerous, pointing to a time of prosperity at Ghazali. A perpendicular corridor (Room 55) and a staircase (Room 53) were added to the dormitory, which suggests that the dormitory could have been a two-storey building in Phase 2. The date of enlargement of the dormitory is set to the turn of the tenth century (AD 986 [68.2%] AD 1020; AD 963 [91.3%] AD 1030) on the basis of wood samples taken from structural elements in one of the added cells (Room 69).

In the next phase, indicators of the decline of the monastery become evident: the area of the monastery actively used by the monks shrank.

⁴ Radiocarbon analyses were conducted by the Gliwice Absolute Dating Methods Centre of the Silesian University of Technology.



Fig. 78. Ghazali, dormitory cells (Miron Bogacki)

A greater part of the second-phase extension of the dormitory was turned into a food storage facility. A kind of courtyard was created in the north-east corner, with several ceramic containers installed within. Eight cells on the southern end were separated from the northern part of the building and these retained the function of a dormitory.

The dormitory was illuminated by windows furnished with window grilles. Some of the grilles had expensive natron glass panes. An intriguing find is a fragmentarily preserved terracotta plaque with ornamental decoration and a quotation from verse 8 of Psalm 121:⁵ 'The Lord will protect your coming in and going out'. The plaque was probably placed above the entrance to the whole complex or to one of the monks' cells. In addition, there are bits and pieces of an illegible inscription in black ink written within a frame, as well as some fragments of wall paintings.

⁵ Identified by the Ghazali archaeological expedition epigrapher Grzegorz Ochała (University of Warsaw).



Fig. 79. Ghazali, dormitory, Room 68, storage pot (Artur Obłuski)

The dormitory is one of the most distinctive features of Nubian monasteries. In two known cases the dormitories were located to the north-east of the church. This location seems to result from spatial management rather than symbolic reasons. In the monasteries on Kom H in Dongola and in Qasr el-Wizz the building was connected to the refectory, which the monks could access directly from their cells. At Ghazali, in turn, the refectory and dormitory were separate buildings. Another distinctive trait is the plain, quadrangular shape of the dormitory.

Cells in coenobitic Nubian monasteries were confined to one building, the main axis of which was a central corridor. In the majority of known coenobitic monasteries in the eastern Empire and beyond, however, monks' cells were not confined to a cellblock but were rather lined up along an outer wall (Figs. 80 and 81). Dormitories of the Nubian type are more typical for Western Christianity. In neighbouring Egypt, similar dormitories are few: Deir Anba Hadra in Aswan, Upper Ansina near Antinooupolis, and Deir el-Fakhuri near Esna (Figs. 82–84).

In Egypt there are no rigid rules concerning how many monks should sleep in one cell. Decisions were taken by monastic hierarchs according to the need and availability of space. In the Pachomian congregation, initially every monk received an individual cell (Rousseau 1985: 87–88). In

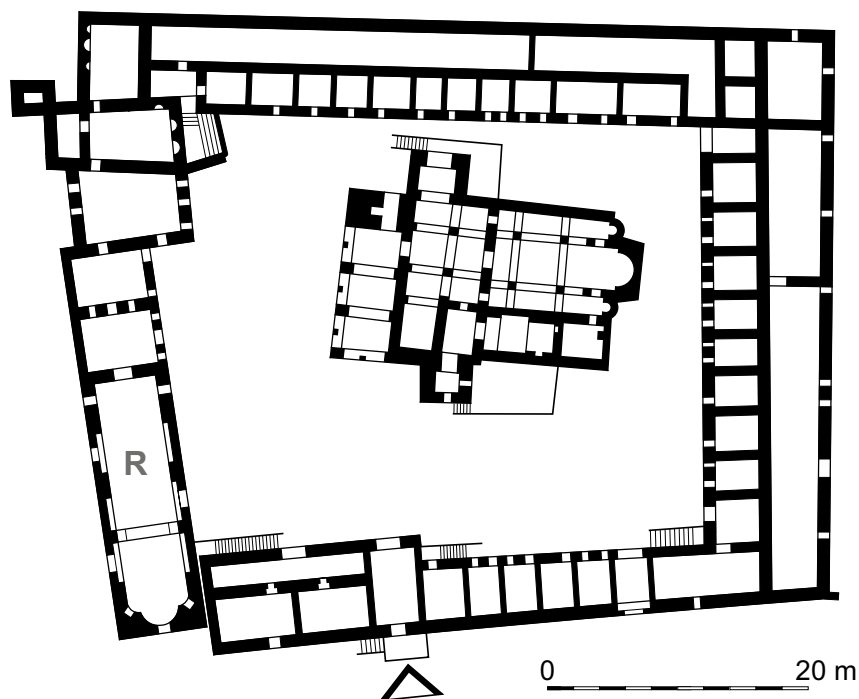


Fig. 8o. Hosios Meletios monastery, plan of the site
(after Orlandos 1999: fig. 8)

the so-called Rule of the Angel, three monks were allowed in a cell (Palladius, tr. Wortley 2015: 74 [chapter 32.2]). In Shenoute's congregation, the monks' sleeping quarters called cells are located within a building referred to as a house, in accordance with Pachomian nomenclature (Layton 2007: 47). Each cell was occupied probably by two monks (Krawiec 2002: 24). Peter Grossmann originally suggested that the large residential building at the White Monastery may have served as a dormitory (Grossmann & Mohamed 1991: 55) and this interpretation was adopted by researchers working on the site in the early twenty-first century (Grossmann *et al.* 2004: 377). This suggestion is, however, unlikely, as already noted by Wipszycka (Wipszycka 2018: 333–334).

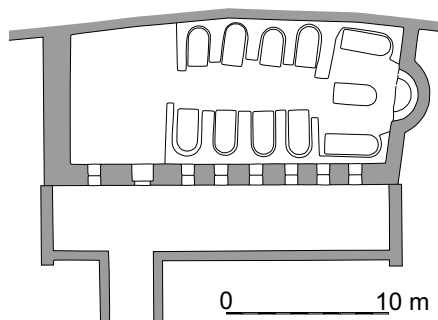
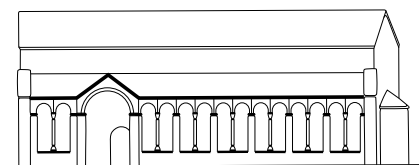
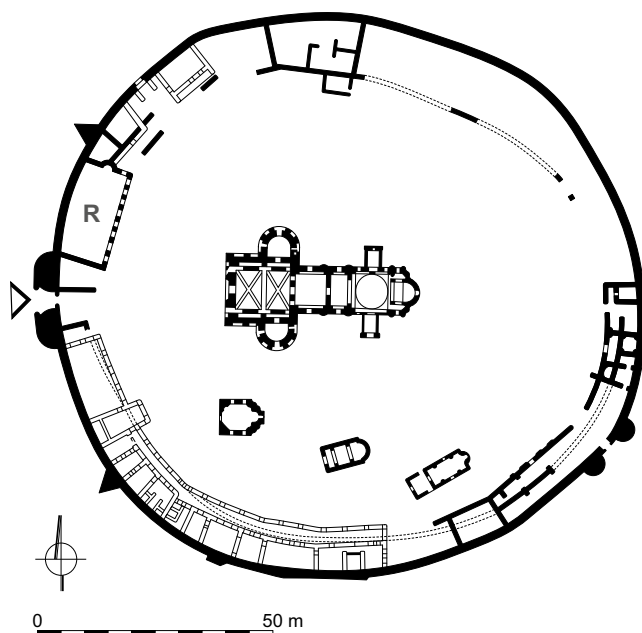


Fig. 81. Studenica monastery,
plan of the site (top); refectory: elevation (middle), plan (bottom)
(after Popović 1994: fig. 19)

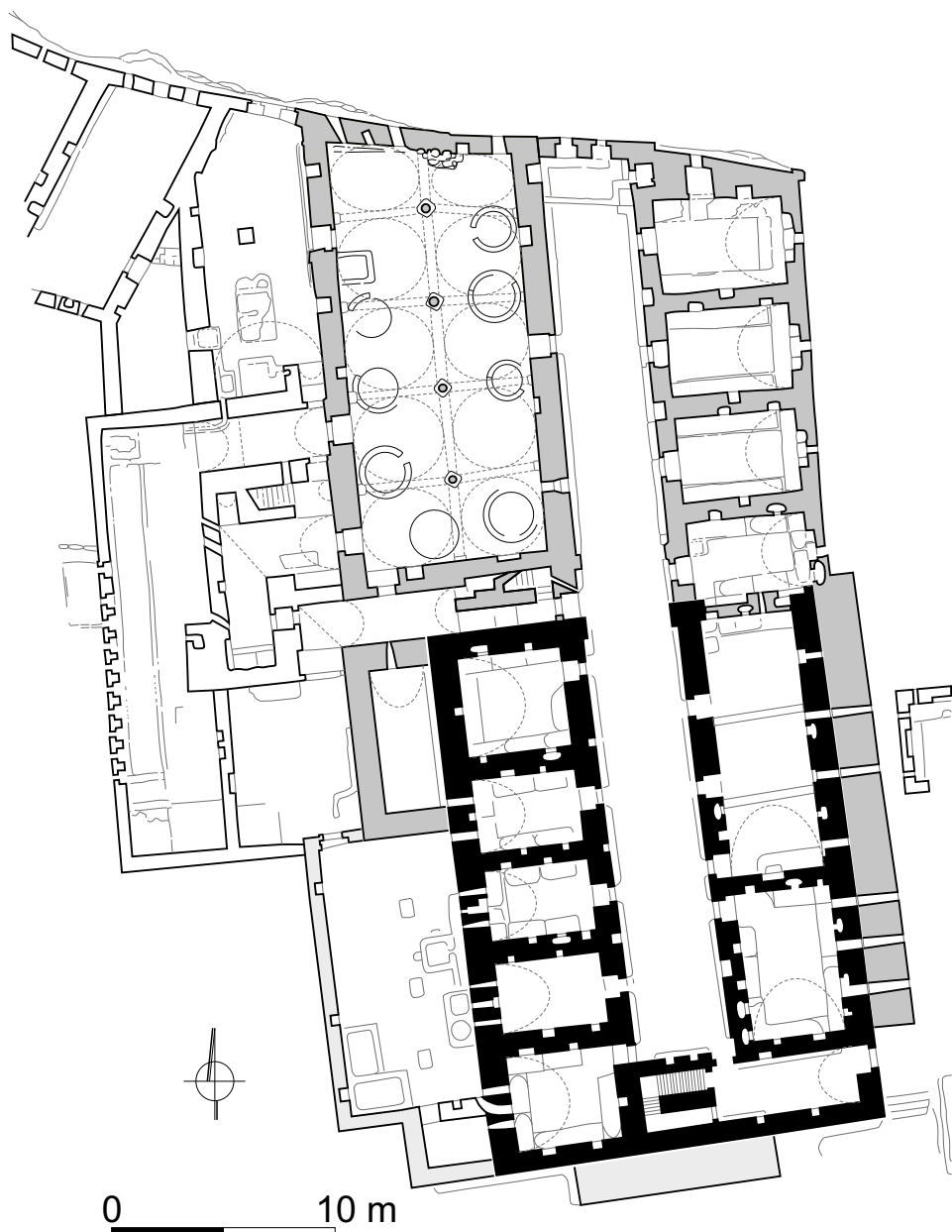


Fig. 82. Anba Hadra monastery,
plan of the site (after Monneret de Villard 1927: fig. 87;
Grossmann 2002: fig. 176)

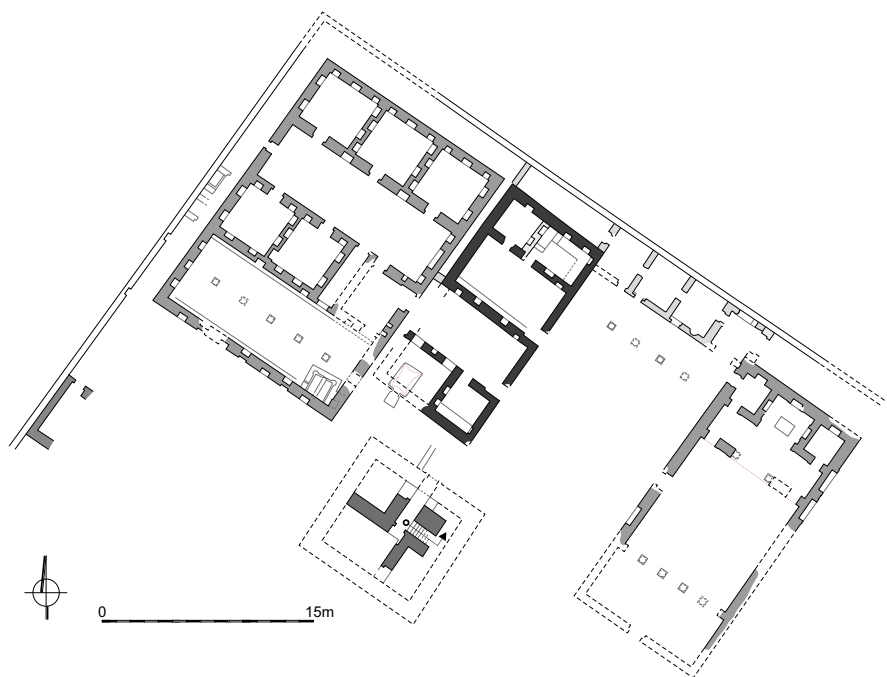


Fig. 83. Upper Ansina monastery, plan of the site
(after Grossmann 2002: fig. 137)

Refectory

In Nubian monasteries the refectory was variously situated. In Qasr el-Wizz, it was located on the northern side of the complex (Fig. 9). One could enter it only from the dormitory or from the kitchen located on the eastern side. The relative location of the two buildings was most probably identical at the monastery on Kom H in Dongola. The dormitory was to the northwest of the church and it opened on a refectory lying further to the north (Fig. 85). The spatial organisation of the monastery on Kom D has not been fully investigated, but the refectory was located to the north of the church and most likely, together with the neighbouring spaces, it constituted the northern edge of the monastery, as it appears from the plan, which features a sequence of rooms lined up east-west.

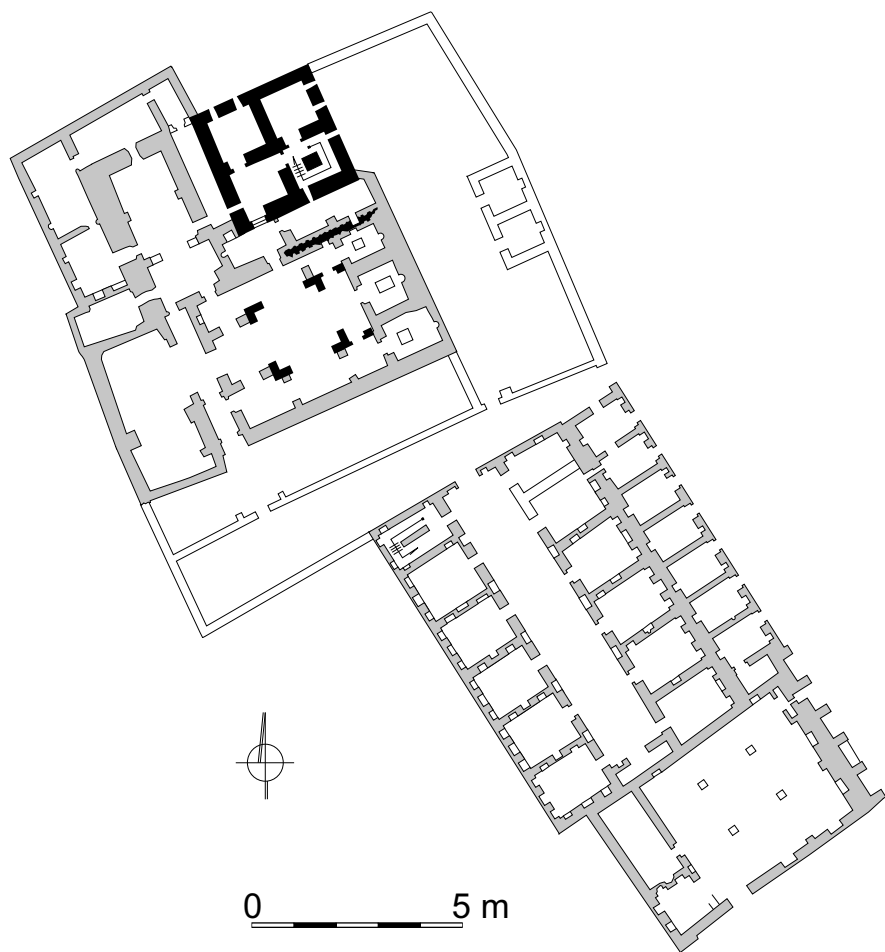


Fig. 84. Deir el-Fakhuri monastery near Esna, plan of the site
(after Grossmann 2002: fig. 171)

At Ghazali, the situation is somewhat more complex due to changes this monastery underwent. The refectory was located near the church and connected to it by means of a special communication route leading from its west and north entrances. The dormitory was in close proximity, directly to the northeast of the refectory. As with the dormitory, changes to the refectory followed the three main phases of development of the monastic complex, which were as follows: founding and growth from the sixth/seventh century to the mid-tenth century; the height of development from

the mid-tenth to the mid-twelfth century, and subsequently a decrease in the number of monks and a decline of the community followed by its terminus in the second or third quarters of the thirteenth century. In the first phase, there was only one refectory (Room K [Fig. 36]); in the second phase, when the number of inhabitants of the monastery increased, a room (Room L [Fig. 74]) that was most likely a kitchen became a second refectory that functioned alongside the other. In the last phase, the monks' dining room again shrank to the size of one room, and the benches for dining in the neighbouring refectory were removed (Fig. 86).

Of interest in this context is the discrepancy between the number of beds in the preserved part of the dormitory and the number of seats at the tables, especially in the two refectories used at the height of the monastery's development. However, if we assume the existence of an upper floor in the dormitory and, as a result, double the number of rooms it held, the number of monks that could be seated in the refectories will match the number of places in the sleeping quarters. This higher number of monks also makes the number of latrines look more rational – one toilet for three monks, not counting other inhabitants of the monastery.

All known Nubian refectories were nearly square in plan: Qasr el-Wizz – 7.20 m by 5.75 m, Ghazali – refectory K 7.25 m by 7.10 m; Old Dongola Kom D – *ca.* 7 m by 6 m. Their roofing had the form of four domes or four sail-vaults with arches as supports. The arches, in turn, rested on pilasters located in the centre of each wall and on a central pillar in the shape of a cross or rectangle. An exception is refectory L in Ghazali, which was covered with two parallel vaults supported on the outer walls of the room and on two arches running across the middle. The reason for this was the different original function of the room, which was secondarily adapted to serve as a dining room towards the end of the tenth century.

The refectories in Ghazali, Kom D and Kom H in Dongola and Qasr el-Wizz were accessed by means of two doorways. One of them was used by the diners, and the other was a service entrance used for bringing food from the kitchen. The refectory at Qasr el-Wizz was adorned with wall paintings. The walls bear traces of decoration featuring a downturned horn, which most likely constituted an element of niche decoration. Parallels can be sought in the decoration of niches at the Faras cathedral, as

well as in Egyptian wall painting, in the northern conch over the *hierateion* of the church at the Red Monastery, as well as in funerary art.⁶ The walls of the refectory at Qasr el-Wizz have niches, which have not been identified in other dining rooms.

All Nubian refectories featured so-called sigma-shaped benches. Their outer diameter varied from 1.4 m at the monastery on Kom D in Dongola, through 1.8–1.9 m at Qasr el-Wizz, to 2.1 m in Ghazali. At Qasr el-Wizz and at Ghazali in refectory K, no traces indicate the presence of tables within the circular benches; they may have been brickwork structures erected directly on the floor, where no permanent traces of them survived. In one case, next to the southwest bench in refectory L, there were holes in the floor, and their relative distribution may suggest that they were mortises for inserting the legs of a wooden or stone table. In the drawn documentation from excavations on Kom D at Dongola, inside the circular benches there were rounded features, which most likely served as bases for tables (Fig. 22). In the refectories at Ghazali and Qasr el-Wizz there were initially four benches, and refectory K at Ghazali received an additional bench. At the monastery on Kom D, there were most likely three benches throughout its existence, and the fourth was never built because it would have blocked the doorway to the room.

Besides niches, the furnishings of refectories were scarce. At Qasr el-Wizz, by the west wall there was a small podium, which may have been used for reading, reciting or chanting the Holy Scriptures during meals, as was the case in many other monastic communities throughout the world. At the monastery in Ghazali, in turn, on the east there was a small container coated with waterproof plaster. Possibly the monks washed their hands over it before and/or after the meal (Fig. 87).

Refectories were a typical feature of coenobia, which required a space for the consumption of common meals. Early laurae usually lacked refectories, though the sources mention common meals after Sunday Mass (Flusin 1983: 228–229). It seems, therefore, that economic reasons proved more important than spiritual ones. There was little sense in investing in a special, dedicated building intended for use only once a week for a few

⁶ Studies on painted decoration from the monastery of Apa Dios at Qasr el-Wizz are conducted by Dobrochna Zielińska (University of Warsaw).



Fig. 85. Dongola, Kom H monastery,
refectory outline (unexcavated) (Roman Łopaciuk)



Fig. 86. Ghazali, Room L,
traits of removed benches (Artur Obłuski)

hours, unless it was a church. Perhaps it was also difficult to reach an agreement and decide in favour of such an investment in a community of anchorites, in which every member was certainly an independent spirit.

Information that may be of help in gaining a fuller understanding of the role of the refectory in the life of a monastic community may be sought in Byzantine laurae and monasteries. The Rule of the Great Laura of St Athanasius on Mt Athos mentions that the construction of the entire complex started with several cells and a refectory, and work on the church began afterwards (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 206). In the case of the Machairas monastery (the rule of Neilos, bishop of Tamassos, for the monastery of the Virgin in Machairas on Cyprus) dated to the year 1210, the first erected structures were the church, the refectory, and the cells (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 1107). In Byzantium, the refectory was approximately the same size as the church and it was just as richly decorated (Talbot 2007: 110).

According to Svetlana Popović, the construction of the refectory as a separate building near the church, as well as the presence of a pulpit and painted decoration within, permit to associate the refectory with the spiritual/devotional zone of a monastery (Popović 1998: 285). Popović puts forward a theory that its close proximity to a church or tomb can be viewed as a reflection of commemorative character and association with the part of the complex dedicated to worship (Popović 1998: 301). Indeed, several Byzantine *typika* indicate that all commemorative celebrations were held in the refectory because they always included an obligatory meal. However, it seems that such a function of the refectory was, nonetheless, a secondary one; it resulted from the fact that it was the only large assembly hall at the monastery except the church, and that it was also suited for consumption purposes. Its use for devotional and commemorative purposes was not, therefore, a result of a special spiritual meaning attributed to the refectory, so the reasoning offered by Popović should, in fact, be reversed.

Refectories played a very important role in the social lives of the monks, even though according to textual sources little time was spent there. In refectories of Shenoutean monasteries, all healthy monks consumed one meal a day at a fixed hour (Layton 2007: 47). In Syrian monasteries, meals were served once or twice a day. The monks went to the refectory directly from church, and this likely determined the location of the dining room in



Fig. 87. Ghazali, Room K,
container for collecting water waste (Artur Obłuski)

close proximity to the sacral space. At the tables of Byzantine monasteries, the rule of precedence was observed: the abbot and the elderly monks, as well as guests sat at one table or at the head of a common table (Talbot 2007: 113). Each table had its leader, who said a prayer of thanks before the meal (Kalla 2004: 259). There must have been some tension in the monastic communities caused by the hierarchical character of communal dining. Monasteries were inhabited by men who took the habit because of a calling, but some individuals were, nonetheless, ambitious, quarrelsome or competitive. One should also consider the psychological reactions and tensions caused by renouncement of earthly pleasures and refraining from sleep and food. The *typikon* of the Euergetis monastery clearly states that monks should not argue over places at the table, and the ones who do so should get the worst seats (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 479).

A general rule shared by all Byzantine *typika* was the rule of silence in the refectory, reportedly introduced in order to allow concentration on the readings (Talbot 2007: 119). It seems, however, that this rule was rather motivated by common sense. Imagine several tens or even hundreds of people talking at the same time, over each other's voices, excited by the opportunity to communicate. After all, besides Mass and prayer times the community had no chance to assemble in such numbers. There must have been a great deal to say about events that took place since the previous day. An allusion to such behaviour may be found in the rule of the Charsianeites monastery, which states: 'A refectory without the Word of God is like an animal pen' (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 1658).

The refectory was usually in close proximity to the church. At Anba Bishoi (Fig. 88) and Deir es-Suriani in Egypt (Popović 1998: 283–285), as well as St Martyrios in the Judean Desert (Hirschfeld 1992: 42–44, figs. 20–22), the refectories were located west of the church and separated from it only by a corridor. At Castellion, the refectory abuts the church on the west (Hirschfeld 1992: 52, fig. 28). In Middle- and Late-Byzantine coenobia, the refectory was usually built across from the western entrance to the church or in close proximity to it. According to an eleventh-century *typikon* of Alexius Studites and twelfth-century *typika* of the Pantokrator and Euergetis monasteries, after Mass the monks were to wait for the priest who conducted the liturgical service and subsequently follow him to the refectory singing

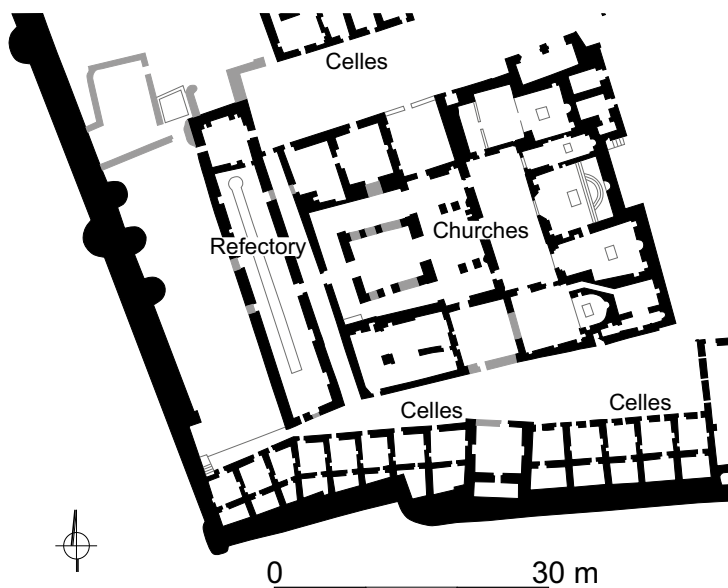


Fig. 88. Wadi Natrun, Anba Bishoi monastery
(after Evelyn-White 1926–1933: vol. III, pl. XXXVII)

Psalm 145 (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 744). At Dadivank and Haghartzin in Armenia, however, contrary to the interpretation proposed by Popović, the route between the church and refectory is neither straight nor short (Figs. 89 and 90). There, the entrance to the refectory faces away from the church complex (Hasratian 1984).

If we consider the seating of the monks as the key factor, rather than, like Popović, the form of the building (Popović 1998: 296–298), it becomes clear that we are in fact dealing with two types of refectories. In the first type, the refectory features a long table, along which the monks are seated on two sides. This type is represented, i.a., by refectories of Deir es-Suriani in Wadi Natrun, Deir Abu Fana, St Gallen (Strzygowski 1909: fig. 11), or the monasteries of Nea Mone on Chios and Zographou on Mt Athos (Talbot 2007: 110), as well as John Theologian on Patmos (Fig. 91). Long tables are standard in the refectories of Anatolia, like the ones in the vicinity of Göreme (Rodley 1985: figs. 28 and 32) (Fig. 92), as well as in Armenia, e.g. in Halbat, Haghartzin or Dadivank (Popović 1998: figs. 13 and 14). The same

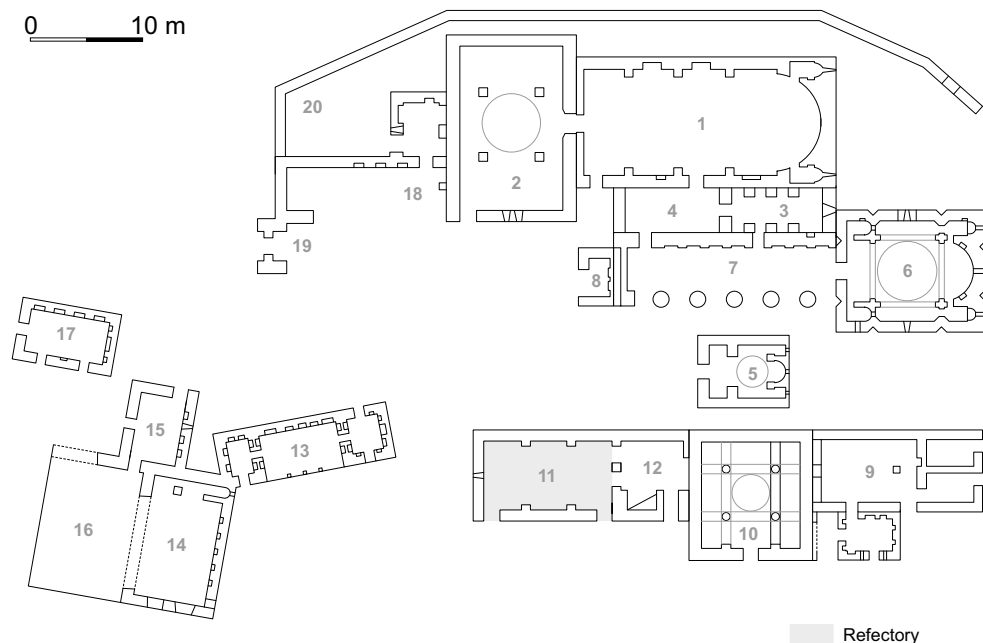


Fig. 89. Dadivank monastery, Armenia, plan of the site
(after Hasratian 1984: fig. 3)

concerns Georgia, at least in the preserved eighth–tenth-century monasteries at Ot’ht’a and Hantz’a in the vicinity of Oški (Djobadze 1992: figs. 28, 36 and 53).

Distinctive features in dining rooms of the second type are several oval or horseshoe-shaped benches (Josef Strzygowski’s sigma-shaped benches) that most likely surrounded tables placed in their centres. This group includes refectories in Nubia, but they are also encountered in Greece, for instance at the monastery of the Great Laura on Mt Athos (sigma-shaped), the Dau monastery in Attica (sigma-shaped) (Strzygowski 1909: figs. 6 and 7) and Chilandari in Vatopedi (Talbot 2007: 110), as well as in Egypt at the monastery of Apa Jeremias in Saqqara (oval) (Quibell 1907: 4, pl. VIII), Anba Hadra in Aswan (oval) (Monneret de Villard 1927: fig. 114), and at Deir el-Bachit (Beckh 2013: pl. 2, fig. 3). Such benches were also found in the monastic dining room at Tall Bi ‘a in Syria (Kalla 2004) (Fig. 93).



Fig. 90. Haghartzin monastery, Armenia, plan of the site
(after Popović 1998: fig. 13)

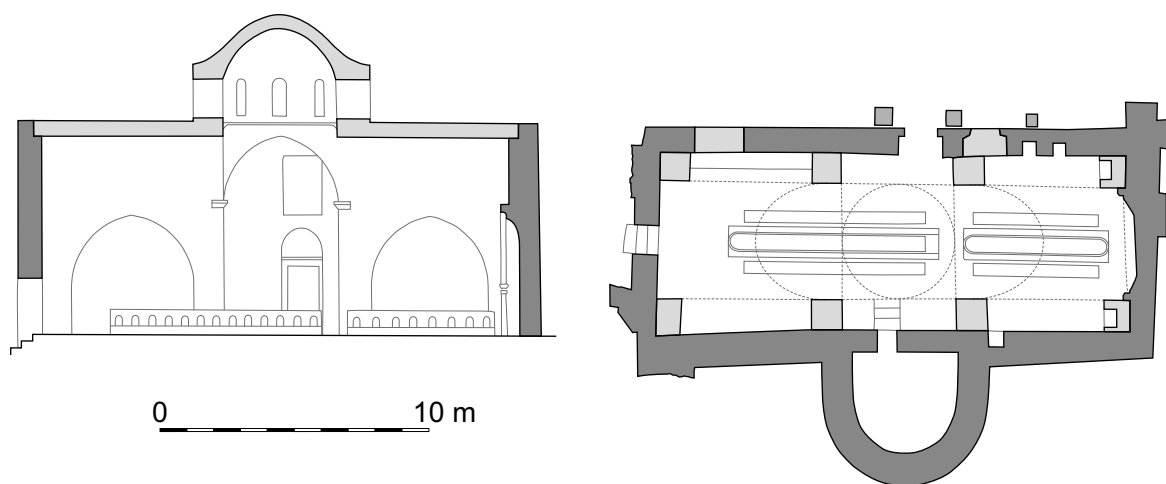


Fig. 91. Patmos,
monastery of St John the Theologian
(after Orlandos 1999: fig. 58)

The overview of refectories in the monasteries of the Christian East may be summarised as follows. Dining facilities are variously placed within the monastic setting; at times they are incorporated into the complex of buildings adjacent to the church like in the case of Georgian monastery at Hantz'a (Fig. 94). In other cases, they are free-standing buildings spatially associated with the church, but not connected to it. The dining rooms of Nubian monks were remarkably uniform and practically identical: they were square halls furnished with sigma-shaped benches popular in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. The long-table dining rooms, on the other hand, were typical for the core areas of the Byzantine Empire as well as its Caucasian eastern provinces and neighbouring countries. The most important factor determining the location of refectories within the complex of monastic buildings in Nubia seems to be the proximity to the dormitory rather than the symbolic and spatial association with the church. Little is known about their decoration, as the state of preservation of the plaster permitted to confirm its existence only in one case, that of Qasr el-Wizz.

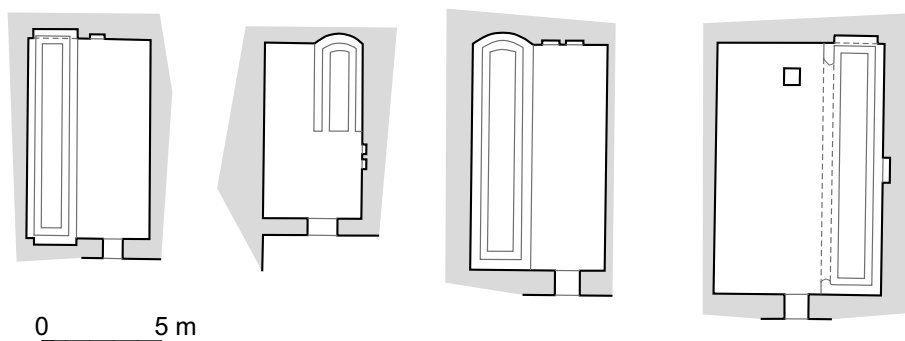


Fig. 92. Göreme valley, four rock-cut refectories, plans
(after Popović 1998: fig. 12 b)

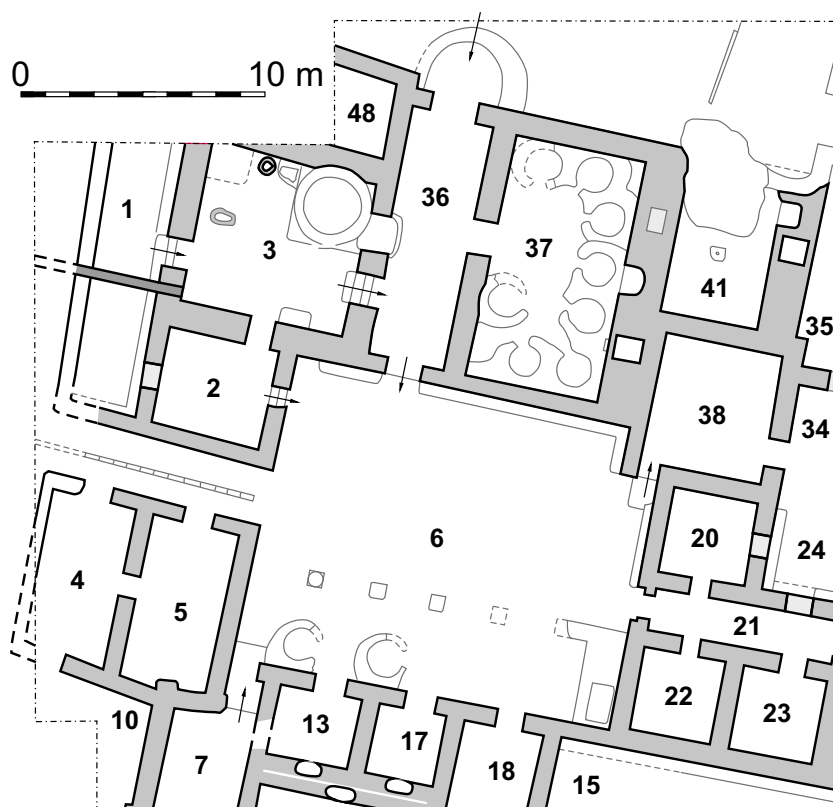


Fig. 93. Tell Bi 'a, plan of the refectory
(after Kalla 2004: fig. 3)

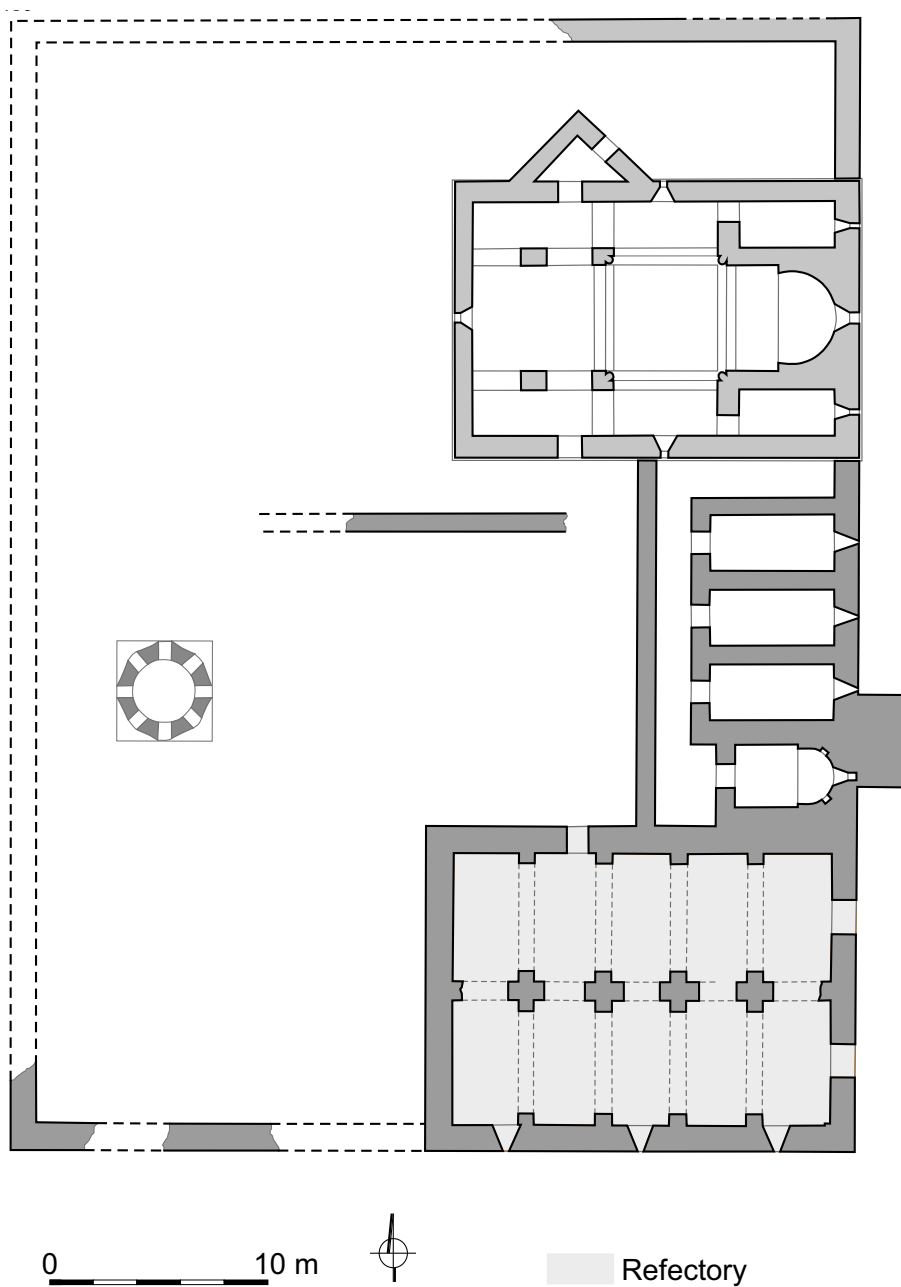


Fig. 94. Hanzt'a monastery, plan of the site
(after Djobadze 1992: 28, fig. B)

Household

Material evidence of food processing and meal preparation in Nubian monasteries was identified in Qasr el-Wizz and Ghazali. The northeast part of the monastery on Kom H in Dongola, excavated in the late 1980s and early 1990s, was rather not connected with food processing, since the refectory is located in the opposite corner of the monastery (*contra* Anderson 1999: 78, table 2).

