



Mr. Somers Clarke, the author of "Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley: A Contribution Towards the Study of the Ancient Churches" (Clarendon Press: Frowde), is already known to many from his earlier writings, especially his interest in the preservation of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, threatened as it is by the excavation of the London subways. His concern for a modern work of Christian architecture is quite in accord with the self-sacrificing solicitude evident in the efforts he has put forth in this volume to gather and preserve some account of the early Christian churches of the Upper Nile. As a matter of fact, very little has been done in this direction. Butler's volume was not primarily architectural, and Mileham's study covers only the churches of Lower Nubia. The neglect, or even wanton destruction, of these buildings by such men as Grébaut, when in charge of the antiquities of Egypt, has justly aroused indignation. Mr. Clarke began his survey of the ground among the meagre ruins of Soba on the Blue Nile, some thirteen miles above Khartum. Thence he proceeded northward, down the river to El Medyna. His many visits to the Nile in earlier years, combined with especial studies for this particular work, have enabled him to present in this volume a fairly complete survey of the ecclesiastical buildings along the Nile, from the union of the two rivers to Middle Upper Egypt. The studies are not highly detailed, and the plans are not elaborate, but in a field so little investigated they form a distinctly valuable contribution. As a product of the southernmost reach of Christianity, this hybrid architecture along the Nile, simple and unpretentious as it often was, is not a little interesting. In the structure of the great White Monastery, the home of the famous community near Sohâg, we find, nevertheless, a work of imposing proportions and impressive design, of which Mr. Clarke's plans and studies are the first adequate presentation to the modern world. They are especially welcome after the notoriously incomplete and incorrect discussion of the place by Amélineau, who even mistook the insignificant edifice now serving as the church for the sanctuary of the ancient monastery, a really imposing building, as Mr. Clarke shows. The relation of these buildings to Byzantine architecture on the one hand and to their earlier Oriental ancestral types on the other is a study of great importance, in which future archæologists and historical architects will find plenty to do. Only students of art and of the ancient world can appreciate fully the painstaking devotion with which the author has gathered together these fragments of an early chapter in Christian architecture and preserved them from destruction. If we have any criticism to offer, it is chiefly that the author has made no use of the camera, which often records invaluable details not discernible in a drawing.

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE
NILE VALLEY

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MAP No. 1.

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE NILE VALLEY

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE STUDY
OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES

BY SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A.

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SOCIETY, ALEXANDRIA



WITH MAPS
AND PLANS



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CORRIGENDA

P. 31, line 15 from top should read

(see Plates III, IV, V, VIII, X, XI, XV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXIII, XXIV, XXXI,
XLV-LI, LIV-LVI)

P. 32, line 11 should read

(see Plates VI, VII, XII, XIII, XVII, XIX, XX, XXIII)

P. 52, line 3 should read

GEZIRET THÊT . MATUGA

,, line 13, *for* (Plate xxx) *read* (Plate xxix)

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE VALLEY OF THE NILE

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SKETCH

THE remains of ancient Egyptian buildings have, not unnaturally, absorbed the attention of travellers and antiquaries, Christian antiquities, coming as they do between ancient Egyptian and Saracenic monuments, have been unduly neglected. In result, although the chain of history is, in fact, unbroken, we might almost have supposed that, after a certain period, Egypt had ceased to be. It may, however, be doubted whether elsewhere we have so continuous a series of links, each allied in one way or another with those which went before and with those which followed after.

The buildings which grew up under Christian influence have as yet been but little studied, and it must be admitted that as we see them to-day, decrepit, neglected, and ruined, they are not very attractive. If, in Egypt itself, i. e. between Aswân and the sea, they are apt to be overlooked, how much more readily may they escape observation south of Aswân and far away into the Sûdân, where they are much more difficult of access? Those who have studied that interesting and valuable work, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, by Dr. A. J. Butler,¹ will find that the plans of the churches I am about to describe differ considerably from many of those published by him, but this difference is greater in appearance than in fact.²

The unproductive nature of many parts of the Nile valley and the sparseness and poverty of the population will account for the indifferent construction of the buildings. The intractable nature of the materials at hand, the great difficulty in procuring timber, and the ignorance of the workmen have strongly influenced their methods, as I hope to show later on. The materials for study

¹ Clarendon Press, 1884.

² See plan of Mari Mina, p. 48; of Abu-'s-Sifain, p. 78; of Amba Shnûda, p. 136; of Sitt Miriam, p. 149; of Abu Sargah, p. 182;

of Sitt Borbârah, p. 236; of El Adra, p. 273; of Amba Bishoi, p. 312; of Al Adra, Dêr Sûriâni, p. 321: all in vol. i of Mr. Butler's book.

do not come to an end at Wadi Halfa, for the Christian faith extended itself far away to the south into the Sûdân.

'Of the means by which Christianity was introduced into the Sûdân, who the introducers were, and where they took up their abode in the country, nothing is known with certainty. All the evidence which exists on the subject goes to show that Christianity did not make its way down the Blue Nile from Ethiopia into the northern Sûdân, as some have thought and said, but that it entered Nubia from Egypt, as did the civilization of the ancient Egyptians, and that in the course of centuries it advanced to the southern end of the Island of Merœe, where the Christian kingdom of 'Alwâ flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Christianizing of the northern Sûdân was the result of the preaching of S. Mark in Alexandria, and the phase of Nubian Christianity known to us bears the marks and character of the form of Christian belief and teaching which were promulgated by the Jacobite (or Monophysite) Patriarchs of that city. A considerable body of respectable tradition asserts that Christianity was preached in Egypt before the close of the first century, and it is certain that the new religion advanced southwards and spread quickly. The oldest authority for this view is Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* ii. 16.'¹

The evidences I am able to give in subsequent pages will, I think, entirely support the view that Christianity entered the Sûdân from Egypt.

It is not, however, my business to give a history of the rise and spread of Christianity in the Nile valley, but only to approach the subject from the architectural and archaeological sides. It will be sufficient to make a few bald statements by which it may be seen how quickly the new faith spread. In proof of these statements we find that early in its history it was considered necessary to establish bishoprics, from which circumstance we may suppose that sundry churches would also be built.

Towards the end of the second century three bishops were appointed. Early in the third century this number had increased to twenty. Then came persecutions under the edict of the Emperor Decius in the year 250, when doubtless no little destruction of buildings accompanied the persecution, nor did these troubles cease under the succeeding emperor Valerian. As persecutions began in the north of Egypt, so would many of those who could escape fly towards the south, and so spread the faith. In the reign of Diocletian (284-305) persecutions and destruction of extreme severity were instituted. It is beyond doubt that by this time Christianity, spreading throughout the country, had penetrated far to the south, both into the Sûdân and Abyssinia.²

To account for the extraordinary paucity of Christian monuments in the valley of the Nile, the peculiar characteristics of that valley should not be overlooked. The sites of many churches are known, a few ruins of no little antiquity

¹ *The Egyptian Sûdân, its History and Monuments*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, vol. ii, p. 288. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1907.

² Those who would study this subject more closely can consult Gibbon (cap. xv), Eusebius, Bar-Hebraeus, Butcher (*The Story of the Church of Egypt*), Budge (*The Egyptian Sûdân*).

still may be seen, but bearing in mind what their number must once have been, the relics left to us are few and insignificant.

I believe that there are two main factors in producing the results above referred to. One, the conformation of the valley itself. The other, the terrible vicissitudes which the valley and its inhabitants have undergone since the beginning of the Christian era. In all countries we find that by neglect or violence the monuments have suffered more or less severely, but the entrance of an unfriendly tribe or people in one part does not necessarily involve that the whole area of the country shall be overrun and perhaps devastated. In our own times we have seen the victorious hosts of Germany entering France, but what a large part of that country never saw the enemy. A vast area of thousands of square miles is not easily overrun.

But what are the peculiarities of the Nile valley distinguishing it from most countries? They are that from Cairo to Khartûm there is not, in our acceptance of the term, any open country. We find but one long trough, length without breadth; consequently all life, all buildings and monuments are perforce planted close to the river side, along the floor of this narrow valley. How easy, then, it has been for a devastating horde to overwhelm everything which lay in its path. It may perhaps be said by those who know the Nile valley well that when we find ourselves in the province of Dongola, and far south of it, the river is not hemmed in by hills and crags—the valley is not a trough. This is true enough: the cultivable area is considerably wider than it is north of the Second Cataract, but, on the other hand, all life depends on the Nile itself and on the very limited distance to which its waters can be carried over or penetrate below the adjoining land. The population, the monuments, are and were at all times to be found very near the river; the river was also a main line of traffic. The invaders, from whatever side they entered, always made their way up or down the narrow strip which owed its life to the river, destruction and violence were consequently centred on this strip; no places could be found lying snugly far away to the right or left and which could escape the stream of devastation. The persecutions and destructions emanating from Rome must have accounted for the disappearance of many churches, but we cannot doubt that new buildings arose in their place.

It may throw light on my subject and support my contention if I give a short statement of events beginning no earlier than the Mohammedan occupation of Egypt.

Until very recently the principle on which all invading armies have moved forward has been that of living on the country through which they pass, by pillage and robbery. In the East, to this day, unless the country be under European control, the peasantry suffer horribly, whether the army passing through may be of their own kin or not. Wherever there is power there is plunder, pillage, and crime. We have, in the Nile valley, to add to these miseries religious hatred and animosities. The Mohammedans overthrew the churches; the

Christians were equally willing to overthrow the mosques. If we go further back, to the time before the Arab conquest, we do not find the Christians living together in unity—very far from it. The different sects into which Christianity in Egypt so soon split up were relentlessly intolerant of one another ; and in those days intolerance took the form of annihilation, both for men and monuments, if it might be possible. Finally, the Christian monuments themselves were not built of enduring materials. Had it not been for the peculiarly conservative nature of the climate, hardly a relic would now be left standing.

I have extracted from *The Egyptian Sûdân*,¹ by Dr. Budge, the following list, which does not pretend by any means to be exhaustive, but lays open before us a history of violence, rapine, and destruction hard to beat.

The Mohammedan conquest of Egypt was effected April 9, 641, and thus Egypt and such portions of the Sûdân as were regarded as her possessions at once became a province of the new Mohammedan Empire. About a year after the conquest of Egypt 'Amr sent an expedition into Nubia with 20,000 men under 'Abd-Allah bin Sa'd. Soon after the return of 'Abd-Allah, the Nubians saw their opportunity for revenge, and invaded Egypt with much success.

In 652 'Abd-Allah returned southward, crushing the rebellion with relentless vigour. The Nubians were Christians. Their capital was at Old Dongola.

In the year 722 was ordered a general destruction of the sacred pictures of the Christians in Egypt. The result was a rising of the Copts in the Delta. The Coptic patriarch was imprisoned. The Nubians were so enraged at the ill-treatment of their co-religionists that, under their king Cyriacus, 100,000 of them marched into Egypt, and were only induced to return by the request of the Patriarch, who was hastily liberated.

After this was great trouble with the Beja, i. e. the tribes of the eastern desert, and at length, in 831, 'Abd-Allah ibn Jâhân set out to do battle against them. They were several times defeated, and at last a treaty was made with their king Kanûn. Amongst other things it was stipulated that the Beja were not to mention with disrespect the name of Mohammed, or the Koran, or the religion of God, nor to kill or rob a Muslim, nor to injure a mosque.

The Beja were a turbulent race, and by no means easily quelled. In 854 they invaded Upper Egypt, plundering Esna and Edfû. The Muslim troops were quickly collected to set matters right (from their point of view). The Beja were defeated.

In 956 the king of the Nubians attacked Aswân. The year following he was defeated by the Muslims. A few years later the Nubians invaded Egypt and took possession of the country as far north as Akhmîm.

In 1005 a member of the 'Umayyad family took possession of Barça, defeated the troops of Hâkim, the reigning sultan of Egypt, and overran the country, but presently found it necessary to retire south into Nubia. Here he was supported by the Nubians, but was ultimately defeated and beheaded.

¹ *The Egyptian Sûdân*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, vol. ii, chap. xii.

In 1173 an expedition to Nubia was undertaken by the elder brother of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (Saladin). He arrived at Kasr Ibrim (Primis), which was stubbornly defended by the Nubians. They were defeated, their city destroyed and all its inhabitants. It is further stated that about 700,000 men, women, and children were made prisoners. We can accept these numbers if we like.

In 1275 the Muslims annexed the Sūdān. Dāwūd, king of the Nubians, made incursions into Egypt. After much fighting they were driven back. The Muslims advanced into Nubia by river and by desert, seized fortress after fortress, and slew many people. Many Nubians fled to the islands in the Nile. At length Muslim domination was established.

In 1287 an expedition was sent into Nubia which raided the country for fifteen days' journey south of Dongola. A garrison was established in Dongola. Scarcely had the main army retired than the Nubians rose and drove out the garrison. A second expedition was then sent into Nubia. When the second expedition entered Nubia the soldiers massacred every one they found, burned the water wheels, and fed their horses on the crops. Dongola was deserted, as the people had fled to an island fifteen days' journey to the south. Shemamūn, king of Nubia, had retired still further south, but was deposed by his officers and the clergy, who returned to Dongola, appointed another king, and he took the oath of allegiance, undertaking to pay tribute to the Muslims. No sooner had the Egyptian troops retired than Shemamūn reappeared, his old soldiers flocked to his standard; he attacked the newly made king at Dongola, cruelly killed him, and was master of that country once more. He then made friends with the powers in Cairo and agreed to pay the tribute.

In 1304 an expedition was sent into Nubia to replace on his throne Amai, who had come to Cairo asking for help.

In 1311 there was more killing and deposing of kings in Nubia, the Egyptian forces being also called in.

In 1365 there were terrible internal dissensions in Nubia. A Muslim force was sent on the petition of one of the parties.

In 1378, 1385, 1395, 1397, were outrages of all sorts committed between the Muslims and the Nubians. In 1403 Upper Egypt was in a state of desolation, whilst Aswān ceased to belong to the Sultan of Egypt.

In 1412 the Hawara tribe attacked and defeated the Awlad Kenz, destroyed the walls of Aswān, and reduced the town to ruins.

‘ From the facts derived from the works of Mohammedan historians referred to above, we see that the raids and expeditions of the Muslims into Nubia which took place between 640 and 1400, with one or two exceptions, were confined to that portion of the country which lies between Aswān and Gebel Barkal, and that speaking generally no serious attempt was made by the Khalifas to rule or occupy the Sūdān from Gebel Barkal to Khartūm.

‘ When we remember the conquests of the Arabs in Western Asia, Egypt, and other countries, it seems certain that the Khalifas of Baghdād and their

viceroy in Egypt would have liked to obtain possession of the Nile valley and the adjoining countries, and we may be sure that they would have taken possession of the lands which produced slaves and gold and ivory if it had been at all practicable. The chief object which stood in the way of their ambition was the Christian kingdom of Nubia with the capital of Dongola, and there appears to be no doubt that the tide of the Muslim Conquest from Egypt southwards was stayed by it for about seven hundred years.

‘Christianity became the official religion of Nubia in the first half of the sixth century, and in spite of raids, persecutions, and the payment of heavy tribute, the dwellers on the Nile clung both to their own language and to the Christian religion, as they understood it, until the fourteenth century, when the Christian kingdom of Alwa on the island of Meröe fell to pieces.

‘The Christian Nubian kingdom, which extended from Aswân to the Blue Nile, came to an end through internal dissensions; and through the attacks made upon it by the peoples who lived on the eastern, western, and southern frontiers.

‘During the fourteenth century the negro tribes between the Blue and White Nile began to obtain pre-eminence, and a century later, on the downfall of the cities of Dongola and Soba, the capitals of the Christian Nubian kingdom in the north and south respectively, the negro tribes found themselves to be the greatest power in the country.’

These people professed to be followers of the Prophet.

The Christian religion (such as it was) in this part of the Nile valley quickly withered away. Within a hundred years of to-day things have been no better. I make the following quotations from Burckhardt.¹ At p. 11 he tells us :

‘Like all the villages I had hitherto passed, Gyrshe² is but poorly inhabited, two-thirds of the houses being abandoned. The country had been ruined by the Mamelouks, who remained here several months when on their retreat before the Turkish troops of Mohammed Aly; and the little they left behind was consumed by the Turks under Ibrahim Beg, Mohammed Aly’s son, who finally succeeded in driving the Mamelouks out of Nubia, and across the mountains, into the plains of Dongola. A terrible famine broke out after their retreat, in which one-third of the population of Nubia perished through absolute want; the remainder retired into Egypt, and settled in the villages between Assouan and Esne, where numbers of them were carried off by the small-pox. The present inhabitants had returned only a few months before my visit to these parts.’

At Wadi Kostanne Burckhardt relates that ‘the Mamelouks fought a battle with the troops of Ibrahim Beg and were routed’. They crossed the Nile to the left bank, ‘some of them continued their route southward, plundering in their way all the villages.’

At p. 30 he tells us :

‘In two hours and a half we reached the castle of Ibrim, which is now completely in ruins, the Mamelouks having sustained a siege in it last year, and, in

¹ *Travels in Nubia*, by the late J. L. Burckhardt, London, John Murray, 1822.

² Gyrshe is a village somewhat south of the well-known temple of Kalabsha in the Nubian valley.

their turn besieged the troops of Ibrahim Beg, in the course of which operations the walls were battered with the few cannon that were found in the castle, and many of the houses of the village levelled with the ground.'

Burckhardt relates that the inhabitants of the district of Ibrim had become quite prosperous :

' But the Mamelouks, in their retreat last year, destroyed in a few weeks the fruits of a century. They took from the Wadi Ibrim about 1,200 cows, all the sheep and goats, imprisoned the most respectable people, for whose ransom they received upwards of 100,000 Spanish dollars ; and, on their departure, put the Aga to death, their men having eaten up or destroyed all the provisions they could meet. This scene of pillage was followed by a dreadful famine.'

These tender-hearted Mamelouks, followed in part by the Turkish soldiers, made their way southward, passing many of those sites which will be mentioned in these pages, until they at last arrived and settled in Dongola, where we may be sure they behaved towards the inhabitants no better than before.

Before describing the plans and drawings here collected together, it will be well to state the conditions which have largely controlled those who erected the buildings which are to come under our consideration. Even before the First Cataract is reached, the traveller on his way southward will observe that the valley through which the Nile takes its way becomes very narrow.

He has passed out of the limestone formation, and is now in that of the Nubian sandstone, which extends for a vast distance towards Central Africa.

Vegetation is confined to the banks of the river itself, where its waters have deposited the rich alluvium. The rocky hillsides which rise above the banks are absolutely barren, but here and there, where the retiring cliffs leave small bays, the alluvium bears trees, chiefly palms, with crops of Indian corn and other food-stuffs, according to the season. In some places the rugged hills come up to the river, not leaving the narrowest strip of cultivation.

Between Aswân and Korosko there is on the east bank hardly any cultivable land. On the west side considerable tracts, now covered with a thin layer of desert sand, have once been cultivated. The shocking misrule of centuries from which Egypt is but now emerging has reduced the Nubian valley to the utmost desolation, but at no period in its history can it have supported a large or prosperous population.¹ Hence, since those of the Roman times, during which several stately temples were built, no structures are left to us of any pretensions.

When the traveller arrives at Wadi Halfa he is at the northern mouth of the Second Cataract. Whilst the First Cataract made an interruption to water-traffic of perhaps ten miles in length, which could be passed in boats during an

¹ Since the Dam at Aswân was built, and the Nubian valley south of it has become a vast reservoir, the conditions above stated are changed: from the Dam at least as far south as Derr all the cultivable land is for several months submerged, the trees are dead, the villages are either

gone or have been rebuilt at a higher level. When the churches, &c., were built the valley was in the condition I have described, and it has therefore seemed convenient to retain the account written before the submersion had taken place.

average high Nile, the Second Cataract presents a much more serious obstruction. It consists of a series of rapids covering a length of some 150 miles, and is in a district so desolate and savage that it goes by the name of ' El Batn el Haggar ', the Belly of Stones.

In a few places the rugged cliffs retire. In such places the Nile has deposited its alluvium, and here settlements were made, as a small amount of cultivation could be maintained. In these places we find the ruins of churches, commensurate in size with the poverty of the inhabitants.

Still moving southward we pass out of the Batn el Haggar and enter upon the flat plains of the ancient Christian kingdom of Dongola. Here indeed is a dreary region, without the least interest or beauty to the eye, but its soil being level and fertile, a very considerable area was cultivated.

The sandstone of Nubia is perhaps one of the worst building materials in the world, coarse in grain, soft, and yet full of hard veins and imbedded pebbles.

The ancient Egyptians—as we see at Soleb and Sedegna, and the Ethiopian rulers at Barkal (Napata), Nuri, and elsewhere—were sorely troubled by the truly miserable materials at command. It is evident that in Meroitic times they made use of burnt brick in large quantities: the soil yielded very good brick earth, the abundant scrub in the desert provided fuel. The Christian builders followed on the same lines, plundering the temples of their predecessors for stone and brick, and burning brick where the old stock failed them. Differing, however, from the use in Egypt and Nubia, they more frequently rested the roofs of their churches on small monolithic columns of hardstone than on piers of masonry. The columns which I have seen are generally of gneiss, and come, I believe, from the quarries at Tombos near the island of Argo. As far south as Soba, that is by water not less than 650 miles, the columns are of this material.

From what has been said it will be appreciated that the buildings which will come under observation are for the most part both small and simple in their construction. The alluvium of the Nile valley, formed into bricks, is the material most generally used. In the Nubian valley, however, so steep are the banks that even the alluvium is scarce, and fragments of stone from the adjoining hills are the materials most readily available. These are set in mortar of Nile mud. Wood is a rarity.

A short study of the annexed plates shows us how simple are the forms, how small the spans of arches or roofs, and how unadorned by carved detail were the buildings set up.

It is a thing by no means to be overlooked that when converted to Christianity the Egyptians did not erect any churches in the traditional way in which the temples of their forefathers had been built. They made a clean cut with the past. We have direct evidence that they made use of parts of temples, converting them to the purposes of a church, but taking great care entirely to hide the architectural and sculptured adornments with which their interiors were decorated. A thick coat of plaster covered the sculpture on the walls, the plaster being itself

covered with painted imagery of Christian saints, symbols, and so on. The ceilings were similarly painted.

There is here a marked contrast between what has come to pass in most countries where a fresh power and fresh modes of thought are introduced and what has come to pass in Egypt. The victorious power of ancient Rome still leaves its mark in innumerable regions, chiefly by the great works of construction which survive its civilization. We see a Roman building and know it at once. It may be in Britain, in Gaul, in Germany, in Asia Minor, &c. : the methods of construction and the style of the building bear a stamp not to be mistaken. For nearly four hundred years Egypt formed a part of the Roman Empire. Some of the largest temples have inscribed upon them the names of Roman emperors ; but where in Egypt are the buildings, built by the Romans in the Roman manner, or where are the remains of them ? Certain parts of the fortifications (now destroyed) at Alexandria and the fortress built by Trajan at Old Cairo, and now called the Kasr e' Shama'a, are I believe the only examples to be found.

There are certain peculiarities in the methods of building used by the masons of ancient Egypt which differ entirely from methods made use of by the Romans. But in Egypt these native methods have held their own. They are to be seen even in buildings which have some little of the Roman manner and style about them. Here, then, we have an intruding power absorbed, as far as its architectural development is concerned, by the subjugated race. When Christianity was sufficiently powerful in Rome to set up buildings for its own use, it did not introduce a foreign style of architectural detail. Just as the people of the country continued to talk their own language, so did they continue to make use of the type of buildings they were accustomed to, only introducing such changes as were necessary to accommodate a different ritual and a different spiritual outlook. The architrave gradually gave place to the arch, but there is no sudden break between the old and the new.

In Egypt, on the other hand, the new religion seems, when it set up its own buildings, to have carefully made a thorough break in all ways with the old.

The plans were, of course, different, to suit the needs of the new ritual ; but the architectural detail also differed absolutely. Everything was introduced from the north from over seas. Those elements which we know as Byzantine dominated over anything native. Where we find carved decorative stonework, or where we find painting, there is nothing in these to indicate that we are looking on things Egyptian. Probably the Greek city of Alexandria had a potent influence in this result.

CHAPTER II

I. CONSTRUCTION GENERALLY

IN dealing with a subject in which architecture plays a considerable part it is important that when technical terms are made use of they should be clearly explained. The writer and the reader must be placed in accord. In the present case we shall be dealing with buildings constructed at different periods, and showing methods of construction which are more or less typical of those periods. We must do our best to make clear such differences as there are. In Egypt we

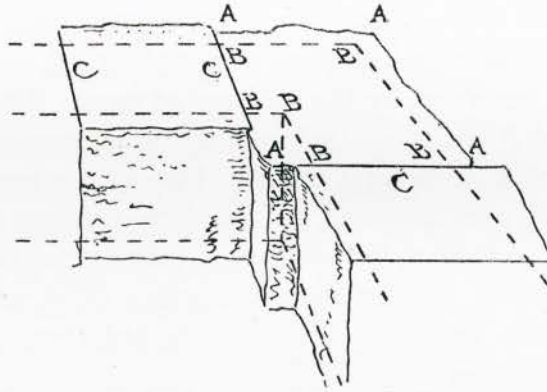


FIG. 1. Egyptian Method of Dressing Stones.

perceive differences of construction in the buildings set up under the old Egyptian tradition ; then follow the Romans, the Christians, the Saracens, and finally the degradation of modern times.

There can be no doubt that all works of a monumental character in ancient Egypt were built under the influence of the government. This remark applies as much to the earliest great works that remain to us as to those that were built after Egypt was subject to Rome. It has been already pointed out that the Egyptian builders had a traditional style of masonry which was continued under Roman occupation. With but slight variations the temples engraved with the names of Caesar at Dendera, Kalabsha, or Philae are built in the accustomed methods of three or more thousand years before.

The Egyptian method was as follows (see Fig. 1) : Large and often immense blocks of stone were made use of, in some cases taken from the immediate neigh-



MAP No. 2.

bourhood of the temples, but more often conveyed from considerable distances. The blocks of stone were obtained from the quarry in a form already approaching that which they were to assume in the wall of the building. The waste of material in the quarries was small, as the blocks were taken from the matrix in a more or less rectangular form, and in this form they were conveyed to the required destination. The lower surface of the block was then dressed to a level; the ends of the block which were to adjoin neighbouring stones were also dressed smooth. The sides of the block retained their rough quarry face; and in this condition the stones were placed in position in the wall. With so much of the surface of the block still in the rough it was easy, without damage to the stone, to move it about with the primitive appliances which it is evident the Egyptians made use of.

When the stone was in position, the top was made level to receive the superincumbent course, and so the wall was raised, showing both on the outside and inside of the building a rugged face of rockwork. Some buildings have never been completed beyond this stage. When, however, the building was carried to a further state of advancement, the mason cut away the superfluity of stonework until he reached the intended wall face, as, indeed, he would have done had he been hewing the structure out of the solid rock. The block AAAA retains its quarry face, except where it touches the adjoining blocks CC. When the building was to be finished, all this superfluous material was cut away until the dotted line BB was reached.

Another peculiarity found in the works of Egyptian masonry is that 'bonding stones'¹ are most rare. In consequence, when a wall was sufficiently thick to require two or three rows of stones laid side by side, these were not tied together by cross stones. All the blocks were laid 'stretchers'² or longitudinally. It is, consequently, a common thing to find that half the thickness of a wall has fallen, leaving the other half standing in a perilous condition.

The Roman influence on this style of masonry was very slight. It is seen in that angles are better bonded, and there is an increase of care in the equipoise of large stones. It is also possible that better engines were used for raising large blocks; but generally the methods remained as before. Of true Roman masonry, executed in the Roman manner, there is little enough to be seen in Egypt. So far as I am aware, there is none which will come under our observation.

When Christianity first set foot in Alexandria it found as magnificent a city of the Greeks as the world could show, but the new faith had to move discreetly and hide its head in Egypt as elsewhere. We must suppose that the Christians had to content themselves with poor and humble buildings. It could hardly have been otherwise. 'Quarries and mines belonged to the Imperial Domain, and were usually worked directly by the state, convict labour being employed under

¹ English *headers*, French *parpaings*, German *Binder*.

² English *stretchers*, French *carreaux*, German *Läufer*.

the direction of a military guard.'¹ Under these conditions the Christians could not have made use of the quarries until the government tolerated the faith.

At Alexandria the Christians found the old religion superbly housed. The first converts were certainly not accustomed to see religion carried on in mean buildings, and especial attention should be called to this fact, as it leaves us to wonder all the more at the poverty of the churches that remain to us. There are but two or three exceptions. We do not find ruins of buildings of considerable pretensions that, having been ravaged and burnt, have risen from their ashes shrunken and sad, but in their old quarters. The very beginnings of the oldest churches which survive are, for the most part, small and insignificant. In previous pages the persecutions under Severus (A. D. 193-211), Decius, and Valerianus have been referred to. Liberty to exercise their religion was granted to the Christians under the Emperor Gallienus (260-8). Then followed the desperate persecution under Diocletian. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that it cannot have been until the time of the Emperor Constantinus (A. D. 313) that the Christians got possession of the ancient temples, or had free access to the quarries.

By this time we must suppose that they had become accustomed to churches of very small dimensions, grouped together as was the custom in Greece. They had no desire to vie either with the majestic style of the temples of their forefathers, or with the stately dimensions of the noble buildings which still survived at Alexandria. Christianity, even in its architectural efforts, was an absolute break with ancient Egypt.

Under the above conditions we find but few remains of churches built of stone. Whilst there are such clearly-marked methods of construction amongst the temple builders, a sufficient number of the most ancient churches does not exist from which a method of masonry can be established.

The outer wall of the church at Dêr Amba Shnûda (the White Monastery near Sohag) stands as a specimen almost by itself; but although the aspect of the place resembles, not a little, that of an Egyptian temple, the masonry is not the same. The blocks of stone were not set up in the manner shown in Fig. 1, nor are the tool marks similar. That which is common to the two is an absence of bond. The masonry, whilst it is not ancient Egyptian in method, is equally removed from the method of the Romans, who never omitted the most careful system of bonding.

The remains of the church at Dendera (Plate XLI), which are of very respectable masonry, show us an interesting link with the past. The blocks of stone are dowelled to each other with wood dovetails,² so universal in the older buildings. The church—well as it seems to have been built—was, however, quite small.

¹ *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, by J. G. Milne, M.A., p. 127. Methuen & Co., London, 1898.

² English *dovetail*, French *queue d'aronde*, German *Schwalbenschwanz*.

Again, we have a good deal of clumsy detail, but showing a high antiquity, in the church at Dêr Abu Hennes (see Plates LIV, LV, LVI). The original scheme of the church can be traced, and it is exceedingly small. Whatever command the Christians may have had of the quarries at this period, they made but little use of them.

All this is somewhat remarkable and difficult to account for. Is there anything to force on us a conviction that, early in the Christian era, the practice of all the arts suddenly went out ?

The spirit of asceticism, of seclusion, of personal mortification carried to the most loathsome, degree had spread over the country like a dreadful disease, and raged for several centuries. Lecky tells us much about it.¹ Whatever was beautiful or pleasant or even cleanly was a source of moral evil, in the fevered imagination of these deluded anchorites. Under such conditions how could stately buildings be tolerated ?

A characteristic story is to be read in *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*.² This most veracious chronicle gives us the histories of the anchorites, recluses, monks, coenobites, and ascetics between A. D. 250 and A. D. 400. Amongst these we find 'The Rule of Pakhomius at Tabenna'. In chapter xiv we learn 'How Abba Pakhomius would not keep beautiful buildings'.

'The blessed man Pakhomius built an oratory in his monastery, and he made pillars [for it] and covered the faces thereof with tiles, and he furnished it beautifully, and he was exceedingly pleased with the work because he had built it well ; and when he had come to himself he declared, through the agency of Satan, that the beauty of the oratory was a thing which would compel a man to admire it, and that the building thereof would be praised. Then suddenly he rose up, and took ropes, and fastened them round the pillars, and he made a prayer within himself, and commanded the brethren to help him, and they bowed their bodies, and the pillars and the whole construction fell [to the ground], and he said to the brethren "Take heed lest ye strive to ornament the work of your hands overmuch, and take ye the greatest possible care that the grace of God and His gift may be in the work of each one of you, so that the mind may not stumble towards the praises of cunning wickedness, and the calumniator may not obtain [his] prey."''

That these diseased imaginings were not carried out to the letter is quite certain. We find in nearly every building, ruinous as it may be, evidences of paintings on the walls ; we find the capitals of columns and the surfaces of cornices richly and ingeniously carved ; but, as works of architecture showing any grasp, any aspiration towards dignity and majesty, the greater part of the buildings are beneath our notice.

On the other hand, in the seventh chapter of his most interesting book,

¹ *History of European Morals*, by W. E. H. Lecky. Longmans, Green & Co. New Impression, 1910, vol. ii, pp. 101-232.

² *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, translated by Dr. E. Wallis Budge. Chatto & Windus, 1907, vol. i, p. 310.

The Arab Conquest of Egypt,¹ Dr. A. J. Butler calls our attention to the fact that, at least in Alexandria, the arts were still practised immediately before the conquest.

As there is evidence to prove that the Arab conquerors availed themselves of the knowledge possessed by the Christian craftsmen in the country, we must suppose that the type of masonry we now see in the buildings of Saracenic style was directly inherited. No doubt the first buildings the Arabs set up, such structures, for example, as the Mosque of 'Amr, consisted of plain walls and a flat roof of palm-tree beams; a structure as completely without a touch of art as are most of the modern buildings now set up in Egypt. But as the conquerors became more firmly settled, so the assistance of the craftsmen was called in, whilst it seems clear that Christianity and Islam moved side by side for a time without serious collisions. The Arab did not come in, sweep everything before

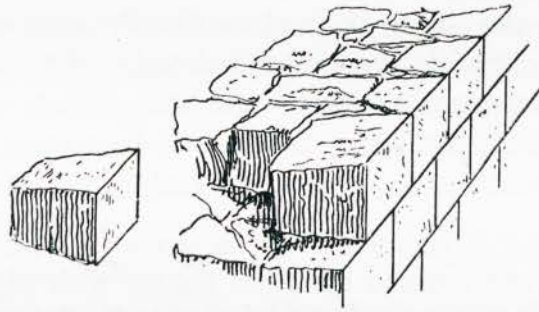


FIG. 2. Arab Masonry.

him to destruction, and then, as far as the art of building was concerned, begin afresh.

The fact remains that there is very little masonry in the churches. They are nearly all of brick. Such stonework as still survives is very indifferent, consisting for the most part either of carved capitals and cornices of the Acanthus type, roughly executed, or of plain faces of walls which are bad in construction. Whilst the heart of the wall consists of but poor rubble, it is faced with pieces of stone, seldom larger than a man could easily lift, wrought only upon the surface exposed, the other sides of the block being more or less formless, and generally diminishing as they recede from the face (see Fig. 2).

We have now to consider constructions in brick. It has been stated that the works of a monumental type in ancient Egypt were built under the influence of the government. This applies to constructions in brick as well as to those in stone. We have pointed out that, vast as were the blocks of stone made use of by the ancient Egyptians, the system of masonry was faulty. This statement is as true of the brickwork as of the stone. The bricks used in government works were of sun-dried Nile mud mixed with *tibn*, i. e. chaff. They were very large when compared with the sizes we find most convenient to use. The walls were

¹ *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, by A. J. Butler. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.

exceedingly thick, but the bricks were laid quite regardless of 'bond'. The facing was neatly laid with alternate courses of 'headers' and 'stretchers', but within the mass was all of headers, which were carelessly placed. In consequence the bricks did not properly overlap and rest one on the other. It is obvious that a wall built so carelessly, even if it be 4·0 or 5·0 thick, can have but little real strength, and can easily fall to pieces, which it usually has done in a longitudinal direction, skins of bricks peeling off from the mass, more especially if the lower courses have been attacked by damp or violence.

In their domestic work the ancient Egyptians did not make use of large bricks. Bricks of about the size we now use were more convenient to handle, both by the maker and the builder. The few remains that are left to us do not show that the workmen were careful about 'bond' even in these walls.

Of fine Roman brickwork we have no remains in the ecclesiastical buildings. It is not impossible that there may still be in some of the churches brickwork executed during the time of the Roman domination, but about it there is not anything distinctive. The bricks are always small, and, except where special reasons dictated, are always sun-dried.

In a few buildings the bonding is fairly good, and the courses alternate with some regularity as 'headers' and 'stretchers'. May we surmise that these are the remains of the earliest churches? Very frequently, whilst the 'stretchers' are laid flat, the 'headers' are on edge, the reason for this being obvious. The material is so weak that unless the 'headers' were on edge they would immediately break. When we reflect that nearly all the churches we meet with have been repaired or reconstructed after devastations either by the Muslemans or by the contending sects of the Melkites and Monophysites, and under conditions of grinding poverty, we must not wonder that the bricks and the workmanship are of the most indifferent.

The method of brickwork used in the churches does not differ from that used in the mosques. The dome is not the usual covering for a mosque, only for the tomb chambers so frequently attached to the mosques. The churches were, on the other hand, very usually covered with domes and vaults, although many were not originally built in that way, as we hope to show; there was consequently more science needed in roofing a church than a mosque, but, on the other hand, the churches which survive are so very small that constructive difficulties were easy to overcome. Crude brick, badly bonded, is the material chiefly made use of. The internal surfaces are exceedingly rough, but they were in all cases covered with plaster, and this was adorned with painting, both in patterns and figure subjects.

Having thus shown the way in which materials were used at the time the buildings we are to notice were constructed, it is now desirable to trace out as far as we are able the system of their plan.

Most unfortunately the stately churches which we hear of as having existed at Alexandria are entirely gone. Their number was considerable. There was

the cathedral church of Angelion,¹ or Euangelion, the Arcadion,² the Church of S. Athanasius,³ of Caesarion,⁴ of SS. Cosmas and Damian,⁵ of S. Euphemia,⁶ of S. Faustus,⁷ of S. John Baptist,⁸ of S. Mark,⁹ of S. Mary Dorothea,¹⁰ of S. Michael,¹¹ of S. Sophia,¹² of S. Theodore.¹³

The East is the land of hyperbole, but if we accept only half of the statements made by ancient writers we find ourselves left in possession of some magnificent results.

Of the Angelion : ' According to Dr. Botti the Angelion was originally called the Arcadion, and the Arcadion was originally called Claudion. He further identifies the Arcadion with the Hadrianon.' See Butler, *Arab Conquest*, p. 385, who thinks these identifications hardly established, but tells us that Gregorovius refers to Epiphanius as an authority for the statement that the Hadrianon was turned into a church.

The Hadrianon was a magnificent structure, a temple, and must therefore have formed a church of no little splendour.

Of the Arcadion : ' Euty chius (Migne, t. iii, cols. 1025-6 and col. 1030) records that Theophilus built a large church in the name of the Emperor Theodosius, covering it all over with gold, besides many other churches, such as that of S. Mary and that of S. John : while as to the Arcadion he says : " ecclesiam magnam Alexandriae struxit Arcadii nomine dicatam." This quite agrees with the much earlier record of John of Nikion, who expressly states that the Patriarch Theophilus built a magnificent church to which he gave the name of the Emperor Theodosius, and another which he called after his son, Arcadius. He also converted a temple of the Serapeum into a church which he called after Honorius.' Butler, p. 385, note.

BRICK CONSTRUCTION

It may assist the reader to appreciate many things in connexion with the buildings we are about to describe if he is at this point made acquainted with the methods of construction in use when the churches were built, and which methods are but now giving way to that hopeless meanness, ugliness, and poverty of invention which seem to be one of the curses of nineteenth and twentieth century civilization.

For domestic structures we have already pointed out that it was customary, as far back as existing examples permit us to see, to use brick ; indeed, it is not right to limit our remark to domestic structures, for there is evidence that in certain cases temples also were built of the same material. Vast pyramids still

¹ See Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 52 and note. Also same, p. 385 and note.

² Ibid. p. 385, note.

³ Ibid. pp. 15 and 372, note.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 115, 372-6.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 47, 385 and note.

⁶ Ibid. p. 73, note.

⁷ Ibid. p. 339.

⁸ Ibid. p. 385.

⁹ Ibid. pp. 115, 372, 449.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 372.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 47.

¹² Ibid. p. 389.

¹³ Ibid. pp. 15, 372.

stand constructed of brick. The use of the arch was also known. I am not aware, however, that anything in the nature of a domed roof has ever been discovered, but had such a system of roofing been known, examples could hardly have survived 4,000 or 5,000 years.¹ From the very nature of things we cannot expect to find the remains of many ordinary houses. The material, Nile mud, out of which the bricks were made, is capable of being used over and over again. The moisture of the soil caused by the annual inundation soon reduces such bricks as are exposed to it to their primitive mud.² It is, however, clear that the ordinary house had its apartments covered with arched ceilings of brick, and the houses were often of more than one story in height. Wood was evidently scarce, and undoubtedly it was this scarcity which controlled the methods of building. It penetrated most of the details of construction. The vaults were formed without a centring, and arches were built in the same way. The largest buildings were erected without scaffolds of wood.

The traditions of building above referred to were those which descended upon the builders of the greater part of the churches, &c., we are about to describe.

The Bricks. Throughout the whole of the Delta and in the greatest part of the Nile valley it is almost superfluous to say that the material for bricks, the alluvium or Nile mud, is everywhere at hand. The Nubian valley, from the First to the Second Cataract, is very narrow, and here things are different. The steep and stony banks come close to the river, and in many places it is Nile mud, suitable for brickwork, which is a rarity, rather than stone. In some parts of the river banks the Nile mud makes better bricks than in others. Moulds of the same form are used to-day by the brickmakers as have been found in the tombs of ancient Egypt.

The commonest quality of brick is made of mud only, whilst a better quality is made by mixing *tibn* (chopped straw or chaff) with the mud. A still harder quality has, mixed with the mud and *tibn*, some animal dung. The bricks thus made are not well formed—the fault of the maker and not of the method—and are generally a little warped in drying. The bricks, fresh from the mould, are laid in rows to dry in the sun, which they quickly do, and are turned over once or twice in the process. The drying process should be continued for a good time if hard bricks are required; the quality of the Nile mud is such that the clay becomes extraordinarily hard and dense. Until we find ourselves in the Sûdân we observe that fuel is scarce; consequently it is not often that the bricks are burnt, and it is rare to find burnt bricks used in the old churches except for piers, arches, and occasionally at the lowest courses of the walls. The burnt brick is of course less easily attacked by moisture than the crude brick. As soon as we arrive south of the Batn el Hagar, the Second Cataract, we begin to find many fragments of burnt brick, as has already been stated. The country is a

¹ The little corbelled dome-shaped coverings to certain tombs discovered by Mr. Reisner near Naga ed Dér are in no sense true domes.

² Whilst after buildings have been abandoned

it is remarkable how quickly the attrition of sand moved by the prevalent wind will, under favourable conditions for its action, grind down a crude brick wall to the level of the surrounding surface.

vast alluvial plain, affording a very good clay for the purpose. The desert country extending on either side of the strip of cultivated land which borders the Nile is thickly set with bushes and small trees, so that sufficient fuel is easily got. The white ant is very active in these regions. This noxious little insect penetrates crude brickwork with the greatest ease, but cannot eat his way through a tolerably well-burnt brick. Stone being bad as well as scarce, there is every reason why burnt brick should be used, and we find it in vast quantities.

To give a hold to the mortar the surface of the brick is often scored by the fingers of the maker as he shakes it from the mould. For building vaults there is a special shape of brick, wider, longer, and thinner than a wall brick, made more carefully, and with plenty of *tibn*. The upper surface of these bricks is deeply scored with the first, middle, and third finger of the right hand.

The Mortar. The mortar used is in most cases of well-tempered Nile mud, and according to the degree of strength desired, so is the admixture of *tibn* and dung.

Way of building. It is very easy to see how the old buildings were set up, as an examination of them shows the methods to have been the same as those



FIG. 3. Brick-mould and Gadoom.

still in use. As these methods are, as before said, dying out, it may be well to describe in this place the building of a small house which I had put up at El Kab, Mahamîd, Upper Egypt, parts of it covered with a continuous vault, and part with a dome. I adopted these methods of covering, not only because they are in themselves far better against the Egyptian climate than wood in any form, but because I wished to see with my own eyes how the traditional types of work were done. The bricks were made and the carpentry—such horrible carpentry—done on the spot. For my own part, I feel convinced that had I been able to transport myself to the second century A. D., or 2000 B. C., I should have seen the work done in the same way, except the building of the dome.

The work I am to describe was built partly in the year 1895 and partly in 1896. A brickmaker having been found, he arrived with his tools, consisting of a mould and a *gadoom*, a small adze (see Fig. 3). Having selected on the river bank a place where he thought the Nile alluvium, called *lyn*, to be of a suitable quality, some men were procured and the necessary material was dug. The process consisted of making a hole, and intimately mixing the stuff that had been moved with a fair amount of water. I had in the meantime to buy *tibn*. The stuff in the hole was turned over sundry times in the course of a few days, and then the *tibn* was thrown in and well intermixed. The work in the hole was

done partly by the feet and hands, and a little with the *toria*, a long-handled adze used for agricultural purposes. When the brickmaker was satisfied with the consistency of the mass, he began to make the bricks.

Having roughly smoothed away a few stones and pieces of scrubby vegetation from a fairly level place on the dry bank of the river, a small boy supplies the brickmaker with the *lyn*, which he deposits in the form of a little mound conveniently placed. With excellent judgement the brickmaker takes up with his two hands just enough of the mud to fill the mould, slaps it down into it, brushes his hand across the top, gently lifts the mould, which has had a little dust first thrown into it to prevent adhesion. The newly made brick slides out through the bottom of the mould, and remains until sufficiently hard and dry to be turned over.

A man can make many more than a thousand bricks in a day.

I kept notes of the work day by day as it went on. Perhaps the most vivid way of description will be to reproduce these notes.

Having decided to build a room which should be covered with a tunnel roof, *gâbu*, I marked upon the ground the measurements I thought suitable, and sent for the builder. Four metres by seven, and the walls 0.50 thick on each side, were the dimensions. The art of vault-building is already so dead that comparatively few builders can be found who can carry out such work. In our village we boast of rather a celebrated artist in vaults and domes, who is sent for even into Nubia.

The builder came, and I was not a little surprised to find that he came without ladders or apparatus of any sort whatever. Merely the few clothes he stood in and a *gadoom*. He could build the vault four metres wide and as long as I chose to have it, but the thickness and height of the walls I had projected did not please him. The side walls must be thicker, and not so high.

He took a piece of *boos*¹ and made it to the length of a *dira'a* (i. e. from the point of the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, plus the length of the middle finger from the tip to the knuckle). This was supposed to be of the standard length, 0.58 metres = $22\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

He found the room to be six and a half of these *dira'a* in its width. The suitable proportion of thickness for the side walls he found by solemnly stepping with his bare feet on to the place I had marked. He then set heel to toe until three foot-lengths were marked (about half a foot's length in excess of what I had proposed). Then he grinned and said that the wall would be of the proper thickness. He tested the thickness of the end walls, two foot-lengths and a half. This he approved.

With the builder came a companion, the maker of bricks.

My intention was to have the bricks made and the room built for a specific sum and avoid the bother and loss of making my own bricks for the builder to squander. This matter being explained, the builder and his friend fell to much

¹ *Boos*, the straw of the Sorghum or Dhurra.

talking and wrangling as to the price for making the bricks—per thousand. It was settled at $3\frac{1}{2}$ piastres per mil = $8\frac{1}{4}d$. We agreed that the trenches for foundations should be one *dira'a* deep. The walls to be of rubble stones and chips, from the bottom of the trench to a height of one *dira'a* above the ground.

It will have been observed that the tools with which the brickmaker does his work are few. The clothes he wears during the proceedings are equally simple and few, and wisely so; for dealing as he does with the tenacious mud, and moving along frog-like over the surface of the ground, much clothing would be a serious impediment.

The bricks being sufficiently dry and hard, building operations began, the lower part of the walls, of rubble stones laid in Nile mud mortar, having been already taken in hand.

The verticality of the faces of the walls towards the interior was occasionally tried with a piece of string and a small lump of iron or lead on the end, but the

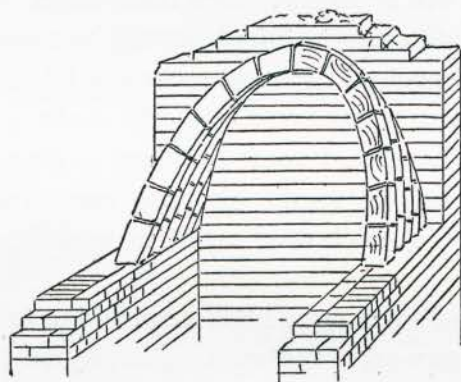


FIG. 4. Vaulting.

builder preferred a piece of wood of moderate length and not particularly straight. Having built one piece of the wall with a face, as he considered, vertical, he would test a new piece by the old, and in no time true verticality was lost, and as the wall rose so matters got worse.

The builders were not careful about bonding the courses; when they thought about it, this was attended to.

No scaffolding is used. When the brickwork has risen too high for the new courses to be conveniently reached from the ground, the builder stands on the wall, and as it rises so does he.

The level from which the vaulted roof was to spring having been arrived at, the wall at one end of the room was carried up to a height of some two metres above the springing level (Fig. 4).

The vaulted or tunnel roof is then begun. A pole or, if it can be found, a plank is laid across from wall to wall. The vault bricks are placed near at hand, so that an assistant below can toss them up to his companion above. Sundry pieces of broken pottery or small flat pebbles are also provided. The vault is then commenced on the top of the side walls by leaning a brick on its end against

the end wall, with plenty of mortar to fill in the crevices. Another brick is then laid leaning against the first, and so perhaps three or four in succession. Others are stood on end on the top of those first placed, and canted inwards a little bit, a piece of pottery or a pebble being inserted in the open end of the joint.

By the time the builder has retired backwards from the end wall some little distance, and continued this system of placing bricks on end, those on the right side leaning towards those on the left, it will be seen that he has at last completed one ring of an arch, which not only spans the room to be covered but leans away from the builder against the portions of rings he has already completed. Between every voussoir of the arch a potsherd or pebble is placed, and a great abundance of the mortar, rendered very tenacious, is used.

So tenacious is this mortar, assisted by the friction against the bricks already laid, that I have seen the builder, beginning on his right hand, lay ten or twelve bricks rising to the crown of the vault and even descending a little towards the left, then go away to his dinner, and after some half-hour return to work, nothing having fallen or been dislocated.

As shown in the drawing, the arches or, to speak more technically, rings, thus built, which form the vaulted covering to the room, are only one brick thick. Each ring of brickwork reposes against the ring previously built.

For all ordinary purposes the span and height of the vault is small. It seems to be controlled by the height (about two metres) which a man can conveniently reach as he stands on a piece of wood crossing the room to be covered in.

Building a dome is a more scientific piece of business. Its size is not limited as in the case of a vault, although it is obvious that if crude bricks only are used they are not sufficiently strong in themselves to resist the strain or weight of a large span. In the present case the room to be built and covered with a dome was a square of 3.80 on each side, internal measurement. The walls at the ground level, 0.80 thick. The inside face vertical, the outside battering. The lowest parts of the walls were built in stone as previously stated in describing the walls of the room. The bricks were placed in courses of stretchers laid flat and headers on edge. The reason for placing the headers on edge is clear. The material is so weak that, laid flat, it would have no value as a header (see Fig. 5).

The walls having been carried up about 1.50 from the floor level, preparations were made for building the four diagonal arches to span the angles, and convert the square into an octagon so as to carry the dome.

It should be stated that the measurements for deciding the size of each side of the octagon were obtained in a very primitive manner. A piece of *boos* was selected by eye of sufficient length. This was adjusted on the wall top, and bricks set up to mark the ends. This process being repeated eight times, the piece of *boos* was found to be too long. The ends were therefore reduced by biting them off, a more delicate adjustment being thus secured than by breaking. The process was continued until it was found that the piece gave the dimensions of a side of the octagon which was to be built upon the square substructure. Three

more pieces of *boos*, the same length as the first, were then procured, and these, placed across the angles, marked the position and span of the arches to carry four sides of the octagon. Small pieces of stone from which the arches were to spring were laid on the wall tops.

It was then necessary to establish the 'centres' or moulds on which the diagonal arches and pendentives of burnt brick were to be erected. To do this, crude bricks were built up, without mortar, filling one angle of the square room. The bricks were laid with headers flat, stretchers on edge. This pile of brick, triangular on plan, was raised until the top was level with the adjoining walls and the pieces of stone which were to carry the diagonal arches.

On the top of this pile of dry bricks was built with mortar the mould for a semi-dome. This mould was a very neat affair after it had been well smoothed over the back. Whilst the back was still wet, *tibn* was dusted over it; done, no doubt, to prevent the mortar sticking to the mould when the arches were built. Burnt bricks, very shapeless and soft, but harder than the crude brick, were procured for the arches and pendentives. Hardly was the mould completed, before the lower part of the mass of brick which carried it showed signs of bulging, but a plank being propped against it sufficient security was established.

Two more corners of the room were then filled in with similar masses of dry bricks to receive the moulds. To prevent these clumsy structures from falling, as the first threatened to do, they were built with their fronts curved on plan. By the time these two were finished, the first being still propped with its plank, the square room was nearly choked with lumps of brickwork.

Notwithstanding the science shown by the builders in adopting the plan of a curved front for the second and third piles of brick, these both fell down during the night. By this time the little room was so full of bricks and débris that it was almost a solid. However, a clearance was made, and next day, taking better care in the bond, the brickwork was reconstructed, and shortly after, the fourth angle was filled and the moulds set up.

The arches which actually carried the diagonal walls of the octagon were then built, the bricks by no means laid with their joints radiating towards the centre, but set very flat and coming to a very clumsy junction at the crown. Then followed the semi-domes or pendentives built right through to the angle of the square with burnt brick. I could not observe that the brickwork of these was built with any order; neither radiating towards a centre nor laid with care, one course corbelled beyond the other.

The walls on the cardinal sides of the room being carried up between the burnt brick arches, the base of the octagon was formed.

The pendentives were entirely buried in brickwork and left flat at the top shown on Fig. 5.

The men then began to build the drum on which the dome was to rest.

Here three windows were to be made. The wall was much thinner than that below, being but of two bricks in thickness and bonded as shown on Fig. 5.

The construction of the windows was a masterpiece of ingenuity. They were about 0.25 (9") wide.

The walls being raised to the necessary height from which the window arches should spring, a little pile of four or five bricks was set up on either jamb, with plenty of tough mortar between them like dough. One master craftsman manipulated one little pile, one the other.

Each put a hand on the inner side of the pile and tilted it sedately and slowly, giving it a curved form as it moved until the two touched at the top. A cry, 'One more brick!'—in it went, and the little arch was complete. It

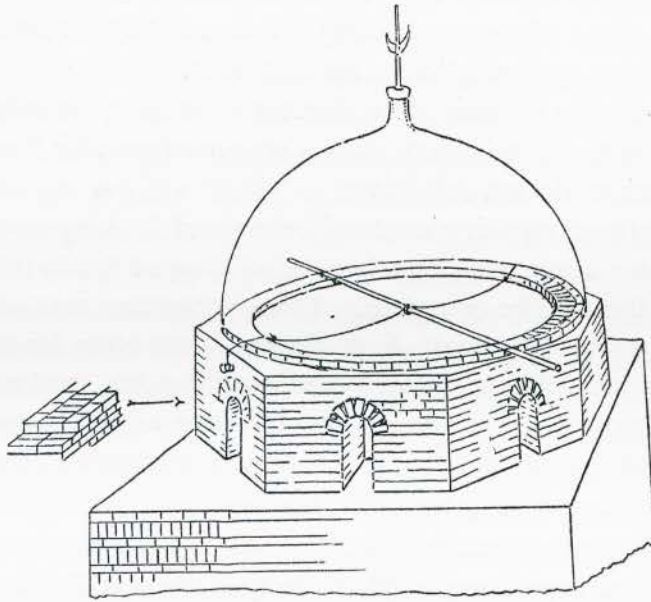


FIG. 5. Brick bond. Dome.

needed, however, abutment on one side. The other, for some reason, was disposed to stand up.

The toe of the builder formed an admirable abutment until a few bricks were set in place and the structure maintained itself in all its simple beauty. The octagonal wall being raised until it was above the windows, a message was sent to the dahabeah asking for the loan of a *midrah* (a long punting-pole). This was laid across the top of the octagonal walls and adjusted so as to pass across the middle. A centre point was established upon it. This was found by taking a piece of string of the full length across the octagon and folding it into two. To this centre point the string was tied with the knot at the top. The string could then be freely turned in all directions. A knot on the string established the length of the radius. One builder worked with one end of the string, one with the other, and very quickly a ring of brickwork forming the lowest course of the dome was laid. The string, the knots, and pieces of stone tied on the end of the string to keep it in position are clearly shown on Fig. 5. The bond adopted for the walls of the octagon and for the dome itself is also seen on this figure.

The dome, its form regulated as it is by the knots on the string, is truly hemispherical. The bed-joints between the courses of brickwork are tilted a little downward towards the centre point, but do not converge. Looking on the outside of the dome, the successive rings of bricks are seen to be set one a little within the other, after the manner of corbels. After the work had been carried up perhaps half a metre, the bed-joints were laid radiating from the centre or nearly so. The bricks were not cut, but more mortar was laid where the bed-joints were widest and scraps of pottery or flakes of stone were pushed in.

No scaffolding of any sort was used. At intervals, half-bricks are omitted on the exterior of the dome. Into the holes thus made the bricklayers insert their feet and so climb about as required. Immediately a ring of bricks is completed, the men have no hesitation in leaning on it.

As we approach the summit of the dome, the joints of the brickwork radiating from the centre of the hemisphere, it is a source of wonder that, until a ring is completed, the bricks do not fall down.

It is not a little astonishing to stand below and, looking up through the hole in the middle, to see a course of stretchers being slapped firmly into place, sticking in position until the ring be complete. There is but one man at work when the ring becomes comparatively small—indeed there is not room for two—but nothing moves, the bricks all retaining their places until he has worked his way round from the starting-point. The successive rings are added to each other rather slowly. When the hole in the top of the dome is reduced to 1.0 in diameter the bed-joints are no longer radiated from the centre of the hemisphere, they are of equal thickness throughout, so that the crown of the dome consists of a very flat cone. This is perhaps done, so that the final rings of bricks shall not be set with their bed-joints too nearly vertical.

It should be stated that the interior surface of the dome is plastered as the work proceeds. When the brickwork has been carried up about 0.50 the bricklayer takes a lump of plaster, which is in fact the same as the mortar, and stretching over from above, he spreads the material upon as large a space as he can reach, and so on until he has worked his way round or joined up to the work of his companions.

The closing in of the hole at the very summit of the dome is rather a hurried piece of work, a hole of perhaps 0.30 in diameter. The two men did this with a great deal of mortar mixed with the bricks, and accomplished it without any failure. They then set up the finial, the lower part being of brick and mortar, the crescent and the rod on which it is strung being ingeniously made by a traveling tinker out of a petroleum tin.

After standing two or three days the exterior was plastered over with mud mortar and the work was complete, except its final coat of lime wash.

I have given this somewhat full description of the way in which the little building was carried out, because not only is the art of doing the work dying out, but because it shows us the excessive contrast between the ingenuity and inde-

pendence of a simple folk having few tools and no 'tackle' and the dependence that we Europeans place upon adventitious aid. There are in Egypt hundreds of domes built in the manner above described and many of them are several hundred years old, but it would be difficult to find a builder in Europe who would not require for the work timber 'centres', ladders, and very many things which he looks on as a matter of course and as absolute necessities.

Before describing the various plans and drawings here collected attention must be called to the fact that the churches range themselves under three types, A B and C.

Type A is of the plan we know as Basilican, consisting of a nave, ending in an apse, of aisles north and south with galleries over, of a western bridge at the level of the gallery floors, and of a stair, generally at the south-west angle, giving access to the galleries and to the roof, which was flat. The nave, the aisles, and the galleries were covered by tunnel vaults (see Plates III, IV, V, VIII, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XXIV, XXXI, XLV-LI, LIV-LVI).

The above description holds good until we enter that part of the Nile valley which begins south of the Batn el Hagar, or Second Cataract. It does not seem open to doubt that the Basilican type of plan was here very general, but it must have varied considerably from the type as above described and worked out in the north. Instead of piers of clumsy masonry, small monolithic columns of hard stone were made use of, separating the nave from the aisles (Plate III). I cannot find evidence of an upper gallery over the aisles, nor do I think that as a rule the nave or aisles were vaulted. A vault, even of crude bricks, is rather weighty and exercises thrust. The monolithic columns referred to are slim, and unless very well set upon adequate bases would be insufficient to carry the necessary arches and walls on which the vaults must rest, nor would they resist the lateral thrust. When the buildings fell into neglect the thrust would quickly act upon the columns, and the vault would push them over to the north and the south. As a matter of fact the columns, very ill set up as they are, are the only parts of the building still standing, everything about them has been desolated and ravaged, but they remain.

Vaults of burnt brick would be so heavy and exert so much thrust that the outer walls of the aisles which must ultimately resist that thrust must have been decidedly massive. This would mean, according to the method of building common in those times and places, that a thick wall would present a fair face but would be filled in with indifferent material. The facing masonry—bricks or even stones—might be worth stealing, but the hearting would be left, and we might therefore expect to find it; but it is not so. Every trace of the side walls is gone. Fragments of broken brick lie around but not in any relation to the walls of which they once formed a part.

I venture to believe that the walls were thin. The columns may or may not have carried arches, the whole was covered by a flat roof of wood, no doubt of Palm trunks and reeds, covered with a stout coat of mud.

Type B. A dome or domes form the more prominent part of the covering to churches of this type and the plan is consequently modified from type A, the better to support the roofs thus constructed. We find, however, the essential subdivisions of the building the same. The apse, which, if it may be square on plan, is worked by pendentives or other devices into a semi-dome overhead. The nave has aisles north and south. The stair is not an essential feature of this plan, from which we must suppose that to the churches of this type there were not always galleries. The doors, opening north and south, are in their usual places. The little rooms on either side of the altar are found and the rectangularity of plan and of external appearance of the building is maintained in both types of plan A and B (see Plates VI, VII, XII, XIX, XXIII). Between Shellal and Halfa we find these two rooms sometimes joined by a narrow passage behind the apse. In the Batn el Hagar this narrow passage is very generally made use of. What custom may have prevailed south of the Batn el Hagar I am unable to say, the destruction of the walls is too thorough.

In both types the external rectangularity of the plan is always maintained. In no case does the apse project beyond the east wall.

The type C is, it must be presumed, more recent in its development than the types A and B, and, I venture to believe, did not come into being until after the Arab conquest. History tells us that the churches were not unfrequently plundered and their roofs burnt, the wood roofs were replaced by vaults and domes of brick. Two very good examples of this transformation are found at the Dêr el Abiad (Plates XLV–XLVIII), and at the Dêr Abu Hennes (Plates LIV–LVI). When, however, the church was, from the first, intended to be roofed with masonry, the whole area was covered with a series of small domes, side by side, the supporting arches carried by little columns or slim piers of brick or stone. Good examples of this type are found in Plates XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XLII, LII.

It is necessary to give the date when the various plans were drawn and observations made which are here set down for the following reason. For centuries decay has slowly eaten the antiquities. Now, with the increasing commercial activity that has spread over the country, schemes of all sorts are pressed forward, irrigation, mining, &c., and in two or three years changes are effected which many previous centuries have not produced. For uncultivated Philistinism let us commend ourselves to the Englishman in general and the English engineer in particular. When their attention is called to it, the heads of departments are not desirous that unnecessary harm should be done, but they cannot be everywhere, and it is painfully obvious that the subordinates are not instructed to use such care as the circumstances may admit of.

The destruction in the Sûdân has been even more complete than elsewhere, and for the following reasons. After its conquest by Mohammed Ali he endeavoured to establish a variety of administrative buildings and works—as it was supposed—of utility. Materials for these were required, so the orders went forth

to the local governors to find stones and bricks. The few temples, already much plundered for assistance in building the churches, were made still further to render up their materials, whilst the churches in their turn were levelled with the ground and the bricks removed.

It is only under the present enlightened administration in the Sûdân that an effort is being made to guard and preserve what is left.

The plans here set forth have been drawn to metric scale and are, as far as possible, either one-hundredth full size or, where such a scale came out too large for the page, to one two-hundredth ; by adopting this method it is very easy to compare the relative sizes of different buildings. The east end of the church is always to the right hand unless special necessity compels a plan to be set another way. The orientation of the buildings themselves is by no means very exact.

To certain of the plans the name of Mr. Geoffrey S. Mileham is attached. I had many years ago made hurried drawings of the same buildings, but Dr. Randall MacIver and Mr. Mileham, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, have carefully excavated and drawn them at leisure. I have to thank the University for permission to make use of some of this work, which is published under the name of *Churches in Lower Nubia*, by Geoffrey S. Mileham, edited by D. Randall MacIver. Philadelphia, MCMX.

It must be stated that there are remains of many churches both in Egypt and Sûdân not known to me and consequently not mentioned here. The constant progress of scientific investigation, which has at last begun to interest itself in Christian Archaeology in Egypt, discloses almost every year sites forgotten until now. This book does not pretend to be an exhaustive catalogue. It is, in fact, no more than a first essay.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF DRAWINGS

It now becomes necessary to explain the various plans and drawings that are here collected together. Others, better able to judge than I am, have stated their convictions that Christianity entered the valley of the Nile from the north and spread with considerable rapidity southward. I feel that the evidences given us by architectural remains are altogether in favour of this view.

Why, then, it may be asked, do I begin my work with giving examples as far south as I can go; and proceed, with the stream of the Nile, it is true, but opposite to the stream of evidence, viz. towards the north. My reason is that the more we approach the busy centre of government in the north and those places where the population has most thickly accumulated, there we naturally find the most numerous examples not only of destruction but of changes of fashion. The buildings in the south have been ruined. The buildings in the north have been ruined, re-erected, and the manner of them changed, as a study of my drawings will show.

SOBA

PLATE III

Soba lies on the right or northern bank of the Blue Nile about thirteen miles above Khartûm. It was the capital of the Christian kingdom of 'Alwa, but there is reason to believe that before this the place was already the site of an ancient city, more especially as portions of a temple have been found here.¹ I visited the site in February 1910.

Of the remains of the temple, afterwards converted to use as a church and referred to by Dr. Budge,¹ nothing could be seen. A plain of alluvial soil stretches without a visible limit in all directions. It is thickly dotted with low trees and a growth of prickly scrub. Interspersed are collections of broken red brick, not rising high enough to be honoured with the name of mounds. One of these, covering a considerable area, is the site of the building referred to by Dr. Budge and seen by him in 1901. Rising from a slight depression in the midst of another agglomeration of broken bricks may be found some small monolithic columns.

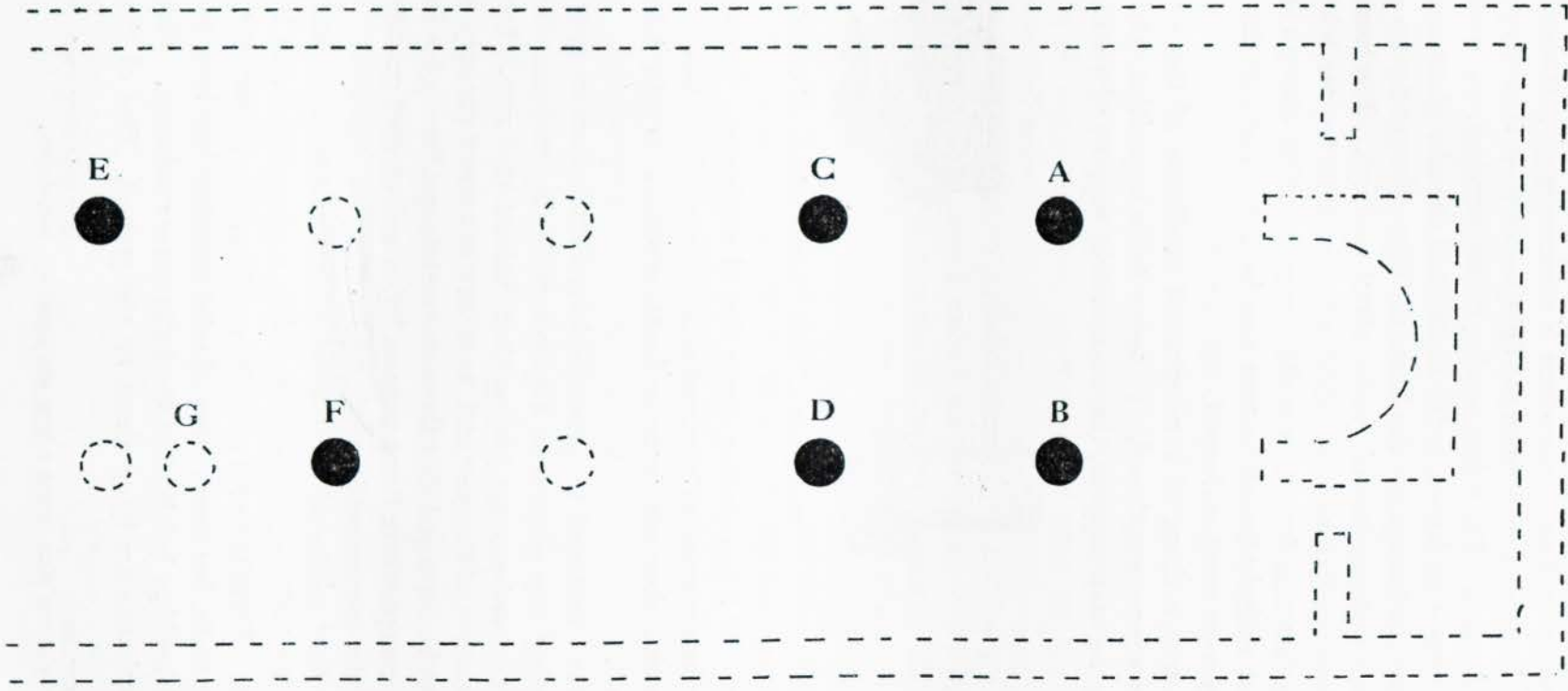
¹ *The Egyptian Súdán*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, vol. i, p. 324.

SOBA

CONJECTURAL GROUND PLAN OF CHURCH

EXISTING COLUMNS & BASES SOLID BLACK

CONJECTURAL - - - - -

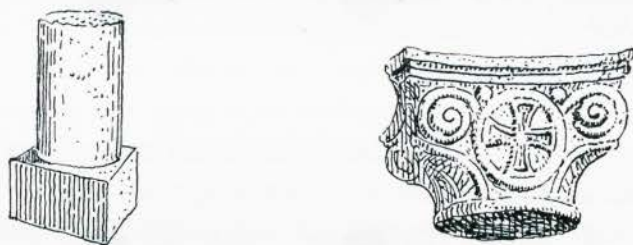


SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

Little as there is to be seen, it is desirable to give a plan of the remains existing at the time of my visit.¹ It may, I hope, be admitted that I have justice in supposing such an arrangement of columns must probably belong to a building of a basilican plan, and, from the lightness of their girth they probably supported a roof of wood. The columns A, B, C are standing. The column D has fallen, owing, it must be feared, to the ill-directed energies of some excavators who have dug square holes against the bases of these columns for no assignable reason.

These columns are of gneiss, about 2·0 high. The lower end of the monolithic shafts, which average about 0·62 in diameter, are left square (see Fig. 6), but whether this formed a visible base, standing above the pavement, or was partly or entirely buried, cannot now be determined, as the floor of the church has been very much damaged.

At E is a drum of a column—of sandstone of the same diameter as the columns above mentioned. It seems to be in position, and is so placed as to form, as we may suppose, the westernmost support of a series of arches—five in



FIGS. 6 and 7. Soba. Base of Column and Capital.

number. At F is a similar drum, also of sandstone. It comes in very properly as a western support of a second arch in the southern range. At G is a sandstone drum which does not seem to be in position. From A to E is 13·40 (about fifty feet).

I have ventured to show, in dotted lines, how an apse may have existed, terminating the church on the east with the customary chambers north and south of it and passage joining them behind the apse. I make no conjectural reconstruction of the west end, as we are at present entirely without information. It cannot be supposed that there was a staircase,² as such a feature was not likely to exist except where there were galleries and vaulted ceilings on which would be carried the terrace roof.

At right angles with the line joining A and B, and consequently on the long axis of the building, a trench was dug, hoping thereby to intersect the walls of the apse. Trenches were also dug north and south with the hope of intersecting the aisle walls, but every trace of solid structure had been removed. We passed through nothing but broken bricks in utter confusion. Five capitals belonging to the columns are lying about on the ground. One of these is very well pre-

¹ February, 1910.

² A study of the plans which follow will show

how very often there was a stair at the west end of a church.

served (Fig. 7). It is a misfortune that it should be left, neglected and exposed to violence, where it now is. It could so easily be removed to the museum which is being formed at Khartûm.

The masons' work upon the capital, as also upon the column, is done entirely with the 'pick'. The consequence of this is that, with regard to the columns, they are none of them truly circular in section, but are shaped merely by the eye. The capital is well designed, not only as a sensible treatment of a very tough material, but in a pleasing way to cover the transition from a form circular below to square above. It will be observed that the abacus still bears a tradition of the classic. It is not square on plan, but its sides are gently curved, as we see them in the abacus of the Corinthian capital. The volutes at each angle are ingeniously devised, whilst the symbol of the cross is prominently displayed. In the case of other capitals, which are not a little damaged, they are hardly so pleasing in their design as that above mentioned. Large leaves, somewhat coarse and shapeless, are seen beneath each corner of the abacus, the whole reminding us a little of the very clumsy capitals to be seen on the smaller Egypto-Roman temple at Naaga.¹

This part of the Sûdân is subject to periodical rains which last for but a short time. They affect, however, to a certain extent the nature and surface of the soil. The conservative conditions so remarkable in the climate of Egypt are not found to the same extent in this part of the Sûdân. The white ant is also very active. The rains might easily dispose of much of the débris of crude brick, the incessant north-west wind would assist in doing the same, whilst the white ant would quickly reduce fallen timbers to powder, an easy prey to the aforesaid winds.

That which no doubt gave the final blow to the remains at Soba was the construction of the town of Khartûm. Lepsius tells us² that, landing on the site of Soba he found 'great heaps of red brick, destined for exportation'. 'This material for building is transported in great quantities from Soba as far as Chartûm and beyond it. We disembarked and had scarcely got beyond the thorny bushes nearest to the bank, when we perceived the overturned mounds of bricks, covering a large plain, possibly an hour in circumference.' 'Nowhere could walls, nor the form of buildings, be recognized.' What preceding centuries had left, the nineteenth century has destroyed, as we find to be the case through Egypt and wherever European influences have been introduced. Such poor remains as are left are now respected. According to Abû Şâlih,³ 'Here' (at the town of 'Alwah) 'there are troops and a large kingdom with wide districts, in which there are four hundred churches. All the inhabitants are Jacobite Christians. Around it there are monasteries, some at a distance from the stream and some upon its banks. In the town there is a very large and spacious church,

¹ See Budge, *The Egyptian Sûdân*, vol. i, p. 330.

² *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai*. London, H. G. Bohn, 1853, p. 162.

³ *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, Abû Şâlih, Evetts and Butler. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895, p. 263

skilfully planned and constructed, and larger than are the other churches in the country ; it is called the church of Manbali.'

Mr. Crowfoot, who until recently acted as inspector of antiquities in the Sûdân, mentions sundry remains of churches which he has seen or been informed of on the Blue Nile—at Alti (west bank), Rodis (east bank), Kasemba (west bank), Arbagi (west bank), Hassa Hissa and Senaar ; also at Kaṭêna on the White Nile.

WADI GHAZALI

PLATE IV

On the left bank of the Nile opposite old Merawi, i. e. about six miles down stream of Gebel Barkal (the ancient Napata), is the mouth of a wide valley called the Khor abu Dom. At a distance of about two hours' ride up this valley we come to a place where water rises to the surface ; here we see sundry palms, dom-trees and signs of cultivation, together with a few houses ; a very small oasis, in fact, in a slight depression of sandhills and rounded granite rocks. It is a lost and melancholy spot. In this place we find the ruins of a monastery to which attention has already been drawn by Lepsius, who visited it in 1844. He gives a plan of the church in *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai*, p. 219, and particulars in the *Denkmäler*, Abth. I, Bl. 131.

I visited this place January 11, 1910, and took certain check measurements, by which I was able to assure myself how careful and accurate was the plan of the church which Lepsius has published, for, alas, the whole group of buildings is terribly ruined since his visit. This is the more to be deplored because there are so few groups of monastic buildings now existing in the valley of the Nile.

In view of the remote position of this monastery, and its consequent chance of escaping from the destruction that has so universally befallen the ancient monuments near the river, there was a reasonable hope that here, at least, might be found a fairly complete plan of a monastic establishment. As a matter of fact, it is in a worse condition of ruin than the monastery of S. Simeon at Aswân, the plan of which will be found on Plate XXIX.

The monastery or *dêr* is enclosed by walls of stones collected from the surrounding surface, and unwrought. They are laid in mud mortar. The walls enclose an irregular figure with but small pretensions to rectangularity of plan. They are of considerable substance. The church does not, however, stand parallel with any of the surrounding walls, and is towards the south of the enclosure.

The chief entrance to the *dêr* lies towards the north. The doorway being set back some two metres from the face of the wall the pieces of masonry on either side stand towards it in the relation of flanking towers. The door-head, now broken down, was of ill-wrought sandstone. Within the door was a passage covered with brick vaulting and as much as 6·0 long. Lying between the entrance doorway and the church is a series of ruined chambers, packed together, seemingly without plan, built of crude brick. Most of these chambers have been vaulted

with the same material. Some of the rooms were arranged on either side of a central corridor, as described by Lepsius. Compare also plans, Plates VIII, XXIX, XXXIX. One can trace the remains of a stair in crude brick with a solid newel.

It is not, perhaps, fair to suppose that the place was, at first, quite such an ill-digested jumble as it came to be in later times. The changes of very many centuries had passed over it before it was finally abandoned as a monastery, and even then it may have been, in part, used and re-adapted for habitations. The brick vaults having everywhere fallen in, the floors of the rooms are encumbered with the débris to a considerable depth.

To the west of the church are the remains of sundry chambers, their walls built of unhewn stones set in mud mortar. A little doorway, with a roughly dressed arch of sandstone, shows its head above the débris. This door opens from one of the last-mentioned rooms into a narrow passage lying between the west wall of the church and the east wall of the last-described chambers. The walls of the passage are by no means parallel, for while at the north end the passage is less than 1.0 wide, at the south end it is at least 2.0 in width. According to custom, the church is without any doorway in its west wall.

Lepsius, in his description of the place, refers to the stone-built chambers above described, and says, 'No doubt' this building 'belonged to the prior, and a special side entrance led from it to the church'. On what authority does he make this statement? Nothing is in fact known of the monastic plan in the valley of the Nile. No one can say whether it had crystallized into certain accepted types of plan, according to the order for which the monastery was built, as had been the case in Europe. It had been my hope, searching up and down the Nile valley, to find sufficient examples of monastic buildings to prove that there had been an accepted type of plan. Seventeen years of research have left me as ignorant as when I began.

The ruins of a row of small chambers of brick lie along by the east wall of the church; there are, however, but few remains of walls south of it, i. e. between the church and the south wall of the enclosure. This south wall is pierced by a very small door which gives directly upon the ancient burial-ground.

The translators of Lepsius' letters quaintly inform us that 'two churchyards are situated on the southern side of the convent'. We find, as a matter of fact, two groups of graves, many of them very perfect and well preserved. One group has about it the remains of what may have been a wall, the other is quite unenclosed.

'The church, as high as the windows, was built of white, well-hewn stones, and above that of unburnt bricks. The walls are covered with a strong coating of plaster, and are painted in the interior. The vaulted apse of the three-naved basilica is situated, as usual, towards the east.'

It is to be wished that Lepsius' description would still hold good. In the drawing published by Lepsius before referred to, the spectator is supposed to

WADI GHAZALI

PLAN OF CHURCH FROM LEPSIUS

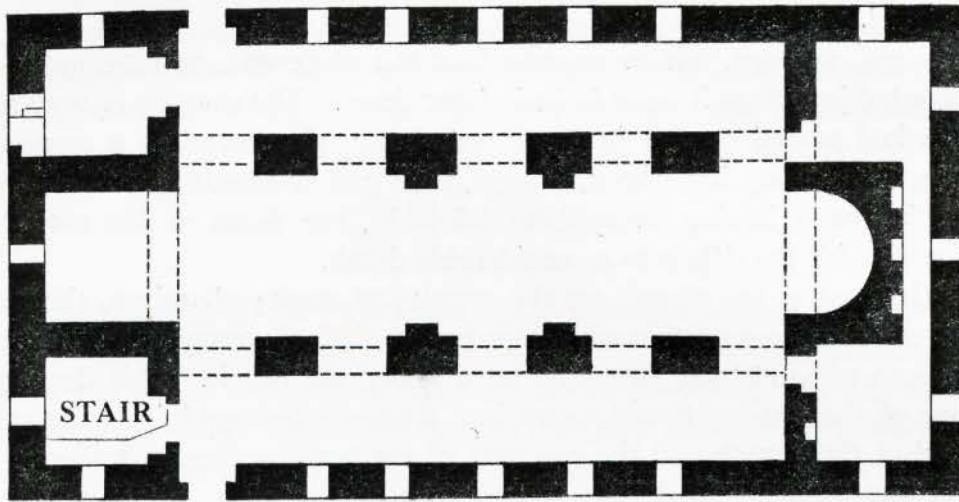


FIG. 1

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

GINETTI

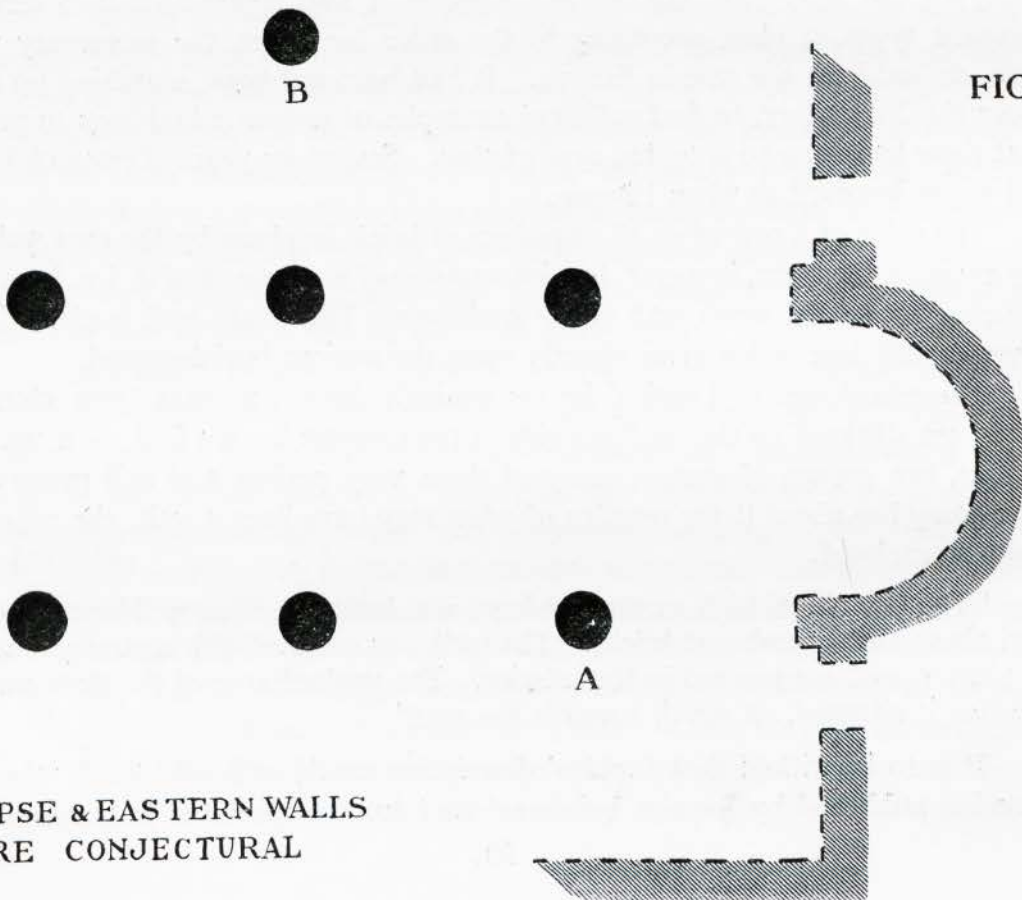


FIG. 2

THE APSE & EASTERN WALLS
ARE CONJECTURAL

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

stand outside the north-west angle of the building. There is a great gap in the north wall, as there is at this day. Through it we see the inside of the south wall of the south aisle and can observe the windows in that wall. These occupy an unusual position, being so low that they cut into the stonework, which is now the only part of the aisle wall *in situ*, the superincumbent brickwork, at least two metres high, shown by Lepsius, having been altogether removed. The windows would have given abundant light to the aisles. In most cases the windows, if there be any, in the aisle walls are kept high up.

The view through the before-mentioned gap in the north wall enables us to see the central apse, the conch of which seems to be complete. An apse is also shown terminating the south aisle, and another at the end of the north aisle. An examination of the plan does not prepare us for such unusual features. The arches forming the north arcade of the nave can be seen; small and low arches standing on stumpy and clumsy piers of masonry, such as may be seen at Hammâm el Farki (Plate XI). These are all destroyed with the before-mentioned apses. It is, in truth, very difficult to learn much by a study of this lithograph. It is very ill done. No doubt the lithographer produced the best result he could out of a very indifferent original sketch showing a place he had never seen.

The considerable mass of building which is shown in the *Denkmäler* is sadly reduced. The stonework to which Lepsius refers, which being of the neighbouring sandstone might better be described as yellow than white, is still seen on the east, south, and west. The staircase at the south-west angle still stands higher than the other walls, but the whole of the interior is now void, except two small piers of masonry which probably formed the jambs of the apse, and two very similar piers which formed the eastern angles of the staircase and the opposite chamber on the north. The vault of the apse is, as has been said, entirely gone, and also the walls, to within a short distance of the floor. The place is choked with the débris of broken red brick. Lepsius says most definitely that above the white well-hewn stone was 'unburnt' brick. Can a slip of the pen have admitted the word 'unburnt' in the place of 'burnt'? I think this must be the case.

The plaster on the inner and outer faces of the church walls is nearly all gone; but a few fragments remain. The outer enclosing walls of the *dér* have been overthrown in many places; the chambers within the enclosure are, for the most part, a confused heap.

On comparing the plan of this church with other plans of type A, it will be observed that all of them are very much alike, and are all basilican. The ruins I have described at Soba, and those we shall presently consider at Ginetti, Dongola, and Saï, differ materially from the church at Wadi Ghazali, in that whilst the former have small monolithic columns on either side of the nave the latter has solid piers of masonry. There can be no doubt that in this latter building there were galleries or passages over the aisles; the stairs are a sufficient proof.

Are we to attribute this difference to ritual requirements—to the difference, perhaps, between parochial and monastic churches—or may we not attribute it to the fact that to drag monolithic columns, small as they would be, up the valley to the site of the church was too serious a business, and that piers of masonry were more cheap and easy to build?

GINETTI

PLATE IV

On the island of Ginetti are the ruins of a church (visited Jan. 8, 1910). Here we find six bases, as shown on the plan all in position. The columns are of green gneiss, small monoliths of an average length of 2.20 to 2.40, and about 0.65 in diameter.

The workmanship is with a pick. The columns are irregular in shape, unequal in length, and careless in execution, as we observed to be the case at Soba, and this remark holds good for all other sites and places.

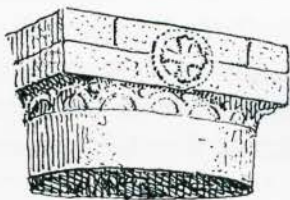


FIG. 8. Ginetti. Capital.

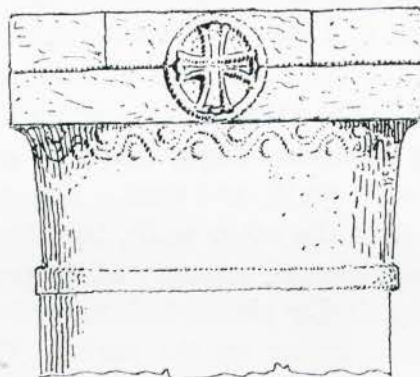


FIG. 9. Ginetti. Elevation of Capital.

The column A differs from the others in that the capital is part of the same piece of stone as the column; in all other cases the capitals are separate.

The column A is still standing, and the bases of the others are, as shown on the plan, in their proper positions. Six other columns are to be seen lying on the ground, all unbroken.

The walls of the church are utterly gone; nothing but fragments of broken brick lie around, and these are not in such a position as to indicate where walls may have been. They are but formless heaps. It is therefore difficult even to conjecture what the plan of the building may have been. The spacing of the columns is somewhat greater than we find at Soba. We may suppose that the nave terminated, eastward, in the customary apse, but the base B on the north is difficult to account for unless we suppose that, at least on that side, there was a double aisle.

The capitals deserve a few words, differing as they do from the ordinary type. The abaci, as shown in the drawings (Figs. 8 and 9), are remarkably

thick. On the face they bear a small cross in a circle. Under the abacus we find a band of ornament. In the case of the standing column, where the capital and shaft of the column are in one stone, the ornament consists of a meandering line in low relief with pellets in each of the curves. A raised moulding forms a neck mould. A more usual ornament beneath the abacus is a curved pattern which, in a remote degree, reminds us of the egg-and-dart.

The effect of these simple capitals is excellent. They seem to be, as they are, sturdy and strong, whilst the workmanship and design are admirably suited to the stubborn material of which they are made.

OLD DONGOLA

Visited January 7, 1910. In the last century, as a seat for the government of the province, an administrative centre was established and called New Dongola, or more properly, El Ordi, in contradistinction to the old town of Dongola, which is the place we are now concerned with.

Old Dongola was the capital of the ancient Christian kingdom of Dongola, founded by Silko about the year 450. It was a place of considerable importance and size, as the ruins testify. The place was invaded by the Arab conquerors of Egypt in the year 652; the chief buildings, including the church, were battered down, and the inhabitants sued for peace.

Abu Şâlih says of this place, 'Here is the throne of the king. It is a large city on the banks of the blessed Nile, and contains many churches and large houses and wide streets. The king's house is lofty, with several domes built of red brick, and resembles the buildings in Al-'Irâk; and this novelty was introduced by Raphael who was King of Nubia in the year 392 of the Arabs, (A. D. 1002).'¹

The ruins of Old Dongola stand in an elevated position, in part overhanging the river on the right bank of the Nile. A considerable area is covered with broken red brick, and undoubtedly very much more is hidden beneath the drifted sand, which is, as I was told, constantly encroaching, and threatens to cover the few habitable houses that are still to be seen. From out of these masses of broken brick there stand up in one or two places small monolithic columns of green gneiss, the same material that we have already met with at Soba, and the columns of about the same modest dimensions. Certain of them stand in relation to each other as though they formed part of a church.

On a headland which stands immediately above the river are pieces of a gneiss column and walls disposed in such a manner as to suggest that they too form part of a church.

The most prominent object at Old Dongola is a rectangular mass of brick masonry, which rises in two stories, and dominates the neighbourhood. It is

¹ Abu Şâlih, p. 265. We should bear in mind that Abu Şâlih was blessed with a vivid imagina-

tion. A very modest building becomes colossal under his powers of description.

of no great size, being on plan but 24 metres by 18·0, but, everything around it being in ruins, its apparent importance is thereby increased. It rises about 10·0 from the present ground-level of the little eminence on which it is placed, but as this has not a very level surface the elevation is somewhat greater in one part than in another.

The lower story of this structure consists of five parallel corridors, their ends opening into cross-corridors. These are closed above by tunnel vaults, which have in some places fallen in and been badly repaired with beams, which in their turn have decayed. This story, from the floor-level to the level of the floor above, is about seven metres in height.

Above it, and approached by a very roomy stair, is an upper floor, consisting of a square chamber in the middle with a corridor on each of its four sides. This upper floor is barely 2·50 in height. It is roofed with beams, between which we see reeds, the whole covered with mud mortar.

On the wall of the centre chamber, nearest to the stairs, has been found beneath the plaster a piece of a painting which may be intended for Moses, as a pair of horns project from the head. On the capital of one of four small columns which help to support the wood roof is very roughly cut a cross. This upper chamber is now used as a mosque, and has been so used for a vast number of years, as inscriptions on the wall sufficiently prove.

It is claimed for this building, by some, that it was a church. If we examine its plan we find nothing either in the lower or upper story to justify such a statement. At any rate, its plan is so abnormal, so entirely unlike any other churches that can be found in any part of Egypt or the Sûdân, that I hesitate to admit the claim. A small fragment of wall-painting and a very clumsy capital with a rudely-cut cross upon it, a thing which may easily have been removed from elsewhere, and the Christian symbol on which could have been hidden by a handful of plaster—these two insignificant items are insufficient evidence.

The building, whatever it may have been, is well deserving of further study, and stands greatly in need of careful repair and further excavations; indeed the whole site, the places where we can see that evidently there were churches, would probably repay scientific examination. In this might be included the Wadi Letti, a district now desert, but once well cultivated. In this valley, it is said, are the evidences of numerous settlements of the Christians.

SEDEGNA

PLATE V, FIG. 1

Visited December 21, 1909. This place is called Nulwa by the inhabitants. Here are the remains of a stone-built temple built by Amenophis III. Immediately to the south stand the lower drums of two columns made up of sandstone plundered from the temple and reworked. These mark the site of a small church of an interesting and unusual plan. The outlines of the outer walls of the building

can still be seen on the ground, formed of small, ill-formed fragments of sandstone from the same source as the stone for the columns.

A reference to the drawing, Plate v, shows us that we are on the site of a building of the modest internal length of 12.0. The nave ended towards the east in the customary apse, which was flanked on the north and south by a small chamber, these chambers being connected by a narrow passage behind the apse. There are indications in the foundations at the west end that possibly there was a stair at the south-west angle.

A study of the plans which succeed this one will show that it was very usual to have a stair at the south-west angle leading to passages or galleries over the north and south aisles. I could not see, in the ruins now under consideration, any remains of the stair itself. Usually, when very much of the rest of a building is gone, the greater mass of material used in building a stair with its solid newel leaves its mark, as we have already seen to be the case in the monastery at Wadi Ghazali.

The superstructure has been so much ruined and plundered that only in one place, in the north wall, could I find evidences of a doorway, and this not very clear. Such a position is, it will be seen, almost universal for a doorway, with another in the south wall exactly opposite. We cannot doubt that arches were carried by the two columns.

East of the apse are foundations attached to those of the church, and apparently contemporary therewith. How access was obtained to the apartment that we must suppose stood here, whether it was connected by a doorway with the church, who can say? In no other plan that I have met with have I found a room similarly placed.

SAINARTI

On the island of Saï, surrounded by débris of broken burnt bricks, are four monolithic columns, the shafts about 3.0 high and 0.55 to 0.60 in diameter, of green gneiss. Three of these are standing, the fourth is falling over, and is only held in the present position by the débris around its base (visited December 19, 1909).

A description of the columns at Soba or at Ginetti applies in all general particulars to these. They formed part of a church of the basilican type.

The capitals differ from those before described (see Figs. 10 and 11). Their outline is clumsy. Beneath the angle volutes we see a band of shield-like forms. These are but very slightly in relief and bear no decoration upon them. The capital, which we may suppose to have fallen from the leaning columns, differs altogether in its type from the capital already described.

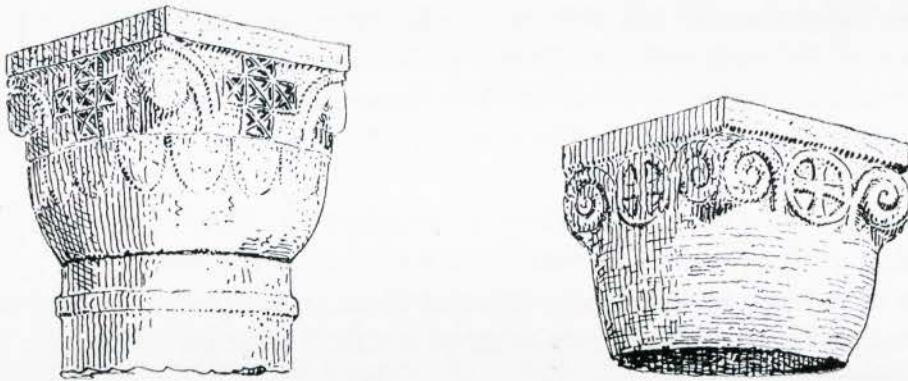
KULB

PLATE V, FIG. 2

Visited December 15, 1909. On the west bank of the Nile, and opposite the southern end of Kulubnarti, i. e. Kulb Island, are the ruins of a very singular and interesting church—its plan, so far as I know, unique (see Plate v, Fig. 2).

The church stands on a piece of level ground at the foot of some steep rocks, and in a very picturesque position ; indeed, now that we are in the Batn el Hagar, all the sites are more or less attractive, owing to the mixture of cultivation, due to the river close at hand, combined with the rugged and absolutely barren rocks, cliffs, and slopes of golden sand which form the background and setting to the picture. In the midst of the small piece of level ground, a few rocks crop up. These have been formed into a small platform, assisted by unwrought stones brought from near at hand, and of unusual size for such a class of work.

We may observe that the plan of the church, as regards the east end, is in the usual fashion, with a chamber north and south of the apse, and a passage joining them, but the rest of the building is altogether away from the common type. Instead of a nave and aisles, we find the whole area of this part of the building covered by a dome, somewhat more than 7·0 in diameter. A square is



FIGS. 10 and 11. Sainarti. Capitals of Columns.

converted to an octagon, so as to receive the dome, by arches thrown across each angle. These arches are semicircular as well as the arches on the four cardinal faces. Shallow transeptal recesses project from the side walls, by which arrangement a great amount of stability is gained with the use of but little material.

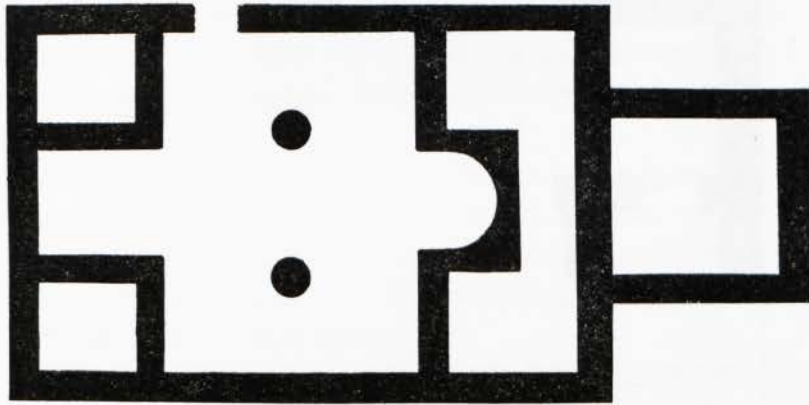
Whether the building was continued westward cannot now be seen. There is evidence that walls existed at right angles with the existing west wall ; on these the dome rested, in part, but whether there was any sort of nave cannot be affirmed.

The springing of the dome exists at the south-east angle of the square nave ; elsewhere, the thin shell of crude brick, of which it was built, has fallen in. At A on the plan is a pier of crude brick. This can hardly be a part of the original fabric. I venture to believe that, early in its history, the dome showed symptoms of collapse, and that the pier was the result of an effort to keep it up.

The building is quite small in scale. The arches spring from about one and a half metres above the floor. Its existing condition is sadly ruinous and neglected. Excepting that the tunnel vault exists over the south-east chamber, and that a fragment of the dome may still be seen over the south-east angle of the square nave, the rest is roofless. A few rings of the arch opening westward stand

SEDEGNA

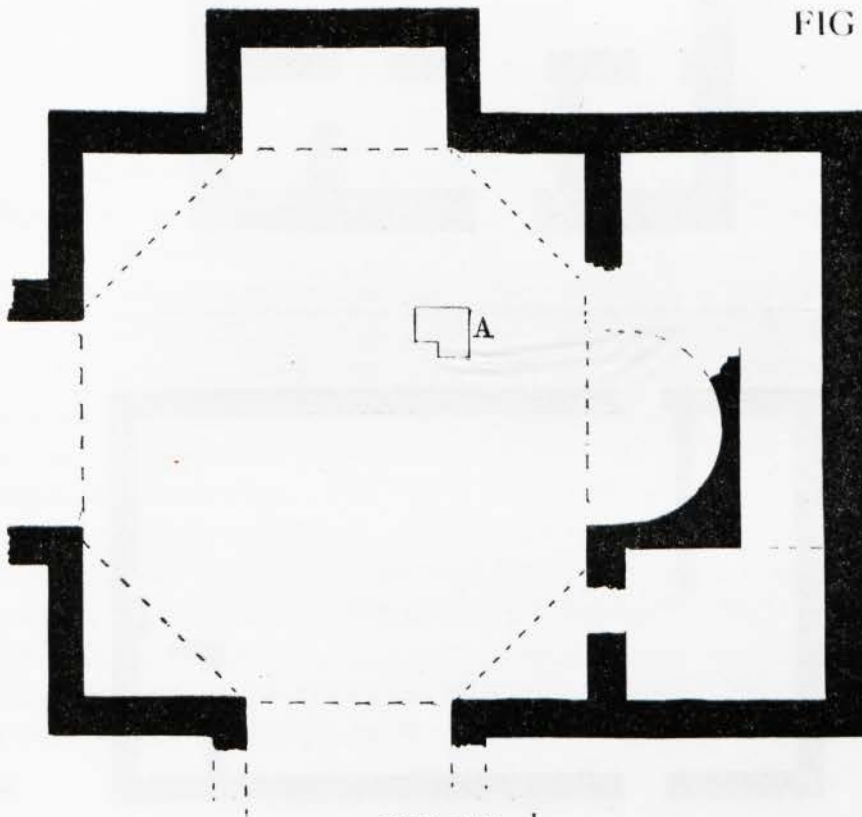
FIG. 1



SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

KULB

FIG. 2



SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

KULB
NEAR SHEIKH
FARRĠG



FIG. 1

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

KULUBNARTI

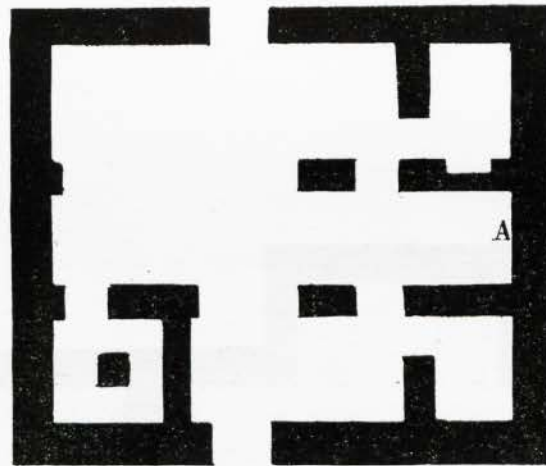


FIG. 2

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

GIMEI⁰⁷

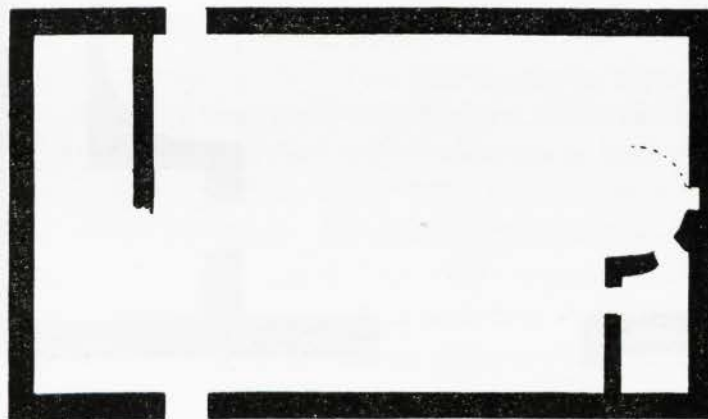


FIG 3

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

in a precarious state. A few stones are thrust into breaches in the walls, and here and there a thorn-bush. Whether these defences are to keep beasts out of the sacred enclosure, or to keep beasts in when they are housed there, who can say? In any case, I believe the building to be quite unique in its way.

Some distance to the north of the last-mentioned church, near Sheikh Farrîg, is a diminutive ruin set in a little valley. A few mud houses near it. It is still in the district of Kulb. This was visited on December 15, 1909. The plan is given on Plate VI, Fig. 1.

The plan of the little church at Kulb belongs to the type B, that which was characterized by having a small dome as a central feature.

In the present case the eastern end and the south side are ruined down to the ground; we can only trace the lines of the walls by observing the rough stones which formed the bottom course.

The little nave is but 2.0 wide. The whole building was internally but 8.50 long. The nave and aisles were covered with parallel vaults of crude brick. The chamber at the west end of the south aisles has its vault at right angles with the vault of the nave. This room is in the position in which we often find a stair, but here there is no evidence of such a thing. A few painted figures, sadly broken, can be traced on the fragments of the vaults which still cover a part of the western end. The church was built of crude brick with vaulted roofs of the same.

We are now in the region of crude bricks, and shall not again meet with columns of gneiss or with fragments of burnt brick.

KULUBNARTI

PLATE VI, FIG. 2

The island (*arti*) of Kulb, visited December 15, 1909. At the south end of this rocky and picturesque island, and close to a group of ruined houses dominated by a ruined fort or watch-tower, are the remains of a small church of the type B, built entirely of crude brick.

The external walls remain all round the building nearly to their full height, which, it should be said, is something very insignificant, as the building is altogether but 6.30 long in the interior, and 5.13 wide. On the ground plan there is not an apse, but in many instances, whilst the plan at the floor-level was rectangular, the vaulted roof was gathered over so as to make a quarter dome above, as it must have been here. The rooms north and south of the apse are found, but are not joined by a passage. We also see a stair, before referred to as being very usual, at the south-west corner of the building. I could not observe in the building itself evidence of side galleries, and am induced to suppose that the stair led only to the roof.

The little nave is less than 1.50 wide; the doorways are so small that it is inconvenient to pass through them. It is a matter of wonder how the service

of the altar could be carried on in a place so diminutive, and yet we find remains of paintings, which must always have been in jeopardy. On the east wall at A, is a 'Majesty', and on the side walls, right and left, are solemn rows of gaunt apostles, all sadly battered.

GIMEÏ

PLATE VI, FIG. 3

The church at Gimeï, although but small, is on a more ambitious scale than the two last described, and is of the basilican type. It is well placed on a natural mound of rock, assisted by art to form a level floor for the building. Visited December 9, 1909. It is built entirely of crude brick, except the lowest courses of the walls, which are of unwrought stone set in mud mortar. The plan shows that the interior has been robbed of its piers and of nearly all internal features except the base of the apse and the walls of the room on its south, which even retains a part of its brick vaulted ceiling. It will be observed that there is not, in this instance, a passage behind the apse. The doorways through the outer wall are in the accustomed places, but there is an unusual feature at the west end, for here we find the remains of a room, its length lying from north to south, and still retaining a part of its vaulted tunnel ceiling. There is very much débris encumbering the floor of this church. Its removal would perhaps reveal to us how this room was entered. The external walls stand to a considerable height, and are better specimens of brickwork than we usually meet with in the Batn el Hagar.

GENDAL IRKI

PLATE VII, FIGS. 1 AND 2

Somewhat to the north of the place last mentioned lies a group of ruined houses, churches, and walls of some buildings the use of which I am unable to determine. The two churches, which were visited on December 9, 1909, and which are built entirely of crude brick, lie close together, and are in a ruinous condition. They both belong to the type B, with small central domes.

In the case of Fig. 1 the scale of the building is a little in advance of the last. We observe the rooms north and south of the apse, and the passage joining them; also that on the floor-level the apse has a square end. As I could not find evidences of entrance doors, I have not shown any on the plan. Probably they were towards the western ends of the north and south walls.

In the case of Fig. 2, the east and south walls have been very completely ruined. The internal length of the little building is but 8.0. Against the north-east pier that carried the dome we see buttresses of crude brick, which, judging by the vertical joint, have been added one after the other. Such bolstering up of even the smallest buildings will be registered in several cases hereafter; indeed, the careless way in which these poor little edifices were set up and had to be propped is very surprising.

GENDAL IRKI

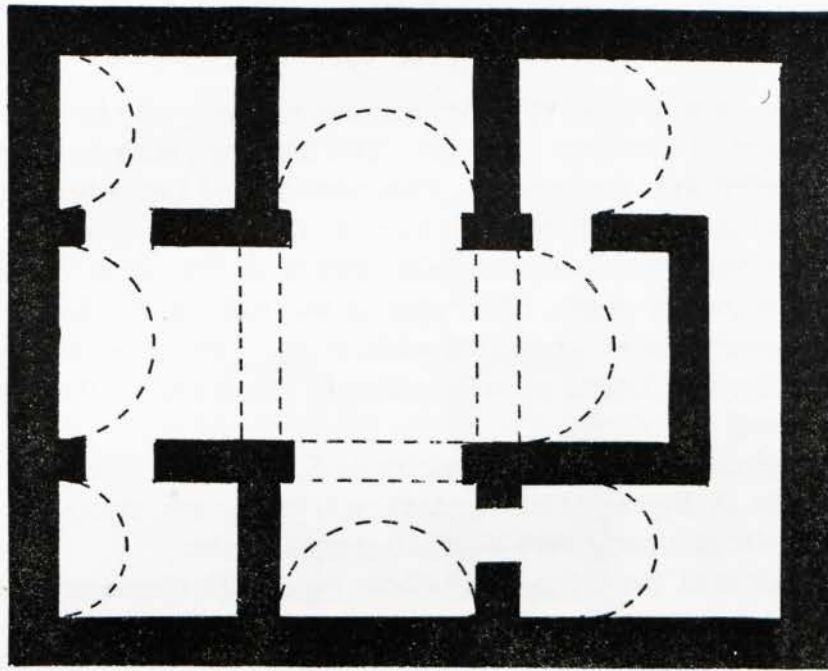


FIG. 1

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

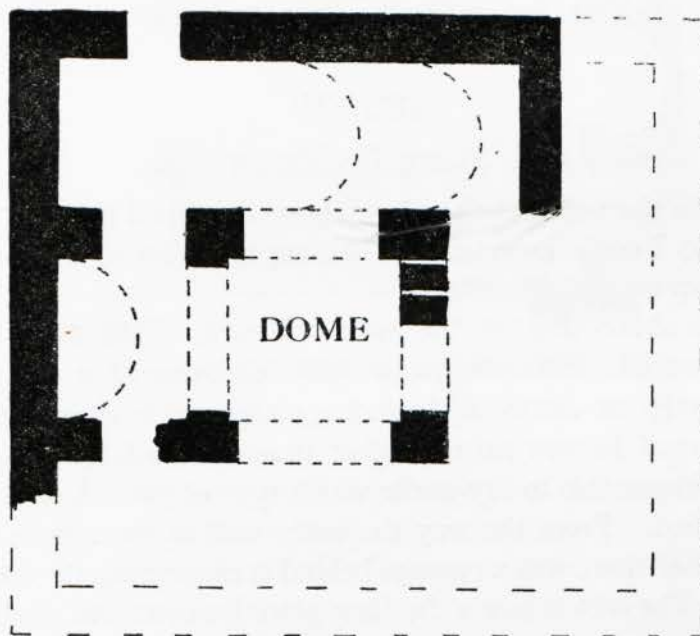


FIG. 2

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

The disposition of the vaulted ceilings can in all cases be traced even where they have fallen in. A few fragments of battered painting can be seen.

GEZIRET THÊT MATUGA

PLATE VIII

The island on which this rapidly vanishing ruin may still be traced lies near the northern end of the Batn el Hagar. The buildings, entirely of crude brick, are nearly levelled with the ground. They were visited December 8, 1909.

A glance at the plan of the church shows us that it is of the ordinary basilican type, and that buildings are in connexion with it on the north. There are also traces of others on the south. The plan of the building to the north, with a central corridor and rooms opening from it at the sides, is in exact accordance with the corridor and lateral chambers already mentioned at the monastery in the Wadi Ghazali (see p. 38).

A study of the plan of the Monastery of S. Simeon at Aswân (Plate xxx), and of the Dêr el Mêgma (Plate xxxix), will justify my statement that here we are on the site of a monastery—a small one, no doubt.

The church is of the orthodox basilican type, with the passage-way behind the apse. The nave was three bays in length, and at the south-west angle was the staircase. The doorways in the north and south walls are placed as usual. That on the north leads into a space which may or may not have been an uncovered yard. From this space we entered the corridor running northward, and out of which, on either hand, opened a series of small chambers. At the north the walls are so worn away that trace of them is lost. Very careful excavation might, in this monastery, reveal a good deal. Buildings also stood on the south of the church and very near to it. There are remains of what was, I think, the enclosing wall of the Dêr, for, naturally, these buildings were always inclosed.