For ergonomic reasons, monastic kitchens were situated close to dining rooms. At Qasr el-Wizz (Fig. 9), the household and service area used for food preparation comprised rooms located in the northeast corner of the complex. From this compound one entered the refectory on the east after passing through a short corridor. The compound included storerooms (II-LL, II-U) and rooms in which food was prepared (II-S, II-T, II-W). Room II-T contained two bread ovens; in the western part of room II-S, there was a circular oven sunk in the floor, and an entrance in the southwest corner of room II-W led to a semi-circular wine cellar (Scanlon 1972: 30) (Fig. 95). In the same monastery, George Scanlon discovered yet another room used for preparing meals and storing foodstuffs. It was constructed during a major overhaul carried out at the monastery probably at the beginning of the eleventh century due to the large number of pilgrims visiting the site. Room II-R contained several storage bins and pits, all the more interesting for their lack in storage installations in the territory of Makuria (Fig. 96).

There were various ways of storing and preparing foodstuffs at the Qasr el-Wizz monastery. Storage facilities included bins of baked and unbaked clay, as well as storage pits. Bread ovens were also identified, but there are no material traces of preparation of hot meals, such as cooking installations or hearths. It is also puzzling that among the pottery collected or recorded in the documentation there are hardly any cooking pots. The collection housed at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago included fragments of only 14 non-tableware vessels. The first hypothesis that comes to mind is that monks may have refrained from eating cooked foods, which was a practice attested in the monastic milieu. However, judging by the kind of pottery that was documented, it seems that the lack of kitchenware was the result of the finds collection strategy assumed



Fig. 95. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz),
Room II-W (courtesy of the Oriental Institute,
University of Chicago)

during the six-week salvage campaign at Qasr el-Wizz – virtually the only pottery collected was decorated tableware. Thus, in the case of this collection any statistical considerations are questionable at best.

At Ghazali, separate rooms within the food production compound housed the remains of an oil press (Fig. 67), as well as a mill with grain storage facilities (Fig. 66). Both are otherwise unattested in Nubia, while the latter is known only from the monastery of Anba Hadra in Aswan (Monneret de Villard 1927) and from Shenoute's White Monastery (Brooks Hedstrom *et al.* 2011). Olive cultivation is unattested in Nubia, so the oil was most likely pressed from other oil-rich plants such as sesame. The monastic mill occupied one of the largest rooms (Room H) in the Ghazali monastery. Found in this room were two millstones, which were probably part of a large mill operated only on occasions requiring greater production output. A stone mill of similar size is found in Room 81 at Deir Anba Hadra in Aswan (Monneret de Villard 1927: 110–111). The same room



Fig. 96. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz),
Room II-R (courtesy of the Oriental Institute,
University of Chicago)



Fig. 97. Ghazali, Room H,
millstone of the pseudo-Pompeian type mill (Artur Obłuski)

at Ghazali also yielded another remarkable find: elements of a so-called pseudo-Pompeian mill (Fig. 97). Analogous bell-shaped base stones, the largest of which measured 60 cm in diameter, were found on Elephantine (Wefers & Mangartz 2014: 83).⁷ The pseudo-Pompeian type mill was small and likely intended for everyday use.

The presence of querns or millstones in monastic contexts should not come as a surprise. Indeed, in antiquity and the medieval period it was grain, not flour, that functioned as an object of trade. Baking bread in monasteries was of vital importance not only for liturgical but also for alimentary purposes. Features uncovered in room H of the Ghazali monastery were not limited to millstones. In the room there were three silos

⁷ The name 'pseudo-Pompeian' was coined by Wefers and Mangartz because in Pompeian millstones the bottom stone had the shape of an hourglass, while the one from Elephantine did not. The pieces from Elephantine date from the 5th–9th centuries (Wefers & Mangartz 2014: 89–94).

(Fig. 66), of which only the lowest parts survived. At the bottom there was an opening that facilitated the removal of grain (Fig. 98). One was quite large (2.1 m in diameter), and the others were smaller (1.4 m in diameter). If the large silo was 2 m high, its capacity must have been about 7 m³. The average weight of 1 m³ of wheat grain is 0.72–0.88 tonnes. It means that the monks could have kept up to between 5 and 6.2 tonnes of wheat grain only in this container and between 2.2 and 2.7 tonnes of grain in the smaller ones. The total capacity of the silos was between 9.4 and 11.6 tonnes of wheat. Adjacent spaces: Room E-F (Fig. 99) and Room 77-78 (Fig. 100) contained, in their first phase of use, two shallow basins coated with waterproof plaster on the internal surfaces, which may suggest that they were meant for storing liquids. However, one can hardly imagine storing liquids in Sudanese climate in containers with such a large evaporation surface. It seems, therefore, that they may have been used for activities requiring large amounts of liquid, most likely water, in an open container. It is also possible that they were used for dry goods, and the solid plaster surface prevented their infestation by insects. Unfortunately I have not yet been able to provide answers to these questions. To the west of room H, between it and the wall, there was yet another space with a storage and kitchen function (Fig. 101). In the course of excavations, parts of it were assigned numbers 114 through 118. This space was repeatedly transformed; details of these changes are outside the scope of his book, suffice it to say that in the first phase the eastern part was occupied by a large bipartite basin coated with hydraulic plaster and the western part, spaces nos. 115 and 116, featured several ceramic storage bins. During later structural phases, in space no. 114 two vessels used as hearths were placed inside the basin, which was no longer in use at the time.

Additional data is derived from the excavated pottery used for producing and serving food.⁸ The most distinctive are baking plates similar to modern *dokab*. These very large, shallow vessels were used for making local thin, fermented bread called *kisra* (Ciesielska *et al.* forthcoming). Cooking pots are very common in the pottery assemblage uncovered at Ghazali. The most numerous are hand-made pots with relatively thick

⁸ This fragment is based on the research and reports of Małgorzata Korzeniowska from the National Museum in Warsaw, who studied the pottery from the Ghazali excavations.



Fig. 98. Ghazali, Room H,
grain container remains (Artur Obłuski)



Fig. 99. Ghazali, Room E-F (Miron Bogacki)



Fig. 100. Ghazali,
Room 77-80 (Miron Bogacki)



Fig. 101. Ghazali,
Rooms 114–116 (Miron Bogacki)

walls, rounded bases, and flaring short neck and mouth (Ciesielska *et al.* forthcoming). In the assemblage of storage vessels, handmade bottles with rounded body, narrow neck and flaring rim are the most common. Amphorae are, surprisingly, almost absent from Ghazali. The attested ones represent early Dongolese production dated by Krzysztof Pluskota to the late sixth / early seventh century (Pluskota 2005). In the tableware assemblage, worthy of note are large plates up to 34 cm in diameter. Małgorzata Korzeniowska rightly observed that given their size and solid, footed bases they must have been intended for collective meals (Ciesielska *et al.* forthcoming). Apart from that, other common tableware vessels like bowls and cups were omnipresent.

Contrary to expectations, service areas like monastic kitchens and storerooms are fairly rare archaeological finds. In Syria no monastic kitchens are preserved, while in Palestine and Egypt the few known examples are at Khirbet ed-Deir (Hirschfeld 1999: 64–80), the St Catherine monastery on Mt Sinai, and the monastery of Anba Hadra in Aswan. Written sources tell us that, for instance in the congregation of Shenoute of Atripe,

meals were prepared in two separate kitchens: one was the main monastic kitchen, and the other was used for preparing food for people with special dietary needs. Bread was baked in an area called ‘the place where baking is done’ or simply ‘the ovens’ (νετρίπ) (Layton 2002: 45). At the White Monastery, the American mission discovered two installations interpreted as mills (Brooks Hedstrom *et al.* 2011: 352). One of the features, referred to as the ‘north mill’ and found alongside a round basin with spout, is most likely an oil press.

Latrines

At the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz there were most likely two latrines. The existence of one is beyond doubt, while the evidence for the second is circumstantial. The first latrine (Room II-UU) was located in the northeast corner of the monastery, adjacent to the kitchen area (Fig. 9). The room had a single entrance located in the southwest corner. The interior featured a horizontal platform built against the eastern wall of the room, *ca.* 50 cm high, with two rectangular openings (Fig. 102). As for the second latrine, the situation is more complex. There are no good-quality photographs of the interior of room III-A, in which it was supposedly located. However, photos showing the monastery enclosure wall and the slope on which the complex was built show a conduit built of ceramic pipes, which emerges from the wall in the vicinity of this room (Fig. 103). I presume that it is a latrine clean-out, as this installation is similar to the one found outside Room II-UU.

At Ghazali, four latrine compounds have been identified and assigned to different occupational periods. The earliest compound is a row of latrines aligned with the eastern wall of the monastery (Fig. 71) (Obłuski *et al.* 2018). The whole complex, *ca.* 14.5 m long, included ten or eleven separate toilets. Some six of them, comprising the southern part of the complex, are thought to be the oldest. Subsequently, a new set of four latrines was added to the older southern part. Each toilet, approximately 1.50 m long, occupied the eastern end of an elongated room, which was about 7.80 m long and 0.80 m wide, and was entered from the west. A doorway



Fig. 102. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz),
Room II-UU (courtesy of the Oriental Institute,
University of Chicago)

with a threshold and lateral jambs set off each cubicle, which had a kind of raised platform at the eastern end, equipped with sanitary installations.

The Northwest Annex was a large building with a nearly central open courtyard (Fig. 72). Its main feature is a row of 18 toilets. There are also several associated rooms with vats, some of them plastered inside and probably used for washing (Fig. 104). Latrines in the annex are built in a slightly different manner than in the earlier sanitary compound. Cubicles measuring 2.7 m by 0.85 m were accessed from a corridor located on their eastern sides. Each consisted of a raised platform (0.85 m by 1 m), which supported a now-lost toilet seat located opposite the entrance. The seat was over a cesspit, which was oval in shape (1 m by 0.45 m) and fairly shallow (*ca.* 15 cm deep). West of the row of toilets was a corridor, which made it possible to empty the cesspit compartments. The latrine compound was divided into two parts, the northern consisting of twelve and the southern with six toilets. The corridor along the row of toilets featured a long bench



Fig. 103. Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz),
ceramic sewage pipe (courtesy of the Oriental Institute,
University of Chicago)



Fig. 104. Ghazali,
water container, Annex NW
(Artur Obłuski)

possibly used by people waiting for a free toilet. In contrast to the relative intimacy of the toilets from the first phase, the ones in the annex seem to have a somewhat public character.

The third complex of latrines was located inside the monastery, in the southwest corner of spatial unit no. 94, which was a small courtyard in the western part of the monastic complex (Fig. 36). In a certain period, the corner was occupied by a building (Fig. 105), the layout of which was similar to the sanitary complex in the annex. Unfortunately, due to the poor state of preservation it was possible to securely identify only three toilets, and most likely there were more of them. They were identical in structure to those in the annex, and behind them, along the northern side, there was a corridor permitting removal of sewage from the cesspits. Most likely in a much later period, on a higher occupational level, two toilets were built to the east of the described complex. Their orientation, however, was reversed and they were entered from the north instead of the south.



Fig. 105. Ghazali,
lavatory complex in Room 94
(Artur Obłuski)

In one of the very last phases of existence of the monastic community at Ghazali, three new latrines were added to Rooms 5 and 8 in the eastern part of the monastery, on their eastern sides. They were constructed right above a sewage channel running along the western face of the outer eastern wall of the monastery from Room 2 northward to Room 17 (Fig. 106).

Research on late antique and medieval monasteries from the territories of the Christian *oikoumene* does not provide us with abundant information useful for comparative analysis of latrines. This is, at least in part, a result of the research interests of the investigators, who were much more keen on finding spectacular buildings than toilets. Well preserved toilets were, however, uncovered in Cellia in Hermitage no. 195 (Henein & Wuttmann



Fig. 106. Ghazali,
the latest lavatory installations at the site
(Artur Obłuski)

2000: fig. 214). The latrines at Qasr el-Wizz and in the Northwest Annex at Ghazali were most likely identical.

It would be logical to assume that the zone for defecation should be distant from the food preparation area. Such, in fact, was the location of latrines in Ghazali and Cellia. At Qasr el-Wizz, however, the toilets were directly adjacent to the kitchen – a pattern that was also a rule in Roman houses, as proven by the finds from, for instance, Pompeii, the House on Via dell'Abbondanza, where the way to the latrines was through the kitchen. Sewage was conducted to a cesspit or, through a system of pipes, out into the street (Adam 1994: 307, figs. 691 bottom and 710).

Material evidence of charity performed by monks

Monastic buildings related to charity activities performed by monks are, i.e., *xenodocheia*, *gerokomeia* and *nosokomeia*. The *xenodocheion* was initially a guesthouse for travellers, as well as for the poor and the sick, where food and lodging were free of charge. *Xenodocheia* were frequently attached to monasteries in both town and countryside (Kazhdan & Talbot 1991). However, buildings unambiguously identified as *xenodocheia* are lacking in Nubia.

Bogdan Żurawski suggested on the basis of an inscription found on the wall of Building One in Hambukol that this structure may have been a *gerokomeion* (Żurawski 1999: 424–426, fig. 5). A characteristic architectural feature of *xenodocheia* identified in monasteries in Armenia was the presence of many niches, which the visitors most likely used for stowing their private belongings. Such was the case, for instance, in Dadivank, in a complex dated to the thirteenth century (Fig. 89). While this feature is lacking from Building One in Hambukol, a parallel is found in Room II-AA at Qasr el-Wizz. This hall is difficult to access from the outside – to reach it one had to pass through the kitchen and storage room II-R. This fact may be interpreted in two ways. One option is that access was impeded in order to increase the safety of the visitors. The second interpretation is that since this hall was also connected by another passageway to the monks' quarters, it may have been intended for persons requiring constant care of the monastics, and in such a case we could interpret this hall

as a *nosokomeion* or *gerokomeion*. The hall could have also served as sleeping quarters for lay visitors to the monastery. Lastly, and most likely, it may have been for novices or monastic servants, in which case it was logical to place the dormitory near the service area, since it was the workspace of these members of the monastic community.

Diakonia

An element of key significance to a monastery was the *diakonia*, or the main monastic storeroom. The designation refers not only to the room or rooms, but also to the administrative body in charge of keeping the monastery in good economic condition. The *diakonia* was responsible for the monastery's finances and for managing its property (Layton 2007: 49). It was run by an official called *oikonomos*. The word *diakonia* also had several other meanings, the explanations of which can be found in Ewa Wipszycka's article in the *Coptic Encyclopedia* (Wipszycka 1991b).

It is likely that every monastery had its own *oikonomos* responsible for economic matters (see below). It is, however, difficult to find a *diakonia*, or the main storeroom, in Nubian monasteries. At Qasr el-Wizz, towards the end of the tenth century it may have been located in rooms II-AA, II-BB and II-CC and before that possibly in the sequence of rooms II-VV, II-N, II-O, II-Q next to the monastic courtyard (Fig. 9). All of these rooms were in close proximity to the kitchen and bakery and access to them was easy prior to the construction of the annex to the monastery. Building III-B-C-D may have had a similar function. At the Ghazali monastery, the *diakonia* may have been located in Building 2, as indicated by the presence of a mill and other food production and industrial facilities.

Summary of spatial analysis

Distinctive architectural features defining Nubian coenobitic monasteries are the following structures: an enclosure wall surrounding the complex, a church, a refectory, and a dormitory. In monastic complexes in other

regions, cells built along the monastery wall were also common. These three buildings, and above all the church, determined the spatial layout of other parts of the monastery. The above conclusion finds confirmation in the written sources, which mention that the construction of a monastery began with the erection of a refectory, cells, and a church (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 1107).

The spatial layout of two fully excavated coenobitic Nubian monasteries has traits that one could expect from what could be called a model coenobitic complex. Such a 'model monastery' has the following features:

1. A sector built for the purposes of spiritual life, centred around the churches;
2. Sectors built for meeting the monks' basic needs, which comprise the following:
 - a. the dormitory,
 - b. the refectory,
 - c. the sanitary and bath complex,
 - d. an area for storing and processing food.

Prototypes that inspired the spatial layout of Nubian monasteries are difficult to identify. The most obvious regions in which to begin such a search are Egypt and Byzantium. Despite close ties between Nubian and Egyptian monasticism, paradoxically the Nubian monasteries bear no resemblance to most of their Egyptian predecessors as far as the organisation of space is concerned, perhaps with two exceptions: Deir el-Fakhuri near Esna, and Anba Hadra in Aswan. The dating of the latter is still an object of dispute, but at least according to the current state of research it was established later than Qasr el-Wizz and Ghazali. Ugo Monneret de Villard proposed a dating in the eighth–ninth centuries (Monneret de Villard 1927: 159), and René-Georges Coquin and Maurice Martin – in the seventh century (Coquin & Martin 1991: 744). This monastery may have even been founded by Nubians (Włodzimierz Godlewski, personal communication). However some of the monks were Nubians, as we can learn from their epitaphs (Munier 1930–1931: nos. 7, 26, 28, 49, 50, 127). The monastery was also visited by Nubians, who left inscriptions of paramount importance, such as the sole attestation of the Makurian king Zacharias III (Dijkstra & van der Vliet 2003). Another such text is the so-called

inscription of Kudanbes, revisited recently by Adam Łajtar, who proved beyond doubt that it does not contain a list of members of the Nubian elite who visited the Anba Hadra monastery, but instead it commemorates a visit of the Makurian archbishop Joseph and his secretary (Łajtar forthcoming b).

At the same time it must be underscored that Egypt was the cradle of monasticism, which flourished in that region for two centuries prior to the official conversion of the Nubian kingdoms to Christianity. The first coenobitic community established by Pachomius was not, in the sense of a physical complex of buildings, built from scratch. The founder and his first followers settled in an abandoned village. The monks inhabited separate, sometimes remotely located buildings, and there was no dormitory. In Shenoutean congregations, the monks shared cells with other members of the community, but Shenoute himself and probably other more seasoned monks resided in hermitages built beyond the monastic enclosure wall. Thus, it is clear that it would be difficult to find direct parallels between early Egyptian, for example Pachomian, monasticism, and the Nubian one due to the considerable variety in architectural forms of the former, resulting from its polycentric and highly individualised development. In sixth-century Nubia, coenobitic monasticism may have appeared already in a form that was spatially well planned, well suited to the needs of the community, and in accordance with the monastic rule or other regulations that governed the lives of the monks.

In the eleventh century, a new spatial model emerged in Byzantine monasteries. It consisted of a monastic complex enclosed with a wall and surrounded by numerous estates. Monasteries were constructed according to one architectural scheme regardless of their location in a city or countryside. They usually had a rectangular plan. This architectural scheme gained acceptance and spread throughout the nascent Christian kingdoms of Serbia and Bulgaria (Popović 2001: 130). The church usually occupied a central place inside the walls and was surrounded by additional chapels. The refectory was near the church, usually across from the western entrance. The monks' cells were usually located along the monastery wall. In Nubian coenobitic monasteries, we find affinities to this architectural scheme in the architectural form of refectories and dormitories, as well

as in the addition of a second church. Yet the other buildings and their spatial distribution vary. Uniformity is absent from the spatial models attested in Nubia.

A typical coenobitic monastery in Nubia consisted of several intentionally located and functional building complexes: churches, a dormitory, a refectory, a kitchen with storerooms and food processing areas, and a courtyard for receiving visitors. The architectural form of monasteries was not static. Churches changed following trends in sacral architecture. Dormitories and refectories were enlarged or made smaller depending on the size of the community.

In conclusion, one may risk a statement that the persons or circles that made decisions concerning the establishment of Nubian monasteries drew inspiration from known spatial organisation models and experiences. They also deliberately selected certain spatial and architectural solutions for coenobitic monastic communities, which mirrored their organization. However, there are not many exemplary monasteries on which the Nubians could have patterned their own. If suggestions for dating the Anba Hadra monastery to as early as the sixth century are confirmed (Katarzyna Danys, personal communication), then due to its proximity the Nubian monasteries could have been patterned on it. However, it does not seem to be earlier than Qasr el-Wizz, and in such a case maybe we should rather consider that, contrary to most assumptions, this time the inspirations travelled downstream, not up the Nile.

CHAPTER FOUR

A NUBIAN MONK

THE NOVITIATE

WE HAVE NO DATA ON THE EXISTENCE of the novitiate in Nubian monasticism. It likely did not differ from the Shenoutean solutions, as at the time when the first monks took the habit in Nubia this congregation was the most prominent and authoritative in Egypt. Its influence on Nubia, especially its northern part, is indicated by other evidence discussed in this book. Regardless of the ideal presented in the textual sources, we may assume that the novitiate most likely depended on the social position of the aspiring monk. The abdicating King Solomon received different treatment than someone of humble birth or an ordained cleric.

In Egyptian monasticism, the novitiate in the modern sense did not exist outside the Pachomian and Shenoutean congregations. In most monasteries the communities did not feel the need to codify the rules that governed admission of new members. In hermitages and *laurae* one simply submitted to the care and guidance of an elder (Wipszycka 2018: 338). The process of entering a Pachomian monastery is described in the Rule, in a part referred to as the Precepts, chapt. 49 and 139 (Lefort 1956: 39–60), and in the *Life of Pachomius* (Lefort 1943: 22). Those who wished to be admitted first remained outside the gate for several days learning psalms and the Lord's Prayer, and subsequently they delivered a personal statement. If such individuals were willing to renounce their property, were not runaway slaves, etc., they were taught the monastic rules. After these instructions, they were admitted to the community and received monastic robes. Precept 49 stipulated that

a supplicant should not remain outside the gate for many days, and the Catechesis of Theodore limited this time to a month (Wipszycka 2018: 342).

The removal of worldly garments and putting on monastic robes was a momentous event, yet it lacked a liturgical framework. Shenoute introduced major changes into the process of admission of aspiring monks, i.a. relinquishment of property in written form to avoid claims made by family members. The renouncement of worldly goods was gradual: first, one surrendered personal objects and after 1–3 months – the estate. A significant innovation was a solemn vow, the *diatheke*, which ended the probationary period (Krawiec 2002: 20–21).

The novitiate was also an issue addressed by imperial legislation. Justinian's novel on monasticism regulated various matters, including the founding of monasteries and admitting novices. The novitiate was to last three years and after this time one could take the habit. Justinian also permitted slaves to enter monasteries if they completed their novitiate and their master did not report their breaking the law (Frazee 1982: 272).

DRESS

In textual sources, the monastic lifestyle was compared to that of angels, hence in the medieval period the designation *vestis angelica* became a synonym of the habit (Kłoczowski 2003: 130). Also the rules of Syrian monasteries call this costume the 'holy and angelic dress of the blessed Abba Anthony' (Vööbus 1960: 160, no. 1). The habit was perceived as a symbol of the monastic order. It was given to the novice on admission to the monastery following the shaving of the head.

Symbols of the monastic order, including dress, were universal for the entire Christian community including Nubia. After all, religious beliefs were based on the same set of scriptures and pictorial communications. In order to reconstruct the dress of a Nubian monk one can reach for sources that are few, yet diverse in character: They include wall paintings from an annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola, a graffito and fragments of two terracotta figurines from Ghazali, and rare preserved fragments of textiles from the Ghazali monastery.

Representations of monks in wall paintings, terracotta figurines and graffito feature the following elements of dress (Torallas Tovar 2007):

1. *melote* – a cloak of animal hide (unattested besides painted representations of holy anchorites from outside Nubia – St Onuphrius);
2. *skhema* – scapular;
3. *koukle* – hood;
4. belt;
5. sleeveless tunic;
6. sandals;
7. staff.

Iconographic information may also be derived from wall paintings representing local Church dignitaries. Karel Innemée recognised monastic elements of dress in a representation of the bishop Georgios, at that time probably still in the role of archpriest and *archistylites*, in Room 31 of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H at Dongola. He rightly points out that the staff is not an attribute of Makurian bishops, as it is absent from their representations in Faras (Innemée 2016: 417–418). It appears frequently, however, in representations of holy monks and monk-bishops in Egypt, on the so-called stela of Shenoute from Berlin (Effenberger & Severin 1992), and in a manuscript illustration showing Christ and Shenoute (Leroy 1974: pl. 32). Cyril also mentions a staff in his description of Euthymius (Cyril of Scythopolis, tr. Price 1991: 71 [*Life of Euthymius*, chapter 50]).

Another mural painting identifiable as a representation of a monk is found in Room 1b in the same annex (Martens-Czarnecka 2011: cat. no. 2, MMC-002-01). The figure of the unidentified donor is dressed in a *lebiton* or *kolobion* (sleeveless linen tunic), typical dress worn by monks of Upper Egypt, fastened at the waist with a *sabanum* (long linen scarf), a characteristic element of the outfit of Pachomian monks (Innemée 1992: 99, 102–103, 105–106, pls. 50–53).

Sources from outside Nubia provide more detailed information on monastic garments. The habits of monks in the Judean Desert were most likely dark in colour; Euthymius, for instance, wore a black habit (Cyril of Scythopolis, tr. Price 1991: 70 [*Life of Euthymius*, chapter 50]). In the laura of Gerasimus, the monastic dress consisted of a tunic, cloak and hood

(Hirschfeld 1992: 91). Rule no. 22 of Syrian regulations ascribed to Maruta refers to the distribution of summer and winter robes to monks, implying that monastic clothing was stored (Vööbus 1960: 142, no. 22). Therefore, one might expect a designated space for it in the monastic complex. The monks in Syria most likely walked barefoot within the monastic walls but put on sandals when going outside (Vööbus 1960: 148, no. 4).

The monk's belt was an important and distinctive element of dress. In Egyptian monasticism, its significance is underscored in the tale of Shenoute's belt. One day, the dux asked Shenoute to give him his leather belt as a token of blessing for a military campaign against barbarians (Wipszycka 2014: 346). However, he did not wear it and was twice defeated; when he finally put it on, he had a vision of Shenoute in a luminous cloud, a flaming sword in hand, slaying barbarians; then, he achieved a great victory.

MONKS' SOCIAL ORIGIN

The social makeup of Nubian monastic communities was complex, as far as one can judge from highly fragmentary and scarce textual sources. The careers of Nubian monk-bishops and archimandrites of monasteries were diverse, and their initial stages featured administrative positions of lower rank, for instance the office of *notarios*. They indicate that thanks to a monastic career it was possible to transcend social boundaries and advance from lower classes of society to the elite circles. The Nubian monastic milieu was very open to monks of various origins. It certainly included individuals who saw monastic life as a chance to rise in society despite humble birth, and with a little luck managed to seize this opportunity.

Epitaphs of most monks are very laconic, indicating they likely came from the lower strata of society and spent their lives at the monastery, honing their ascetic virtues. The largest group of stelae from Ghazali feature only the name of the monk, a prayer formula, and the day on which he died. Had these monks been representatives of the elite, their stelae would have included at least a mention of a family member to underscore their high social status. Such was the case of Ioannes, presbyter

and probably monk from Ghazali, who was also a nephew of the bishop (DBMNT 456).

According to Ewa Wipszycka, literary sources convey a notion that Egyptian monasticism was a peasant movement. However, this belief is based on intuition rather than facts, as there are not enough data allowing for statistical analyses concerning the social origin of Egyptian anchorites and coenobites. The linguistic argument, namely that the main language of monasticism was Coptic rather than Greek used by the elite circles, is not decisive, as many monks used Greek, and a part of the sources were written in this language. Wipszycka also points to the existence of a Coptic-speaking elite (Wipszycka 2018: 349–350).

Examples of plebeian and peasant origin of Byzantine monks can be found in hagiographic sources, but their reliability leaves much to be desired. Nonetheless, some of the information they convey may be credible. For instance, a certain Ioannikes was of peasant origin and his occupation was swine herding. Peasant roots are also attested for Peter of Atroa, Paul of Latmus, Euthymius the Younger, and Neophytus of Cyprus. In turn, from elite stock were Plato, Theodore Studites, Theophanes, Alexius Mosele, St Anthony the Younger, Michael Maleinos, and many others (Charanis 1971: 76–77). In Byzantium we also have examples of emperors who became monks, though not always voluntarily. Twelve former emperors entered monasteries, and three of them: Michael IV of Paphlagonia (1010–1041), Isaac I Comnenus (*ca.* 1005–1061), and John VI Cantacuzenus (1294/5–1383) probably did so willingly (Charanis 1971: 76–77). Also kings of Makuria, namely Solomon (Vantini 1975: 332) and probably also Zacharias (Vantini 1975: 41) joined the monastic order. If this was a step taken by kings and members of royal families, then we can also expect that other representatives of elites in medieval Nubia did so as well. Evidence of noble origin of monks may be found in inscriptions containing a *cursus honorum* that begins with a high-rank position, for instance in the epitaph of Marianou, the bishop of Faras (d. 1036) (*I. QI* 20). We learn from it that the bishop was archimandrite of the monastery in Pouko, ambassador to Babylon, as well as owner of a church of the Four Apocalyptic Creatures on Teme Island.

DIET

Due to the lack of textual sources, a reconstruction of diet in Nubian monasteries can be based solely on archaeological data from the monasteries of Ghazali and Kom H in Dongola, as well as on analyses of isotopes of carbon ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$) and nitrogen ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$) conducted on skeletal remains of monks from Ghazali. This research was conducted over the course of several decades. The first study of faunal remains at the monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola was conducted in the 1990s. Among the identified specimens were the bones of sheep/goat, antelope and gazelle (*G. thomsoni* and *G. dorcas*), as well as cattle. Bogdan Żurawski quotes the research conducted by Alicja Lasota-Moskalewska as follows (Żurawski 1989–1990: 332):

(...) the main source of meat for the inhabitants of (the monastery) were gazelles which were rife. Domesticated animals come in second place. Animal husbandry was rather homogenous, with a strong predominance of sheep. Cattle was probably bred on a marginal scale. Pigs apparently were not bred, or at least pork does not seem to have been consumed in the monastery either due to a religious taboo or to environmental conditions.

It seems that this conclusion may have been premature, since it was based only on data obtained for one area of the monastery. Moreover, the part of the monastic complex where the material was collected was not, according to recent studies, a space used for food processing and preparation of meals. The refectory, in fact, is located in the opposite, northwest corner of the monastery. Subsequent research conducted on material from the southern part of the monastery on Kom H by Marta Osypińska gave the following results: The most numerous were sheep (*Ovis orientalis* f. domestica) and goat (*Capra aegagrus* f. domestica), which constituted almost 58% of the identified remains; cattle (*Bos primigenius* f. domestica) formed 35% of the assemblage, and pig only 3.5% (Osypińska 2008: 376). The absence of bird, fish or mollusc remains, present at other sites at Old Dongola, e.g. on Kom A (Osypińska 2008: 377), is puzzling but probably results from the sample collection strategy. The bones bear traces of precooking treatment, like the burning of the epiphysis of the lower proximal limb of cattle, and

traces of cuts on the diaphysis of long bones testify to portioning of the carcass (Osypińska 2008: 382). Adam Łajtar reported an ostrakon from the monastery on Kom H in Dongola, in which 594 breads are mentioned. Also, numerous amphorae found at the same monastery were inscribed ‘wine for the Great Trinity’ in Old Nubian (Jakobielski 2001b: 276).

Studies on animal bones from Ghazali were conducted by Urszula Iwaszczuk. Faunal remains of both small and large ruminants and pigs, deposited in the monastic pantry, came from parts of the carcass preferred for consumption, but also from the head, where meat is scarce. The size of the remains and a single butchery mark point to the post-consumption character of the assemblage. Interestingly, as in the monastery on Kom H, the collected material included bones of gazelle with evidence of consumption. During the first excavations on the site of Ghazali, Peter Shinnie found archer’s looses (Obłuski 2018: 161), which may also indicate that monks or service staff hunted game.

Archaeobotanical research at Ghazali, conducted by Adéla Pokorná from Charles University in Prague, indicated the presence of several interesting plant species in the monastic storerooms. Bins of unbaked clay in a pantry located in room 79 and dated to the twelfth century had in their bottom parts stones of dates (*Phoenix dactylifera*) and grapes (*Vitis vinifera*). The latter were also found in a funerary context, in burial T.001.N. One monastic cell (Room 67) yielded dried seeds of portulaca (*Portulaca oleracea*), *Euphorbia aegyptiaca* and African cabbage (*Cleome gynandra*). Portulaca is commonly used since antiquity. Its healing properties were praised by Pliny the Elder, who suggested wearing it as an amulet (*Historia naturalis* 20.210). Its nutritional and medicinal properties are due to a substantial content of Omega-3 acids, but also its juice has laxative and digestive properties (Megaloudi 2005: 73–82). Portulaca is consumed in Sudan even today. Its Arabic name is *rigla*, and it is usually served in the form of a vegetable stew, sometimes with added meat. Euphorbia is now called *Umm Leban* in Arabic. In Sudan it is mostly found on the banks of the Nile and it is used in herbal medicine until today. Due to its antiseptic properties it is used to treat arthritis, rheumatism, skin rashes and inflammations (Abo-dola & Lutfi 2016: 70). The latex of most *Euphorbiae* is highly irritant, but it is also used internally for expelling parasites from the digestive tract and externally for treating snake bites and scorpion stings

(Schmelzer *et al.* 2008). The last of the identified plants, African cabbage, is usually served like *rigla* in the form of a vegetable stew. It is rich in folic and ascorbic acids, calcium, as well as iron and vitamin E. It has antioxidant and anti-inflammatory properties and it is also used in folk medicine (Broun *et al.* 1929). All these finds are, nonetheless, scarce at the monastery. Given the context and properties of the plants, one can risk a conclusion that the community used them for medicinal purposes, as they were found in a monk's cell and not in a context associated with the production and consumption of food.

Isotope analyses of material coming from the monastic cemetery at Ghazali were conducted by Robert Stark. 32 individuals from the monastic Cemetery 2 at Ghazali were sampled for isotopic analysis. Carbon ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$) and nitrogen ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$) isotopic values from collagen were gathered for the reconstruction of monastic diet. The carbon isotope helps determine if a diet was based on C₃ plants like barley, wheat, legumes and most fruits and vegetables, or C₄ plants like sorghum, millet and maize, while nitrogen reflects the contribution of animal protein sources. The analyses indicate significant variation in the diet within the monastic community, both in the amount of consumed meat and in the domination of C₃ or C₄ plants. The $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values are similar to those obtained from other sites in Nubia, mainly Wadi Halfa and Kerma, but slightly more positive than in the Egyptian Nile Valley and other monastic sites in the Near East (Gregoricka & Sheridan 2013), which may account for a greater contribution of C₄ sorghum and millet to the diet (Ciesielska *et al.* forthcoming).

Outside Nubia, monastic diet and alimentary habits of monks are reconstructed on the basis of textual sources and archaeological evidence. It is important to note that despite the existence of alimentary rules common to all ascetics, monastic communities created their own guidelines regarding consumption of food. Economic status of the monastery may dictate the types and quality of the foodstuffs. Monastic literature places abundant emphasis on the statement that monks should avoid luxury at all cost, also in food consumption.

Byzantine *typika* recommend two meals a day, each consisting of modest amounts of bread, pulses, vegetables, olive oil, wine or water. The main meal (*ἄριστον*) was consumed after the morning Service, in the late morning or around noon (Talbot 2007: 112–114). However, three meals were the norm

on non-fasting days at monasteries of Pakourianos or Kecharitomene. Meal times need not have been fixed, as there were many factors that determined the order of each day of the year, for instance the liturgical calendar, which imposed fasting (Thomas 2000: 1697). Thomas points out in the chapter on early monastic rules in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* that some rules concerning diets were universal for Byzantine monasticism: among them were equal food rations for all monks and a ban on consuming food in secret (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 34).

The mainstay of diet of Byzantine monks was bread made from wheat and barley (C3). Monks living in urban monasteries had limited access to agriculture, but in monastic gardens and orchards they grew fruit, vegetables and herbs (C3), the latter for the purposes of not just the monks but also people from the outside (Talbot 2002). Monastic rules usually encouraged monks to abstain from meat consumption. Byzantine *typika* recommend excluding it entirely from the menu (Thomas 2000: 1696). An exceptional situation was illness or weakness of the monk – in such cases meat constituted an element of diet that was to restore vital strength to the body. Special rules applied to monks who carried out strenuous physical labours. For instance, the Rule of Athanasius the Athonite for the Laura monastery allotted extra rations of bread and wine to smiths, mule drivers, shipyard workers, carpenters and bakers (Thomas 2000: 1716). Monastic superiors had the right to grant exemptions from the dietary regime. The head of a monastic community could also use his prerogatives to make decisions regarding diet of the weak and sick. Conversely, Pakourianos gave the prior a right to impose limits on fasting on those who displayed excessive zeal in this aspect of ascetic life (Thomas 2000: 1716).

In Palestine, diet seems to have been one of the factors that distinguished two different monastic models: anchorites did not consume cooked meals. In an anecdote from the fifth century, anchorites in the laura of Gerasimus wanted to eat cooked food in their cells. Gerasimus responded that if this was their wish they should live in a coenobium (Heiska 2003: 36). Palestinian monks cultivated vegetables (λάχανα) and pulses (ὄσπρια), lupine (θέρμος), peas (πισάριον), gourds (κολοκύνθια) (Hirschfeld 1992: 86–88), locust bean, also known as St John's bread (κεράτια), dates (φωινίκια), grapes, apples and peaches (Harlow & Smith 2015) and collected various plants

available in the local ecosystems, such as mallow, *Gundelia tournefortii*, and asphodel (*Asphodelus microcarpus*) (Binns 1994: 107). Relatively low values of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ obtained in the study of monks from the monastery of St Steven in Jerusalem indicate that the staple diet was based primarily on C_3 plants. This is in agreement with textual sources, which describe a C_3 -based diet consisting of bread made from wheat and barley, as well as vegetables and fruit (Gregoricka & Sheridan 2013: 63). Similarly, the higher values of $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ in humans as compared to the local fauna point to regular consumption of animal protein, such as eggs, cheese, milk, possibly fish, *garum* or meat. Sozomen writes about *boskoi*, monks comparable to modern-day vegans with a strict approach to the regimen, eating only plants they had foraged. They were compared to grazing animals, hence their designation (Sozomen, tr. Walford 1855: 299 [book VI, chapter 33]). Arthur Vööbus suggests that in some monastic circles vegetarian ideals were popular; for instance, according to a tradition ascribed to Jacob of Nisibis (d. 338), a monk should consume only products that are not the products of human labour, like wild fruit and vegetables. Some communities only ate bread made of barley or millet and rejected wheat (Vööbus 1958–1988: vol. II, 262–264).

Textual sources concerning Egyptian monasticism give the impression that the diet of monks was practically devoid of animal by-products; cheese, eggs, and especially fish and meat were reserved for the sick (Rousseau 1985: 84–85). In the Pachomian dossier we find monastic herdsmen and cattle drivers, one may therefore conclude, following Maria Dembińska, that monastic property also included cattle, sheep and goats (Dembińska 1985: 437). Due to their size, Shenoutean monasteries are not the best reference point, but it is worth mentioning that food was served in different places: refectories (μα νογῶν), hospitals, and gatehouses (μα μτρο) (Layton 2002: 34–38). Shenoute's monks ate squatting in groups around circular tables. Cooked food was prepared once a week and the meal was the same for each member of the community. The rich were to eat the same things as the poor, but exceptions could be made for the sake of persuasion or overcoming evil (Layton 2002: 45). Meat and wine were generally forbidden. Monks in their cells could consume an additional evening meal consisting of bread and condiments. A sick monk stayed in the infirmary, in the care of nurses and doctors. Food for the sick was

more abundant than for healthy monks, and it was prepared in a different kitchen (Layton 2007: 47). Archaeological research permitted to identify 49 species of edible plants in the monasteries of St Epiphanius, Phoibammon and Kom en-Nana (Luff 2007: 162). The faunal remains identified at Kom en-Nana belonged to chickens (*Gallus gallus* f. *domestica*), pigeons and doves (*Columba* sp. and *Streptopelia* sp.), duck (*Anas crecca*), quail (*Coturnix coturnix*), as well as beef, pork, goat and mutton. However, it cannot be determined unambiguously if these are remains of meals consumed by monks or by lay residents and visitors to the monastery (Luff 2007: 166). Salted fish were found in Cellia (Egloff 1977: 114, no. 172), at the monastery of St Phoibammon in the Thebaid (el-Duweini 1961: 55–56), and in Bawit (Maspero & Drioton 1931: 44). It is clear, therefore, that there was a major difference between the image presented by textual sources and daily life.