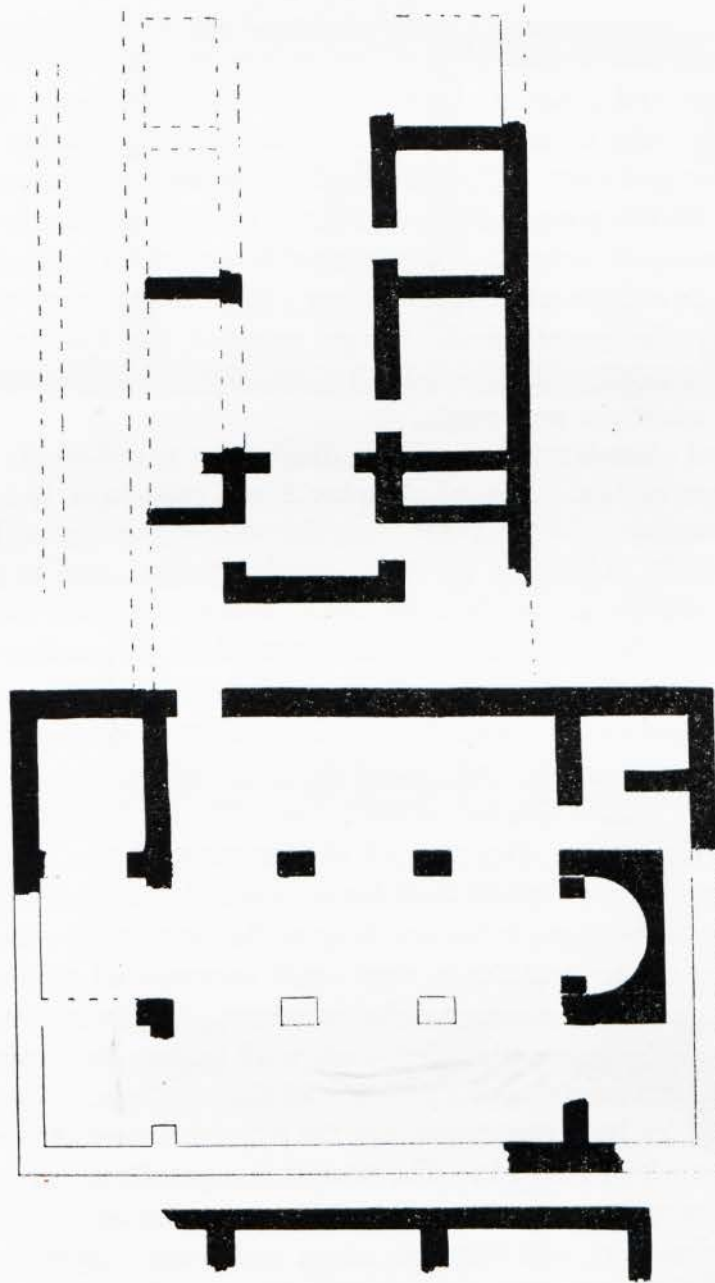
ABU SÎR

PLATE IX, FIG. 2

Somewhat to the north of the place above described lie some ruins without a name, so far as I could ascertain. They are to be found a little to the south of the well-known rock of Abu Sîr.

As my plan shows (Fig. 2), the apse and parts of the nave of the church are still to be traced. Two arches, one at A and one at B, are still standing. Over these the walls are carried up in such a manner as to suggest that there was some sort of central feature raised higher than the roofs elsewhere. Without excavation it is impossible to say under which type of plan, A or B, this building should be classified. From the way the outer wall of the apse is finished, it is fair to suppose that there was a passage behind it connecting the north and south side chambers. The ruin is now a dwelling-place for cows and goats. The lower

GEZIRET THÊT
MATUGA



SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

part of the walls, to a height of about two metres from the ground, is built of rough stones, gathered from the cliffs near at hand ; the rest of the structure is of crude brick. Visited December 7, 1909

ABD EL KADER

PLATE IX, FIG. 1

North of the rock of Abu Sîr, and on the hill-top, is seen a piece of masonry known as Sheikh Abd el Kader. Immediately south of this, down by the riverside, lies a diminutive ruin of crude brick ; the holes in its venerable walls stopped, here with stones and there with thorn-bushes, but very ineffectually. The plan of this little building is given in Plate IX, Fig. 1. The arrangement is entirely unlike those characteristic of a church. The central block, which is barely 4.50 square, has on either side of it an additional building ; the straight joints where the newer walls abut upon the central block are very manifest, but the character and size of the brickwork in all parts is so identical that it is impossible to conjecture at what time the additions were made.

The central chamber is covered by diminutive barrel-vaults which rest in part on the cross arches. A small chamber is set, crossways, in connexion with this central chamber. At the point A on the wall of the central barrel-vault is painted a 'Majesty' filling up the whole available space, and in all other parts fragments of painting are to be seen, fairly well preserved ; indeed, no other ruin I have met with in the Sûdân retains so much of its paintings, nor, indeed, so much of its roof. The tunnel vault, one end of which shelters the painting at A, is, as to the other end, stopped short of the wall, and, so far as its ruined state permits us to see, was carried up in the shape of a small lantern or dome, B, being the chief source of light to this part of the interior. As for the two rooms right and left of the central chamber, they are each of them covered by a brick barrel-vault, and, as the drawing shows, one of them has a wide and open archway in the side of it. The doorways elsewhere in the building are the most inconvenient little holes.

The interior of this building is very much encumbered with débris, which, fortunately, has assisted to preserve the paintings. It is very undesirable that any of this should be removed, unless such work is done by experienced hands and at the same time careful copies are made of the paintings. The little building is, unfortunately for its preservation, not far from the track of the tourist, who is taken to the rock of Abu Sîr. The tourist is a greater enemy to an ancient building than the ignorant native. He takes away relics and mementos, crowds into the little chambers, and blunders about with sticks, sunshades, and nailed boots, doing more damage, innocently no doubt, than dozens of horned beasts.

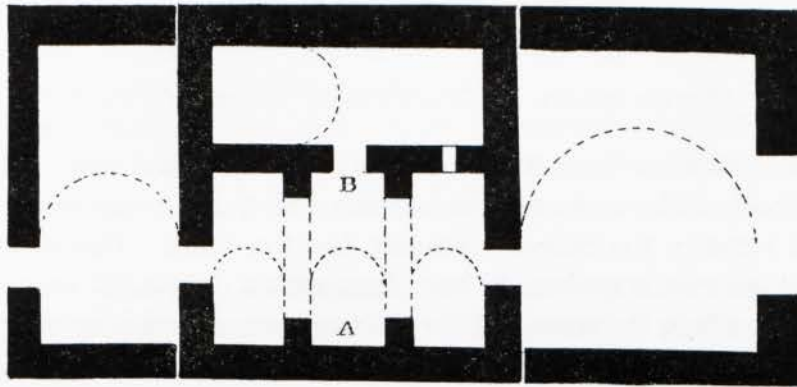
This little place was visited December 7, 1909.

I must not fail to express my obligations to Mr. F. W. Green, M.A. Cantab., who assisted me in the measurement of the buildings described, and to Professor A. H. Sayce, who, with Mr. Green, was my companion in the Sûdân.

NEAR

SHEIKH ABD EL KADER

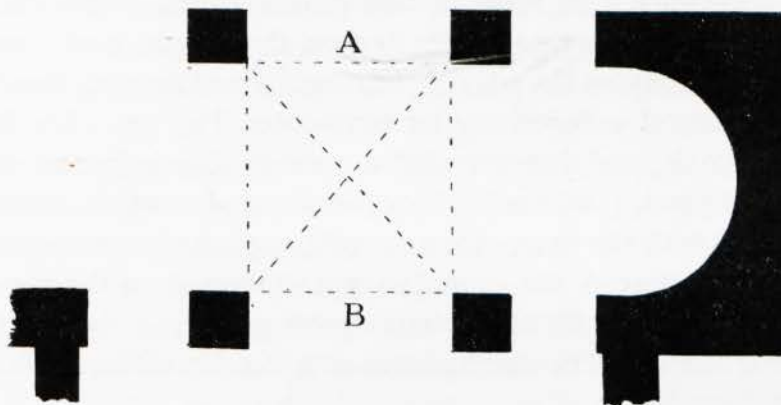
FIG. 1



SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$



FIG. 2



SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF DRAWINGS. HALFA TO PHILAE

WE have now arrived at the northern end of the Batn el Hagar—the Second Cataract. The series of plans which follow are from ancient buildings to be found between the Second Cataract and the First. This journey, which I have made on two occasions, is best done with a dahabeah.

On the islands in the mouth of the cataract are several fragments of ancient buildings, some of them probably Christian. This district is under the observa-

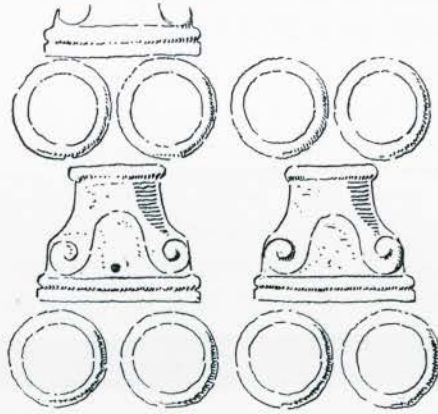


FIG. 12. Argyn. Terra-cotta Capitals.

tion of Dr. Randall MacIver, and in his capable hands will no doubt be presently examined exhaustively.¹

Going northward from Halfa we first stop at Argyn. Very near to this place—i. e. some ten miles north of Halfa, but on the eastern bank—some ruins are observed immediately on the edge of the river. On examining these, they proved to be the remains of a depository for terra-cotta (Fig. 12). The Nile has eaten into a steep bank, and has revealed a considerable collection of terra-cotta capitals and of pipes, piled one on the other in regular order. Some of the pipes are laid parallel with the river, others at right angles to its course. Several layers of them could be traced, the capitals always inverted on the top of the pipes. The capitals were laid with their abaci close together, so that they covered the pipes in their length. The material was of a good, well-burnt terra-cotta clay,

¹ Some results have been published by the University of Pennsylvania. *Churches in Lower Nubia*, by Geoffrey S. Mileham, edited by D. Randall MacIver, MCMX.

bright red in the fracture, but generally with a thin whitish skin on the surface. The length of the longest pipe dug out was 0.58, one end being perfect.

The capitals, clumsily made, do not closely agree with one another. Finger-marks are visible inside. One cannot suppose they were made in a mould. The treatment of the cap, with a cushion at the lower part and curls or horns at the angles, so as to carry a square mass on a column circular in section, is such as we find in stonework all through the Christian buildings of Egypt and in all parts of Europe. It seems to be one of those obvious forms which were naturally evolved wherever the difficulty had to be met.

The pipes—which, at first sight, might be taken for the columns on which the capitals were to be placed—do not suit this purpose well. They are too large in diameter. Outside they are covered with horizontal finger-marks of the moulders.

There must have been a large quantity of the capitals and pipes placed by the river side. Walking southward for twenty minutes, the shore was, all the way, strewn with fragments, also with pieces of well-burnt red brick and a good deal of broken pottery well made. No evidences of a kiln could be seen: no clinkers, no walls marked by fire.

The capitals and pipes were absolutely embedded in and filled up with alluvium, which is here very hard and solid.

The pottery must have been brought here and stacked for transportation. We may ask ourselves, where was it made, whence came the fuel to burn it, and, finally, to what market did it go?

DÉR EL BOHL OR BOLLOR

PLATE X, FIG. 1

This place, on the west bank, lies a little north of Argyn, and about a quarter of a mile from the river. It is placed where the ground rises very slightly. It is built entirely of unbaked bricks, many very long ($0.35 \times 0.06 \times 0.17$), about $14 \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The walls that remain must be, for the most part, basements to a superstructure, now, in almost all places, destroyed. It will be observed that the chambers are in most cases without doorways. These chambers were covered with tunnel vaults.

The plan of the church, a very small structure, can be easily made out. Its floor level is well preserved. How the rooms west of the church and standing on the basement were disposed of there is no means of ascertaining. Rows of little vaulted cells or rooms, without any light but a small hole in the vault, may be found in most of the buildings still standing in this part of Nubia. The doorways are generally so small that it is only by stooping and going sideways that one gets through. No sense of plan can be traced, and in the houses of the present day the same want of decent arrangement is seen.

DEIR EL BOLLOR

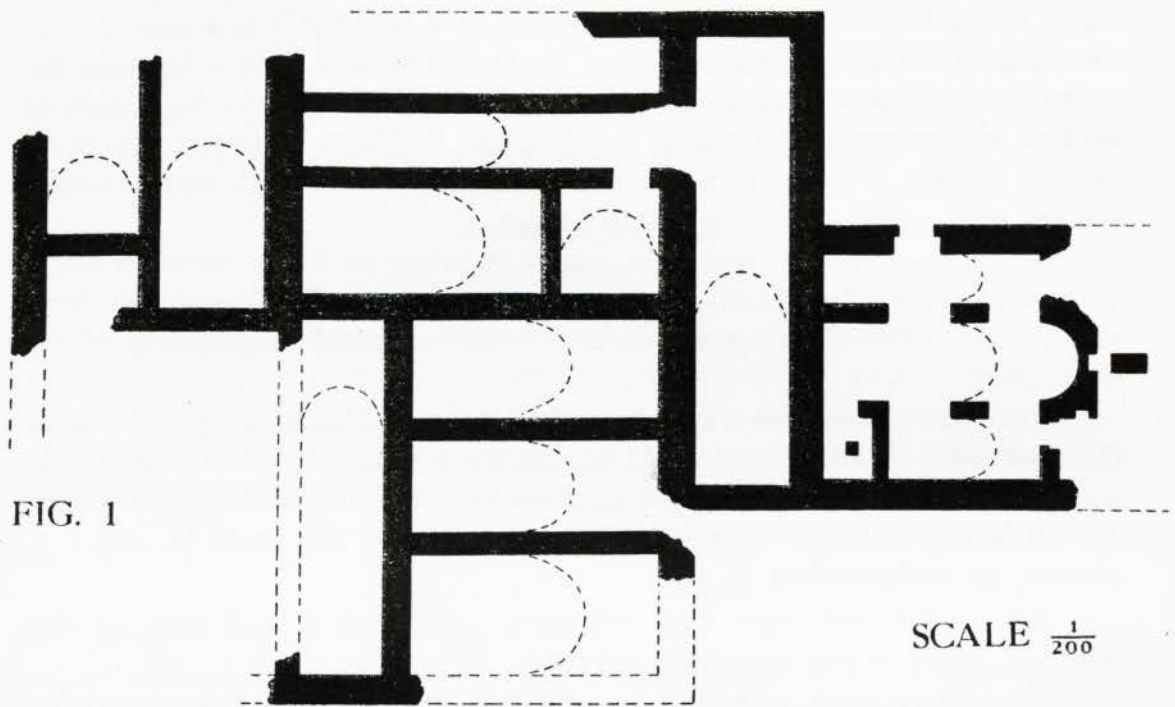


FIG. 1

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

SERRE RUINS OF CHURCH
EAST BANK OF THE NILE

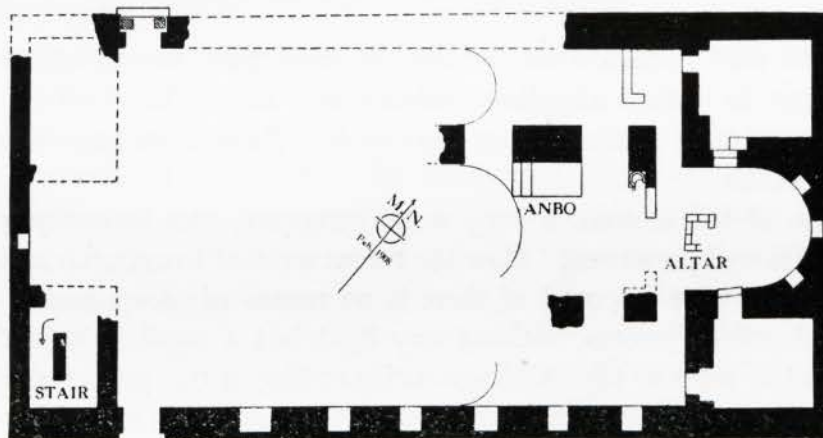


FIG. 2

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

A study of the previous plans submitted to the reader will prevent him from being surprised either at the very narrow chambers or at the restricted measurements of the buildings. It will be seen that the plan of the church is quite normal and belongs to type A. Towards the east is the apse, which does not show outside, being imbedded between two small rooms. These, in the present case, seem, by the evidence of straight joints in the brickwork, to have been enlarged. West of the apse comes a nave of two bays, with arches opening into north and south aisles, which had galleries over them. These were approached, as usual, by stairs in the south-west angle, the westernmost bay of the nave being bridged across at the level of the gallery floors, so that the stairs at the south-west corner could serve the gallery over the north aisle.

Between the building just described, which I venture to think must have been a monastery, and the river are remains of crude brick houses. These are called the Houses of Bohl, who is said to have been a great man in times past. Fragments of grave-stones, on one of which I observed letters in Greek and on another in Cufic, lie about. The pottery, many fragments of which are found, is ribbed. Visited Jan. 13, 1894, and Jan. 15, 1899.

Near the ruins are long mounds of considerable height. These are at first sight to be taken for mounds of sand, but they are in fact rows of tamarisks, now dead and completely shrouded in sand. In many places such mounds are seen: a proof that at one time there must have been considerable cultivation and a population not a little in excess of the few people now to be found living in this part of the valley.

SERRE HAMMÂM EL FARKI

PLATE XI

North of Argyn we come to the district of Serre. Between these places is a small valley which lies immediately south of the building about to be described. In the Berber language Farki is the word designating such a small valley as we see here.

Hammâm is the Arabic word for a bath, as every one knows: it is, however, the custom amongst the fellaheen to call many ancient buildings 'Hammâm', especially if their outline be rectangular. Here, therefore, we have a combination of Arabic and Berberine words. There is also another reason why the place should have been called 'Hammâm', for quite near there existed, until recent times, a warm mineral spring. To this people came from far and near, and with their donkeys and camels destroyed the green crops of the owner of the surrounding land, one Mousa Hêri. Thinking he had suffered more than enough, he decided to spoil the mineral spring, which he did by filling it with stones, and so it remains to this day (Jan. 15, 1899), and is no longer frequented. So far as I can gather this was done some thirty or forty years since.

There is a tradition connected with this place which should be mentioned here. There are said to be on the Nile banks four mineral springs of virtue. I cannot ascertain the name of the most southern, but the next to it is the well at Okasha; then comes the well now under our notice, Farki, and finally, the baths at Heluan, near Cairo. The origin of these springs is not wrapped in obscurity, but is as follows: Saidna Suliman (Our Lord Solomon), being desirous that his people in these parts should have hot baths, sent down, by his magical arts, two persons in each place to stir the central fires. Of each pair of stokers one is deaf, the other dumb: consequently they cannot communicate very well with each other or the outer world. I use the present tense advisedly, because these people, not having learnt that Saidna Suliman is dead, are still stirring the fires. Hence the supply of hot water.

The building shown on Plates XI and XVI is one of the best-preserved ruins of its class in Nubia. As is invariably the case, the apse is turned to the east. The external dimensions of the building are 11.80 × 16.70 (40 × 55 feet). The nave is but 3.82 wide. The plan is of the type A.

To a height of 4.50 from the ground the walls are built of unmasoned stones, selected from those lying on the rock surfaces round about. These are set in a mortar consisting of Nile mud. Above this level the walls and vaults are made of sun-dried mud bricks. The stonework inside the church is as rough as that of the outer walls, but has been thickly plastered.

The aisles were tunnel vaulted in brick. That over the north aisle still remains. The vault of the apse is also standing. The south wall, from the east end to the stairs, is thrown down. As is shown on the longitudinal section, Fig. 1, the western end of the nave is bridged by a gallery, over which was a window, which must have been the chief source of light to the interior. Four very small windows on each side of the nave opened into the upper aisles or galleries, and these again had small windows in their outer walls. Even in Egypt, the light passing into the church through these must have been very subdued; whilst such little slits must have formed but very imperfect communications between the nave and the galleries, if the latter were intended, as we may suppose, for use.

The apse opens towards the nave with an arch supported on either side by nook shafts, which have, however, fallen. See also Fig. 2, Plate XVI.

Three recesses are made in the apse wall, and below these are the remains of a centre and side seats.¹ Two very little doorways, one on either side, open into two exceedingly small rooms which flank the apse and give the square outline common to the exterior of all these churches. Traces of painting are still seen on the plaster of the interior—figures in yellow or red on a white ground. The pigments for these two colours are found, in some cases, ready for immediate use—the red in nodules embedded in the sandstone, the yellow in the form of veins.

¹ See the plans of Abu-'s-Sifain, p. 78; Amba Shnūda, p. 136; and Abu Sargah, p. 182; all in Butler's *Ancient Coptic Churches*.

SERRE. HAMMÂM EL FARKI

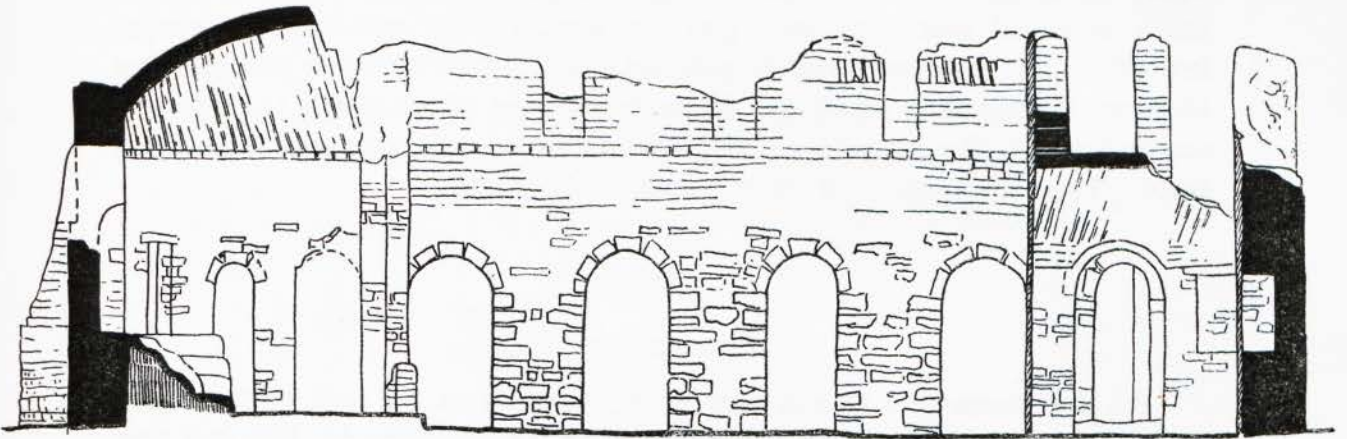


FIG. 1 LONGITUDINAL SECTION LOOKING SOUTH ON LINE X-X

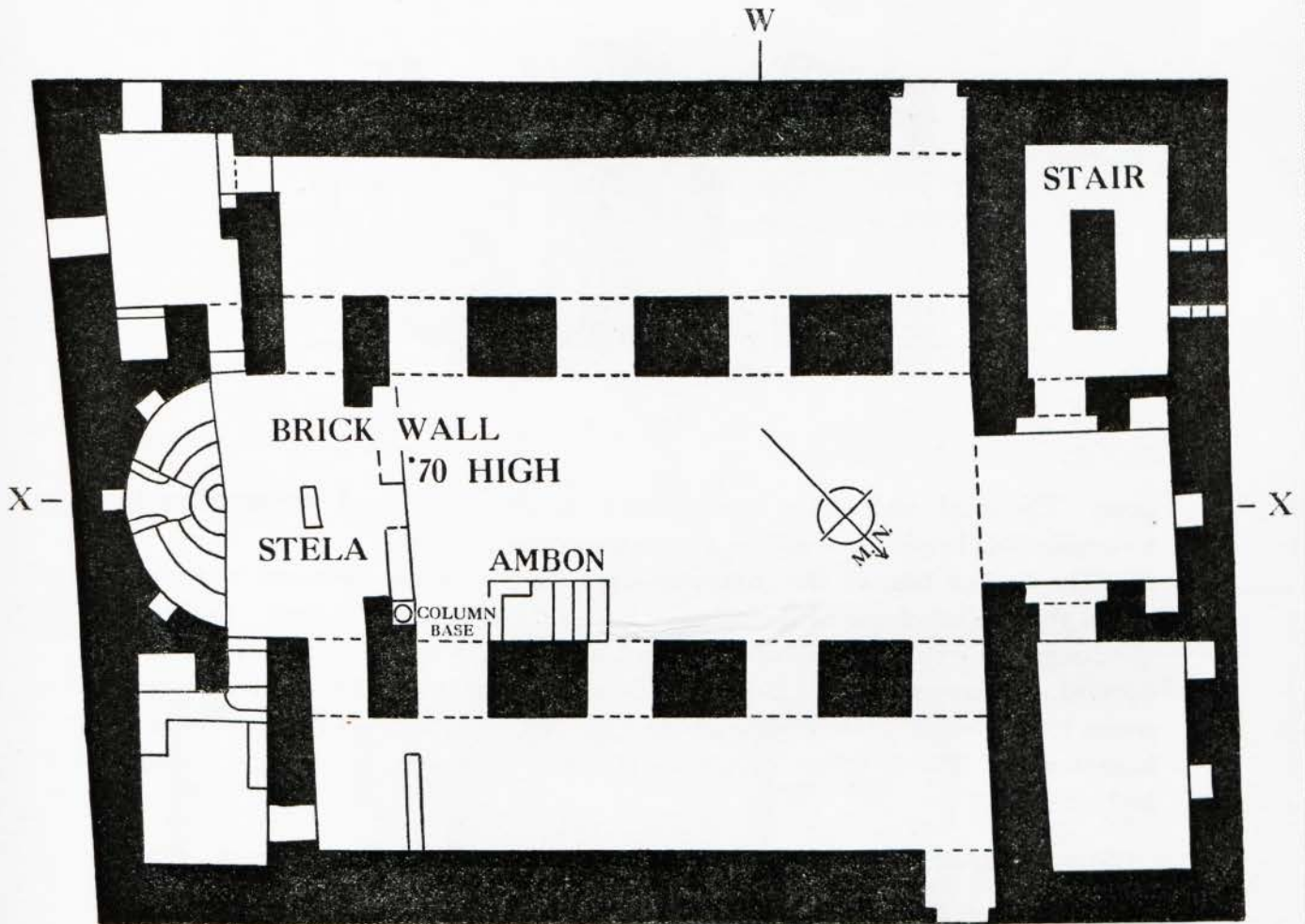


FIG. 2 GROUND PLAN

GEOFFRY. S. MILEHAM, *Mens et Del*, 1908.

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

To the south of the church just described, and separated from it by the little valley in which was the thermal spring, are groups of crude brick houses, so much mounded over with sand that the ground floors remain fairly perfect beneath it. As the church stands quite detached, it does not seem probable that these are the monastic buildings. Immediately west of the houses the cemetery can be traced; the graves are marked by a ring of small stones round each of them. There are remains of other houses on the north.¹

SERRE

PLATE X, FIG. 2

We next come to a church near Serre, standing on the rock a little above the river and on the east bank. The plan belongs to the type A. It is in a very ruinous state (visited Jan. 17, 1899). The north wall stands but 0.50 above the ground. The apse has almost disappeared, whilst the south arcade is entirely



FIG. 13. Serre. South church from SW.

gone. The south wall of the south aisle is, on the other hand, preserved up to a considerable height, and in it is a row of recesses or niches.

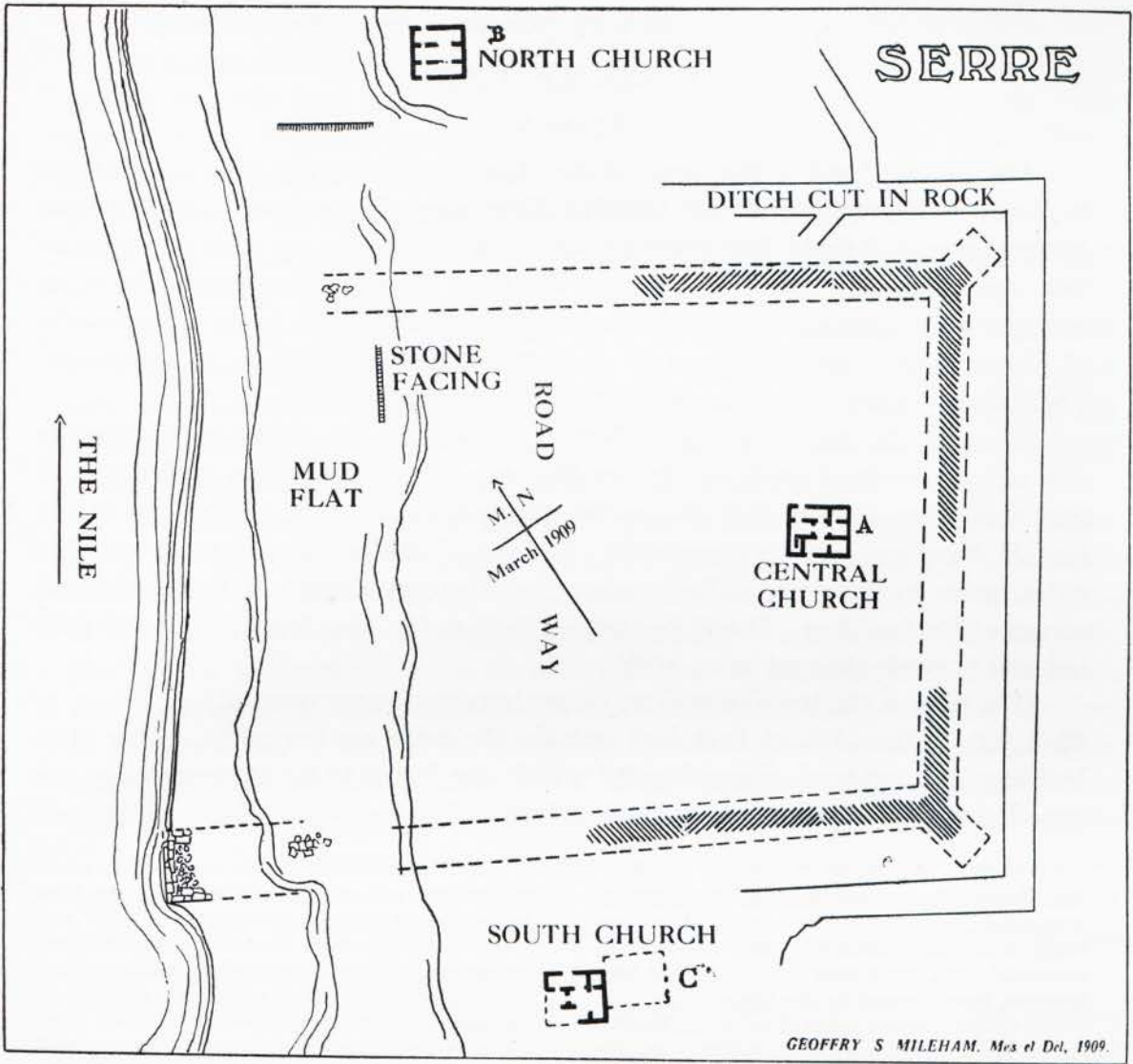
The broken base of the triumphal arch leading to the apse can be traced, whilst the capital of one of the columns lies in the débris on the floor. Contrary to custom, the external walls of the church are of sun-dried brick from the ground upward. A course of rough flat stones is laid through the walls at a level which seems to be that of the springing of the aisle vaults. There are not any ruins of houses near. The building stands, as it seems always to have done, solitary and alone.²

¹ Since the above was written the church has been carefully excavated by Mr. Mileham, to whom and to Dr. D. Randall MacIver I am indebted for the plan and section here repro-

duced. It is called by them 'Church opposite Debèreh'.

² This is called by Mr. Mileham 'East Serreh, the South Church'.

FIG. 1



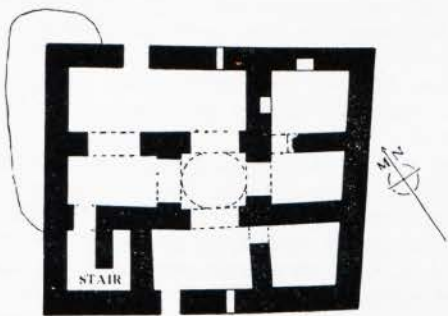
GEOFFRY S MILEHAM. Mens et Del. 1909.

GENERAL PLAN

SCALE $\frac{1}{1000}$

SERRE

FIG. 2.A

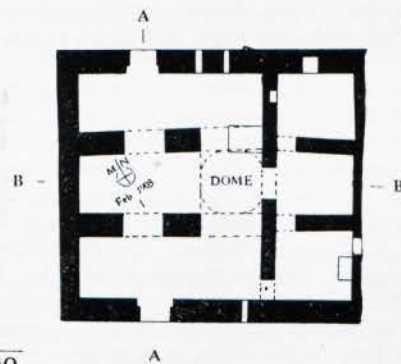


PLAN OF
CENTRAL CHURCH

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

FIG. 3.B

SERRE
(SHARK)



PLAN OF
NORTH CHURCH

G.S.M Mens et del

SERRE (SHARK)
DESERTED TOWN

PLATE XII

On the east bank of the river (visited Jan. 17, 1899). The plan of this town is given, as it shows how near together three exceedingly small churches were grouped (we shall find other examples) and how completely the Christian population must have dominated this part of the river, having taken possession of an enclosed site, which evidently belongs to a period far anterior to the introduction of Christianity. Ancient Egypt is gone, and Christian Nubia is in possession. This fact is proved by an examination of the enclosing walls.¹

Towards the middle of the enclosure and well up the slope are the remains of a church, built of crude brick (see Fig. 2, A, Plate XII). This building is of very small size, the external dimensions being but 9.0×7.75 . It belongs to the type B, having a dome in the middle. The tunnel vaults, which have covered the aisles, seem to have had galleries above, as there is a stair at the south-west corner of the building. It will be noticed that on the floor level the church does not end towards the east in an apse.

The plan of the town shows two other churches, before referred to. Fig. 3, B, Plate XII, is the plan of that just outside the walls on the north. This little building, the external dimensions of which are but 9.50×7.15 , belongs to the type B, having a small dome over the eastern end of the nave. The rest is tunnel-

¹ I venture to give the reasons for the belief that these walls are much older than the Christian occupation, but put them in a note, the subject being somewhat technical and not actually connected with the matter in hand. They may, however, be of interest to the Egyptologist.

The site is a rather steep slope falling towards the river. The walls are thick, about 3 m., and are built of hard, well-baked, sun-dried bricks, average size $0.32 \times 0.15 \times 0.09$. Much timber is built into the brickwork to assist in tying it together, and mats of halfa grass can be seen in the joints of mud mortar at every fifth course. Where the ground is level the brickwork is laid in horizontal courses, i. e. along the east face of the town, and at each end of the north and south walls. Where the ground falls quickly the courses of brickwork slope with it, at an angle of about 20° with the horizon. The courses do not undulate as we find in some of the great brick walls, such as those enclosing the temples at Karnak or at El Kab. At the north-east and south-east angles are remains of solid bastions. A ditch has also been cut in the rock, and can clearly be traced on the south, east, and north sides. It will be observed that on the plan a road is shown leading towards the north wall, but there are not any indications of a gateway at this point: indeed, as the slope on which the walls are built is here rather steep, neither road nor gate would be conveniently placed if in this position.

The old road, which can be traced by the river-side almost without interruption, from the First to the Second Cataract, lies nearer the water, and is shown on the plan. From the river, the town or fort was defended, whether by a wall or a quay is not clear. Remains of stonework, in position, are seen, in parts parallel with the river; other parts, evidently base-stones of the enclosing wall, and coming quite out to the water's edge, can also be traced.

A road running through the town parallel with the river is a usual feature, and in the present case it lies at the lower edge of the slope, and yet well removed above the water. The timber bond, the halfa mats laid in the mortar, the large, firm, well-made bricks, are found in walls of very remote antiquity, such as those of Usertesén, in the walls at Semneh and Murgassy; and in these places, especially at Western Semneh, the fortresses are not merely walls, there are ditches and bastions for flank defence.

The site of Serre has never been carefully examined. There may be, beneath the remains of the houses, traces of an Egyptian temple or some means of identifying, more or less, the period in which these walls were built. It must be remembered that things are changing in Egypt with startling rapidity. An artificial raising of the river surface by a few feet absolutely obliterates ancient sites.

vaulted and without a stair ; some of the doors are but 0.45 wide (18 inches), and too low to pass through without stooping. The bricks are large—0.38 × 0.20 × 0.07—more of a tile than a brick, but ill made, and in that respect differing very much from the bricks of the town wall. In this the courses are laid as we always find them in Egyptian buildings, nearly all 'headers'. The bricks in the walls of the churches are in alternate courses of 'headers and stretchers'. There are neither timber bond nor halfa mats embedded in them, both of which we find in the enclosing walls.

Lying amidst broken bricks on the floor of the southern church there is a rectangular block of red granite, about 1.30 long, not so broad. The upper surface is recessed, forming a long shallow basin. The top, ends, and sides are wrought smooth, the bottom is rough. There are no traces of hieroglyphics, or of any inscription on the block. It is not of the form of a font.

The rocky hill-side on which the houses are built is broken, partly by nature, partly by art, into terraces, against and on which the houses are crowded so closely that it is often difficult to see how they were approached. They were of two and three stories in height. The little stairs, rising round square newels, precisely as we see them in the church plans, are in many cases well preserved. All the rooms were brick vaulted. The brickwork of the houses is much like that of the churches. I would not venture to express an opinion as to their higher antiquity. The mere dimensions of the bricks, and the careless way they may have been laid, does not prove that the buildings made of them were necessarily Christian or Arab—they might be much older. With the alluvium of the Nile at hand any one could make bricks, as is the case to this day. When, however, it became a case of the government directing work to be done, the material was either of stone or of well-formed, well-dried brick.

There is evidence that the houses have not often been rebuilt. We observe that the houses we now see stand on the rock, and not on a mass of débris caused by the fall of their predecessors. The common thing is to find existing walls standing on or thrust through mounds of broken brick and pottery many metres in thickness. There is little if any glazed Arab pottery about, nor is there the orthodox dust-heap just outside the town, such as will be referred to at Kasr Ibrim. The Christians either established themselves in an unoccupied fort built long before, or continued to live in the houses already built—a far more probable thing. The whole must have been abandoned when Islam overran Nubia, at which time frightful outrages were committed.

Such pottery as there is is chiefly of the ribbed type, generally found in connexion with sites occupied before the Arab conquest. Also pottery of a finer quality of paste, of bright red colour and patterned in black.

There is no evidence that the churches had been converted for use as mosques, nor could we find the remains of any building like a mosque. The evidence is in favour of the probability that this place must have been abandoned at an early date, perhaps in consequence of the Arab conquest of Nubia.

On Plate XIII is a plan of the south church, c on the plan of the town, with sections, and also sections of the north church, B on the town plan. Fig. 13 on p. 62 gives a view of the south church. The drawings speak for themselves.

FARRAS

PLATE XIV

This place lies a little north of Serre, and on the west bank of the river. On a slightly raised mound is a group of buildings with the ruins of a church in the north-east angle. This is, however, so much broken down that excavation only—which I was not able to make—would give us the plan. The place is of considerable interest, being surrounded by the remains of a wall of masonry: and enclosing within its area, not only the church and attached buildings already mentioned, but fragments of columns evidently belonging to an Egyptian temple.

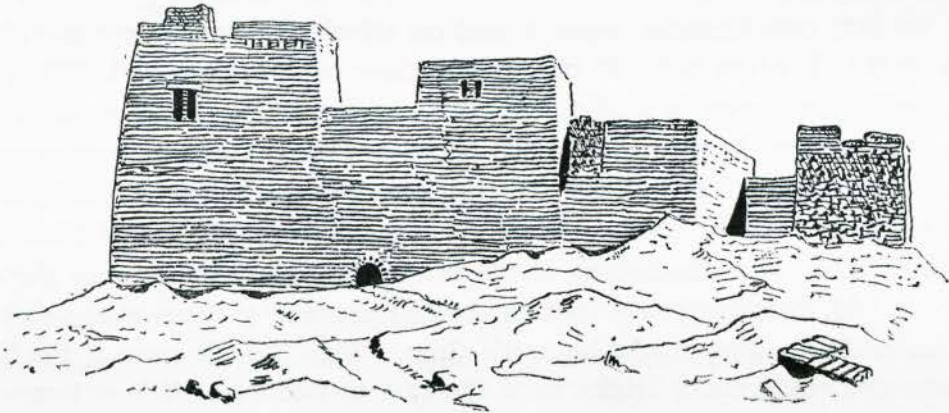


FIG. 14. Farras.

Lying in the sand were observed two pieces of terra-cotta capitals, identical with those already described, p. 56.

I was told that, in times past, there lived at Farras the Malik Kikelan ibn Nyokel abu el Myia, Gidd al Alf (the King Kikelan, son of Nyokel, father of a hundred and grandfather of a thousand). Tradition says he was Nuṣṣrāny (a Christian), and to this day, when neighbours wish to say something nasty to an inhabitant of Farras, they call the man 'a son of Kikelan', thereby implying that he is not a pure Muslim. To show the castellated nature of the building a sketch is given (Fig. 14). We look towards the north end of the 'kasr' in the church indicated on plan by the letter A.¹

DÈR EL KIERSH (ADDENDAN)

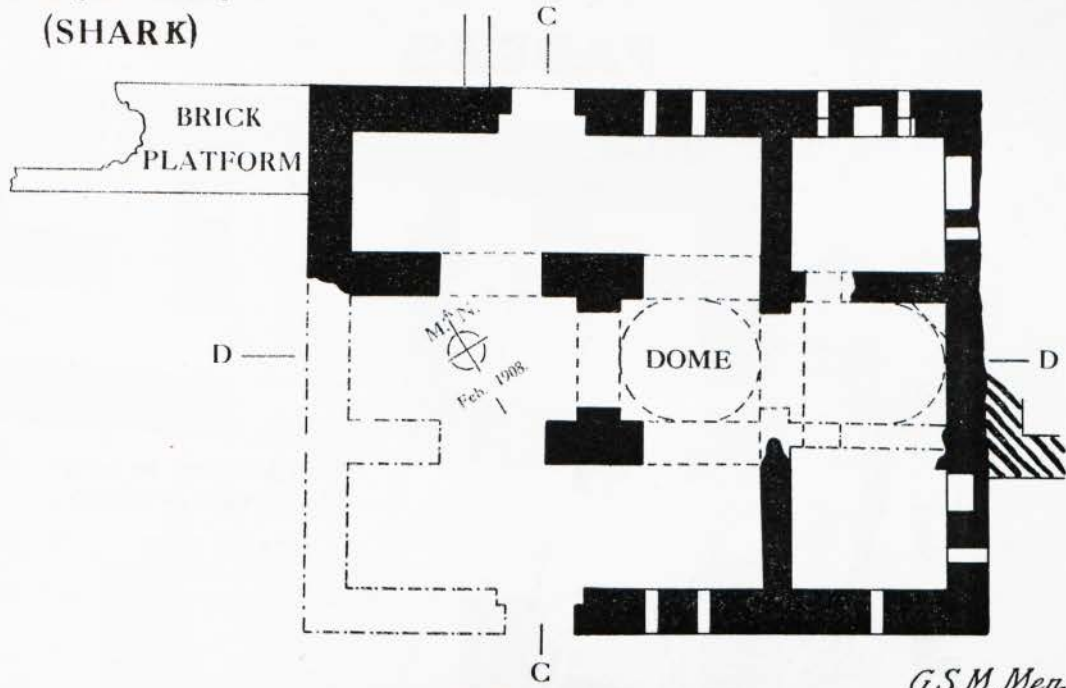
PLATES XV, XVI

This lies on the east bank, opposite Farras, on a bare platform of rock, without a vestige of an enclosing wall or of a house near it. (Visited Jan. 19, 1899.)

¹ See also *Churches in Lower Nubia*, Plates x-xx. Messrs. MacIver and Mileham have excavated and drawn two churches here, and

Mr. F. H. Griffith, acting for 'the Oxford Excavations in Nubia', is making further researches at this place.

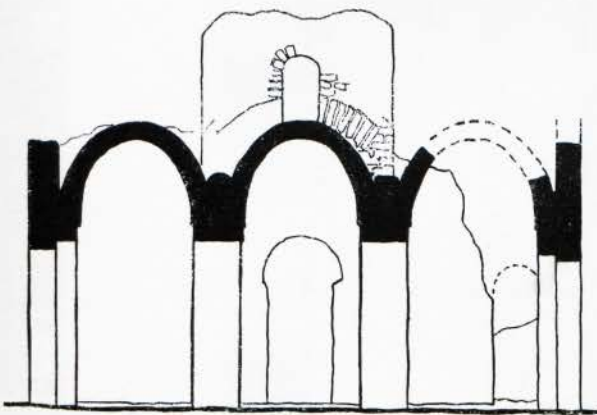
SERRE (SHARK)



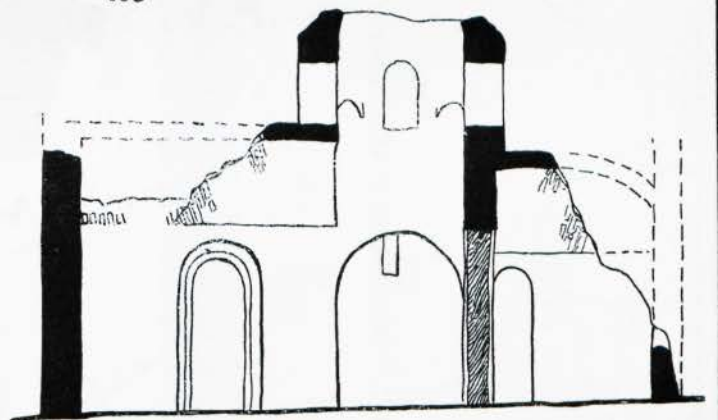
G.S.M. Mens et del.

SOUTH CHURCH

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$



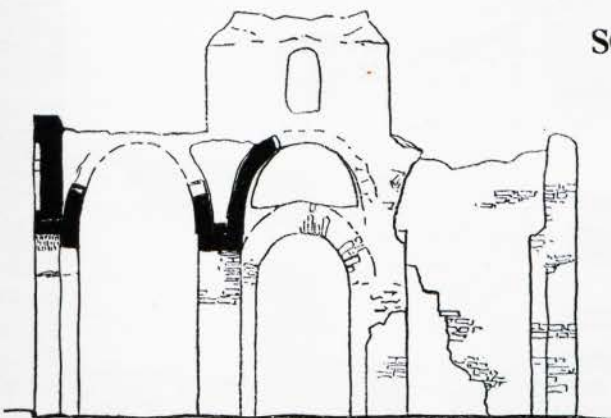
CROSS SECTION A A LOOKING EAST



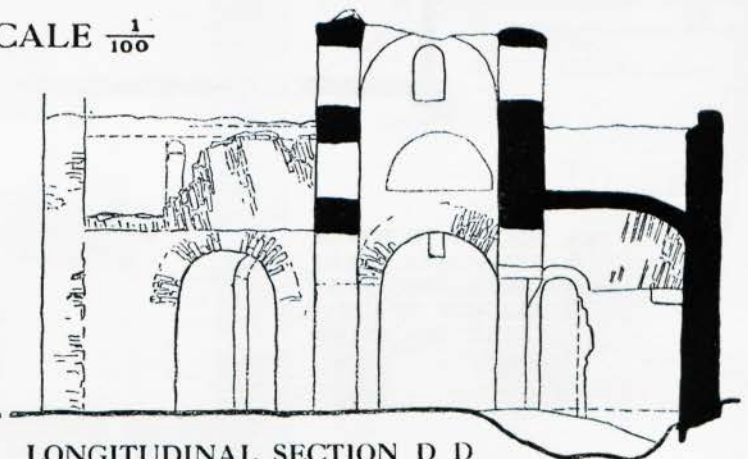
LONGITUDINAL SECTION B B LOOKING NORTH

NORTH CHURCH

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$



CROSS SECTION C C LOOKING EAST



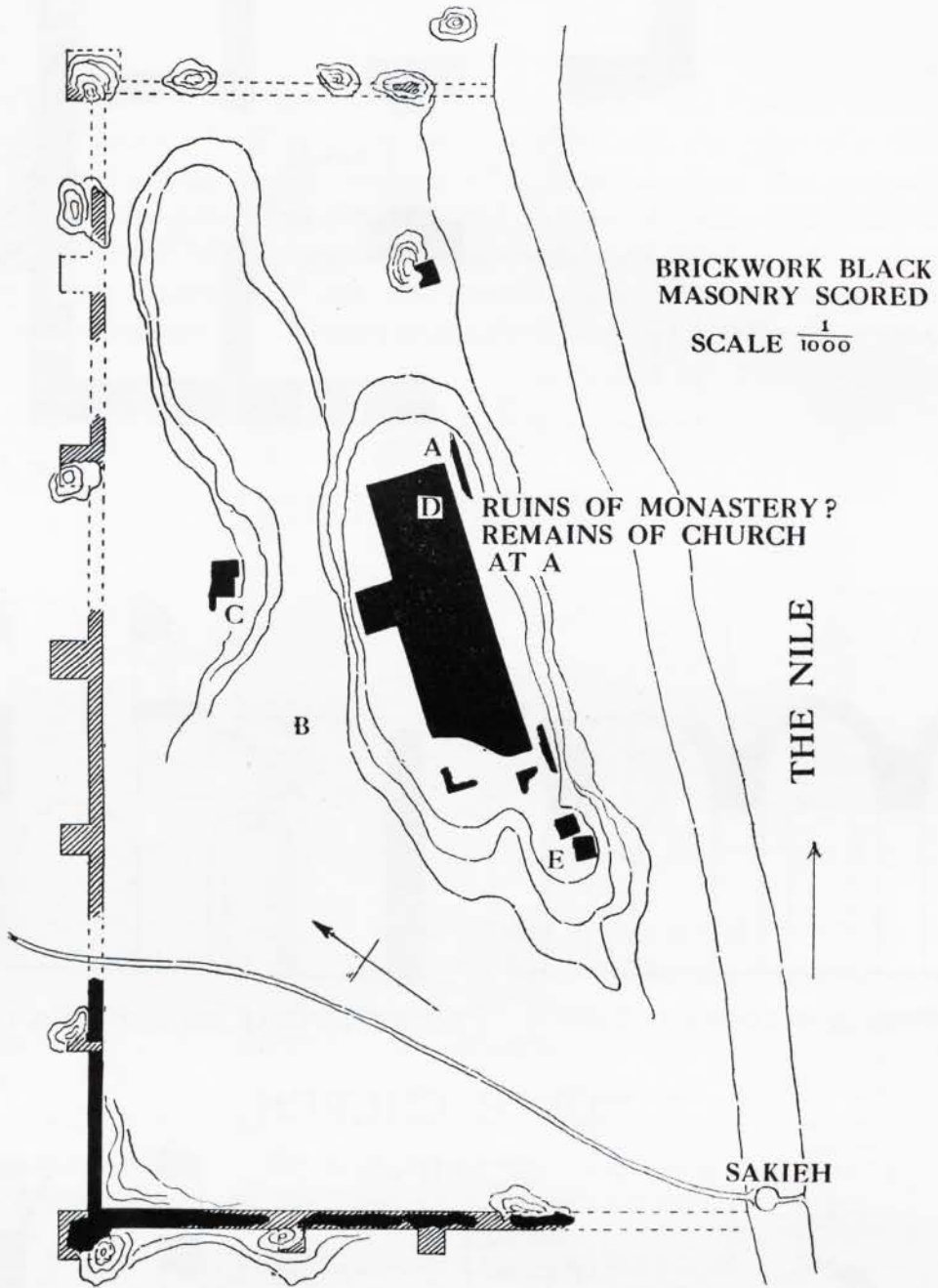
LONGITUDINAL SECTION D D

SOUTH CHURCH

LOOKING NORTH

FARRAS

RUINS OF MONASTERY



- A ASCENT TO TOWER
- B REMAINS OF EGYPT. TEMPLE
- C COPTIC BRICKWORK
- D REMAINS OF CHURCH
- E COPTIC BRICKWORK

ADDENDAN

FIG. 1

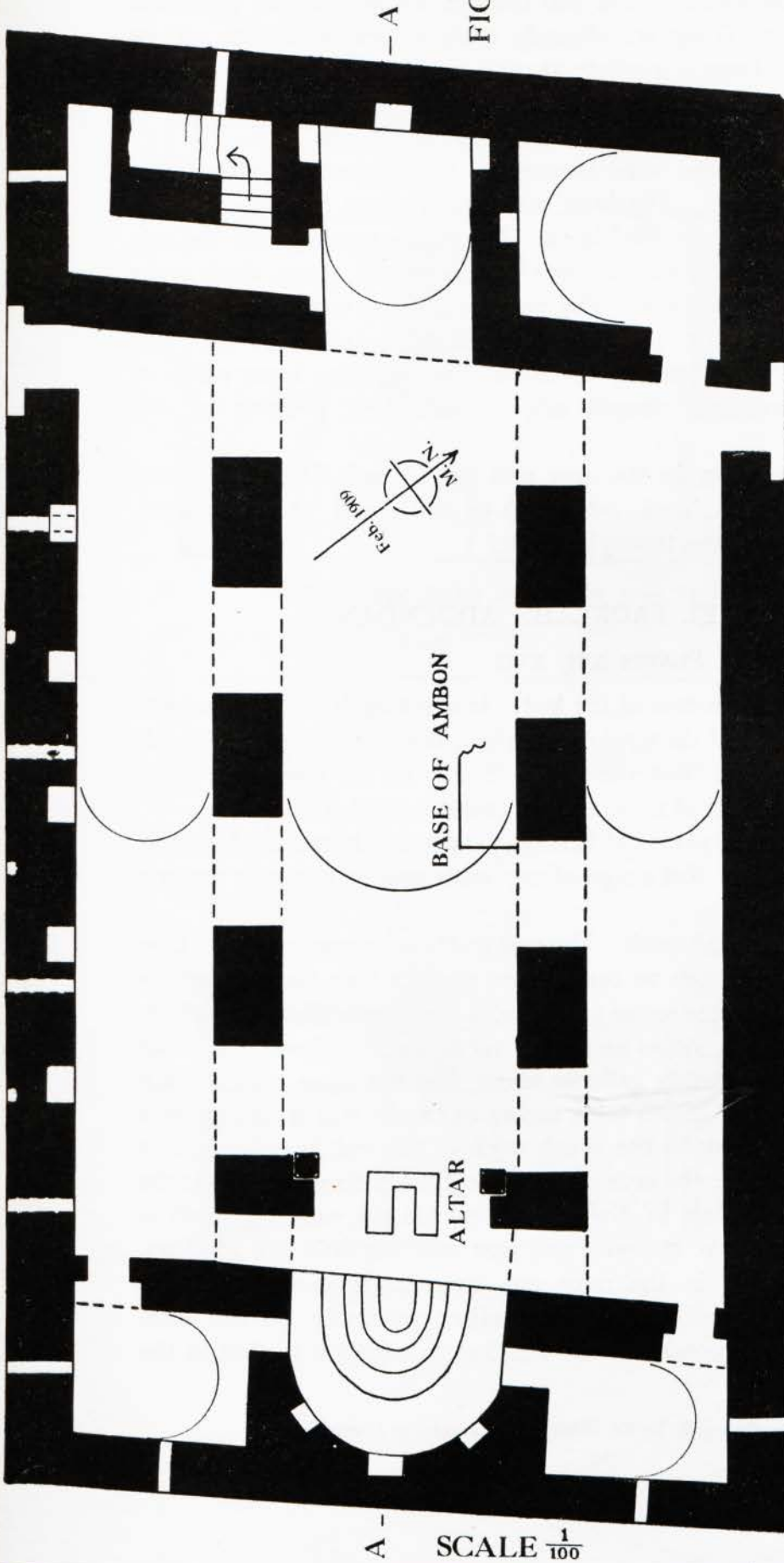
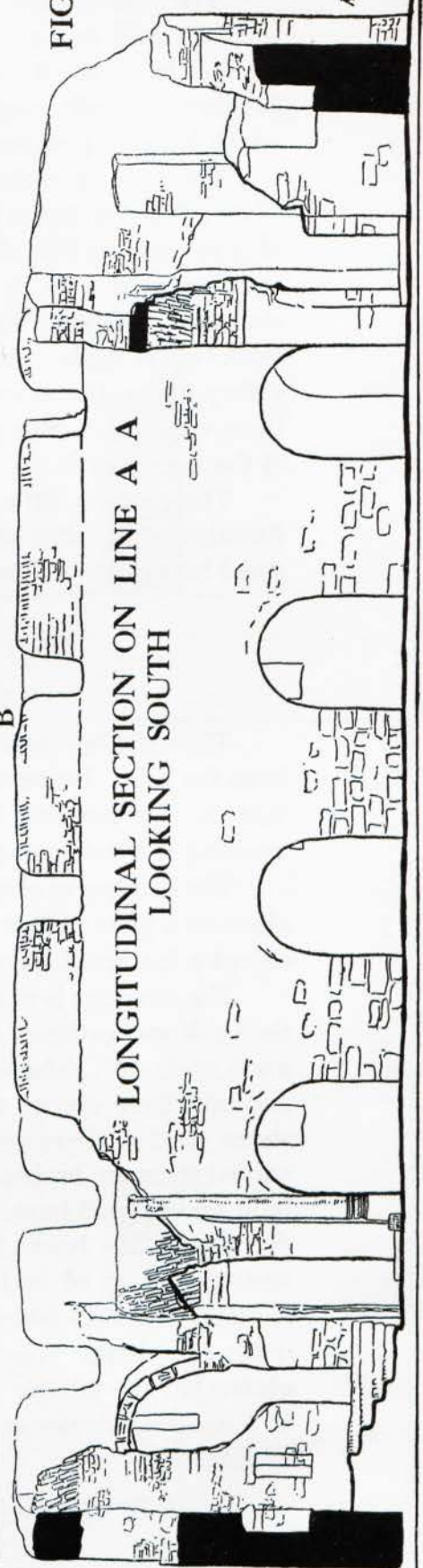


FIG. 2



G. J. M.
Mons et Del.

The plan belongs to type A. The two columns to support the triumphal arch are still in position. They are clumsily made of red sandstone. Their capitals lie on the floor: there is a volute at each corner, and a feature midway between curiously suggestive of a euraeus. Wrought stones are lying about, which it seems possible may belong to the triumphal arch itself.

The apse is vaulted in the same manner as that already described (see Plate XI) at Hammâm el Farki. The outer walls are of rough stone to a height of 3.40. Above this all is of sun-dried brick. The arches opening into the side aisles are but 2.15 in height from the floor to the crown. Over these come clerestory windows, unusually large. The nave and aisles were covered with brick tunnel vaults; that over the south aisle is still fairly well preserved. The gallery above the aisles was lighted by seven windows, whilst a lower range of three very small ones gave light directly into the aisle itself, piercing the side of the tunnel vault.

There was a little window in the apse and one in each little side room. Remains of an altar of burnt brick, 1.15 north to south, and .95 east to west, stand *between* the columns of the triumphal arch.¹

DÈR ASH EL FADELAH. ADDENDAN

PLATES XVI, XVII

This ruin lies to the south-east of the last. It is set back some half-a-mile from the Nile. Between it and the river rises a slight hill of rock, with the result that the dêr can only be seen from the south. It lies on the roadway, which, avoiding the before-named hill of rock, travels round behind it.

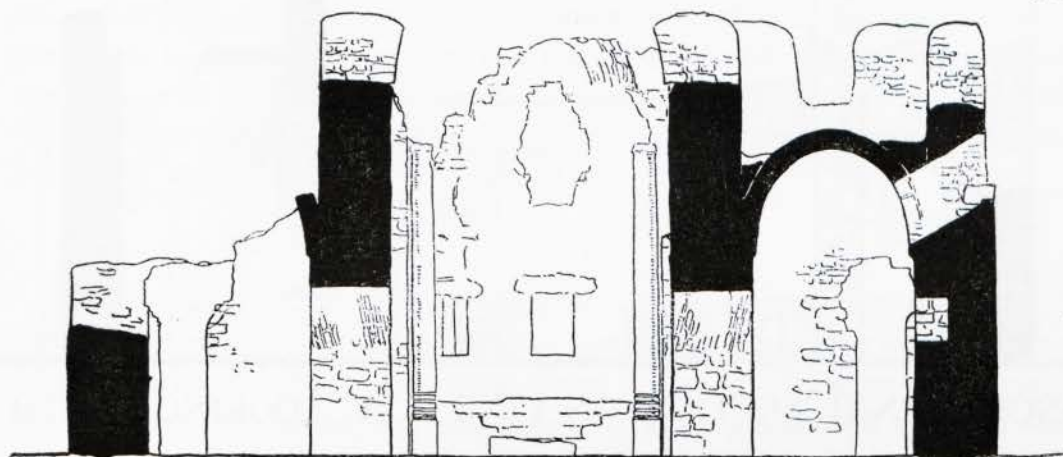
The building is of unusual plan, but belongs to type B. It stands absolutely alone on a plate of bare rock. Not a sign of any walls near it, nor even pottery, except a few small fragments.

The structure is of sun-dried brick. The east end was square on plan. How the vault was gathered over above we cannot now see. Outside the walls of the north and south aisles were porticoes or corridors, it is not possible to say which, and into these opened the two doors and some very small windows. The stair shows us that there were probably galleries above, but the nave arches which carried them are broken down. Such brick arches as can be still traced are well built and of good form, superior to the rough work of the buildings previously described. The bricks forming the arch converge to the centre, which is not the customary way of arch-building in Nubia, and outside the ring thus built is another, of bricks laid flat. At the west and east ends are little slit windows, quite low down. The dome in the nave was exceedingly small. Whilst it obstructed the interior it cannot have had any effect externally. There seem to have been domes at each corner of the building in addition to that in the middle.¹

¹ This church is described fully by Mr. Mileham in *Churches in Lower Nubia*.

ADDENDAN

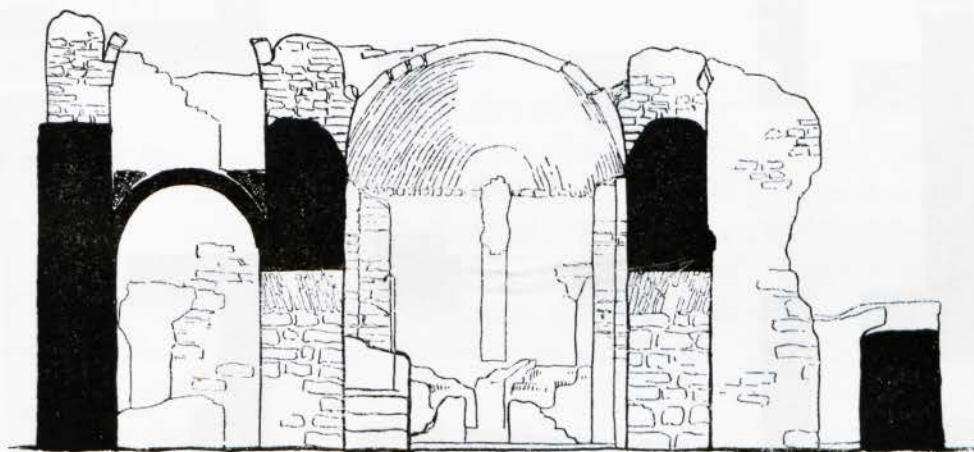
FIG. 1



CROSS SECTION ON LINE B B LOOKING EAST

HAMMÂM EL FARKI

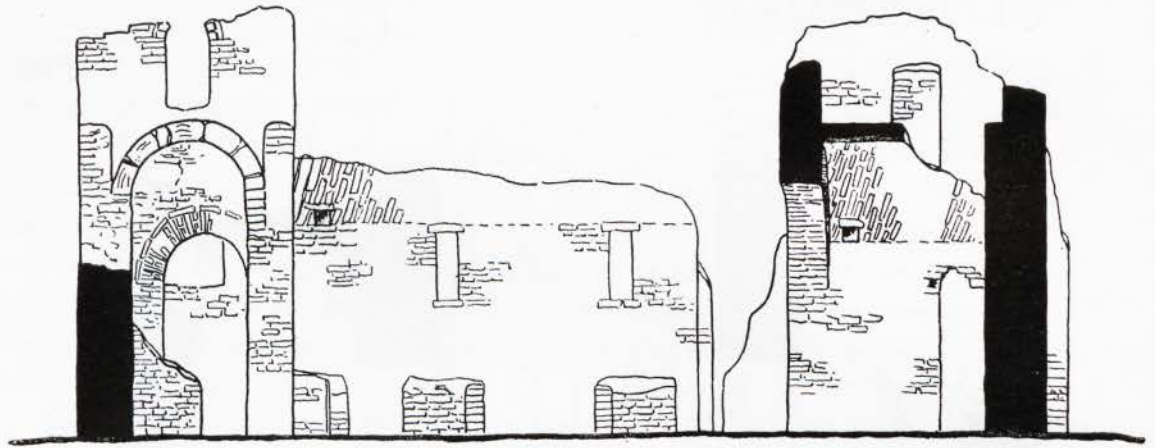
FIG. 2



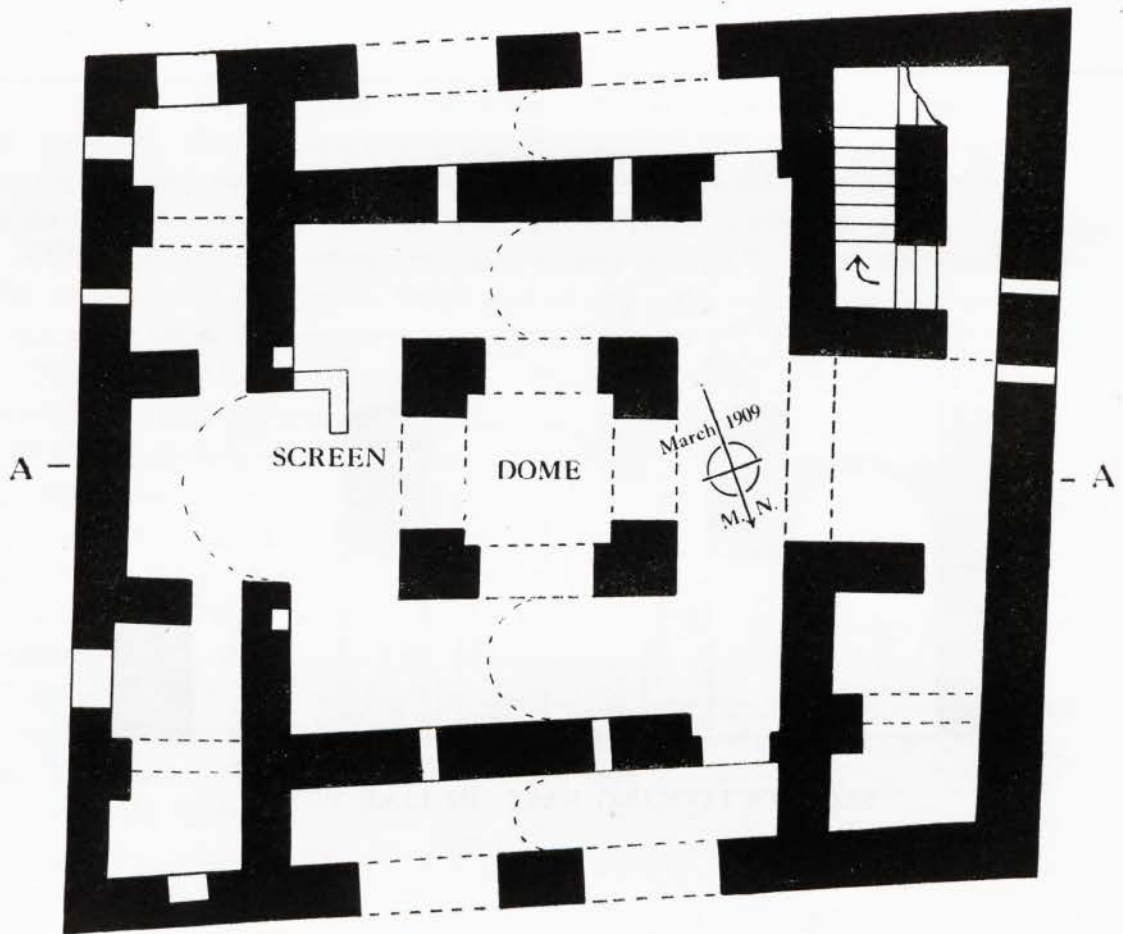
SECTION LOOKING EAST ON LINE W W

G.S.M. Mens et del.

ADDENDAN



LONGITUDINAL SECTION ON LINE A A LOOKING SOUTH



SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

G.S.M. Mens et del.

KASR EL WIZZ

Wizz is the Arabic for geese, but what the geese had to do with this place is not manifest (visited Jan. 20, 1899). A somewhat pointed hill, rising considerably above the Nile, bears the Castle of the Geese on its summit. There is a considerable area covered with brick buildings, the vaults of some being still in fair condition. I could not find the remains of a church, and was not able to carry out any excavations, but the character of the brickwork and general appearance of the place lead one to think that it must have been occupied by the Christian community. Some wells of ancient Egyptian tombs are also pierced in the hill, which lies on the west side of the Nile.¹

GUSTUL

Visited Jan. 21, 1899. This place lies on the west bank of the Nile. The ground is covered with broken pottery (part Egyptian), whilst there are remains of many brick buildings just visible above the sand. There are some roughly-hewn capitals of columns, very similar to those already described at Dêr el Kiersh. No doubt a church has stood here; and there still remain the capitals of the triumphal arch. The space on which the pottery is chiefly scattered is bounded on the east by the Nile, but on the other three sides by lofty mounds of sand, buried within which are dried tamarisks; mounds similar in their nature to those which extend from Argyn to this place. These trees must alone be sufficient evidence that at one time the whole district was cultivated, and history supports this view. Irrigation channels neglected for a very short period become choked with drift sand; this creeps over the fields, accumulates against such vegetation as withstands it, and in a comparatively short time everything is buried.

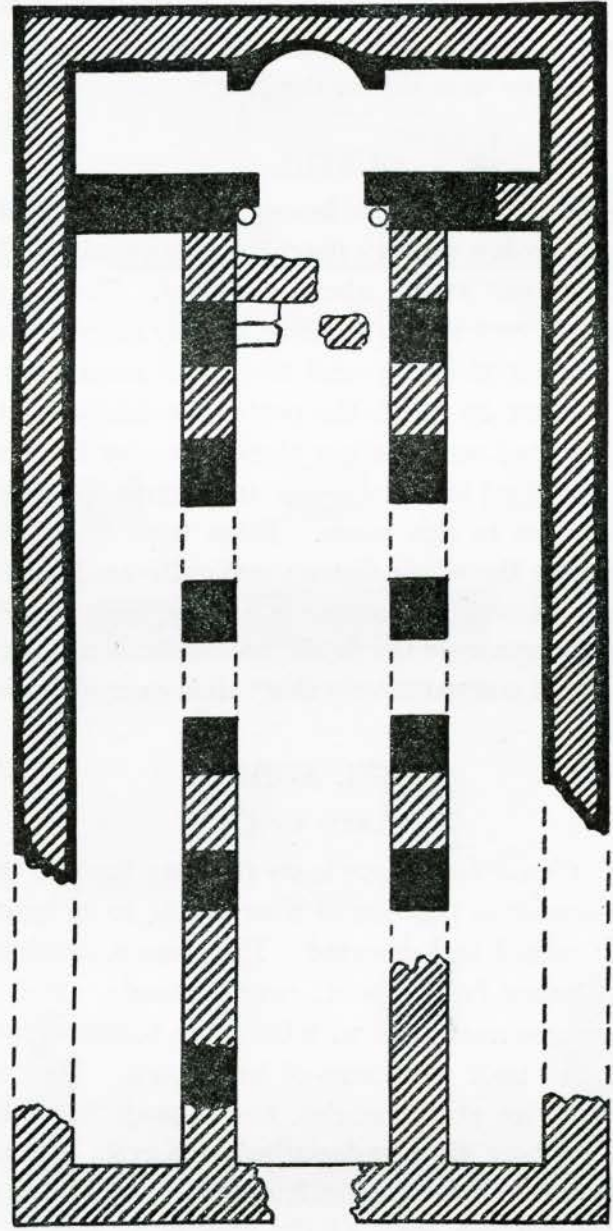
GEBEL ADDEH

PLATE XVIII

Visited Jan. 21, 1899. This place is on the east bank of the Nile, standing on a headland, very similar in position to Kasr Ibrîm, to be hereafter mentioned. The town is entirely ruined and deserted. There are a considerable number of small red granite columns lying about, roughly made. Bad workmanship is found in almost every case associated with Christian buildings, and these columns and the capitals are but poor specimens of handiwork. The capitals are of red stone, with clumsy volutes at the angles, and a projecting block between the volutes very similar to those already described at Kiersh, opposite Farras. This block has a curious resemblance to the Euraeus. A capital of another type, with a leaf coming under the angle of the abacus, is also to be seen. These are scattered about amid the ruins, consequently it is difficult to associate them with a particular building; but perhaps excavation beneath the débris would reveal the remains of a church or churches.

¹ Photographs of Kasr el Wizz are given by Mr. Mileham, Plate III.

DÊR AT GEBEL ADDEH



SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

Near the north wall of the town, and about the middle of its length, are three arches of crude brick, and near them are the lowest courses of an apse. The building to which these remains belong has been used as a mosque, and the apse has formed the *ḥibleh*. Some rough stone steps have been built up beside it, forming no doubt the base of a *mimbar* (pulpit).

South of the town, and on the flat plates of rock lying near the water's edge, are the ruins of a church of type A, Plate XVIII. The building differs from those previously described inasmuch as it has in part been faced with stone. As none of the walls, however, rise more than .60 or .70 above the floor level it is difficult to say whether the stonework remaining was more than a plinth. The building has undergone great alterations. The north arcade has been almost destroyed and rebuilt with considerable differences: this seems to have been done when the place was made into a mosque. The piers carrying the little arches opening into the aisles were originally all of stone, but have been patched and the arches filled in with brick. One granite column of the triumphal arch still lies on the ground. When the mosque was established, steps—probably for a *mimbar*—were built, but if so it was on the left of the *ḥibleh*, and not on the right, as is usual. South of the church are two square enclosures, one wall being common to both. They are carelessly built of rough stones and mud mortar. The northern enclosure has been a church, as is proved by the remains of a small piece of the apse, in crude brick.

KASR IBRĪM

PLATES XIX, XX

Measured January 23, 1899. The situation of this place is striking, perched on the summit of a very steep cliff which rises sheer above the Nile: the ground also falling away in all other directions. On the slope towards the north are vestiges of the houses of the ancient Egyptians, their walls partly cut into the rock. The top of the hill, enclosed within the walls, is quite covered with the ruins of the town. In their midst stands a building, rectangular in plan, which is the remains of a church built on a more ambitious scheme than any other Christian building now to be met with between the First and Second Cataracts (Plate XX). The orientation is not so directly towards the east as usual, controlled perhaps by the fact that the town is far older than the church. A diligent search did not, however, lead me to think that an earlier building had been used as the foundations for the existing walls. Some large stones are found at the south-west angle where the stairs are placed (one is 2.75 long, .80 high, and .70 on the bed), but nothing proves that it has not been moved from elsewhere.

The plan of the building belongs to the type A. It has had double aisles, but there is no evidence of a triumphal arch of greater richness than the rest of the building, opening towards the apse. In sundry respects the plan is abnormal. On comparison it will be seen that usually from the triumphal arch eastwards, the apses of most examples are deeper than is that at Kasr Ibrīm. There is an

absence of doors on either side—indeed, no evidence of any doorway could be found in the east wall, which still stands to a considerable height. There is no evidence of any way into the space behind the apse.

The best preserved piece of wall still retains its window openings, of which a drawing is given (Fig. 15). Unlike the buildings already described, this church is made of stone with the faces of the wall of dressed masonry, and with timber bond. In ambition and finish it stands quite apart from the rest. The masonry is thoroughly bad, there being nothing to tie the face stones to the rubble within. In this it is quite Egyptian. The rainless climate alone has enabled the walls to stand till now. The timber bond extends from A to B.¹ At D there is a projection as of a door jamb, but the line of wall with which it would correspond is quite gone. Whether there was a narthex west of the wall GE cannot now be deter-

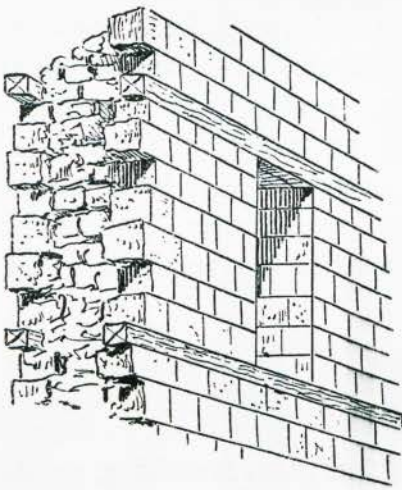


FIG. 15. Kasr Ibrîm. Window and Wall.

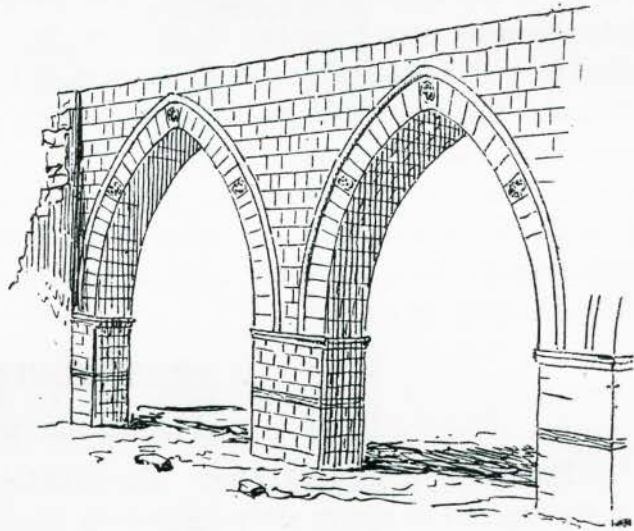


FIG. 16. Kasr Ibrîm. Arches.

mined. The pieces of wall, E and F, in which there are door-jambs, stand to a height of several metres and are without timber bond. Large stones show in the foundation of the wall GE wherever it is exposed, but they are combined with quite small ones in a manner we do not find in ancient Egyptian buildings.

From G to H the wall has been completely overthrown and built up again, roughly, making use of the old masonry.

From H to I the foundation courses of large stones are perfect, and a good deal of the wall above. There are traces of timber bond.

From I to K all the lower courses of masonry remain, and some of those above. At the angle I the larger stones rising seven courses are built as quoins, and at this point it is clearly to be seen that the masonry of small stones is bonded in with the large ones and is one work. Had it been the case that the basement work with large stones belonged to an ancient Egyptian building we should not find the stones of various sizes thus bonded together, nor should we find, as we

¹ See Plate xx.

do, that this basement is no thicker than the walls above ; it would have been at least twice as thick.

It will be observed that in the wall AB the arrangement of the windows corresponds with the centres of the arches which are still standing, from which fact and the similarity of the masonry we may assume them to be of the same date as the wall.

At L stands a column of red granite, of rough workmanship, with a cross cut upon it in relief. A similar column has been used as a door-sill in a neighbouring house. It may be doubted whether this column is *in situ*. Digging around it did not reveal a pedestal or base stone. The column is merely planted in the ground, the lowest part of it being below the floor level.¹

The arcade is shown in Fig. 16. The arches are but slightly pointed, being in form nearly semicircles. The pier v has not the spring of another arch towards the west, but is carried up vertically. This piece of the pier is, however, reconstruction. To judge by the windows, there were two more arches. In the piers s and t, timber bond has been built in at half the height and also under the abacus. Crosses in relief are carved upon the keystones of two of the arches, and in the eastern arch are found two more half-way up. In the other arches, as in the piers, are inserted stones here and there, carved with strap or knot work, taken apparently from some other and older building. The crosses are clearly made for the places where we see them.

On the timber bond, inserted under the abacus of the eastern pier, are traces of shallow carving. On another piece of bond timber is a pattern with circles and flowers in each.

The church was turned into a mosque, and we still see the remains of the kïbla, clumsily devised, and with a pointed arch. On the right of it can be seen the steps of the mimbar.

The upper part of the gallery stair is ruined. There is no evidence what it led to. If there were, as probably there was, a gallery in the church, it was not, as we usually find it, over the side aisles : for had it been, we should surely have seen evidence on the south wall near the windows. It may only have been across the west end or over the narthex.

The importance of Ibrîm was considerable. The remains of ancient Egyptian influence are much effaced, but no doubt diligent investigation would show more than we see at present. The Romans garrisoned the place with four hundred men, after it had been stormed by Petronius. The church is described for us by Abu Şâlih the Armenian (at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century) in the following terms :—²

‘ In the land of Nubia is the city of Ibrîm, the residence of the Lord of the Mountain, all the inhabitants of which are of the province of Marîs ; it is

¹ See Plate LXI, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, 1906-7: A. E. P. Weigall. Oxford, 1907. Issued by the Department of Antiquities, Cairo.

² *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*: B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895, p. 266.

enclosed within a wall. Here there is a large and beautiful church, finely planned, and named after Our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Above it there is a high dome upon which rises a large cross. When Shams ad-Daulah, brother of Al-Malik an-Nâşir Şalâh ad-Dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayyûb the Kurd, brother of Shirkûh (an elder brother of Saladin, died 1180 A. D.), marched into Upper Egypt in the Caliphate of Al-Mustâđî the Abbaside, after the extinction of the Fatimide dynasty, in the month of Jumâdâ the first of the year 568 A. H. (1173 A. D.), under the government of the Ghuzz and Kurds he invaded this district with his troops who accompanied him and with those who gathered together to him [as he proceeded], and he collected the boats from the Cataract. In this town there were many provisions, and ammunitions and arms, and the [troop of Shams ad-Daulah] marched thither ; and when they had defeated the Nubians they left the town in ruins, after conquering it ; and they took the Nubians who were there prisoners. It is said that the number of Nubians was 700,000 men, women, and children ; and seven hundred pigs were found here. Shams ad-Daulah commanded that the cross on the dome of the church should be burnt, and that the call to prayer should be chanted by the muezzin from its summit. His troop plundered all there was in this district ; and they killed the pigs. And a bishop was found in the city ; so he was tortured ; but nothing could be found that he could give to Shams ad-Daulah, who made him prisoner with the rest, and he was cast with them into the fortress which is on a high hill, and is exceedingly strong.'

From the above description—however much it is, after the Eastern manner, over-coloured—the importance of the place as a part of the Nubian kingdom is very clear. The number of 700,000 prisoners, which would of course include the residents in a large district, is very improbable ; the 700 pigs certainly could not have had their residence in Ibrîm itself. The followers of the Prophet naturally made short work of the poor pigs. The description of the church is probably somewhat inflated. The 'high dome' must have been merely of wood, for there are not piers or remains of such for a brick dome to have rested upon, nor does the place as we now find it lend itself to such pieces of construction.

It took a long time for the Moslems to crush the Nubians, who were a Christian people. The country was horribly ravaged, and from being a fairly productive region it was by neglect and violence turned into a desert. The violence done to the Nubian valley by no means ends with the destruction perpetrated by Shams ad-Daulah.

The inhabitants returned and struggled on. The last we hear of the place is related by J. L. Burckhardt,¹ and to this reference has already been made ; see *ante*, p. 12.

Near the gateway, on the north of the town, lies a capital of a column carved in red granite (see Fig. 17).

In the depression, south of the town (when we speak of places on the Nile, south is always up the river and north down the river, whether that agrees with the points of the compass or not), there are remains of a kiln and of masses of

¹ *Travels in Nubia*, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Second ed., John Murray, 1822, p. 30.

CHURCH
NORTH OF KASR IBRÎM

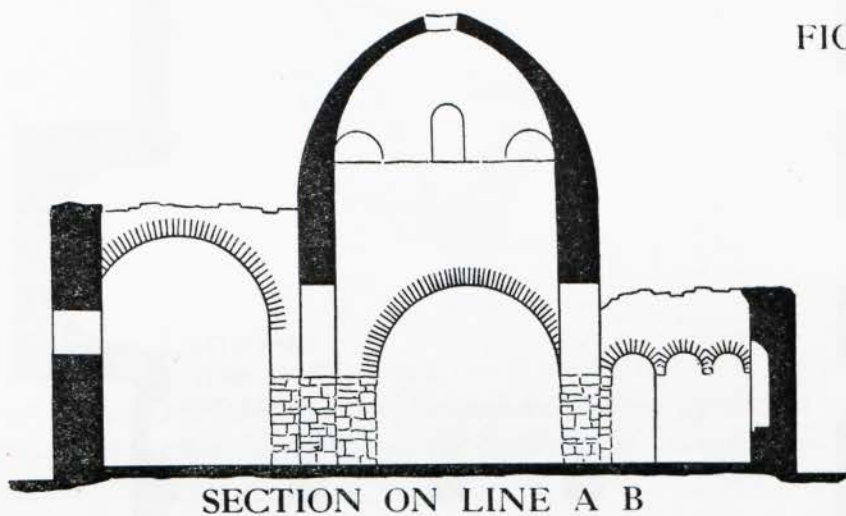


FIG. 1

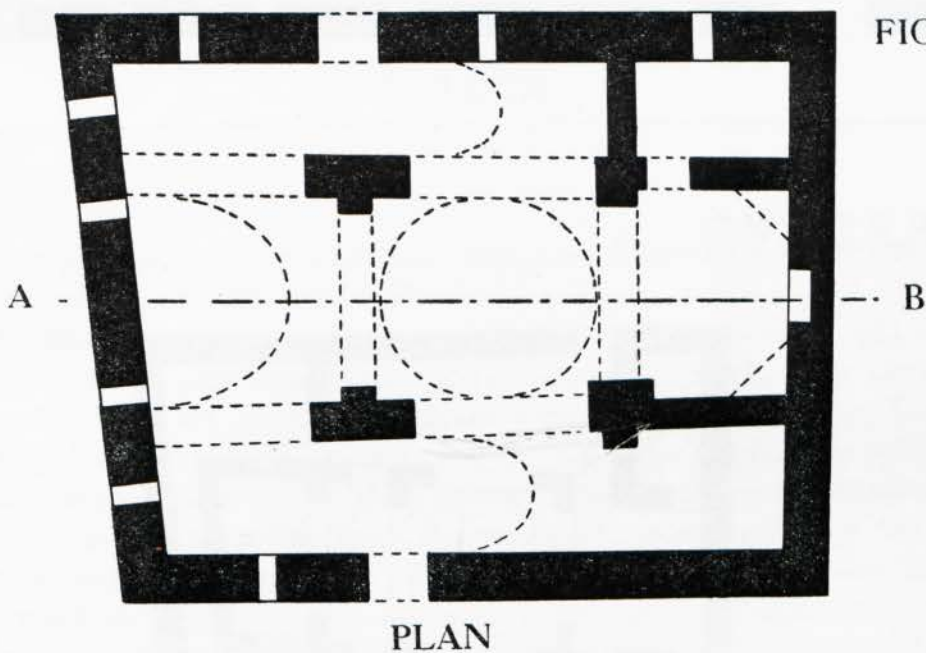
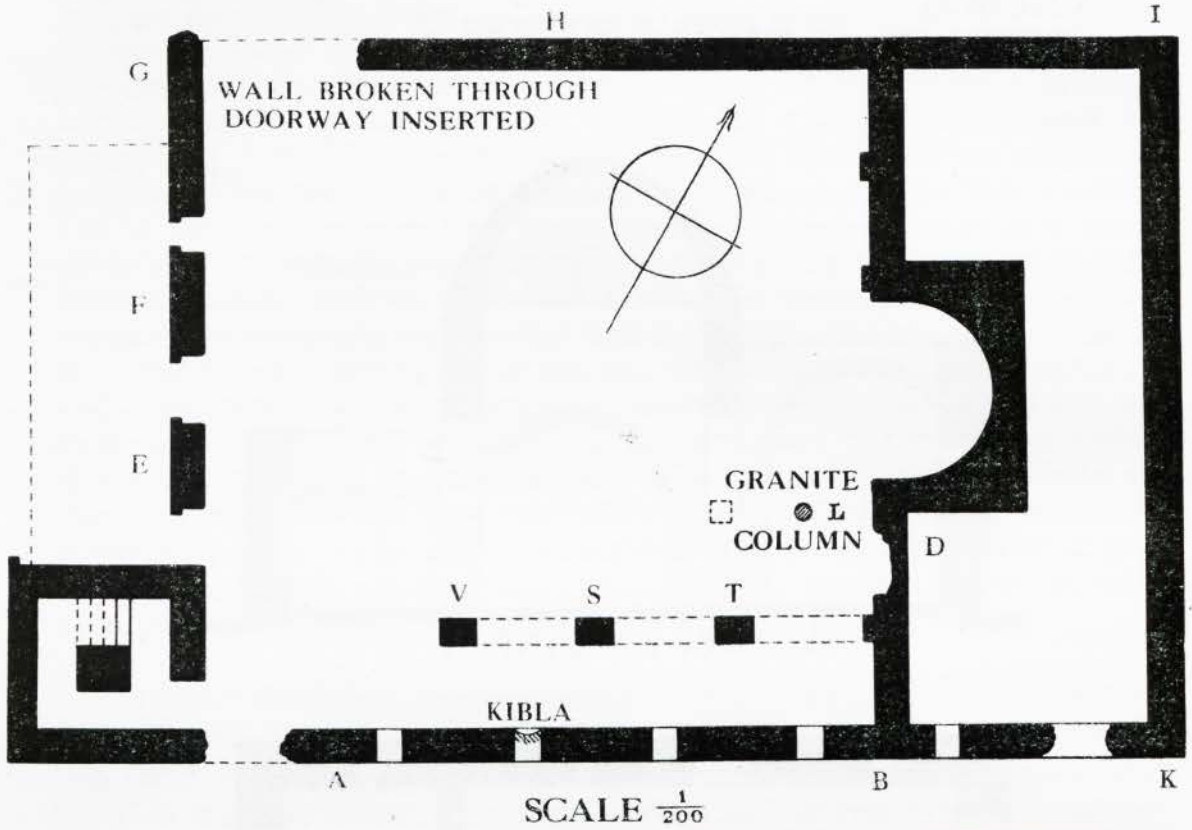


FIG. 2

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

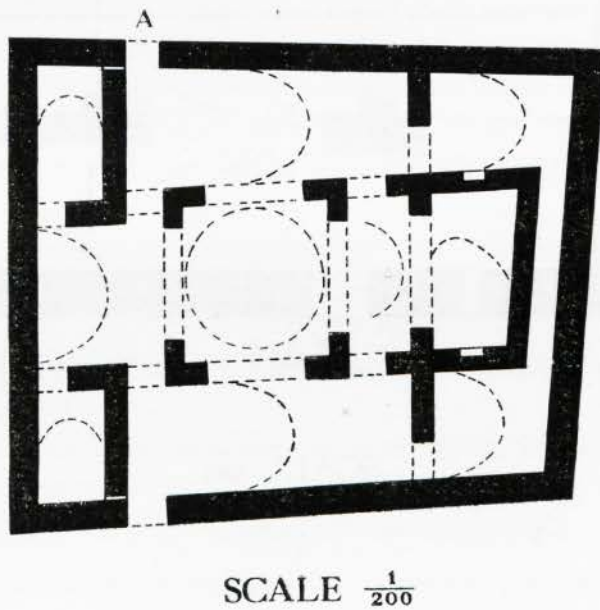
KASR IBRÎM

FIG. 1



MADEYQ

FIG. 2



broken pottery, very much fine red ware with patterns in black : late Roman and Coptic.

A little to the north of Kasr Ibrîm are the ruins of a small church of the type B (Plate XIX). In this example the central dome plays a really important part as an internal feature, although externally it can have shown but little above the tunnel roof of the nave. The apse is square on plan, but the vault over it



FIG. 17. Kasr Ibrîm. Capital.

was, by angle pendentives, made to take the favourite shape of a quarter-sphere. Every part of the church except the dome was covered by tunnel vaults, none of which are now perfect : the walls of the building are, however, well preserved. On the walls are many inscriptions in Greek and Coptic. The church is perched on a little shelf just above the roadway which passes between it and the river. Some of the original hard mud floor still exists in the south aisle. It follows the inclination of the rock on which the church is placed.

MADEYO

PLATE XX, FIG. 2

This place is north of Korosko. Measured February 1, 1899. It lies on the west side of the Nile, and well raised above it. There is a church of the type B, with a dome forming the central feature. The walls to a height of about 3.0 are built of rough stone, above that of sun-dried brick. The piers which carried the dome are of stone up to the springing of the arches. There was not any gallery in this building, and consequently we do not find the usual stairs. The east end is square on the plan, and there is an absence of the usual doors giving access to the rooms from the apse. The construction of the church is more careful and daring than in most examples. The arches under the dome are as much as 3.15 high. The side walls seem scarcely adequate to withstand the thrust of the tunnel vaults with which most of the building was covered, but, although the greater part of these vaults have fallen in, the walls have not been thrust outward. In the doorway at A, the thin slabs of stone set up on end, and one set across at the top forming a door frame, still remain.

To the north of the church, at a distance of some three hundred yards, is the burial-ground. Its position is unusually near the river, on the top of a low

cliff which overhangs it. The cliff is of sandstone, full, not only of the customary horizontal stratification, but of vertical faults which have divided the rock into large rectangular blocks. Into the fissures between these blocks, the sand and small stones having been removed, the bodies have been placed. Lying as they do east and west, the fissures served well as graves. The tombs have been mercilessly ransacked. Bones lie about in heaps, whilst the rich earth has been taken to put upon the fields across the river. But little pottery is found here. A few steps further north the bare face of the rock is covered to the thickness of nearly a metre with rough stones and pieces of crude brick. These are the remains of houses built over tombs. The bricks and stones are tumbled together in heaps in order to find the graves beneath and to empty them for the purposes above stated.

A few yards south of the church stands the building the plan of which is shown in Fig. 1 (Plate XXI). What this building is I do not presume to say. I venture to include it with the other plans on the chance that further research may enable us to decide whether it is or is not a monastic building. The few plans I am now able to give show buildings differing so materially from the European types, we know so little of the monastic buildings of Egypt and still less of those of Nubia, that who shall say this may not be a monastic building, placed, as it is, so very near to the church?

The walls are of rough stone with mud mortar. For spanning small doorways stone slabs are used, for larger doorways arches of brick. The walls are varying in height, but stand two and three metres above the ground. There is no evidence of an upper floor or stair.¹

MAHENDI

PLATES XXI, FIG. 2, XXII

The best-preserved specimen of an ancient town between Halfa and Aswân, and indeed it may be anywhere on the banks of the Nile, is Mahendi. That it is ancient there is no doubt, but it may not be safe to fix a date for it as a whole. The walls are of rough stonework, the stones for the most part unwrought, but the hearting of brick well laid. I venture to suppose, in view of the regular laying out of the plan of the walls, the square towers with approaches to the top of them and of the well-planned gateways, that these walls are Roman in origin.

Over against the southern gateway there lies a large part of a figure, fairly well sculptured, of a Roman eagle. Some stones, built into the gate towers, have on them pieces of Egyptian sculpture in low relief. From their size and good shape it may be assumed that many of the bricks are old Egyptian. It is fair to suppose that we have here an ancient site, taken over by the Romans and afterwards inhabited by the Christianized Egyptians. The walls, on the north and south, are continued down the somewhat steep slope which leads from

¹ See *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*. A. E. P. Weigall. Oxford, 1907, p. 96. Issued by the Department of Antiquities, Cairo.

MADEYOQ

BUILDING ADJACENT TO THE CHURCH

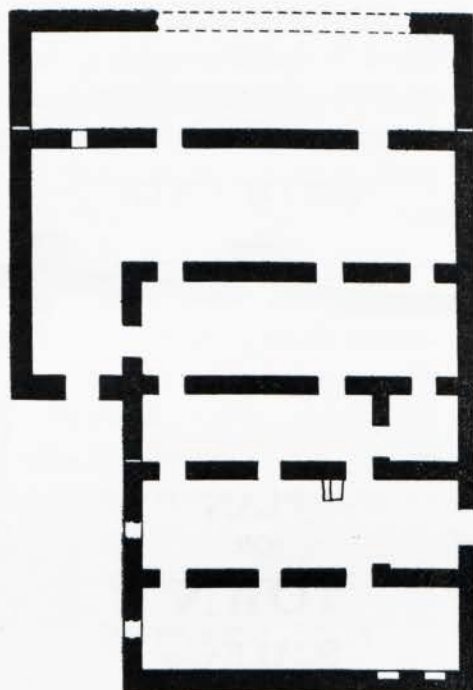


FIG. 1

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

MAHENDI

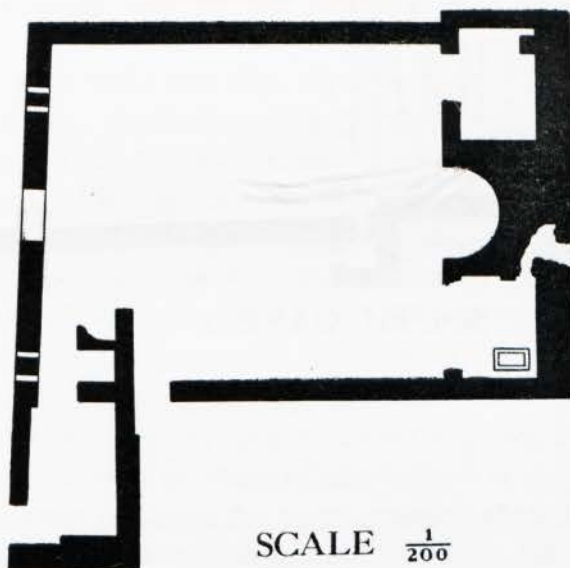
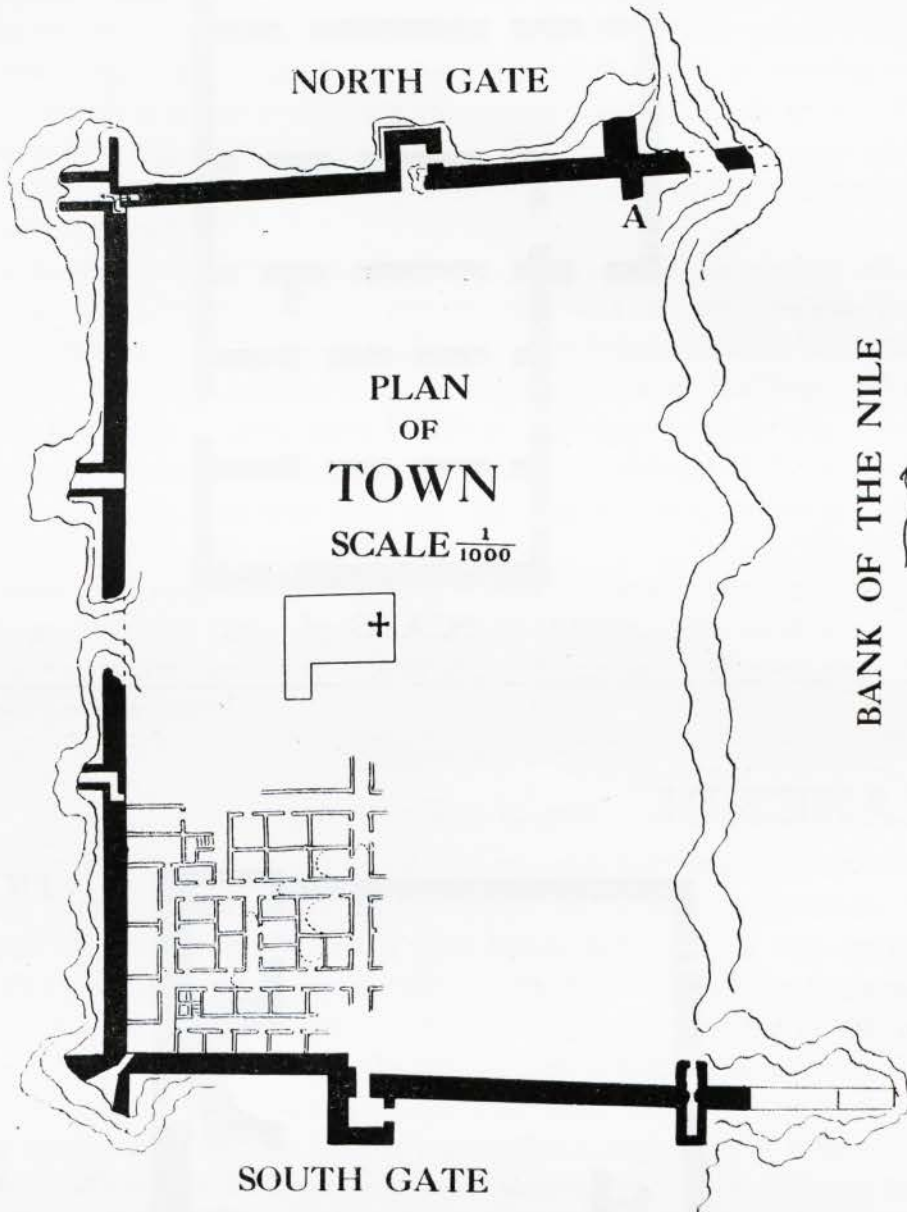


FIG. 2

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

MAHENDI



the general level of the town to the river side. The town itself is on the top of this low hill; behind us on the west is a valley with steep sides, which acts by way of a moat in defending, at least, a part of the enclosing wall.

Within the walls lie closely packed the remains of many houses, built of crude brick. A sketch-plan of the assemblage of buildings is given in the south-west corner. By this it can be realized how the structures were crowded together. The streets are so narrow that a donkey with panniers could not move through them. They are in many places vaulted over so that, above the ground level, the houses formed a continuous mass. Observations made in the ruins of other towns lead one to suppose that this was customary. Such a place must have been a hotbed of diseases of all sorts.

In the middle of the town is planted a small church. It is nearly all in ruins, but enough remains to show us that behind the apse there was a narrow passage, as in other examples already given.

Outside the town walls, to the south, are the ruins of a church of type A, somewhat better preserved (see Plate XXI, Fig. 2).

GARF HUSSEIN

PLATE XXIII, FIG. I

It is not easy to fix the type of this building. It is entirely of crude brick, except three or four courses at the east end, which are of rough masonry. It stands on a sharp slope, the west end being cut into the rock of which the slope is formed. The walls of the church are more perfect in many respects than those of any church hitherto described: a considerable part of them remains in fair preservation nearly to the top. Although the building is by no means large, the scheme of the individual parts is on a bigger scale than usual, while the structure is more regularly laid out and carefully built than in most examples described.

A study of the side-walls (see Fig. 18) shows that there were not galleries or triforia over the aisles; we observe that the nave and aisles must have been of the same height. The staircase, at the north-west corner, led right up to the top of the walls, as we see by the ruins of it, and was not provided with doors or openings half-way up to any galleries. We are, unfortunately, left in uncertainty as to how the arches between the nave and aisles, and which carried the brick vaulted roof, were supported. Their entire disappearance, whilst other parts of the church are preserved, lead one to conjecture that there were light piers of masonry, and even perhaps columns, which were worth stealing. If there had been a dome over one bay of the nave, rising above the rest of the roof, it might be expected that we should find evidence of the masonry to support it, which would, we may presume, be more massive than the supports of the roof generally. There are not such remains.

The apse is of unusual plan, neither square nor semicircular. There is

a narrow passage behind it, really the arrangement we have been familiar with in the Batn el Hagar.

The side-walls of the church E, E (see plan) are complete up to the top; the curves formed by the vaults where they engaged with the walls are well marked.

The holes at F no doubt indicate the positions of the doors, but the door-jambs have been broken away. The windows are well preserved, grouped in couples, not an unusual feature, but in most cases the coupled lights are mere slits, here they are well-formed window openings. Measured February 7, 1899.

QIRSCH

PLATE XXIII, FIG. 2

The town of Qirsch, now entirely desolate and abandoned, lies on the east bank of the Nile on a steep slope of rock, terraced in an irregular way. It is

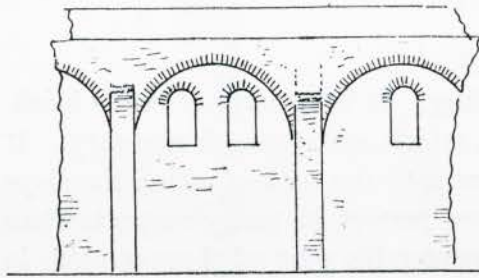


FIG. 18. Garf Husseyn side elevation. Interior.

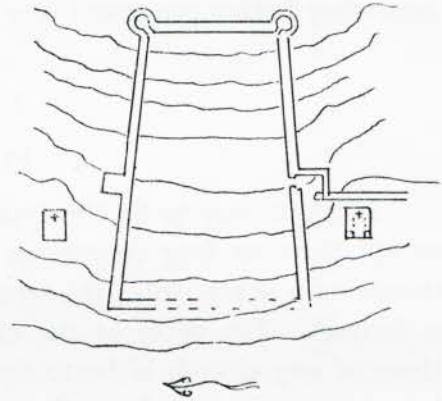


FIG. 19. Qirsch. Sketch-plan.

surrounded on the south-east and north sides by a wall (see sketch-plan, Fig. 19). This wall runs with much laboured work straight up the steep ascent, and is built of rough unhewn stones set in a scanty supply of Nile mud by way of mortar. I will leave the learned in these matters to decide the date at which the town walls were built. I venture to suggest that they may be somewhat late Roman work.

A roadway runs through the town from north to south; the churches are on this road. There are remains of sundry houses near each church, outside the lower walls. The church south of the town is of the basilican type with a square east end, pendentives supporting the vault, which is of the usual 'conch' form. The piers which carried the side arches are gone. The springing of the tunnel vault over the aisles can still be traced, also of the nave vault. Visited February 7, 1899.

The church on the north side of the town was quite small. Its apse was of a flattened curve on plan, like that at Garf Hussein and Mahendi. There are remains of a narrow passage behind the apse. The nave was flanked by

GARF HUSSEIN

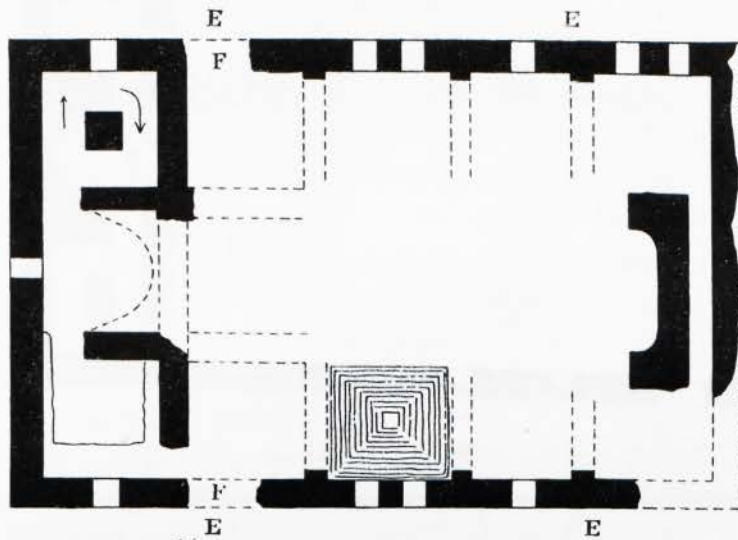


FIG. 1

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

QIRSCH

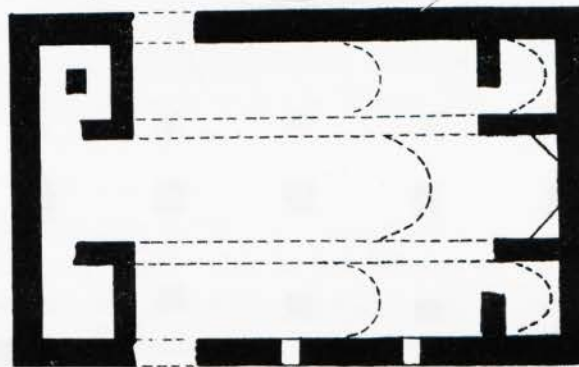


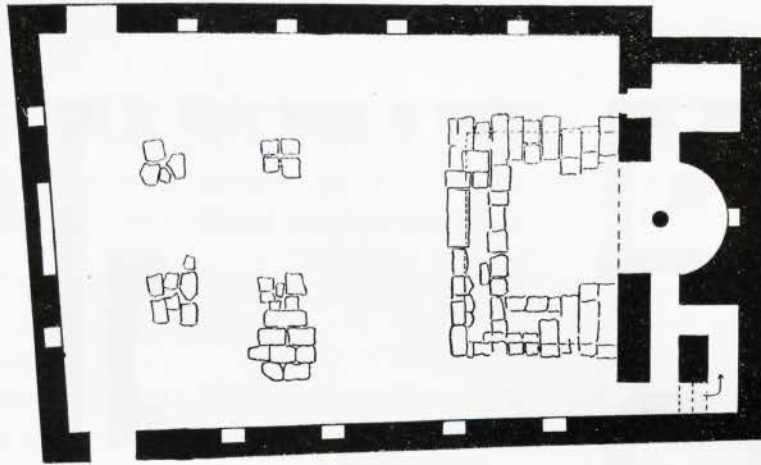
FIG. 2

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

PHILAE

SMALL CHURCH

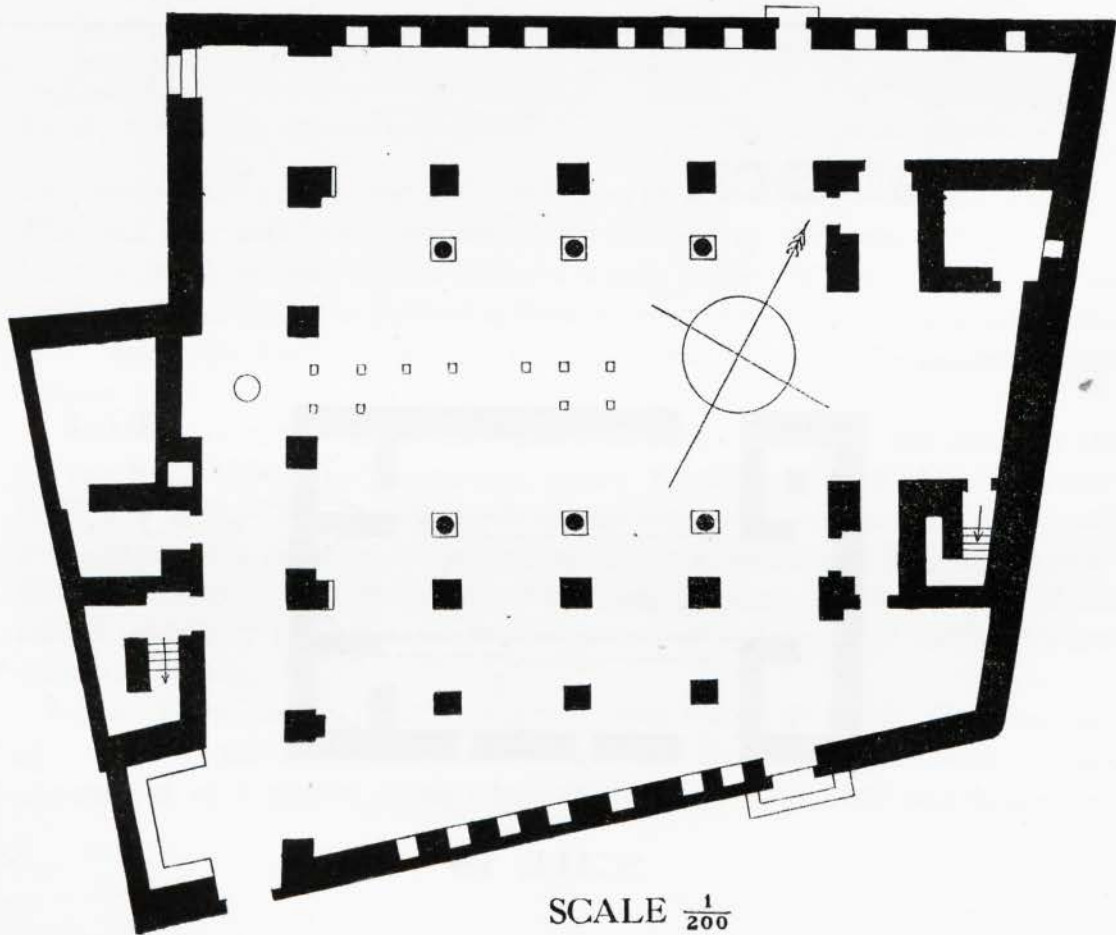
FIG. 1



SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

LARGE CHURCH

FIG. 2



SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

three little arches opening into the aisles. There was a stair to the galleries at the north-west angle.

The building was of the basilican type.

PHILAE

PLATE XXIV

On this island lived a considerable Christian community. The temple still retains a few evidences of its having been used, in part, as a church. I cannot do better than refer the reader to *A Report on the Islands and Temples of Philae*, by Captain H. G. Lyons, printed by order of the Public Works Department, Egypt, 1897. On the plan of the island attached to the report it will be seen that there are two buildings designated as churches, P and Q. The smaller of the two (Fig. 1 on Plate XXIV) is undoubtedly a church of the basilican plan. The orientation is very much towards the north. This was no doubt controlled by the existing streets and buildings in the town.

A small stair is found in a very unusual position, namely, at the east end and immediately to the right of the apse.¹ Certain flat stones are shown on the plan. Those near the apse may suggest some arrangement of seats, a sunk line can faintly be traced upon them and is indicated on the drawing. A large stone may be a step. The groups of stones to the west may have been the feeble foundations prepared for columns. The walls on three sides of the church—the ritual north, west, and south—have four courses in height of squared stones taken from the neighbouring temples. Above this the walls were of mud brick. At the east end the masonry still exists, to a somewhat higher level. The column which is shown standing in the apse has not, I believe, any ancient authority for being in that place, but was set there a good many years ago when the building was partly cleared of débris.

The larger building, letter Q on Captain Lyons's plan above referred to (Fig. 2 on my plate), must probably have been a church, as the fragments of carved stone found in it were many of them adorned with crosses and such designs as we find in the remains of ecclesiastical buildings. The plan suggests, however, a building in the nature of a basilica or place of public assembly. For the purposes of description we will assume that it stands east and west.

We find a very unusual arrangement at the east end of the building. Not only is the east wall out of angle with the longitudinal axis, but little doorways are seen in places for which we have no authority. One leads to a small stair, accessible only through this doorway. The stair which we find in the other church P, is accessible in two directions: those who used the stair are not necessarily landed in the holy place—the *haikal*, where, so closely veiled, stood the altar. At the west end of the building we also find a stair. We must suppose that this was a means of approach to the galleries, which, considering the size

¹ See plan of the southern church, Farras. *Churches in Lower Nubia*, Mileham and MacIver, Plate XVII.

of the building, must have been extensive. I am unable to admit that the eastern stair can have been a means of public approach to the galleries. Apart from the asymmetry of the eastern wall we find that there is a symmetrical plan enclosed in outer walls which are asymmetric. A range of columns stood on either side of the axis; beyond these were square piers, and on the south side yet further piers of lighter section. The doorways are in abnormal positions. We see two, opposite one another, opening into the eastern bay of the nave. In no specimen of the basilican church plan which I have found do we see doorways thus placed. Two more doors are found at the west end of the nave, and although neither of these is quite normal, external conditions may have controlled the arrangement. The very indifferent method of building, similar to the construction of the church P, is perhaps as good an argument as any for this structure being classed amongst the churches.