ECONOMY

Monastic communities were by definition oriented toward divine service by renouncement of family ties and the world of earthly pleasures, by curbing physical needs like consumption, sleep and sexual desire, and by focusing on spiritual life centred on prayer. The fundamental duties of a monk were poverty and obedience. Physical labour became from the start one of the cornerstones of monastic life in the Egyptian milieu, as a way to provide for subsistence. However, income from such activities was rather not the basis of a monk's livelihood.

Late antique and medieval Christian monasteries played several roles in the economy of their time. They accumulated wealth and functioned as landowners, taxpayers, producers, consumers, employers, and charity institutions. Accumulation of wealth was necessary for helping those in need: the poor, the sick, children and the elderly. Local communities interacted with monasteries on different planes, and these relations were not only spiritual or religious, but also economic in nature. Exchange was conducted through barter, sale or gifts – livestock, foodstuffs and manufactured goods – also with neighbouring urban centres. Let us imagine a large monastery of *ca.* 100 monks located near a medium-sized town. Such a community was likely

the most important consumer of goods, especially foodstuffs, comparable only to an army garrison if one was stationed in the area. Also, although a monastery produced its own food, it needed the support of manpower recruited from the local labour market. Monasteries were, therefore, vital elements of local markets. Despite the monasteries' ostensible focus on spiritual life, economic activity played an important role, and the larger the monastery, the greater was its significance. Each new member of the community raised the level of difficulty involved in managing the whole group of monks and at the same time increased its economic potential. It was, therefore, necessary to have good managerial staff at different organisational levels: from the head, i.e. the prior, to monks managing individual activities like animal husbandry, food production, etc.

Most monasteries were not stable institutions. In order to survive, the monastic movement and especially coenobitic communities needed starting funds and landed property or regular donations. If a developing community received a land donation and chose not to lease out the plot but to manage it directly, it had to organise the entire process of sowing, irrigation and harvest. This meant imposing new duties on the monks or hiring workers to perform these tasks, and they, in turn, had to be supervised. Also, proper facilities were needed, for instance storerooms, as well as tools. Key for the functioning and maintenance of monasteries was, therefore, the charisma and managerial skill of the superior. The consequences of having a leader that lacked these traits could be disastrous for a community.

Monasteries and individual monks had various sources of income. They received donations from members of the elite, as well as persons who entered the monastery or expressed gratitude for something the monks did for them with contributions in money, in kind or in real estate, as well as tax relief. Evidence for this outside Nubia is plentiful. For instance, Emperor Zeno bestowed a grain subvention on Scetis (Evelyn-White 1926–1933: vol. II, 226). Against Church proscriptions, the monks also charged interest on loans (Markiewicz 2009). Sale of monastic property could also be a source of funds. Justinian aimed to preserve the wealth of monasteries by prohibiting alienation of land and houses in their possession (Novel 7 from 535), but the fact that this law came into being serves as proof that such sales did occur. In the light of Nestorian Church regula-

tions (Nestorian synod of 576) everyone who established a monastery also had to support it (Chabot 1902: 124–125).

Monasteries not only supported members of their communities, but also engaged in charitable activities to aid the underprivileged in local society. Thus, even if monasteries relied on donations from elite circles for their support, they also had to engage in additional endeavours in order to generate a surplus. This surplus could later be used in charity work. It was therefore necessary to accumulate assets, so that both the monastery and its charity projects could endure in times of crisis.

Therefore, in cases for which the spiritual factor, like the Christianisation of a given area, was not decisive, most monasteries were founded in places that offered opportunities of economic growth, for instance on a major trade route. Good examples of this are the Syrian monasteries of Simeon Stylites the Elder and Simeon Stylites the Younger. Over time they became pilgrimage centres that stimulated the local economy or generated it from scratch. Such circumstances inevitably led monastic communities to strife and entanglement – precisely what the first ascetics wished to escape from by renouncing the world with its interpersonal dependencies. Despite nominal renouncement of the world at large, monks could in extreme cases enter into patron – client relations in both the spiritual and the economic spheres.

The sixth century in Byzantium seems to be a pivotal moment in the history of monasticism, when monasteries become the main receivers of donations granted by the elites (Heiska 2003: 95). Over time, the Church became one of the most important landholders in Byzantium. Nestorian monasteries, on the other hand, were both economic and religious institutions. They were among the richest and most powerful organisations in late Sassanid Iraq and Iran. These monasteries maintained close relations with state authorities despite religious differences, and their social position was, at least in part, the result of their key role in local economies (Villagomez 1998: 183). They actively engaged in economic exchange, owned land and accumulated wealth. Monks often received donations from laymen and Church dignitaries. The *Book of Governors* talks at length about the fate of the monastery of Beth 'Abhe, which shows that monasteries were not stable institutions and experienced periods of economic prosperity as well as crises. The

economic mainstay of this monastery was agriculture, above all olives and wheat, which, according to Cynthia Jan Villagomez, even in combination with donations did not give the community much stability. This is indicated by stories of moments when the community was unable to support itself and the monastery's debts were paid by gracious donors who, in so doing, solved the problem at least for the time being (Villagomez 1998: 178). The economic situation of the monastery as presented in the *Book of Governors* seems extremely volatile: in the first quarter of the seventh century, the community consisted of 80 monks, but over the subsequent two decades it rose to 300. Toward the end of the century, in turn, in a time of crisis, the monastery was temporarily dissolved due to a severe drought (Villagomez 1998: 152). From the tenth century onwards, a significant increase in the wealth of monasteries can be noted in Byzantium. They accumulated substantial property (Talbot 1991c). Important sources of income were numerous donations in exchange for care for donors at the end of their days and/or for their commemoration after death. Christians believed that money spent on philanthropy was an investment to be repaid with a promise of Heaven (Laiou 1996: 442). Donations to monasteries, however, may be interpreted as pious offerings or as payment for services. Grants and gifts were almost always given with an expectation of reciprocity and often it is hard to make a distinction between a gift or grant and payment.

From Egypt we have many attestations of secular donations to monasteries. They are often found in wills stating that the heirs are to hand over real estate or sums of money to monasteries (Wipszycka 2018: 459–460). There is no direct confirmation of gifts/grants offered to monasteries in Nubia, yet the charitable activities of the Christian community are well known. There are several attestations of churches as recipients of goods (Łajtar & Ochala 2015) or churches owned and most probably founded by individuals, for instance a deacon, priests (also a daughter of a priest), bishops, high court officials, and a king (Łajtar & van der Vliet 1998). Thus, we can presume that also monasteries were recipients of such pious donations. Archaeology delivers some clues as well. The Ghazali monastery was built in a single act of founding as a ready-to-operate monastic complex. Given the scale of the investment, the search for likely founders leads directly to the king.

From Nubia we have two texts indicating ownership of land by individual monks and monasteries. One is a land sale found in Qasr Ibrim. The location of the plot in question is described as follows (*P. QI III 39*):

And as for the plot, firstly, on the west is the land of the Michael-Church, in lupine, **and there is the land of Abba Nal**; on the east is the land of the Michael-Church, and there is the land of the inhabitants of Faras, below the George-Church of Ibrim West, according to the great survey of Chael-Songoja.

The second attestation is an unpublished text found at the Qasr el-Wizz monastery (no. 65-II-105), which contains a list of landed property belonging to the monastery of Apa Dioscorus and most likely the rents charged in kind for each of them in annual cycles starting with the month of Thoth (Tsakos forthcoming). Of particular interest in this document is the fact that the monastic property was spread over a distance of *ca.* 100 km along the Nile, upstream from the city of Primis (Qasr Ibrim) to Adindan. The fact that the monastery leased out its agricultural property suggests limited direct involvement of monks in agriculture in Nubia. The lack of involvement of monks in cultivation works is in agreement with the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, where Abba Poemen discourages monks from taking part in such activities, since they should withdraw from the world and, as harvest and agricultural works were communal works, monks could be tempted (Wipszycka 1972: 200–202, after Apophthegm Poemen 22 [596]). Yet this ideal depiction of monastic life in Egypt did not have a lot in common with reality. Monks owned plots of land since a very early period (Choat 2009), and the Pachomian *koine* cultivated not only the land it owned but also the plots it leased. Monasteries were important land-owners and cultivators in Late Antique Egypt, as attested, for example, in the dossier from Bawit (Wegner 2016).

In Egyptian and Western monasticisms, physical labour may have played a major role in the economy of the community. However, whether the workload in carrying out these tasks indeed rested on the monks' shoulders, or if monks rather played the role of supervisors or managers of labours carried out by the monastery as an economic entity, is a question that is difficult to answer and requires further research. Naturally, for the

period of early monasticism we have many textual sources, especially concerning the Pachomian and Shenoutean communities, indicating that the monks carried out most of the works themselves. On the other hand, for instance the monastery of Naqlun is known to have housed twice as many laymen as monks, and it is beyond doubt that monastics, who highly valued the role of work in life, would not allow for a group of able people to remain idle at the monastery. Monks certainly carried out a part of the labours, like collecting reeds, or peeling leaves from palm branches to obtain palm ribs (*jariḍ*). They also ground grain to flour and baked bread (Layton 2002: 33).

The physical labour of monks appears very early in monastic literature, for instance in *Apophthegmata Patrum* and Basil of Caesarea's instructions on ascetic life, in which the author encouraged monks to work for a living (Basil of Caesarea, tr. Wagner 1950: 306–311 [*Long rules*, 37]). Also in Nestorian monasteries the rules of Abraham of Kashkar or Babaiḥ the Great promote a strong work ethic (Villagomez 1998: 131). However, Constantinopolitan monks were engaged in manual labour only in the Mar Mare monastery (Hatlie 2007: 148). The founder led them by example, by doing handcrafts and later agricultural work. Craftsmanship was not the mainstay of the monastic economy. Philippe Escolan calls physical labour *petit travail* and argues that it was not the economic basis of Syrian monks' livelihood and existence (Escolan 1999: 184). Revenue from work was a bonus. Regulations of monastic communities concerning this topic varied; usually a fixed share of the monk's income went to the monastic coffers and the rest filled the working individual's purse.

Material proof of physical labour carried out in Nubian monasteries is found at Qasr el-Wizz, the monastery on Kom H at Dongola, and Ghazali. However, each time one is compelled to ask if it is certainly proof of work done by monks and not other individuals permanently or temporarily staying within the monastic walls. In any case, this evidence is not common, one could therefore suggest that as far as physical labour was concerned, the Nubian monasteries were more similar to Syrian ones.

Apart from relatively simple forms of labour, like spinning or leatherwork, monks were involved in delivery of services that required a good education, e.g. notarial work, or experience, like iron smelting or production of clay objects. The contiguity and contemporaneity of the Ghazali mon-

astery to one of the iron smelting centres in the area give strong grounds for a claim that the monks were associated with this industry. Even the superstructures of some of the monks' tombs were made of slag and refuse from iron production. At Banganarti there is an inscription that seems to mention a blacksmith monk (Żurawski 2012: 303).¹ Clay objects were crafted in Room 8 in the northeast corner of the monastic complex on Kom H at Dongola. According to Bogdan Żurawski, this space was used in production of sepulchral crosses and ceramic sepulchral stelae (Żurawski 1989–1990). In Room 2 of the same complex a pottery stamp was found. It was definitely used to impress the bottoms of pottery bowls, which are attested all over Nubia (Żurawski 1989–1990: 340, fig. 15). Two intriguing objects were recovered during excavations at the Ghazali monastery. Both of them are fragmentarily preserved figurines of monks made of fired clay (Obłuski *et al.* 2018; Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 26, pl. 9). They were probably devotional items taken from the holy site by visiting pilgrims. Yet, for this thesis to be positively confirmed, such figurines would have to be found on at least one archaeological site other than the Ghazali monastery, where they were supposedly produced or at least commissioned by the monastery and then sold/given away. Otherwise, we have to assume they served the monastic community of Ghazali.

Nubian monks were also involved in the delivery of services that demanded a high level of education, such as those of a *notarios*. In Byzantium, a *notarios* was originally an official responsible for preparation of the minutes of important meetings, and later his duty was to register transactions and certify documents. Then, by the fourteenth or fifteenth century, *notarioi* assumed the role of public notaries (Kazhdan & Cutler 1991: 1495). From Egypt we have an attestation of a monk-*notarios* engaged in organising a lease of beehives (Clackson 1996: no. 29). Another text collected by Sarah Clackson mentions an 'office (literally place) of a *notarios*', which was most likely located in a monastery (Clackson 1996: no. 72).

Monks were also employed in the state administration. For instance, John Vincomalos was at the same time a civil servant and a monk in the

¹ Żurawski rejects Łajtar's reading 'blacksmith' in favour of Sideros, name of a female demon defeated by Solomon. Blacksmiths also appear in Egypt on a list of monks working in Bawit (MASPERO & DRIOTON 1931: no. 428).

monastery of Bassianou (Hatlie 2007: note 47) The same phenomenon seems to have occurred in Nubia. It is attested in the following sources:

1. Epitaphs of Georgiou (I. 2I 20) and Marianou (I. 2I 21) bishops of Phrim (Primis, Qasr Ibrim). Georgiou was a *notarios* of the eparch during his career, while Marianou was *archinotarios* (chief of notaries) of the eparch;

2. Epitaph with the *cursus honorum* of Stephanos, who was first a *notarios* and subsequently became the archimandrite of the monastery of Mary in Timaeie (I. Varsovie 110).

An unpublished letter (65-II-103) from the eparch of Nobadia and Seven Lands to another eparch, found in one of the cells at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz, suggests that either monasteries served as chanceries of state officials, or monks were hired by elites for their knowledge of languages and writing skills.

A feature of the entire Christian *oikoumene* was a 'spiritual economy', as part of which the monks performed various services, like intercession on someone's behalf to God, or a prayer for the success of a venture or event. In addition, they provided magical services. A monk, through his status of living outside the society and spending life on prayer and spiritual development, was perceived as someone close to God and thus endowed with some of His powers. As a result, also the prayers of monks were considered more effective. Monks delivered what we may call spiritual services – prayers for someone or something, or posthumous commemoration – for which they received gifts in money or in kind. Profits for the monks need not have taken the form of direct payment for such services. Gratitude could be expressed by means of gifts that need not have been related directly to an effective prayer, and they were not necessarily offered on that particular occasion. Nonetheless, from Egypt we know the example of Frange, a monk who requests goods promised in exchange for an effective plea to God on someone's behalf (Boud'hors & Heurtel 2010). According to a papyrus document, in exchange for a donation a physician from Antinoe was to be buried at the monks' cemetery and his name was to be entered in the list of the deceased for whom the monks offered their prayers (P. Cair. Masp. II 67151; Wipszycka 2011: 167, note 11). Another piece of evidence is a reference to a man from Aila (Sinai), who gave a monk

named Joseph three silver coins so that Joseph would pray for his ship, which he had sent to Ethiopia (Regnault 1970: 191).

From Egypt we have fairly unambiguous textual evidence that monks engaged in magical practices. Apa Victor, for instance, put a curse on Alo, daughter of Aese and Phoibammon (P. Mich. inv. 3565; Meyer *et al.* 1999: no. 104). The *Canon of Pseudo-Athanasius* mentions clerics who use books of spells (Frankfurter 2001: 499, note 60; Riedel & Crum 1904: 47 and 135). Monks used them as well – a collection of magical texts was found in the monastery of St Epiphanius in Thebes (Kropp 1930: vol. I, 50–54; vol. II, 31–40).

In Nubia, manifestations of involvement of monks in magical practices are amulets. Two small fragments of parchment from Qasr el-Wizz, one containing an abbreviated version of *Liber Institutionis Michaelis* and the other names of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Tsakos forthcoming; objects nos. 65-10-59 and 65-11-104), as well as a potsherd from Ghazali, also bearing the names of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, seem to have served magical purposes. Alexandros Tsakos, who is working on a publication of these finds, stated as follows: ‘the specific function of the names of the martyrs is confirmed by the fact that the piece of parchment on which they were written is cut at the corners, suggesting it was put in an enclosed, limited space, probably an amulet’. There are also several other amulets found in Christian Nubia and they, together with the primary interpretation of the architectural remains by William Adams, may point to the presence of a monastery at Meinarti (Ruffini 2012). A spectacular testimony is the crypt in the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola, where canonical texts (the Gospels) were used to secure the passage of the soul of the deceased from our world to eternity (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017). Also verses of psalms played the role of amulets; they appear as private, portable ones, as well as stationary ones placed on walls of rooms.

Amulets, both portable and stationary, are often expressions of the cult of specific holy figures. The most striking example from the Middle Nile Valley is the cult of angels, immensely popular in medieval Nubia. It is attested through designations of churches and monasteries, as well as through a huge number of cryptograms and names of archangels written in abbreviated and expanded form. The most frequently attested among them was Archangel Michael. The names of angels and saints were consid-

ered powerful weapons for repelling evil powers. Inscriptions mentioning them are found virtually everywhere: on pottery vessels, walls of buildings, or even tattoos, like the one found on the inner right thigh of a woman buried in a cemetery on site 3-J-23 near the modern city of et-Tereif (Vandenbeusch & Daniel 2015). Particularly numerous are cryptograms inscribed on sets of pottery vessels found in the Ghazali monastery (Ochała forthcoming a) and in the Northwest Annex of the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Łajtar & Pluskota 2001).

SPIRITUAL LIFE

The Bible constituted the cornerstone of monastic spirituality.² In Egypt, and generally in monastic circles, the Old Testament was highly esteemed and referred to more often than the New Testament (Wipszycka 2018: 150). The known published and unpublished fragments of the Old Testament (as well as New Testament) found in Nubia were collected by Adam Łajtar (Łajtar 2015–2016: 127–131). Most of them are psalms, which were clearly an important element of monastic religious practice, from liturgy to magic (Table 3). Psalms must have had a major impact on the form of worship. They were read, recited, and sung on various occasions. Singing and reciting psalms constituted the musical framework of all liturgical celebrations, not just the Eucharistic liturgy. As an example he cites an inscription found in a funerary context in one of the rooms of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola. It contains Psalm 129, which most likely formed part of the Nubian funerary liturgy. Psalms and odes are sometimes bilingual, written in Greek and Old Nubian, both in manuscripts and on walls of sacral buildings. They testify to the practice of performing them by two performers, whether they were two people or two choirs (Łajtar 2015–2016: 141–143). An inscription suitable for a baptismal context was found in the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz. It was a fragment of the ode sung by the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace (Dan 3:57–81), which

² The tables below (3–5) list written sources found in Nubia in monastic contexts. They were created on the basis of a compilation of sources prepared and presented by Adam Łajtar in a paper on literary texts known to Nubians in the medieval period, with his approval.

Table 3.
Passages from the Old Testament
attested in Nubia

No.	<i>Original text</i>	<i>Text in Nubia</i>
1	2 Kgs 2:12 = 2 Kgs 13:14 + Eccl 4:12	Inscription on a wall of one of the rooms in the so-called Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola. Unpublished.
2	Ps 16:1	Inscription on a wall of a room in the northwest part of the monastery church on Kom H in Dongola. Unpublished.
3	Ps 29	Inscription on a wall of one of the rooms in the so-called Southwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola. Unpublished.
4	Ps 90:1-6	Ostrakon found in Meinarti, originally most likely an amulet (Ruffini 2012: 297-298, fig. 7).
5	Ps 90:7-11	Ostrakon found in Meinarti, originally most likely an amulet (Ruffini 2012: 292-297, fig. 6).
6	Ps 96	Inscription on a wall of one of the rooms in the so-called Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola. Unpublished.
7	Ps 100:6-8	Ostrakon found in Meinarti, originally most likely an amulet (Ruffini 2012: 288-289, no. 6, fig. 4).
8	Ps 100:7	Ostrakon found in Meinarti, originally most likely an amulet (Ruffini 2012: 290-292, no. 9, fig. 5).
9	Ps 129:2-8	Inscription painted on a wall of one of the rooms in the so-called Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Browne 2006: 25-27; Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017).
10	Dan 3:57-81 (Ode 8)	Inscription on the inner wall of a baptismal tank in the monastery church at Qasr el-Wizz (Barns 1974: 206-211, pl. XI).
11	Jer 26:13-18	Fragments of a leaf of parchment (from a codex?) found at the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.

Table 4.
Passages from the New Testament
attested in Nubia

No.	<i>Original text</i>	<i>Text in Nubia</i>
1	Incipits from the Four Gospels	Inscription on the south wall of the so-called Anchorite's Grotto (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: 88, no. 25, pls. LXIV 2, LXX 25).
2	Matt 1:1–2 and 28:20	Inscription on the west wall of a tomb under chapel no. 5 of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: no. 8).
3	Matt 6:9–13 [<i>Pater Noster</i>], preceded by the Constantinopolitan Creed in Greek and a series of invocations to Archangel Michael in Old Nubian	Inscription painted on a wall of one of the rooms of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola. Unpublished.
4	Mark 1:1–2 and 16:20	Inscription on the north wall of a tomb under chapel no. 5 of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: no. 11).
5	Luke 1:1–4 and 24:53	Inscription on the east wall of a tomb under chapel no. 5 of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: no. 12).
6	John 1:1–3 and 21:25	Inscription on the south wall of a tomb under chapel no. 5 of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: no. 15).
7	Acts 5:28–36; 11:8–17; 15:13–18; 15:22–29; 18:4–13	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
8	Heb 5:4	Graffito on a wall of one of the rooms of the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Łajtar 2001a).

Table 5.
Apocryphal texts attested in Nubia

No.	Original text	Text in Nubia
1	Letter of Jesus to King Abgar	Anchorite's Grotto in Faras (F. Ll. Griffith 1927: 88).
2	Sayings of Jesus	Parchment fragments found at the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
3	<i>Oratio Mariae (ad Bartos)</i>	Inscription on a wall of the crypt of Georgios, Northwest Annex, monastery on Kom H, Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017).
5	Ps. Cyril of Jerusalem, <i>On the Acceptance of the Cross</i>	Parchment fragments found at the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
6	Ps. Cyril of Jerusalem, <i>Dormitio Mariae</i>	Inscription on a wall of the crypt of Georgios, Northwest Annex, monastery on Kom H, Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017).
7	Ps. Evodius of Rome, <i>Dormitio Mariae</i>	Inscription on a wall of the crypt of Georgios, Northwest Annex, monastery on Kom H, Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017).
8	<i>Liber Institutionis Michaelis</i>	Parchment fragments found at the monastery at Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
9	Sayings of Jesus	Entire codex found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz.

was placed inside a baptismal tank inserted into the floor of an existing church in the second phase of its use. The function of the inscription inside the basin is difficult to interpret. Adam Łajtar and Agata Deptuła discuss other inscriptions located in places where it would be hard if not impossible to read them (personal communication) and conclude that the function and importance of such texts was related to their location, not to the fact they were supposed to be read. On the one hand, they sanctified the place in which they were written and, on the other hand, they gained religious importance from the holy character of their setting.

Ecclesiastes 4.12 and Psalm 16.1 are expressions of piety of the writers, who used them to profess their trust in God as a guarantor of safety. Psalm 29 also alludes to faith in God and His power, and compares His might and the strength of His voice to those who wield power on Earth. Fragments of some psalms were used in amulets: Psalm 90 speaks about the power of divine wrath, and Psalm 100 about His kindness. It is clear that the chosen psalms are expressions of piety of the people who wrote or commissioned the inscriptions. The faithful prayed to God for protection, extolling His goodness and trusting in His power and strength. The monastic context does not mean that all inscriptions were written by monks. They were left in places accessible also to non-monastics, who were their likely authors. As for ostraka, one wonders if the monks prepared these amulets for their own use or for others. The second option seems more probable, given the social status of monks and the general conviction, probably prevalent also among monks, that monastics were closer to God. One may risk a statement that the monks themselves were perceived as ‘amulets’.

Fragments of the New Testament also appear in magical and apotropaic contexts. Such was the role of incipits of the four canonical Gospels recorded in burial crypts: in Ukma (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2015), in two crypts at Qasr Ibrim south of the cathedral (*I. QI* 91 [DBMNT 801, 962–967] and 92 [DBMNT 958–961]), in Old Dongola (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017). The use of Gospel incipits in Nubia, however, went beyond the sepulchral sphere and protection of the soul of the deceased. They were also found in the hermitage of Theophilus in Faras, in the company of texts of a magical nature often used in the monastic milieu, as will be discussed further below. In the latter context, they were most likely used to create a space that empowered not only the monk who inhabited it but also the visitors. Other texts known from the monastic milieu are passages from Acts of the Apostles, which likely formed part of a collection tied both with the monastery and with the Church – possibly a larger codex containing canonical texts.

In addition to canonical texts found in Nubian monasteries, several testimonies of use of Apocrypha have been found. Like the other texts, they come from a variety of archaeological contexts:

1. Eschatological – a crypt located in the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H – fragments of the *Oratio Mariae (ad Bartos)* and the *Dormitio Mariae* of Pseudo-Evodius of Rome;

2. Ascetic (hermitages) – hermitage in Faras – letter of Jesus to King Abgar. The reply of Jesus to Abgar was used as an amulet in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the Mediterranean, it was employed in various forms as a protective charm, for instance at Ephesus inscribed on the lintel of a door (Smith 1999: 312);

3. Coenobitic (coenobitic monasteries) – fragments of codices used at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz – Sayings of Jesus.

The last group are ascetic and hagiographic texts presented in Table 6. They include fragments of larger codices, inscriptions on walls of buildings, and an inscription on a ceramic vessel. Some of the texts are apotropaic in nature, while others are meant to fortify and consolidate the spiritual power of a place or individual (Smith 1999). In addition, this group includes moralising texts like instructions of the Desert Fathers or fragments of sermons of Stephen of Thebes, as well as ones that may have a magical function, like the bowl and amulet with the names of Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, as well as the amulet with an excerpt from the *Liber Institutionis Michaelis*. These texts functioned in Nubia among both anchorites and coenobites. This is indicated, for instance, by inscriptions left by the monk Theophilus in his hermitage on the outskirts of Faras. This unique site preserves a rich collection of texts in Coptic: 22 anecdotes and sayings of the Desert Fathers and the Nicene Creed on the west wall; on the south wall, incipits from the Gospels, the letter of Jesus to Abgar, the king of Edessa, list of names of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, names of the nails from the cross of Jesus Christ, Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Jacques van der Vliet and Adam Łajtar compared the texts compiled by Theophilus to the work of Neophytus of Paphos (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 84–85), although it should be noted that Theophilus executed his inscriptions a few centuries earlier. Some these texts appear in coenobitic monasteries, for instance the names of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, which feature once as an amulet at Qasr el-Wizz, and again as a list of names written on a pottery vessel. The above attestations are clear proof that monks believed in the magical, apotropaic and spiritual power of these texts.

Table 6.
Ascetic and hagiographic texts
attested in Nubia

No.	<i>Original text</i>	<i>Attestation in Nubia</i>
1	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>	Inscription on a wall of the so-called Anchorite's Grotto in Faras.
2	Steven of Thebes, <i>Sermo asceticus</i>	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
3	Unidentified ascetic text	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
4	Shenoutean dialogue	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
5	<i>Legend of St Hilaria</i>	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
6	<i>Life of Apa Dios</i>	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
7	<i>Life of St Marina</i>	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
8	<i>Life of Dioscorus of Alexandria</i>	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
9	Homily mentioning Jesus walking on water	Parchment fragments found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
10	Forty Martyrs of Sebaste	Inscription on a ceramic bowl (fragment) found in Ghazali (Obłuski 2018).
11	Forty Martyrs of Sebaste	Parchment fragment, probably an amulet, found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz. Unpublished.
12	Basil of Caesarea, <i>De jejuniis</i> , homily I	Inscription on the wall of the Southwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H, Dongola (Łajtar 2015: 291).

In addition, the monastery of Apa Dios, with which Theophilus was likely associated, yielded the *Sermo asceticus* of Stephen of Thebes, a Shenoutean dialogue, and the lives of two ascetic cross-dressers: St Marina and St Hilaria, as well as the life of Apa Dios and another unfortunately unidentified ascetic text (Tsakos forthcoming). Stephen of Thebes is an enigmatic figure known only through his work, which was widespread through the Christian *oikoumene* and survived in Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Greek, as well as in Armenian. On the basis of his literary corpus and close connections with the ascetic literature of Lower Egypt, Alin Suciu suggests that he lived in the monastic communities of Scetis, Nitria, and Cellia. The *Sermo asceticus* contains teachings typical for gnomic literature (Suciu 2018: 630). They are meant to help a person to accomplish spiritual development by describing in minute detail the dos and don'ts of monastic life. Fragments surviving in a better state than the one from Qasr el-Wizz contain a group of precepts beginning with the words 'sitting in your cell', which underscore the central role of the cell in a monk's life and clearly prove that the work was created in the anchoritic rather than coenobitic milieu.

Other interesting texts from the Qasr el-Wizz monastery are the lives of two holy women. Both of them were cross-dressers. One was an ancho-rite, and the other a member of a coenobitic community. The two lives are considered early works. Hilaria is said to have been the elder daughter of the Byzantine emperor Zeno. She was attracted by the renown of the monks from Scetis and joined them posing as a eunuch named Hilarion. It later happened that she cured her younger sister. While taking care of her, she slept in the same bed with her, and the emperor wanted to know why a monk allowed himself such behaviour. To avoid consequences for the entire Scetis monastic community, she revealed her real identity to her family. Her father allowed Hilaria to return to the eremitic life and rewarded Scetis with a regular supply of bread and wine (Vogt 1995).

Saint Marina entered a coenobitic community as Marinus. Her story is also linked to breaking social taboos. Marinus was travelling with the other monks. When they were staying at an inn, a daughter of the innkeeper was raped by a soldier and became pregnant. Afraid of consequences of telling the truth, she said that the father of the child was Marinus. The innkeeper

complained to his monastery's superior and the latter expelled Marinus from the community. Marinus lived with the child next to the monastic walls for three years and finally the monks asked the superior to readmit him to the monastery. Permission was granted under the condition that Marinus would take the worst jobs. For forty years he lived in the monastery and gave numerous examples of his piety. Only when he died and the monks were preparing his body for the funeral, they discovered that he was a woman (Vogt 1995). The fact that such *vitae* were found in a male monastery is not surprising. Both saints were very well known in the 6th and 7th century, and their popularity endured in Egypt until modern times.

As for the other texts, the identification of fragment 65-10-73/B from Qasr el-Wizz as the life of Apa Dios is speculative. The Shenoutean dialogue (65-10-62), preserved in a large fragment, points to ties between the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz with the Shenoutean congregation, or at least with texts produced by and associated with this community. Last but not least is a fragment of homily I *De jejuni* by Basil of Caesarea – the only attestation of the works of St Basil of Caesarea in Nubia, found in the monastery on Kom H in Dongola (Łajtar 2015: 291).

The above list of texts known from Nubian monasteries undoubtedly contains only a small fraction of literary works known to monks in the Middle Nile Valley. The largest group of texts are inscriptions found in various contexts within the monastic complexes. The same text may have had different functions depending on the context in which it was placed. The location of an inscription and the nature of its support gave meaning to the text it carried. Thus, the incipits of canonical Gospels in the crypt in the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H played the role of funerary equipment given to the deceased Archbishop Georgios by the writer. Their function was to protect and empower the deceased on his way to the next world, as did *Oratio Mariae (ad Bartos)* (Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 294–295). If monks provided the dead with prayers that played the role of amulets, we may also assume that they produced them for the living: examples are the abridged *Liber Institutionis Michaelis* and the list of names of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste found at Wizz and Ghazali. Other wall inscriptions, like passages from psalms, are expressions of individual piety and faith in God, His power and protection. Dominant in the dos-

sier of texts found in the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz are works popular in other monastic milieus, for instance the *Sermo asceticus* of Stephen of Thebes or the *Vitae* of Marina and Hilaria, and in particular texts popular in the Egyptian monastic communities, like the dialogue of Shenoute with Cornelius. However, we cannot offer an answer to the question whether Qasr el-Wizz was representative for Nubian monasticism as a whole, or if this affinity to Egypt should rather be attributed to the monastery's location in Lower Nubia.

CHAPTER FIVE

MONASTICISM IN SOCIETY

SIZE OF MONASTIC COMMUNITIES

THE LARGEST NUBIAN MONASTERIES probably housed several dozen monks. In Ghazali the dormitory could fit 36 monks on the ground floor when it was at its largest. Possibly the same number could live on the upper floor, if it indeed existed, setting the number of monks at around 70. The higher total would help explain the number of benches in the refectories and the plenitude of latrines. The monastery at Qasr el-Wizz was smaller and could house about 24 monks. As for the monastery on Kom H in Dongola, we lack data that would permit such estimates; however, an assessment can be made on the basis of the size of the room that is likely a refectory. The exposed tops of its walls indicate that it was similar in size to the refectory at Qasr el-Wizz, so inside there would have been room for four benches with seating for six to eight monks to a bench. This gives a number of monks identical or similar to the figure for the monastery of Apa Dios at Qasr el-Wizz.

By comparison, the largest Syrian monasteries like the one in Kartmin housed *ca.* 400 monks (Hawkins & Mundell 1973: 279), although the average number of monks in Syrian communities did not exceed 50 (Hirschfeld 1992: 265, note 45). The population and size of monasteries varied widely throughout the vast Byzantine Empire. An overwhelming majority of monasteries numbered from 10 to 20 monks (Charanis 1971: 72), while the data for individual monasteries in Constantinople

are as follows: Mantineon – 900, Medikion – 12, Polichnion – 70 (end of the ninth century), Sykeon – over 50, Studion – 1000, Augaroi – 20–30, which gives an average of 30–50 in a coenobium (Ruggieri 1991: 175). In Western Europe, monasteries tended to regulate access to the monastic order through *numerus clausus*, i.e. a fixed number of persons that could be admitted. Jerzy Kłoczowski suggests that in the West the number of monks and nuns often exceeded 100 (Kłoczowski 2003: 79). The scale of diversity as well as growth of monastic communities is well illustrated by the example of the congregation in Cluny, which around the year 1100 comprised approximately 1000–1100 communities: in Cluny itself there were 300 monks; 10 communities housed over 50 people each; there were 20 communities of 30–50 monks; 120 communities of 15 to 30 monks; 200 communities of 6 to 15; and as many as 700 with less than 6 monks each (Kłoczowski 2003: 121). Analysing the size of monasteries, we should keep in mind that the dimensions of the complex do not hint at whether or not it was a successful endeavour. As mentioned, Western European monasteries had the *numerus clausus*, and Byzantine *typika* also often specified the number of monks, since it was dependent on the funds the donor was to provide in order to support the community. Monasteries need not have grown infinitely. Their size was contingent on conscious decisions of the monastic and ecclesiastical elites.

The fact that in monasteries worldwide there were laypeople is beyond doubt, and Nubia was no exception, though this cannot be confirmed directly on the basis of textual sources. The number of non-monks need not have been small or insignificant for the economy of a given community. For instance, according to the life of St Samuel of Qalamun in Egypt, in the first half of the seventh century the monastic community of Naqlun included 120 monks and 200 laymen (Wipszycka 2018: 475). Laity sojourned in monasteries for various reasons; some were candidates to become monks and others remained in the care of the monastery; in less positive cases, a monastery played the role of a prison. In addition, the institution of *servitude consentie* allowed individuals to commit themselves to a lifetime of servitude at the monastery as a form of repayment for help in need (Sophronius, tr. Gasco 2006: 150). Monasteries of Western Europe had servants called in Latin *famuli*, who were laypeople living in

the monastery or outside it. Though they were managed by monks, they had regular access to parts of the complex that were inaccessible to outsiders (Kłoczowski 2003: 120).

MONKS' CONTACTS WITH THE WORLD AT LARGE

Monks who severed their ties with the world and forgot their relatives and friends were found solely in Pachomian and Shenoutean congregations, or, in fact, only in literary sources describing these communities. One is compelled to believe that the world of Egyptian monastic literature is a fictitious one, in which monks do exactly what is expected of them, and if they err, it is only to become protagonists of instructive stories.

In Nubia, as elsewhere, monks were local prophets and healers. Due to their closeness to God, their prayers were considered more effective than the pleas of the rest of the population. Their council could be sought when making important decisions, as their own interests were in no way connected with the issues under consideration. For this reason, they held senior offices in state administration, like the post of *archinotarios* of the eparch, as well as positions of lower rank but close to holders of the most important positions in the state, like the *deg* () of the queen. Both were, in fact, held by Marianou, the bishop of Qasr Ibrim and archimandrite of the monastery of Raphael (DBMNT 654).

Laity from both the lowest and the highest strata of society held the monks in high esteem and often sought their support, help and company. Monks were even perceived as guarantors of divine care. A manifestation of this is the *chrysobulla* of the Emperor of Trapezus, Alexius III Comnenus (1338–1390), for the monastery of Soumela, in which he states (though one may suspect exaggeration) that he puts more faith in spiritual defences than in physical weapons guarding the Empire, and more trust in monasteries than in fortresses (Charanis 1971: 84).

Shenoute had guests, among them high-rank officials: governors of the Thebaid, military commanders with the titles *dux* and *comes* (maybe even Viventius, who wrote to Tantani, the Lord of Noba), and magistrates from

nearby cities. The *dux* asked Shenoute for a leather belt as a 'token of blessing' for a military campaign against barbarians. At first, he did not put it on and was defeated two times. When he finally wore it, he achieved victory. He looked up at the sky and saw Shenoute standing in a luminous cloud, with a flaming sword, slaying barbarians (Leipoldt & Crum 1906: sections 103–108). This is very clear indication that monks replaced pagan oracles visited by commanders before a campaign or battle to inquire about its outcome. In this tale, however, we have an additional element. The monk-oracle is not just a passive conveyor of God's Will. He is at the same time a guarantor and executor of the Divine Plan. This psychological device was certainly useful in convincing the society of the superiority of the new God over the old ones.

In Nubia, the supporting and empowering role played by local monks and saints from the monastic milieu is underscored by an epitaph found in Qasr Ibrim. It commemorates Marianta, also called Asta, who owned a church of Raphael in Tamit (*I. 21* 57). At the bottom of the border surrounding the funerary inscription there is an incipit of a prayer or invocation to St Macarius, whom we can most likely identify with St Macarius the Great of Egypt. Macarius was one of the founders of the monastic movement, considered by Christians even in modern times as a particularly effective intercessor in combat with forces of evil. It is most likely in the latter capacity that he appears in the inscription. Its author calls on the saint, referring to his ascetic feats and asking him to watch over the soul of the deceased. Jacques van der Vliet and Adam Łajtar propose to reconstruct the damaged part of the inscription as follows: 'Abba Makarios, may your ascetic feats be with us/her' (*I. 21*: p. 209). At this point it is also worth recalling the funerary stela of Ang(elo)phorou, which addresses the God of Macarius (*I. 21* 56). A representation of St Macarius in the company of the Apostles is painted in an apse of a church at Naga el-Oqba (Firth 1927: 235). Macarius the Great is also mentioned in a fragment of a calendar found in Jebel Adda, housed at the Royal Ontario Museum and currently studied by Adam Łajtar (personal communication). Monastic ideals and saints seem to have been popular in Makuria, at least in some elite circles in the northern part of the kingdom. It would therefore be rational to suppose that Makurians interacted with the suc-

cessors of St Macarius and other holy monks who inhabited the area, seeking the spiritual guidance obtained by protagonists of stories about the saints.

The results of fieldwork carried out at the Qasr el-Wizz monastery indicate that most likely in the early eleventh century the monastery underwent a major overhaul in order to build a *memorium* over the grave of a local saint who had probably lived in this monastery, and in order to prepare the complex for receiving large numbers of visitors. It is vital proof of the importance of monasteries, not only for the Christian religion but also for social relations in Makurian society. In this context it is worth noting that of 90 inhabitants of the Empire who became recognized as saints from the seventh to the fifteenth century at least 75 were monks (Charanis 1971: 63). Similar trends are attested in other parts of the Christian *oikoumene*. Monastic architecture in newly built complexes was adjusted to cater to the needs of not only the monks but also of the Christian community as a whole. An example is the pilgrimage centre built around Qalat Siman in Syria. Braunfels even advanced a hypothesis that such centres were better suited for serving the laity than the monastic community (Braunfels 1972: 15–18). Much later examples are found in the Holy Land, where church architecture was adjusted to meet the needs of both pilgrims and monastic orders. The churches made it possible to separate the monastics, who occupied the upper floor galleries during services, from the lay community that filled the space on the ground floor (Pringle 1987: 354).

In Western Europe, monasteries played an important social role, for example by offering educational services. As opposed to Western monasticism, teaching was not a key function of monasteries in the East, except the instruction of children intended to become monks (Talbot 1991c). Unlike monasteries in the Christian West, no Byzantine monasteries became important educational centres. Nonetheless, they still played a major role in cultural and intellectual life, for instance, the monasteries of Studios and Hodegon, which had their own scriptoria. Some Byzantine monks were not educated, as indicated by a monastic document dated to 1164. The text was signed by 28 monks, 17 of which left their signatures, while 11, including the porter, the gardener and two individuals in charge of vineyards, left mere symbols (Charanis 1971: 81). In medieval Nubia,

attestations of educational activities come solely from sacral spaces. They consist in inscriptions on walls of churches (the Faras cathedral) and texts from monastic contexts – so-called school exercises, or the alphabet written on ostraka found in monasteries and on walls of monastery churches. The biggest collections so far of more than 20 ostraka and several inscriptions written on the wall of the church were found at monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola, less numerous finds come from Qasr el-Wizz and Ghazali. Of course the lack of attestations outside this milieu does not exclude the existence of secular education, but education in monastic circles existed beyond doubt.

Monks played an important role in the delivery of several types of social services, including care for the handicapped and the society in general. A good example is offered by the life of Georgios (d. 1113), the archimandrite of a monastery and archbishop of Dongola, described in his epitaph as ‘loving the poor, conscious about the local community, the mildest father of the orphans’ (Łajtar 2002). This epithet can be of a panegyric and rhetorical character, but to some extent it must reflect the charitable activity of the deceased.

Bogdan Żurawski suggested on the basis of an inscription that Building One at Hambukol may have been a *gerokomeion* (Żurawski 1999: 424–426, fig. 5). Byzantine monasteries also ran charity institutions such as nursing homes for the elderly (*gerokomeion*), orphanages, poorhouses (*ptochotropheion*), and hostels (*xenodocheion*, *xenon*). The institutionalisation of care offered by monks into such organised forms is attributable to the sixth and seventh centuries, when much is written about this aspect of monastic activity in literature (Caner 2009: 52). Another matter is that it is uncertain how many of these institutions were actually run directly by monks, and how many were manned by persons hired for this purpose, with monks retaining only managerial functions.

Shenoutean coenobia that included institutional healthcare facilities had staff that took care of the sick. Treatment consisted in prescription of an appropriate diet, hygiene, medication, or even surgical procedures (Crislip 2005: 14). Similarly in neighbouring Palestine, for instance in the monastery of St Theodosius in the Judean Desert, there were three large hospitals, which were also hospices: one for monks, one for the poor, and

one facility of, so to say, commercial character for patients who were able to pay. Monks worked in them as doctors, caregivers and pharmacists (Hirschfeld 1992: 198–200).

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The monastic movement in Nubia was closely connected with the upper social strata. Based on the preserved *cursus honorum* of Nubian bishops, we may conclude that at least some of them originated from the monastic milieu. Ignatius (d. 802) and Thomas (827–862), bishops of Faras, and Iesou, bishop of Sai (d. 1054), spent a major part of their lives in monasteries, which they must have entered at a young age. Some of them, for instance Thomas (827–862) and Marianou (d. 1036), bishops of Faras, Georgiou (d. 1124) and Marianou II (d. 1132), bishops of Qasr Ibrim, and Georgios (1063–1113), archbishop of Dongola, were even archimandrites of their monasteries. Adam Łajtar suggests that in the case of Joseph II, bishop of Dongola (consecrated *ca.* 1320), there is reason to believe that he became a monk and archimandrite shortly before ordainment, as his career was up to a certain point the career of a layman (Łajtar forthcoming a). In my opinion, a similar comment can be made for Timotheos, bishop of Faras (consecrated in 1372). Monastics also dominated in the Byzantine church: from the eighth to the thirteenth century, 45 out of 57 patriarchs of Constantinople came from monastic circles (Bréhier 1947–1949: vol. II, 483).

A very interesting document in this context is a deed of sale of land by Kammeti to Marturokoudda, written on leather in year 1270 (*P. 21* IV 67, DBMNT 637). Its content is seemingly of marginal relevance for this book, but the opening formula of this document mentions several bishops:

The day being the 19th of Pauni, it being the 9th of the Moon, it was written in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; King Georgiou Basileos Daud being king of Dotawo; Tislma being queen-mother; Eiketeêtou being granary keeper; Pejjarê the Sulu being property manager; Matiosê being *ngeshsb* of Atwa; **Jalphi being the bishop of Dongola**; Marturokoudda being great eparch of Nobadia and *meizoteros* of Addawi;

Gourresi, deputy of the eparch; **Abba Chael of Ibrim, bishop of Ibrim**; Enyamê being the *tot* of Arallou island and vice-eparch; **Senoute being bishop of Kourte**; Oliti being *algou*; Kourketi being *ngheshb*; Ouskourda being *goush* (...)

The document was found in Qasr Ibrim. It lists state officials and Church hierarchs, namely bishops of Dongola, Qasr Ibrim and Kourte. Secular offices alternate with episcopal ones, indicating that in Nubia there was a hierarchy of power, whether formal or not, in which the royal and ecclesiastical administrations were intertwined. This gives us reason to believe that in Makuria appointing monks to administrative positions was not unusual, since the state and church hierarchies were so closely interconnected.

Other legal documents indicate that members of the clergy were more active in the life of the local community than monks, for instance as witnesses or scribes. On the other hand, this may simply mean that some of these clerics (priest, archpriest) were also monks, but they identified themselves with the highest hierarchic title, the position most respected in society. It was clearly the function that allowed them to celebrate Eucharist, not the fact of being part of a monastic community.

FEMALE MONASTICISM

The existence of female monasticism, or the presence of female monastics in Nubia has two facets. The first, material one is associated with the hypothetical, according to the current state of research, presence of female monasteries south of Aswan. A stela from the South Cemetery in Qasr Ibrim, fragment of which can be translated from Coptic ⲕⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲙⲁ[ⲁⲩ] as 'Kerge, our mother' (*I. 2I*: p. 150), seems to indicate the presence of female monasteries or at least anchorites in Nubia. Jacques van der Vliet suggests that another nun was ⲟⲩⲁⲣⲛⲱ attested on stela of ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲱ found in Faras (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 7), curiously in an area referred to as 'pottery kilns', which some scholars interpret as a monastic site (Adams 1986).

The second, spiritual facet is the presence of hagiographic literature referring to female monastics in male monasteries. The legends concerned two female cross-dressers, Marina and Hilaria, who lived in male communities. These literary topoi remained immensely popular for centuries owing to their paradoxical nature: a woman who heads out into the desert to live in a hermitage unrecognised by the brothers, a woman concealing her gender and spending long years in a male monastic community, and a woman leading an ascetic life in a completely remote spot (Anson 1974; Patlagean 1976).

CHAPTER SIX

TITULATURE AND MONASTIC HIERARCHY

THIS CHAPTER DISCUSSES MONASTIC TITLES attested in Nubia using a comparative approach. It also contains an analysis of monastic hierarchies. The plural is used here for good reason. In monasteries, including Nubian ones, there were various overlapping and sometimes conflicting hierarchies. The first one was the administrative hierarchy headed by the monastic superior, comprising the entire organisational framework that helped him manage the community. The second hierarchy was the ascetic one, which usually depended on the number of years since a given individual donned the habit, although other factors like personal traits and charisma also certainly played a role. The third and last was the hierarchy of ordainment, reflected in ecclesiastical titlature.

Although of secondary importance for understanding the very phenomenon of the monastic movement, arguably the most common issue discussed in scholarship on the subject, especially in the context of early monasticism, is terminology. In Egypt, the individuals who practiced asceticism were designated with three terms: *monachos* (μοναχός), *apotaktikos* (ἀποτακτικός), and *anachoretēs* (ἀναχωρητής). The words ‘monasticism’ and ‘monk’ derive from the Greek term *μονάζω*, meaning ‘to live alone’. The term *monachos* appears relatively early in Christian literature. Its oldest attestations are loanwords from Greek in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas and the *Dialogue of the Saviour* composed in the first or second century (Bumazhnov 2010: 21). There is no doubt, however, that the meaning of the term was different than in later periods, when it designated a monk. As such, *monachos* appears at the beginning of the fourth century in Egypt (Choat 2002: 7). The term

anachoretēs was, in fact, used in literature to refer to monks who had chosen a different path than coenobitic monasticism, but Malcolm Choat gives an example of a letter, in which an *anachoretēs* is described as a person living within a community (SB VIII 9683; Choat 2002: 12). In this case, as well as in *P. Lond.* I 77, p. 231, where it refers to Abraham the bishop of Hermonthis and prior of a large coenobitic monastery, the term *anachoretēs* is used as an honorific title. The term *apotaktikos*, in turn, was initially used mainly in the context of the Pachomian community. Later the term disappears only to re-emerge in the ninth century, in the semi-anchoritic monastic community of Apa Apollo in Bawit. The conclusion shared by Malcolm Choat and Ewa Wipszycka is that, at least in Egypt, there were no fixed rules governing the use of terms *monachos*, *anachoretēs*, *monazon*, and *apotaktikos* (Choat 2002: 5; Wipszycka 2009: 281–323; 2011: 162).

Let us begin with a list compiling epigraphic sources that mention the title *abba*, which is commonly thought to indicate that a given person was a monk (Table 7). The title *abba* was considered a prestigious designation, and in the titlature of bishops it is a mark of their monastic past. The similar title *apa* was used for monks, clerics, as well as individuals generally held in high esteem and considered particularly pious (Derda & Wipszycka 1994). Unfortunately, the factors that governed their use in Egypt and Nubia alike are obscure. The occurrence of both terms in Nubia does not seem haphazard, as there are texts mentioning monks who were designated as either *abba* or *apa* and monks who bore none of these titles at all.

Epigraphic sources testify to various general terms used in Nubia to designate a monk or nun:

1. the sole attestation of ἀναχωρητής from the island of Biga (Monneret de Villard 1935: 14);
2. the Greek μοναχός and μονάζων, or the Old Nubian version μοναχοϥ;
3. the word ‘brother’, synonymous to ‘monk’ in Greek (ἀδελφός) and Coptic (con, can) or an older monk (πρῆλλο);
4. the word ‘mother’ in Coptic (τῡααϥ).

These sources are listed in Table 8. The great majority of these texts are epitaphs of deceased monks and inscriptions left by monks on walls of buildings as a record of their visits. The word τῡααϥ, meaning ‘mother’, is attested only twice in Nubia, and it seems that in case of one of the epi-

taphs in question $\tau\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$ could also be interpreted as a reference to a biological mother (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 7).

Several monastic titles attested in Nubia imply a leadership role in a monastic community. They are as follows: archimandrite, *proestos*, *begoumenos*, *proedros*, *archikoinobites*, and $\tau\bar{\mu}\mu\bar{\nu}$ $\delta\gamma\rho\alpha$. The titles *proestos* and *proedros* are rightly questioned by Adam Łajtar (Łajtar 1992: 122) and these will be discussed first.

PROESTOS ($\Pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$)

The term *proestos* ($\pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$) appears in Egyptian context but close to Nubia as a designation of Theodore, the bishop of Philae, an important person for the spread of Christianity south of Aswan, in an inscription from the Isis temple (*I. Lefebvre* 587). The designation appears in early Christian literary sources, i.a. in Eusebius of Caesarea (book VII, chapter 13), as a term for a leader of a Christian community, and Henry P. Fry is likely correct in stating that it later denotes a bishop (Fry 1843).

The term *proestos* is attested in Egypt, but the monastic function it refers to is unclear. In the sixth/seventh-century document *P. Sijp.* 35, line 5, Menas, a deacon, appears as a representative of a community, and he is designated with the term *proestos*. Given the monastic context, the designation is assumed to refer to a lower-ranking abbot (Gagos & Keenan in *P. Sijp.*: pp. 225–238). In one instance, the term is used to designate a superior of a Pachomian monastery (Wipszycka 1991d). It also appears in an early eighth-century dossier found in Deir el-Bala'izah (*P. Bal.*). *P. Bal.* 100 mentions Ammone, who becomes a *proestos* for a few days. Joanna Wegner argues, based on P. Pierpont Morgan Libr. inv. M662 B (23b), that this function was not assumed for life, as the document mentions two former *proestotes* (Wegner 2016: 55). The aforementioned Ammone is referred to in *P. Bal.* 159 as a presbyter and *proestos*. In *P. KRU* 111, two monks, Surus and Mattaios, are called *proestotes*, and in *P. Naqlun* II 21 we find Apa Neilos, monk and *proestos* (of Pyrgos). Tomasz Derda suggests that Apa Neilos was most probably the prior of two neighbouring hermitages, 25 and 89 (*P. Naqlun* II: pp. 97–98; see, recently, Derda & Wegner 2016: 91–92).

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia.
The texts are referred to by their numbers in the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts
(<http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
2575	inscription of unidentified abba, priest and archimandrite	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XIII
34	epitaph of Aaron, metropolitane bishop of Pachoras	Faras	cathedral, outer facade of W wall, above tomb	12 December 972
1836	name of Aaron, bishop (of Pachoras), serving as legend to his representation	Faras	cathedral, S aisle, S wall, right of N entrance to baptistery ('Bishops' chapel'); accompanying painting no. 101 (Bishop Aaron)	952–972
1558	inscription left by abba Ana, priest	Abu Oda	church in temple of Horemheb; main chamber; on front of pillar near inner doorway	XI–XV
1041	letter from Aron, bishop of Pachoras, to Isou, bishop of Sai	Qasr Ibrim	house 177, room 2, in jar beneath floor (Archive 3)	1170–1199
1412	inscription of abba Chael, priest	Aksha	church	X
2001	inscription of abba Chael (II), bishop of Pachoras	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 9	1097 – ca. 1130
2086	name of abba Chael	Faras	E of tomb of Petros	2nd h. XII–XV
2531	inscription of abba Chael, priest	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII
1973	inscription of abba Chael (?), priest (?)	Soba	unknown	unknown
1519	inscription left by abba Dios	Amada	temple; on a column to the left	unknown
1110	epitaph of Dioskoros, bishop of Sai	Sai	fragment A: reused at abandoned house in the village of Adou fragment B: fortress	probably XII
1818	inscription commemorating abba Elias, bishop (of Pachoras)	Faras	cathedral, staircase, E wall; below painting no. 88 (Virgin Eleusa)	926–952

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	–	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 92, 93, 95, fig. 39.92, 93, 95, pl. 21b
stela	epitaph	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 7 bishop of metropolis of Pachoras (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ ⲙⲏⲏⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 8	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 3, pl. 3
wall	legend	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1 orthodox bishop (ⲟⲣⲑⲟⲗⲁⲫⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ): l. 1	<i>I. Faras Copt.:</i> pp. 123–125, fig. 34;
wall	visitor's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲡⲡⲁ): l. 1 priest (ⲡⲣⲓ): l. 3	Griffith 1913: 68 (no. 15m)
manuscript	document: letter	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): ii, l. 6; (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): ii, l. 7 orthodox bishop of Pachoras (ⲟⲣⲑⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲩⲡⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): ii, l. 6 orthodox bishop of Sai (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲣⲑⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ): ii, l. 7	<i>P. QI</i> III 57
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	unpublished (see de Contenson 1966: fig. 198 on p. 95)
wall	commemorative inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 1	unpublished (see Jakobielski 1995: 90; Jakobielski 2001a: 165, fig. 27b)
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba ([ⲁⲃ]ⲃ): l. 1	Ochala forthcoming b, no. 10
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲡⲣⲓ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 36, fig. 35.36
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲡⲣⲓ): l. 3	Jakobielski 1991a: 293 (no. 202), fig. 165.202
wall	visitor's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1	Gauthier 1913: 193, fig. 46
stela	epitaph	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 10 bishop of Sai (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲫⲁⲓ): ll. 10–11 (Tsakos: ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲫⲁⲓ; corr. G. Ochala)	Tsakos 2011–2012: 300–303 (no. 5), fig. 1
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek	bishop (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲁⲓ): l. 1 abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 20, fig. 26

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
33	foundation inscription of Iesou, eparch of Nobadia, mentioning abba Elias, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	church on S slope of kom, opposite N entrance	23 April 930
1535	inscription commemorating abba Elisaïou, priest and great <i>oikonomos</i>	Nag esh-Sheikh Sharaf	reused in construction of mosque	2nd h. VI–IX
809	inscription mentioning abba Ephanne, priest and archimandrite	Dongola (reportedly)	unknown	probably VII–XIII
2905	inscription left by unidentified deacon of abba Georgios, bishop of Pachoras	Sonqi Tino	church, room 3 (south pastophorium), south wall	probably XIII–XIV
1821	name of abba Georgiou, bishop of Pachoras, serving as legend to his representation	Faras	cathedral, E pilaster to the right of apse; accompanying painting no. 122 (Bishop Georgios)	1062–1097
36	epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	tomb E of cathedral, E wall	14 August 1097
44	epitaph of Petrou, deacon, son of abba Georgiou, bishop of Kourte	Debeira West	church, lying in centre of <i>baikal</i>	1 July 1029
653	epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Phrim	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	XII
1342	inscription of abba Georgios, archpriest and <i>archistylites</i>	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 29, E wall, above painting no. P.46/NW29 (Archangel Gabriel with Christ protecting dignitary, accompanied by Apostles)	1050–1064
561	graffito commemorating nomination of Georgios to office of archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, W annex, room 14, N wall	27 February 1060
1341	inscription commemorating abba Georgios, archbishop and <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, containing Ps 129:2–8	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2, E wall	1063–1113

Medium	Type of text	Language	Offices	Publication
architectural element	foundation inscription	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲁ): l. 2 bishop of metropolis of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲓ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲛⲓ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 2	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 2, pl. 2
architectural element	commemorative inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲁ): l. 2 priest (ⲡⲣⲉ): l. 3 <i>oikonomos</i> (ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ): l. 3	Łajtar 2004: 89–94
stone block	dedicatory inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲡⲣ): l. 2 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲏⲓⲁⲓ): ll. 2–3	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 27, pl. 26
wall	visitor's inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲭⲓ): l. 1	unpublished; in preparation by Sonqi Tino Collaborative (Donadoni 1975: 35)
wall	legend	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 orthodox bishop of Pachoras (ⲟⲣⲓⲱⲓⲁⲱⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲱⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): ll. 2–3	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 19; Jakobielski <i>et al.</i> 2017: cat. no. 128
stela	epitaph	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 7 bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲭⲓ): l. 7	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 5, pl. 4
stela	epitaph	Greek/Coptic	deacon (ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ): l. 5; (ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ): l. 21 abba (ⲁⲃⲁ): l. 6 bishop of Kourte (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲕⲟⲣⲧⲉ): l. 6	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 17, pl. 12
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲁ): l. 5 bishop of Phrim (ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲫⲣⲓ): l. 6 notary of eparch (ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲛⲟⲓⲧⲓ): l. 10 archimandrite of (monastery of) Raphael (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲫⲁⲛⲓ): l. 10 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pashshe (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲩⲱⲥⲉ): l. 11	<i>I. QI</i> 20, fig. on p. 69
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek/Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archpriest (ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲡⲣ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲧⲓⲗⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar 2002: 184–186 (no. 1)
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archpriest (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲡⲣ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲧⲓⲗⲓ[---]): l. 1 archimandrite (?) (lit. head of congregation) (ⲧⲓⲙⲏⲛ ⲟⲩⲣ): l. 2	Łajtar 2002: 186–188 (no. 2)
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 9 orthodox archbishop (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲓ ⲟⲣⲑⲟⲁⲟⲥⲟⲥ): l. 9 <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 10	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 22–25 (no. II), fig. on p. 23

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
1346	inscription of abba Georgios, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy trinity	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
1362	inscription on decorative window grille probably commemorating donor (name not preserved), archpriest and <i>archistylites</i>	Dongola	Kom H, NW cemetery (TNWH)	unknown
1347	inscription of abba Georgios	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
560	epitaph of Georgios, archbishop	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2	29 June 1113
812	epitaph of abba Iakob	Ghazali	surface find	VIII–XI
1348	inscription of abba Iakob, priest	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII
49	epitaph of Iesou, bishop of Sai	Sai	unknown, perhaps cathedral	15 May 1054
540	graffito mentioning high flood of the Nile during the episcopacy of bishop Iesou of Sai	Sai	rocks on E bank of Nile	before 1027 – before 1057
652	epitaph of Iesou, bishop of Phrim	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	6 May 1110
2535	inscription of abba Iesou	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII
2547	inscription of abba Iesou	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII
2528	inscription of abba Ioannes (or Iesou)	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 351 (no. 24), fig. on p. 351; Łajtar 2002: 189–190 (no. 4)
archi- tectural element	commem- orative inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archpriest (ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲱⲩ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲏⲥⲧⲓⲕⲏⲧⲏⲥ): l. 1	Jakobielski 2003: 213, n. 8, fig. 2; Jakobielski 2005: 121, fig. 16
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 351 (no. 25), fig. on p. 351; Łajtar 2002: 190 (no. 5)
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃ): ll. 5, 13, 18 archbishop (ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲱⲩⲥⲕⲓ): l. 5 archimandrite of Great (monastery of) Anthony (ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲱⲩⲁⲛⲁⲛⲧⲓⲱⲩⲥⲧⲓ): ll. 5–6; ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲁⲛⲧⲓⲱⲩⲥⲧⲓⲱⲩⲁⲛⲧⲓ: l. 14 <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲱⲩⲥⲧⲓⲱⲩⲥⲧⲓⲱⲩⲁⲛⲧⲓ): ll. 13–14	Łajtar 2002: 164–184, pl. after p. 164; Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 18–22 (no. 1), fig. on p. 21 and fig. 5
stela	epitaph	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 4	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 31, pl. 30; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 1
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲱⲩ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 351–352 (no. 26), fig. on p. 351
stela	epitaph	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 9 bishop of Sai (ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲥⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥⲥⲁⲛ): ll. 9–10 monk of (monastery of) Eittdē (ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲛⲁⲕⲟⲥⲛⲉⲓⲧⲧⲁⲛ): l. 10	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 27, pl. 20
rock	commem- orative inscription	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 bishop of Sai (ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲕⲓⲥⲁⲛ): l. 1	Łajtar 2001c: 62–64 = <i>SB XXVI</i> 16821
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 5 bishop of Phrim (ⲉⲛⲓⲥⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥⲫⲣⲓⲙ): l. 5	<i>I. QI</i> 19, fig. on p. 65
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 40, fig. 35.40
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 56, fig. 36.56 (+ p. 95)
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 33, fig. 35.33

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
2831	literary text concerning Archbishop Iohannes	Qasr Ibrim	not recorded	XI–XIV
2478	inscription of abba Ioseph, bishop	Qasr el-Wizz	church	VII–VIII
612	epitaph of Ioseph, ex-bishop of Aswan	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, inside presbytery, near S end of altar screen	28 April 668 or 28 April 670
557	commemorative inscription of abba Ioseph	Aswan	monastery of St Simeon, church, left jamb of apse	7 April 1322
983	inscription left by Chael, cleric, son of Kollouthos, bishop of Pachoras	Qasr Ibrim, Jebel Maktub	rocks on the hill E of Qasr Ibrim	1st h. X
1	epitaph of Kollouthos, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	cathedral, outer facade of W wall, above tomb	13 August 923
630	deed of land sale by Menanta, daughter of Mariham and Ananias to their son Abraam and his wife Menanta; abba Metania bishop of Kourte mentioned in the protocol	northern Nubia	unknown	IX
631	deed of sale of land by Thekla to Abraam and Menanta; abba Metania bishop of Kourte mentioned in the protocol	northern Nubia	unknown	IX
634	2 documents: (1) deed of land sale by Mar, son of Kosma to unidentified buyer; (2) acknowledgement of receiving clothes and wine; abba Aaron, bishop of Kourte mentioned in the protocol	northern Nubia	unknown	803–812
635	deed of land sale; abba Aaron, bishop of Kourte mentioned in the protocol	northern Nubia	unknown	after 784–after 812
1817	name of abba Kyros, bishop (of Pachoras), serving as legend to his representation	Faras	cathedral, S vestibule, wall S; accompanying painting no. 110 (Bishop Kyros)	ca. 866–902
86	official text of unknown character, mentioning Kyros, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	reused in walls of Arab citadel	30 August 867 – 28 August 868 or 29 August 877 – 28 August 878

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
manuscript	literary	Greek/Old Nubian	great bishop (= archbishop?) (ἐπισκοπος μερα): ii, l. 4 abba (αββα): ii, l. 1	<i>P. QI</i> IV 88, fig. 30
lamp	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (αββα): l. 1 bishop (ἐπισ[---]): l. 1	unpublished (see Scanlon 1970: 56–57, fig. 17d)
stela	epitaph	Greek/Coptic	abba (αββα): l. 2 bishop of Syene (ἐπισκ της συνηιτων πολεως): ll. 3–4	Jakobielski & van der Vliet 2011: 15–35, figs. 1–4
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek	abba (αββα): ll. 2, 5 orthodox archbishop (ἀρ' x' ἐπισ' κ' ορθοδοξον): l. 10	Griffith 1928: 18–30 (no. 3), pls. 3–4; Łajtar forthcoming
rock	visitor's inscription	Greek	cleric (κλή): l. 1 abba (αββα): l. 2 bishop of metropolis of Pachoras (ἐπισκοπος μητροπολις παχωρας): ll. 3–5	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2011: 141–148, fig. 3
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (αββα): l. 4 bishop (ἐπισκοπος): l. 4	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 1, pl. 1
manuscript	document: legal	Coptic	abba (αββα): i, l. 6 bishop of Kourte (ἐπισκ νκουρ' τ'): i, ll. 6–7	<i>P. Lond. Copt.</i> I 449, pp. 212–214
manuscript	document: legal	Coptic	abba (αββα): l. 6 bishop of Kourte ([ἐπισκ] νκουρ' τ'): i, ll. 4–5	<i>P. Lond. Copt.</i> I 450, pp. 214–215
manuscript	document: legal	Coptic	abba (αββα): recto, l. ? bishop of Kourte (ἐπισκοπος νκουρε): recto, l. ?	Krall 1900: 236–238 (fragmentary translation)
manuscript	document: legal	Coptic	abba (αββα): recto, l. ? bishop of Kourte (ἐπισκο' ποσ' νκουρε): recto, l. ?	Krall 1900: 238–240 (fragmentary translation)
wall	legend	Greek	bishop of the metropolis (ἐπισκοπος μητρο[---]): l. 1 (horizontal) abba (αββα): l. 3 (vertical)	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 14, fig. 21; Jakobielski <i>et al.</i> 2017: cat. no. 45
stela	official inscription	Coptic	abba ([α]ββα): l. 11 bishop of Pachoras (νε[π]ι[σκοπ] 'ος' μπαχωρας): ll. 11–12	<i>I. Faras Copt.:</i> pp. 92–96, fig. 21

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
1659	inscription left by abba Kyrour	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below panels nos. 22 and 23	after 738
1327	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite and <i>archistylites</i>	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1328	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1329	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1330	inscription of abba Lazaros	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1331	inscription of abba Lazaros, <i>archistylites</i>	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1332	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1333	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1334	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1335	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1336	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1337	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite and <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1338	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
wall	visitor's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 5), pls. 64.1, 73.5; <i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : p. 96, with n. 44
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba ([ⲁⲃ]ⲑ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲧⲓⲭⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 340–341 (no. 7), fig. on p. 340
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba ([ⲁⲃ]ⲑ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 8), fig. on p. 341
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ[---]): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 9), fig. on p. 341
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba ([ⲁⲃ]ⲑ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 10), fig. on p. 441
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲧⲓⲭⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 342 (no. 11), fig. on p. 342
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 342–343 (no. 12), fig. on p. 342
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 343 (no. 13), fig. 1 and fig. on p. 343
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 343 (no. 14), fig. on p. 343
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 344 (no. 15), fig. on p. 344
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙ[ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ]): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 344 (no. 16), fig. on p. 344
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲧⲓⲭⲓ ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 345 (no. 17), fig. on p. 345
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ⲧⲣⲓⲥ[ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ]): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 345–346 (no. 18), fig. on p. 345

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
1339	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1340	inscription of abba Lazaros	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1993	inscription of abba Lazaros, <i>archistylites</i>	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 43; jar set in the floor in one of the corners	XII-XIII
1681	inscription left by abba Mariane, priest and archimandrite	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W wall; below panel no. 7	probably 738-1099
1992	inscription of abba Marianos, bishop (?)	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 43; jar set in the floor in one of the corners	unknown
1819	legend to painting of abba Marianou, bishop of Pachoras, under protection of Christ and Virgin Mary with Child	Faras	cathedral, S end of transversal aisle ('S chapel'), E wall; accompanying painting no. 69 (Bishop Marianou protected by Christ and Virgin with Child)	1005-1036
1820	inscription commemorating abba Marianou, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	cathedral, W part of S aisle, S wall	1005-1036
77	epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Pachoras	Qasr Ibrim	cathedral cemetery terrace (plaza 758), W of S church (church 294)	11 November 1036
654	epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	8 June 1132
655	epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Kourte	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	20 December 1154

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 346 (no. 19), fig. on p. 346, pl. 63.1
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 346 (no. 20), fig. on p. 346
wall	commemorative inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲥⲧⲓⲛⲓ): l. 1	Jakobielski 2003: 220, 223; Jakobielski 2005: 124
wall	visitor's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲫⲓ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1 (Griffith: 'Arka'; corr. G. Ochała)	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 27), pls. 62.2, 73.27
wall	commemorative inscription	Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 bishop (?) (ⲡⲁⲛⲓ): l. 1	Jakobielski 2003: 220; Jakobielski 2005: 124
wall	legend	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): ii, l. 2; (ⲁⲃⲃ): iii, l. 3 bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓⲭⲓⲣⲁϥ): ii, l. 3; (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁϥ): iii, l. 1; (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲓⲕⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲭⲓⲣⲁϥ): iii, l. 5 orthodox bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓⲭⲓⲣⲁϥ): ii, l. 3	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 17, fig. 24; Jakobielski <i>et al.</i> 2017: cat. no. 95
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 orthodox bishop of Pachoras (ⲟⲣⲓⲱⲓ ⲉⲡⲓϥⲓⲕⲓ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁϥ): l. 1	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 18, fig. 25
stela	epitaph	Greek	orthodox bishop of Pachoras (ⲟⲣⲓⲱⲓ ⲉⲡⲓϥⲓⲕⲓ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁϥ): l. 9; (ⲟⲣⲓⲱⲓ ⲁⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲓϥⲓⲕⲓ ⲡⲁⲓⲭⲓⲣⲁϥ): l. 23 abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): ll. 9, 22 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲧⲏϥ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲱ): l. 10 apostle to Babylon (ⲁⲡⲟϥⲧⲟⲗⲟϥ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲃⲁⲃⲩⲗⲱⲛ): ll. 10–11	<i>I. QI</i> 22, fig. on p. 87
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 4 bishop of Phrim (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲱⲛⲟϥ ⲫⲣⲓ): l. 5 <i>archinotarios</i> of eparch (ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲛⲟⲓⲧⲓ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ): ll. 11–12 <i>deg()</i> of queen (ⲁⲛⲓⲕⲓ ⲃⲁϥⲓⲕⲓϥⲁ): l. 12 archimandrite of (monastery of) Raphael (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲓ): ll. 12–13	<i>I. QI</i> 21, fig. on p. 79
stela	epitaph	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): ll. 8, 23, 26 bishop of Kourte (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲓⲕⲓ ⲕⲟⲩⲣⲧⲉ): l. 9; (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲓⲕⲓ ⲕⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧⲓ): ll. 23, 27	<i>I. QI</i> 24, fig. on p. 99

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
1321	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1322	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1323	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1324	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1325	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1326	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
69	epitaph of Maththaios, bishop	Faras	funerary complex of bishops, S of cathedral, <i>ca.</i> 1 m from N tomb and attributed to it	26 May – 24 June 766
2450	inscription left by Mena, epidiakon of (?) Isou, bishop of Phrim	Qasr Ibrim, Jebel Maktub	rocks on the hill E of Qasr Ibrim	X-XI
1476	name of abba Mena	Tamit	Church of Raphael, room Q (S pastophorium), W wall; above figure of black bishop	XI-XII
2830	letter from unidentified eparch to Mena, bishop of Phrim	Qasr Ibrim	house 177, under mastaba (Archive 4)	probably 2nd h. XII
1300	inscription of Bishop Mielkouda	Qasr Ibrim	Church on the Point, W jamb of doorway between rooms 3 and 8	probably X
1301	inscription of Bishop Mielkouda	Qasr Ibrim	cathedral (church 293), N face of S wall, W of mihrab	probably X

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕⲱ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 336–337 (no. 1), fig. on p. 336
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕⲱ [ⲡⲱⲕⲱ]): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 337 (no. 2), fig. on p. 337
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba ([ⲁⲃⲃ]): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕⲱⲕⲱ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 337 (no. 3), fig. on p. 337
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba ([ⲁⲃⲃ]): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕⲱⲕⲱ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338 (no. 4), fig. on p. 338
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba ([ⲁⲃⲃ]): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕⲱⲕⲱ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338 (no. 5), fig. on p. 338
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko ([ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲕⲱⲕⲱ]): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338–339 (no. 6), fig. on p. 338
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 4 bishop (ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲱⲡⲱⲕⲱ): l. 5	<i>I. Varsovie</i> 105, pl. 105
rock	visitor's inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 bishop of Phrim (ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲱⲕⲱ ⲡⲣⲓⲙ): l. 1	unpublished (see Plumley & Adams 1974: 235, pl. 51; Łajtar & van der Vliet 2013: 163); in preparation by A. Łajtar & J. van der Vliet
wall	legend	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1	unpublished (see Baldassare 1967: 48)
manuscript	document: letter	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): ii, l. 1 orthodox bishop of Phrim (ⲱⲣⲁⲣⲱⲕⲱⲕⲱ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲱⲕⲱ): i, l. 1	<i>P. QI</i> IV 87, fig. 29
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 bishop (ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲱⲕⲱ): l. 1	Aldsworth 2010: 115, pl. 219
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1	Aldsworth 2010: 116 (no. 1), 143, pl. 220, fig. 48

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
32	foundation inscription of Bishop Paulos	Faras	N building, N wall, near NW corner	28 August 707
1837	names of Petrou, bishop of Pachoras, and St Peter, serving as legend to painting of bishop under protection of saint	Faras	cathedral, baptistery ('Bishops' chapel'), W wall; accompanying painting no. 60 (Bishop Petrou protected by St Peter)	974-999
1844	inscription left by unidentified epidiakon of abba Petrou, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	cathedral, baptistery ('Bishops' chapel'), E wall, in niche; to the left of painting no. 54 (Christ Emmanuel)	974-999
1845	perhaps commemorative inscription of Petrou (II), bishop of Pachoras	Faras	cathedral, W pilaster of arcade between S aisle and S end of transversal aisle; over-painted by painting no. 74 (nobleman under protection of Archangel)	1058-1062
94	epitaph of Petrou, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	E side of superstructure of tomb of Petros	20 July 999
35	epitaph of Petrou (II), bishop of Pachoras	Faras	tomb E of cathedral, E wall	22 May 1062
2315	inscription left by Mariankouda, epidiakon of great church of abba Pirou	Sinesra	building N of church, central room	unknown
90	fragment of inscription of Petrou, mentioning abba Shenouthos, archimandrite, son of Isou	Faras	N Church in the Desert	probably IX
71	epitaph of Stephanos, bishop	Faras	cathedral, outer facade of W wall, above tomb	14 July 926
1343	inscription of abba Stephanos	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1345	inscription of abba Stephanos, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
wall	foundation inscription	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 9 prelate (ⲡⲣⲟⲉⲗⲣⲟⲥ): l. 9 bishop of Pachoras (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲭⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲧⲣⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 9	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 1, pl. 1
wall	legend	Greek	abba ([ⲁ]ⲃⲃⲁ): l. 4 (horizontal) bishop of metropolis of Pachoras (Ⲉⲉⲛⲓⲥⲭⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲧⲣⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): ll. 4–5 (horizontal)	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 15 and 79, fig. 22; Jakobielski <i>et al.</i> 2017: cat. no. 108
wall	visitor's inscription	Greek/ Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1 bishop of metropolis of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲭⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲧⲣⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 1	<i>I. Faras Copt.:</i> pp. 134–135, fig. 41; <i>I. Faras Greek</i> 28
wall	commemorative inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 2 (left side) bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲩⲱⲭ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 3 (left side)	<i>I. Faras Copt.:</i> pp. 152–153
stela	epitaph	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 7 bishop of metropolis of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲭⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲧⲣⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 7	<i>I. Faras Copt.:</i> pp. 135–138, fig. 42
stela	epitaph	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 7 bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲭⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 8	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 4, pl. 3
wall	visitor's inscription	Greek/ Coptic	epideacon of Great (church of) Abba Pirou (ⲉⲡⲓⲗⲓⲁⲭⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲁ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲓⲣⲟⲩ): l. 2	Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, p. 120, fig. 100
wall	unidentified	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 11 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛ): l. 11	<i>I. Faras Copt.:</i> pp. 96–97, fig. 22
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 4 bishop (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲩⲱⲭ): l. 5	<i>I. Varsovie</i> 107, pl. 107
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 350 (no. 21), fig. on p. 350
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 350 (no. 23), fig. on p. 350

Table 7. Attestations of the title *abba* in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Content</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>
1111	epitaph of Sumeon, bishop of Sai	Sai	fortress, NW corner	XI–XII
89	epitaph of Thomas, bishop of Pachoras	Faras	unknown	16 July 862
1115	inscription commemorating Tobias, bishop of Sai	Sai	unknown	before IX
1088	unidentified	Tamit	Church of Angels, W part of main nave, N wall	XIII–XIV
2061	inscription left by unidentified abba, cleric (?)	Faras	cathedral, narthex, W wall, S part	unknown
1876	inscription left by unidentified clergyman connected with bishop of Pachoras	Faras	cathedral, baptistery ('Bishops' chapel'), niche in E wall	X–XIII
2475	inscription of unidentified abba, priest and archimandrite	Qasr el-Wizz	church	unknown
97	list of bishops of Pachoras	Faras	cathedral, baptistery ('Bishops' chapel'), niche in E wall	before XII
1873	list of priests	Faras	cathedral, N pastophorium (room H), S wall	X–XIV
637	deed of land sale by Kammeti to Martyrokouda; abba Chael, bishop of Ibrim mentioned in the protocol	Qasr Ibrim	open courtyard of the W fortifications, in sealed jar (Archive 1)	ca. 1268 – before 1276
1745	deed of land sale; abba Iesou, bishop of Ibrim mentioned in the protocol	Qasr Ibrim	not recorded	ca. 940–963
530	epitaph of abba Isak, anchorite	Biga	cemetery 5, tomb 8, in rubbish at W end	2nd h. VI–VIII
1527	amphora addressed to abba Silbanos, archimandrite	Dongola	Kom A, house A.106 ('House of the Ecclesiastics'); incorporated in south bench in corridor	turn of VII

<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Publication</i>
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 7 bishop of Sai (ⲉⲡⲓϥⲕⲧⲱⲛ): l. 7	Boyaval 1972: 21–24, fig. 1; van der Vliet 2008: 157–158 (corrected reading of the name)
stela	epitaph	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 4 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ): l. 8 bishop of Pachoras (ⲛⲧⲏⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲣⲟⲡⲟⲗⲉⲱⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): ll. 12–13	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 719
stone block	commem- orative inscription	Greek/ Coptic	bishop of Sai (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲱⲡⲟⲥ ... ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁ): ll. 1–2 abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1	Tsakos 2011–2012: 306–308 (no. 9), fig. 5
wall	unidentified	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 7	Donadoni 1967: 71 (no. 30)
wall	visitor's inscription	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1 cleric (?) (ⲕⲗⲓⲣⲓⲕ): l. 1	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 32, fig. 34
wall	visitor's inscription	Greek/ Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1 (x2) orthodox bishop of metropolis of Pachoras (ⲱⲫⲱⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥ . . . ⲡⲱⲗⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣⲁⲥ): l. 1	Jakobielski 1983: 134–135 (no. A.3)
pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲑ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲭⲧ): l. 1	unpublished (see Scanlon 1970: fig. 14b)
wall	catalogue	Greek/ Coptic/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): ll. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24 (x2), 26; (ⲁⲃ): ll. 16, 21; (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 20; (ⲁⲃⲧⲱⲧ): ll. 27, 28, 30 bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲧⲱⲛⲧ): ll. 24 (x2), 26, 28, 30	Jakobielski 1966: 152–170; <i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : 190–195, fig. 69
wall	catalogue	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 4	Łajtar & Ochała 2018: 564–565 (no. 4), fig. 4
manuscript	document: legal	Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲡⲡⲁ): l. 7 bishop of Phrim (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲩⲡⲱ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲙ): l. 7 bishop of Kourte (ⲕⲱⲣⲧⲱⲧⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲥ): ll. 8–9	<i>P. QI</i> IV 67, fig. 5
manuscript	document: legal	Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 11 bishop of Phrim (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲩⲛ): ll. 11–12	unpublished (see Hagen 2010: 723)
stela	epitaph	Greek	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 7 anchorite (ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲏⲧⲏⲥ): l. 8	Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, p. 14
pottery	tag	unidentified	abba (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲭⲧⲱⲛⲧⲉ): l. 1	Godlewski 2000: 201

Table 8. Attestations of various general terms used in Nubia to designate a monk or nun. The texts are referred to by their numbers in the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts (<http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>)