A good deal of the roughly paved floor remains *in situ*. In this are found a range of square sockets as though they were to receive wood posts set into them on certain occasions. For what purpose were these? The space between the small columns is not less than 6.50, a space which could only have been spanned by a wood roof. Neither columns nor piers were sufficiently massive to have supported brick vaults, even supposing that the builders were capable of building a vault sufficiently wide. There is not any evidence which leads us to such a conclusion.

The walls were built, for the lower few courses, of ashlar masonry taken from the adjacent temples, above that they were of crude brick.

TYPE PLAN

PLATES XXV, XXVI

Before we enter upon that part of the Nile valley north of Aswân, where we shall meet with plans of churches different altogether in arrangement from those we have hitherto seen, it may be well to offer a type plan, a reconstruction of a church, built up from the various specimens we have studied. As regards the basilican type, this is easy to do.

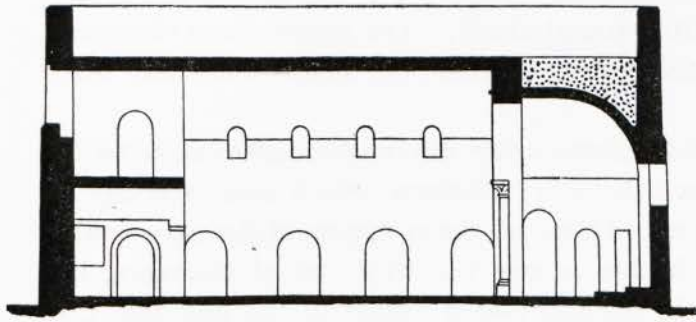
The plan speaks for itself (Fig. 3). We find the apse with a chamber north and south of it. In the walls of the apse three recesses which rise above the seats. The altar is so placed that the celebrant can pass round it. The triumphal arch is seen west of the altar, with nook shafts in the jambs. It seems impossible that in churches of this type and on so small a scale there can have been three altars as the wall space at the eastern end of each aisle is very small.¹ On the other hand, not a few plans are here collected which lead us to wonder how an altar can have been used at all, especially as it was necessary it should stand free.

The position of the *higâb* or screen which inclosed the *haikal* is clearly indicated. This, judging by those we shall presently meet with, had, sometimes,

¹ It has been stated by some that there must be at least three altars in a church.

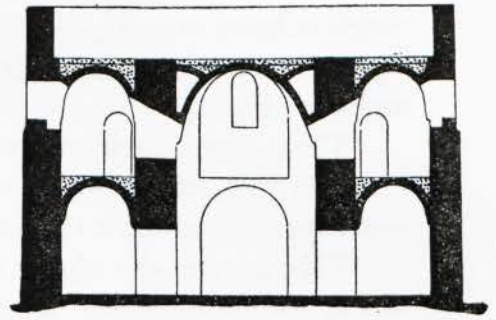
TYPE PLAN

FIG. 1



SECTION ON LINE A-B

FIG. 2



SECTION ON LINE E-F

FIG. 3

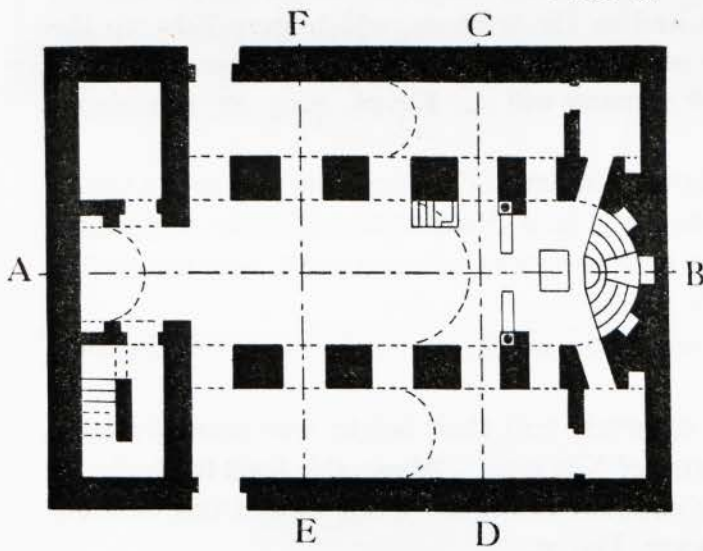
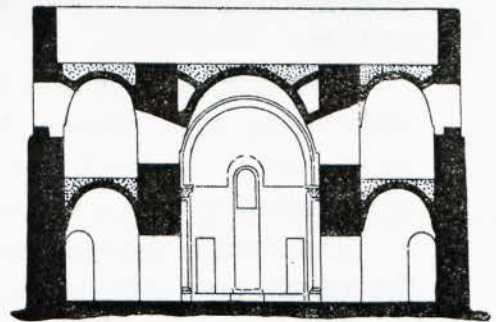
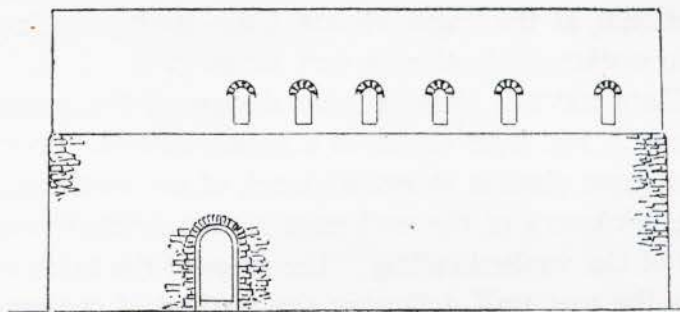


FIG. 4



SECTION ON LINE C-D

FIG. 5



ELEVATION SOUTH SIDE

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

one doorway—in the middle—sometimes two doorways with a little window in the middle. It should be stated that none of the churches I have measured in the Sûdân were sufficiently preserved to retain any vestige of the *higâb*.

The nave is separated from the aisles by clumsy piers of masonry, built of rough unhewn stones picked up from round about. The longitudinal elevation on the line AB shows the diminutive nature of these openings—more wall than archway (Fig. 1).

The section, looking west (Fig. 2), shows us the diminutive aisles vaulted with a tunnel roof, above which was a gallery or triforium, which had exceedingly small openings towards the nave pierced through the springing of the nave vault.

This section also shows the bridge across the west end of the nave, by which, having ascended the stair in the south-west corner of the building, the gallery on the north side could be reached.

The nave is seen, in this section, covered by its tunnel vault, the vaults over the galleries being carried up to this same level so as to carry a flat terrace roof.

The chief source of light in the interior of these small churches must have been the window in the west wall. Very small windows also existed, which are shown in the external elevation and in the sections, which gave light to the triforia, and through them a little would have passed on into the nave. We must bear in mind that a very small opening will, in Egypt, give an abundance of light.¹

The vault over the nave is shown, constructed in the same way as are vaults still existing at S. Simeon, Aswân (see Fig. 2, Plate xxx). This is conjectural on my part, as no ruin I have met with preserves its nave vault, only the outline of the springing and curves can be seen.

The external doors are seen, one to the north, one to the south, opening into the western bays of the aisles.

The lower part of the walls to nearly half their height was generally built of rough unhewn stone, set in mortar of Nile mud. Above this level the building was entirely in crude brick. The external view gives a fair idea of this building as it stood complete (see Plate xxvi, Fig. 3).

The interior surfaces were covered with whitewash and this again was liberally ornamented with paintings, in earth colours, of a grim byzantine type. The few pieces that are left make us regret profoundly that we have lost so much. Archaic, conventional, as the fragments are, there is often an impressive dignity about the simple workmanship that is very striking.

In Fig. 1, Plate xxvi, is given a general view of the interior of the type church looking east. The *higâb* or screen is shown with the door in the middle. In Fig. 2 on the same plate is shown a sketch of the methods of construction employed. The brickwork of the wall from A to B overhangs slightly so as to reduce the span of the vaulted ceiling. The rings of the brick vault are shown inclined towards the east wall, following the method of construction described

¹ See on this head, Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, p. 16.

TYPE PLAN

FIG. 1

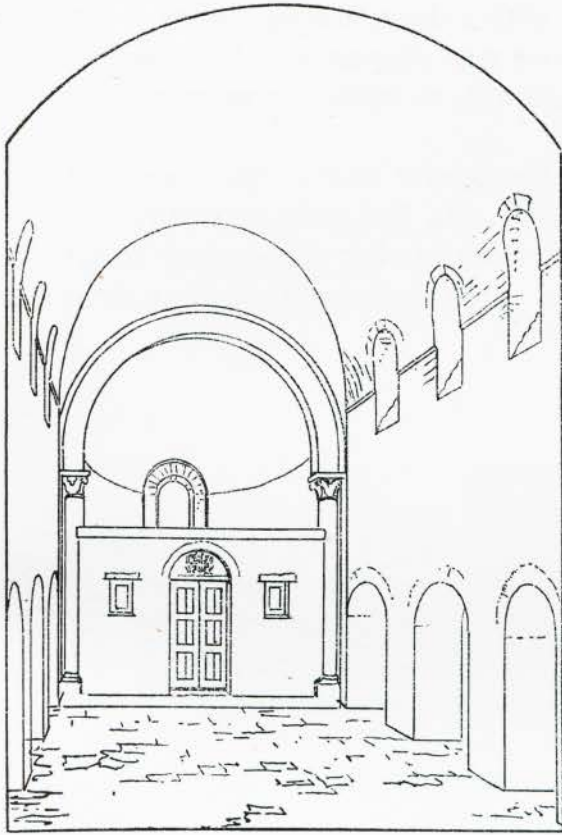


FIG. 2

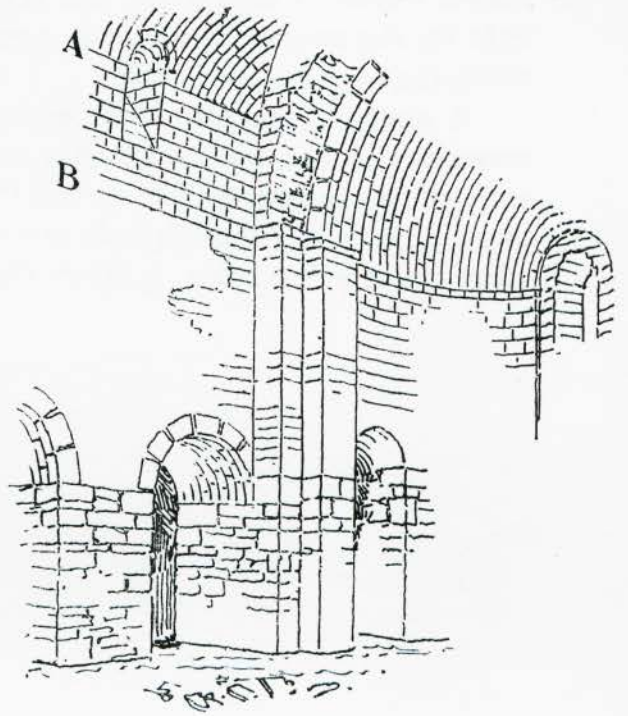
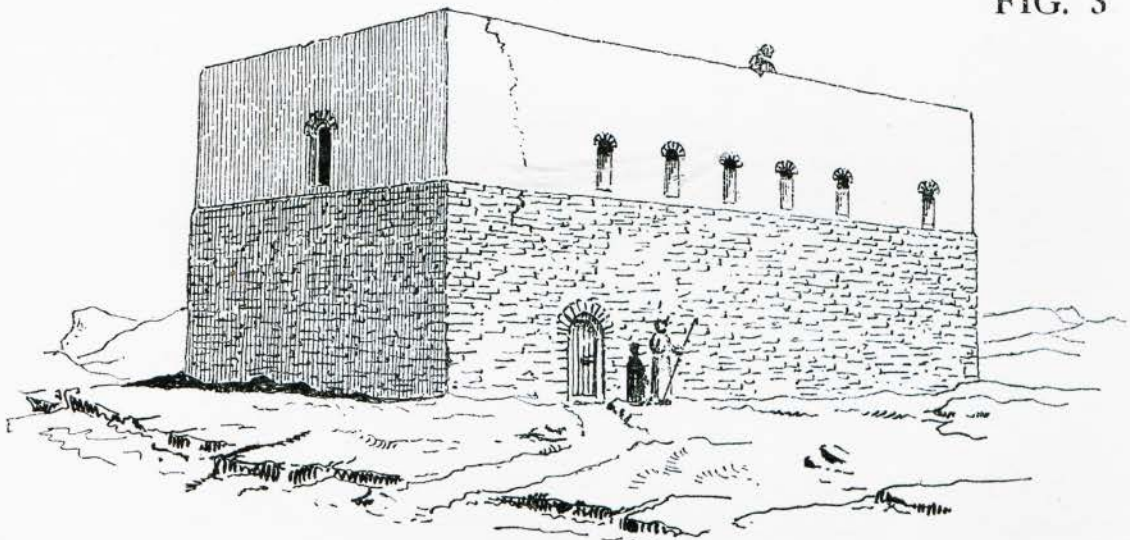


FIG. 3

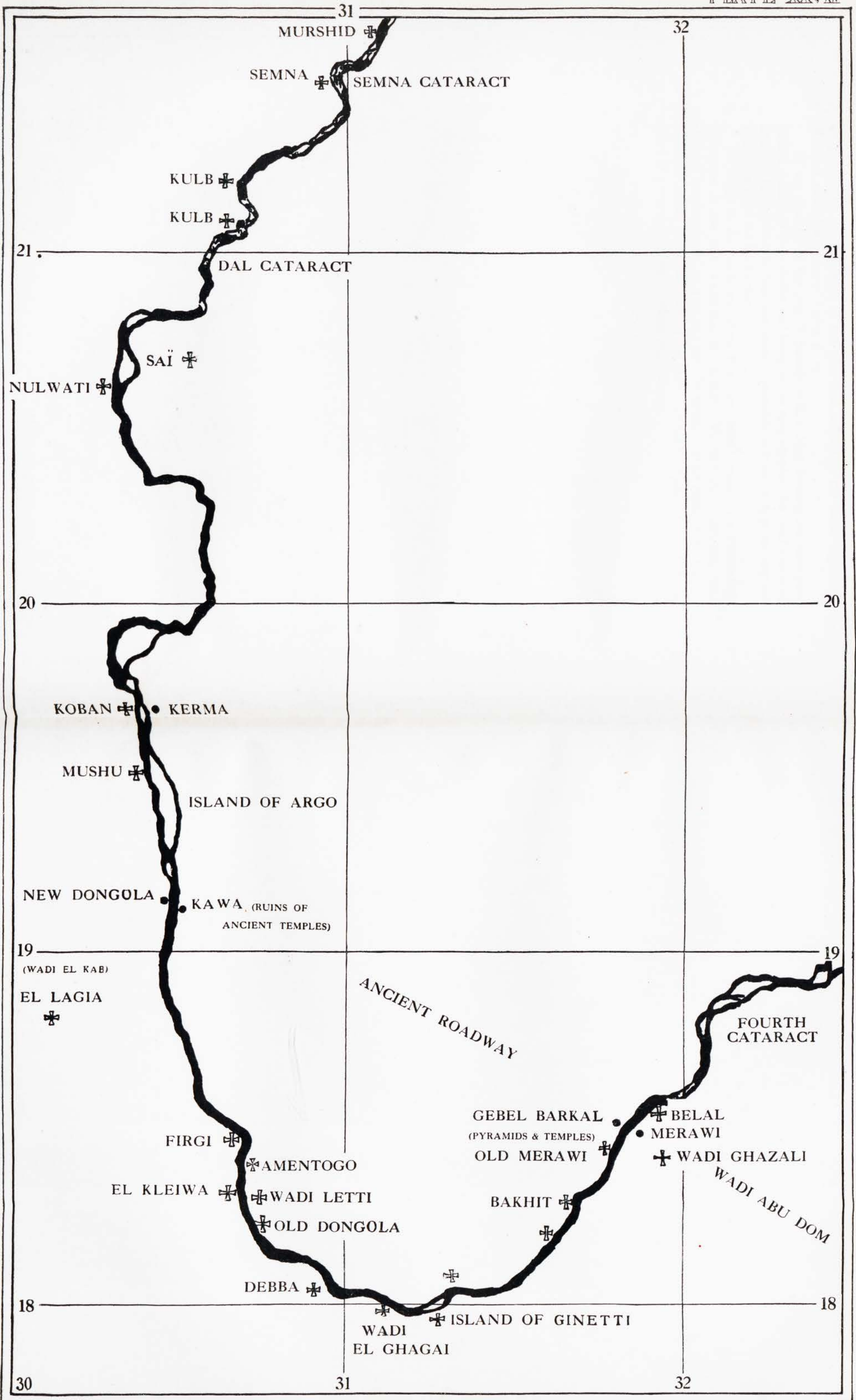


VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

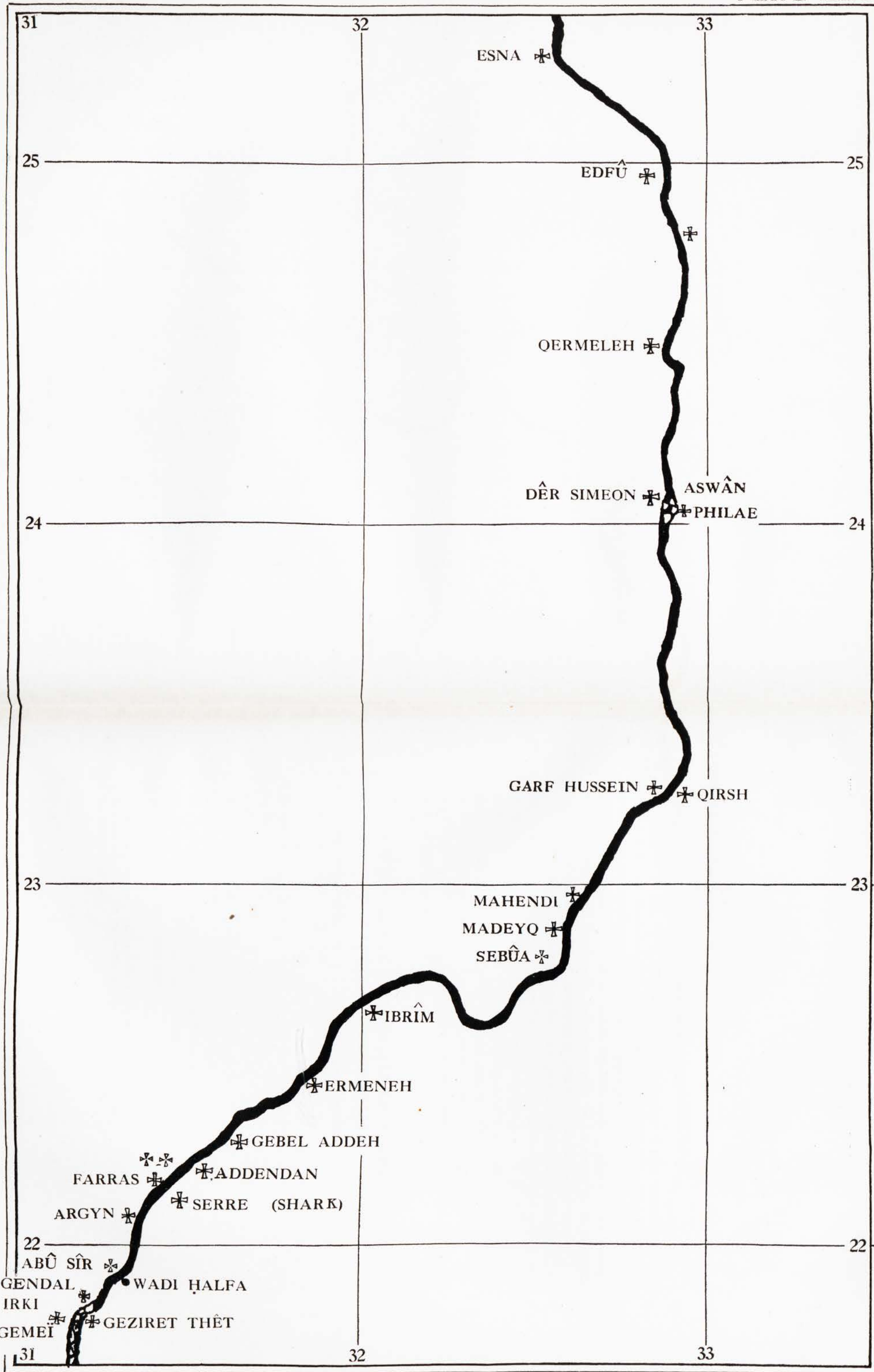
on p. 26, Fig. 4. The vault of the apse roof is built in the same way. See Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, p. 15.

Of the churches of the type B, namely with a dome forming the most prominent feature of the exterior and being, as we may suppose, the chief source of light for the interior, it does not seem practicable to make a type restoration which can have the least value.

A study of the plans will show that the central feature was supported, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another. We find piers especially constructed for the purpose, and we find that the dome, in other cases, rested merely on continuations of the side walls of the nave. In some instances we see a direct effort at a cruciform plan, in others there is none.



MAP No. 3.



MAP No. 4.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCHES FROM ASWÂN NORTHWARD

WE are, as yet, sadly ignorant as to any scheme of plan which may have been commonly used in Egypt when building a monastery. The number of these institutions was very great. Some, perhaps the majority, lay in secluded spots, where the desert hills which border the Nile valley provided quiet retreats in which they could be placed; but others were by no means so far removed from the cultivated land and, consequently, from the residences of men.

The monasteries seem always to have been enclosed by a wall sufficiently high to be, in a certain sense, defensible.¹ Such a protection was clearly necessary for those monasteries which lay in the desert or on its edge: the desert tribes were a lawless company. But where the buildings are as near the edge of the cultivated ground as in the cases of the Dêr el Abiad and the Dêr el Aḥmar, near Sohâg, or of the Dêr Mikhaïl at Nagâda, the enclosing wall was not dispensed with. The requirements of religious seclusion, if there were no other cause, made such a wall more or less of a necessity.

THE MONASTERY OF S. SIMEON (DÊR AMBA SAMA'ÂN), ASWÂN

PLATES XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII

This group of buildings, lying, as it does, opposite the town of Aswân, is retired in a valley on the west bank of the Nile, but yet near the river.

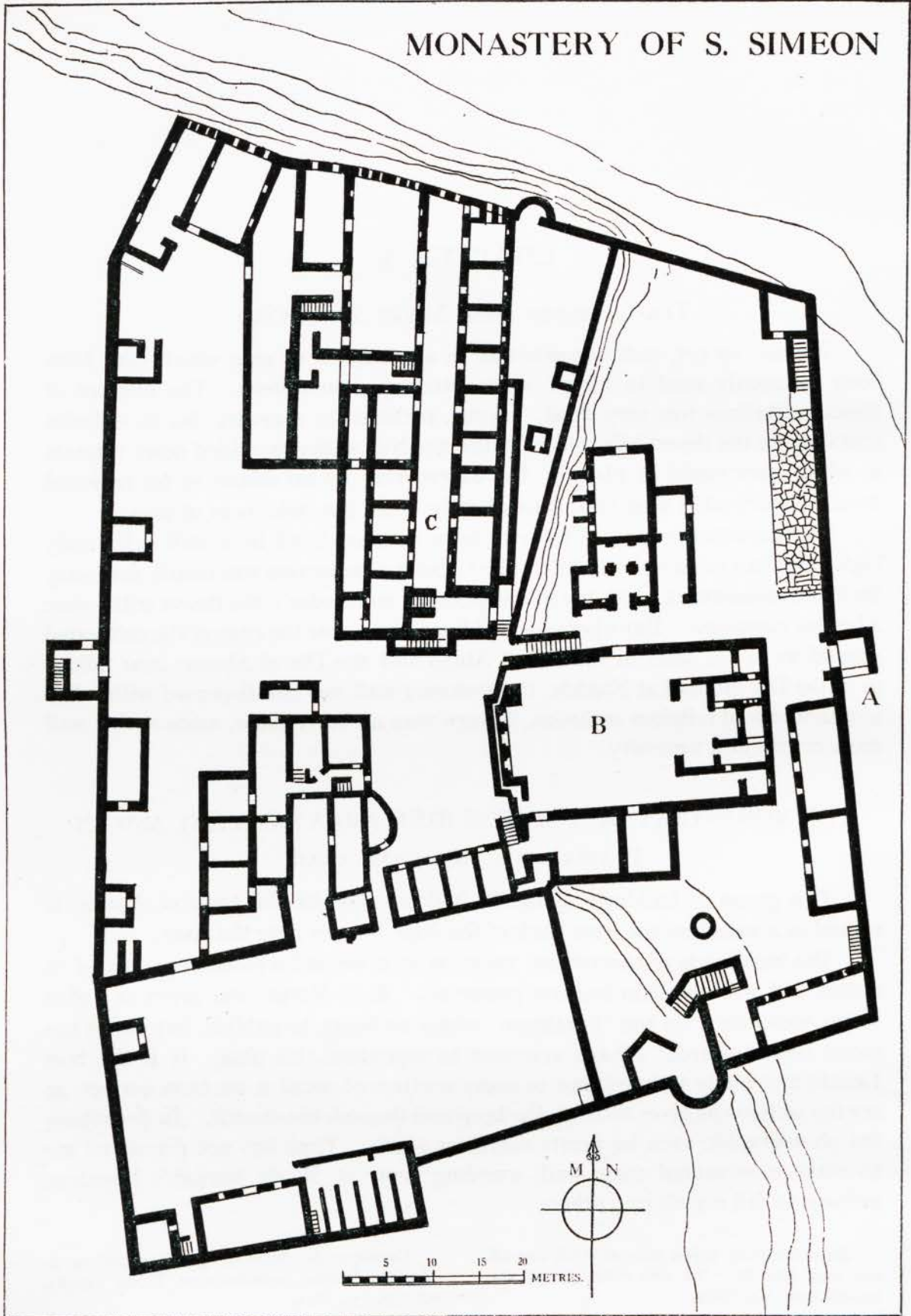
The building is of exceptional value, as in it we find a monastery, ruined, it is true, but with its main features preserved. M. de Morgan has given us a plan of the monastery² in the 'Catalogue' which he began to publish, but which has never been finished. I have ventured to reproduce this plan. It is the best I could find ready to hand, but in many matters of detail is far from correct, as are the sections he gives through the keep and through the church. In describing the photographic view he prints north for south. Time has not permitted me to make a measured plan, and, avoiding some of M. de Morgan's blunders, perhaps to fall myself into others.

¹ See notes (chap. iii) on ruins at Wadi Ghazali and near Abu Sir. See also notes, p. 103, extracted from Abû Şâlih.

² *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Égypte Antique*, première série, Haute Égypte, vol. i, p. 130, 1894.

ASWÂN

MONASTERY OF S. SIMEON



It is not easy for the reader who has not visited one of these venerable ruins to realize how difficult it is to take measurements, or make careful observations within their walls. With no two walls parallel, no lines really vertical, consisting for the most part of gloomy cellars which get their light from holes broken in the vaulted ceilings of crude brick, with each apartment half filled with broken *débris*, smothered in the finest dust, the thermometer probably over 85°, the unhappy student comes out of one of these retreats in a deplorable condition, and can only hope that 'the blessed Nile' in which he may wash is not too far away.

It will be observed that the plan (Plate XXIX) is an irregular rectangle, accommodating itself to the inequalities of the site. Its longer axis is north and south. Leaving the western bank of the Nile, we enter the mouth of a small valley, which takes a curve towards the north-west. Placed at the head of it, and barely half a mile from the river, we see the fortress-like building considerably above us, and visible from many places round about. We plough our way up a sand slope, and, amongst broken rocks, we approach the eastern inclosing wall, near the middle of which is the doorway (see A on plan). This forms a small projecting tower. The entrance is at the side, and at right angles with the archway in the enclosing wall.

When the door was opened the visitors could not see directly into the court of entrance. Such a plan of doorway is, of course, more easy to defend than one through which the enemy could press straight forward. We find the same plan in the entrances to nearly all the ruined towns in Nubia, and such a system is also seen in all the genuinely oriental houses in Cairo or elsewhere in the east.

The ground slopes somewhat rapidly, rising in terraces from east to west, but on the line of the north enclosing wall it as suddenly drops away. Within the enclosure are two main groups of buildings. At the lowest level (that of the entrance) lies the church (B) and its adjuncts, whilst at a higher level and almost overhanging the north-west angle of the church stands the keep (C), with its rows of arched cells in two stories.

The western end of the church is built right up against a terrace of rock, within which are some chambers approached from the nave. This terrace continues northward and was surmounted by a wall. In this way the space within the enclosure was divided into an upper and a lower court. Even when the lower court had been broken into, the upper—in which was the keep—could have been defended for a considerable time. The only approach now visible from the lower to the upper court is by a steep stair lying against the north wall of the church. The lower courses of the walls are everywhere built of rubble stones, rough from the hillside, and set together with Nile mud, where any mortar can be seen. The upper part of the walls is built of crude bricks. The whole was plastered over with a coat of Nile mud, which makes a rough but quite enduring form of plaster in the rainless districts of Southern Egypt. The only possible water supply to the monastery must have been from the Nile. Piety and dirt went hand in hand in these monasteries.

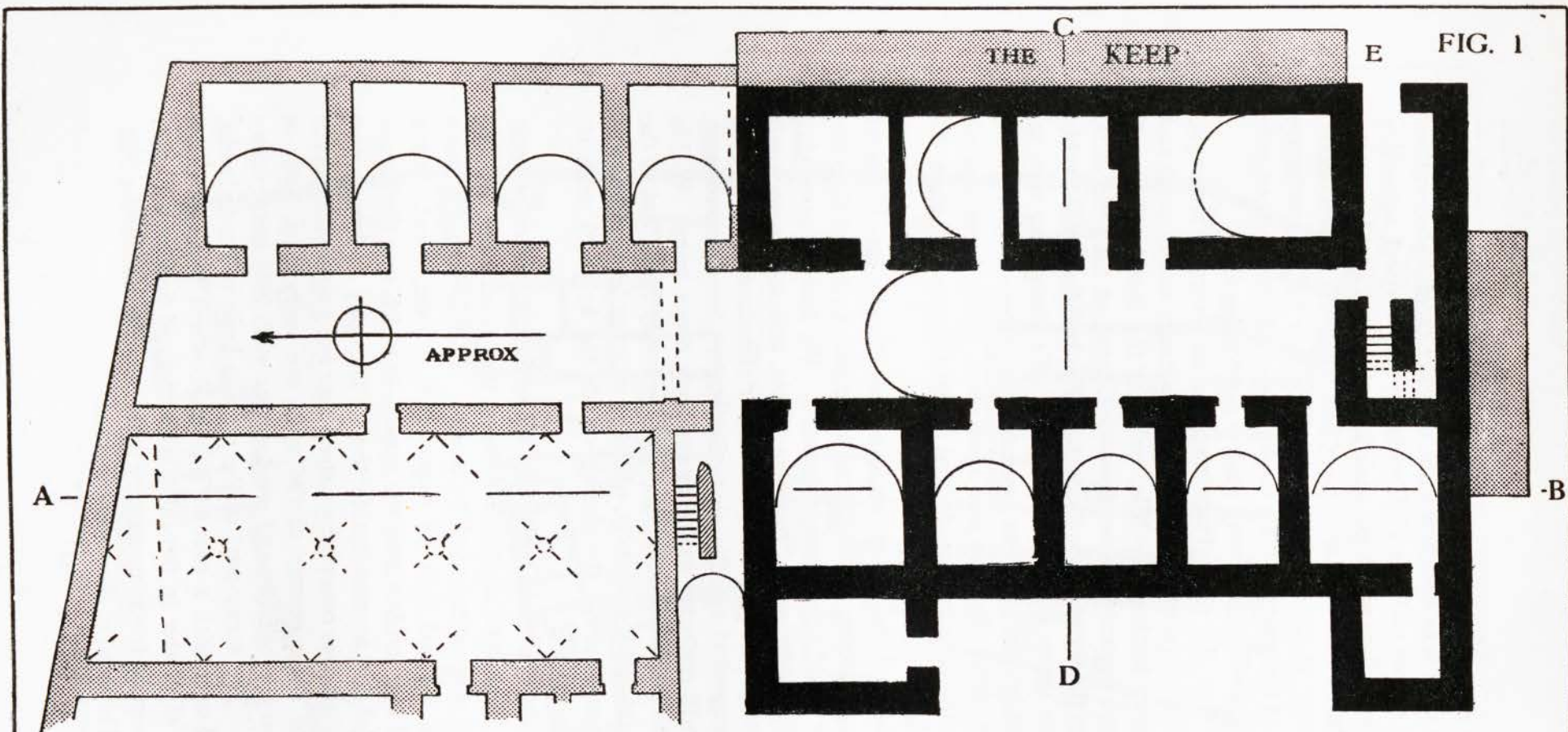
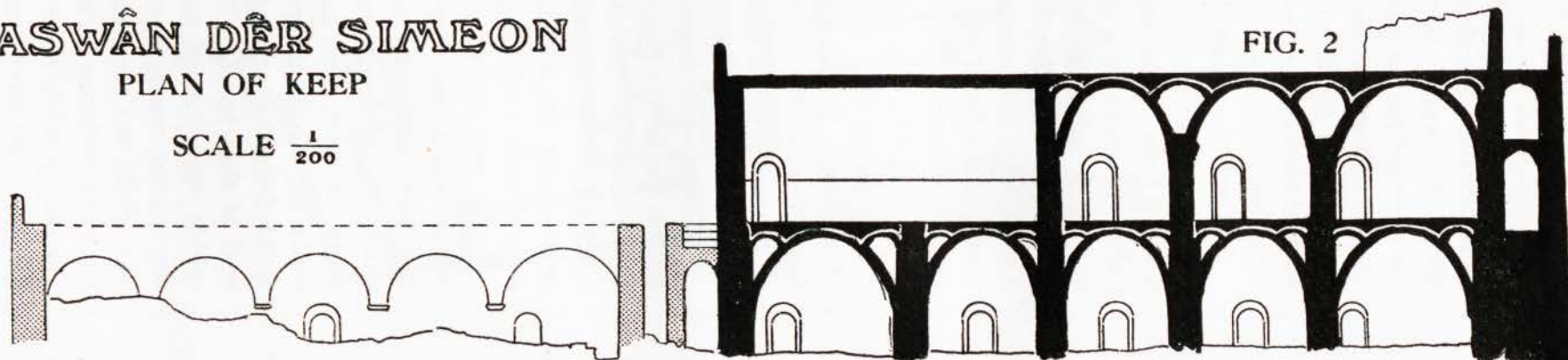


FIG. 1

ASWÂN DÊR SIMEON
PLAN OF KEEP

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

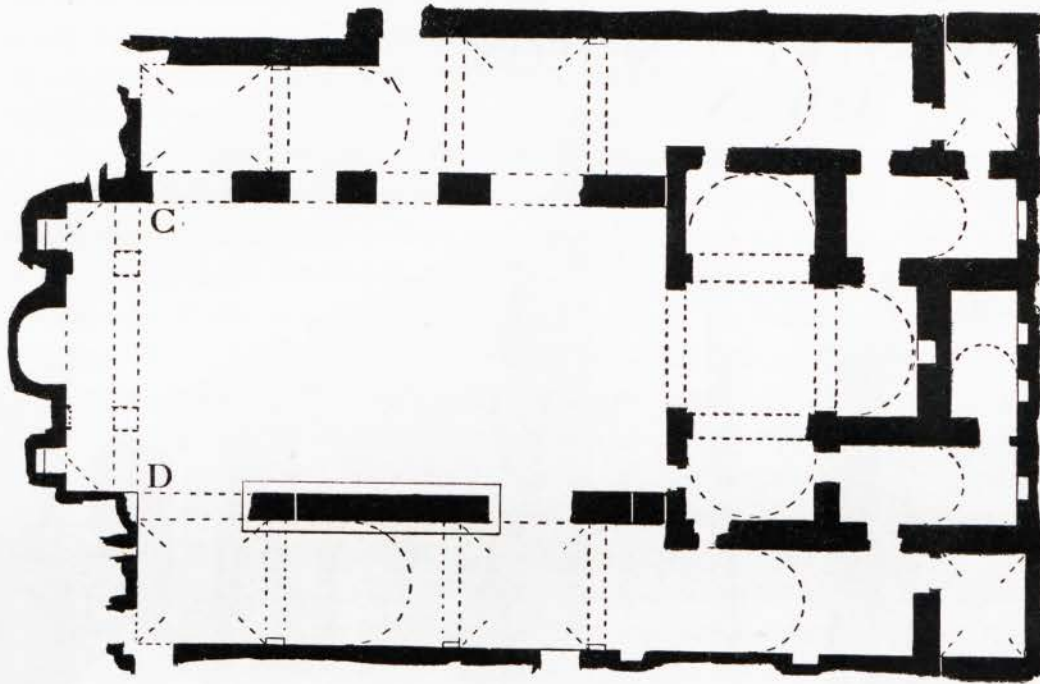


SECTION ON LINE A B LOOKING EAST

ASWÂN

PLAN OF CHURCH IN DĒR SIMEON

FIG. 1



SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

FIG. 2

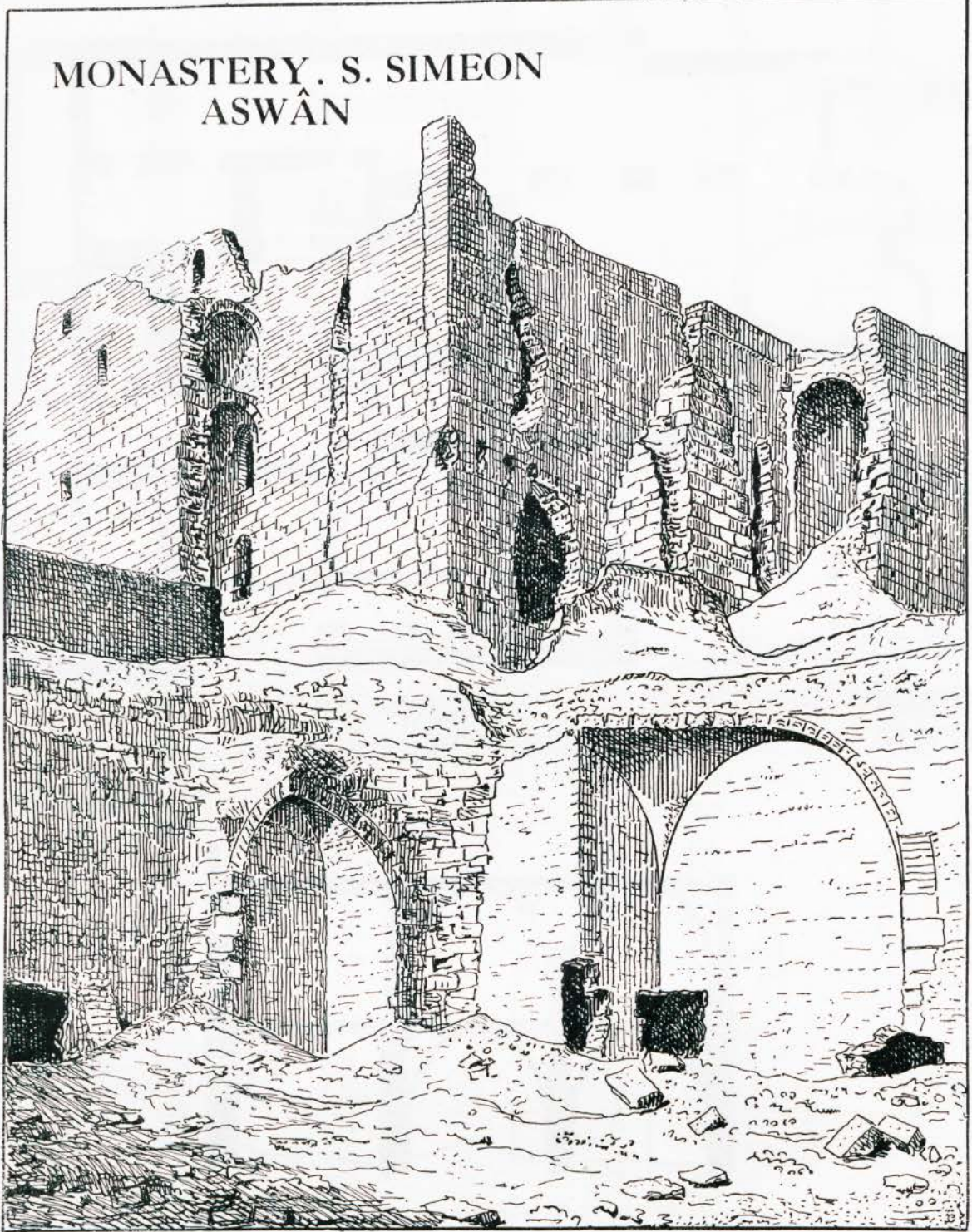


SECTION ON LINE C D (PLATE XXX)
LOOKING SOUTH

Scale $\frac{1}{200}$

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

MONASTERY. S. SIMEON
ASWÂN



Entering the lower court by the doorway before described, we see straight before us, and at a distance of but a few metres, a low brick wall, the east wall of the church, now pierced by several holes. The chief entrance to the church seems to have been in one place only, viz. in the north wall at the foot of the steps going up to the keep. This building has been terribly ruined. The few attempts at excavation that have been made have been done in so haphazard a way that confusion is worse confounded.

By consulting the plan of the church (Plate xxxi, Fig. 1) it will be observed that the building stands east and west, that it consists of a nave with north and south aisles, and that the eastern extremity was, as to its vaulted roof, triapsal—a plan we shall see developed to its greatest dignity in the two monasteries near Sohâg (see Plates XLV and XLIX). A good deal of difference will be noticed between M. de Morgan's plan of the church and that which I have measured, the reason being that his plan was made before any excavations had been taken in hand, except a small clearance at the East end. M. de Morgan's measurements were made in 1893. The plan now printed I measured in January 1901, and corrected in March 1908, between which dates the investigations above referred to had been made.

Straight joints in the brickwork are shown on my plan in several places. It will be observed that the walls enclosing the triapsal sanctuary are separate from those lying west of them; that the north side of the nave shows the bases of rectangular piers irregularly placed; that the south side of the nave is cut off from the aisle by a long piece of wall (which is itself divided into two parts) standing on a wide bench of stonework. The crude bricks, rudely formed and roughly laid, give no indications in themselves of the periods of construction. Several hundred years may have elapsed between the setting up of one piece of wall and of another piece adjoining it. There is no moulded or carved detail to assist us; whilst the plaster, no doubt painted, with which all the walls were encrusted on their inner face is gone, except at the east end.

The outer walls of the building now stand to a height of about five metres. At the west end the natural ground level is at the top of these walls. An examination of the north and south outer walls reveals to us how the respective aisles were roofed. The north aisle was crossed by three arches. The westernmost bay and the second from the west were covered by a vault formed by two intersecting tunnels—a very common method of vaulting a space more or less rectangular, and set up without the aid of any wood 'centre'. The second and fourth bays were covered by tunnel vaults, the easternmost being long. The arches which opened from the nave to the second bay from the west must have been very low, as their crowns must have been, we may assume, below the springing of the tunnel. The spacing of the piers suggests that perhaps in this wall we had the rather unarchitectural effect of two little low arches, flanked by two larger and higher ones.

The indications on the south wall show us that the vaults were the

same over this aisle as over the north. We have also indications of two wider arches, but not enough is left to tell us the arrangement above the stone bench.

An examination of the west end shows that there was here also some vaulting, and at about the same level as the vaulting over the aisles. At the north-west and south-west angles small fragments remain and are indicated on the plan by dotted lines. There has been masonry, now torn away at the angle of the pier at D. I have ventured to conjecture that possibly a narrow gallery ran across the west end, supported on pillars; these I have shown in dotted lines. That there should have been such a gallery connecting the upper stories of the north and south aisles is strictly in accordance with the system we have already seen as very general in the churches in Nubia; but, on the other hand, I cannot find the least evidence that such galleries existed.

It may be well to describe the eastern end of the church before we consider the question as to how the nave may have been roofed. At present there remains only the brick semi-dome which covers the easternmost apse, and the crown of this is not more than from five to six metres above the floor. The three half-domes opened into a square chamber, which may have been covered by a brick dome. This chamber was connected with the nave by an arch, now in ruins. It will be observed how very narrow this arch is compared with the width of the nave—3·20 to 7·60. An examination of the plans of the two churches at Sohâg, the Dêr el Abiaç and the Dêr el Aḥmar, shows us that, although on a considerably larger scale, all the three have a family resemblance. In each case the arch leading to the sanctuary is narrow as compared with the width of the nave. If, however, we refer to Plate XXIV, Fig. 2, giving us the plan of what is commonly called 'the larger church' on the island of Philae, we shall see that possibly there may be another interpretation to the plan now under consideration. At Philae we find that, whilst the north and south aisles were separated from the nave by a row of rectangular piers, there were two inner ranges of columns, corresponding pretty nearly with the width of the triumphal arch. If these columns existed at the church of S. Simeon, the difficulty of placing a wood roof over its nave ceases to present itself. If there were no such columns, the builders of the church had to face the difficulty of a span of some 24 feet, which, in a country devoid of timber, was no trifle. There is certainly no abutment which could support or maintain a vaulted roof of this span.

To return to the east end of the church, the easternmost apse, square at the floor level, is gathered over at the angles, and is thus prepared to receive the vault, a half-dome, which covers it. The painted decorations of this vault are still visible. A coloured plate showing this vault is given by M. de Morgan in the 'Catalogue' before referred to, but it is not a good representation, nor is it very correct.

The arrangement of the doors leading from the apses to the small chambers adjoining is not customary. The opening on the north side of the eastern apse

shows signs of having been broken through the wall, but it may be an original doorway enlarged.

Leaving the church by the doorway in the north aisle, we find ourselves at the foot of a narrow and steep stair, which gives access to the higher level on which the greater part of the monastic buildings are erected. We are at once impressed by the somewhat imposing and tower-like mass of buildings which rise above us (Plates xxx and xxxii). The plan (see Plate xxx, Fig. 1) which gives the ground floor of this building makes it clear that it was not all set up at the same time, and that certain walls have been enforced by masses of brickwork built up against them.

It has already been stated that some at least of the monasteries were prepared for defence, and further evidence in this direction may be obtained by a study of the *History* by Abû Şâlih the Armenian, to which reference has already been made. Describing the White Monastery at Atribis (Dêr el Abiad, Sohâg), he tells us, p. 237: 'In this monastery there is a keep; and there is around the keep and the monastery also a wall of enclosure, within which is a garden full of all sorts of trees.'

Of the monastery at Samallût (p. 247) he says: 'Adjacent to the church is a keep, which is large and high, towering above the walls.'

At the monastery of Al 'Asal (p. 248) is 'the Church of S. George, enclosed by a surrounding wall. It has two keeps and a garden.'

I could give further quotations, but will finish with one relating to Assiût (p. 250). Abû Şâlih states: 'At Suyût on the western bank, there are sixty churches; and on the mountain there are churches hewn in the rock with the pickaxe, and all of them have a keep.'

Later on (Plate LII) there will be given plans of a few of the rock-hewn churches near Assiût. On examining them the reader may justly ask himself, What can have been the nature of a 'keep' in connexion with such a place, supposing the keep to be a strong and commanding tower, the last point of resistance, the stronghold, as we certainly understand it to be, in relation to a mediaeval castle or place of defence?

At the monastery of S. Simeon we see clearly that there was a large tower-like structure which dominated all the enclosure. But in the case of the rock-cut churches we have to climb up a steep path, until we are perhaps 200 feet above the valley, and we then arrive at an excavation driven straight into the face of the cliff. It may be an ancient tomb, or a quarry. The cliff rises perpendicularly another 200 feet overhead. Where is the place for a 'keep' or commanding tower, or indeed the necessity for it? If we may suppose that the keep was 'a strong place', it might be a tower in some cases, or an innermost recess in the cliff in others.

To return to the keep at the monastery of S. Simeon, Aswân. We enter by a small doorway (E) in the east wall at its southern end. A narrow stair leading to the upper story, and then onwards to the flat roof, rises in front of us. To

our right is another small doorway which gives into a long corridor, vaulted in brick, and with rooms opening into it on either hand (Plate xxx, Fig. 1). Excepting at the extreme end, where the north wall is pierced by some very small windows, there does not seem to have been any way of introducing daylight to this corridor. Some of the rooms on the west side are provided with very small windows or slits, high up in the wall: an uncertain ray might struggle through such openings, but even then could only reach the corridor by passing through the small doorways of the chambers. The corridor is vaulted, and so are all the rooms, with a thin shell of crude brick. This shell is now broken in numerous places, so that light penetrates everywhere. It is, however, difficult to picture to oneself the frousty gloom in which the place must have been enshrouded before it was reduced to ruins.

On the plan (Plate xxx) the parts shown in diagonal shading indicate those walls which are of two stories in height, and which seem to have been built before the parts adjoining to the north. This part we will venture to call 'the keep'. Its southern and eastern walls have been strengthened, as we have before stated. The lower parts of these masses of masonry are solid, but the upper parts are pierced by narrow passages.

In the second room on the right of the central corridor is a large fireplace. It is sadly ruined, but it seems that a flue rose from it in the thickness of the wall. If the food was prepared in this unlighted and unventilated apartment, the one exit being the door to the corridor, the monks must have enjoyed a fine smell of cooking.

On the left or west side of the corridor, towards its northern end, we find the remains of a large apartment, the brick vault of which had been supported by a range of columns. Was this a refectory?

I beg to be excused if I make a digression from the actual matter in hand by trying to ascertain as far as I can what were the usual departments of a monastery: it may be well to consult the somewhat confused accounts left us by Abû Şâlih. By this means we may at least know of some things we should look for in exploring such a building. Reference has already been made to his statement concerning a keep. I will add one or two more. On p. 247, describing a monastery at Samallût, we find there is not only an enclosing wall, but within it is a mill,¹ an oven, and an oil-press.

At the monastery of El Asâl, before mentioned, a garden lies south of the church and contains a mill¹ and the cells of the monks. Another garden is to the north of the church. There is also a press for olive oil.

On p. 250 a monastery named after S. Severus is described. It is hewn out of the top of the mountain. It possesses a keep, and a cistern which contains a thousand pitchers of water, and is filled from the blessed Nile. There is a mill, several ovens, and a press for olive oil. There are thirty monks. The gardens lay in the level ground below.

¹ This must not be mistaken for a water-mill. The motive power was an ox, an ass, or a camel.

On p. 257 reference is made to the monastery of An Nûr. It possesses a keep in five stories, and of skilful construction. Around, is an enclosing wall, within which are 400 palm-trees.

From these notes and the previous quotations we may venture to establish a few leading points regarding a monastery. We find that it was more or less self-contained, and was enclosed by a wall. Such remains as are left to us show that this enclosure usually approached a quadrangular form. There was at least one church, and it will be seen that in many cases there were several, each of these again containing several altars. There was the keep: the cells for the monks seem to have been enclosed in this keep at the monastery of S. Simeon, Aswân. There were ovens, mills, oil-presses, and, if the position was suitable, a garden in which were grown palms and green food. In certain cases finely constructed wells still remain, lined with ashlar and large enough to admit of the ascending and descending chain of pots of the *sakya*.

The structure of the church itself, or even of a group of churches, formed but one item in the various buildings enclosed by the surrounding wall. When we reflect upon the necessity of storing grain, of housing the servants, and probably the cattle, as is done to this day in homesteads large or small, we can easily see that within the enclosing wall must have been a considerable number of huts and buildings. Hence, a monastery boasting of no great number of monks would cover a considerable area.

From a study of such monasteries as I have been able to visit, or about which information has been obtained, it is found impossible to establish any uniform system of plan. The church or churches always stand east and west, and they often lie along the east wall of the enclosure. The rest seems chaos. Undoubtedly in many cases, owing to the strange and inaccessible places in which the monasteries were built, plastered up against the face of a cliff, more like the nests of starlings than the abodes of men, no uniform system of plan could have been carried out. In but few cases can the church have dominated its surroundings in the magnificent way to which we are accustomed, for, in fact, there was little or nothing of magnificence. Just as the ancient Egyptian temple stood completely secluded within a brick wall, and was hardly to be seen above it, unless the entrance pylon happened to be completed, so it was with the monasteries: the great difference being that while the temple, itself carefully and massively built, stood within solid and straight walls, the churches and their adjuncts, for the most part mean and slovenly in their building, were hidden by an equally mean crooked, and shabby enclosing wall.

Some further light may be thrown upon the subject of the Egyptian monasteries by a study of *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, already referred to. At p. 144 we learn the history of the blessed Pachomius, and it is well worthy of our consideration, as it shows how very free from strict rule was the life of the monk in the early times. The period covered by the histories related in the *Paradise* is from A. D. 250 to A. D. 400. It may be that, later

on, things became more crystalized. If so we may ask, Where are the remains of the monastic buildings which would certainly have followed suit and have developed a more fixed type of plan? When we examine the very few broken fragments of monastic buildings that are still to be found, it is difficult to suppose that those of the earliest date can have differed from them materially, for it would indeed be hard to say that there was any well-defined system of planning in the buildings we now see. It would seem that before the time of Pachomius those who were moved to adopt the religious life had not dwelt together in communities, but had nested themselves for the most part in caves and cells; we must also bear in mind that the establishment of communities did not by any means put an end to the ascetics who still lived—or, more correctly speaking, starved—in the deserts and out-of-the-way places, and in great numbers.

The *Paradise* (p. 144) relates as follows :

‘In the country of Thebes, and in the district thereof which is called Tabenna,¹ there was a certain blessed man whose name was Pachomius, and this man led a beautiful life of ascetic excellence, and he was crowned with the love of God and of man. Now therefore as this man was sitting in his cell there appeared unto him an angel who said unto him, “ Since thou hast completed thy discipleship it is unnecessary for thee to dwell here ; but come and gather together unto thyself those who are wandering, and be thou dwelling with them, and lay thou down for them such laws as I shall tell unto thee.” And the angel gave him a book (or tablets) wherein was written the following :

‘ “ I. Let every man eat and drink whenever he wisheth, and according to the strength of those who eat and drink impose work ; and thou shalt restrain them neither from eating nor fasting. Furthermore, on those that are strong thou shalt impose severe labours ; and upon those who are of inferior strength, and upon those who fast thou shalt impose light labours.

‘ “ II. And thou shalt make for them a cell, and they shall dwell together three by three.

‘ “ III. And they shall partake of food all together in one chamber (or house).

‘ “ IV. And they shall not take their sleep lying down, but thou shalt make for them seats so that when they are sitting down they shall be able to support their heads.

‘ “ V. At night time they shall put on garments without sleeves and their loins shall be girded up, and they shall be provided with skull-caps,” &c., &c.

‘ “ VI. And thou shalt establish the monks in four and twenty grades,” &c.’

We learn from the perusal of these rules that the ordering of such a religious community as was then established was something much less elaborate in all respects than the rules developed in the west. Such a rule as that of Pachomius did not demand such a group of well-ordered buildings as we find in the monasteries of Europe ; indeed, the dirt and seclusion of the ascetic life must, we should suppose, have coloured strongly the rule then instituted by the holy man.

¹ The district or island of Tabenna lies on the right bank of the Nile, where, at Kena, that river turns

sharply to the west. It extends from near Kena to Kasr es Sayâd. See Plate XLIII, Map No. 5.

The number of monks rapidly increased :

‘ And there was living in that mountain about seven thousand brethren, and in the monastery in which the blessed Pachomius himself lived there were living one thousand three hundred brethren ; and besides these there were also other monasteries, each containing about three hundred or two hundred, or one hundred monks, who lived together : and they all toiled with their hands and lived thereby, and with whatsoever they possessed that was superfluous for them they provided (or fed) the nunneries which were there. Each day, those whose week of service it was, rose up and attended to their work ; and others attended to the cooking, and others set out the tables and laid upon them bread, and cheese, and vessels of vinegar and water. And there were some monks who went in to partake of food at the third hour of the day, and others at the sixth hour, and others at the ninth hour, and others in the evening, and others who ate once a day only ; and there were some who only ate once a week.’ ‘ Some worked in the paradise (i. e. the orchard), and some in the gardens, and some in the blacksmith’s shop, and some in the baker’s shop, and some in the carpenter’s shop, and some in the fuller’s shop, and some wove baskets and mats of palm leaves, and one was a maker of nets, and one was a maker of sandals, and one was a scribe ; now all these men as they were performing their work were repeating the Psalms and the Scriptures in order.’

A light is thrown upon the fact that the number of monks and monasteries must have been very great by the account given of Oxyrrhynchus, p. 337, which is as follows :

‘ And we came also to Oxyrrhynchus, a great city in Thebäis, but we are not able to relate all the wonderful things which [we saw] therein : for the city is so full of the habitations of the brethren that the walls thereof are thrust out with them, so many are the brethren ! And there are so many other monasteries round about the walls, on the outside, that one would think that they were another city, and the sanctuaries of the city, and the temples which are therein, and all the spaces about them, are filled with the monks. And besides these there were thirteen churches in which the people assembled, for the city was exceedingly large. There was a place set apart for the monks to pray in, in each of the monasteries, and one might think that the monks were not very much fewer in numbers than the ordinary inhabitants of the city, for they were so numerous that they even filled the [buildings at] the entrances to the city, and some of the monks lived in the towers by the side of the gates thereof. Now the people said that the monks who lived inside were five thousand in number, and that five thousand brethren lived round about it.” “ Now we would make known that which we have learned from the holy bishop who was there, namely, that he had under his authority ten thousand monks and twenty thousand virgins.”’