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Century</i>
478	brother (= monk) (ⲁⲗⲉⲗⲫ): l. 2	Kalabsha	in a rock cave N of the site, in a wadi separating Kalabsha from Beit el-Wali	VIII-X
474	brother (= monk) (ⲁⲗⲉⲗⲫ[ⲟ]ⲛⲓ): l. 3	Ghazali	not recorded	X-XI (?)
823	brother (= monk) (ⲁⲗⲉⲗⲫ[---]): l. 3	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI
530	anchorite (ⲁⲛⲭⲱⲣⲏⲥ): l. 8	Biga	cemetery 5, tomb 8, in rubbish at W end	VI-VIII
557	monk (ⲙⲟⲛⲁ): l. 11	Aswan	monastery of St Simeon, church, left jamb of apse	XIV
2595	monk (ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲛⲓ): l. 1	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
2295	monk (ⲡⲏⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ): l. 1 (in description of saint; Gauthier: ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲕⲟⲥ; corr. A. Łajtar & G. Ochała)	Wadi es-Sebua	temple-church, pronaos, middle pillar in N row, N face; to the right of painting of cross	
667	monk of (monastery of) Apa [---] ([ⲙⲟ]ⲛⲁⲛⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ[---]): l. 10	Qasr Ibrim	A) street between Ottoman houses 30 and 35; B) outside S face of unit C 2, S bastion, in fill of girdle wall GWC-4	VIII-X
90	monk (ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲱⲥ): l. 12	Faras	N Church in the Desert	IX (?)
92	monk (ⲡⲏⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲱⲥ): l. 2	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, E wall, to the right of left niche	X
95	monk (ⲡⲏⲙⲟⲛⲟⲭⲱⲥ): l. 26	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, central part of S wall	VIII
39	monk (ⲡⲏⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲱⲥ): l. 4	Faras	Christian tombs in front of Meroitic, Western Palace' (SAS-site no. 24-E-15)	IX (probably)

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph of Elias, monk	rock	stone	epitaph	Greek	Curto <i>et al.</i> 1965: 90 (no. 1), pl. 16a
epitaph of Petros, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Lefebvre</i> 609 (= 610); <i>I. Ghazali</i> 67
fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 50, pl. 49; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 88
epitaph of abba Isak, anchorite	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Greek	Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, p. 14
commemorative inscription of abba Ioseph	wall	plaster	commemorative inscription	Greek	Griffith 1928: 18–30 (no. 3), pls. 3–4; Łajtar forthcoming b
inscription of unidentified monk	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	unidentified	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 119, fig. 42.119
inscription left by Mar[---]os	wall	plaster	visitor's inscription	Coptic	Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, p. 87; 4, pl. 140
fragment of epitaph of a monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. ٢١</i> 39, fig. on p. 149
fragment of inscription of Petrou, mentioning abba Shenouthos, archimandrite, son of Isou	wall	plaster	unidentified	Coptic	<i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : pp. 96–97, fig. 22
graffito left by Dioskore, monk	wall	plaster	visitor's inscription	Coptic	<i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : p. 115, fig. 29
colophon of texts written on walls of Anchorite's Grotto by Theophilos, monk	wall	plaster	colophon	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> II 1061
epitaph of Dios, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 10, pl. 7

Table 8. Attestations of various general terms used in Nubia to designate a monk or nun (cont'd)

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Century</i>
1686	monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ): l. 1	Faras	North Church in the Desert	unknown
49	monk of (monastery of) Eittde (ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΝΕΙΤΤΔΗ): l. 10	Sai	unknown, perhaps cathedral	XI
562	monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ): ll. 5–6	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, service area, NE corner, filling of building	VIII–X
56	monk ([ΠΜΟ]ΝΑΧΟΣ): l. 5	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–IX
57	monk ([Π]ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ): l. 5	Ghazali	smaller fragment: S cemetery; bigger fragment: bottom of stair in SW corner of N church	IX–X
2249	brother (= monk) (CON): l. 5 monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ): l. 6	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI
21	monk (ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ): l. 5	Ghazali	not recorded	X–XI
26	monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ): lower left corner	Ghazali	not recorded	X–XI
1764	monk (ΜΟΝΑΖΩ`Τ'): l. 6	Faras	unknown	unknown
159	mother (= nun) (ΜΑΔΥ): ll. 2–3	Sakinya	not recorded	VIII–X
37	mother (= nun) (ΤΗΔΔΥ): l. 1	Faras	site of 'pottery kilns' (24-E-21)	VIII–IX
552	brother (= monk) (CΑΝ): l. 9	unknown	unknown	X
553	brother (= monk) (CΑΝ): ll. 6–7	unknown	unknown	X
565	brother (= monk) (ΠΕΝCON): l. 2	Aswan	Deir Anba Hadra, church, S wall of N aisle, 1.9 m above floor level	X
134	brother (= monk) (CON): l. 2	Sakinya	not recorded	VIII–X
1592	brother (= monk) (ΠΕΝCON): l. 6 and deacon (ΔΙΑΚ`Ο'): l. 6	Faras	Church on the Mastaba Field	VII–XII

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Publication</i>
inscription left by Tokaphri (?), monk	wall	plaster	visitor's inscription	unidentified	Griffith 1927: 93, pl. 74.2
epitaph of Iesou, bishop of Sai	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 27, pl. 20
epitaph of Ioannes, monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Greek	Łajtar 2001b: 327–334, figs. 1–2
epitaph of Marios, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 72, pl. 43; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 57
fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 74, pl. 45; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 48
epitaph of Michinkouda, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 494; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 43
epitaph of Prochoros, monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 32, pl. 31; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 2
epitaph of Ioannes the Little, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 44, pl. 43; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 66
unidentified	stela	sandstone	unidentified	unidentified	Jakobielski 1965: 178–179 (no. 11), fig. 96
epitaph of a nun (?)	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Mina</i> 69
epitaph of Ouareno, nun	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 7, pl. 5
epitaph of Mina, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> IV 1991
epitaph of Eisak, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> IV 1992
epitaph of Petro, monk in Deir Anba Hadra	wall	plaster	epitaph	Coptic	Dijkstra & van der Vliet 2003: 31–39, figs. 1–2
epitaph of man Bebagin (?), monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Mina</i> 42
epitaph of Theophilos, deacon (formerly epitaph of Theoria)	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : pp. 170–171, fig. 50; Ochała forthcoming b, no. 2 (for corrected reading of the name)

Table 8. Attestations of various general terms used in Nubia to designate a monk or nun (cont'd)

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Century</i>
50	brother (= monk) (πCON): l. 4	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX-X
51	brother (= monk) ([co]n): l. 3	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-X
60	brother (= monk) (πENCON): l. 1	Ghazali	S cemetery	X-XI
892	brother (= monk) (nCON): l. 6 and monk (mon[αXOC]): ll. 7-8	Ghazali	fragment (a): room 38 fragment (b): west of monastery	VIII-XI
556	brother (= monk) (πENCON): l. 5 and monk (πn`o`nα`x`): l. 7	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-X
608	brother (= monk) (πn̄CON): ll. 5-6	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-X
728	brother (= monk) (πEN[CON]): l. 5	Ghazali	unknown	VIII-X
942	brother (= monk) (nCON): l. 2	el-Koro	not recorded	VIII-X
881	senior monk ([π]ελλο): l. 4	Ghazali	S cemetery (1)	VIII-XI
57	senior monk (πε̄λ): l. 4	Ghazali	smaller fragment: S cemetery; bigger fragment: bottom of stair in SW corner of N church	IX-X
2590	monk (?) (mo[---]): l. 1	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
11	monk of (monastery of) .enganarti (mon [.] ENGANARTI): l. 6	el-Khandaq (reportedly)	unknown	VIII-X
55	monk (πmo`x`): l. 3	Ghazali	S cemetery, grave 3	VIII-X
3124	monk (πε[CON]): l. 4; (πmon[αXOC]): l. 5	Ghazali	room 8, perhaps re-used for reparation of E wall of monastery	VIII-XI
3123	brother (= monk) (co`n`): l. 11	Ghazali	room 8, perhaps re-used for reparation of E wall of monastery	VIII-XI
853	brother (= monk) ([α] Δελφος): l. 2	Ghazali	fragment (a): cemetery 2, tomb Ghz-2-004, in superstructure fragment (b): unknown	VIII-XI

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph of Petros, monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 28, pl. 20
epitaph of Balo (?), monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 46, pl. 28; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 143
fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 83, pl. 52; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 85
fragment of epitaph of Theodoros	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 62, pl. 37 (fragment b); <i>I. Ghazali</i> 41 (fragments a + b)
epitaph of Mariankouda, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 492; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 44
epitaph of Abraham, monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 490; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 27
fragment of epitaph of Solomon, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 493; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 46
fragment of epitaph of a monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 124, pl. 74
fragment of epitaph of Pa[---]s, senior monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 48, pl. 29; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 50
fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 74, pl. 45; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 48
inscription of Iesou, monk (?)	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	unidentified	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 113, fig. 42.113
epitaph of Ioannes, monk of the monastery of [.]enganarti	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 15, pl. 14
fragment of epitaph of Tirsakouni, monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 67, pl. 40; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 75
epitaph of Iohannes, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Ghazali</i> 45
epitaph of Abibas (?), monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Ghazali</i> 14
fragment of epitaph of Abraam, monk	stela	terracotta	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 83, pl. 80 (fragment b); <i>I. Ghazali</i> 148 (fragments a+b)

Table 8. Attestations of various general terms used in Nubia to designate a monk or nun (cont'd)

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Century</i>
4198	monk (ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲧ): l. 1 priest (ⲡⲓ): l. 1	Ghazali	surface	VIII-XIII
4199	monk (ⲙ[ⲟ]ⲧⲧ): l. 1	Ghazali	room 82, level 2	VIII-XIII
4200	monk (ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲧ): l. 1	Ghazali	north-west annex, room 255	VIII-XIII
4204	monk (?) (ⲓⲙ[ⲟⲩⲁ]ⲧⲟⲩ): ll. 1-2	Ghazali	cemetery 2, tomb Ghz-2-109, mounted in west part of superstructure	VIII-XI
4205	monk (ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲧ[ⲟⲩ]): ll. 1-2	Ghazali	cemetery 2, tomb Ghz-2-126, mounted in west part of superstructure	VIII-XI
4206	brother (= monk) (ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩ): ll. 4-5 monk (ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲁⲧⲧ): l. 6	Ghazali	cemetery 2, tomb Ghz-2-125, mounted in west part of superstructure	VIII-XI
4207	monk (ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ): l. 4	Ghazali	cemetery 2, tomb Ghz-2-135, found inside burial pit, right beneath its original position in superstructure	VIII-XI
4208	brother (= monk) (ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩ): ll. 2-3 monk (ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ): l. 4	Ghazali	cemetery 2, structure Ghz-2-144, mounted in west part of superstructure	VIII-XI
4209	brother (= monk) (ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩ): l. 5 monk (ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲧⲧ): l. 5	Ghazali	room 77-80, upper level, together with Gh.2015.2.045	ca. IX (?)
4210	brother (= monk) (ⲥⲟⲩ): l. 1	Ghazali	room 235	VIII-XI
4201	monk (monogram) (ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲧⲟⲩ)	Ghazali	unit 304	VIII-XIII
4202	monk (ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲧ): l. 1	Ghazali	surface	VIII-XIII
4203	monk (?) (ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲧ): l. 1	Ghazali	room 69, floor level	VIII-XIII

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Publication</i>
inscription of Angelophoros, monk and priest	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	Greek	unpublished; in preparation by G. Ochała
inscription of Chael, monk	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	unidentified	unpublished; in preparation by G. Ochała
inscription of unidentified monk	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	unidentified	unpublished; in preparation by G. Ochała
fragment of epitaph of a monk (?)	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Gbazali</i> 101
fragment of epitaph of a monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Gbazali</i> 102
epitaph of Georgios, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Gbazali</i> 71
epitaph of Marianos, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Gbazali</i> 68
epitaph of Andreas, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Gbazali</i> 98
epitaph of Psate, monk	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Gbazali</i> 16
epitaph of Zacharias	stela	sandstone	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Gbazali</i> 128
inscription of unidentified monk	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	unidentified	unpublished; in preparation by G. Ochała
inscription of Markos or Marianos, monk	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	unidentified	unpublished; in preparation by G. Ochała
perhaps name of Archangel Michael or inscription of unidentified monk	pottery	ceramic	owner's inscription	unidentified	unpublished; in preparation by G. Ochała

Lastly, we have two more attestations which may indicate that a *proestos* was not only a prior but could also have a different function. They are: a letter of Isaac to Georgios, *proestos* and archimandrite (*P. Köln Ägypt.* II 40), and an inscription which mentions a *proestos* and ‘father of a *topos*’ (Wegner 2016: 56). *Proestos* may have been a member of a council (group of elders) that managed the estate and assets of a monastery (Delattre 2015: 215–216). This seems similar to the earlier usage of this word to designate leaders or elders of early Christian communities, like *phllo* in the context of the Shenoutean congregation.

PROEDROS (ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ)

The term *proedros* (πρόεδρος) appears only once in Nubia, in the Coptic version of the foundation inscription of the Faras cathedral (*I. Faras Copt.*: pp. 37–43): ‘the most virtuous (πανάρετος) holy Father Abba (ἁββᾱ) Paulos, the *proedros* (πρόεδρος) and the bishop of the city of Pachoras’. The term has a double meaning, one ecclesiastical and the other secular, designating a high-rank Byzantine official. The secular title was created in the eleventh century, 300 years after the inscription mentioning the bishop Paulos. It was also used to indicate the order of precedence, e.g. *proedros* of the notaries (Kazhdan *et al.* 1991). In the ecclesiastical context, it was a synonym of ‘bishop’, the supreme representative of the Church in a given region. Sometimes it was also used to designate a metropolitan bishop (canons of the Council in Trullo in 691/2), who was head of the episcopate in an area that usually corresponded to the eparchy (Papadakis 1991). Terms indicating precedence were used to create honorary functions. In the thirteenth century, the term *proedros* gained a technical meaning: it designated a bishop of a diocese who was also in charge of another diocese prior to appointment of a new bishop (Kazhdan *et al.* 1991). Adam Łajtar expressed doubt as to whether in the inscription of the bishop Paulos the term indeed referred to a monastic superior (Łajtar 1992: 122). His reservations were rightly confirmed by Jacques van der Vliet, who translated the term *proedros* as ‘prelate’ (*I. Khartoum Copt.*: p. 7, note 24).

HEGOUMENOS (ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ)

According to Ewa Wipszycka, in Egypt the term *begoumenos* (ἡγούμενος) was used to designate leaders of religious communities, regardless of whether they were members of the Church hierarchy or monks. In the first case, a *begoumenos* was usually a presbyter of an episcopal or parochial church. In monastic contexts, the term was applied to heads of monastic communities of various types and sizes. In the early stages of development of the monastic movement in Egypt it was used to designate the most esteemed informal leaders of semi-anchoritic communities (Wipszycka 1991c).

In Byzantium, the term *begoumenos* denoted a monastic superior. *Hegoumenoi* were responsible for the community, its management and economic control, as well as spiritual development. They were usually elected from among members of the community they were supposed to lead. This position was usually preceded by the function of *oikonomos*. This sequence indicates the issues of key significance for a monastic group: management of the community, maintaining its position and material status, and its development. *Hegoumenoi* often had special privileges (like better food) and fairly unrestricted contacts with the world at large. Several patriarchs were former monastic superiors. In the sources we also find a *kathbegoumenos* (ordained superior) and a *probegoumenos* (retired or deposed superior) (Talbot & Kazhdan 1991).

The term *begoumenos* has two attestations in Nubia, and they are most likely separated by a broad time gap. Both come from the territory of Nobadia. The earlier one is a funerary terracotta stela found by George Scanlon of the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition of the University of Chicago at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz (inv. no. 65-10-6).¹ The object was found in a secondary context inside the monastery, but originally it served as a tombstone of Apa Ioannis, who is styled the *begoumenos* of the monastery of the martyr Apa Dios. It seems unlikely that the stela of Apa Ioannis was brought to Qasr el-Wizz from a different monastery, therefore Ioannis was apparently the prior of the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz.

¹ The tombstone was transcribed by Alexandros Tsakos (TSAKOS forthcoming).

The second instance of use of the term *begoumenos* is a testimonial letter in the Coptic language issued for Timotheos, bishop of Faras, in Cairo in 1371. Martin Plumley translates a fragment of this text as follows (Plumley 1975: 19):²

(...) This one became a priest and a monk over the Church of the holy Mother of God Saint Mary of Pachoras and Nubia. And we made him *begoumenos* (...)

In turn, the Arabic version reads (Plumley 1975: 34):

Because he is worthy of the leadership, we have ordained him *begumen* (Arab. *agumunus*) and made him bishop over the above mentioned sees.

Although the entire content of the letter is very interesting and of vital importance for research on the history of Nubia, I would like to focus here only on the passages quoted above. Both versions suggest, as Adam Łajtar noted in his reference work on Nubian bishops (Łajtar forthcoming a), that Timotheos became *begoumenos* shortly before he was appointed bishop. A similar suggestion is formulated by Łajtar concerning Joseph II, bishop of Dongola (from 1320), based on his *cursus honorum* recorded in an inscription found in the Anba Hadra monastery in Aswan (Łajtar forthcoming b). This was not, however, a common phenomenon in the history of the Nubian Church. It should be pointed out that the two bishops were appointed to their posts in the fourteenth century, when some of the titular kings of the declining Makurian realm were Muslims, the so-called throne hall in Dongola had been turned into a mosque, and from 1364 or 1366 onwards the capital was no longer in Dongola, but in Daw, to which the royal court had moved. If the data from Qasr el-Wizz and Ghazali are representative for the entire kingdom of Makuria (the two monasteries are located on two practically opposite ends of its territory), then the severe crisis of the monastic movement may have occurred already in the thirteenth century, when both monasteries were abandoned. It seems that in the fourteenth century Nubian monasticism

² A new edition of this text is being prepared by Joost Haagen.

was already in decline, the number of monastic centres decreased, and the group of monks aspiring to the position of bishop was not as large as in previous centuries. Therefore, even though one should not consider the careers of Timotheos and Joseph II as emblematic for the entire Makurian Church throughout its existence, they may have been typical for its terminal stage.

In the same paper, Adam Łajtar also suggests that the usage of the term *begoumenos* with reference to Timotheos designates him as the superior of all monks in his episcopal see. This, of course, cannot be excluded, but a different possible meaning of the term can be proposed. The monastery of Qasr el-Wizz, like Qasr Ibrim, lies in the territory of Nobadia, where ties with Egypt were much stronger than in the region beyond the Third Nile Cataract (see i.a. Obłuski forthcoming). It is, therefore, very likely that on the terracotta stela the term *begoumenos* was, like in Egypt, used to designate a monastic superior. In the case of the second attestation, a fact of decisive importance is that the document was drafted in Egypt, in the circle of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who permanently resided in Cairo by that time. Thus, the title *begoumenos* need not, as Łajtar suggests, denote a superior of monks in the entire diocese, but a titular head of a single monastery. According to canon law, a bishop was *eo ipso* a superior of all monks in his diocese. The lack of the designation of the monastery may mean that whoever drafted the document – most likely a member of the circle of the Patriarch of Alexandria – simply did not know it.

*ARCHIKOINOBITES (APXIKOINOBITHΣ)
AND TIMMIN OURΑ (ΤΙΜΙΝ ΟΥΡΑ)*³

The title *archikoinobites* (ἀρχικουνοβίτης) appears in a Greek inscription from the church in Sonqi Tino, found in room 8 on the west wall, to the right of a wall painting representing King Georgios under the protection of Christ (DBMNT 2148). It is a prayer to Archangel Michael for protection over Petro and Simeon, an eparch. The inscription, which has yet to

³ I am grateful to Grzegorz Ochała, Adam Łajtar, and Alexandros Tsakos for sharing their reading of the text from Sonqi Tino with me.

be published, includes two interesting pieces of information. First, that Petro was archpresbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of Four Apocalyptic Creatures (possibly located in Faras), as well as *archikoinobites* of the monastery in Pigij.⁴ It is worth adding that other scholars previously saw in this place the term *archikoinobiarches* (Donadoni 1975: 34, 38), but it should rather be abandoned in the light of new readings. The meaning of the term is close to the designation *koinobiarches*, used in Byzantium interchangeably with *begoumenos*. *Koinobiarches* is also attested in Egypt. It appears as the title of Apa Besas, who represents the monastery of Apa Jeremias as heir of Flavius Phoibammon (*P. Cair. Masp.* II 67151 <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.cair.masp;2;67151dupl>). This prior is styled as *proestos*, *presbyteros*, *koinobiarches*, and *begoumenos*. Since the two latter titles appear separately in the text, it seems possible that they refer to the same function of prior, all the more so that the language of this document is full of synonyms (Wegner 2017: 32, note 58). The term could have denoted an *archi-koinobites*, or the head *koinobites*, prior of a coenobitic monastery.

The situation is similar with the Old Nubian term *timmin oura* (ṭṭṡṡṡ ṡṡṡṡ). It is found in a Greek-Old Nubian inscription in room 14 of the Northwest Annex at the monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola (Łajtar 2002: 186):

Abba Georgios, archpriest and *archistylites*. After the 33rd year, when I became head of a congregation (ṭṭṡṡṡ ṡṡṡṡ), on the 2nd of Phamenoth which is the 7th month, when there was Sunday.

The origins of this phrase may be sought in Coptic sources. The term *timmin oura*, ‘head of a congregation’, first drew the attention of Gerald Browne, who suggested that the Old Nubian word ṭṭṡṡṡ should be connected with the use of the word *сѡнагѡгѡ* (‘congregation’). Adam Łajtar associated it with the title of archimandrite, rather than a head of congregations of several monasteries (Łajtar 2002: 188). However, Shenoute called his monasteries *ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲡⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ* (‘these congregations’) and the entire congregation consisting of three monasteries – *сѡнагѡгѡ* (Layton 2009: 45).

⁴ Adam Łajtar and Grzegorz Ochała are of the opinion that it is the monastery of Archangel Michael in Pigij.

The entire monastic milieu in Nubia certainly drew upon the intellectual and spiritual legacy of Egyptian monasticism, including the Shenoutean model, so perhaps Gerald Browne's suggestion should not be rejected. Maybe Georgios indeed became head of a community of several monasteries in the vicinity of the capital.

FATHER (ⲉⲱⲧⲉ)

There are only two attestations of the designation 'father' in Nubia. Both come from Ghazali. The first one was published by Maria Cramer (Cramer 1949: 12–13, no. 1492), the second by Jacques Van der Vliet (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 74). In the former, a certain Chael is called father (ⲛⲓⲛⲉⲱⲧ), priest (ⲡ) and arch() (ⲁⲣⲭ). In the latter, an anonymous monk is called father (ⲛⲓⲱⲧ) and senior monk (ⲛⲉⲗ). Dorota Dzierzbicka drew my attention to the possibility that ⲉⲱⲧⲉ could be a form address, like 'Reverend' in modern Church. This seems to be the most convenient explanation in both of the cases discussed here and it would mean that Chael was a priest and arch(), while the anonymous monk was a ⲛⲉⲗ.

In Egypt, ⲉⲱⲧⲉ was used to designate a head of a monastery, as in the case of Menases, superior of the monastery of Apa Apollo in Titkooh, as well as Georgios and Daniel, priors of an unspecified monastery of Apa Apollo. Georgios and Daniel are referred to as ⲛⲱⲧ ⲛⲓⲧⲱⲡⲱⲥ, father of the monastery (Clackson 1996: 42). This disagrees with the Shenoutean tradition, in which 'elders' (ⲉⲗⲗⲱ), also called ⲉⲱⲧⲉ, formed a council supporting the management of the individual communities run by 'the eldest', ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲱ (Layton 2002: 28–29; 2009: 58, fig. 1).

In both Nubian cases we could also be dealing with a *cursus honorum*. Toward the end of their lives, Chael and the anonymous monk were priors of the monastery in Ghazali, and the author of the first epitaph considered it relevant to note that Chael was also an ordained priest.

Table 9. Attestations of leaders of monastic communities in Nubia.
The texts are referred to by their numbers in the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts
(<http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>)

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Century</i>
2148	<i>archikoinobites</i> of (monastery of) Archangel Michael at Pigij (?) (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: ll. 4-5	Sonqi Tino	church, narthex; to the right of painting of Christ protecting King Georgios	XI-XIV
2575	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
2475	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Qasr el-Wizz	church	unknown
457	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Ghazali (?)	unknown	IX-X (?)
1328	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1327	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
90	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 11	Faras	N Church in the Desert	IX (?)
2927	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 7	Faras	cathedral, N end of transversal aisle, N wall	XI-XIV
2148	archimandrite of (monastery of Four) Living Creatures in Pachoras (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: ll. 3-4	Sonqi Tino	church, narthex; to the right of painting of Christ protecting King Georgios	XI-XIV
560	archimandrite of Great (monastery of) Anthony (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: ll. 5-6; (ⲟ ⲛⲉⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 14	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2	XII
2515	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
2526	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
2559	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
1526	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Dongola	Kom A, house A.106 ('House of the Ecclesiastics'); incorporated in S bench in corridor	turn of VII
1681	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1 (Griffith: 'Arka'; corr. G. Ochala)	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W wall; below panel no. 7	after VIII
1336	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1332	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲛⲟⲃⲓ: l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Publication</i>
prayer to Archangel Michael for two (?) persons, Petro and Simeon, eparch	wall	private prayer	–	unpublished; in preparation by Sonqi Tino Collaborative (see Donadoni 1975: 34, 38)
inscription of unidentified abba, priest and archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 92, 93, 95, figs. 39-92, 93, 95, pl. 21b
inscription of unidentified abba, priest and archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	unpublished (see Scanlon 1970: fig. 14b)
fragment of epitaph of [---]ilo, priest and archimandrite	stela	epitaph	Greek/Old Nubian	Donadoni 1986: 226–227, fig. 3; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 73
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 8), fig. on p. 341
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite and <i>archistylites</i>	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 340–341 (no. 7), fig. on p. 340
fragment of inscription of Petrou, mentioning abba Shenouthos, archimandrite, son of Isou	wall	unidentified	Coptic	<i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : pp. 96–97, fig. 22
list of offerings brought to the church (?)	wall	catalogue	Old Nubian	Łajtar & Ochała 2015: 74–84 (no. 1), fig. 1
prayer to Archangel Michael for two (?) persons, Petro and Simeon, eparch	wall	private prayer	Greek	unpublished; in preparation by Sonqi Tino Collaborative (see Donadoni 1975: 34, 38)
epitaph of Georgios, archbishop	stela	epitaph	Greek	Łajtar 2002: 164–184, pl. after p. 164; Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 18–22 (no. 1), fig. on p. 21 and fig. 5
inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 20, fig. 34.20
inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 31, fig. 34.31, pl. 19
inscription of unidentified archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 70, fig. 37.70
amphora addressed to Psate, priest and archimandrite	pottery	tag	unidentified	Godlewski 2000: 201
inscription left by abba Mariane, priest and archimandrite	wall	visitor's inscription	unidentified	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 27), pls. 62.2, 73.27
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 344 (no. 16), fig. on p. 344
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 342–343 (no. 12), fig. on p. 342

Table 9. Attestations of leaders of monastic communities in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Century</i>
1333	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1334	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1335	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1337	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
89	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓⲧⲉ): l. 8	Faras	unknown	IX
809	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ): ll. 2-3	Dongola (reportedly)	unknown	VII-XII
1527	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	Kom A, house A.106 ('House of the Ecclesiastics'); incorporated in S bench in corridor	turn of VII
581	archimandrite of (monastery of) Archangel Michael in Ourm() (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲁⲓⲧⲉ): l. 37 (Browne: om. 'Ourm()'; corr. Łajtar 2009b) archimandrite of (monastery of) Makarios in Eittde (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲉ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ): ll. 37-38 (Browne: untranslated; corr. Łajtar 2009b)	Qasr Ibrim	house 177, room 2, in jar beneath floor (Archive 3)	XII
2182	archimandrite of (monastery of) Danionyjer ([ⲁ]ⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲉⲣ): ll. 2-3	el-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto'	X-XIII
989	archimandrite of (monastery of) Jesus in Tillarti (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲓⲥ ⲧⲓⲕⲁⲣⲓⲧⲉ): l. 8	Dongola	not recorded	IX (?)
1791	archimandrite of (monastery of) Maria in Pachoras (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲕⲟⲣⲁⲥ): l. 1	Faras	cathedral, baptistery ('Bishops' chapel'), niche in wall E; to the right of painting no. 54 (Christ Emmanuel)	XI-XII (?)
74	archimandrite of (monastery of) Maria in Timaeie (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲓⲙⲁⲉⲓⲉ): ll. 16-17	Dongola	Church of Granite Columns, in pavement of main nave	VIII
77	archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟ): l. 10	Qasr Ibrim	cathedral cemetery terrace (plaza 758), W of S church (church 294)	XI
1326	archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko ([ⲁ]ⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1323	archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲟ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Publication</i>
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 343 (no. 13), fig. 1 and fig. on p. 343
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 343 (no. 14), fig. on p. 343
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 344 (no. 15), fig. on p. 344
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 345 (no. 17), fig. on p. 345
epitaph of Thomas, bishop of Pachoras	stela	epitaph	Coptic	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 719
inscription mentioning abba Ephanne, priest and archimandrite	stone block	dedicatory inscription	Greek	<i>I. Kbartoum Greek</i> 27, pl. 26
amphora addressed to abba Silbanos, archimandrite	pottery	tag	unidentified	Godlewski 2000: 201
royal proclamation concerning church of Epimachus in Phrim West; king Moise Georgios appearing (as nephew of king Daud); Papasa, archimandrite of (monastery of) Archangel Michael in Ourm()	manuscript	document: official	Old Nubian	<i>P. QI</i> III 30, pl. 1; Łajtar 2009b: 97–100 (improved reading of the subscript)
inscription left by unknown person, archimandrite	wall	visitor's inscription	Greek	Łajtar 2003: 514 (no. 3), fig. on p. 514
fragment of epitaph of Marianou, archimandrite of the monastery of Jesus in Tillarti	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Fitz.</i> 110
inscription left by Mariane, deacon, brother of Iesou, archimandrite of monastery of Mary in Pachoras	wall	visitor's inscription	Greek/ Coptic	<i>I. Faras Greek</i> 43, fig. 30
epitaph of (I)stephanou, archimandrite, called also Einyitta, son of Maranya	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. Varsovie</i> 110, pl. 110
epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Pachoras	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. QI</i> 22, fig. on p. 87
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338–339 (no. 6), fig. on p. 338
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 337 (no. 3), fig. on p. 337

Table 9. Attestations of leaders of monastic communities in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Century</i>
1322	archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ [ⲡⲟϥⲕⲓ]): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1321	archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲟϥⲕⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1324	archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲟϥⲕⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1325	archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲟϥⲕⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
653	archimandrite of (monastery of) Raphael (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ): l. 10 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pashshe (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲩⲱⲩⲉ): l. 11	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	XII
654	archimandrite of (monastery of) Raphael (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛⲗ): ll. 12-13	Qasr Ibrim	tomb T2 (296), S of cathedral (church 293)	XII
1358	archimandrite of Great (monastery of) Anthony (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲓ ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲓ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, NW room, 'cellar'	XI-XII
1329	archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙ[---]): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1339	archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲓ ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
1338	archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲙⲓ ⲧⲣⲓⲥ[ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ]): l. 1	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII
2244	father (= abbot) ([ⲡⲉⲛ]ⲉⲱ[ⲧ]): ll. 1-2	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
1422	father (= abbot) ([ⲡ]ⲉⲛⲉⲱⲧ): ll. 6-7	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII
	<i>begoumenos</i> (ἡγούμενος)	Qasr Ibrim	burial in the staircase of the northern crypt of the Qasr Ibrim cathedral	XIV
2945	<i>begoumenos</i> (ἡγούμενος)	Qasr el-Wizz	fill of Rooms I-O and I-S	VII-X
561	<i>timmin oura</i> (lit. head of congregation) (ⲧⲓⲙⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲣ): l. 2	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, W annex, room 14, N wall; above DBMNT 1989	XI
57	father (= abbot) ([ⲡ]ⲉⲱⲧ): l. 4	Ghazali	smaller fragment: S cemetery; bigger fragment: bottom of stair in SW corner of N church	IX-X

<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Publication</i>
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 337 (no. 2), fig. on p. 337
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 336–337 (no. 1), fig. on p. 336
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338 (no. 4), fig. on p. 338
inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338 (no. 5), fig. on p. 338
epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Phrim	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. QI</i> 20, fig. on p. 69
epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim	stela	epitaph	Greek	<i>I. QI</i> 21, fig. on p. 79
inscription of abba Christophorou, archimandrite of the monastery of Anthony the Great	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	unpublished (see Jakobielski 2008: 288, fig. 8 [top]; Gazda 2010: 55–56, fig. 32)
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite (?)	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 9), fig. on p. 341
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 346 (no. 19), fig. on p. 346, pl. 63.1
inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	owner's inscription	unidentified	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 345–346 (no. 18), fig. on p. 345
epitaph of unknown monk	stela	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Ghazali</i> 89
epitaph of Chael, priest and archimandrite	stela	epitaph	Coptic	Cramer 1949: 12–13 (ll. 1–7), pl. 1; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 26
testimonial letters the bishop received on the occasion of his ordination in Cairo	parchment	testimonial letters	Coptic/Arabic	Plumley 1975
epitaph of apa Ioannis, <i>begoumenos</i> of the monastery of the martyr apa Dios	terracota	stela	Coptic	unpublished (see Williams <i>et al.</i> 2014: 127)
graffito commemorating nomination of Georgios to office of archimandrite	wall	commemorative inscription	Greek/Old Nubian	Łajtar 2002: 186–188 (no. 2)
fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	epitaph	Coptic	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 74, pl. 45; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 48

ARCHIMANDRITE

With over 60 attestations, the title of archimandrite is the most frequently occurring monastic title in Nubia. It is found on funerary stelae of persons who held this function during their lifetime, as well as on wall inscriptions, pottery vessels, and in official documents (Table). It remained in use throughout the Christian period in all of the Middle Nile Valley.

Let us now take a closer look at the Nubian archimandrites for whom we have more data than just mentions of their existence. Data on them come primarily from epitaphs (*I. QI* 22). Five epitaphs and one inscription discussed below mention five such individuals. Two of them were ordained bishops. The first epitaph was composed for Marianou, archimandrite of the monastery of Jesus on Tillarti (van der Vliet in *I. Fitz.*: pp. 156–157). Only the upper part of the stela is preserved, it is therefore possible that additional titles were originally present at the bottom. Even if that were the case, however, we can be sure that the function of archimandrite was the apex of Marianou's career, so all other roles were of a lower rank.

The second object is a stela of an individual named -ilo, about whom we learn little beyond the fact that he was a presbyter and archimandrite, most probably of the monastery in Ghazali (Donadoni 1986: 226–227, fig. 3). Added to his stela was also a single line in Old Nubian, which reads *piddin asti presbyteros*. The designation probably refers to the deceased. It is unclear why the added line repeats that he was a presbyter (perhaps the reading of the upper, badly damaged part of the stela is erroneous). The word *asti* itself means 'daughter' in Old Nubian. Adam Łajtar suggests that it might refer to a local official (Łajtar personal communication).

The next text is the epitaph of Abba Thomas, bishop of Faras (*SBKopt.* I 719). It contains information that Thomas first spent 23 years in the monastery of Maurage, where he was an archimandrite (*I. Faras Copt.*: pp. 75–80), and then he was ordained bishop. In turn, from the list of bishops of Pachoras (*I. Faras Copt.*: no. J226k.2/3) we learn that he occupied the episcopal throne for 35 years (*I. Faras Copt.*: pp. 190–195). Of all the discussed bishops only he went from monk to bishop with no intermediate steps in his career. It is also worth noting that on the stela Thomas bore the title *abba*. The latter was, however, absent from the

inscription due to the logic of the list, in which the first fourteen bishops all lack the title *abba*. The other likely reason for this is that the person who added this man to the list of bishops of Faras did so a long time after Thomas's death. Therefore, the absence of the title *abba* before a name on the list of Faras bishops is insufficient to conclude that a given bishop did not have a monastic background or was not a monk while holding his post.

The fourth epitaph belonged to Stephanos, also called Einitta, who held the following offices in his lifetime: *presbyteros*, *chartouarios*, archimandrite of the monastery of Mary in Timaeie, *choiakishshil* (χοιακεῖωλ) and *joknaishshil* (δοκναῶωλ).⁵ The first function – *presbyteros* – needs no comment; the second, *chartouarios* (χαρτουλάριος), has a dozen or so attestations in Nubia. It appears on its own or with a territorial epithet, like χαρτουλάριος νταλμεως, or *chartouarios* of Talmis (Kalabsha) (Nowak & Wojciechowski 2012). It is often accompanied by the term *notarios*.

In Byzantium, the term *chartouarios* denoted lower-rank officials in various institutions. In the ninth–tenth centuries, *chartouarioi* were officials in charge of fiscal and archival matters. In Church administration, such duties were in the care of a *chartophylax* (χαρτοφύλαξ). This office, usually combined with the role of deacon, is attested from the sixth century onwards. It gains importance over time and by the eleventh century a *chartophylax* is one of five closest associates of the bishop (Macrides 1991). It seems that as in Byzantium also in Nubia *chartouarios* may have been a position of lower rank, combining fiscal and archival duties.

Other available sources are the epitaphs of bishops of Qasr Ibrim and Faras. The first is a funerary stela of the bishop Marianou of Faras (d. 1036), found at Qasr Ibrim (I. 20). We learn from it that the bishop was an archimandrite of the monastery in Pouko, an emissary to Babylon, and that he was the owner of a church of Four Apocalyptic Creatures on the island of Teme. No other functions he held are specified, possibly not because he held none, but because he died and was buried outside his diocese and the person who wrote his epitaph did not have all the data. If these are indeed all the offices he held, his career in the royal administra-

⁵ As a side note, it is worthy of mention that a certain Einitta, though not necessarily the same individual, is attested as owner of the Jesus-Church of the Mountain in P. 20 III 34. The same or another Einitta also appears as a witness in deeds of sale found at Qasr Ibrim.

tion would have started with the important function of emissary to Babylon (Cairo).

The next epitaph belonged to Abba Georgiou (d. 1125), who began his career as a *notarios* of an eparch, was a prior of two monasteries, of Raphael and Pashshe, and ended his life as bishop of Qasr Ibrim (P. QI II 20). His career was not rich in titles. He began as a *notarios* – most likely one of several *notarioi* – in the eparchal chancery. We know that *notarioi* constituted a group because the successor of Georgiou on the episcopal throne bore the title of *archinotarios* (P. QI II 21). He was then appointed archimandrite of the monastery of Raphael, and later of Pashshe. Such a promotion to prior would have been possible in two situations. First, if, as suggested by Adam Łajtar for fourteenth-century Nubian bishops, he had to be a prior or monk only to comply with the universal Christian practice of selecting bishops from among monks. Second, if he was already a monk before he became a *notarios*, but his *cursus honorum* failed to mention it. In the case of this particular bishop, the first option is less likely, since he was archimandrite of two monasteries. Possibly Georgiou was a monk employed as a *notarios* in the eparch's administration. According to the epitaph, he was promoted three times in recognition of his talents. First, he was made archimandrite of the monastery of Raphael. If indeed Georgiou held the office of *notarios* as a monk, then the monastery of Raphael had to be nearby, if not in Qasr Ibrim itself. He was promoted again when he became prior of the monastery in Pashshe. It is obscure whether he was appointed archimandrite of the monastery in Pashshe while still at the head of the monastery of Raphael, or whether he joined a different community. He is the only attested archimandrite of two monasteries, we may therefore reject the possibility that this function was held for a fixed term. Perhaps Georgiou was appointed archimandrite of the second monastery in order to deal with a crisis situation at Pashshe. One should rather exclude the possibility that this was a punitive transfer, given the high rank of the position and the fact that he later donned the episcopal tiara.

The successor of Georgiou on the episcopal throne was Abba Marianou (d. 1132). Prior to his appointment as bishop, he was *archinotarios* of the eparch, *deg()* of the queen, and archimandrite of the monastery of Raphael.

His *cursus honorum* (if complete) is not very long. Assuming this was his entire career, it is clear that he began with a fairly high-rank position as the head *notarios* of the eparch. If his employer was the eparch of Nobadia (so Adam Łajtar), then his seat at this point was no longer in Faras but in Qasr Ibrim (P. 2I II 22). The next position held by Marianou was the *deg()* of the queen, a designation which probably refers to the queen's deacon or *dioiketes* (I. 2I: pp. 82–83). The former seems more likely, given Marianou's further career, namely the position of prior of the monastery of Raphael. This monastery may have been located in the vicinity of Dongola or, more likely, Qasr Ibrim, Marianou's home city. Some time after assuming this function, he was appointed bishop of Qasr Ibrim. A noteworthy fact about Marianou's *cursus honorum* is that he began with a high-rank position, which may indicate that he was descended from the local elites, and his career was built around his home city.