Near to Antinöe another great collection of monks is mentioned, and here we see to this day a site now called El Medina, the ruins of a large assemblage of buildings and of several churches, yet to be properly investigated.

I have ventured to make the above quotations somewhat at length as they

seem to throw a good deal of light on the matter in hand. We find the number of monks to have been, in many cases, so considerable that a veritable town of little cells, crude brick huts, must have been collected round the church or churches which formed the nucleus. These must have been huddled together as are the houses in a modern village. Such a collection of ill-arranged buildings as we find in a village to-day can, if abandoned, quickly disappear, under the influences of the infiltrated waters of the Nile flood and the pillage of bricks for use elsewhere. Such groups of abandoned houses as are more or less preserved are always standing upon rock or dry sandy soil.

Undoubtedly many of the monasteries must have stood in the midst of gardens and cultivations—all trace of them has consequently disappeared. Had there been a fixed system of plan with solidly constructed buildings, considerable lengths of walling would, almost certainly, have remained to tell the tale, as these are not overthrown as easily as are the walls of huts. Around the churches at the Dêr el Abiaç and El Aḥmar (see Plates XLV and XLIX, and pp. 145 et seq.), which are immediately adjacent to the cultivated land, but not on it, traces of the mud brick buildings can be seen and of the walls enclosing them, but even here, or at Antinöe (El Medina), pillage has made away with the greater part of the bricks and has not left us any trace of a comprehensive system of plan.

Another reason for finding so little may be revealed to us by the history of the Blessed Pachomius and his Oratory.¹ It cannot have been a very solid or well-built structure or it would not have been brought down so easily with ropes. Herein it differed but little from most of the structures that are left to us: for in these, where we find columns, they are, as a rule, so ill set up, and patched in so careless a way, that we are left to wonder they have continued to stand at all.

The spirit of fiery asceticism, of discovering a temptation in even the poorest effort at beauty, at a little glimmer of 'the lamp of sacrifice', would war altogether with stately buildings in which men had tried to do their best for the glory of God. With the thousands of monks at command, nearly all men of labour, we may rest assured that stately churches could have been built if it had been thought right to have them.

In the group of monasteries still existing on Mount Athos we may perhaps find something not altogether removed from the ancient monasteries above described. There is usually found in each place a tall tower, which may correspond with the keep. The churches are small, and several exist within the enclosing walls. There is not found any systematic plan of buildings, as in the west.²

To return to the monastery of S. Simeon, we find the church not in actual contact with the eastern end against the enclosure wall. The keep, with many chambers which we may suppose to have been the cells for the monks, occupies a central position. On the floors of some of these are enclosures, like troughs. Can these have been beds? A large apartment lying to the north, and, as it

¹ p. 19.

² See *Athos, or the Mountain of the Monks*, by Athelstan Riley. London, Longmans, 1887.

seems, not a part of the first building, may be the refectory. At the south-west angle of the enclosure are a series of divisions which suggest stables, or stores; on the floor of another room are evidences of a mill; but as for the rest of the buildings it is not safe to assign any uses to the various apartments, now all roofless. Perhaps very careful excavation, taking particular note of the stuff removed from each place, might reveal something to us. It will be observed that in several places there are flights of steps which give access to the top of the wall or of the flanking towers.

Having tried our best to find out at least some of those things which are to be expected in a monastic plan, and having failed altogether in establishing any normal system, it may be well to inquire what are those things which we must look for in the plan of a church, but which, as experience will show, may be placed not always in the same positions relatively to one another.

Having passed north of the First Cataract and entered Egypt proper we find ourselves, as before stated, in face of a church plan and type of building which we have not met with further south. The churches in the south resolve themselves under two types, which I have, for convenience, called type A and type B. The type C we shall now meet with differs from the others in several respects—it is not of two stories in height—i. e. there are not galleries or triforia above the aisles. Moreover, they have about them nothing of the basilican plan, from the first they were built entirely of rough masonry and brick, always roofed with small domes, wood has not played any part in their construction. A hemispherical dome is supported on a square cell, bounded by four walls, or, where a number of these domes are collected together, they are supported on four arches, each cell opening into the other. Where the arches meet they stand on a column or pier. The domes and cells being all of the same size we arrive at a very picturesque interior, low, with many columns, and lighted from above. The building is capable of extension indefinitely in any direction. We find that in most cases this extension is not taken advantage of to increase the building in any dimension but its width. This reaches its climax in the Plan on Plate xxxv, Dêr Bakhûm (Pachomius), at Medammôt, where we find four bays or cells from east to west, and not less than eight from north to south. The architectural design of the type C is clearly the outcome of the rather poor material the artificers were compelled to make use of.

It may assist the reader if we proceed to describe what are the arrangements and the pieces of furniture generally found in Coptic churches.¹ The orientation of the building is scrupulously observed although it is not necessarily very exact. So far as I know, it is only in a few instances where an existing building has, in one or other of the parts, been converted to the use of a church that the orientation is at fault.

¹ It may be objected that this description comes rather late in the day. To the writer it seemed useless to describe furniture and ritual arrangements where the buildings under examination were

all ruins, nearly level with the ground. Not one of the churches is capable of being used. Now we are describing buildings some of which are in regular use.

In the buildings about to be described there are generally several altars set up in a row of eastern chapels, but there is always one more important than any others in the building. The altar stands in a chamber prepared for it called the *haikal*. So many altars, so many *haikals*. The number of altars varies: some churches have but one, others a considerable number. Three seems a favourite number; this preference is said by some to be in honour of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity; by others, the three altars are said to correspond to the Altar of Incense, the Altar of Sacrifice, and the Table of the Ark in the Jewish Tabernacle. What is certain is that the necessity of having more than one altar is due to reasons of ritual. No altar can, under any circumstances, be used more than once in one day. The chief altar is almost always dedicated to the patron saint of the church, but, as a study of the plans will show, it is not easy to say, in many cases, which is the chief altar. The church is not necessarily built with a manifest axial line.

The altar stands free of the east wall, so that the priest may pass round it. It is of masonry, plastered, with a recess, usually in the eastern side, and has a slight sinking on the top into which the consecrated table is set.¹ The altar is enclosed by a solid screen, the *higâb*, which is the Arabic for a curtain or veil. The word *Iconostasis* is quite unknown amongst the Copts. It will be observed by an examination of the plans and drawings that the *higâb* is pierced, sometimes by a central door, flanked by a small window on either hand, sometimes by two doors with a small window between them. I am not able to give a reason why one or the other method is preferred.

The *higâb* is made of wood, of brick, or of stone, and varies in height. It is always well above the height of a man, but beyond that it varies a good deal according to the dimensions of the church and the amount of display. In the churches in Cairo, now frequently visited, the *higâb* is of wood and often very much elaborated. In nearly all the churches in country places where money was more scarce the *higâb* is of brick or stone and roughly constructed.

Passing through the *higâb* (having first taken off our shoes) we enter the *haikal*. This includes all that part of the building east of the *higâb*. It may terminate in an apse, or it may be square. In some churches there is a canopy covering the altar. This is formed as a dome, is made of wood, and rests either on four little columns or, where the space is very limited, on two horizontal beams which run north and south from wall to wall. Except when the door of the *higâb* is open the altar cannot be seen, and but little is in view even when the door is open.

In a number of cases—especially when the church is an example of the basilican plan, type A—there is a small door leading north and another south from the *haikal* to the adjoining chambers. In Nubia and in the Batn el Hagar a narrow passage is also found joining these chambers by a way behind the apse.

We must always bear in mind that, as Mr. Butler tells us, he had not visited

¹ See *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, A. J. Butler, vol. ii, cap. i.

any churches but those in and about Cairo and in the Wadi Natroon. He occasionally tells us that things are 'invariably' in this way or 'always' in another way, whereas had he had the opportunity of examining more examples he would certainly have withheld such definite statements. Nothing can, however, take away from the extreme interest and value of his work, to which reference has been made many times, and will be made many times more.

As those who have studied Mr. Butler's work will remember, the churches of Cairo have their aisles for the most part in two stories, the upper floor of the aisle or triforium (if we may call it so) having openings into the church. Here the women assembled. Many of the churches already described in this book had their aisles in two stories, but with very small openings into the nave. A church of monks could hardly have needed the triforium for women, as the female sex was rigorously excluded from the church and monastery.

The body of the church is, in churches of the type C, divided up by screens of wood, or by screen walls of masonry. In one division will be the font, in another the women's quarters, and so on. The shrinking of the population in old Cairo has been the cause, as Mr. Butler shows, of the upper galleries in most of the Cairene churches being abandoned by worshippers and of the nave being subdivided in the manner he indicates, the whole congregation being accommodated on the floor level. The plans which follow will, however, show that these subdivisions are by no means always in the same relative places. The *haikal*, we may venture to say, is the only fixed point. The font, for example, is found in various places. Very often it is in one of the chapels flanking the *haikal*, but it may be—as it is at S. Mikhaïl, Edfû¹—in the western division of the church, or as at Medammôt,² in a remote corner. We must be careful to consider whether in many cases the font is not a comparatively recent insertion. As long as the building was the church of a monastery there could have been no use for a font. Long since the monasteries were plundered and most of them done away with. Certain of them—as, for example, in the cases of the Dêr el Abiad and the Dêr el Aḥmar near Sohâg—are now the equivalent to parish churches. Houses have been built within the precincts of the ruined naves, and herein live families demanding baptism and other rites of the church; these houses have but just been removed. Poverty and dusty squalor pervade, as a rule, every part of the sacred buildings.

During the last twelve or fourteen years things have much improved in Cairo and its neighbourhood. In the country there is as yet little or no change.

After leaving Aswân the first church I have to describe is

DÊR EL MALAK MIKHAÏL, EDFÛ

PLATE XXXIII, FIG. I

This building stands to the west of Edfû on the edge of the desert. I cannot find any mention of it in Abû Şâlih. Plan made January 23, 1901.

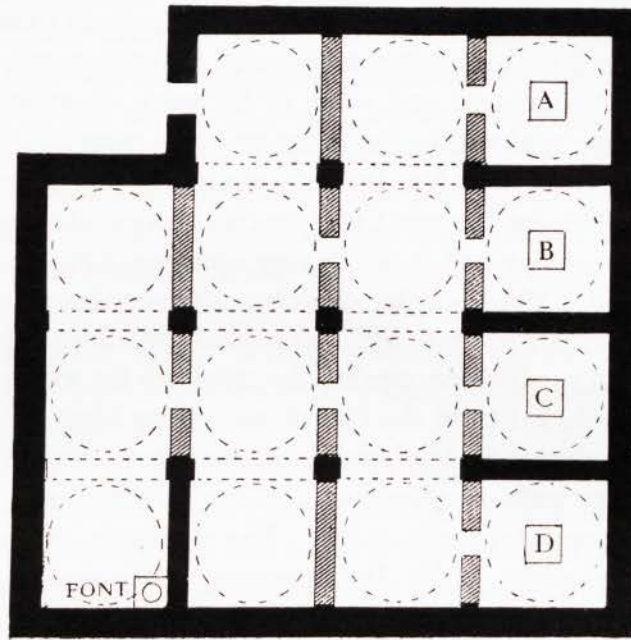
¹ See Plate XXXIII.

² See Plate XXXV.

EDFU

DEIR MELAK MIKHAÏL

FIG. 1



SCALE

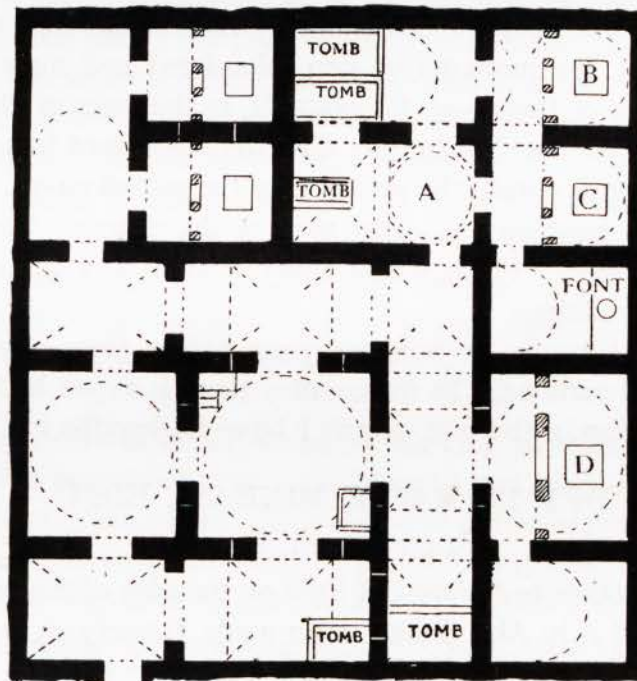


METRES

ESNA

DEIR ES SHUHADA

FIG. 2



DOORWAY

SCALE



METRES

The church is attached to crude brick walls, which are parts of structures older than itself; the priest informed me that the church we now see was built seventy or eighty years ago. It is interesting to observe that up to that time there had been no change in the type of building from that which had been used for many centuries. The Coptic church built to-day is a mixture of things—smart, mean, and vulgarly showy. The domed roofs have been abandoned: rough deal joists have taken their place, or it may be that the said joists are hidden by a white plaster ceiling. Large windows are introduced, filled with squares of glaring yellow, red, and blue glass. There is neither skill used in the building, nor beauty in the result. The abomination of artistic desolation has come in with the European. Timber is now imported in large quantities, and of course any fool can put up a couple of walls and lay some pieces of wood across.

Dêr Mikhaïl is the first example I have to give of type C, abandoning altogether the basilican plan. The arches which carry the domes are slightly pointed. The square, formed by four arches, is gathered to an octagon by small arches in the angles, and on the octagon thus formed low walls are raised forming a drum, and pierced by very small windows. On the drum rests the hemispherical dome, also pierced by a few small holes.¹ No openings are glazed. The amount of light thus obtained is quite sufficient, whilst the distribution of it, entirely from above, is very beautiful. The altars are dedicated as follows: A, El Melak Mikhaïl. B, El Adra (the chief altar). C, Bakhûm (Pachomius). D, Hanna (John). The font is far from the altars, in the westernmost division of the church. The screen walls rise as high as the springing of the arches, are solid, and are only pierced by small doorways.

I understand that the place set apart for the women is the westernmost of the divisions. According to the arrangement in the Cairene churches, the next division eastward would be for men; the next, still going east, for the choir and ceremonial of the church. That worshippers should be unable to see is of small account in many of these buildings. They come 'to assist'.

The internal effect of a church of this type is extremely pleasing. A pleasantly diffused light enters by the small windows overhead. The numerous arches carrying the domes give an effect of size and also of height quite beyond that which the mere measurements of the building would suggest.

DÊR MANAOS WA SHUHADA (Amonius² and the Martyrs), ESNA

PLATE XXXIII, FIG. 2

This church, according to tradition, was built by the Empress Helena. It is to be feared that this is rather in the nature of a pious wish than a fact that can be established. To have been founded by the Empress Helena gives an agree-

¹ See Fig. 5, p. 29.

² S. Amonius. A bishop suffered martyrdom

under Diocletian, and is said to have been buried at Sheikh Abada, adjoining the site of Antinöe.

able distinction to their church pleasing to those who have it in charge. The building, we see, cannot date from that period. It lies a little south-west of Esna, just at the edge of the cultivated ground.

The consecration of the Church of the Martyrs at Esna is mentioned in the Ethiopic calendar under the 19th day of the month Tôba, and their festival on the 19th day of the month Abib.

The walls are of burnt brick. The church stands within an enclosure wall, more or less rectangular in plan. It is attached to the eastern side of the enclosure. There are ruins of many brick structures within this enclosure which seem to be remains of the monastic buildings. These I will describe in the words of M. Wladimir de Bock.¹

‘L’intérieur du rectangle, formé par les murs d’enceinte du couvent et mesurant à peu près 150 pas sur chaque côté, présente, comme tous les couvents coptes, un dédale de petites constructions voûtées en berceau ou surmontées de coupôles et entourant l’église et un baptistère. Toutes ces constructions, dont une partie a dû servir d’habitations et de communs, remplissent le côté ouest du rectangle. Le côté est occupé par une cour dans laquelle se trouve une *saquieh*, fournissant l’eau au couvent, et un long couloir voûté près de la porte d’entrée.

‘Le baptistère, séparé de l’église par un long passage à découvert, est formé par une assez grande chambre carrée avec un grand font de baptême² destiné aux personnes adultes. La coupole qui recouvrait le baptistère s’est effondrée. Deux rangées de cellules séparées par un couloir voûté sont accolées aux murs ouest du baptistère. Au bout ouest du passage qui sépare l’église du baptistère et des cellules, le mur d’enceinte a une grande porte actuellement murée, bien visible dehors. Le long du mur sud du couvent s’étend une longue construction avec voûte en berceau. Une construction semblable se rencontre près des murs est et ouest de l’église.’

M. de Bock goes on to describe various paintings which remain on the walls, sadly damaged. On one he finds the date 502 of the era of the martyrs = A.D. 786.

The plan of the church is quite unlike that of the churches at Edfu. It must be classed with the type B, but enlarged; it seems not unlikely that it has twice been added to. The first building is that to the south-east, and that with which the chief altar is connected; the second, that with two altars immediately to the north of the east; the third, that with two altars and lying west of the second. Later alterations have amalgamated the whole into a confused plan, but have neatly included it into a rectangle.

We enter at the south-west and find ourselves in a species of south aisle. North of this, and on the main axial line of the chief altar, are two spaces covered with domes. East of these is a transverse apartment out of which the *haikals* open.

There are three chambers opening eastward from the transverse corridor

¹ *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, St-Petersbourg, 1901, p. 72.

² Is it not probable that the tank here mentioned is for the service at the Epiphany?

of the chief original church. In the middle is the *haikal* containing the altar. It has opened with a wide arch westward towards the corridor, but the chambers north and south do not show any openings to the west, as might be expected. In the northern chamber the font is placed. It will be observed that the arches on the axial line, and nearly all the others, have been very much reduced in size, and are now hardly bigger than doorways. The walls everywhere are thin, and with their wide arches as first constructed were doubtless unable to sustain the weight of the domes, small as these are.

Passing northward out of the transverse corridor we enter what I have ventured to call the second church. Here we find the only elaborated piece of architecture in the place. This is the little dome marked A on the plan. The octagon on which the dome rests is carried on pendentives ornamented with stalactite niches, all the arches of which are of the flat-sided form—a detail characteristic of the Fatimide period. There are two large brick structures here which are tombs. The two altars are dedicated: B, Mari Girgis; C, Sitt Miriam; D, el Shuhada.

It will be observed that the *higāb* or screens which shut off the *haikals* are all of the same type, and are provided with two doorways and a small opening between them. This is the first time we meet with this arrangement, but the reader will be introduced to others of the same type later on.

The original arches which carry the domes are all pointed, formed from segments of a circle. Several of the arches in the altar screens have straight-sided arches, as shown with dotted lines on the drawing—a form characteristic of the Fatimide period (see Fig. 20).

I regret to say that I did not ascertain the dedication of the two altars in the north-western church. In the north-west angle, under the central dome of the church, is a clumsy combination of mud bricks and plaster—the *Ambon*.

From the architectural point of view attention may be called to the ingenious way in which the vaulted roofs, north, east, and south of the central dome, are devised. All the vaults and domes are of crude brick, and were set up without the paraphernalia of scaffolding and 'centres' which we think so necessary. It is easy to build a tunnel vault, or to cover a square space either with a dome or a vault made by two intersecting tunnels, but a difficulty presented itself in this church. The arches on which the central dome rested rose too high for their crowns to pass below the springing of a continuous tunnel over the north, east, and south corridors. The builders got over the difficulty by starting with a tunnel vault at either end of the corridor, and when the space between these two vaults was reduced to a square they started the intersecting quadripartite vault; the trouble was thus overcome (Fig. 21). We find in a few cases domes more or less oval on plan—the longest axis at least one and a half times that of the shortest. They were ugly to see and difficult to build, as the simple way of guiding themselves with a string and a knot, described in Chapter II, could not be made use of.

I should wish to call attention to the resemblance that exists between the

first church (as I venture to call it) in this group at Esna and the plan (Plate xx, Fig. 2) of the church at Madeyq in Nubia. In the town of Esna, near the post-office, is a church which was stated to have been but recently built. Judging by the poor appearance it presents, this is probably true. I describe it because it is a specimen of what was done as soon as the strong European influence had sway, and the ability existed to obtain quite easily timber of some size, brought by ship from the Black Sea and elsewhere. The building covers about the same area as the church already described at Edfû. Three walls cross the interior from north to south, at intervals of about 4.0 one from the other. Each wall is pierced by three arches. The space into which the three easternmost arches open is divided by walls into separate chapels, each shut in by a screen or *higâb* of coarse woodwork, with a doorway in the middle. The customary divisions

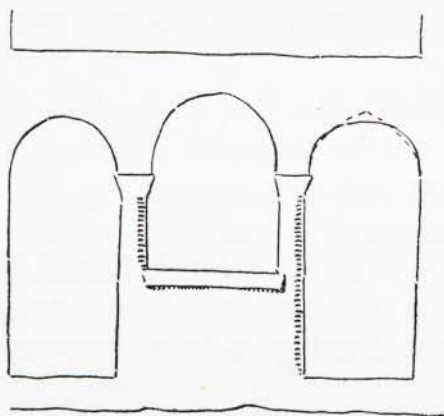


FIG. 20. Esna. *Higâb*.

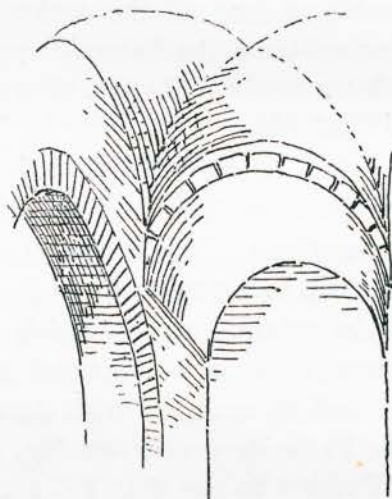


FIG. 21. Esna. Vaulted roof.

for men and women are made by screens of roughly worked wood. The building is not vaulted, but the spaces between the arches are spanned by palm stems supporting a layer of reeds, on which rests a coat of crude bricks and Nile mud. Holes are left, here and there, for light.

DÊR SHEHÎD TADRUS EL MOHAREB (Theodorus the Warrior),
MEDINET HABU

PLATE XXXIV, FIGS. 1 AND 2

This church stands, alone, in the desert, somewhat to the south of the temple of Medinet Habu,¹ and a little removed from the cultivated land which lies to the east of it.

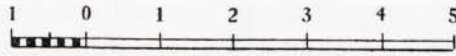
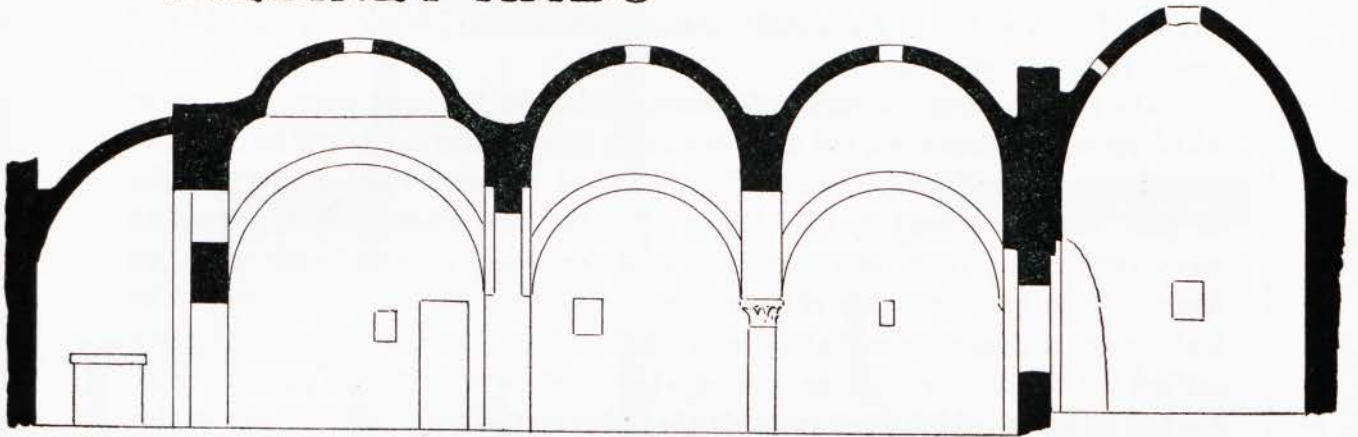
The plan was measured March 19, 1901. It is a good example of type C, and

¹ Perhaps it should be stated for the benefit of those who have not visited the ruins of Thebes, that the temple of Medinet Habu, built by Ramesses III, lies on the west bank of the Nile,

opposite Luxor, and forms one of the group of temples and tombs that have made that place so famous.

DÊR THEODORUS
MEDINET HABU

FIG. 1



SECTION ON LINE A B
LOOKING SOUTH
SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

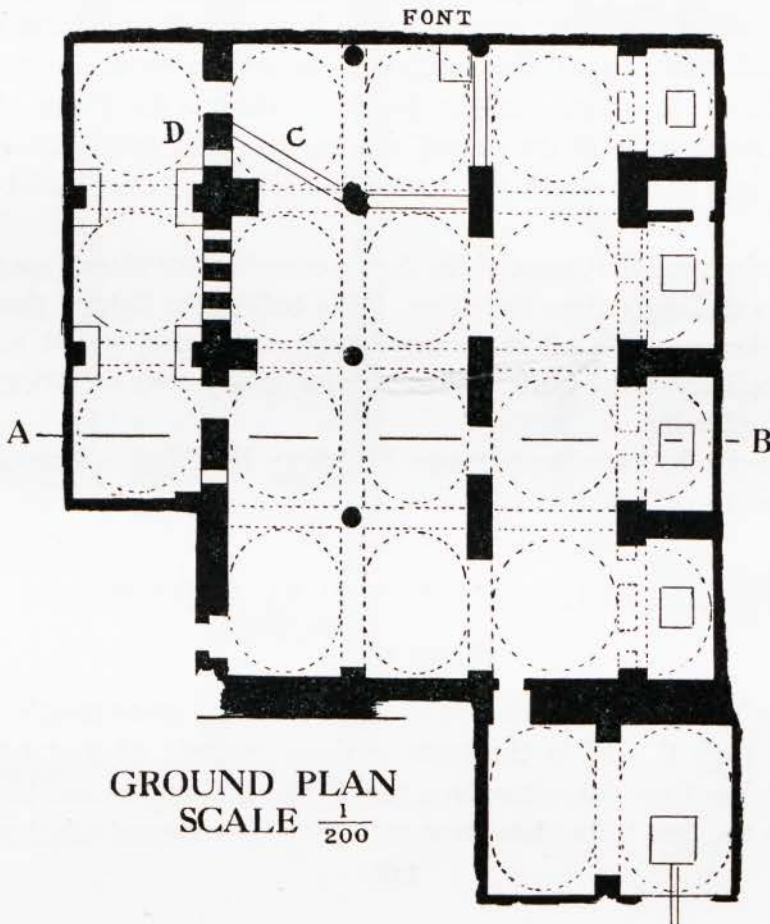


FIG. 2

GROUND PLAN
SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

consists of a rectangular nucleus, which I suppose to be the first building, to which have been added one chamber on the south-east and an aisle on the west. The whitewashed plaster on the walls was in too good a condition, both inside and out, for me to discover—on the occasion of several visits I have paid—any straight joints which, if I am right, should exist at the junction of the old and newer pieces of building.

The roof consists of a series of domes, resting for the most part upon arches which spring at a low level, not more than 1·75 from the floor. It will be observed that there are four *haikals* towards the east; that, although these are rectangular on plan, they are roofed by half domes; and that the screens (*higâb*) are not all alike, two having doors in the middle, and two being provided each with two doors. Each *higâb* consists of a wall, not of a wood partition or screen. The first range of domes immediately west of the altars has the supporting arches carried not on piers or columns, but on what must be described as pieces of wall, pierced by arches which open towards the aisles on the west. The domes of this part of the church and their supporting arches rest on columns. These are of hard stone, with capitals cut in a clumsy manner into leaves. I was informed that the western aisle had been recently added as a place for women, hence the holes cut piercing the original west wall of the church.

The screen c is of brick, the upper part of open work. It is set skew, so that the view through the opening—towards the *haikals*—might not be interrupted. It will be observed that the font is placed within the enclosure formed by this screen. The *higâbs* are all of masonry; several stones bear crosses rudely sunk on them.

The domed building at the south-east is only approached through the church. Within it is a tank sunk in the floor, which is filled from the outside. The east and north walls of the church are incorporated with walls enclosing a quadrangular area within which are sundry chambers and dens—dusty, ruinous, and forlorn.

It will be observed that some of the domes covering this church are not circles, but have one axis longer than the other. The building is lighted through small holes in the domes. The effect is very picturesque, and whilst nothing can exceed the simplicity of the whitewashed interior, many more ambitious buildings are not half so pleasing.

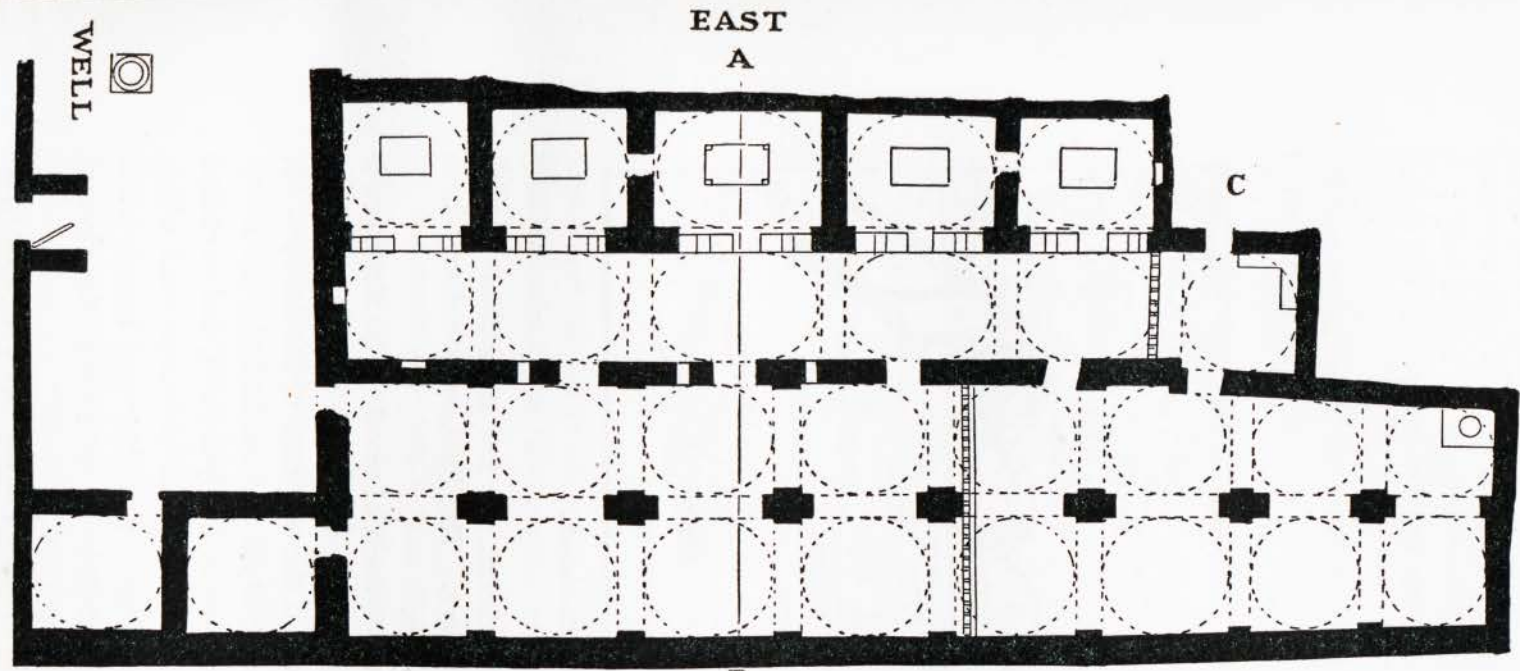
The altars are dedicated as follows: El Adra; Kladiûs (nephew of Tadrus); Mikhaïl de Todrus; El Malak.

DÊR PAKHOMIUS (BAKHÛM), MEDAMMÔT

PLATE XXXV

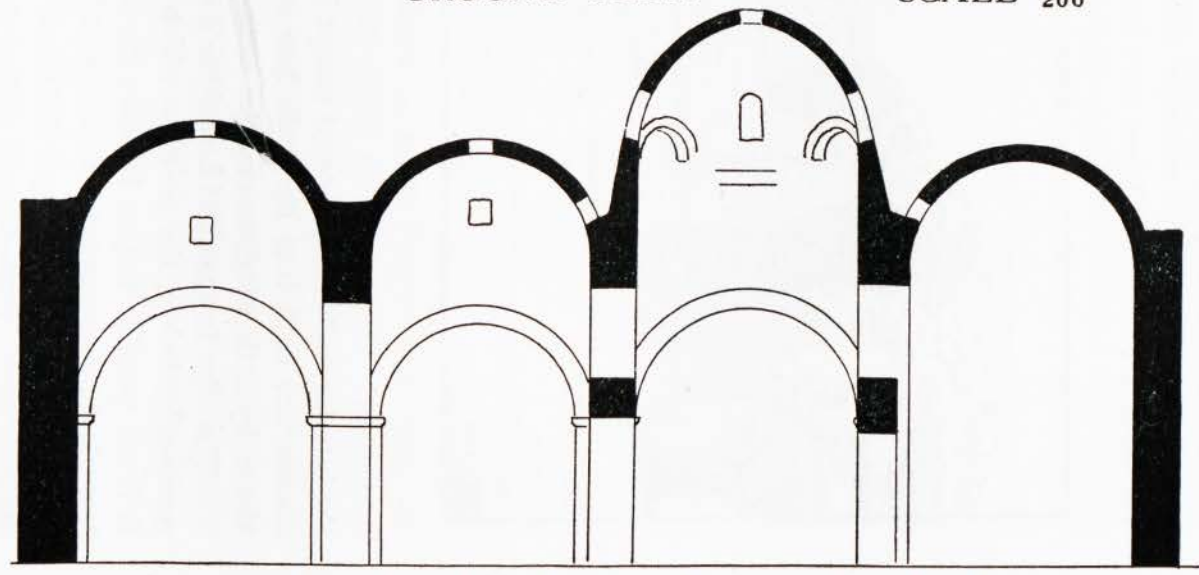
This church lies a little north-east of the ruins of the great temple of Karnak. It belongs to type C, and is the most curious example of that type I have seen, with not less than five altars in a row. The building seems to have been intended from the first to be thus arranged. For the external effect see Fig. 22.

DIỆP BAKHÔM
MEDAMMÔT



GROUND PLAN

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$



SECTION ON LINE A-B LOOKING NORTH

The women have their own entrance at c. They are enclosed by screens of woodwork, and are, at the best, considerably removed from the chief altar, which is the midmost of the five. The font is in their division of the church. There is a great want of adjustment and correspondence between the two westernmost aisles and the aisle into which the *haikals* open. The wall, pierced with doorways and some loophole windows, rises as high as the springing of the arches only; in consequence, to the eye, the church does not seem to be so completely cut in two as it appears on the plan.

The *higābs* are all of masonry, and in this case have the doors in the middle. The structure is built of burnt brick laid in mud mortar, and but a small part of



FIG. 22. Dér Bakhûm, Medammôt.

the interior walls are plastered except in the domes. A few stones, carved with crosses, are built into the walls here and there. The lighting is entirely from above, by little windows or holes in the domes.

The altar in the chief *haikal* has a canopy over it of wood. This structure is rectangular below, the posts on which it rests standing close against the altar. It is not possible to pass between the altar and the supports of the canopy. It is worked into an octagon above, and from its style and method of work is evidently very recently set up. Attached to the top of the four posts, and stretched between them, was—when I visited the church—a piece of woven stuff which formed a lower and second canopy to the altar. The altar was in use when I made these notes. Whether this piece of stuff is set up only at the time of celebrations I could not ascertain.

The church has a rectangular enclosure of considerable size attached to it. Measured, March 19, 1901.

DÊR EL MALÂK MIKHAÏL, KAMÛLA

PLATE XXXVI

This church lies on the west side of the Nile. The width of cultivated ground between the Nile bank and the Dêr is considerable. The cultivation ends, as it always does, abruptly against the desert edge, which suddenly rises a few metres, and is consequently above the possibilities of irrigation. As we advance a little way westward into the desert we see before us the low crude brick enclosing walls, sadly ruined, and the humble domes of the churches, like inverted cups rising above it. A general view is given in Fig. 23. Near the Dêr is a large well for a *sakych*. Many tombs are seen lying near at hand to the south and east. There are two churches side by side, the larger of the two to the south. They are built

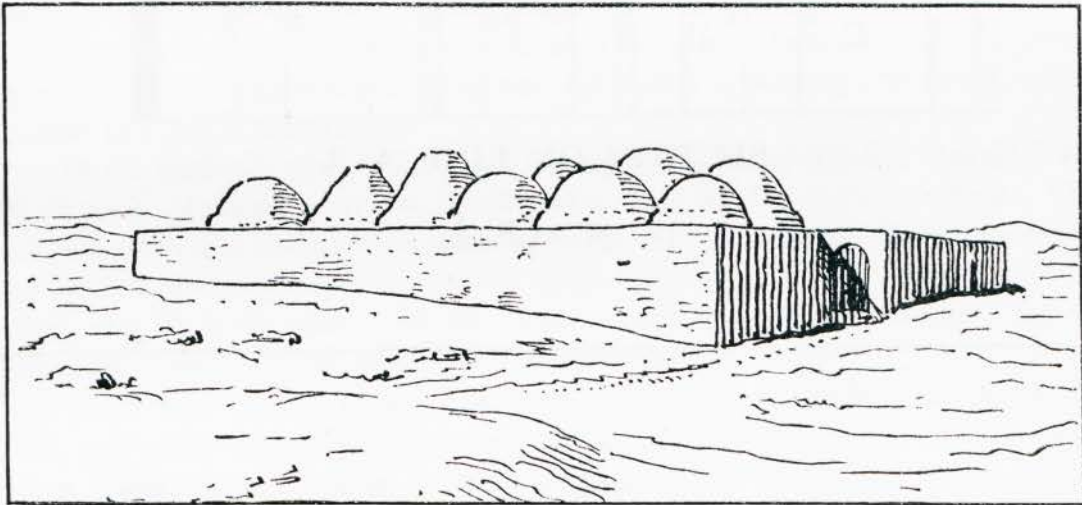


FIG. 23. Dêr Malâk Mikhaïl, Kamûla.

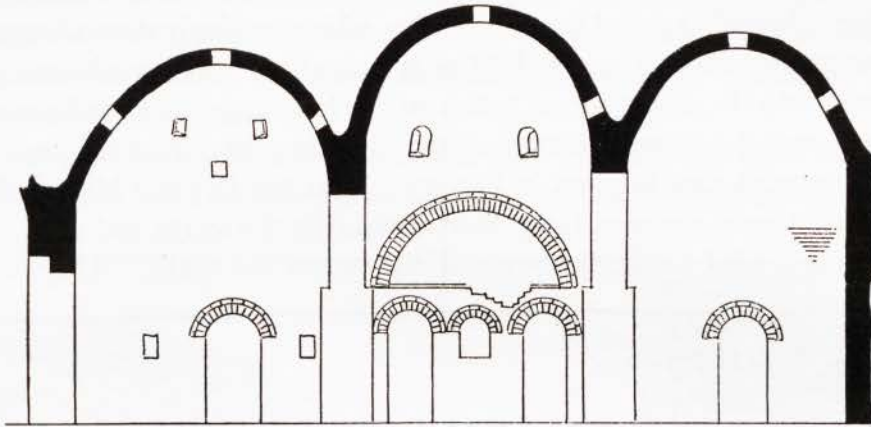
almost entirely of brick, very little of it burnt. A few fragments of stone are seen on which are hieroglyphs, taken from some ancient temple. Measured, March 20, 1901.

It will be observed that the churches are connected by a hole in the wall. On the north side this hole is enclosed by an arch; on the south there is not anything to indicate that a doorway was intended. The way through is merely a breach. This and other indications lead one to think that the two buildings are not of the same period. The church to the north is, perhaps, the most recent of the two. The wall surfaces within are not plastered except in the domes, and here it certainly has been renewed. We do not see the original plaster.

The plan of the southern church is not such as we have before met with. Not only are the three eastern recesses apsidal on plan, but the ends of the next division of the buildings are apsidal, to the north and to the south. We can hardly look on this as triapsal as at Aswân, or as the Dêrs at Sohâg. The *higâbs* or screens enclosing the altars are not alike. The central *higâb* has two doors and a little window between them: this screen rises no higher than the spring of the arch

DÊR ELMALÂK MIKHAIL
KAMÛLAH

FIG. 1



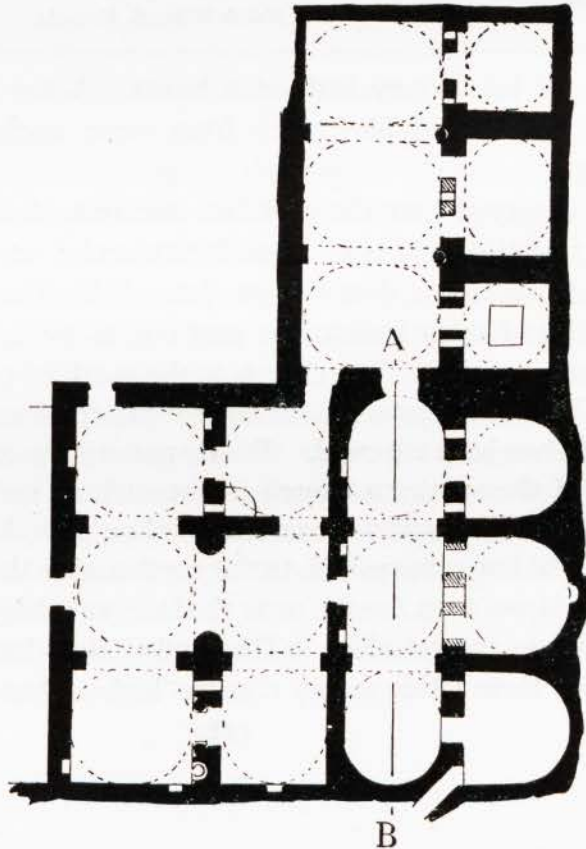
SECTION ON LINE A B

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

FIG. 2

GROUND PLAN

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$



over it. The side chapels are completely cut off by a wall, a part of the main fabric, pierced by a central doorway, and little windows at the side. No altars existed, at the time of my visit, in any of these recesses. It will be observed that from the southern chapel or *haikal* (if it be one) a little passage leads off southwest. It now ends in a heap of ruins.

The western part of the southern church has a doorway giving access to the northern church, a mere hole in the wall, and in passing through this it is easy to appreciate the fact that the buildings were set up at different times. We are perhaps justified in supposing, by the way in which the western part of the building is cut off by solid screens from the next division east, that parts of it may have been the women's division. There are several features in this part of the church for which I cannot offer any explanation; when I visited the place it seemed quite deserted; but, as a rule, if one finds in an out-of-the-way place (such as this is) the priest of the church, he is but a poor fellow—a humble, dirty, ignorant creature, knowing nothing, and interested in nothing; in result, information of value is hard to get.

In the northern church the *higâb* closing in the *haikal* (central chapel) is set in an arch, provided with two doors and a little window between them. The chapels north and south are closed in by walls, cutting them off altogether except for central doorways, and flanked by little loopholes. In the southern of the three chapels is an altar. In the central *higâb* are set two pieces of carved stone: a sketch (see Fig. 24) is given of one of them.

There was, I learnt, a carved stone over the little window between the doors. This was removed about five years before my visits by the Director of the Department of Antiquities, and is, we may suppose, in the Museum at Cairo, but as that establishment does not provide labels for the objects exhibited one cannot learn anything. I was informed by a gentleman who visited these and others of the adjacent churches in the year 1894, and who gave me some notes, that the dedications of the altars were as follow: First church—the *haikal*: Malâk Mikhaïl. Altar to the north: Al Paranon. To the south: Pachomius. Second Church—*haikal*: El Adra. North altar: Mâri Girgis. South altar: Tadrus. But he did not tell me which he called the first or the second church.

DÊR MÂRI BOCTOR (S. Victor), NAKÂDA

PLATE XXXVII

This church is built on a more ambitious scale than the last, and can be classed in the type B. A spur of the desert hills advances into the cultivated plane, above which it rises some 20·0, and on this the church is planted, commanding a charming view of the Nile valley. A considerable space, more or less rectangular, has been enclosed by a wall, and within this space the church is placed. The walls and the buildings within it are of small crude brick, well laid, and very few are set on edge. The more modern the buildings the more

certainly does one find that whilst the courses of headers are laid flat, the courses of stretchers are set on edge—also, the more carelessly formed are the bricks. We may be justified in thinking that there are indications of considerable antiquity in the present building. Measured, March 1901.

In constructing the church itself the precaution has been taken to make use of burnt bricks for the courses resting on the ground and rising to about 1.0 above it. Unless this be done there is great danger that the salts with which the ground is impregnated will turn the crude brick into powder—indeed, it is not unusual to see stone and even granite quite disintegrated by the saline action.

Entering at the west, we find ourselves in a compartment, square on plan, and with an aisle north and south into which it opens by an arch. These arches are pointed (see Section on line A, B). The western spring of these arches

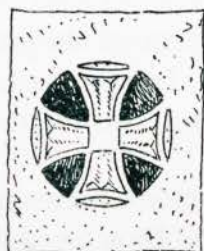


FIG. 24. Malâk Mikhaïl, Kamûla.

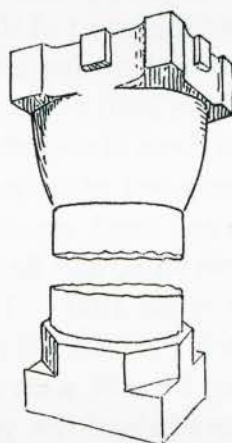


FIG. 25. Dêr Mari Boctor. Carved capital.

rests on a clumsy column roughly cut, with its capital, of limestone (see Fig. 25). These columns stand detached from the wall. An arch is also carried across against the western wall resting on the columns. The appearance of things suggests that the intention may have been to extend the church further to the west. On the other hand, the brickwork of this wall is one with that of the return walls. The eastern jamb of the arch shown in the section has been at some time reconstructed. The impost from which the arch springs has been raised above its old level, and now ranges with the imposts in the next bay to the east. The southern arch of the first bay has not undergone this deformation. It will be observed that there are an unusual number of doorways—not only one at the west end, but also one in the north and south walls of the aisles. A door at the west end is not usual.

The domes which cover the west bay and its aisles do not rest upon diagonal arches as in the central dome. The brickwork at the angles is corbelled out, course by course, following no particular lines, and so by degrees a rectangular space below is prepared to receive a dome, more or less circular on plan, above. A sense of duty keeps these domes in their places rather than any merits of

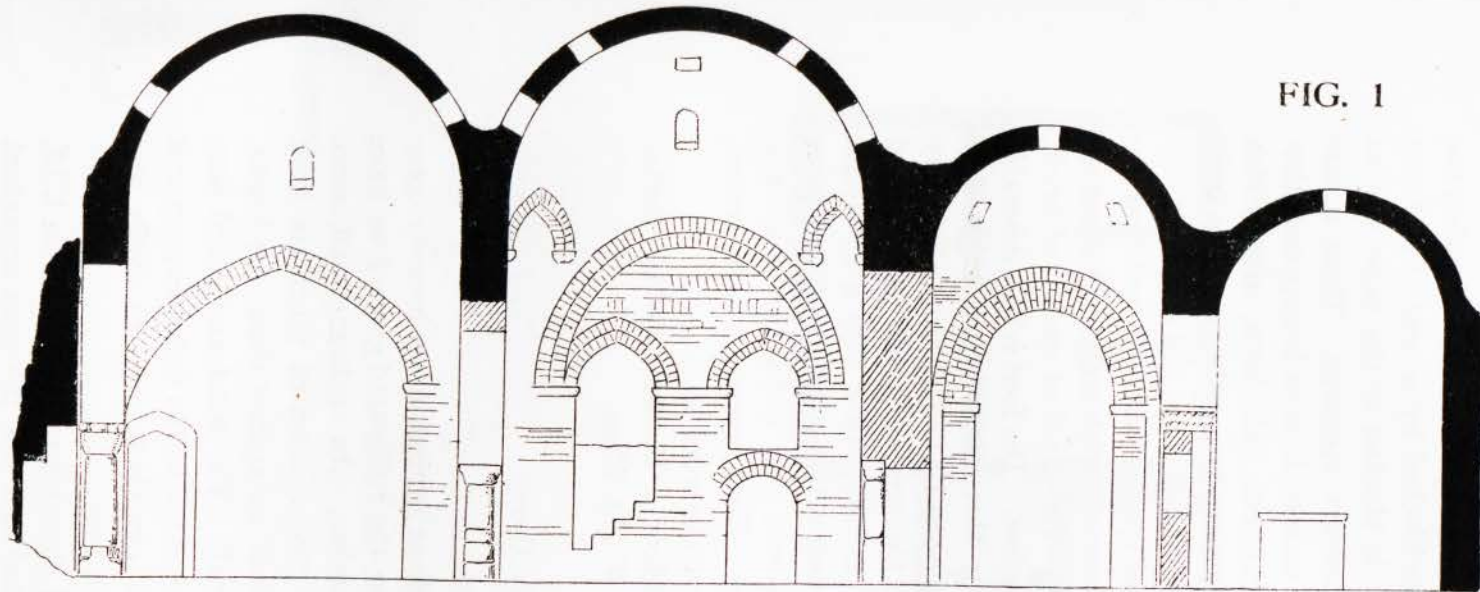


FIG. 1

DÊR MÂRI BOCTOR
 NAKÂDA

SECTION ON LINE A B

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

GROUND PLAN

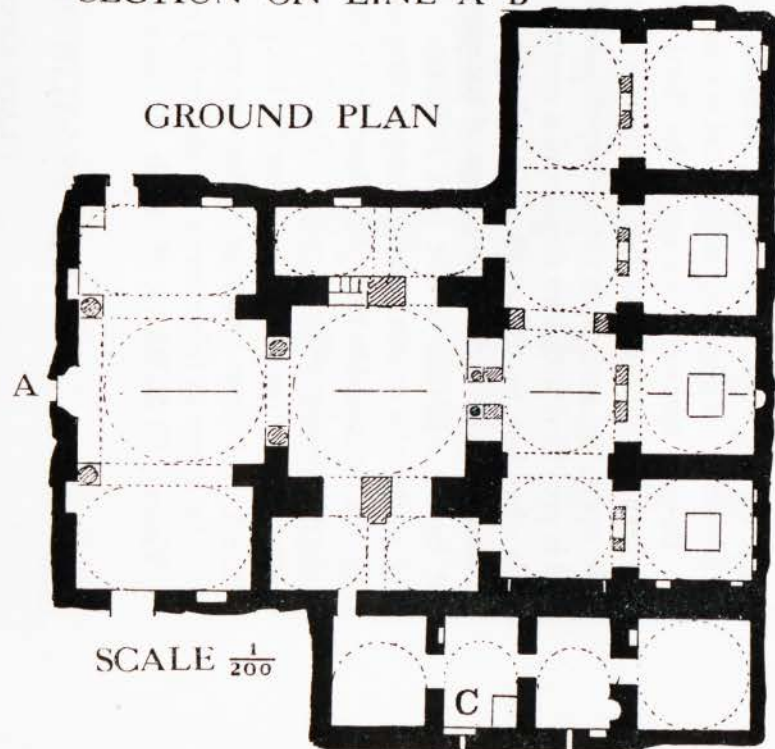


FIG. 2

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

construction. As the plan clearly indicates, the dome over the central bay stood on four stout piers. This dome is now no higher than its neighbours to the west, but it seems not unreasonable to suppose that at one time it was raised on a drum, and that the weight of the superstructure was the reason for inserting the piers and walls with which the four arches are fortified.

In the western arch columns were placed, carrying an arch built within the original arch. The north and south arches are blocked by a central pier (see section) carrying subarches. The eastern arch is blocked in the same way as those to the north and south with long window-like openings. There is also a doorway which with the side-openings forms a screen. It is to be supposed that the original dome, notwithstanding these precautions, fell down, after which the dome we now see was built. The filling-in to reinforce the arches is built with headers on edge suggesting that it is of later date than the first structure.

Passing eastward, we enter the third domed space. Here we find that the northern arch only has been reinforced by inserted brickwork. The eastern aisle opens by arches to three chapels—*haikals*. The *higâb* of each is of brick, and is provided with two doors and a central window. The font is in a miserable little chamber to the south at c. North of the three *haikals* just referred to is a fourth, provided with a screen of the same type as its neighbours. This may not be an addition to the first building. In the section it will be observed that under the central dome a supporting arch is filled below with a few steps. It is not improbable that these lead up to the *ambon*, but no traces of that piece of furniture can now be seen. On the south-west pier under the dome are shattered remains of wall-painting on the plaster. Two figures are to be traced, nimbed, and some lettering. One can make out the word *ayios*.

The altars in this church are dedicated as follows: The *haikal*—Mari Boctor (S. Victor), El Malâk (S. Michael), El Adra (B. V. M.), Mina.

DÊR ES SALÎB (Holy Cross)

PLATE XXXVIII

Riding in an almost direct line from the Nile at Arabat for an hour we come to the desert edge, which rises but a little above the cultivated ground we have been crossing. We make for a group of churches. An enclosing wall, more or less rectangular in plan, contains four of these. Two of them are built against the east wall of the enclosure; one is built up against these, the fourth, recently re-built, touches the west and south wall. The priest and guard were absent, so we climbed over the wall. No one could tell us the dedications except an old man, who affirmed that the western churches were Es Salîb and Amba Shnûda (S. Sinuthius). Measured, March 1901.

Close by, to the east, lies another group of churches called Dêr Anba L'Iff.

The plan of Dêr es Salîb shows three churches in a row, the most important being that to the south. Differing from the plans we have lately been examining,

DÊR ES SALÎB
NAKÂDA

GENERAL PLAN

FIG. 1

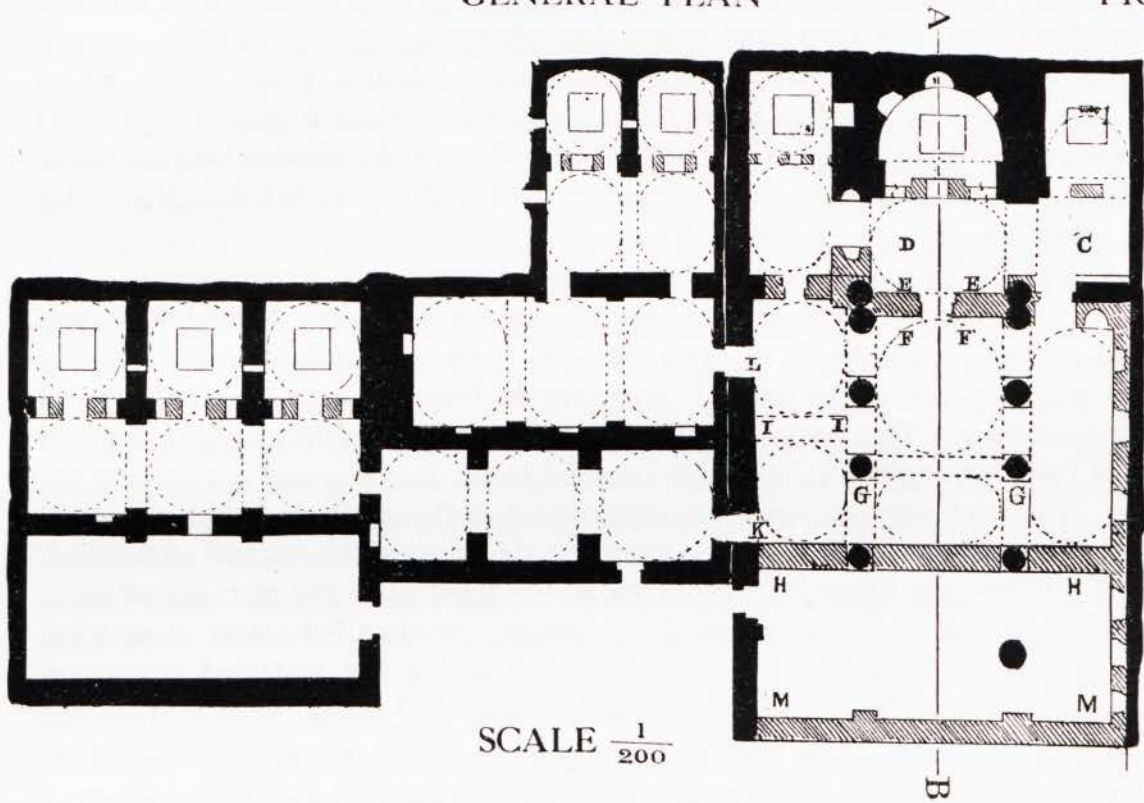
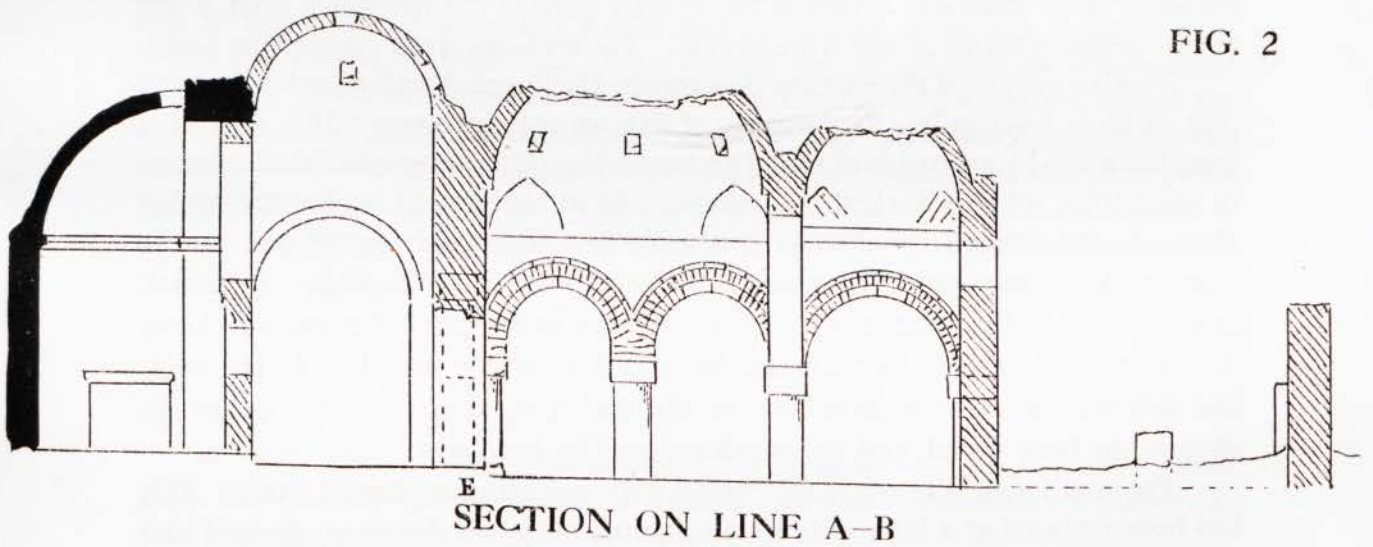


FIG. 2



SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

we here find a church of type A, the basilican, but which has undergone changes subsequent to its first construction, the object of these changes being to replace the original wood roof with brick domes. The building, of crude brick, consists of an apsidal *haikal* flanked by another to the north and south, square on plan. The central *haikal* opened westward with an arch. The springers, to a height of about 0.75, still exist, and retain their plastered surfaces, on which remain, from the feet to just below the shoulders, painted figures, vested. This *haikal* is now shut in by a wall of burnt brick, an insertion, which is carried quite up to support the dome. It is pierced below by two doors and a window between them. There is a misshapen niche, not reaching to the floor, behind the altar; also a roughly-made recess on either hand.

The chapel to the south is very low, and covered with a tunnel vault. The chapel to the north is not quite so low: its dome is falling in. These two chapels are provided with *higâbs* of brick, each of them pierced by doors. The bay immediately west of the *haikal* is now shut off from the nave by a wall pierced by a doorway. This, with other inserted walls, is shown on the plan by a different tint from the original walls, which are solid black.

The brick pier, enclosing the easternmost of the southern group of coupled columns, carries an inserted arch, twice the thickness of the original arch, which can still be seen above it. The dome at the point c fits the more recent arch. The walls east, west, and south of the chapel c retain a few traces of painting on a coat of fine white plaster. A nimbus and a few scattered letters are visible. The soffit of the arch is painted, coeval, I think, with that on the walls of the bay c. The arch which must have existed on the north side of the bay d is not visible. There is now seen only the inserted wall with a doorway through it. The columns e are each of two stones, and are about 2.20 high, surmounted by a square block 0.35 high. They are of sandstone, very roughly cut. The lower part is hidden in an accumulation of brick rubbish. These columns, taller than any others in the church, carried the triumphal arch, a few of the springing bricks of which are visible. The arch has given place to the wall f.

Passing westward through the doorway in the inserted wall we enter the nave now of three bays in length, formerly of five, or perhaps more. It is separated from the aisles by an arcade of round arches resting on stumpy cylindrical columns of sandstone, roughly hacked into shape. As an abacus to receive the arches they are surmounted by clumsy square blocks. Traces of hieroglyphs can be seen on the stonework. The spacing of the columns is not regular. A pointed arch, resting on the columns g, g, now spans the nave, inserted to carry a dome. A second dome, oblong in plan, has been built over the next bay to the west, and this rests, as to its western side, on the wall h, h, with which the end of the church has been closed, and its length reduced by two bays.

The south aisle was originally roofed with a continuous tunnel vault. This has been replaced at a later date by a covering, with half domes at the east and west end, and a tunnel in the middle. As the plan shows, brickwork has been

inserted in the form of an inner facing to the original south wall of this aisle. The north aisle is now spanned by a pointed arch II, which assists in carrying two domes.

The doorway at κ may be original. It is now little better than a rough hole. The opening at λ seems beyond doubt not to be original. The wall μ, μ is of small bricks, ill built, and seems recent, and yet it is prepared to receive the arches of the arcade, now in ruins. It is too thin to resist the thrust of arches.

I have ventured to enter into details, not I hope too minute, regarding the way in which the method of roofing this building has been changed, as it is the first example we have met with of that which has completely altered the effect of this and of other churches in the Nile valley. It is easy to appreciate that, on a structure as small as this one, a timber roof well tied together would weigh but little, and would not exercise any thrust upon the walls. A roof composed of brick domes resting on arches demands a great change in the supporting structure. The arches, heavy in themselves and exercising thrust, must be carried on piers, and the thrusts must, at least to some extent, be resisted. When we describe the Dêr el Abiaḍ and the Dêr el Aḥmar near Sohâg,¹ the Dêr Abu Hennes² near Sheikh Abadie (Antinöe), we shall realize more than we can in the present case what radical changes have of necessity been effected to support domed roofs. Some of the churches in old Cairo have been dealt with in the same way—Abu Sifain, for example, where heavy piers of masonry have been introduced to receive domes never constructed, and S. Bourbara, where a wood and plaster dome was set up some thirty years since. Columns or small piers of brick are engulfed in considerable masses of masonry, whilst the effect overhead is absolutely different, the wood roof having given place to a series of domes. Abu Şâlih gives sundry instances of the destruction of wood roofs and their replacement by domes and vaults. A few examples :

p. 106. Monastery and church of S. Mennas. 'In the month of Jumâda the first in the year 559, when the Kurds and the Ghuzz came with Şalâḥ ad Dîn, Yusuf ibn Ayyûb, and the king of the Franks was appealed to for help against them, then this monastery and this church were burnt to the ground, except the apse, and the northern and southern sides of the sanctuary, which were preserved intact. These were restored, and domes and arches were built, and piers [were set up] instead of the marble columns.'

At p. 186. The monastery of Nahyâ. 'The worms destroyed the timbers of this monastery and the church, and so they were pulled down at the expense of that Sayyid, who constructed instead of the roof [of timber] a vaulted roof, and enclosed the columns within the piers [of masonry] and none of the columns remained visible, except two ancient granite columns which stand in front of the picture of the Lady, the Pure Virgin.'

p. 234. Kuş. 'There was on the estate of Marâ, an Arab, a church named after the glorious saint and martyr George. In this church Marâ replaced the roof of timber by a new roof.'

¹ See Plates XLV-LI.

² See Plates LIV-LVI.

Not only had the churches to fear violence and fire, but the attack of the worms, doubtless the white ant, which in some places and under certain conditions proved very destructive.

The church we have been examining must be of high antiquity. As we find that hieroglyphs can be seen on the columns it must be supposed that they were not set up until after it had been permitted to rifle the temples; but, on the other hand, it is evident that it suffered very serious damage so long since that on the renewed surface of plaster, which overlay the older, paintings of a very ancient type are found.

Lying over against the building last described, and on its northern side, we find a second church, which can only be entered from the first. There are two little chambers to the east with very flattened apsidal ends. In each we find an altar, protected by a *higâb*, with a door in the middle and little windows right and left. The domed roofs have in nearly all cases fallen, or are falling. The place is sadly desolate. The structure cannot be of the same date as the south church; bad as the building of that is, this is worse.

West of the last described church we find a corridor, which opens from the north aisle of the first described church and leads northward to a third. Here we find a long chamber spanned by pointed arches, depressed, and rather flat-sided (fattimide?). The arches carry domes, which have partly fallen in. Opening eastward from this chamber are three square cells, each with its altar—the *higâb* in each case of brick, with a door in the middle. A door in the west wall leads to another chamber, in ruins.

The dedications of the altars, as I was informed, are as follows: the southern church, beginning from the south—S. Claudius, S. George, S. Gabriel; north church—B. V. M., S. John, S. Michael. The friend who gave me the list of dedications at Dêr el Malâk Mikhaïl (see p. 123 above) also obliged me with the list of dedications at Dêr es Salîb, the result of his inquiries. It differs materially from my list. My friend's authority consulted was, I am sure, at least as trustworthy as mine. I therefore print his list, as my desire is not at all to prove my statements, here or elsewhere, as absolutely correct, but to provide my readers with all the information I can collect. This is the list. A, Church of the Holy Cross (es Salîb—the southernmost): north *haikal*—S. George, middle—S. Cross, south—the Apostles. B, next church to the north, dedicated to B. V. M.: north altar—S. Gabriel, B. V. M. C, north, church of S. John the Baptist: north altar—S. Michael, centre—S. John the Baptist, south—S. Uriel.

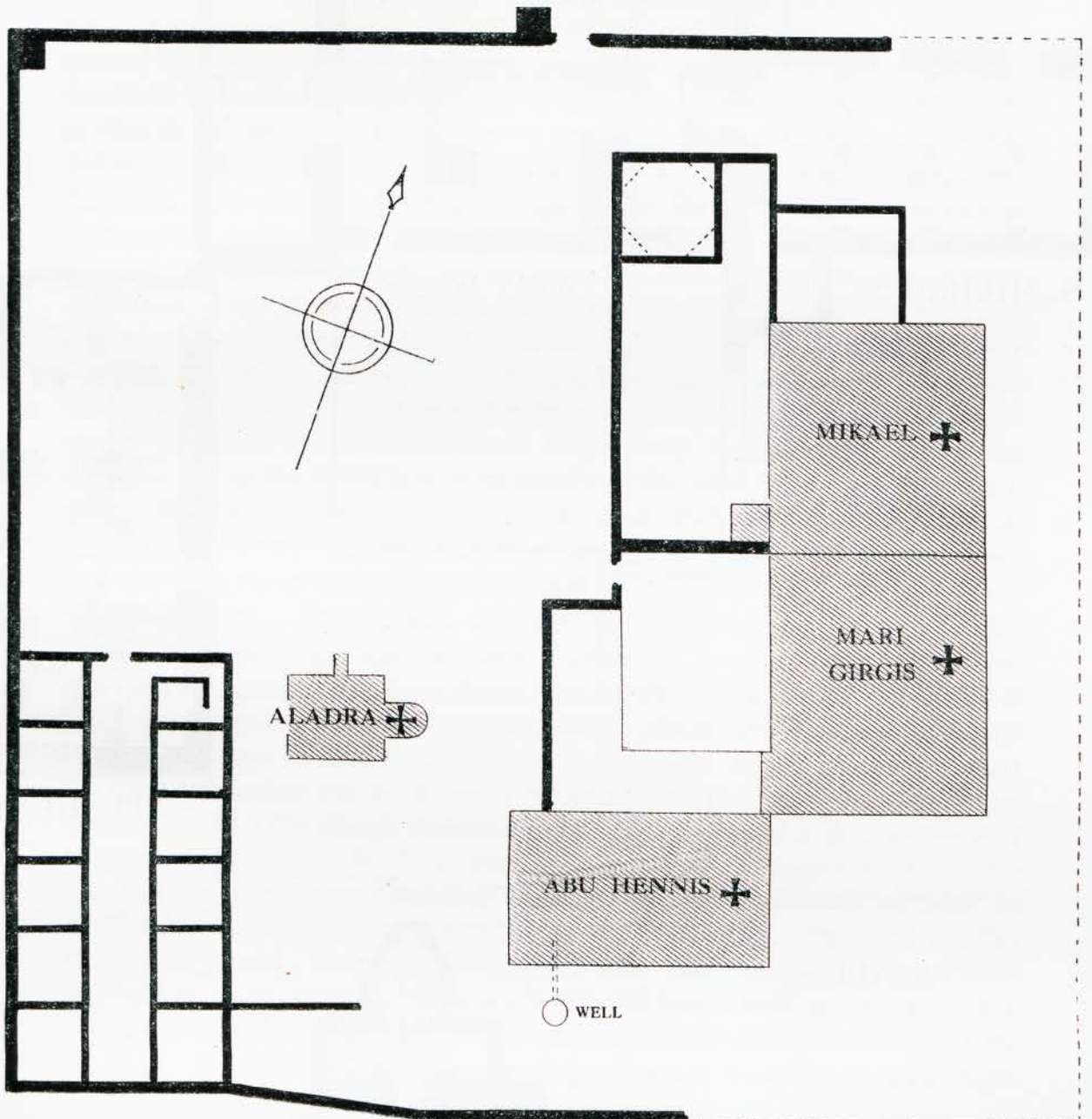
DÊR EL MÊGMA

PLATES XXXIX, XL

This Dêr consists of a group of four churches, three attached to each other, the fourth standing alone, west of them and more or less buried in the debris of surrounding buildings. The group is enclosed by a wall, quadrangular in plan,

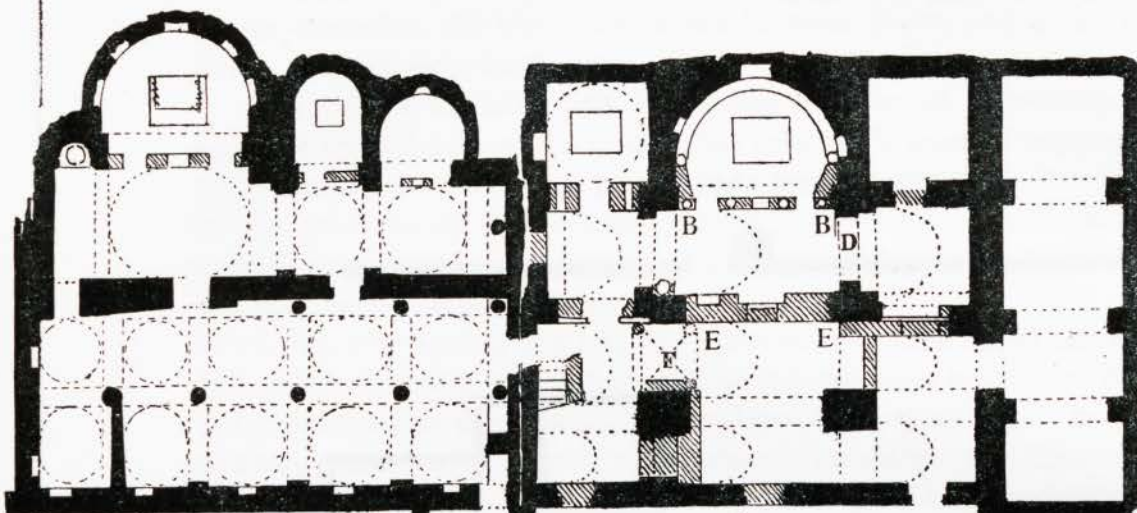
DÊR EL MÊGMA

PLAN OF MONASTERY



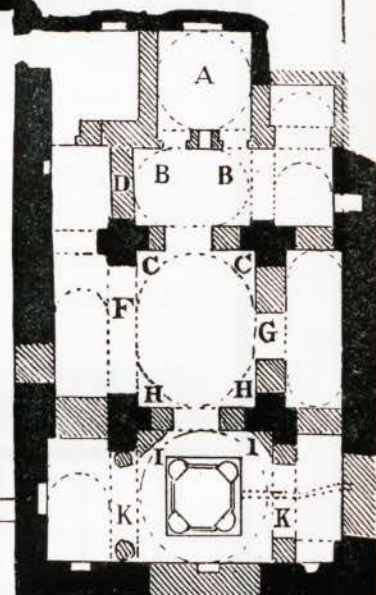
SCALE $\frac{1}{400}$

DÊR EL MÊGMA NAKÂDA



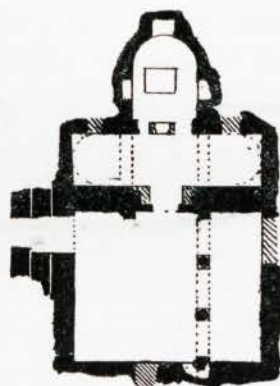
S. Mikhaïl

Mari Girgis



ABU HENNES

SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$



EL ADRA

and set out with much greater care than we generally find to be the case. Towards the east the wall is destroyed, but can be traced by a small line of brick rubbish. The entrance is on the north. A small stump of solid brickwork remains on the western side, and may have been the base of a turret defending the doorway. A similar stump is found at the north-west angle of the wall. The wall is built of small crude bricks, well laid.

The Dêr lies about 6·0 above the level of the cultivated ground, on a small ledge of calcareous conglomerate, which is full of ancient tombs. The cultivated ground is removed but a few hundred yards from the Dêr. It will be observed (see Plan, Plate xxxix) that this Dêr differs from the Dêr es Salîb. It is not, as that is, merely a group of churches, but is a combination of churches and buildings such as we have already described at S. Simeon, Aswân, though less elaborate. We shall find similar groups at the Dêr el Abiaḍ and the Dêr el Aḥmar, near Sohâg; also the ruins of one are drawn on Plate VIII. In each case the churches are not attached to the eastern wall of the enclosure. A little depression, it can hardly be called a valley, lies over against the south wall, and has been the cause of the slight deflexion we see in it where the group of chambers about to be described is found. Here is a long hall running north and south, with rooms opening from it on either hand, the whole covered with vaults of crude brick (now in ruins) and built of the same material, well laid. The entrance was at the north, and immediately to the east of the doorway was a stair. Whether this merely gave access to a flat roof over the halls below or to an upper story I will not venture to say. The plan of this group of hall and chambers agrees very closely with that of the 'keep' at S. Simeon, Aswân (see Plate xxx). One cannot, however, suppose that this actually formed part of a 'keep'. The walls are thin, I could not convince myself that there had been an upper story; and, finally, the building does not occupy the most commanding position on the enclosed ground. There are remains of two little loophole windows to each room high up in the wall. It will be observed that the churches, except the small one of El Adra, have their entrance enclosed by a wall. We find the church enclosure to be in the nature of a close within that of the monastery.

The three churches standing together are dedicated—the northern to El Malâk Mikhaîl; the next, southward, to Mari Girgis; the third to Abu Hennes (S. John). There are strong indications that the three churches were not built at the same time. The church of S. Michael is built up against that of S. George, whilst the east part of S. Michael's is different in construction from the west. The church of Abu Hennes is again distinct from that of Mari Girgis.

The Church of S. Michael

To begin with S. Michael's Church, which is chiefly of crude brick. It has not, now, an external door, but is entered through a hole in the north wall of the nave of the adjoining church of S. George, and this hole leads us into a western

corridor or antechapel, which may not improbably have been built on to the west wall of S. Michael's to cover its doorways. Under these conditions it is very unsafe to describe the plan of this church as we now see it, as if it were a whole and complete design in itself, whilst we may with safety approach the consideration of the plan of S. George's church as a thing complete in itself.

In the church of S. Michael we find an eastern corridor running from north to south, of three unequal bays, covered with domes which are supported on cross arches. The northern bay is the largest of the three. On the east it opens by an arch to a *haikal*, which is, on plan, rather deeper than a semicircle. In its walls are five shallow niches which do not reach the floor. They seem to have been only intended for books, &c., and have no claim to architectural effect. The *higáb*, of masonry, has two doors. South of this *haikal* we find two others, one close by a brick *higáb*, with a door in the middle, the other by a wall or *higáb* with two doors.

West of this part of the church there is a construction of two bays in the direction east and west, and five north and south. A range of columns, carrying the vaulted roof, passes down the centre. The northern column is of brick, the rest are of stone—no two alike, either in height or diameter. They are surmounted by capitals, of very amorphous shapes, passing from round to square. Such an ill-assorted collection are these columns that they vary in height from 1.50 to 2.10. Very slight arches spring from the abaci of the capitals. These arches support the vaults, which are not domes of true circular plan, but approach a square.

The part of the church last described is not completely cut off from the part east of it, for the wall of separation is pierced by three doorways, and in the southern bay only does this wall completely fill the arch carrying the vault. It will be observed that there is no agreement in the points of support between the eastern and the western building. The vault of the eastern is also much higher up than that of the western building.

Church of S. George

Passing southward we enter the Church of S. George through the hole before mentioned, which pierces the walls of the two buildings, and oddly enough lands us under the steep stair which gives access to the *ambon*, which must be described hereafter.

The plan of this church differs entirely from that of the church of S. Michael just described. We find a nave with north and south aisles, an apse, and a square chamber on either side of it. It belongs to the type A, basilican.

The structure is, for the most part, of crude brick, but the arches and piers are of burnt brick. The place has been terribly ill used, and has been repaired and propped in a very clumsy way. It is now a neglected ruin. The nave ends in the *haikal* eastward, with a well-developed apse, rather deeper than a semicircle. Just above the floor level is a low plinth or projection of brickwork, possibly to

form a bench. The plan shows that this bench does not, at its western ends, follow the line of the apse walls; the ends approach each other, so that the floor of the apse is, on plan, nearly three parts of a circle. Two columns (B, B) now stand on this bench, but it is very doubtful whether they occupy their original position. They seem to have formed part of the *higâb*, which has been desperately pulled about. At the east end of the apse is a shallow niche, not reaching to the bench.

The wall-surfaces of the apse still retain, in places, the plaster, with remains of very coarse painting on it. One can distinguish standing figures, with the *nimbus*. There is also painting visible on the conch of the apse itself, which seems to be of an earlier date. We see, in a circle, a large 'Majesty' with a book on the left knee. The right hand and the upper part of the figure are destroyed. There are figures on either hand flanking the 'Majesty' so broken as to be unrecognizable.

The screen or *higâb* is quite an ambitious work, and belongs to the type with the doors and a little window between them (see Figs. 26 and 28).

Four limestone columns of unequal length, with clumsy capitals and bases, are built up in the wall. I could not find any evidence that these four columns had been connected by any sort of architrave: they seem to have been used merely as stiffeners to the wall, and also as ornaments. As the drawing shows, they are nearly buried. Little doorways are built in the side intercolumniations, whilst a pointed arch, sunk in the face of the wall, surmounts the little window pierced through the middle intercolumniation.

From the *haikal*, westward, the nave of the church consists of three bays, opening with arches, to the north and south aisles. The easternmost bay is wider from east to west than those west of it.

The north and south arches are very flat, and have in consequence pushed over the piers and arches of the neighbouring bays towards the west. The piers are rectangular on plan and terribly deformed. The roof of the nave is constructed in a way which I have not met with elsewhere (Fig. 27). Arches are thrown across the nave from north to south. On the backs of these tunnel vaults are built in the direction north and south. In the walls closing the ends of these tunnels little windows are pierced, forming a clerestory above the arches, which open towards the aisles; each bay of the aisle is covered with a tunnel vault. The scheme of construction is ingenious and strong, but has failed in consequence of the extremely inadequate abutment at the western end of the arcades. The clumsy fortifications have not succeeded in repairing the original faults of design. The western arch, spanning the nave, is misshapen—semi-circular in form; the east is misshapen pointed. The arch opening to the *haikal* is quasi-elliptical, very flat and ugly, and is now propped by a pier built on the top of the *higâb* (see Fig. 26).

The various inserted piers, walls, &c., are shown on the plan by a difference of tint. Additions to the pier D have, with the pier itself, been painted with

figures. The screen EE is inserted. The eastern side of it is of the roughest brickwork, unplastered; the western side is covered with fine white plaster. The doorway with which it is pierced, and which has been bricked up, has a band of ornament over its pointed arch: this is coloured red. There are



FIG. 26. Dêr Mari Girgis. *Higab*.

traces of inscriptions scribbled on the surface of the wall and of painted crosses.

On the north side of the nave, in the middle bay, is a platform standing on little columns—the *ambon*,¹ no doubt. Its floor is rather above head level. One walks under it to pass northward into the church of S. George. Two shafts of columns, without capitals or bases, are under it. The floor of this platform is of brick vaulting, exceedingly flat. The *ambon* is approached by stairs in the north aisle.

¹ See F on plan, Plate XL.

The north and south aisles are provided towards the east with inserted screens of brick, each of them pierced by a small arched doorway. That on the south is blocked up. It was the same as that on the north, which is much hidden by the *ambon*. The western face of the north screen is covered with flat plates of sandstone built up on edge. A channelled moulding runs up the side and a round-headed arch cut out of a single slab completes the doorway.

The western wall of the church is thin and is not provided with any piers or counter forts to resist the thrust of the arches on the east. It is pierced by three doorways, two of which are now bricked up. My notes, made on the spot, conclude thus: 'The building is so altered, deformed and defaced that it is not worth while making a section or elevation! What is original, which are repairs?'

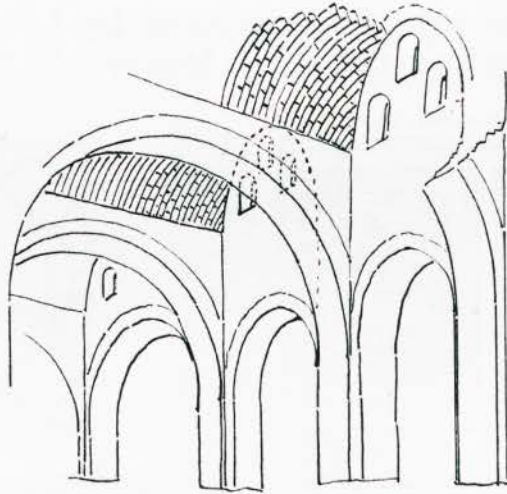


FIG. 27. Dêr el Mêgma. Church of Mari Girgis.

Adjoining the church is an apartment, to the south. This is entered by a doorway in the middle bay of the south aisle. I am not able to say whether it is an addition to the church or a part of the original building.

Church of S. John (Abu Hennes)

South of the building last described, and only touching it at the south-west angle, stands the Church of S. John. This structure is somewhat akin to the type B. We find a parallel in the church of Mari Boctor (see p. 123). It has undergone one very serious alteration. The eastern bay A (the *haikal*), the *higâb* or screen BB, and the vaults over these parts, have been entirely rebuilt, and, I think, at no distant period.

The plan consists of a central bay, rather longer than it is wide, and opening with arches on all four sides. West of it is a bay, square on plan. Aisles lie north and south of these bays. What lay to the east we cannot affirm, but it is not unlikely that the rebuilding followed the old lines, as the eastern wall is certainly part of the original structure.

To begin with a description of the main lines of the church, the arch cc

of the middle bay is pointed; the arch at HH is semicircular; the arches KK are pointed. It will be observed that the building shows a mixture of pointed and round arches, which seem to have been used indifferently, but the general impression the building gives is that it is decidedly later in its period than the churches adjoining, that it is better set out, and has been built with more care. Unfortunately but little science has been displayed, for it has given way in all directions, and is, in nearly every part, supported by props and piers of clumsy brickwork. The west wall is by no means sufficiently strong to resist the thrust of the arches within.

The *higâb* is of burnt brick. It is of the type with two doors and a little window between them. The arch CC is closed by a screen with a central door. This screen is not part of the original masonry of the piers. The arch above the screen was open. The arch at D, semicircular, has been built up solid. The arch at G, which is similar to that at F, is built up solid with a doorway in the

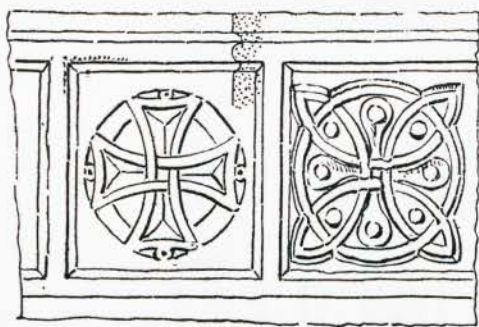


FIG. 28. Dêr el Mэгma. Carved Panel of *Higâbs*.

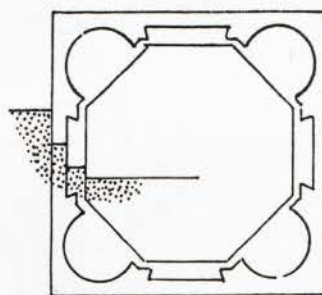


FIG. 29. Dêr el Mэгma. South Church. Tank.

middle. The arch H has been blocked, leaving a round-topped opening in the middle, whilst considerable blocks of masonry have been piled up at the angles II to prop the piers from which this arch springs. The arches KK have been supported by arches built within them. The inserted arch on the north rests on the abaci of columns—short and clumsy, their capitals rudely carved with leaf-work of a Byzantine type. On the south, the supporting arch rests on brick piers. The capitals of Byzantine type above referred to give no clue to the date of the arch they support. They were merely 'at hand' and came in useful.

In the middle of the western bay is a tank sunk below the level of the floor: the depth of it is 1·20 (Fig. 29). The tank can be filled by a channel, fed from the outside.

A large piece of brickwork completely blocks the north aisle, and the south aisle is also blocked by cross walls. There is a gap of some size in the south wall of the south aisle, but this is now blocked, and through it passes the water channel for the tank. There is evidence of a still larger gap in the west wall, also bricked up, but nothing outside shows that the church had been extended in either of these directions. A blocked opening can be seen in the middle bay of the north aisle, but the most important doorway, judging by the way in which it has been finished, is that at the extreme east end of this aisle.

There is not in the building any architectural detail whereby we may assign to it a date, except the shape of certain arches and the detail of the present entrance doorway. This is an excellent specimen of rubbed brickwork closely fitted together, in a style very commonly found in Cairo or other large towns. The vault within the doorway is equally well made of rubbed brickwork. The south wall of the church is built against another brick wall which has in it an arched window-head of fairly good brickwork. A curved mark above this window-head shows that a vault was once here. Possibly the existing church is a rebuild of an earlier one. A few metres south of the church is a large well prepared for a *sakyeḥ*, or chain of buckets, from which water could be run into the tank before mentioned.

El Adra

Within the enclosure wall of the monastery, and between the church of Mari Girgis and the group of cells, we find the remains of an exceedingly small



FIG. 30. Dêr el Malâk. Church of El Adra.

church dedicated to El Adra. This little building is very symmetrical and belongs to the type A (basilican). The *haikal* ends in an apse; the altar lies buried beneath rubbish, and, although small enough in itself, it nearly fills the little *haikal*. The *higâb* or screen is of the type with two doors. West of this is a sort of transept, which opens by an arch into a nave of three bays, with north and south aisles. The nave opens to the aisles by an arcade of three arches resting on small columns. In the east wall of the transept are traces of two doors, now bricked up. The arch leading from the transept to the nave, small as it is, has at some time been strengthened as to its piers.

The entrance to the church is in the eastern bay of the north aisle, and opposite to it are traces of an opening bricked up. There is a gap in the wall at the west end, but it is too small to have been a doorway, even for this toy church. In entering, we pass through not less than three brick walls, laid one over against the other. The building is sadly ruined. So small is it that when complete the walls were not probably five metres high to the extremest limits. It is now roofless, whilst débris and broken bricks have so thickly accumulated round about

that we descend several steps to reach the floor level. This too is encumbered by heaps of fallen brickwork.

We found in this church a carved capital and fluted shaft of a column of which a sketch is given (see Fig. 30). For safety this was taken away by us and placed in the church of St. George.

At the north end of the enclosure wall, within which are the doors of the three churches, are the remains of a building, square on plan. At the corners we can see evidences of diagonal arches prepared to receive an octagon, which no doubt was to carry a dome. The walls that remain are, however, so exceedingly thin that it may be doubted whether the dome was ever set up, or, if it were, whether it can have stood for many years. Measured, March 1901.

CHURCH AT DENDERAH

PLATE XLI, FIG. 1

This building, of unusually good masonry, is built of sandstone, taken undoubtedly from the Mammesium, with the walls of which its walls are parallel, and close to which it stands. The blocks of stone are in many cases joined with dovetail dowels of wood in the ancient manner, imitating the masonry of the adjoining temple. The manner of placing the blocks is also the same. When the wall is sufficiently thick to be built of two stones side by side, there are not any bond stones running through it; the parallel thicknesses of which the wall is built can, without impediment, fall away the one from the other. The carved detail, of which there must have been a great deal, corresponds very exactly with that which we find at the Dêr el Abiaç and the Dêr el Aḥmar near Sohâg, which will be described later on. The plan of the building was basilican—type A—with many elaborations. Measured, December 1900.

NAGA'A ED DÊR

PLATE XLI, FIG. 2

This church lies on the east bank of the Nile, nearly opposite Girgeh. Its plan belongs to the type C; it is, internally, a picturesque and pleasing specimen. The building, as we now see it, was not all constructed at the same time. The two northern bays are an addition. The three *haikals* of the older building are in plan neither apsidal nor rectangular, but a compromise between the two. Each *haikal* is covered by a dome. The altar of the central *haikal* has a very good canopy of wood, its four supports standing close against the altar as at Medammôt. The supports are connected by arches, the ceiling above is adorned with geometrical patterns, and has a hanging border of pierced woodwork, the whole thing is coloured, Modern 'Arab' style. It cannot be old, but is a good example of its sort. The church has everywhere an unusual air of propriety and neatness. The vestments, lying as usual on the altar, are clean and new. There is a small lectern outside the *haikal* and a wood standing candlestick. The *higâb* enclosing

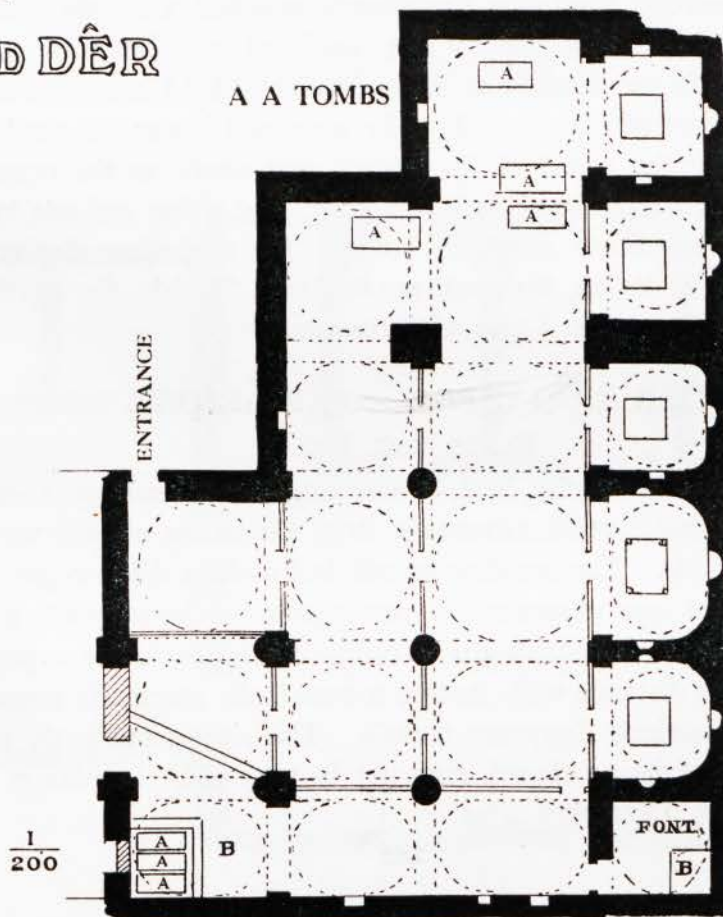
DENDERAH

FIG. 1



DÊR NAGA'A ED DÊR

FIG. 2



the *haikals* are of wood, and in each case with a door in the middle. They are of commonplace geometrical panneling, not deserving of particular mention.

West of the *haikal* we find the usual arrangement of domes carried on arches. The columns to the springing of the arches are but 2·40 in height, to the crown of the arches 4·30, by which dimensions we can tell how modest is the size of the building. The dome immediately west of the central *haikal* is somewhat more ambitious in design than the others. It is carried on pendentives, which are roughly worked into a sort of honeycomb pattern.

The pillars and arches are all of burnt brick ; the rest of the building of crude brick, plastered and whitewashed in the interior. A system of construction very common in Cairo is seen in this church. Instead of providing adequate abutments to resist the thrust of the arches, there are blocks of wood built into the capitals of the columns, and on these are placed the tie beams connecting their tops.

The women use the part of the church screened off on the south. At the east end of this is the font, B. This part of the church is approached from a *Mandara* or reception room, which lies outside to the west. The *Mandara* is a very common adjunct to a church.

In the addition to the church there is built on its north side a tank—a sinking in the floor about 2·0 square, in the bottom of which is an octagon : in general design much like the tank already described at Dêr el Magma and in the church of Abu Hennes.

There are several tombs in the church, marked A on the plan. In the south-west corner are three side by side, enclosed by a low wall : no entrance. One of the tombs in the north part of the church is held in much reverence and is covered by a piece of silk damask. We were told it was the tomb of a priest.

Unfortunately the priest of the church was away on the occasion of our visit. The man in charge was sadly ignorant, and either did not know or was unwilling to communicate anything to us. He said that the central altar was dedicated to El Malâk, the southern to Amba Shnûda, the northern to Sitt Dimiana. This information I give with reserve.

DÊR MARI GIRGIS, NEAR AKHMIM

PLATE XLII, FIG. I

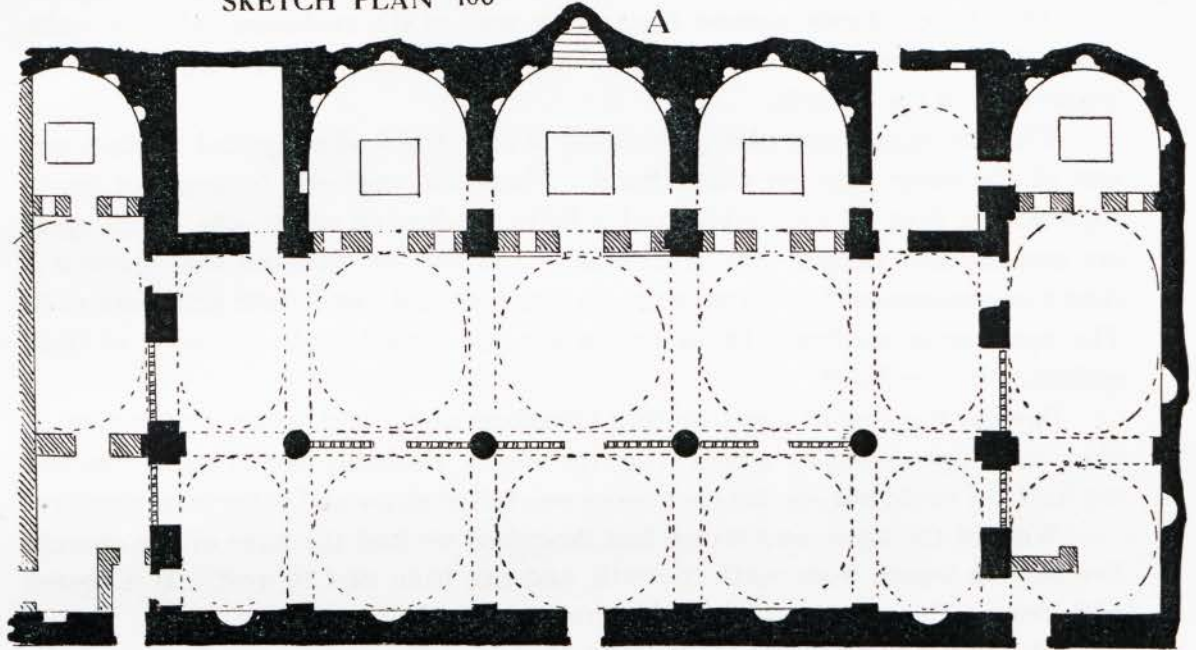
On the east bank of the Nile, nearly opposite Menshîya, there stands a Dêr, raised on a low foothill advancing from the range of hills which enclose the Nile on that side. The building stands but a short distance back from the river. Sailing past one observes the rectangular enclosure wall, a low dome rising above it, and just outside the entrance to the enclosure a pigeon-house, which from a little distance with its two towers looks much like a small copy of the Pylon of an ancient Egyptian temple. The site is evidently of no little antiquity, but the existing church may not be very old. In plan it belongs to type C. Measured, December 1892.

DÊR MARI GIRGIS

NEAR AKHMIM

FIG. 1

SKETCH PLAN $\frac{1}{100}$

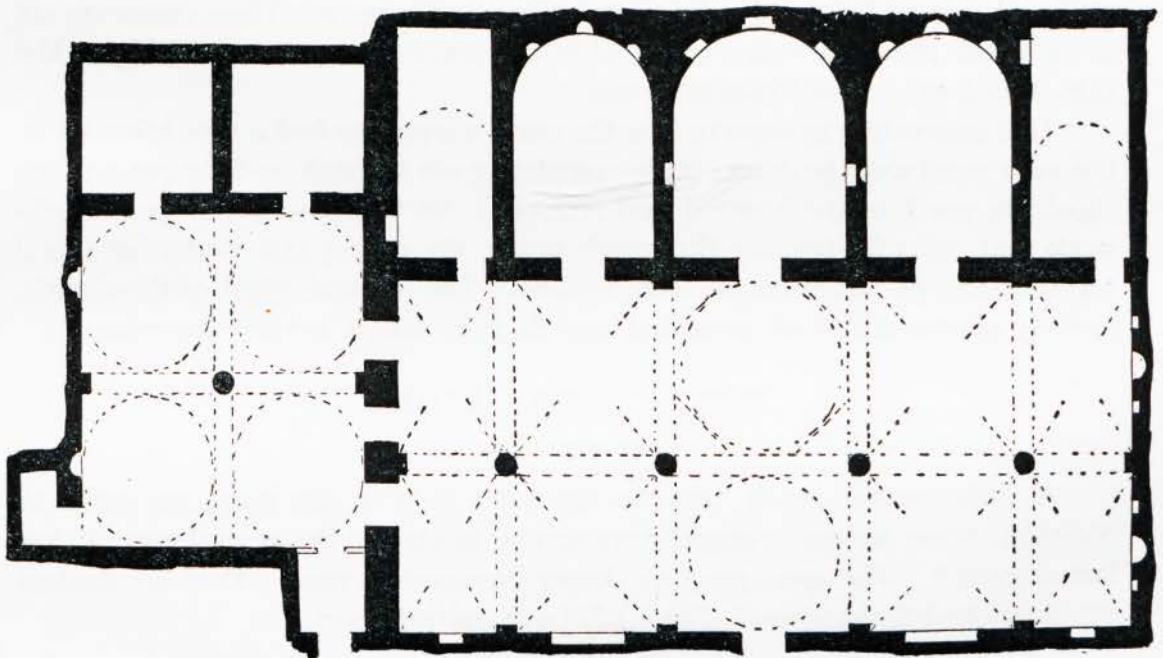


SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

DÊR EL ADRA·AKHMIM

FIG. 2

A



SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

Entering the enclosure of the Dêr we see several small houses, low huts of one story, flat-roofed, and from the doors of which there come forth not only the owners, but chicken, sheep, goats, &c., after the manner common to all villages in Egypt.

The church stands against the eastern wall of the enclosure, which is quite straight, and does not in this or in any other place I have visited show the apses projecting on the outside.

The plan is very complete, consisting of a central *haikal*, apsidal in plan, and one of the same plan on either hand. These are enclosed by *higâb* of brick, each with a door in the middle and a little window on either side. The apses are considerably deeper than a semicircle. It will be observed that there is a doorway communicating between the central apse and those north and south of it. The apses open westward by arches, which are closed up to the level of their springing by the *higâb*.

Beyond the row of apses we find chambers north and south, rectangular in plan, and approached by a door from the west. Probably one of these contains the font. I could not see, for each room was full of straw and other farm produce.

West of the apses and rooms last described we find the nave of the church, five bays in length from north to south, and two from east to west. It is roofed with domes, the arches carrying which rest on four brick columns.

The west bays of the nave are separated from the east by wood screens with doors in the middle. These only fill the three central bays. There is a doorway in the west wall of the central bay of the nave, and also in the north and south walls at their west ends. These doorways do not now communicate with the outside, but open upon two side-chapels, which seem to be additions to the original plan.

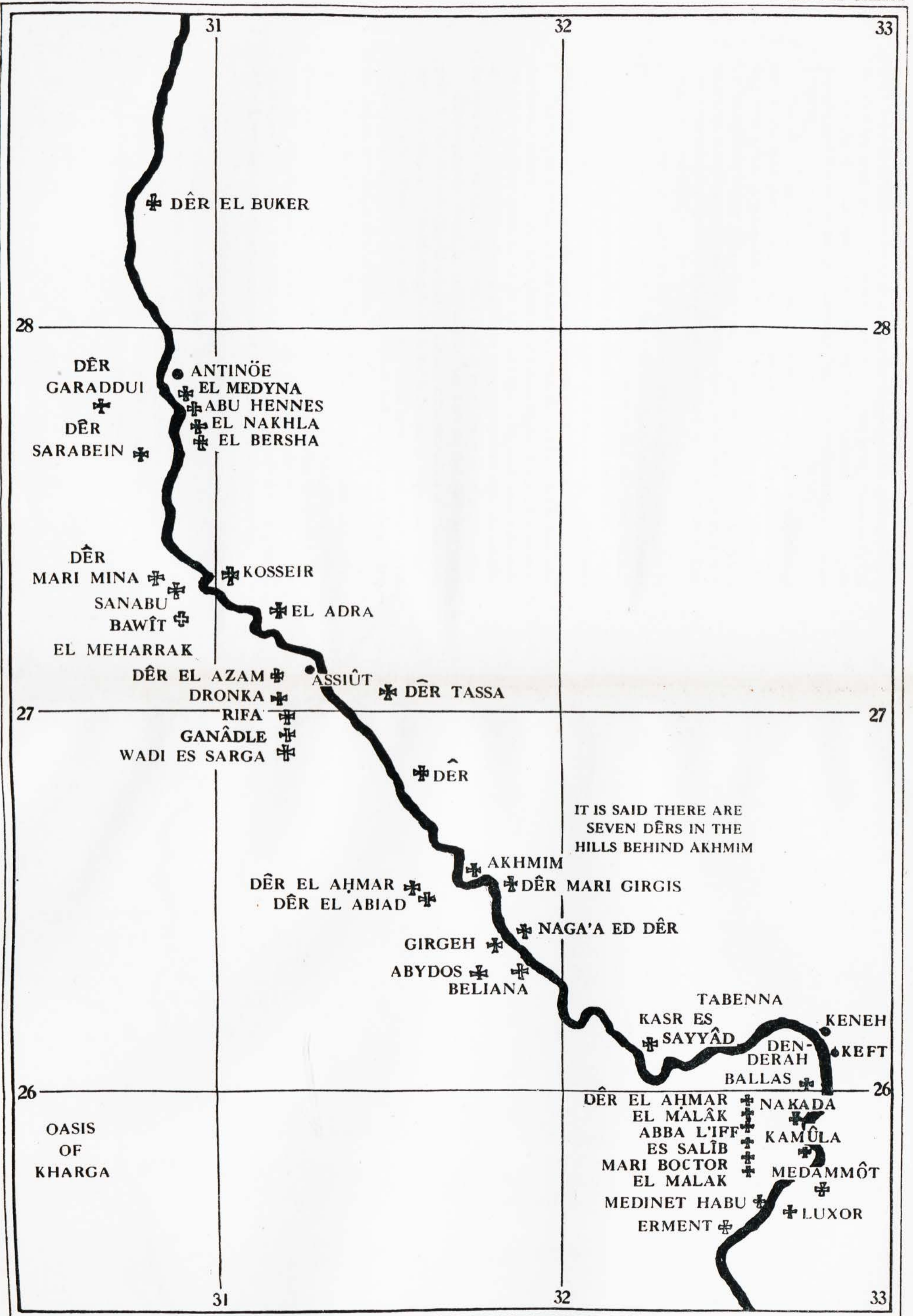
Large openings, closed by wood screens, are made in the north and south walls, so that the side-chapels are in very direct communication with the main part of the church. The side-chapels end towards the east in apses, and at their west end each of them has a doorway leading to the open. These doorways are in each case provided with a screen of brickwork, forming a sort of lobby. The side-chapels are covered in with domes.

It is instructive to observe how the north chapel has had a slice taken off it, the apse vault and the domes being completely cut through, and the parts which should be north of the inserted wall removed. So tenacious is the crude brickwork that, notwithstanding this rough usage, the domes and vaults have held together and do not seem the least injured. The internal effect of the church, entirely plastered and whitewashed, and lit from above, is very charming.

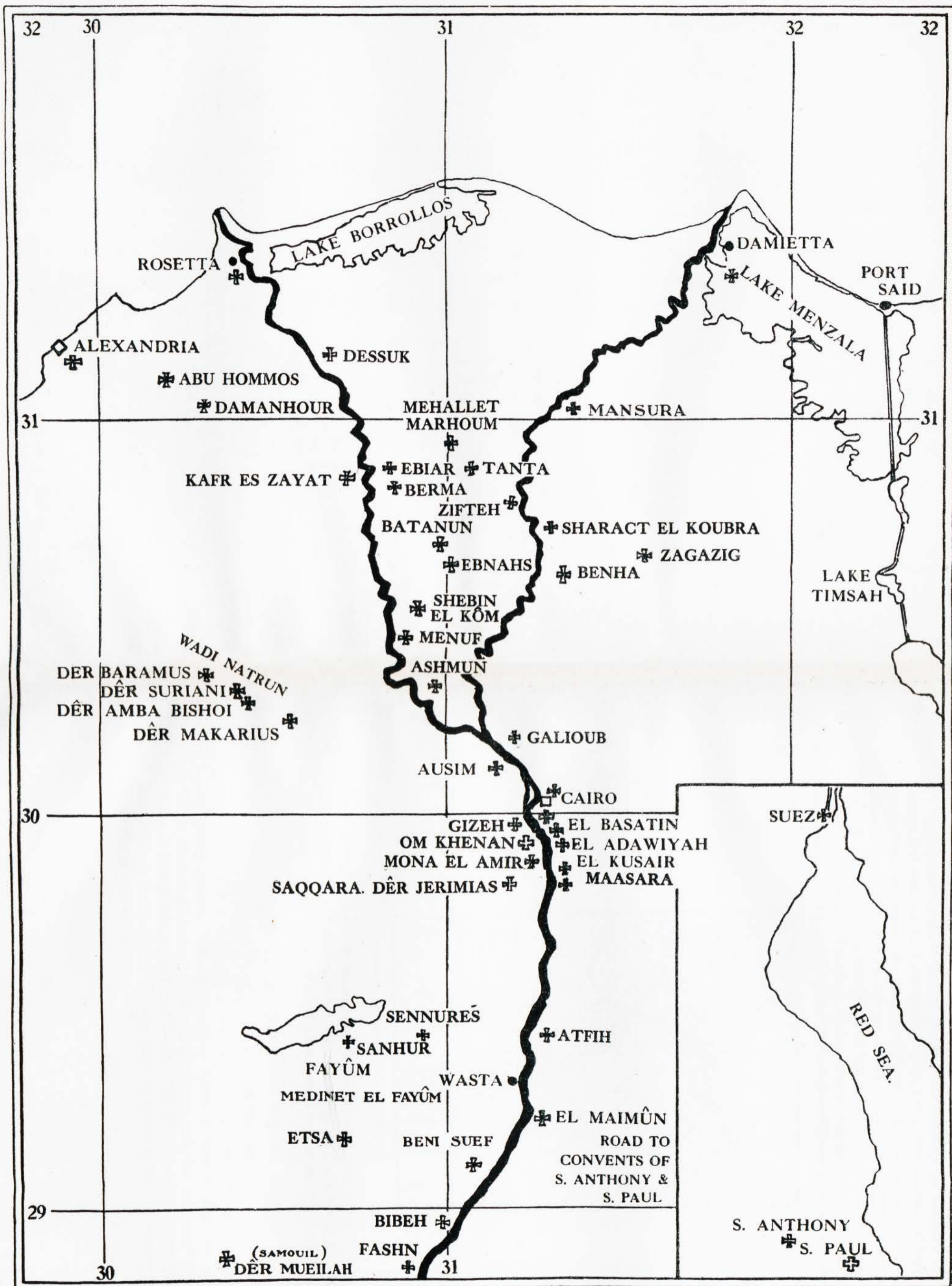
DÊR EL ADRA, AKHMIM

PLATE XLII, FIG. 2

A little further north, and on the same side of the river, we come to Akhmim, where we find a church very similar in plan to the central part of that last described. The apses are even deeper from east to west. They are flanked by square-ended chambers. The *higâb* have central doors.



MAP No. 5.



MAP No. 6.

The western part of the church is not covered by the ordinary system of domes, but with vaults, rectangular on plan, except the two central bays. Over these domes are raised, the dome immediately before the central *haikal* rising to some height. To the north side an addition has been built with square-ended eastern chapels. The western part of this adjunct is covered by four domes in the customary way. There are three arches of communication pierced through the north wall. Fig. 31 shows the internal decoration of this church : the bricks

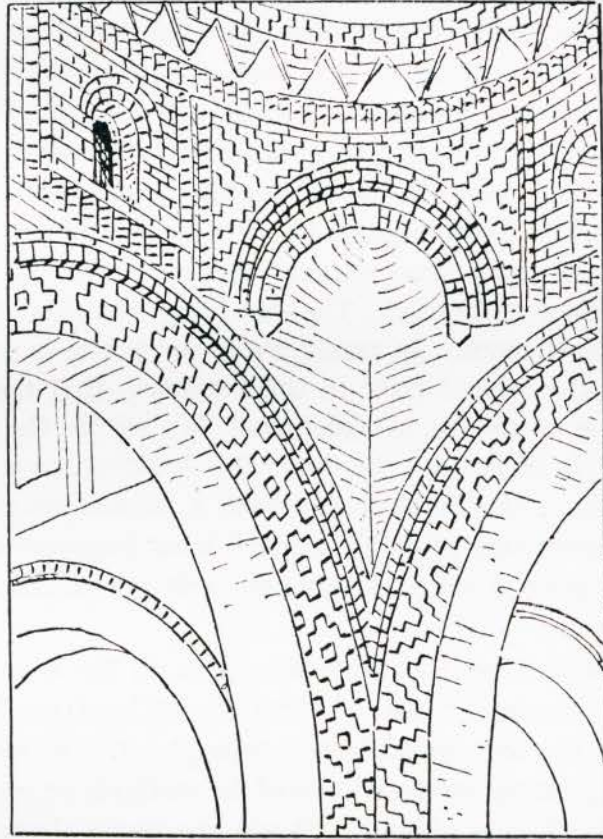


FIG. 31. Akhmim. Interior decorations.

are coloured dark-red or brown, and the joints marked in white. The patterns are traditional, and are the direct outcome of dealing frankly with the materials. Fragments of decorations of this type are to be seen in many places.

DÊR AMBA SHNÛDA (EL ABIAD), SOHÂG
 PLATES XLV, XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII

This building is placed on the desert at the extreme western edge of the cultivated ground. The rocky cliffs of limestone have at their feet an uneven slope, which is, in fact, a part of the limestone rock, but is covered with a thin layer of broken stone, sand, and débris. This ends somewhat abruptly, and the alluvial soil lies against it like the water of a lake against its shores. On this edge the church is built.

The church is surrounded on its north, west, and south sides by a large amount of débris of buildings, both of burnt and crude brick. Standing on the top of the church walls, it can be seen that the space covered by the débris is, roughly, a rectangle, with its longest axis north and south. In consequence of the slope of the ground toward the east, the floor-level of the church is at its eastern end at least 2.0 above the ground outside.