The last example discussed is Abba Georgios (d. 1113), *archistylites* of (the monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲥⲧⲩⲛⲓⲧⲣⲓⲁϥ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁϥ), archimandrite of the Great (monastery of) Anthony (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲙⲉⲧⲓⲧⲓ) (ⲟⲙⲉⲣⲁϥ ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲧⲓ ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲧⲓ), archbishop (ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲥⲉⲙⲓϥⲕⲓⲧⲓ) (Łajtar 2002). The title *archistylites* is discussed elsewhere in this book. One is struck by the fact that Georgios' *cursus honorum* begins with the title of *archistylites* of the monastery of the Holy Trinity. Did he start his career with a position of such high rank, or was his career just not known to the writer? Or perhaps, in the case of such highly esteemed individuals in Nubia, the functions they held earlier on were simply omitted? The first and last of these options are the most likely. After all, a person of such authority, to judge by the epitaph, was certainly well known to the local community, as well as to the author of the inscription. I am inclined to favour the third possibility: Georgios was too eminent at the time of death to dwell on his positions of lower rank.

The term *archimandrites* first appeared in Syria and Mesopotamia, and from there it spread to other regions of the Christian East (Wipszycka 1991a). According to Alice-Mary Talbot, in the first phase of development of the monastic movement this designation was synonymous to the term *begoumenos*, or simply 'prior' (Talbot 1991a). Justinianic legislation (Novel 5 and 7) mentions heads of monasteries four times

(Ruggieri 1991: 118). From the time of Justinian I, *begoumenos* began to replace the term archimandrite as the title denoting a head of a monastery, but the latter term nonetheless remained in use until the tenth century as a term for priors of several largest monasteries (Talbot 1991a). Pargoire, in turn, concludes that from the sixth century onwards the designation 'archimandrite' was applied to superiors of regional or urban federations uniting several monasteries and was synonymous to the terms *exarch* or *protos*, for instance the *protoi* of holy mountains like Athos, Latros or Olympus, or heads of groups of several monasteries located in one city (Pargoire 1907). Ewa Wipszycka indicates that in Egypt 'archimandrite' was an honorific title awarded by the bishop to priors who were either renowned for their holiness or headed important monasteries (Wipszycka 1991a). Paul Eric Kahle reports that in the analysed Bala'izah documents the term archimandrite occurs only three times. By comparison, there were twelve attestations of the title *proestos*. Another term used is *ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲉ* (*P. Bal.* 33). In Palestine, the designation 'archimandrite' was also applied to priors of individual monasteries whose authority was recognised by other monks in the area (Binns 1994: 171).

The title of archimandrite is the most frequently attested title in epigraphic sources and in documents from the territories of both Nobadia and Makuria. The other terms discussed above: *proestos* and *proedros*, are not synonymous to the term archimandrite. Others, such as *archikoinobites* or *timmin oura* are used sporadically and their appearance may be explained by the erudition of the author of the text, who wished to show off his skill by substituting commonly used terms with synonyms⁶ or, as in the case of *begoumenos*, may indicate closer ties to the Egyptian monastic tradition. In the preserved sources one cannot see a regional or chronological preference for using any one of them. Considering the ubiquity of the designation 'archimandrite' compared to the relative paucity of the other titles, it seems justified to conclude that the basic meaning of this title in Nubia is 'a prior of a single monastery'.

⁶ A similar opinion was expressed by Adam Łajtar (ŁAJTAR 1992: 122).

ELDER (πῆλλο)

This title is attested twice in Nubia, and both attestations come from epitaphs found in the Ghazali monastery. The first is stela no. 48, written in Coptic and published by Jacques van der Vliet (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 48). The tombstone is for πῆλλο πα[.....]c (line 4), which van der Vliet translates as ‘an elderly monk’, though he does not exclude the possibility that the term denoted the rank of the deceased within the monastic hierarchy.

The second attestation of πῆλλο, which shows more clearly that it was a monastic title rather than an indication of age, is found in stela no. 74. I quote the editor’s reconstruction of lines 4 and 5 (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 74) below:

4 ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲓⲉⲱⲧ ⲙⲡῆⲗ
 ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲗⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟϥ

In line 4, the abbreviation ⲙⲡῆⲗ should probably be expanded as ⲙⲛ πῆλλο. If so, then the two lines of text in the part of interest should be read as follows: ‘father and elder, (name), monk’. Therefore, it would be justified to suppose that ‘father’ and ‘elder’ are two titles of the monk rather than his function and indication of advanced age. Similar pairings are attested for ecclesiastical and monastic titles like ‘presbyter’ and ‘archimandrite’. The second possibility is that the epitaph included a chronological listing of titles constructed according to the rules that governed *cursus honorum*. At the time of death, the nameless monk may have been a father, or prior of the monastery (see attestations of ⲉⲱⲧⲉ in Nubia), and before that an elder.

Another question that arises from the scrutiny of these texts is whether they mention πῆλλο or ῥῆλλο as monastic offices. These two terms had different meanings in the Shenoutean congregation. The πῆλλο managed individual communities, while a ῥῆλλο was a member of a council that advised πῆλλο (Layton 2002: 28–29; 2009: 58, fig. 1). Among the attested tasks performed by πῆλλο were, e.g., monthly inspections of each house, cell and vessel in the monastery (Layton 2002: 51). ῥῆλλο in turn, had the right to regulate issues concerning meals, breaking fast or prescribing a special diet, hygiene, etc. – practically all details of life of individual

monks. The ḡλλο also took care of guests in the monastery, requesting special meals for them (Layton 2009: 53–54). It is highly likely that such leaders of smaller groups of monks were needed to run a community of 70 monks, not counting laypeople.

ARCHON (APXΩN)

Tentative attestations of this title in Nubia come from Ghazali and from the monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola. The reading of the Ghazali instances is controversial. The title *archon* appears as an abbreviation αpx in owners' inscriptions scratched on vessels found in the monastery. In all recorded examples it is impossible to interpret it as a prefix *arch-*, for instance for archpresbyter, as in such cases the writing convention was different: *arch-* appeared in abbreviated form before the title it modified. In the cases here discussed, αpx stands alone next to the name of the vessel owner. An alternative way of expanding αp`x` would be 'archimandrite', but the abbreviation of this title attested elsewhere is different (αp`x`μαν`Δ', see above). The situation is further complicated by the fact that the title 'archimandrite' is attested only once on vessels from Ghazali (DBMNT 457). It cannot be excluded, therefore, that at least on vessel inscriptions from Ghazali αp`x` stood for 'archimandrite'. This sheds doubt on whether this abbreviation should indeed be considered an attestation of the title of *archon* in Nubia.

Another attestation from Ghazali is the epitaph of Chael, who was a father (= abbot) ([π]ενειωτ): ll. 6–7, priest (ⲡ): l. 7, and *arch()* (αp`x`): l. 7 (Cramer 1949: 12–13, ll. 1–7, pl. 1). If the title father = archimandrite, then the abbreviation αp`x` in this case cannot refer to the same position. However, if ειωτε were a form of address, as suggested above, it would explain the lack of attestations of this term among the titles of vessel owners and its presence in the epitaph. In any case, however, this does not rule out the reading of the abbreviation αp`x` as *archon* in the epitaph.

The attestation from Old Dongola, published by Stefan Jakobielski (Jakobielski 2010: 72), is the name and title of a sender of an amphora: ΝΤΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ ⲡ αp`x`, 'from Jacob *presbyteros arch()*'. However, Jakobielski

translates it ‘from Jacob, *archipresbyteros*’. The form of the text implies that it was not written by an inhabitant of the Dongolese monastery but by someone who sent the contents of the amphora from the outside.

Outside Nubia, this title is associated with a *sakkelarios*, and it most likely designates members of an advisory body or superiors of monasteries that were his subordinates (Zhishman 1867: 160–161). An attestation of this title is also found in the *Chronographikon syntomon* ascribed to Nicephorus, the Patriarch of Constantinople (ca. 758–829):

νθ' Πύρρος πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας μοναχὸς καὶ ἄρχων τῶν
μοναστηρίων καὶ ἡγούμενος Χρυσοπόλεως· στάσεως δὲ γενομένης
αὐτῷ παρητήσατο· ἔτη β' μῆνας θ' ἡμέρας θ' (de Boor 1880: 118, line 10).

οε' Νικήτας πρεσβύτερος τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ ἄρχων τῶν
μοναστηρίων, ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἔτη ιγ' μῆνας δ' (de Boor 1880: 119, line 10).

ARCHISTYLITES (ΑΡΧΙΣΤΥΛΙΤΗΣ)

In Nubia, this title is attested only in Dongola thus far. The first testimony is an inscription in the eastern part of the north wall of the *kellion* of St Anna in the monastery on Kom H in Old Dongola left by Abba Kyri, *archistylites* (Łajtar 2014: 289). The title is also attested for Georgios, the later archbishop of Dongola (Łajtar 2002: 176), and for a certain Lazaros, known thanks to inscriptions on his vessels found in Room 20 in the Northwest Annex to the monastery on Kom H (Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 348–349). The term *archistylites* was also inscribed on a window grille found in the fill of the same annex (Łajtar 2014: 288). Adam Łajtar suggests to interpret the term as a title carried by individuals whose main task was looking after the spiritual life of the monastery (Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 347–349). Several questions regarding this title currently remain unanswered. Why is it attested only in Dongola? Could it testify to an inflation of monastic titles, a desire of individuals to distinguish themselves in the monastic hierarchy? And lastly, who appointed the bearers of this title?

Table 10. Attestations of the abbreviation ⲁⲣⲧⲭ at the Ghazali monastery.
The texts are referred to by their numbers in the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts
(<http://www.dbmmt.uw.edu.pl>)

	<i>Names</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Offices</i>
1422	Chael (m) (Ⲭⲁⲏⲗ): l. 7	epitaph of Chael, priest and archimandrite	father (= abbot) ([ⲡ]ⲏⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ): ll. 6–7 priest (ⲡ): l. 7 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 7
2496	Ioannes or Ionas (m) (ⲓⲱⲛ): l. 1	unidentified text mentioning Ioannes or Ionas, priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
2515	Bap() ([ⲃ]ⲁⲡ): l. 1	inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
2521	Ekklesiastes (?) (ⲉⲕⲗⲏ): l. 1	perhaps inscription of Ekklesiastes (?), archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
2526	Bap() (ⲃⲁⲡ): l. 1	inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
2559		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
2575		inscription of unidentified abba, priest and archimandrite	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
3137		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
3135		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
3136		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
4150		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
4151		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
4152		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁ[ⲡ]ⲧⲭ): l. 1
4153		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
4154		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite ([ⲁ]ⲡⲧⲭ): l. 1
4155	Antonios (?) (ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲥ): l. 1	inscription of Antonios (?), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
4156	Bap() ([ⲃⲁ]ⲡ): l. 1	inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲧⲭ): l. 1
4157		inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲣ[ⲧ]ⲭ): l. 1

<i>Object</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Publication</i>
stela	epitaph	not recorded	Cramer 1949: 12–13 (ll. 1–7), pl. 1; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 26
pottery	unidentified	outside N wall of N church	unpublished (see Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 28, pl. 12a–b)
pottery	owner's inscription	not recorded	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 20, fig. 34.20
pottery	owner's inscription	not recorded	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 26, fig. 34.26
pottery	owner's inscription	not recorded	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 31, fig. 34.31, pl. 19
pottery	owner's inscription	not recorded	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 70, fig. 37.70
pottery	owner's inscription	not recorded	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 92, 93, 95, figs. 39.92, 93, 95, pl. 21b
pottery	owner's inscription	room 9	Obluski & Ochała 2016: 76
pottery	owner's inscription	fill of south church	Obluski & Ochała 2016: 76
pottery	owner's inscription	room 2	Obluski & Ochała 2016: 76 with n. 36, fig. 7E
pottery	owner's inscription	room 2	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	south church	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	south church, upper fill	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	south church, upper fill	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	south church, upper fill	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 22	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 3, fill above deposit	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 4	unpublished

Table 10. Attestations of the abbreviation ⲁⲡⲛⲭ at the Ghazali monastery (cont'd)

<i>Names</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Offices</i>
4158	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁ[ⲡ]ⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4159	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4160	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4161	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4162	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁ[ⲡ]ⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4163	inscription of unidentified priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (?) (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4164	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4165	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4166 Bap() (ⲃⲁⲡ): 1. 1	inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4167	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4168	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4169	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4170	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (?) (ⲁⲡⲛⲭⲙ[---]): 1. 1
4171	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite ([ⲁ]ⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4172 Aud() (ⲁⲩⲭⲁ): 1. 1	inscription of Aud(), deacon and archimandrite	deacon (ⲁⲩⲁ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4173	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4174	inscription of unidentified abba, priest and archimandrite	abba (ⲁⲃ): 1. 1 priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4175 Ioanne (?) ([---]ⲓⲛⲏ): 1. 1	inscription of Ioanne (?), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4176	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite ([ⲁ]ⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1
4177 Au() (?) (ⲁⲩ): 1. 1	inscription of Au() (?), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): 1. 1

<i>Object</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Publication</i>
pottery	owner's inscription	room 20, level 2	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 20, level 2	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 13	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 18, level 1	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 16, level 2 (floor)	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 36, floor level	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 58, north part, immediately south of south-east corner of room 72, level 1	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 58, level 1	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 58, northwest corner, level 1	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	passage between rooms 76 and 85	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 58, floor level	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 58, construction of west mastaba	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room D, upper fill	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room D	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room D	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room D	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room E, south side	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room E, <i>ca.</i> 1.5 m above basins	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room T (?)	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room T, floor level	unpublished

Table 10. Attestations of the abbreviation ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ at the Ghazali monastery (cont'd)

<i>Names</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Offices</i>
4178	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	achimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4179 Aud() (?) (ⲁⲩⲧⲧⲃⲧ): 1. 1	perhaps inscription of Aud(), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4180	inscription of unidentified priest (?) and archimandrite	priest (?) (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4181	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4182 Bap() (ⲃⲁⲡ): 1. 1	inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4183 Daudid (ⲁⲁⲃⲩ): 1. 1	inscription of abba Daudid priest and archimandrite	abba ([ⲁ]ⲃ): 1. 1 priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite ([ⲁⲡ]ⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4184	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4185 Ioannes or Ionas (ⲛⲱⲛ): inscr. 1; (ⲓⲱⲡⲛ): inscr. 2	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas, archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4186	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4187 Ioannes or Ionas (ⲓⲱⲛ): 1. 1	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas, archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4188 Ioannes (ⲓⲱⲛ): 1. 1	inscription of Ioannes, priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4189	inscription of unidentified priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4190 Ak() (ⲁⲕ): 1. 1	inscription of Ak() (?), priest and archimandrite	priest (ⲡ): 1. 2 archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 2
4191	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4192	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4193	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4194 Aud() (ⲁⲩⲧⲧⲃⲧ): 1. 1	inscription of Aud(), archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4195	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4196	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite ([ⲁ]ⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1
4197	inscription of unidentified archimandrite	archimandrite (ⲁⲡⲧⲭⲧ): 1. 1

<i>Object</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Publication</i>
pottery	owner's inscription	room T, floor level	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room T	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 112, middle part	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 112, middle part	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 78–80, level 1	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 96, under arch	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 96, under arch	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 77, fill, level 2	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room A	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 74, level 2, south side	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 77–80	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	room 94	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	southwest staircase, behind room 104	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	surface find	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	north-west annex, unit 215, central part	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	north-west annex, room 231, central part	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	north-west annex, room 236, pottery dump, central part	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	north-west annex, room 236, along east wall (north part)	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	unit 303	unpublished
pottery	owner's inscription	unit 303	unpublished

MONASTIC HIERARCHIES

The usage of monastic titles in Nubia is remarkable for its diversity, for instance when it comes to terms used to designate the head of the monastery. The titlature betrays influences from Egypt, Palestine and Constantinople, but whether the structure of monastic communities and the regulations it followed were as eclectic is obscure. Nubian monasteries were headed by archimandrites, sometimes designated with the title *begoumenos*, and sometimes with the more descriptive term *timmin oura*. In fact, with this statement I ought to conclude the discussion of hierarchic positions common to Nubian monasticism as a whole. Due to the lack of sources we do not know if all monasteries in Nubia adopted the same rule or set of precepts, as was the case, for instance, of the Benedictine Rule in Western Europe, or if the matters of internal organisation were regulated separately in each monastery, as in Egypt.

In Nubia, the title *archimandrites* either stands alone or next to other designations of a given person, primarily *αββα* and *πρεσβύτερος*. The former indicates that the individual was a monk, the latter that he was a presbyter. This is, in fact, a very important piece of information, which requires a commentary. This pair of titles, that is, presbyter and archimandrite, was used to designate 18 out of 36 known archimandrites from Nubia. The lack of the title of presbyter need not mean, of course, that the given prior was not a priest, but half of them certainly were. We are therefore dealing with a very clear indication of the functioning of not one but two hierarchies in Nubian monasteries. One is obviously the monastic hierarchy. The second is the Church hierarchy, which was based on a different set of principles. The monastic hierarchy depended on the time spent in the habit during one's lifetime, which usually went hand in hand with mastery in ascetic practice and with a high level of spiritual development. The Church hierarchy, particularly among the clergy, was dependent on ordainment, which is essentially the gift of the Holy Spirit that clerics receive from Jesus Christ through the Apostles and bishops. The cleric is also directly involved in the transubstantiation of bread and wine during Eucharist. Deacons and priests, as ordained clerics, were allowed to enter the *hierateion* in a church, while ordinary monks most likely were not. We

can imagine what tension this must have caused in a monastic community, which was, after all, a religious order. Let us imagine a situation in which, e.g., an unordained individual is prior of a monastery, and another monk is ordained but fairly new to monastic life. One sits in the church *synthronon*, and the other looks on from the main nave. After Mass, the situation is reversed and the presbyter has to obey the archimandrite. From the early days of Egyptian monasticism, we have many examples of difficult relations between Church officials and monks, although they are admittedly attested in hagiographic literature. We can see monks avoiding priesthood, for instance Theodore of Pherme (*The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, tr. Ward 1984: 77 [*Theodore of Pherme*, 25]). Imperial regulations stipulating that monks should be subordinate to the bishop are clearly attempts to impose this dependency on the monks and signals that the monastic circles resisted. Thus, the following hypothesis may be put forward: both the Church and the monastic movement in Nubia were aware of the threats arising from the existence of parallel hierarchies in monastic communities and of the tensions they had caused in the past, for instance in Egypt. For this reason, archimandrites were also ordained priests. This practice starts fairly early, as indicated by *dipinti* on amphorae found in House 106 on Kom A in Old Dongola, dated by their discoverer to the years 675–725 (Godlewski 2000: 201). This does not mean, however, that Nubia avoided conflicts that befell Egypt in the earlier period.

The administrative hierarchy of the Shenoutean federation is described in Book 4 of the *Canons* (GI: 117–118 = Leipoldt & Crum 1906, vol. III: 156–157). Bentley Layton divided the positions into two groups: a higher echelon (πρωτὸς ἡγεμενικῶν, πρῶτος, εἰσὶν of the congregation) and a lower one (ῥητορικῶν, εἰσὶν of individual houses, ἡγεμενικῶν and ῥητορικῶν) (Layton 2009: 58, fig. 1). The superior of the entire congregation was Shenoute, and after his death πρωτὸς ἡγεμενικῶν, a Father. The holder of this position had a secretary and a group of advisors in economic and spiritual matters. Directly subordinate to him were πρῶτος, ‘the Eldest’, or administrators of individual communities, aided by a council formed of ἡγεμενικῶν, ‘Elders’, also referred to as εἰσὶν, as well as ‘heads of houses’, ῥητορικῶν, also called εἰσὶν ἡγεμενικῶν. ῥητορικῶν played a very important role, as they were responsible

for spiritual leadership in their House. They were supported by assistants called $\mu\epsilon\zeta\kappa\alpha\gamma$ or $\mu\epsilon\zeta\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$, and the lowest position in the hierarchy was occupied by $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota$ (Layton 2002: 28–29; 2009: 58, fig. 1).

Looking to the great Egyptian congregations to understand the data we have for Nubian monasticism may lead to unnecessary complication of a much simpler picture. In Egypt, there was not one common hierarchic structure shared by all monasteries. Every monastic community built its own structure and hierarchy. Both the Pachomian and the Shenoutean communities were very complex entities, and they were regulated in fairly minute detail. Each of these great, early communities likely comprised, at its height, as many monks as all the monasteries of Makuria combined. One may ask, therefore, whether it is justified to seek organisational models in the great Egyptian congregations, whether a set of rules for a community of several thousand monastics can be transposed directly onto a monastery housing a few dozen monks, and if the complex, hierarchic management systems designed for a monastery divided into several Houses can be applied to much smaller communities.

Some Byzantine *typika*, for instance the *typikon* of Michael VIII Palaeologus (1223–1282) for the monastery of St Demetrius (Kellibara) in Constantinople, introduced an interesting division of monks. The emperor set the number of monks to 36 and put fifteen of them in charge of liturgical matters alone, while the rest was to take care of everyday issues and services to the entire community. The latter group included a treasurer, a monastic steward, and a baker (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 1250 [no. 38, section 17]).

Attempting to reconstruct the hierarchies of Nubian monasteries, one can look only to the monastery in Ghazali, and even in this case interpretation of data is fraught with difficulty due to the paucity of sources. At its head stood the archimandrite, whose title was possibly also abbreviated as $\alpha\rho\backslash\chi'$. In two, but very doubtful, instances the prior was designated as $\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$. If, in turn, the abbreviation $\alpha\rho\backslash\chi'$ is to be expanded as *archon* rather than ‘archimandrite’, then it is testimony for the next level of monastic hierarchy at Ghazali: *archontes* or $\alpha\rho\lambda\lambda\omicron$, well attested in, for instance, the Shenoutean congregation. They would have formed part of an advisory council to the archimandrite.

For the Ghazali monastery, other strictly monastic titles are unattested. Thus, we may hypothesise that the monastic community of Ghazali was fairly egalitarian and its organisational structure was flat: there was an archimandrite, who was head of the monastery, and a group of 'elder' monks, below whom was only an egalitarian community, at least as far as administrative structure was concerned.

It is worth noting that among the owners of inscribed vessels we have bearers of the abovementioned titles, as well as presbyters and deacons. The latter two should be considered part of the monastic management group. Presbyters played an important spiritual and liturgical role in the monastery, and deacons were of key significance for the monastic administration, even though their hierarchic position seems low. Due to the fact that among the attestations of titles from Ghazali we do not find an *oikonomos*, or someone in charge of the monastic economy, I argue that in the Ghazali administrative structure this role was played by deacons. This hypothesis is corroborated by inscriptions on vessels. The titles of vessel owners include the terms *abba*, 'archimandrite', ⲁⲡⲓⲭⲓ ('archimandrite'/*archon*), 'archpresbyter', 'presbyter', and 'deacon'. Thus, one should assume that within the Ghazali community the title of deacon was a reason for pride for a monk, a mark of distinction in an egalitarian community that made him part of the monastic elite. In other monasteries, especially in the north, a holder of this position may have been called an *oikonomos*, as was the case in Egypt. Such a role was played by two attested individuals:

1. Abba Elisaïou, priest and *oikonomos* (DBMNT 1535), known from an inscription from Nag esh-Sheikh Sharaf;
2. Abba Da..., priest and *oikonomos* (DBMNT 1998), known from an inscription from the monastery on Kom H in Dongola, central building (H-CB), room 2.

In either case we lack literal confirmation that they held the function of *oikonomos* of a monastery. However, both bear the title *abba*, meaning that they were monks. The rest of their titulature repeats the pattern typical for Nubian epigraphy in monastic contexts, pairing an ecclesiastical title with a monastic one, for instance presbyter and archimandrite. In this case, both monks styled themselves *oikonomoi* in accordance with the function they held. Of course one cannot exclude that they were *oikonomoi*

of a different institution or person, for instance a bishop. However, the function of *oikonomos* of a monastery seems the most likely option.

In Ghazali, we also have evidence of a hierarchy based on the sacrament of ordination, which was independent of the monastic community. Two of three orders of this sacrament are attested: the deaconship and the presbyterate. The higher one is attested alongside the name of the consecrated individual and his monastic title: archimandrite and archimandrite/*archon* (?). The title of presbyter is also the best-represented designation in Ghazali, with 72 attestations, followed by the deacon with only 16.

In other regions where Christianity and monasticism were present, especially in the nascent period of the monastic movement, these two hierarchies came in conflict with one another. Augustine and Pachomius did not admit persons from the Church hierarchy into their communities. Augustine did not allow clerics from other dioceses to enter monasteries in his diocese, but at the same time insisted that monks should accept episcopal appointment. Pachomius did not wish to have ordained individuals in his monasteries at all, claiming that they would provoke envy (Chadwick 1993: 53).

According to Ewa Wipszycka, clericalisation of the monastic milieu resulted from the ambitions of the monks themselves. Virtually from the start there was a marked trend, if not a rule, for clerical titles in monasteries to be held chiefly by priors (Wipszycka 2018: 449). Ordinations were not justified by real needs of the cult; it seems that monks wanted to be ordained because the sacrament was perceived as a clear indication of holiness (Wipszycka 2018: 454–455). We do not know how the celebration of mass was divided if there were several priests in the monastery – whether only the one standing highest in the hierarchy had this honour or if, for instance, the priests took turns.

The problems potentially caused by ordainment of monks at a monastery are presented in a passage from the *Life of St Saba*. At a time when Salustius was bishop of Jerusalem, a group of monks from the *laura* visited Saba and asked him to appoint a *begoumenos*. Following the visit, they said that Saba was rude and, importantly for our narration, unordained, and that he did not permit anyone to become a cleric (Cyril of Scythopolis, tr. Price 1991: 112–113 [*Life of Sabas*, chapter 19]).

I am far from insisting that there was major strife between the two hierarchies in Nubian monasticism. In Nubia there was an awareness of this historic conflict and, therefore, the problem was likely resolved at the very beginning by consecrating the heads of monasteries. As mentioned above, based on data from Ghazali it is reasonable to conclude that the role of deacons in this monastery was related to economic management and the tasks they carried out were typical for *oikonomoi*; thus, their role was crucial for the survival of the monastic community.

The third hierarchy, the spiritual one, was mainly dependent on the number of years spent in the habit, as was the case, for instance, in Egypt. This hierarchy is also the least tangible in the material culture, and tracing it is virtually impossible without textual sources. Nonetheless, it certainly had an impact on monastic life and on relations within the community. One can imagine that young monks having moments of weakness turned to more experienced brothers for council and support. Spiritual advancement was certainly also an important factor in choosing a head of the monastery. In Shenoutean monasteries, position in the spiritual hierarchy depended on the level of spiritual development, and its manifestation was exemption from daily chores and common meals. At the top of the spiritual hierarchy were hermits living outside the monastery. The second level was occupied by monks who led solitary, silent lives within the monastic walls but in isolation from the community (*enkleistoi*). The third echelon are *ekratoi*, monks who assigned themselves additional exercises like extended fasting, and the fourth, last level was occupied by ordinary monks whose lives were regulated by general rules of the community (Layton 2007: 55).

There are several reminiscences of the existence of this hierarchy in Nubian monasticism. The first is the hermit Theophilus of Faras. Given the numerous features his hermitage shared with the monastery of Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz), such as the choice of texts, or the flower petal motif on the east wall of the hermitage inspired by the decoration of the *synthronon* in the monastery church, it seems that Theophilus simply stood at the head of the spiritual hierarchy of the monastery of Apa Dios, from which he originated.

Another example of inspiration drawn from the Shenoutean spiritual hierarchy and, perhaps in part, from the practice current in Byzantine

monasteries inspired by the same Shenoutean model, is the *enkleistos* Anna, who lived in the monastery on Kom H and subsequently became a saint – the only local Nubian saint attested to date.

The third and last reminiscence is the title of *archistylites* held by Georgios, archbishop of Dongola, who lived at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Adam Łajtar suggested that this *archistylites* was likely responsible for the spiritual development of the monastic community and its members. The existence of an *archistylites* also implies the presence of *stylitai*. Perhaps in this case we are dealing with a growth of importance of the spiritual hierarchy in Nubian monasticism; an element of this evolutionary process would have been the appearance of a title denoting a monk who was most advanced in spiritual growth. It may also be an indication of a kind of erosion of status of the archimandrite of the monastery, since otherwise one would naturally assume that the *primus inter pares*, especially in spiritual matters, should have been the prior.

An overview of the three hierarchies present in Christian monasteries clearly exposes, on one hand, the pitfalls awaiting monks who withdrew from the world at large but were unable to cope with their aspirations and desires; on the other hand, the evidence shows the foresight of some monastic leaders. An example is a story from the Nestorian monastery of Beth 'Abhe, in which the monastic elite was unable to stop one monk from plotting the murder of another, the motive being that the other was better at managing the monastic estate (Villagomez 1998: 141). Even the smallest opportunity to improve one's position in the community was certainly used to the fullest extent. The perspective of becoming a cleric was even more attractive, hence the reluctance of St Saba and other leaders of the monastic movement to introduce the Church hierarchy into their laurae. For monks the temptation was great, regardless of whether the motivation was spiritual or rooted in ambition and desire for higher status in the monastic hierarchy. In the end, nonetheless, these were always individual decisions, with which the monks often came to spiritual authority figures for advice. Presbyters were a great threat to the spiritual leadership of archimandrites. The situation was aggravated by the political situation in the Christian East: in the mid-sixth century, ordainment of clerics became a weapon in the conflict within the Church.

In Syria, the ordainment of monks was instigated by the Church hierarchy (Escolan 1999: 271). In Byzantium, yet another factor came into play: imperial policy, for instance decrees of emperors Arcadius (377/8–408) and Honorius (384–423), stipulating that bishops wishing to fill vacant clerical positions should seek candidates among monks (Frazee 1982: 266). Literary sources concerning early monasticism convey numerous and vivid accounts of conflicts between the Church hierarchy, mainly bishops, and leaders of monastic communities. However, in Nubia bishops are, as a rule, styled *abba*, which means that they were also monks, if the conclusions of Tomasz Derda and Ewa Wipszycka are valid for the Middle Nile Valley (Derda & Wipszycka 1994). This gives another reason to believe that Nubia did not experience the conflicts occurring outside its borders, all the more so as they had ended 200 years prior to the Christianisation of this region. Measures to avoid strife were also taken in other regions, and monk-bishops appeared in the Church relatively early. The practice of ordaining monks as bishops began, as one might expect, in the cradle of the monastic movement, Egypt, at the beginning of the fourth century, and from there it spread to the West at the end of this century. The benefits of such a solution were obvious, taking into consideration the monastic morality and the authority monks enjoyed in local communities. Athanasius quickly looked to monastics in search for candidates for bishops, seeking individuals who were honest and zealous and shared his theological views. Basil of Caesarea was one of the first monks on the episcopal throne. In Gaul the monasteries of Arles, Autun, Bourges, Le Mans, Metz, Paris, and Poitiers were established by bishops already in the fifth century (Chadwick 1993: 60).

From the perspective of an individual monk, appointment to the episcopal see must have been an ironic turn of events. One ventures into the desert to escape from the world of Man and climb the spiritual ladder to Heaven, yet suddenly the world pulls him back in, mainly because of his spiritual achievements. The resistance to consecration among early monks who lived outside the Church hierarchy need not be a literary topos. A vivid example is the story of Dioscorus of Hermoupolis, one of the so-called 'Long Brothers', who was ordained bishop by the Patriarch of Alexandria Theophilus but refused to take over his diocese and returned to Scetis.

The patriarch did not give up, however; he began to threaten Dioscorus and subsequently accused him and the other Long Brothers of partaking in the Origenist heresy. Finally, he orchestrated their condemnation by the synod in Alexandria in 401 and burned down their monastery. The Long Brothers went into exile, first to Palestine and then to Constantinople. When the bishop of the capital, John Chrysostom, offered support to the fugitives, Theophilus instigated his deposition. In the end, he returned the brothers to the Church, but two of them had died by then. Such was the fate of ascetics who defied Church dignitaries. However, not all resistant monks shared it.

Hierarchies present in monasteries show us that the real monastic world was much less egalitarian than it may appear from literary sources. In the monastery of the Virgin, also designated as the Monastery of Lips after its founder, Konstantinos Lips, the *typikon* (chapter 29) not only stipulated that monks should not quarrel over seats, but also stated that no precedence would be given on account of parentage, education, ascetic virtue, age, or contributions made to the monastery in money or in kind (Thomas & Constantinides Hero 2000: 1274). Disparity between monastic elites and ordinary monks is censured in an interesting source discussed by Alice-Mary Talbot (Talbot 2007: 118). It is a satire on priors and upper-rank monastic hierarchs written by Hilarion Ptochoprodromos, a former monk of the monastery of Philotheou in Constantinople. A major part of the text concerns promiscuity and gluttony of the priors, while the monks eat rotten scraps. Contemporary critics of Byzantine monasticism like Eustathius of Thessalonica (1115–1195/6), Balsamon and Athanasius also shed light on conflicts within monasteries. Words of criticism concern mainly *begoumenoi*, who are accused of consuming fuller, better meals and living in luxury. Balsamon claims that in male monasteries true asceticism is a rarity (Talbot 1991b).

CONCLUSIONS

IN CONCLUSION TO A STUDY ON NUBIAN monasticism, one cannot escape comparisons with Egypt. One reason for this is the immediate neighbourhood of the two regions, and the second is Egypt's role as the birthplace of the monastic movement. Nubian monasticism must also be set against the broader backdrop of political changes occurring in Nubia, Egypt and Byzantium. Northern Nubia was most likely baptised by an anti-Chalcedonian mission dispatched by the empress Theodora. Subsequently, the hierarchy was developed by Longinus, the first bishop of the Nobades. One may suspect that the Egyptian monks' involvement in the spread of Christianity in Nubia predated the official conversion of Nobadia in *ca.* 540. Therefore, the influence of Coptic monastic communities on their Nubian counterparts does not come as a surprise. Manuscripts found at the monastery of Qasr el-Wizz, dated to no later than the tenth century, are exclusively in Coptic.

Changes in the taxation system introduced in Egypt in the early eighth century had a detrimental effect on monasticism in that region. Many centres ceased to exist and the number of monks fell drastically (Wipszycka 2018: 530–532). One may ask if this had any effect on monasticism and general development of Christianity in Nubia. It is worth noting that approximately at this time Nubia experienced a boom in sacral architecture, with a large number of churches erected not only in major urban centres but also in small rural settlements. It is not unlikely that monks from Egypt moved south to the state that supported and encouraged the monastic movement. Given the above, it is justified to suggest a period of Coptic inspiration, most likely in all of Nubia, but definitely in the territory of Nobadia from the sixth to the tenth century.

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In the Christian world, the period from the fourth to the seventh centuries is a time of transition between the early, spontaneous monasticism of the first centuries and the institutional, mostly coenobitic Basilian or Benedictine monasticism. However, it needs to be kept in mind that while the above is generally true, the history of monasteries is a history of individual communities and there are many exceptions to the general pattern. The changes seem to have been polycentric in character, and there were almost as many centres as there were monasteries.

Starting from the early fifth century, monasticism throughout the Christian world exhibits a marked tendency toward communal life. There was a gradual shift toward coenobitism, which could also accommodate other forms of asceticism including anchoritism. Emphasis was placed on the breaking of ties with family and social class, as well as subordination to a spiritual leader. As opposed to the West, where Benedictine monasticism spread and dominated, in the East we find greater diversity with very detailed rules, primarily those of Pachomius, Shenoute and Basil. At the same time, the growing importance of monasticism as a social phenomenon provoked the imperial legislation to set it in a legal framework.

In Nubia, we find all three main varieties of monasticism – hermitages, *laurae* and *coenobia*. One can observe certain consistency within each variety. Hermitages were located in earlier elite tombs, with the exception of the *kellion* of St Anna located inside the coenobitic monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola. Such a solution was, in turn, typical for Byzantine monasticism. Coenobitic monasteries are uniform in terms of spatial arrangement, which is dominated by communal buildings: churches, a dormitory and a refectory, as well as household compounds. Walls of more symbolic than defensive character enclosed all complexes.

The evolution of monasteries in Nubia was, as elsewhere, affected by numerous factors that are often difficult to grasp to modern researchers, from general aspects like theological issues, to external conflicts within the Church or the political and economic situation in a given region. It is reasonable to conclude that the key role in the existence and development of each monastery was played by the figure of the archimandrite and his

circle: whether or not he was able to find his way in the networks of power and distribution of goods and wealth on the local, regional, as well as royal or imperial level; whether or not he was able to use his spiritual authority and networking skills to secure enough funds to support the community.

The influence of monasteries on the history of the Eastern Church is inestimable. As early as the fourth century, monks became involved in political conflicts, for instance the one between Constantine and his successors and Athanasius. Monastic circles were also the bastions of opposition against the Council of Chalcedon. A large part of the Church administration including bishops was recruited from the monastic milieu. After 400, the majority of authors in the Eastern Church and nearly all theologians were monks (Rubenson 2007: 665). Ascetics and monasteries also began to receive pilgrims from all of the Christian *oikoumene*. The same trends and processes are attested in Nubia. For instance, in the Apa Dios(corus) (Qasr el-Wizz) monastery new facilities were erected at a certain point to accommodate a higher volume of visitors. It is also worth stressing that the careers of some Nubian bishops and archimandrites indicate their close connections with the upper echelons of society. This was the case of consecutive bishops of Ibrim Georgiou and Marianou. It seems that being a monk did not prevent from gaining positions of high rank in the royal administration or at the court, or maybe even helped due to a certain skill set that included a good education and writing.

Monasteries played an important role in the local economies, though this role seems to have been insignificant on the scale of the state as a whole. In some areas, coenobia like the monastery of Ghazali, were, however, major employers and consumers of goods and foodstuffs. They also monopolised the sector of social and healthcare services. Monks ran care facilities for the elderly, as for instance the one at the monastery in Hambukol. Also the king and likely other members of the elite chose monasteries as places to spend their final years or escape the tumult of secular life. Like in Byzantium, Nubian monasteries played not only important social or economic role in local communities, but also served unlikely purposes, such as that of a prison for bishop Cyriacus, who dared to defy king Abraham (John the Deacon, in Vantini 1975: 41), or of a place of refuge for kings, like king Solomon (*History of Patriarchs*, in Vantini 1975: 215–216).

Monasteries were a symbol of stability, which individual Nubians and entire local communities turned to in hard times, seeking help from monks perceived as holy men of God. Monks played the role of psychotherapists giving advice in predicaments, and they took part in resolving social conflicts. The concept that monks were closer to God than ordinary men permitted to build a spiritual economy, that is, to provide services of strictly immaterial, spiritual nature, like prayer for intercession on someone's behalf in exchange for other services or goods.

Each Nubian monastic centre was a beacon of the dominant religion in the Middle Nile Valley. Monasteries like the Apa Dios (Qasr el-Wizz) monastery were a symbol of the victory of Christ over gods that formerly controlled this region. Subsequently, they became a symbol of domination of the Christian faith, its perpetuity, as well as royal power, a prime example of this being the Ghazali monastery. In the case of Ghazali, one can propose with a good deal of confidence that this centre was a royal foundation. According to radiocarbon datings, the monastery of Ghazali was established between AD 680 and 720. These dates roughly coincide with the reign of Mercurius, one of the greatest medieval rulers of Makuria. The king, called the New Constantine by the authors of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, was the monarch responsible for merging Nobadia and Makuria into one state. The scale of the complex built in Wadi Abu Dom (ca. 5000 m²) and its monumental stone structures, including one of the largest known Nubian churches, allow us to believe that it was Mercurius who founded the Ghazali monastery. Unfortunately, we have virtually no data on the founders of Nubian monasteries, whether there existed private donations, or whether the founder of all of them was the king or his administration.

From a comparative perspective, a royal foundation of a monastery renders Nubian monasticism different from the monastic movement in the Eastern Mediterranean and similar to Christian monasticism in Europe in approximately the same period. During Late Antiquity, the authorities in the Eastern Empire had no history of establishing monasteries, but were, instead, responsible for numerous foundations of churches. Many bishops who founded monasteries from the fifth century onwards perceived them as private property, rather than property of the diocese (Thomas

cf Constantinides Hero 2000: 43). In Nubia, the situation seems reversed; monasteries may have been founded by the state, and we have examples of churches belonging to private donors (Łajtar cf van der Vliet 1998).

Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that in Nubia there was a stable and close relationship between coenobitic monasticism and the state – closer than, for instance, in Byzantium, where numerous monasteries were privately founded. Royal foundations must have had different aims and purposes than private ones. Byzantine *typika* of private monastic foundations make it clear that the purpose of their existence was prayer for the founders and commemoration of them and/or their family. It was an investment started on this Earth that was to bring benefits in Heaven. Besides monasteries, among foundations were chapels or annexes, which served as family burial crypts – a custom cultivated throughout Europe until the twentieth century. Examples from the medieval period are many: the Myrelaion – the place of eternal rest of the Lecapeni family, or St Michael's church in the Pantokrator monastery – the mausoleum of the Comneni (Talbot 1990: 124).

A crisis of monasticism in Nubia occurs most likely as early as in the thirteenth century, as indicated by the dates of abandonment of both Qasr el-Wizz and Ghazali. This should probably be associated with an economic crisis of the kingdom of Makuria and the destructive conflict with Mamluk Egypt. These processes had a pauperising effect on the entire community and led to a decrease of material support for monastic centres from the elites and the kingdom. Possibly this may imply that monasteries lacked developed economic systems and their existence was, to a large extent, dependent on external donations.

ANNEX

**TEXTUAL SOURCES
FROM MONASTIC CONTEXTS**

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia.

The texts are referred to by their numbers in the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts

(<http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
19	Dongola	monastery on Kom D, room DC, used as slab in paving	VIII-X	fragment of epitaph of woman	stela	sandstone
21	Ghazali	not recorded	X-XI	epitaph of Prochoros, monk	stela	terracotta
22	Ghazali	S cemetery	X-XI	epitaph of Georgios, deacon	stela	terracotta
23	Ghazali	khorr W of monastery	VIII-X	epitaph of Ioannes	stela	sandstone
24	Ghazali	room AA	X-XI	epitaph of unknown person	stela	sandstone
25	Ghazali	S cemetery, at head of grave	X-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
26	Ghazali	not recorded	X-XI	epitaph of Ioannes the Little, monk	stela	sandstone
27	Ghazali	S cemetery	X-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
28	Ghazali	room B	VIII-X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
50	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX-X	epitaph of Petros, monk	stela	terracotta
51	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-X	epitaph of Balo (?), monk	stela	sandstone
52	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	only date preserved	sepul- chral cross	sandstone
53	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-X	fragment of date of epitaph	stela	terracotta
54	Ghazali	E of monastery	VIII-X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
55	Ghazali	S cemetery, grave 3	VIII-X	fragment of epitaph of Tirsakouni, monk	stela	terracotta
56	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-IX	epitaph of Marios, monk	stela	sandstone

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Greek				<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 26, pl. 25
epitaph	Greek	monk (ΜΗΟΝΑΧΟΥ): l. 5		Prochoros (ΠΡΟΧΩΡΟΥ): l. 5	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 32, pl. 31; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 2
epitaph	Greek	deacon (ΔΙΑΚ): l. 9		Georgios (ΓΕ[ΩΡ]ΓΙΟΥ): l. 9	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 33, pl. 32; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 3
epitaph	Greek			Ioannes (ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ): l. 4	<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 39, pl. 38; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 133
epitaph	Greek				<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 40, pl. 39a–b; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 74
epitaph	Greek				<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 42, pl. 41; <i>I. Ghazali</i> 144
epitaph	Greek	monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ): lower left corner		Ioannes the Little (ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΜΙΚΡΟΥ): upper right corner/lower left corner	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 74 (no. 14), pl. 26b; <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 44, pl. 43
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 75 (no. 15); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 46, pl. 45
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 73 (no. 11); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 49, pl. 48
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) (ΠCΘN): l. 4		Petros (ΠΕΤΡΟΣ): ll. 4–5	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 28, pl. 20
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) ([co]u): l. 3		Balo (m) (βαλω): l. 4	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 77, 84 (nos. 24, 52); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 46, pl. 28
epitaph	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 85 (no. 55); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 49, pl. 30
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 80 (no. 35); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 53, pl. 32
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 81 (no. 37); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 55, pl. 33
epitaph	Coptic	monk (ΠΜΟ`Χ'): l. 3		Tirsakouni (m) (ΤΙΡΣΑΚΟΥΝΙ): ll. 2–3	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 86 (no. 58), pl. 27a; <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 67, pl. 40
epitaph	Coptic	apa (απα): l. 4 monk ([ΠΜΟ]ΝΑΧΟΣ): l. 5		Marios (m) (ΜΑΡΙΟΣ): l. 4	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 88 (no. 63); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 72, pl. 43

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
57	Ghazali	smaller fragment: S cemetery; bigger fragment: bottom of stair in SW corner of N church	IX-X	fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	terracotta
58	Ghazali	outside S door of N church	VIII-X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
59	Ghazali	passage outside W wall of N church	VIII-IX	epitaph of Petros	stela	sandstone
60	Ghazali	S cemetery	X-XI	fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	terracotta
61	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
65	Ghazali (?)	unknown	VIII-IX	fragment of epitaph of man	stela	sandstone
92	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, E wall, to the right of left niche	18 April 933	graffito left by Dioskore, monk	wall	plaster
95	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, central part of S wall; to the right of DBMNT 1643	4 Dec. 738	colophon of texts written on walls of Anchorite's Grotto by Theophilos, monk	wall	plaster
455	Ghazali (?)	unknown	VIII-X	epitaph of Pachom	stela	sandstone
456	Ghazali (?)	unknown	probably IX-X	epitaph of Ioannes, priest, nephew of bishop	stela	sandstone
457	Ghazali (?)	unknown	probably IX-X	fragment of epitaph of [---]jilo (?), priest and archimandrite	stela	sandstone
472	Ghazali	not recorded	probably X-XI	epitaph of Iakob	stela	U/I
473	Ghazali	not recorded	probably X-XI	epitaph of woman Eudokia (?)	stela	U/I
474	Ghazali	not recorded	probably X-XI	epitaph of Petros, monk	stela	U/I

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Coptic	father (= abbot) ([π]ειωτ): l. 4 senior monk (πῆλ): l. 4 monk ([π]μοναχος): l. 5			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 70 (no. 1); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 74, pl. 45
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 70 (no. 3); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 76, pl. 47
epitaph	Coptic			Petros (πετρο`ς): l. 7	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 71 (no. 4), pl. 26a; <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 77, pl. 48
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) (πενcon): l. 1			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 77 (no. 23); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 83, pl. 52
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 90 (no. 67); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 90, pls. 55–56
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 125, pl. LXXIV
visitor's inscription	Coptic	monk (πμοναχος): l. 2		Dioskoros (Διοσκο[ρ]ε): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91, pl. 65.2; <i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : p. 115, fig. 29
colophon	Coptic	monk (πμονοχος): l. 26		The[ophil]os (θε[οφιλ]ος): l. 7	Sayce 1898: 174; <i>SBKopt.</i> II 1061
epitaph	Coptic			Pachom (παχωμ): l. 7	Donadoni 1986: 223–224, fig. 1
epitaph	Greek	priest (πῆς): l. 9 bishop (τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ): l. 10		Ioannes (ἰωαννην): l. 9	Donadoni 1986: 224–226, fig. 2; Łajtar 2001d: 185–186
epitaph	Greek/ Old Nubian	priest (ⲡ): ll. 1, 12 archimandrite (ⲁⲣ[ⲭ]ⲙⲁⲛⲁ): l. 1 asti of Pidd (?) (ⲡⲁⲁⲓⲛ ⲁⲥⲧⲏⲗ): l. 12 (ed. pr. πῶδιν ⲁⲥⲧⲏⲗ and left uninterpreted; corr. G. Ochala)	Pidd (?) (ⲡⲁⲁⲓⲛ): l. 12 (ed. pr. πῶδιν and left uninterpreted; corr. G. Ochala)	[---]ilo (?) (m) ([---]ιλο): l. 1	Donadoni 1986: 226–227, fig. 3
epitaph	Greek			Iakob (ιακωβ): l. 3	<i>CIG</i> IV 9122; <i>SB</i> V 8729
epitaph	Greek			Eudokia (?) (εὐδοκία): l. 1	<i>CIG</i> IV 9123; <i>SB</i> V 8730
epitaph	Greek	brother (= monk) (ἀδελφ[ο]`γ): l. 3		Petros (πετρογ): l. 4	Revillout 1885: 13 (no. 18); <i>I. Lefebvre</i> 609 (= 610)

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
476	Ghazali	not recorded	probably X-XI	epitaph of Marianou	sepulchral cross	U/I
555	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph with date	sepulchral cross	U/I
556	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-X	epitaph of Marankouda, monk, deacon	stela	sandstone
560	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2	29 June 1113	epitaph of Georgios, archbishop	stela	marble
561	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, W annex, room 14, N wall; above DBMNT 1989	27 Feb. 1060	graffito commemorating nomination of Georgios to office of archimandrite	wall	plaster
562	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, service area, NE corner, filling of building	VIII-X	epitaph of Ioannes, monk	stela	terracotta
563	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, passage from room 23 to room 29	XI-XII	graffito left by Paule, cleric, with quotation of Heb 5:4	wall	plaster
608	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-X	epitaph of Abraham, monk	stela	U/I
612	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, inside presbytery, near S end of altar screen	28 April 668 or 28 April 670	epitaph of Ioseph, bishop of Aswan	stela	sandstone

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Greek		Silai (?) (σιλαι): l. 5	Marianos (μαριανου): ll. 1-4	<i>CIG</i> IV 9126; <i>SB</i> V 8732
epitaph	U/I				<i>SB</i> I 4163
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) (πενcon): l. 5 deacon (διακ'): l. 7		Marankouda (m) (μαρανκουδα): ll. 5-6	Revillout 1885: 32 (no. 48); <i>SBKopt.</i> I 492
epitaph	Greek	abba (αββ): ll. 5, 13, 18 archbishop (αρχ'επισκ'): l. 5 archimandrite of Great (monastery of) Anthony (αρχ'μαν'α' αν'τ' με'τ'): ll. 5-6; (ο με'ας αν'τ' αρχ'μαν'α'): l. 14 <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (αρχ'ετγ'λ' τριακ αγιας): ll. 13-14	Great (monastery of) Anthony (αν'τ' με'τ'): l. 6; (ο με'ας αν'τ'): l. 14 (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (τριακ αγιας) ll. 13-14	Georgios (γεωργιου): l. 5; (γεωρ'τ'): ll. 13, 18	Łajtar 1997: 120-121 (no. 4); Łajtar 2002: 164-184, pl. after p. 164
commemorative inscription	Greek/ Old Nubian	abba (αββ): l. 1 archpriest (αρχ'π'): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (αρχ'ετγλη[---]): l. 1 archimandrite (?) (lit. head of congregation) (τῆμῃ οὐρ): l. 2		Georgios (γεωρ'τ'): l. 1	Łajtar 2002: 186-188 (no. 2)
epitaph	Greek	monk (μοναχος): ll. 5-6		Ioannes (ιωαννης): l. 5	Łajtar 1997: 123 (no. 8); Łajtar 2001b: 327-334, figs. 1-2
visitor's inscription	Greek	cleric (κλη): l. 3		Paule (m) (παυλε): l. 3	Łajtar 2001a: 210-215, fig. 1
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) (πcon): ll. 5-6		Abraham (αβρααμ): ll. 6-7	Revillout 1885: 32 (no. 46); <i>SBKopt.</i> I 490
epitaph	Greek/ Coptic	abba (αββα): l. 2 bishop of Syene (επισκ της συνηιτων πολεως): ll. 3-4	Syene (της συνηιτων πολεως): ll. 3-4	Joseph (ιωσηφ): ll. 2, 5	Jakobielski & van der Vliet 2011: 15-35, figs. 1-4

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
613	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, reused in pavement of presbytery	VIII-X	epitaph of Ioannes, deacon of Great Church	stela	sandstone
614	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 29	1 Sep. 1257	epitaph of Iesou, called also Eittou, deacon, <i>joknaishshil</i> and <i>archistablites</i>	stela	marble
680	Ghazali	surface	VIII-IX	fragment of epitaph of Michael (?)	stela	terracotta
681	Ghazali	monastery buildings N of N church	IX-XI	epitaph of Me[], monk (?)	stela	sandstone
692	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2B, reused as first step of ambo, put inscribed face up	4 January 1070	epitaph of unknown person	stela	marble
693	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, threshold of S pastophorium	30 Aug. 799 – 28 Aug. 800	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
694	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 3, wall S	probably 1272 or 1276 – before 1280	unknown contents; king Mashkouda appearing	wall	plaster
724	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, service area	VIII-X	fragment of double (?) epitaph of unknown person	stela	terracotta
725	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, service area	VIII-X	epitaph of Georgios, deacon	stela	terracotta
726	Ghazali	unknown	VIII-XI	fragment of right arm of sepulchral cross (?)	sepulchral cross	U/I
727	Ghazali	unknown	VIII-IX	fragment of epitaph of unknown person	stela	terracotta
728	Ghazali	unknown	VIII-X	fragment of epitaph of Solomon, monk	stela	sandstone
730	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 9, N wall	probably XI-XIII	month date	wall	plaster
731	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, at the foot of stairway L.1/2	XIII-XIV	text on amphora naming King Toskonga	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Greek	deacon (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ): l. 5	Great Church (ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ): ll. 6–7	Ioannes (ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ): l. 4	Łajtar 2011: 75–77 (no. 15), fig. 13
epitaph	Greek	deacon (ΔΙΑΞΚ΄): l. 14 <i>joknashil</i> (ΔΟΚΝΑΘΙΛ): l. 14 <i>archistablites</i> (ΑΡ΄Χ΄ΣΤΑΒΛΗ΄Τ΄): l. 15	(church of) Emeo (ΕΜΗΩ): l. 15	Iesou (ΙΗΣΟΥ): l. 3 Iesou, called Eittou (Ἰϛ ο λε΄τ΄ ειττοϛ): l. 14	Łajtar 2011: 46–54 (no. 3), fig. 3
epitaph	Coptic			Michael (?) (ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲗⲁ): ll. 1–2	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 72 (no. 6); <i>I. Kbartoum Copt.</i> 78, pl. 49
epitaph	Coptic			Me[---] (m) (ⲙⲉ[---]): l. 8	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 89 (no. 64), pl. 28; <i>I. Kbartoum</i> <i>Copt.</i> 73, pl. 44
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 39–42 (no. 1), fig. 1
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 73–74 (no. 14), fig. 12
U/I	Old Nubian	king (ΟΥΡΟΥ): l. 3		Mashkouda (ⲙⲁⲩⲕⲟⲩⲁⲁ): l. 3	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: XVI
epitaph	Coptic				van der Vliet, in Łajtar 2011: 90–92 (no. A), fig. 20
epitaph	Coptic	deacon (ΠΔΙΑΚΩΝ): l. 3		Georgios (ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ): ll. 2–3	van der Vliet, in Łajtar 2011: 92–94 (no. B), fig. 21 (mistake in caption number)
epitaph	U/I				<i>SB</i> I 4164
epitaph	Coptic				unpublished
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) (ΠΕΝ[CON]): l. 5		Solomon ([C]ΟΛΟΜΩ[Ν]): l. 6	Revillout 1885: 33 (no. 49); <i>SBKopt.</i> I 493
date	U/I				unpublished
U/I	Old Nubian	king (ΟΥΡΟΥ): l. 2		Toskonga (ΤΟΣΚΟΓΑ): l. 3	unpublished

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
732	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, at the foot of stairway L.1/2	XIII-XIV	text on amphora naming King Toskonga	pottery	ceramic
812	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	epitaph of abba Iakob	stela	sandstone
813	Ghazali	N church, room N	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
814	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
815	Ghazali	S cemetery (?) (Barns in ed. pr. 'not recorded')	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
816	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
817	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
818	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	sandstone
819	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	sandstone
820	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of sepulchral cross with epitaph	sepul- chral cross	sandstone
821	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
822	Ghazali	room A	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
823	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of monk	stela	terracotta
824	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of Michael (?)	stela	terracotta
825	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
826	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
827	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
U/I	Old Nubian	king (ⲟⲩⲣ[ⲟⲩ]): l. 2		Toskonga (ⲧⲟⲥⲕ[ⲟⲩⲁ]): l. 3	unpublished
epitaph	Greek/ Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 4		Iakob (ⲓⲁⲕ[---]): l. 4	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 94 (no. 79), pl. 29b; <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 31, pl. 30
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 84 (no. 51); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 34, pl. 33
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 75 (no. 17); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 35, pl. 34
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 91 (no. 72); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 36, pl. 35
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 79 (no. 32); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 37, pl. 36
epitaph	Greek				<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 38, pl. 37
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 78 (no. 26); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 41, pl. 40
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 76 (no. 19); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 43, pl. 42
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 90 (no. 65); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 45, pl. 44
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 82 (no. 42); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 47, pl. 46
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 72 (no. 8); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 48, pl. 47
epitaph	Greek	brother (= monk) (ⲁⲗⲁⲉⲗⲱ[---]): l. 3			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 91 (no. 68); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 50, pl. 49
epitaph	Greek			Michael (ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲛ[λ]): l. 1 (possibly archangel)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 81 (no. 38); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 51, pl. 50
epitaph	Greek				<i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 52, pl. 51
epitaph	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 78 (no. 29); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 53, pl. 52
epitaph	Greek				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 92 (no. 75); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 54, pl. 53

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
828	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
863	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	terracotta
864	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
865	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
866	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
867	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
868	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
869	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
870	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
871	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
872	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
873	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
874	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
875	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
876	Mushu (Mesho)	perhaps near well, E of modern Muslim tombs	IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
877	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
878	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
879	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
880	Ghazali	room to the N of N church	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	sandstone
881	Ghazali	S cemetery (i)	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of Pa[---]s, senior monk	stela	sandstone
882	Ghazali	N of monastery	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 83 (no. 49); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 55
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 29, pl. 21
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 30, pl. 21
epitaph	Greek/ Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 31, pl. 22
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 32, pl. 22
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 33, pl. 23
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 34, pl. 23
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 35, pl. 24
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 36, pl. 24
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 37, pl. 24
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 38, pl. 25
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 39, pl. 25
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 40, pl. 25 (fr. A)
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 41, pl. 25
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 42
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 43, pl. 26
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 44, pl. 26
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 45, pl. 27
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 84 (no. 53); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 47, pl. 29
epitaph	Coptic	senior monk ([π] ελλο): l. 4		Pa[---]s (πα[---]c): ll. 4-5 (complement indicating origin or filiation?)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 85 (no. 54); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 48, pl. 29
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 85 (no. 56); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 50, pl. 30

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
883	Ghazali	N church (Cottage d)	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
884	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
885	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
886	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
887	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
888	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
889	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
890	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
891	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
892	Ghazali	W of monastery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of a monk	stela	terracotta
893	Ghazali	N church, room N	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
894	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
895	Ghazali	S cemetery (N end)	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
896	Ghazali	room N of N church	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
897	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	terracotta

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 80 (no. 33); <i>I. Khartoum Greek</i> 51, pl. 31
epitaph	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 80 (no. 34); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 52, pl. 32
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 80 (no. 36); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 54, pl. 32
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 81 (no. 39); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 56, pl. 33
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 81 (no. 40); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 57, pl. 34
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 82 (no. 41); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 58, pl. 34
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 82 (no. 43); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 59, pl. 35
epitaph	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 82 (no. 44); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 60, pl. 35
epitaph	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 82 (no. 45); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 61, pl. 36
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) (ḤCON): l. 3			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 83 (no. 46); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 62, pl. 37
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 83 (no. 47); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 63, pl. 38
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 83 (no. 48); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 64, pl. 38
epitaph	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 84 (no. 50); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 65, pl. 38
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 85 (no. 57); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 66, pl. 39
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 73, 77, 91 (nos. 10, 22, 70); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 68, pl. 41

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
898	Ghazali	S cemetery, grave 1, in situ	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	terracotta
899	Ghazali	S cemetery, near grave 3	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
900	Ghazali	N church, room N	IX	fragment of epitaph of a monk	stela	sandstone
901	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
902	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
903	Ghazali	room B	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	sandstone
904	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
905	Ghazali	N church, level 1	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	terracotta
906	Ghazali	S cemetery, fill adjoining grave 2	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of a cleric	stela	terracotta
907	Ghazali	S cemetery	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
908	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
909	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
910	Ghazali	top of wall in room W	VIII–XI	epitaph of a man	stela	sandstone
911	Ghazali	not recorded (S cemetery?)	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	sandstone
912	Ghazali	not recorded (surface?)	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
913	Ghazali	not recorded (surface?)	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 86 (no. 59), pl. 27b; <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 69, pl. 42
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 86 (no. 60); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 70, pl. 42
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 88 (no. 62); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 71, pl. 43
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 90 (no. 2); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 75, pl. 46
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 92 (no. 9); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 79, pl. 49
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 93 (no. 12); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 80, pl. 50
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 95 (no. 16); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 81, pl. 51
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 95 (no. 18); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 82, pl. 51
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 98 (no. 25); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 84, pl. 52
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 98 (no. 27); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 85, pl. 53
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 98 (no. 28); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 86, pl. 53
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 99 (no. 30); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 87
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 99 (no. 31); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 88, pl. 54
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 90 (no. 66); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 89, pl. 54
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 91 (no. 69); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 91, pl. 57
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 91 (no. 71); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 92, pl. 57

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
914	Ghazali	not recorded (surface?)	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	terracotta
915	Ghazali	not recorded (surface?)	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
916	Ghazali	not recorded (surface?)	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
917	Ghazali	surface find (rubble of N church)	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
918	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
919	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
920	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
921	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
922	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
923	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
924	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
925	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
926	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
927	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
928	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
929	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
930	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
931	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
932	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
933	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
934	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
935	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
936	Ghazali	surface find	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
937	Ghazali	behind S enclosure wall	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of Paulos	stela	sandstone
973	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of a man	stela	U/I
974	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
996	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph of woman Sochsinta	stela	U/I
1092	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 2A, floor level, probably inserted into floor	XI-XII	epitaph of [---]a, son of Ettinen	stela	marble
1093	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, surface find in the NW sector	XI-XIII	epitaph of a man	stela	sandstone

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 92 (no. 73); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 93, pl. 58
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 92 (no. 74); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 94, pl. 58
epitaph	Coptic				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 92 (no. 76); <i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 95, pl. 59
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 96, pl. 60
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 97, pl. 60
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 98, pl. 61
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 99, pl. 61
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 100, pl. 62
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 101, pl. 62
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 102, pl. 63
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 103, pl. 63
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 104, pl. 64
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 105, pl. 64
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 106, pl. 64
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 107, pl. 64
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 108, pl. 65
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 109, pl. 65
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 110, pl. 66
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 111, pl. 66
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 112, pl. 67
epitaph	Coptic				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 113, pl. 67
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 114, pl. 68
epitaph	U/I				<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 115, pl. 68
epitaph	Coptic			Paulos (παῦλος): l. 1	<i>I. Khartoum Copt.</i> 116, pl. 69
epitaph	Greek				<i>CIG IV</i> 9124; <i>I. Tib.</i> 28
epitaph	Greek				<i>CIG IV</i> 9125; <i>I. Tib.</i> 29
epitaph	Greek			Sochsinta (f) (σοχσιντα): l. 5	<i>I. Lefebvre</i> 658; <i>I. Tib.</i> 33
epitaph	Greek			[---].a (m) ([---].a): l. 16 Ettinen (εττ[inen]): l. 17; (εττinen): ll. 22–3	Łajtar 2011: 42–46 (no. 2), fig. 2
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 55–58 (no. 4), fig. 4

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1094	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, S of room 21	XI–XIII	fragment of epitaph of Pajaji, daughter of E[—]	stela	marble
1100	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 25, rubble fill	VIII–XIII	fragment of epitaph	stela	marble
1102	Dongola	fragment A: monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 31, upper layer of rubble fragment B: monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 5, under pottery basin fragment C: monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 25, rubble fill	probably IX–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	marble
1103	Dongola	fragment A: monastery on Kom H, surface fragments B–C: monastery on Kom H, NW annex	VIII–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	marble
1105	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, N part of nave, in rubble near floor	VIII–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	marble
1106	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 11, outside of W wall	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph of a woman	stela	terracotta
1107	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 1B, top layer of rubble, in filling	probably VIII–X	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
1315	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, area 16A	2nd h. VI–VII	inscription on cooking pot consisting of three letters $\alpha\pi\alpha$	pottery	ceramic
1316	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, fill above grave G.5	2nd h. VI–VII	Old Nubian word for ‘God’	pottery	ceramic
1317	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, grave G.6	probably IX–XI	name of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
1319	Qasr el-Wizz	church, baptistery, S and W walls of basin	X	Daniel 3:57–81 (Benedicte) + subscription of scribe, Petrokori	wall	plaster
1320	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church	VIII	monogram of Merkourios	architectural element	stone

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Greek			Pajaji (f) (παῖδαῖ): l. 4 E[---] (ε, [---]): l. 4	Łajtar 2011: 59–61 (no. 5), fig. 5
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 69–70 (no. 11), fig. 10
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 71–72 (no. 13), fig. 11
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 77–79 (no. 16), fig. 14
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 81–83 (no. 18), fig. 16
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 83–85 (no. 19), fig. 17
epitaph	Greek				Łajtar 2011: 87–88 (no. 21)
U/I	U/I				unpublished
name of divine entity/saint	Old Nubian				unpublished
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				unpublished
literary: biblical	Greek/ Old Nubian			Petrokori (πετροκορί): C, l. 1	Barns 1974: 206–211, pl. 40.1–2; Browne 2004: 54–55
name	U/I			Merkourios (monogram)	unpublished

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1321	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	ceramic
1322	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	ceramic
1323	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	ceramic
1324	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	ceramic
1325	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	ceramic
1326	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Marianou, archimandrite of Pouko	pottery	ceramic
1327	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite and <i>archistylites</i>	pottery	ceramic
1328	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	ceramic
1329	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite (?)	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1	(monastery of) Pouko (ⲡⲱⲕⲟ): l. 1	Marianos (ⲙⲁⲣⲓḏⲛⲟⲩ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 336–337 (no. 1), fig. on p. 336
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1	(monastery of) Pouko (ⲡⲱⲕⲟ): l. 1	Marianos (ⲙⲁⲣⲓḏⲛⲟⲩ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 337 (no. 2), fig. on p. 337
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1	(monastery of) Pouko (ⲡⲱⲕⲟ): l. 1	Marianos (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 337 (no. 3), fig. on p. 337
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1	(monastery of) Pouko (ⲡⲱⲕⲟ): l. 1	Marianos (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338 (no. 4), fig. on p. 338
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1	(monastery of) Pouko (ⲡⲱⲕⲟ): l. 1	Marianos (ⲙⲁⲣⲓ[ḏ]ḏⲛⲟⲩ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338 (no. 5), fig. on p. 338
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite of (monastery of) Pouko (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1	(monastery of) Pouko (ⲡⲱⲕⲟ): l. 1	Marianos (ⲙⲁⲣⲓḏḏ[ⲟⲩ]): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 338–339 (no. 6), fig. on p. 338
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲩⲧⲩⲩⲭⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 3; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 340–341 (no. 7), fig. on p. 340
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲛⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 3; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 8), fig. on p. 341
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḏḃ): l. 1 archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲭⲙⲁⲩⲧⲩⲩⲭⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 3; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 9), fig. on p. 341

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1330	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros	pottery	ceramic
1331	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, <i>archistylites</i>	pottery	ceramic
1332	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	ceramic
1333	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	ceramic
1334	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	ceramic
1335	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	ceramic
1336	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite	pottery	ceramic
1337	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite and <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1338	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1339	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, archimandrite of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1340	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII-XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 3; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 341 (no. 10), fig. on p. 441
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲧⲩⲭⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 3; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 342 (no. 11), fig. on p. 342
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 3; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 342–343 (no. 12), fig. on p. 342
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 343 (no. 13), fig. 1 and fig. on p. 343
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 2; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 343 (no. 14), fig. on p. 343
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 2; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 344 (no. 15), fig. on p. 344
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 2; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 344 (no. 16), fig. on p. 344
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲓ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> of (mon- astery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲧⲩⲭⲓ ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 2; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 345 (no. 17), fig. on p. 345
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥ ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲥⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 3; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 345–346 (no. 18), fig. on p. 345
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥ ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 346 (no. 19), fig. on p. 346, pl. 63.1
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 346 (no. 20), fig. on p. 346

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1341	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 2, E wall	XII	inscription commemorating abba Georgios, archbishop and <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, containing Ps 129:2–8	wall	plaster
1342	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 29, E wall, above painting no. P.46/NW29 (Archangel Gabriel with Christ protecting dignitary, accompanied by Apostles)	1050–1064	inscription of abba Georgios, archpriest and <i>archistylites</i>	wall	plaster
1343	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Stephanos	pottery	ceramic
1344	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Stephanos	pottery	ceramic
1345	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Stephanos, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1346	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Georgios, archimandrite or <i>archistylites</i> of the monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1347	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Georgios	pottery	ceramic
1348	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Iakob, priest	pottery	ceramic
1349	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of Matias, deacon (?) of the monastery of Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1350	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	inscription of unknown person	pottery	ceramic
1351	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
commemorative inscription	Greek/Old Nubian	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. ? orthodox archbishop (ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲣⲉⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲟⲥ): l. ? <i>archistylites</i> of (monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲁⲥ): l. ?	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲁⲥ): l. ?	Georgios (ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲉⲅ): l. ?	Browne 2004: 61 (Psalm); Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 347–348, pl. 20 (Greek subscription); Browne 2006 (Psalm) + Łajtar 2002: 188–189 (no. 3; subscription)
commemorative inscription	Greek/Coptic	abba (ⲁⲃ̅): l. 1 archpriest (ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲉⲛⲓⲩⲣⲓ): l. ? <i>archistylites</i> (ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲉⲛⲓⲩⲣⲓⲩⲗ): l. 1		Georgios (ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲓⲱⲩⲱ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 348 (no. 3); Łajtar 2002: 184–186 (no. 1)
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ̅): l. 1		Stephanos (ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 237, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 350 (no. 21), fig. on p. 350
owner's inscription	U/I			Stephanos (ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 237, 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 350 (no. 22), fig. on p. 350
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ̅): l. 1	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲁ): l. 1	Stephanos (ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 350 (no. 23), fig. on p. 350
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Georgios (ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲉⲅ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 237, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar 2002: 189–190 (no. 4)
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ̅): l. 1		Georgios (ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲉⲅ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 236, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar 2002: 190 (no. 5)
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ̅): l. 1 priest (ⲛⲁⲣⲓ): l. 1		Iakob (ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ): l. 1	Pluskota 1998: 237, 242, fig. 4; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 351–352 (no. 26), fig. on p. 351
owner's inscription	U/I	deacon (?) (ⲁⲓⲕ): l. 1	(monastery of) the Holy Trinity (ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Matias (ⲙⲁⲧⲓⲁⲥ): l. 1	Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 352 (no. 27), fig. on p. 352
owner's inscription	U/I		monastery of Pot() (ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲅ): l. 1		Pluskota 1998: 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 353 (no. 28), fig. on p. 353
U/I	U/I				Pluskota 1998: 242; Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 353–354 (no. 29), fig. on p. 353

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1352	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	name of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1353	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	name of Archangel Michael written in form of cross and surrounded by cryptograms of the same archangel	pottery	ceramic
1354	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex	XII–XIII	name of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
1358	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, NW room, ‘cellar’	XI–XII	inscription of abba Christophorou, archimandrite of the Great monastery of Anthony	pottery	ceramic
1359	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, heap of broken amphorae close to outer W wall	XII–XIII	inscription mentioning monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1360	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, heap of broken amphorae close to outer W wall	XII–XIII	inscription mentioning monastery of the Holy Trinity	pottery	ceramic
1361	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, S aisle, E wall; beside painting no. P.9HC/S, Aisle.E (Christ)	XII	series of school exercises	wall	plaster
1363	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 29, S wall, on jamb of doorway to room 23; accompanying painting no. P.48/NW23/29 (miracle at Siloam Pool)	1113–1150	name of Siloam Pool, serving as legend to representation of the miracle at the Siloam Pool	wall	plaster
1364	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 5, N wall, centre, above doorway to room 6; accompanying painting no. P.30/SW5	2nd h. XII	U/I texts serving as legend to painting of a Marian feast (?)	wall	plaster
1365	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 6, on fallen plaster		Ps 29	wall	plaster
1417	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
1418	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1419	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
1420	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
1421	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
1422	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	epitaph of Chael	stela	sandstone
1522	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, apse, in debris	probably VIII	name of St John, most probably accompanying the apse composition	wall	plaster
1524	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, church, NW room, wall above mastaba covering entrance to ‘cellar’		prayer	wall	plaster
1627	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, W wall, N of entrance to main chamber of pharaonic tomb	ca. 738	U/I	wall	plaster
1628	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, W wall, right of panel no. 3 (DBMNT 1627)	ca. 738	anecdote about apa Arsenios	wall	plaster
1629	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, W wall, right of panel no. 4 (DBMNT 1628)	ca. 738	anecdote about apa Makarios	wall	plaster
1630	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, W wall, right of panel no. 5 (DBMNT 1629)	ca. 738	anecdote about apa Antonios	wall	plaster
1631	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, W wall, right of panel no. 6 (DBMNT 1630)	ca. 738	anecdote about apa Ammon (?)	wall	plaster
1632	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, W wall, right of panel no. 7 (DBMNT 1631)	ca. 738	anecdote about a monk	wall	plaster
1633	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, W end of N wall	ca. 738	Nicene Creed	wall	plaster
1634	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, N wall, middle part	ca. 738	U/I	wall	plaster
1635	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, N wall, right of panel no. 14 (DBMNT 1634)	ca. 738	anecdote about a monk	wall	plaster
1636	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, N wall, right of panel no. 15 (DBMNT 1635)	ca. 738	anecdote about apa Palladius	wall	plaster
1637	Faras	Anchorite’s Grotto, N wall, right of no. 17 (DBMNT 1636)	ca. 738	anecdote about a monk	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Coptic				unpublished
epitaph	Coptic				unpublished
epitaph	Coptic				Junker 1925: 121–122, pl. after p. 112; <i>SBKopt.</i> I 431
epitaph	Coptic	father (= abbot) ([π] ενειωτ): ll. 6–7 arch() ([. .]ⲁⲡ`x`[. .]): l. 7		Chael (χαη[λ]): l. 7	Cramer 1949: 12–13 (ll. 1–7), pl. 1
legend	Greek				unpublished
private prayer	Greek				unpublished
literary	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 83 (no. 3), pl. 62.1
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 83 (no. 4), pls. 62.1, 67.4
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 84 (no. 5), pls. 62.1, 67.5
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 84 (no. 6), pls. 62.2, 67.6
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 84 (no. 7), pls. 62.2, 67.7
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 84 (no. 8), pls. 62.2, 68.8
liturgical	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 84–86 (no. 9), fig. 2, pl. 68.9
literary	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 86 (no. 14), pl. 68.14
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 86 (no. 15), pls. 63.1, 68.15
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 86 (no. 16), pls. 63.1, 68.16
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 87 (no. 17), pls. 63.1, 69.17

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1638	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, E end of N wall, right of panel no. 17 (DBMNT 1637)	ca. 738	anecdote about a monk	wall	plaster
1639	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, E end of S wall	ca. 738	sayings of apa Ezias	wall	plaster
1640	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, E part of S wall, right of panel no. 19 (DBMNT 1639)	ca. 738	sayings of apa Pachom	wall	plaster
1641	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, E part of S wall, right of panel no. 20 (DBMNT 1640)	ca. 738	sayings of apa Ezias	wall	plaster
1642	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, central part of S wall, right of panel no. 21 (DBMNT 1641)	ca. 738	sayings of apa Euagrios	wall	plaster
1643	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, central part of S wall, right of panel no. 22 (DBMNT 1642)	ca. 738	sayings of apa Ezaias	wall	plaster
1644	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W part of S wall, above monk's grave; right of panel no. 24 (DBMNT 95)	ca. 738	beginnings of the four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John)	wall	plaster
1645	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S end of W wall	ca. 738	letter of Christ to Abgar, king of Edessa	wall	plaster
1646	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of W wall; right of panel no. 26 (DBMNT 1645)	ca. 738	list of Forty Martyrs of Sebaste	wall	plaster
1647	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of W wall; below text no. 27a (DBMNT 1646)	ca. 738	list of names	wall	plaster
1648	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of W wall; right panel no. 27 (DBMNT 1646)	ca. 738	list of names	wall	plaster
1649	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of W wall; below text no. 28a (DBMNT 1648)	ca. 738	sator-square (entitled 'Names of the nails of Christ')	wall	plaster
1650	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of W wall; below text no. 28b (DBMNT 1649)	ca. 738	list of names	wall	plaster
1651	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of W wall; right of panel no. 28 (DBMNT 1648)	ca. 738	list of names of seven youths of Ephesus ('Seven Sleepers')	wall	plaster
1652	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of E wall; left of text no. B (DBMNT 1653)	VIII	U/I, perhaps literary	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 87 (no. 18), pls. 63.1, 69.18
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 87 (no. 19), pls. 63.2, 69.19
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 87 (no. 20), pls. 63.2, 69.20
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 87–88 (no. 21), pls. 63.2, 69.21
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 88 (no. 22), pls. 64.1, 69.22
literary: ascetic	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 88 (no. 23), pls. 64.1, 70.23
literary: biblical	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 88 (no. 25), pls. 64.2, 70.25
literary	Coptic				Sayce 1898: 174–175; Griffith 1927: 88–89 (no. 26), pls. 65.1, 71.26
subliterary	Coptic				Sayce 1898: 175–176 (column I, ll. 1–22 + column III); Griffith 1927: 89 (no. 27a), pls. 65.1, 71.27a
subliterary	Coptic				Sayce 1898: 175 (column I, ll. 24–28); Griffith 1927: 89 (no. 27b), pls. 65.1, 71.27b
subliterary	Coptic				Sayce 1898: 175 (column II, ll. 1–6); Griffith 1927: 89 (no. 28a), pl. 71.28a
subliterary: magical	Coptic				Sayce 1898: 176 (column II, ll. 7–13); Griffith 1927: 89 (no. 28b), pl. 71.28b
subliterary	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 89 (no. 28c), pl. 71.28c
subliterary	Coptic				Sayce 1898: 176 (column IV); Griffith 1927: 89 (no. 29), pl. 71.29
U/I	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 90 (no. A), pl. 72.A

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1653	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of E wall; right of text no. A (DBMNT 1652)	VIII	U/I text, perhaps homily	wall	plaster
1654	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of E wall; below text no. B (DBMNT 1653)	VIII	U/I	wall	plaster
1655	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of E wall; left of text no. A (DBMNT 1652)	probably VIII–X	prayer for U/I person	wall	plaster
1656	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of E wall; below text no. A (DBMNT 1652)	after 738	inscription left by Iesoudinna (?), cleric	wall	plaster
1657	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of E wall; below gr. 2 (DBMNT 1656)	after 738	inscription left by Psate, archdeacon	wall	plaster
1658	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S part of E wall; below panel no. 21 (DBMNT 1641)	after VIII	inscription left by U/I priest	wall	plaster
1659	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below panels nos. 22 and 23 (DBMNT 1642–3)	after 738	inscription left by abba Kyrou	wall	plaster
1660	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below panel no. 23 (DBMNT 1643)	after 738	monogram of Chael (or Archangel Michael)	wall	plaster
1661	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below panel no. 23 (DBMNT 1643)	after 738	monogram of Chael (or Archangel Michael)	wall	plaster
1662	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below panel no. 24 (DBMNT 95)	after 738	U/I name in form of monogram	wall	plaster
1663	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below panel no. 24 (DBMNT 95)	after 738	monogram of Ioannes (?)	wall	plaster
1664	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below gr. 8 and 9 (DBMNT 1662–3)	after 738	inscription left by U/I person, son of Daud (?)	wall	plaster
1665	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; above 1st text (Gospel of Matthew) of panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644)	before 1027 – before 1057	inscription left by King Stephanos	wall	plaster
1666	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below 1st text (Gospel of Matthew) of panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644)	after 738	inscription left by Petro	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
literary	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 90 (no. B), pl. 72.B
U/I	U/I				Griffith 1927: 90 (no. C), pl. 72.C
private prayer	Coptic				Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 1), pl. 73.1
visitor's inscription	U/I	cleric (κλη): l. 2		Iesoudinna (?) (ΙΗΣΟΥΔΙΝΝΑ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 2), pl. 73.2
visitor's inscription	U/I	archdeacon (ἀρχ' ἐκλ): l. 1		Psate (ΨΑΤΕ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 3), pl. 73.3; <i>I. Faras Greek</i> 41
visitor's inscription	U/I	priest (π): l. 1			Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 4), pl. 73.4
visitor's inscription	U/I	abba (ἀββα): l. 1		Kyros (ΚΥΡΟΥ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 5), pls. 64.1, 73.5; <i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : p. 96, with n. 44
name	U/I				Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 6), pls. 64.1, 73.6
name	U/I				Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 7), pls. 64.1, 73.7
name	U/I				Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 8), pls. 64.1, 73.8
name	U/I			Ioannes (monogram)	Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 9), pls. 64.1, 73.9
visitor's inscription	Greek			Dauid (ΔΑΥΙΔ): l. 2	Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 10), pls. 64.1, 73.10
visitor's inscription	Old Nubian	king (οὔρογνλ): l. 2		Stephanos (στέφανος): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 90 (gr. 11), pl. 73.11; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 190
visitor's inscription	Coptic			Peti (πετι): ll. 1-2	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 12), pls. 64.2, 73.12

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1667	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; above panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644), between 1st and 2nd texts (Gospels of Matthew and Mark)	after 738	inscription left by Marianou, priest	wall	plaster
1668	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; on panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644), lower part, between 1st and 2nd text (Gospels of Matthew and Mark)	after 738	monogram of Thomas (?)	wall	plaster
1669	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; on panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644), lower part, between 1st and 2nd text (Gospels of Matthew and Mark)	after 738	monogram of Paulos, bishop (of Pachoras)	wall	plaster
1670	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; on panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644), lower part, between 1st and 2nd text (Gospels of Matthew and Mark)	after 738	inscription left by Ioannou, priest	wall	plaster
1671	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below 1st text (Gospel of Matthew) of panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644)	after 738	inscription left by Ioannou, priest	wall	plaster
1672	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; on panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644), lower part, between 2nd and 3rd text (Gospels of Mark and Luke)	after 738	inscription left by Michankouda, priest	wall	plaster
1673	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below 2nd text (Gospel of Mark) of panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644)	after 738	inscription left by Petrou, deacon of church of Jesus in Pachoras	wall	plaster
1674	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; below gr. 19 (DBMNT 1673)	after 738	month date	wall	plaster
1675	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; on panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644), lower part, between 3rd and 4th text (Gospels of Luke and John)	after 738	monogram of Ioannes (?)	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
visitor's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Marianos (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 13), pl. 73.13
name	U/I			Thomas (monogram)	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 14), pls. 64.2, 73.14; <i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : p. 81, fig. 5
name	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 15), pls. 64.2, 73.15; <i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : pp. 50–51, fig. 5
visitor's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Ioannes (ⲓⲱ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 16), pls. 64.2, 73.16
visitor's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Ioannes (ⲓⲱⲩ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 17), pls. 64.2, 73.17
visitor's inscription	Coptic	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Michankouda (ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲓⲕⲁⲁ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 18), pls. 64.2, 73.18
visitor's inscription	Greek/Coptic	deacon of (church of) Jesus in Pachoras (ⲁⲓⲁⲕⲓⲛⲓⲕ ⲙⲓⲕ ⲙⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣ[---]): l. 1 (ed. pr. 'deacon of Pachoras'; corr. G. Ochala)	(church of) Jesus in Pachoras (ⲓⲕ ⲙⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣ[---]): l. 1 Pachoras (ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲣ[---]): l. 1 (ed. pr. 'deacon of Pachoras; corr. G. Ochala)	Petros (monogram): l. 1 (ed. pr. resolved as Petu'; corr. G. Ochala)	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 19), pls. 64.2, 73.19
date	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 20), pls. 64.2, 73.20; Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 190
name	U/I			Ioannes (monogram)	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 21), pls. 64.2, 73.21

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1676	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, S wall; on panel no. 25 (DBMNT 1644), lower part, between 3rd and 4th text (Gospels of Luke and John)	after 738	monogram of Ioannes	wall	plaster
1677	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W wall; below panel no. 5 (DBMNT 1629)	after 738	monogram of Archangel Michael	wall	plaster
1678	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W wall; below panel no. 5 (DBMNT 1629)	after 738	combined monogram of Archangels Gabriel and Raphael	wall	plaster
1679	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W wall; below panel no. 5 (DBMNT 1629)	after 738	two U/I monograms	wall	plaster
1680	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W wall; below panel no. 5 (DBMNT 1629)	after 738	perhaps personal name	wall	plaster
1681	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, W wall; below panel no. 7 (DBMNT 1631)	after 738	inscription left by abba Mariane, priest and archimandrite	wall	plaster
1682	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, N wall; below panel no. 15 (DBMNT 1635)	after 738	inscription left by Iesou, bishop (of Pachoras)	wall	plaster
1683	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, N wall; below panel no. 15 (DBMNT 1635)	after 738	U/I	wall	plaster
1684	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, N wall; below panel no. 18 (DBMNT 1638)	after 738	inscription left by Iesou (?), cleric	wall	plaster
1685	Faras	Anchorite's Grotto, N wall; below gr. 30 (DBMNT 1684)	after 738	inscription left by Petro	wall	plaster
1753	Qasr el-Wizz	monastery, room II-E, SW corner	probably IX	two apocryphal texts: <i>Words of the Saviour under the Cross</i> and <i>Dance of the Saviour around the Cross</i>	manu-script: codex	parchment
1838	Ghazali	loose stone block belonging most probably to N wall of N church	XI-XIII	inscription left by Iakob (?), deacon, son of King Basil	wall	plaster
1841	Faras	cathedral, S end of transversal aisle ('S chapel'), E wall; accompanying painting no. 68 (anchorite Melas)	1005-1036	name of Melas, anchorite, serving as legend to his representation	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
name	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 22), pls. 64.2, 73.22
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 23), pls. 62.1, 73.23
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 24), pls. 62.1, 73.24
name	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 25), pls. 62.1, 73.25
name	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 26), pls. 62.1, 73.26
visitor's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲡⲓ): l. 1 archimandrite (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲓ): l. 1 (ed. pr. 'Arka'; corr. G. Ochala)		Mariane (ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 27), pls. 62.2, 73.27
visitor's inscription	U/I	bishop: monogram		Iesou (ⲓⲛⲥⲟⲩ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 28), pls. 63.1, 73.28; <i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : pp. 81–82
U/I	U/I				Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 29), pl. 73.29
visitor's inscription	Coptic	cleric (ⲕⲗⲏⲁ): l. 2		Iesou (?) (ⲓⲛⲥⲟⲩ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 30), pls. 63.1, 73.30
visitor's inscription	U/I			Petros (ⲡⲉⲣⲟ): l. 1	Griffith 1927: 91 (gr. 31), pls. 63.1, 73.31
literary: apocryphal	Coptic				Hubai 2006 (= Hubai 2009); Suciu 2013: passim, esp. 30–33 (description), 157–160 (transcription of fol. 12v–17r), 170–171 (translation of fol. 12v–17r)
visitor's inscription	Greek	deacon (ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲓⲕⲓ): l. 1 king (ⲃⲗⲁⲕ): l. 1		Iakob ([ⲓⲁⲕⲟⲃ]): l. 1 Basil (ⲃⲁⲕⲗ): l. 1	unpublished; in preparation by G. Ochala
legend	Greek/ Coptic				<i>I. Faras Copt.</i> : p. 130, fig. 39a–b; Łukaszewicz 1990: 549–556 (transcription on p. 555), fig. 4

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1858	Faras	cathedral, N aisle, N wall; accompanying painting no. 46 (anchorite Aaron)	2nd h. X	dedication of painting of anchorite Aaron, donated by Staurosinkouda, deacon of the church of Mary in Pachoras, son of Eisthetas	wall	plaster
1982	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, N jamb of archway between rooms 23 and 31	XI–XIII	Dongolese creed (Symbolum Dongolanum)	wall	plaster
1983	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 29, S wall; partly overlapping with paint- ing no. P.46/NW29 (Christ and Archangel Gabriel protecting dignitary, accompanied by Apostles)	probably 1st h. XI	intercessio prayer	wall	plaster
1984	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 29, N wall; near painting no. P.56/NW27 (angel)		Ps 97 (96)	wall	plaster
1985	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 31, S wall		Ps 128 (127)	wall	plaster
1986	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 27, E wall; accompanying paint- ing no. P.57/NW27 (Christ in medallion)	2nd h. XII	liturgy of the Presanctified	wall	plaster
1988	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, W annex, room 14, S wall		list of archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ourouel, Iael, Anael, and Zedekiel)	wall	plaster
1989	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, W annex, room 14, N wall; right below DBMNT 561		invocation of the Holy Trinity	wall	plaster
1990	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, W annex, room 14, N wall; below DBMNT 1989		inscription left by Ioseph, cleric	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
dedicatory inscription	Greek/ Coptic	deacon of (church of) Mary in Pachoras (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΑΨΡΑ[ς]): l. 5	(church of) Mary in Pachoras (ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΑΨΡΑ[ς]): l. 5	Staurosinkouda (m) (σταυρος[ιν] κογδα): ll. 4-5 Eisthetas ([εισθετας]): l. 6	Altheim & Stiehl 1971: 495-496; Jakobielski <i>et al.</i> 2017: 278
liturgical	Greek				Jakobielski & Łajtar 1997: 7-26, figs. 2-3
liturgical: prayer	Greek				unpublished
literary: biblical	Greek/ Old Nubian				unpublished
literary: biblical	Greek/ Old Nubian				unpublished
liturgical: prayer	Greek				unpublished
subliterary	U/I				unpublished
invocation	Greek				unpublished
visitor's inscription	Greek	cleric (κλη): l. 1	Noabdia (νοΨ): l. 1 (church of) Raphael in Tamit (ραφαηλ [as monogram] ταηΨ): l. 1 (reading G. Ochala)	Ioseph (ιωσηφ): l. 1	unpublished

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
1993	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 43; jar set in the floor in one of the corners	XII–XIII	inscription of abba Lazaros, <i>archistylites</i>	wall	plaster
1994	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, building NW-E		magical ostrakon protecting against scorpion bites	ostrakon	ceramic
1995	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, building NW-E, room 47b, in E haunch of vault	2nd h. VI–VII	name of sender, Iakob, priest (?)	pottery	ceramic
1996	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, doorway between rooms 3 and 4, N jamb; accompanying painting no. P.19/SW _{3/4} (Virgin Galaktotrophousa)	2nd h. XII	names of Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, serving as legend to representation of Mary Galaktotrophousa	wall	plaster
1997	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, doorway between rooms 3 and 4, S jamb; accompanying painting no. P.18/SW _{3/4} (Virgin Galaktotrophousa)	2nd h. XII	names of Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, serving as legend to representation of Mary Galaktotrophousa	wall	plaster
1998	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, central building (H-CB), room 2		inscription of abba Da..., priest and oikonomos	architectural element	sandstone
1999	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 3, W wall, N half; accompanying painting no. P.10C/SW ₃ (Prophet Ezra)	2nd h. XII	title of scroll with Book of Ezra serving as legend to painting of Prophet Ezra	wall	plaster
2000	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 4, N wall, W end; accompanying painting no. P.21/SW ₄ (prophet Jeremiah)	2nd h. XII	name of Prophet Jeremiah, serving as legend to his representation; cryptograms of Archangel Michael on prophet's dress	wall	plaster
2001	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 9	1097 – ca. 1130	inscription of abba Chael (II), bishop of Pachoras	wall	plaster
2002	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 18, W wall; accompanying painting no. P.24/NW ₁₈ (Three Youths in Fiery Furnace)	2nd h. XII	painter's signature (Michaelkoudda)	wall	plaster
2004 2005	Dongola	monastery on Kom H		Pater noster; Creed of St Epiphanius	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
commemorative inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 <i>archistylites</i> (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥⲧⲩⲭⲏ): l. 1		Lazaros (ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲣⲟⲥ): l. 1	Jakobielski 2003: 220, 223; Jakobielski 2005: 124
subliterary: magical	Old Nubian				unpublished
other	Coptic	archpriest (?) (ⲁⲣⲓⲭⲥ): l. 1		Iakob (ⲓⲁⲕⲟⲃ): l. 1	Jakobielski 2003: 227; Jakobielski 2010: 72, fig. 6
legend	Greek				unpublished
legend	Greek				unpublished
commemorative inscription	Greek	priest (ⲁⲓ): l. 1 <i>oikonomos</i> (ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙ): l. 1		Da.... (ⲁⲁ[...]): l. 1	Jakobielski & Martens-Czarnecka 2008: 340; Jakobielski 2010: 88–89
legend	Greek				unpublished
commemorative inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 bishop of Pachoras (ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲓⲁⲡⲁⲭⲟⲣⲁⲥ): l. 1	Pachoras (ⲁⲡⲁⲭⲟⲣⲁⲥ): l. 1	Chael (ⲭⲁⲛⲗ): l. 1	unpublished
other	U/I			Michaelkouda	unpublished
liturgical: prayer	Greek				unpublished

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2008	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 13, E wall; accompanying painting no. P.65/NW13 (Archangel Michael and Holy Trinity protecting donor)	1050–1064	hymns to Archangel Michael	wall	plaster
2009	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 22, E wall; accompanying painting no. P.41/NW22 (Nativity)	1064–1113	names of Archangel Gabriel and St Joseph, serving as legend to painting of the Nativity	wall	plaster
2010	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 24, N wall, NW corner; accompanying painting no. P.63/NW24 (St Menas)	1064–1113	name of St Menas, serving as legend to his representation	wall	plaster
2011	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 13, N & S walls; accompanying painting no. P.68/NW13 (Christ among Apostles)	2nd h. XII	names of Christ and Apostles (N wall: Peter, John, Phillip; S wall: Andrew, James, Bartholomew [?], Simon), serving as legend to representation of the College of Apostles	wall	plaster
2012	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 3, W wall; accompanying painting no. P.11/SW3 (Three Youths in Fiery Furnace)	2nd h. XII	names of Azaria and Mesael, serving as legend to representation of Three Youths in Fiery Furnace	wall	plaster
2013	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, S unit, room 3a, recess under pulpit; accompanying drawing no. S.21/S3A	probably XII–XIV	name of Georgios accompanying painting of a man under protection of Christ	wall	plaster
2037	Faras	cathedral, S end of transversal aisle ('S chapel'), W wall; accompanying painting no. a72 (anchorite Amone)	IX	name of Amone, anchorite, serving as legend to his representation	wall	plaster
2081	Faras	cathedral, N aisle, N wall; accompanying painting no. 46 (anchorite Aaron)	2nd h. X	name of Aaron, anchorite, serving as legend to his representation	wall	plaster
2150	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 7, N wall	XI–XII	liturgy of the Presanctified	wall	plaster
2151	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 7, in niche	XI–XII	liturgy of the Presanctified	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
private prayer	Greek				unpublished
legend	Greek				unpublished
legend	Greek				unpublished
legend	Greek				unpublished
legend	Greek				unpublished
legend	Greek				unpublished
legend	U/I				unpublished
legend	Greek				Michałowski 1967: 113, pl. 31; <i>I. Faras Greek</i> 90, fig. 80
legend	Greek				Michałowski 1967: 126–127, pl. 46; Łukaszewicz 1982: 193–195
liturgical: prayer	Greek				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: no. XXXVa
liturgical: prayer	Greek	priest (Π): l. 17		Ioannes (ic): l. 17; (iōγ): l. ?	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: no. XXXVb

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2180	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', central room, on ceiling near E wall	X-XIII	literary or subliterary text or prayer	wall	plaster
2181	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto'	X-XIII	inscription left by Raphaelkouda, archdeacon	wall	plaster
2182	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto'	X-XIII	inscription left by unknown person, archimandrite	wall	plaster
2183	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto'	X-XIII	inscription left by Sitanen	wall	plaster
2184	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto'	X-XIII	inscription left by Papasi.[---] (?)	wall	plaster
2185	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, to the right of entrance; above DBMNT 2186	X-XIII	inscription left by Papou	wall	plaster
2186	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, to the right of entrance; below DBMNT 2185	X-XIII	inscription left by Shoukri	wall	plaster
2189	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, to the right of entrance; below DBMNT 2186	X-XIII	U/I	wall	plaster
2190	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, S of entrance; to the left of DBMNT 2189	X-XIII	inscription left by Appou	wall	plaster
2191	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, S of entrance; below DBMNT 2190	X-XIII	inscription left by unknown person	wall	plaster
2192	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, S of entrance; below DBMNT 2191	X-XIII	probably numeral 457	wall	plaster
2193	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, S of entrance	X-XIII	inscription left by unknown person	wall	plaster
2194	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto', W wall of vestibule, S of entrance; below DBMNT 2193	X-XIII	U/I	wall	plaster
2214	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 6, W wall		list of archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ourouel, Iael, Anael, and Zedekiel)	wall	plaster
2244	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
2245	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
literary	Greek				Łajtar 2003: 513–514 (no. 1), fig. 1 + fig. on p. 513
visitor's inscription	Greek/ Old Nubian	archdeacon ([ΔP]`X`Δ1Δ`K`): l. 2	(church of) Jesus (iĉ): l. 2	Raphaelkouda (ΡΑΦΑΗΛΚΟΥΔΑ): l. 1	Łajtar 2003: 514 (no. 2), fig. on p. 514
visitor's inscription	Greek	archimandrite of (monastery of) Danionyjer ([Δ]P`X`HΔN`Δ` ΔΔΗΟΨΟΕΡ): ll. 2–3	(monas- tery of) Danionyjer (ΔΔΗΟΨΟΕΡ): l. 3		Łajtar 2003: 514 (no. 3), fig. on p. 514
visitor's inscription	Old Nubian	lord of [---] (Q . [,] PΓQAAΔE): l. 2		Sitanen (CITANEŃ): l. 1	Łajtar 2003: 514–515 (no. 4), fig. on p. 514
visitor's inscription	Greek/ Old Nubian			Papasi... (ΠΑΠCΙ . . Δ): l. 2	Łajtar 2003: 515 (no. 5), fig. 2 + fig. on p. 515
visitor's inscription	Old Nubian			Papou (ΠΑΠΟΥ): l. 1	Łajtar 2003: 515 (no. 6), fig. 3 + fig. on p. 515
visitor's inscription	Greek/ Old Nubian			Shoukri (ΘΟΥΚΡΙ): l. 1	Monneret de Villard 1935: vol. I, 251; Łajtar 2003: 515 (no. 6), fig. 3 + fig. on p. 515
U/I	U/I				Łajtar 2003: 516 (no. 8), fig. 3 + fig. on p. 516
visitor's inscription	U/I			Appou (ΑΠΠΟΥ): l. 1	Łajtar 2003: 516 (no. 9), fig. on p. 516
visitor's inscription	Greek/ Old Nubian				Łajtar 2003: 516 (no. 10), fig. on p. 516
U/I	U/I				Łajtar 2003: 516 (no. 11), fig. on p. 516
visitor's inscription	U/I			Papou (ΠΑΠΟΥ): l. 1	Łajtar 2003: 516–517 (no. 12), fig. 3 + fig. on p. 517
visitor's inscription	U/I				Łajtar 2003: 517 (no. 13), fig. 3 + fig. on p. 517
subliterary	U/I				unpublished
epitaph	U/I				unpublished (?)
epitaph	Coptic				unpublished (?)

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2246	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
2247	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
2248	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
2249	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	epitaph of Michinkouda, monk	stela	U/I
2250	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
2251	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	sandstone
2252	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
2253	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII-XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	U/I
2254	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, SW annex, room 3, E wall; accompanying painting no. P .14/SW3 (Archangel Raphael taming a beast)	2nd h. XII	name of Archangel Raphael, serving as legend to representation of achangel trampling a beast	wall	plaster
2359	ez-Zuma	'anchorite's grotto'	X-XIII	inscription left by Mouses	wall	plaster
2360	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2361	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Iakob	pottery	ceramic
2362	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Abraham (?)	pottery	ceramic
2363	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Abraham (?)	pottery	ceramic
2364	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Philotheos	pottery	ceramic
2365	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	probably name of Archangel Michael or Raphael	pottery	ceramic
2366	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	perhaps monogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2473	Qasr el-Wizz	church, room L, under floor		U/I, probably literary	manu-script: leaf	parchment
2474	Qasr el-Wizz	church		U/I	pottery	ceramic
2475	Qasr el-Wizz	church		inscription of U/I abba, priest and archimandrite (?)	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
epitaph	Coptic				Revillout 1885, n. 1 on p. 15; <i>SBKopt.</i> I 485
epitaph	Coptic				unpublished (?)
epitaph	Coptic				Junker 1925: 121, pl. after p. 112; <i>SBKopt.</i> I 430
epitaph	Coptic	brother (= monk) (con): l. 5 monk (μοναχ[oc]): l. 6		Michinkouda (μικινκογδα): l. 5	Revillout 1885: 33 (no. 50); <i>SBKopt.</i> I 494
epitaph	Greek				unpublished (?)
epitaph	U/I				unpublished (?)
epitaph	U/I				unpublished (?)
epitaph	U/I				unpublished (?)
legend	Greek				unpublished
visitor's inscription	U/I			Mouses (μογςnc): l. ?	unpublished
U/I	U/I				unpublished
owner's inscription	U/I			Iakob (ιακωβογ): l. 1	unpublished
owner's inscription	U/I			Abraham (αβρ[---]): l. 1	unpublished
owner's inscription	U/I			Abraham (monogram): l. 1	unpublished
owner's inscription	U/I			Philotheos (φιλο`θ'): l. 1	unpublished
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				unpublished
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				unpublished
literary	Coptic				unpublished
U/I	U/I				unpublished
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (?) (αβ): l. 1 priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (?) (αρχ`ⲭ'): l. 1			unpublished

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2476	Qasr el-Wizz	church	VII–VIII	name of St Eusebeia	lamp	ceramic
2477	Qasr el-Wizz	church	VII–VIII	U/I	lamp	ceramic
2478	Qasr el-Wizz	church	VII–VIII	inscription of abba Ioseph, Egyptian bishop and probably saint	lamp	ceramic
2479	Qasr el-Wizz	monastery, room III-O, W part, beneath later floor		extract from <i>Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli</i>	manuscript	parchment
2480	Qasr el-Wizz	monastery, room III-N, W part, beneath later floor		monogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2495	Ghazali	surface find	VII–XIII	list of Archangels: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Iael (?)	stamp	ceramic
2496	Ghazali	outside N wall of N church	VII–XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2497	Ghazali	room AA, level I, 51	VII–XIII	U/I inscription including cryptogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2498	Ghazali	room B	VII–XIII	perhaps prayer to Archangel Michael	ostrakon	ceramic
2499	Ghazali	room B, E end, at foot of stairs	VII–XIII	inscription of Anastasios	ostrakon	ceramic
2500	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	name of Christ	pottery	ceramic
2501	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2502	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	inscription of Iesou, priest	pottery	ceramic
2503	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	inscription of Andreas	pottery	ceramic
2504	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2505	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	monogram of Germanos (?)	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
name of divine entity/saint	Greek				unpublished
U/I	U/I				unpublished
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ΑΒΒΑ): l. 1 bishop (ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ): l. 1		Ioseph (ΙΩΣΗΦ): l. 1	unpublished
literary	Greek				unpublished
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				unpublished
subliterary	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 28, pl. 13b
U/I	U/I	archpriest (?) (Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος): l. 1 (reading from photo G. Ochala)		Ioannes (ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ): l. 1	unpublished
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 64
private prayer	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 71 (no. 5)
owner's inscription	U/I			Anastasios (ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: 72 (no. 7)
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 1, fig. 33.1
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 3, fig. 33.3
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (Ἱερέας): l. 1		Iesou (Ἰησοῦ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 4, fig. 33.4
owner's inscription	U/I			Andreas (ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 5, fig. 33.5 (+ p. 95)
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 6, fig. 33.6 (+ p. 95)
owner's inscription	U/I			Germanos (μονόγραμμα)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 7, fig. 33.7

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2506	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription mentioning 2 persons: Petros (?), deacon, and U/I priest	pottery	ceramic
2507	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2508	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I monogram (of Ioannes?)	pottery	ceramic
2509	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Isaak	pottery	ceramic
2510	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2511	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Archangel Michael (?)	pottery	ceramic
2512	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Markos (?)	pottery	ceramic
2513	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2514	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Kerikos (?)	pottery	ceramic
2515	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite (?)	pottery	ceramic
2516	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	cryptogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2517	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Seueros	pottery	ceramic
2518	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2519	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription on Ioannes or Ionas, priest	pottery	ceramic
2520	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas	pottery	ceramic
2521	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	perhaps inscription of Ekklesiastes	pottery	ceramic
2522	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2523	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2524	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (Π): l. 1 deacon (ΔΙΔ'Κ'): l. 1		Petros (?) (ΠΕ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 8, fig. 33.8
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 10, fig. 33.10
U/I	U/I			Ioannes (monogram)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 11, fig. 33.11 (+ p. 95)
owner's inscription	U/I			Isaak ([---]CΑΔΚ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 14, fig. 33.14
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 15, fig. 33.15
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 16, fig. 34.16
owner's inscription	U/I			Markos (?) (monogram)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 17, fig. 34.17
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 18, fig. 34.18
owner's inscription	U/I			Kyriakos (ΚΗ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 19, fig. 34.19
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (Π): l. 1 archimandrite (?) (ΑΡ'Χ'): l. 1		Bap() ([Β]ΑΠ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 20, fig. 34.20
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 21, fig. 34.21
owner's inscription	U/I			Seueros (monogram)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 22, fig. 34.22
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 23, fig. 34.23 (+ p. 95)
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (Π): l. 1		Ioannes or Ionas (ΙΩΝ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 24, fig. 34.24
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes or Ionas (ΙΩΝ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 25, figs. 27, 34.25
owner's inscription	U/I			Ekklesiastes (?) (ΕΚΛΗ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 26, fig. 34.26
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 27, fig. 34.27
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 28, fig. 34.28
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 29, fig. 34.29

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2525	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Bap(), priest	pottery	ceramic
2526	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Bap(), priest and archimandrite (?)	pottery	ceramic
2527	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Abraham	pottery	ceramic
2528	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of abba Ioannes (or Iesou)	pottery	ceramic
2529	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	combined monogram of Archangels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Ourouel	pottery	ceramic
2530	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas	pottery	ceramic
2531	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of abba Chael, priest	pottery	ceramic
2532	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	cryptogram of 'amen'	pottery	ceramic
2533	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Raphael	pottery	ceramic
2534	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	combined monogram of Archangels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Ourouel	pottery	ceramic
2535	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of abba Iesou + name of Archangel Gabriel	pottery	ceramic
2536	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Kosma (?)	pottery	ceramic
2537	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2538	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	perhaps inscription of U/I deacon	pottery	ceramic
2539	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Anastasios	pottery	ceramic
2540	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Maththaios (?)	pottery	ceramic
2541	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I monogram	pottery	ceramic
2542	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Loukas, deacon	pottery	ceramic
2543	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Israel (?), deacon	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Bap() (ⲃⲁⲡ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 30, fig. 34.30 (+ p. 95)
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (?) (ⲁⲡⲛⲭ): l. 1		Bap() (ⲃⲁⲡ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 31, fig. 34.31, pl. 19
owner's inscription	U/I			Abraham (monogram)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 32, fig. 35.32
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1		Ioannes or Iesou (ⲓ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 33, fig. 35.33
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 34, fig. 35.34
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes or Ionas (ⲓⲱ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 35, fig. 35.35
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Chael (monogram): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 36, fig. 35.36
other	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 37, fig. 35.37
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 38, fig. 35.38
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 39, fig. 35.39
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1		Iesou (ⲓⲱ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 40, fig. 35.40
owner's inscription	U/I			Kosma (?) (ⲕⲱ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 42, fig. 35.42
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 43, fig. 35.43
owner's inscription	U/I	deacon (ⲁⲓⲁ): l. 1			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 44, fig. 35.44
owner's inscription	U/I			Anastasios (ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲛⲧ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 45, fig. 35.45
owner's inscription	U/I			Maththaios (ⲙⲁⲑ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 46, fig. 35.46
owner's inscription	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 48, fig. 36.48
owner's inscription	U/I	deacon (ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲧ): l. 1		Loukas (monogram): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 49, fig. 36.49
owner's inscription	U/I	deacon (ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲧⲛⲧ): l. 1		Israel (?) (ⲓⲥⲣⲁⲓⲗ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 51, fig. 36.51

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2544	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Ioannes	pottery	ceramic
2545	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Thomas (?)	pottery	ceramic
2546	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2547	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of abba Iesou	pottery	ceramic
2548	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas	pottery	ceramic
2549	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Prochoros + single letter alpha	pottery	ceramic
2550	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Iakob	pottery	ceramic
2551	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Jesus Christ	pottery	ceramic
2552	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	cryptogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2553	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	perhaps inscription of An.[---]	pottery	ceramic
2554	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Maththaios (?)	pottery	ceramic
2555	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Angelophoros	pottery	ceramic
2556	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Chael (?), priest	pottery	ceramic
2557	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	perhaps name of Archangel Michael (or crymtogram ⲙⲁⲩⲣ)	pottery	ceramic
2558	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Kerikos (?)	pottery	ceramic
2559	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of U/I archimandrite (?)	pottery	ceramic
2560	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2561	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Elias (?)	pottery	ceramic
2562	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioseph	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes (monogram)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 52, fig. 36.52
owner's inscription	U/I			Thomas (ῑῑ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 53, fig. 36.53
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 54, fig. 36.54
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ḁḁ): l. 1		Iesou (iῑ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 56, fig. 36.56 (+ p. 95)
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes or Ionas (iῑ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 57, fig. 36.57
owner's inscription	U/I			Prochoros (πρωχορ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 58, fig. 36.58
owner's inscription	U/I			Iakob (iακω[---]): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 59, fig. 36.59
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 60, fig. 36.60
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 62, fig. 37.62
owner's inscription	U/I			An.[---] (αη.[---]): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 64, fig. 37.64
owner's inscription	U/I			Maththaios (μαθ[---]): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 65, fig. 37.65
owner's inscription	U/I			Angleophoros ([---] ελωφορο[---]): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 66, fig. 37.66
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (ῑ): l. 1		Chael (?) (χα[---]): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 67, fig. 37.67
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 68, fig. 37.68
owner's inscription	U/I			Kyriakos (κῑ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 69, figs. 15.J2, 37.69, pl. 23b
owner's inscription	U/I	archimandrite (?) (αρχ[---]): l. 1			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 70, fig. 37.70
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 71, fig. 37.71
owner's inscription	U/I			Elias (?) (ῑλῑ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 72, fig. 37.72
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioseph (iῑῑ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 73, fig. 37.73

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2563	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes	pottery	ceramic
2564	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	cryptogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2565	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2566	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2567	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Theodore, priest	pottery	ceramic
2568	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I name in form of monogram	pottery	ceramic
2569	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I, perhaps owner's inscription	pottery	ceramic
2570	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Abram	pottery	ceramic
2571	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Georgios	pottery	ceramic
2572	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2573	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Michael (or Chael)	pottery	ceramic
2574	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	perhaps inscription of Chrys (?)	pottery	ceramic
2575	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of abba A[—], priest and archimandrite (?)	pottery	ceramic
2576	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2577	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of U/I deacon	pottery	ceramic
2578	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I monogram	pottery	ceramic
2579	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2580	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Iakob, priest	pottery	ceramic
2581	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes ([---]ΔΑΝΝΗ[---]): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 75, fig. 37.75
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 76, fig. 37.76
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 77, fig. 37.77
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 79, fig. 37.79
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Theodore (ΘΕΟΔΩΡΕ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 80, fig. 37.80
name	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 83, fig. 38.83
owner's inscription	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 84, fig. 38.84
owner's inscription	U/I			Abraham (monogram)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 85, fig. 38.85
owner's inscription	U/I			Georgios (ΓΕΩΡΓ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 86, fig. 38.86
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 88, fig. 38.88
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 89, fig. 39.89
owner's inscription	U/I			Chrys (?) (ΧΡΥC): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 91, fig. 39.91
owner's inscription	U/I	abba (ⲁⲃ): l. 1 priest (ⲡ): l. 1 archimandrite (?) (ⲁⲣⲭ): l. 1		A[---] (ⲁ[---]): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 92, 93, 95, figs. 39.92, 93, 95, pl. 21b
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 96, fig. 39.96
owner's inscription	U/I	deacon (monogram)			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 97, fig. 39.97
name	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 98, fig. 39.98
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 99, fig. 39.99
owner's inscription	Coptic	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Iakob (ΙΑΚΩΒ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 100, fig. 39.100
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes or Ionas (ΙΩΝ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 101, fig. 40.101

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2582	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	cryptogram of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2583	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2584	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes	pottery	ceramic
2585	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes	pottery	ceramic
2586	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Jesus Christ	pottery	ceramic
2587	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Iesou, priest	pottery	ceramic
2588	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2589	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2590	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Iesou, monk (?)	pottery	ceramic
2591	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	perhaps inscription of Chrys (?)	pottery	ceramic
2592	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Kerykos (?)	pottery	ceramic
2593	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Michael (?)	pottery	ceramic
2594	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas, deacon (?)	pottery	ceramic
2595	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of U/I monk	pottery	ceramic
2596	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	U/I monogram	pottery	ceramic
2597	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Michael	pottery	ceramic
2598	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	monogram of Archangel Michael + single letter alpha	pottery	ceramic
2599	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Iesou, priest	pottery	ceramic
2600	Ghazali	not recorded	VII-XIII	inscription of Philotheos	pottery	ceramic

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 104, fig. 40.104
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 105, fig. 40.105
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes (iω): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 106, fig. 41.106
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes (iωγ): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 107, fig. 41.107
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 108, fig. 41.108
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (Π): l. 1		Iesou (iē): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 109, fig. 41.109
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 110, fig. 41.110
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 111, fig. 41.111
owner's inscription	U/I	monk (?) (ΜΟ[---]): l. 1		Iesou (iē): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 113, fig. 42.113
owner's inscription	U/I			Chrys (?) (χρυς): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 114, fig. 42.114
owner's inscription	U/I			Kyriakos (?) (monogram)	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 115, fig. 42.115
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 116, fig. 42.116
owner's inscription	U/I	deacon (?) (monogram): l. 1		Ioannes or Ionas (iωN): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 117, figs. 42.117 and 118
owner's inscription	U/I	monk (ΜΟΝΑ`Χ'): l. 1			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 119, fig. 42.119
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 120, fig. 42.120
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 121, fig. 42.121
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 122, fig. 42.122
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (Π): l. 1		Iesou (iē): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 123, fig. 43.123
owner's inscription	U/I			Philotheos (φιλo`θ'): l. 1	Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 124, fig. 44.124

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2601	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	inscription of U/I priest	pottery	ceramic
2602	Ghazali	not recorded	VII–XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2662	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
2663	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
2664	Ghazali	not recorded	VIII–XI	fragment of epitaph	stela	terracotta
2693	Ghazali	surface find	VII–XIII	sepulchral cross with 'light – life' acclamation	sepulchral cross	terracotta
2706	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, on ceiling above W wall; above DBMNT 2744	XII	invocation of the Holy Trinity	wall	plaster
2729	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 35, E wall	XII–XIV	adaptation of 'Menander sentence'	wall	plaster
2730	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, S unit		letter <i>phi</i> repeated 6 times with consecutive vowels	wall	plaster
2731	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, S unit		letter <i>phi</i> repeated 6 times with consecutive vowels	wall	plaster
2733	Dongola	monastery on Kom H		exercise with adjective ἀβροχός	ostrakon	ceramic
2735	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 35, E wall	XII–XIV	inscription left by [---]ngaue	wall	plaster
2736	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 35, E wall	XII–XIV	biblical quotations (Eccl 4:12, 2 Kgs 2:12 = 2 Kgs 13:14) written by Loukas, deacon	wall	plaster
2744	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, top of W wall; below DBMNT 2706	XII	colophon of texts written in crypt of Georgios	wall	plaster
2745	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, W wall; above DBMNT 2746 & 2747	XII	Trinitarian formula	wall	plaster
2746	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, W wall, above entrance; below left-hand part of DBMNT 2745, to the right of DBMNT 2747	XII	series of numerical cryptograms	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1			Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 125, fig. 44.125
U/I	U/I				Shinnie & Chittick 1961: gr. 126, fig. 44.126
epitaph	Coptic				unpublished
epitaph	Greek				Tsakos 2009: 232 (no. 2b), fig. 11
epitaph	Greek				Tsakos 2009: 232 (no. 2c), fig. 12
epitaph	Greek				Tsakos 2011: 161 (no. 5), fig. 1
invocation	Greek				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: no. 1
literary	Greek				Łajtar 2009a: 19–24, figs. 1–2
school exercise	U/I				unpublished
school exercise	U/I				unpublished
school exercise	Greek				unpublished; in preparation by A. Łajtar
visitor's inscription	U/I			[---]ngaue: l. ?	unpublished
literary	Greek	deacon: l. ?		Loukas: l. ?	unpublished
colophon	Greek				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 69–70 (no. 2)
invocation	Greek				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 71 (no. 4)
subliterary: magical	U/I				Müller 2001: 323, fig. 1; Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 72–74 (no. 5)

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2747	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, W wall; below right-hand part of DBMNT 2745, to the right of DBMNT 2746	XII	list of divine names	wall	plaster
2749	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, W wall; between DBMNT 2744 and 2745	XII	series of magical signs	wall	plaster
2750	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, W wall; below DBMNT 2747	XII	magical circle	wall	plaster
2751	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, W wall, to the right of entrance; below DBMNT 2747 and 2750	XII	Matt 1:1-2, 28:20	wall	plaster
2752	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, N wall	XII	text consisting of 3 parts: Prayer of Mary for warding off evil. Signature of the scribe.	wall	plaster
2753	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, N wall, lower W corner; below left-hand side of DBMNT 2752	XII	sator-square	wall	plaster
2754	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, N wall, upper E corner; above right-hand side of DBMNT 2752	XII	Mark 1:1-2, 16:20	wall	plaster
2755	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, top of E wall; above DBMNT 2756	XII	Luke 1:1-2, 24:53	wall	plaster
2756	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, E wall; below DBMNT 2755	XII	prayer of Mary before her death (plus subscription of scribe Ioannes)	wall	plaster
2757	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, bottom of E wall; immediately after DBMNT 2756	XII	list of Apostles	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
subliterary	U/I				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 74–75 (no. 6)
subliterary: magical	U/I				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 70–71 (no. 3)
subliterary: magical	U/I				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 76–77 (no. 7)
literary: biblical	Greek				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 77–80 (no. 8)
subliterary	Greek			Ioannes (ἰωγ): l. 56	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 80–202 (no. 9)
subliterary: magical	U/I				Müller 2001: 325–326, fig. 3; Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 203–204 (no. 10)
literary: biblical	Greek				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 205–206 (no. 11)
literary: biblical	Greek				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 207–208 (no. 12)
literary	Coptic			Ioannes (ἰωγ): l. 28	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 208–219 (no. 13)
subliterary	U/I				Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 220–227 (no. 14)

Annex. Epigraphic sources from monastic contexts in Nubia (cont'd)

	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Material</i>
2758	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, upper E corner of S wall	XII	John 1:1-3, 21:25	wall	plaster
2759	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, S wall; below DBMNT 2758	XII	'Dormition of the Virgin Mary' (plus subscription of scribe Ioannes)	wall	plaster
2760	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, crypt 1 (grave 28) under room 5, W end of S wall; above right-hand part of DBMNT 2759	XII	sator-square	wall	plaster
2777	Ghazali	surface find	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas, priest	pottery	ceramic
2778	Ghazali	surface find	VII-XIII	inscription of Ioannes or Ionas	pottery	ceramic
2779	Ghazali	surface find	VII-XIII	name of Archangel Michael (?)	pottery	ceramic
2780	Ghazali	surface find	VII-XIII	U/I	pottery	ceramic
2781	Ghazali	surface find	VII-XIII	inscription of Kyriakos (?)	pottery	ceramic
2787	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 13, N wall		intercession prayer	wall	plaster
2894	Qasr el-Wizz	not recorded	VIII-X	cryptogram ⲙⲭⲣ	pottery	ceramic
2895	Qasr el-Wizz	not recorded	VIII-X	inscription of Di(), priest, including cryptogram ⲙⲭⲣ	pottery	ceramic
2942	Dongola	monastery on Kom H, NW annex, room 27, E wall, N part; accompanying painting no. P.57/NW27 (Christ in medallion)	2nd h. XII	name of Jesus Christ, serving as legend to representation of Christ in medallion	wall	plaster

<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Offices</i>	<i>Toponyms</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Publication</i>
literary: biblical	Greek			Ioannes (Ἰωάννου): l. 1	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 227–228 (no. 15)
literary	Coptic			Ioannes (ⲓⲱⲩ): l. 36	Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 229–239 (no. 16)
subliterary: magical	U/I				Müller 2001: 325–326, fig. 2; Łajtar & van der Vliet 2017: 239 (no. 17)
owner's inscription	U/I	priest (ⲡ): l. 1		Ioannes or Ionas (ⲓⲱⲛ): l. 1	Lethmayer & Zach 1986: 141, fig. 1
owner's inscription	U/I			Ioannes or Ionas (ⲓⲱⲛ): l. 1	Lethmayer & Zach 1986: 141, fig. 2
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Lethmayer & Zach 1986: 142, fig. 6
U/I	U/I				unpublished
owner's inscription	U/I			Kyriakos (ⲕⲓⲣⲓ): l. 1	unpublished
liturgical: prayer	Greek				unpublished
name of divine entity/saint	U/I				Tsakos 2015: 248 (no. 2), fig. 2
owner's inscription	U/I				Tsakos 2015: 250 (no. 3), fig. 3
legend	Greek				unpublished

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