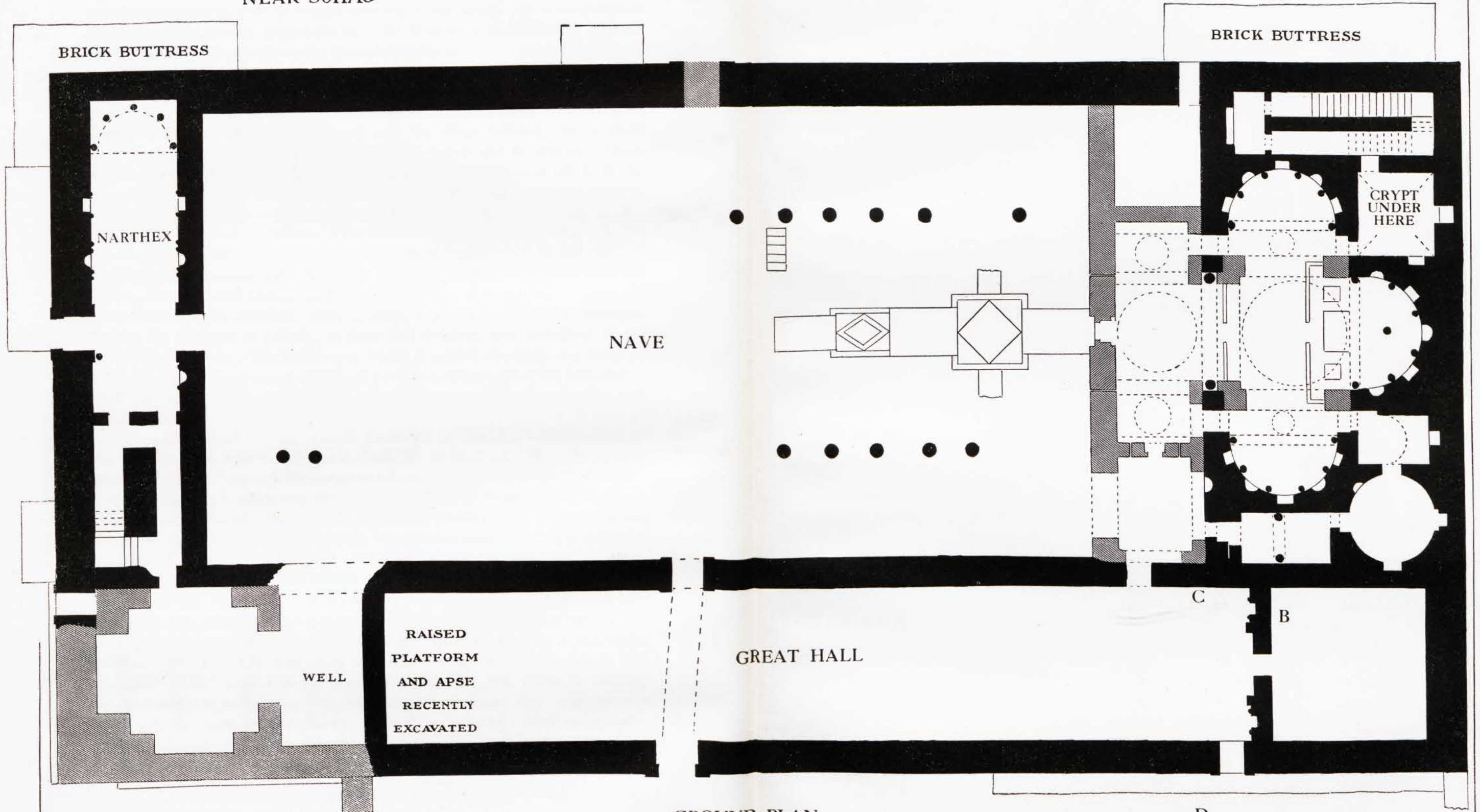
It should perhaps here be said that the stone rectangular building commonly called the Dêr is but the church of the monastery with a long hall attached to the south side. The Dêr, with its accommodation for many monks—its kitchens, ovens, storehouses, &c.—included not only the stone building, but a great number of brick structures, the ruins of which, as before said, lie around. These, with the church, were included in a stout brick wall, the remains of which we can trace clearly at the Dêr Amba Bishoi (El Aḥmar), but which are not so easily to be made out in the Dêr Amba Shnûda (see Fig. 37, p. 166).

In the winter of 1907 some excavations were made at this place under the direction of Professor Petrie.¹ The site lying immediately to the south of the church was investigated. In result, Professor Petrie is of opinion that the existing church is the second built in this locality; that the first church, the central feature of a coenobitic establishment, lay within the site he examined. Judging by the style of pottery, he dates this building, now destroyed, to the time of Constantine. The building of which I submit drawings was built, as he thinks, and as seems very probable, in parts from fragments of the first church. On Plate XLIII he gives a plan, showing the relative positions of the first and second buildings.

The external wall is built of white limestone, in blocks of considerable size, and set in a hard mortar. Some of them are at least 2.0 long; the courses average 0.42 deep; the beds are horizontal throughout. The method of laying the stones corresponds in many ways with one of the methods we see in older Egyptian buildings, i. e. in the absence of bond. Stones are nearly always laid in the direction of the length of the wall side by side; the same has been observed at Denderah (p. 140). It cannot be stated with certainty that the masonry was laid in the old Egyptian manner (i. e. the stones set with the rough quarry face and the final surface cut afterwards). From what I could observe, I do not think they were set in this manner. The tool-marks on the external surface of the wall are not like those on an ancient Egyptian building; they are made by a pick with a toothed edge. It is not improbable that the external face of the outside wall was finally dressed down after the stones were in place. Most likely the masonry was not intended to be seen, but, following old tradition, was to be entirely covered with a coat of fine plaster. Indeed, remains of a coat of plaster—possibly original—are still visible, with colour. The south-west corner of the enclosing wall has fallen down, and been rebuilt. The masonry here is very

¹ These are described in *Athribis*, by W. M. F. Petrie, J. H. Walker, and E. B. Knobel, London. The Egyptian Research Account, 1908, p. 13.

DÊR AMBA SHNÛDA
(DÊR EL ABIAD)
NEAR SOHÂĠ



BRICK BUTTRESS

BRICK BUTTRESS

NARTHEX

NAVE

CRYPT UNDER HERE

WELL

RAISED PLATFORM AND APSE RECENTLY EXCAVATED

GREAT HALL

GROUND PLAN
SCALE $\frac{1}{200}$

A

B

C

D

DÊR EL ABIAD

FIG. 1

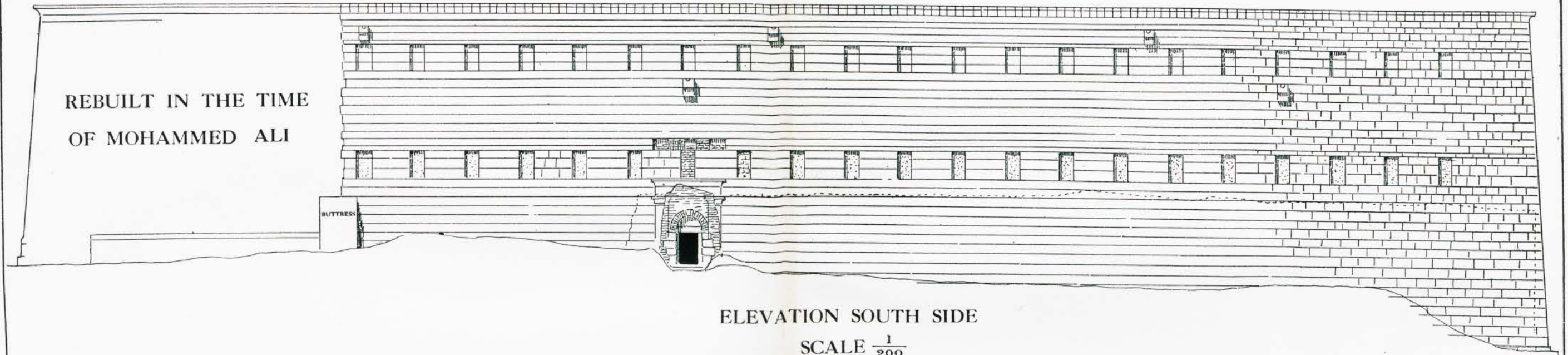
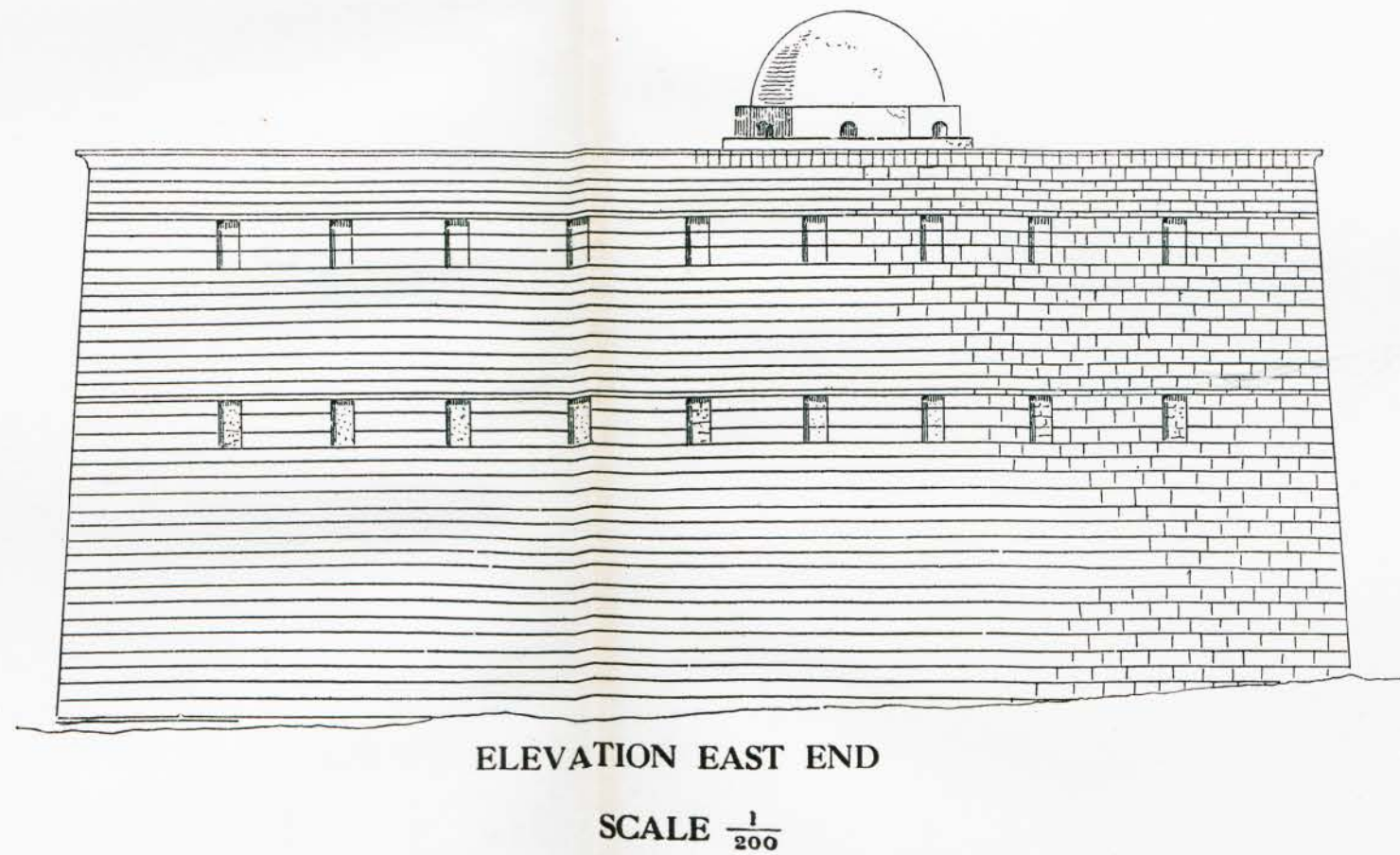
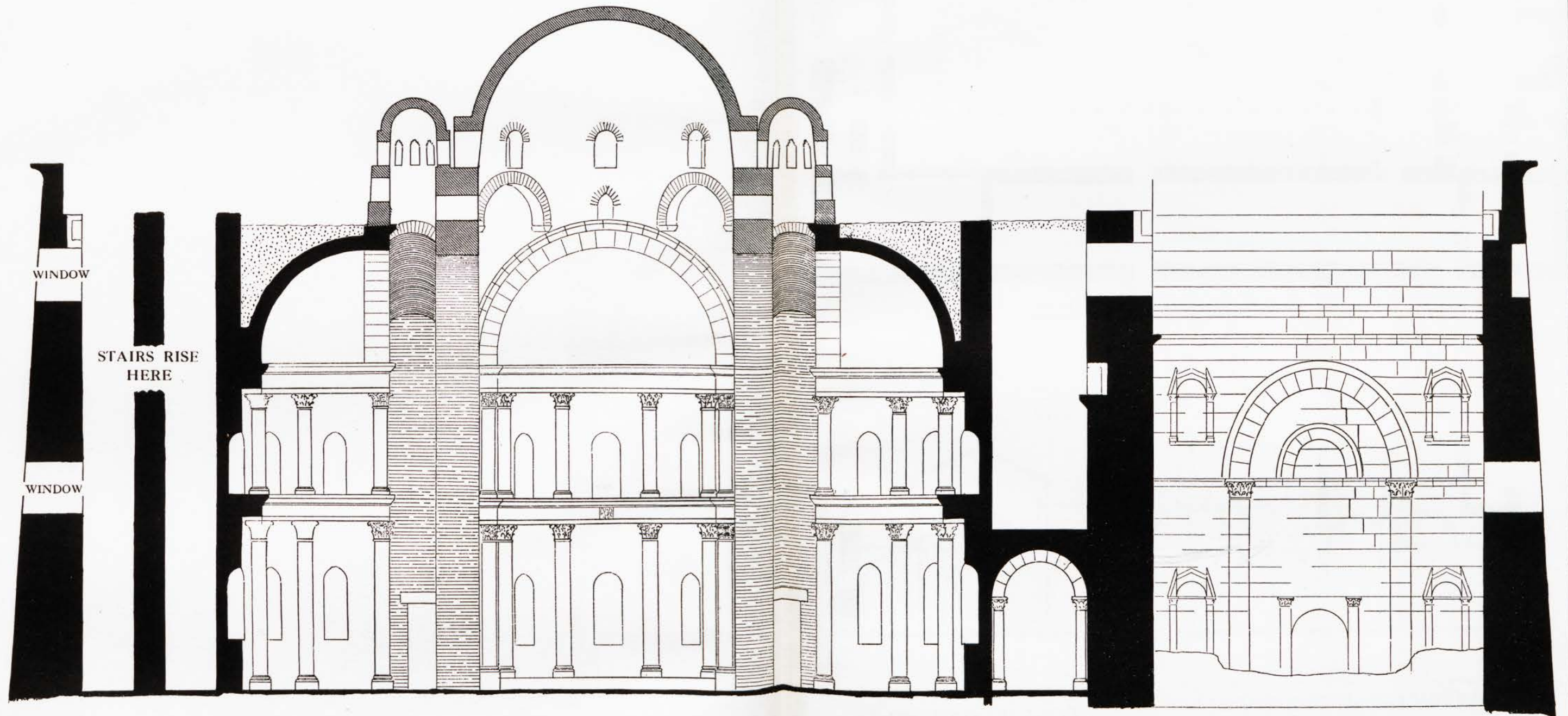


FIG. 2



DÊR EL ABIAD

SHOWING THE BUILDING AS IT
WAS IN 1907



SECTION ON LINE A-B C-D LOOKING EAST

EAST END OF GREAT HALL

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

DÊR EL ABIAD

(CONJECTURAL RESTORATION)

FIG. 1

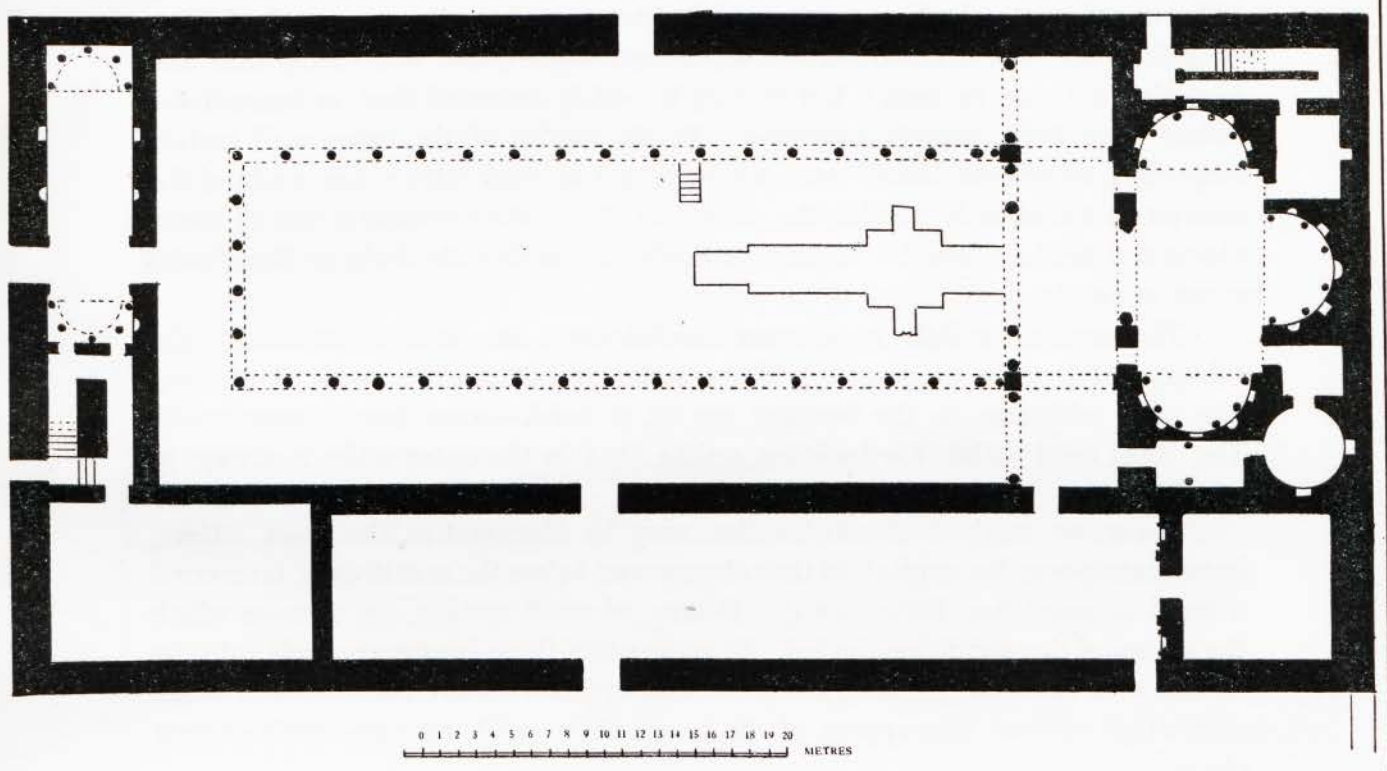
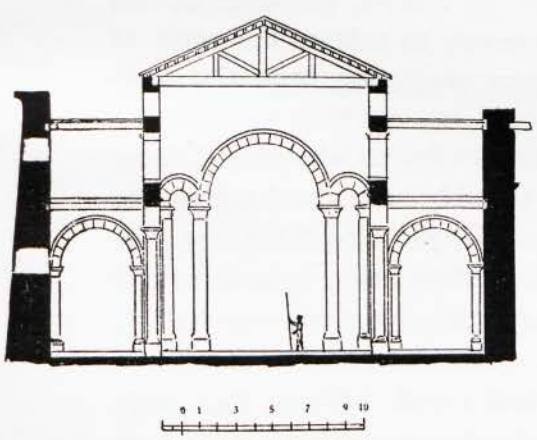
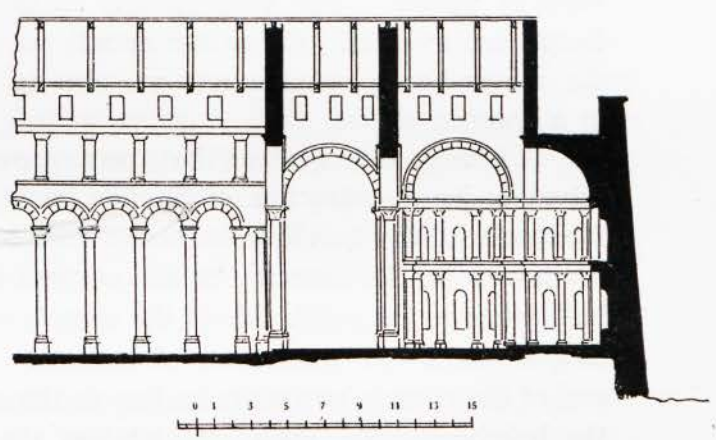


FIG. 2



SECTION SHOWING
EAST END OF NAVE

FIG. 3



LONGITUDINAL ELEVATION

roughly laid, with wide and ill-made joints ; I was told that the collapse happened in the first half of the nineteenth century, and was repaired at the direction of Mohammed Ali.

There is in this part a mere skin of stone, the inside of the wall being entirely of burnt brick. No doubt very many of the stones used are from ancient buildings. In a few cases the original surface has been retained, and some sculptures and hieroglyphics can be seen ; but it may be safely assumed that in general the stones have been entirely redressed. In the angles of the outer wall certain large slabs of granite have been built in to act as angle ties. The walls of the interior of the church are, for the most part, faced with masonry, but in many places red brick is found. It may be doubted whether the bulk of these walls is not of red brick.

The arches, capitals of columns, architraves, &c., are of limestone ; the columns of marble or granite. Many bases are of marble, some of granite. The later additions to the building are all of brick—some burnt, some crude. The stone used within the building, unlike that in the outer walls, is always in small blocks.

A curious method of construction may be observed in the apses. Here, immediately over the capitals of the columns and below the architraves, is inserted a band of wood (see Plate XLVII). Beams, of small section, are seen on which the stones of the architrave rested. In some cases these beams are built into the surface of a flat wall, as bond timber. The architraves are built of such small stones that without the support of the beams they could not have retained their places.

The three apses at the east end of the church are vaulted with burnt brick. There is no reason to think that these apsidal semi-domes are not original. Some minor apartments were also vaulted. The apsidal ends of the narthex were vaulted with burnt brick.¹ All other roofs and floors which can now be traced were of timber. The preparations in the walls to receive the ends of the beams are evident. Rainwater spouts were contrived to relieve the roofs at the upper level ; some spouts are also to be seen projecting from the walls at a lower level.

It is more than evident that the vast numbers of religious who placed themselves under the direction of Shnúda could not possibly have lived within the four walls of the building we are now describing. They enclosed but few subdivisions : A, the church ; B, the narthex at its western end ; C, a very long hall, lying on the south side of the church, and extending for more than half its length ; D, a few apartments of moderate size, some attached to the eastern end of the church, two stairs leading to the roof, and a well. Where, then, were the bakehouses, the ovens, the kitchen, the storehouses, and, above all, where were the lodgings of the many monks ? The galleries or corridors, which evidently existed above the side-aisles of the church, and where our friends the

¹ See Fig. 34.

archaeologists have stowed away the monks, were quite insufficient for their accommodation.

Seen from a distance, the building has a very grim and solid aspect. It consists of a rectangle, its long axis east and west. The east wall is 36.75 long, the west 36.90, the north 74.60, the south 74.83. The outline bears a close resemblance to that of an Egyptian temple, the external face of the wall sloping backward as it rises.

Of doorways there are six—three large and three of less size. One large doorway is in the west wall, and opens into the narthex. Another is in the north wall, opening directly into the north aisle. A similar doorway is in the south wall, and opens upon the large hall which lies to the south of the south aisle. Of the smaller doorways there is one in the north wall, which opens on the foot

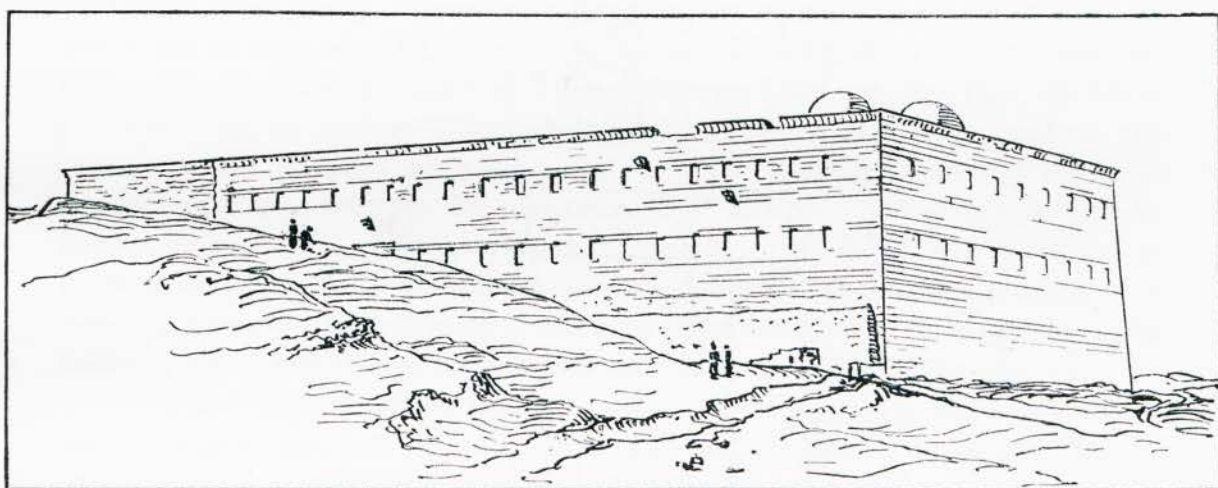


FIG. 32. General view of Dér el Abiad.

of the stairs which rise in the north-east angle of the building; there is another in the south wall, which opens into the large hall at its eastern end; there is a third in the west wall, opening to the foot of the stairs. No doubt for the sake of protection, and in part to strengthen the main outer walls, several of these doors, and very much of the lower part of the outer walls, had been covered with a thick armour of brickwork, partly burnt, partly crude. The north doorway was, and still is, blocked with stone and with drums of columns, as we see in the drawing, Fig. 33, and was not hidden by brickwork, but the smaller doorway in this wall was entirely hidden. The large and small doorways in the western wall were covered, and the eastern doorway in the south wall. The larger doorway in this wall was, and still is, the main and only entrance in use. Outside it had been encased with red brick, and reduced very much in size by inserting pieces of granite. It was made but just large enough to admit a buffalo.¹

At the time the church was built it cannot have been intended that it should have been itself in the nature of a fortress, or so many doorways would have

¹ Not only did many people live within the boundaries of the church, but all their live-stock.

defeated that object. The whole country being then christianized, the sense of security must have been considerable; and the church did not then stand, as it now does, alone and exposed. It stood, as we have already seen, within a stout rectangular wall, enclosing a large area, and filled with the houses of the monks, with mills, barns, bakehouses, &c., &c., forming altogether the monastery. The stone structure with which we now have to deal was the nucleus. It is really the old Egyptian town over again—a stone temple in the midst of a mud-brick town.

The establishment dwindled and shrank until at last it was accommodated within the stone structure which still remains. When repairs were undertaken

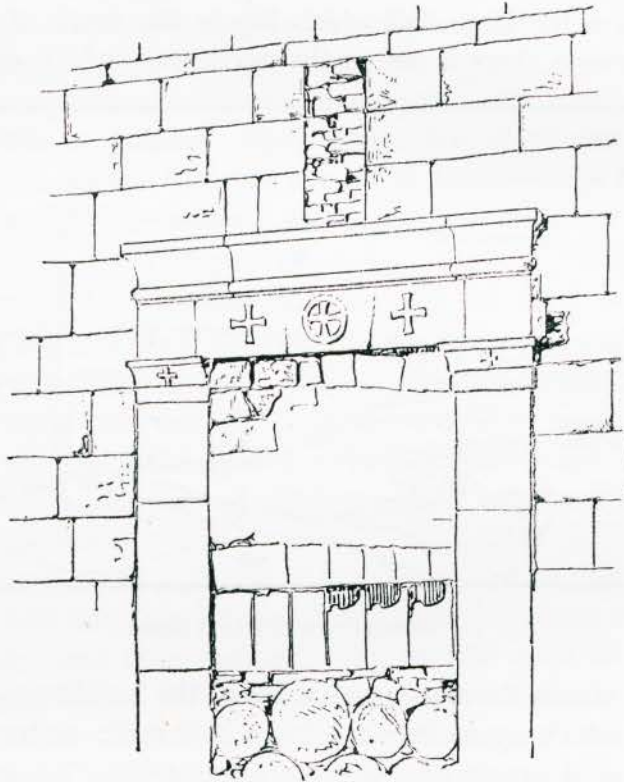


FIG. 33. Dér el Abiad. North Doorway.

in the year 1907, the incrustations of brickwork were removed and the doorways were uncovered. It was very necessary to remove these incrustations, for built as they were, for the most part, of crude brick, and the mortar being chiefly of Nile mud, the salts in these materials had already eaten very considerably into the masonry, and, all unseen, were slowly consuming the lower courses of the walls.

At the top the wall is crowned with a cornice of a section almost the same as that in common use on the ancient temples. The difference lies in the fact that while the ancient architect always placed a bold torus moulding on each angle of his buildings, and a similar moulding to form the lowest member of the cornice, separating its hollow surface from the face of the wall below, in the present case these mouldings are omitted.

Two ranges of recesses like windows are seen in the outer walls. Some of these were windows, but the upper range of those on the south side seem all to have been mere niches, and within are not to be traced. Above each window-head a thin course of stone is used, possibly intended as a slab or architrave to assist in carrying the stones above it during the progress of the building. This narrow course of stone is to be seen not only over the windows, but is continued on the wall face all round the building.

The doorway on the north face opened, as we have said, directly into the north aisle of the nave. It is made of red granite; it consists of two door-jambs of several pieces, forming pilasters set flush with the stone wall face in which they are set. These pilasters are surmounted by capitals of the simplest hollow section, and these again are surmounted by the architrave. This is in three pieces, a long piece bridging the opening and a small piece at either end to complete the length. At the left, as we look at the doorway, we observe on the end-piece parts of a figure in sunk relief, proving that the block is taken from an ancient Egyptian building. On the architrave, and on the capitals of the pilasters, are crosses, cut in relief, proving that these pieces of granite were prepared for the positions they occupy. Above the architrave comes the cornice of ordinary Egyptian section. This, in its length, is also in three pieces, the centre piece still retaining traces of the reeded pattern with which it was ornamented when it stood in its original place in a temple. The doorway has been blocked up with pieces of columns, cornices, &c., &c.

The doorway in the south wall is nearly opposite that in the north. It is also of granite, and has pilasters, architrave, and a cornice, the centre block of which shows a pattern on it similar to that last described.

The doorway in the west wall was until 1907 covered with a mass of brickwork. Pilasters, with capitals carved with foliage, carry an architrave of red granite. This is a portion of the entablature from a Roman Doric building, and is carved with a piece of a triglyph and the guttae below.

The granite has been coloured red. There are traces of painting on the thin coat of plaster with which the whole exterior of the walls was covered. The narrow course of stone over the windows was painted red, and a similar band was below them. The intermediate surfaces were marked out with stone joints in red, these joint-lines not corresponding, except by accident, with the actual joints of the stonework. Over the north and south doorways a break in the masonry of the walls is seen; a course of stones is missing, and the space is filled with rubble. We have no means of knowing what has been removed from these places.

At the south-west angle the wall has been rebuilt,¹ and here we find a rudely formed plinth on the south and on the west faces. One buttress is also of stone, its courses corresponding with those of the masonry of the wall. From this we may suppose that the buttress and the reconstructed wall were set up at the

¹ See p. 146.

same time. From age, and want of proper bond in their construction, the long walls forming the north and south sides of the building had swerved not a little from a true line. The north wall was set straight in 1907. The heavy brick buttress had no doubt been built partly to protect weak places in the walls and partly to support them. Against the south wall, and extending nearly from the south-east angle to the entrance doorway, the lower part of the wall had been cased with crude brick, now removed. The masonry of the walls in general is in admirable preservation, although rent with considerable cracks from settlements.

Entering by the south doorway, we find ourselves in a narrow vaulted passage extending straight before us until we reach the wall which formed the southern boundary of the south aisle of the church. Overhead we see a lintel or architrave in red granite, carved with triglyphs and guttae, and evidently being a part of the same architrave as that which has been made use of in the western doorway.¹ Advancing a few steps towards the north, we find ourselves in the nave of the original church, now roofless, and still encumbered in part with modern houses. A high wall of burnt brick is seen closing the eastern end of the nave, pierced by a large pointed arch, walled up, and with a range of windows above. This wall now forms the western boundary of the church, which has shrunk from a length of 65 metres to one of 16. The original plan was very similar to that of an ordinary basilican church, but differing in the disposition of its eastern end.

It will perhaps be best to begin our description of the interior with the east end of the church, as being the most interesting and important.

From a rectangular space 10.50 by 6.80 there extend three apses—north, east, and south—covered by semi-domes. The walls of the apses are decorated with detached columns in two ranges, each surmounted by architraves. Between the columns are niches alternately half-round and rectangular on plan. The niche-heads are in all cases semi-domes, some carved with a shell pattern and others with elaborately intertwined foliage. The vertical face of the architrave is carved with flat sculpture. Over the central niche, lower range, of the eastern apse a representation of the Holy Dove is cut on a projecting block.

It has already been stated that slight beams were built in under the architraves. On the decay of these, clumsy brick walls were inserted with arched openings in them, corresponding with the niches which are placed between the columns. The brick walls above mentioned completely hid the original walls of the apses, so that it was impossible to see their condition or the ornamentation that was on them and framed the niches. This intrusive masonry was removed in 1907, and timber was once more inserted in the old grooves.

The apses open into the rectangular space by three semicircular arches slightly stilted. Towards the west, an arch supported on two columns completed the rectangle. At present the rectangular space is surmounted by a dome,

¹ In passing through this narrow passage we have in fact traversed the width of the long hall

which lay parallel with the church on its south side.

circular on plan. Brick piers, completely hiding the original wall-surfaces, have been introduced to carry the arches on which the dome rests. From its plan, and the lightness of its construction, it is impossible that the rectangular space was originally surmounted by a dome. It must have been roofed with wood.

Advancing westward we find ourselves in a space with its long axis north and south, and enclosed on the west by the brick wall which we see before us on entering the nave of the church. This wall is undoubtedly coincident with a division of the church which is original. Much of the pavement of the nave—to be described hereafter—is original. It is at a level of 0.38 below the pavement east of the wall, which pavement is also in part original. This is formed of sundry slabs of red granite, bearing traces of hieroglyphs and patterns, terribly broken up, chiefly in white marble.

It is not until we have studied the plan of the Dêr Amba Bishoï (Dêr el Aḥmar) (Plates XLIX, L, LI) that we understand the original plan of the Dêr Amba Shnûda. We find that the wall, in brick, takes the place of two columns and an arch, something in the manner of a screen, which by diminishing the apparent width of the nave led the eye towards the much narrower opening in the sanctuary. Whilst the width between the north and south range of columns of the nave is not less than 11.50, the width of the arch opening towards the three apses is but 5.0. Judging by the evidence given us in the Dêr Amba Bishoï it seems possible that the space enclosed between the screen of columns on the west, and what I may be permitted to call the sanctuary arch on the east, was treated after the manner of a transept. This part of the church at Amba Shnûda has been so completely encased with later brickwork on its east side and entirely destroyed on its west, that it is unsafe to speculate. One thing only is evident: the change of level in the original pavement shows that there was some ritual distinction between the eastern and the western part of the church at this line.

To return to the apses: the columns with which the walls have been ornamented vary considerably in length and have been pieced out, some by extra fragments of columns, some by bases taller than their neighbours. The shafts of the two columns of the upper range at the opening of the northern apse are octagonal. The capitals of the columns are elaborately carved with the acanthus leaf. The treatment of the middle leaf is such that the abacus almost disappears.

The western, or sanctuary arch, stands on two columns of marble. These are raised on bases compiled of sundry pieces. The shafts themselves, not being found sufficiently long, have had pieces of other columns added to them. At the north side iron bands have been used to strengthen the column. So completely are these columns buried on two sides by the brick piers, which have been inserted to support the walls and carry the domes, that the original architectural treatment of this part of the building is left to conjecture.

The ritual arrangement of the *haikal* part of the building may or may not be original. As is shown on the ground plan, an altar stands in the *haikal* just east of the chord of the apse. On either side of this stands a cubical block like

a minor altar.¹ The *haikal* is now enclosed by a wood screen or *higâb*, comparatively modern. The pavement within this screen, although much broken about, seems to be old. At the entrance doorway in the wood screen there is a step of some .06 rise. It seems therefore possible that the present wood screen occupies the site of an older one.

In the north and south apses there are no altars. There is no tradition in the church that altars ever stood here. It seems, however, very difficult to suppose that in so large a church as that under consideration there never was more than one altar, when, in nearly all other Dêrs, three, four, or more are met with. In the north apse is a slab of a very dark marble, set upon rough legs of brick, and turned as far towards the east as the form of the apse will permit. In the pavement below is a white marble altar slab, with the horseshoe cutting on its surface, such as we find at Abu Hennes, and as figured by Butler (*Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 8). In the eastern apse, behind the altar, there are not any indications of a range of seats against the wall; indeed, the level of the niche cills is sufficiently near the floor to make their existence improbable. We are left, then, in uncertainty as to whether the *haikal* as it now exists is part of the original arrangement, or whether the screen was not more to the west, so as to include the three apses.

On either side of the eastern apse, right and left, and approached by doors in the north and south apses, are small rooms. That on the south contains the font; that on the north has beneath it a small crypt which, consequent on the slope of the site towards the east, is actually above ground, but without any window. It is approached by a little hole in the floor of the window recess in the room above it. Through this room access is also gained to a stair which is situated in the extreme north-east corner of the building. This stair leads up to the terrace roof. The room on the right of the *haikal* has in its south wall a doorway, until recently bricked up; this leads into a small circular domed room, which is approached from the west by an antechamber with a pair of detached columns. Access to this antechamber is gained from the transeptal space before mentioned. These rooms are each of them covered by domes rising to a height of six metres above the pavement, whilst the large square room to the south, also covered by a brick dome, rises to a height of nine metres.

West of the sanctuary arch, and occupying the place of the wall which now encloses the church on the west, was—judging by the plan of the church of Amba Bishoi—the point of junction between the nave and the sanctuary. It may be surmised that the nave of the church possibly contained within it at its eastern extremity some ritual arrangement of seats, similar in principle to the arrangement of *cancelli* we still find in San Clemente—at Rome. The reason for making this suggestion is that at a considerable distance west from the east end of the nave we find a solid block of red granite cut into an ascent of five steps. This

¹ We were informed that these were not altars : that the central block was the altar, dedicated to

Amba Shnûda, and that there were not any other altars in the church.

was covered by a canopy of brickwork, consisting of four arches supporting a small dome. Was not this an *ambon*? The floor of this part of the nave, though sadly broken, retains very much of its original pavement. It consists of a series of large slabs of red granite, taken from ancient buildings, as the remains of the hieroglyphic inscriptions prove. These are laid alternately with smaller slabs set angle-wise. Two small slabs are laid at right angles with these, and at right angles with the axis of the nave, but are so insignificant in size that they can hardly have been intended to form the arms of a cross. They must rather be taken to indicate the position of some lateral passages, or exits north and south through the *cancelli*. It has, however, to be shown by those learned in such matters, that in the monastic churches of this remote period in Egypt, any such ritual arrangement was in use as would demand *cancelli*.¹

The nave and aisles of the church, from north to south wall, are not less than 23·0 in width. The nave itself between the columns is 11·50 wide. Some columns are of granite, most are of red brick, well built with hard white mortar. The bases of many are more or less hidden by a long *mastaba* or bench. It would be hazardous to say that any of them had not been interfered with even at a very remote period. The intercolumniations are very unequal, whilst the columns in the north range are not exactly opposite those in the south. Two or three fragments of capitals surmount the columns.

Since the above was written, a good deal of rubbish has been removed, and certain of the intruded buildings pulled down. A considerable number of carved capitals from the columns have been found. We can now see that in the range of columns on the north side of the nave alternate columns are of red brick, whilst those between them are of granite. The first column from the east is wanting, then we find a brick column, then follows granite, and so on alternately till we come to the seventh. Alternated as they are with so much regularity, we can hardly admit that the arrangement is accidental or the result of repair after some calamity.

There is a doorway on the north side, now built up. The exterior has been already described. It opened directly on the north aisle. Almost opposite is another doorway, now reduced and built in with a small arch, and much disguised. This doorway is pierced through the south wall of the south aisle, and has already been described.

At the west end of the nave the wall is pierced by another doorway, on the axial line of the church. All this end of the building was until recently in a state of filthy squalor and neglect which cannot be described. The doorway was nearly buried in refuse and débris. The opening is wide and rectangular, with a relieving arch above the lintel.

The western half of the nave is obstructed by houses, several of them newly built. In 1907 these were reduced in number, but not altogether removed.

¹ In the small church at Philae (see Plate XXIV) are some stones on the floor which suggest that *cancelli* may have been above them.

Two columns of stone are standing, as is shown on our plan, near the west wall. The intercolumniation here is somewhat less than at the east end of the nave.

At a height of 5.0 m. from the floor of the nave a carved cornice may be traced along the walls of the north and south aisles, and across the western wall.¹ Immediately above this large holes are prepared in the wall to receive the ends of beams. It is evident that the north and south aisles were subdivided in their height by a floor. Just at the top of the walls may be seen other cavities which were prepared to receive the beams which carried the roofs of the aisles. The level given us by these beams agrees very exactly with the rain-water outlets which we see above the upper row of windows.

There are two ranges of little windows in the walls. Those in the north wall would have opened, the lower on the aisle, the upper on the gallery above. The doorway at the west end of the nave opens directly upon a narrow apartment with its axis north and south.

This is the narthex. Its western wall is pierced by a doorway opposite that which has been last mentioned, and, not very exactly, on the central axis of the church. The outside of this doorway has been already described. The inside is flanked with pilasters. Considering the small size of the narthex the architectural effect aimed at has been considerable. Although on the ground plan the north and south ends are square, by an arrangement of five columns carrying an architrave the roof took the form of a semicircular apse.² The columns, the architrave, and the vault of the apse are all standing at the north end. At the south, one column only remains, but the walls show clearly where the architraves and vaults have been broken away. The side walls of the narthex, built of stone, are ornamented with niches, the dressings of which bear the fantastic pediments, many examples of which are found in this church.³

This room was originally covered with a ceiling carried on wood beams, forming a floor, level with that of the galleries over the aisles. At a later date a brick tunnel vault was built to carry the floor. When I first saw the church in December 1892, very much of this vault remained. It has since fallen in and cumbers the floor to a considerable depth. This part of the church was until recently the refuse pit of the miserable and degraded community living within its walls, a pitiable sight. This is the chamber described in such glowing terms by Curzon,⁴ but he saw a number of things which certainly never were there. Our drawings show that the stonework of the northern apse is unadorned. The enrichments spoken of by Curzon must have been of plaster—if they ever existed—and of this there is no sign.

A plan of the monastery is given by Denon,⁵ and this is reproduced with corrections by Butler.⁶ Both are so very incorrect that it is not necessary to

¹ See also description of the church at Denderah, p. 140.

² See Fig. 34.

³ See Fig. 35.

⁴ *Monasteries of the Levant*, p. 131.

⁵ *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, by Vivant Denon, translated by Arthur Aikin, 2 vols. London: Longman and Rees, 1803, Plate xxxvii.

⁶ *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, A. J. Butler, vol. i, p. 352. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884.

notice them further than to point out that in this as in so many other drawings published by the French 'Expedition' we must be more disposed to wonder how they could do their work as well as they did (remembering the frightful difficulties in their way), than to find fault ; whilst Butler tells us very honestly

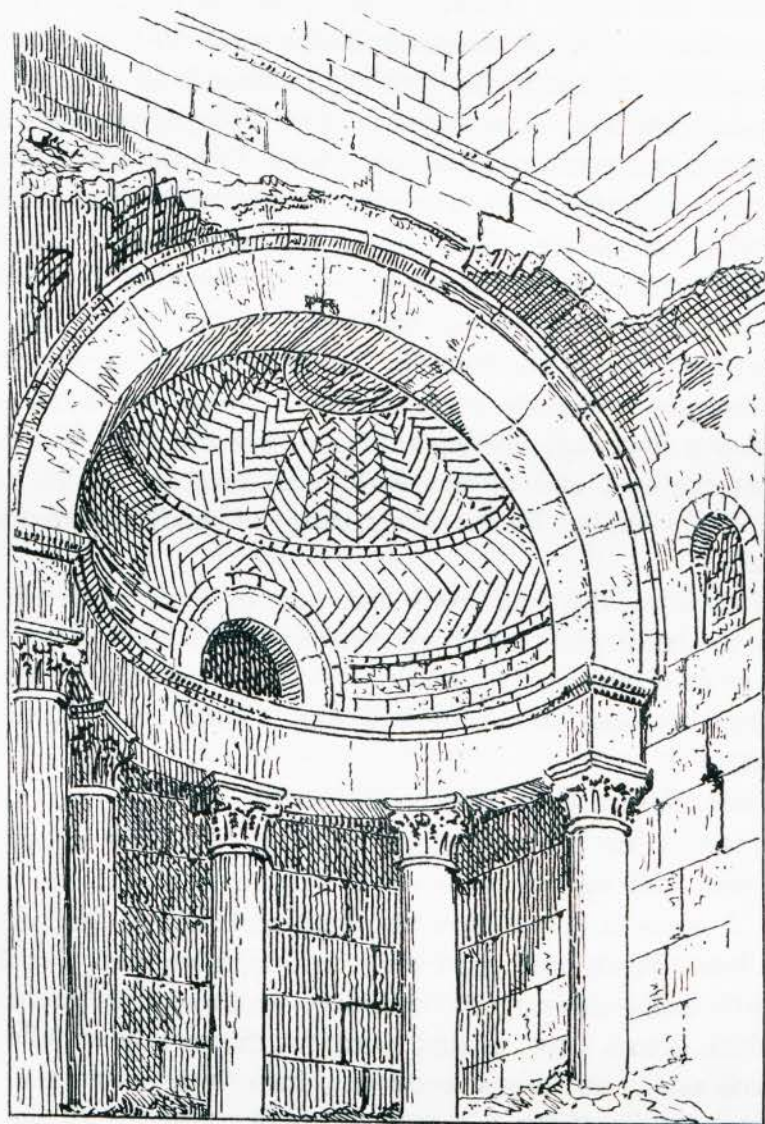


FIG. 34. Dér el Abiad. Narthex.

that he has not seen the place, but has collected together such evidence as he could gather.

South of the narthex is a large stair. The lower part of this has been terribly knocked about and the upper quite destroyed. It leads up to the level of the aisle galleries. It should be observed that a stair in this position, either north or south of the western entrance of the church, is a feature common to a very large number of the plans we have collected.

South of the stair we find ourselves in a quadrangular chamber, its dome

supported on pointed arches resting on short piers. The construction here is entirely of burnt brick, and is evidently much later in date than that of the adjoining stair, narthex, and church. This chamber is inside that part of the building which we were told was rebuilt early in the nineteenth century.

Immediately east of this domed chamber lies the well. A reference to the plan will show that the church does not fill the whole of the rectangle enclosed by the outer walls, but that to the south of it there is an apartment 8.15 wide and 47.0 long—a great hall. The proportions of this apartment are unusual, but, long as the room is, we could not find any traces of cross-walls. The ceiling was of beams, the recesses in the walls to receive them being visible. A carved cornice marks the level of the ceiling. This cornice is similar to that seen in the aisles, but is at a higher level. The lower row of gargoyles piercing the south wall are at a level suited to throw off water from the floor over this ceiling. The walls of the lower apartment are faced, like those in the church, with dressed stone. At its eastern end there is a slightly recessed arch, flanked on either side by two niches, and also a doorway, leading into a square chamber beyond. There is also a door at the east end of the south wall leading outside the building. The hall was dimly lighted by the lower range of small windows which pierce the south wall.

The wall dividing this hall from that part of the church which we have designated as the transept is still preserved up to the level of the terrace roof. This piece is pierced by a row of windows, which would have opened from the transept to the low room above the long hall. They would have transmitted but little light.

It is evident that at some period, sufficiently remote, a great deal of reconstruction went on within the walls of the building. We have already referred to the dome and piers built up within the south-west angle, and also to the vault over the narthex. A series of domes have also been built within the long hall. Piers and arches in burnt brick, with good white mortar, have been placed against the north and south walls, carrying the necessary wall and cross-arches to support the domes, which domes have, in their turn, for the most part fallen in.

The church must, on several occasions, have been plundered, but we did not observe such marks of fire as a general conflagration of all the roofs would have caused. The limestone of which the walls are built immediately tells of fire, if it has suffered. The room east of the long hall is vaulted with burnt brick, and it is hardly to be doubted that this is a part of the original building.

We now have to consider the church as it exists to-day, sadly shrunken within its ancient walls. Whereas the building we see was but the church and place of assembly of the original Dêr, and was surrounded on its north, south, and west sides with a number of buildings, the state of things is completely changed. Until recently, a group of families lived within the walls with the cattle, poultry, and accumulated filth, as we have before stated. This, the noblest church of which we have any remains in Egypt, the chief monument of the

Christians, was foul and disgusting beyond the condition of any other ruined church, until in 1907 it came under the care of the Comité de Conservation. The narthex was the common cesspit, and even inside the church, whilst holy offices went on at the altar, filth accumulated in the transept, and chicken marched about unmolested.

The span of the nave is so considerable, and its construction was so slight, that it could only have been roofed with timber. Beyond question the aisles, the hall, and the narthex were thus covered. We cannot suppose that the nave was left open, as, I believe, some have suggested. This is entirely at variance with the universal custom of the country; it is, too, entirely at variance with the basilican plan. We may dismiss this proposition at once. The same spirit which influenced the plan and the carved details would devise a timber roof such as was common enough on the north coast of the Mediterranean. This roof may have been, and probably was, burnt or stolen long ago. It may possibly, if not probably, be the case that after this misfortune the nave was never again roofed over, but that such stone columns as were available were used again and others of burnt brick were set up so as to carry the reconstructed aisles and the gallery above. A thick wall was built across at the place where the screen of columns had been (see p. 153). This wall was pierced in the middle by a wide arch, which, judging by analogy between the plan of this church and that of Amba Bishoi, is of the width of the opening formerly existing between the central intercolumniation of the screen.

Timber being discarded, and also difficult to procure, the part of the building to be roofed in anew was covered with domes. To prop the somewhat ruined building, and to support domes circular on plan, it was desirable to provide square spaces from which the domes could spring. This has been done with no little ingenuity by building piers of burnt brick, which at the same time assist some of the weakest parts of the original building.

The walls of the three apses are ornamented with two ranges of columns and architraves as before stated. It is safe to assume that the apses have escaped serious damage by fire and are original.

The result of building the massive piers to carry the domes, and of filling up the intercolumniations, as before mentioned, had been to hide, in nearly every part, the original surface of the walls. Since the walls filling the intercolumniation have been removed we see the little pediments and columns ornamenting the niches in the apse walls.

There is now a solid screen of woodwork enclosing the eastern apse. There is a screen of more or less open woodwork enclosing the place for the women—in the southern apse. Immediately on our left, as we enter, is a tumbledown loft approached by a crazy stair: this is the *ambon*.

Abu Şalih gives (p. 235) a few particulars of the White Monastery, but does not appear to mention the Red, which lies very near by. He says: 'The monastery of the great Saint Sinuthius, near Ikhmim. In the monastery there is a very

large church,¹ spacious enough to contain thousands of people, and within it are the bodies of the two pure disciples, Bartholomew and Simon the Canaanite, two of the Twelve Apostles.'—'In this monastery there is a keep, and there is around the keep and the monastery also a wall of enclosure, within which there is a garden full of all sorts of trees.' He then goes on to relate a story which shows that, 'never from the beginning has any woman entered into this church.'

We can hardly conclude a notice of this church without reference to the wonderful statements made by M. Amélineau in his *Vie de Schnoudi* (p. 88): 'L'œuvre de ces braves gens (S. Sinuthius and his monks) reste aujourd'hui. Pas une pierre n'a bougé.' We have already shown, and it is manifest to the most unpractised eye, that the whole of the south-west angle has fallen and has been rebuilt. 'Les murs, d'une grande profondeur, n'ont pas moins de 120 mètres de longueur sur cent en largeur.' They are, in fact, 75 metres by 36.85. 'On entrait au monastère par deux portes qui se faisaient face et dont l'une a été murée depuis.' Three doorways were easily to be seen when M. Amélineau visited the church, and none of them were entries to the monastery. 'Celle par laquelle on entre aujourd'hui est d'une profondeur de plus de 15 mètres: quand on y passe l'obscurité fait le frisson. Les moines qui la traversaient étaient vraiment sortis du monde.' This passage is but an insertion for purposes of defence, and is, on the face of it, no part of the original building. 'A droite de cette porte se trouve la "grande" église.' The sadly shrunken edifice now doing duty for the church, M. Amélineau takes to be the church of the monastery.

M. Amélineau has taken the Coptic antiquities of Egypt so much under his wing that excuse may be granted for discussing rather at length his statements about the White Monastery.

DÊR AMBA BISHOÏ (DÊR EL AḤMAR), SOHĀG

PLATES XLIX, L, LI

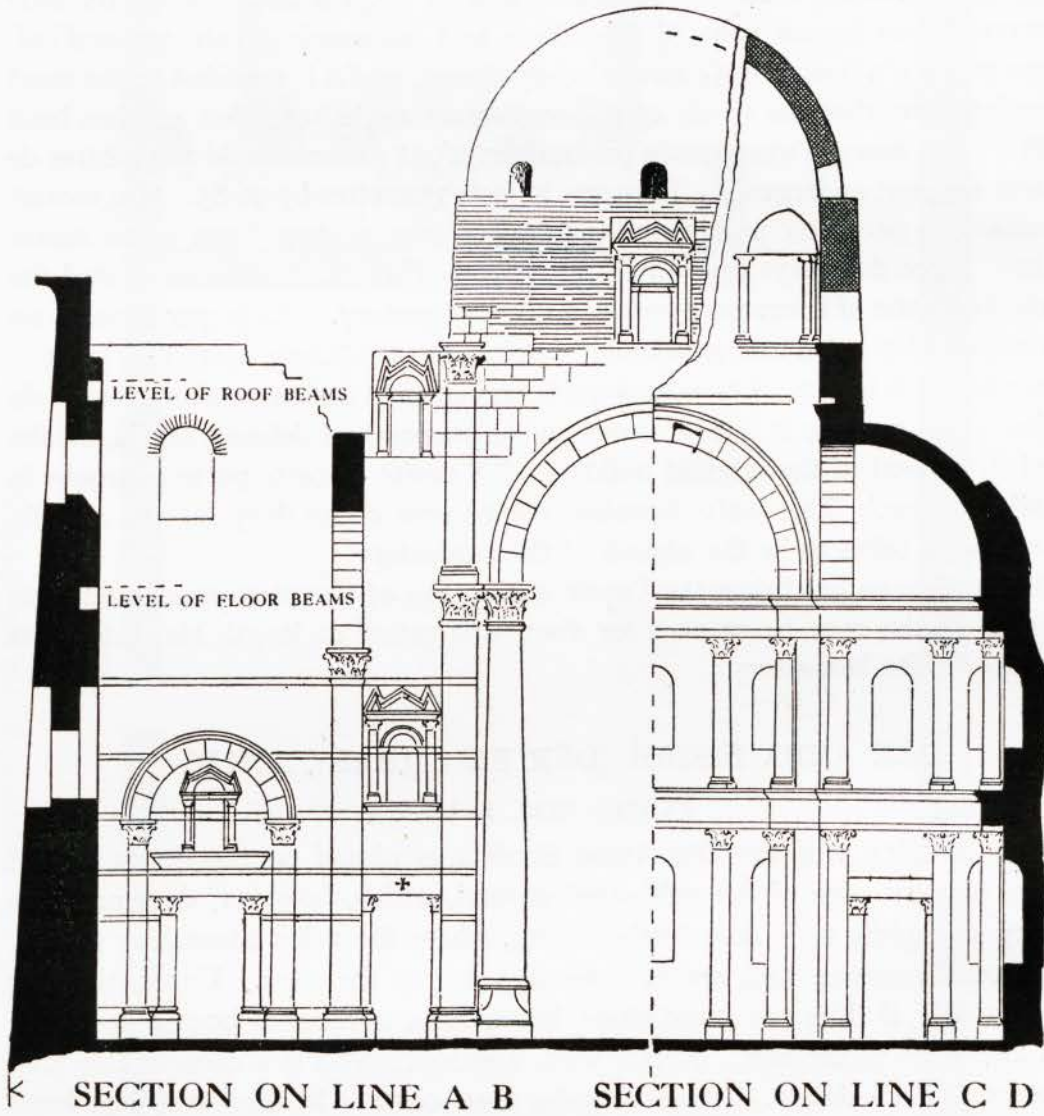
This building, like the Dêr Amba Shnûda, is placed on the desert at the extreme western edge of the cultivated ground, which, however, does not here slope up so rapidly as it does further south, where the other monastery stands. The barren limestone hills are at some distance to the west. Unlike the Dêr Amba Shnûda, it does not stand alone, but quite a number of houses lie to the south and some to the east. North, west, and south-west is a considerable area covered with brick débris. The rectangular space covered by these is still enclosed by the remains of a brick wall.² It will be seen by reference to the plan how small, compared with the space enclosed by this wall, was the structure of the church which, with its adjoining hall, is now called the Dêr.

The external wall is built of burnt red bricks, which are small, and laid with wide joints in an abundance of good white mortar. From the point of view

¹ This statement is sufficient in itself to show that the building we now see was but the church of the monastery.

² See Fig. 37.

DÊR EL AHMAR
 (DÊR AMBA BISHOÏ)

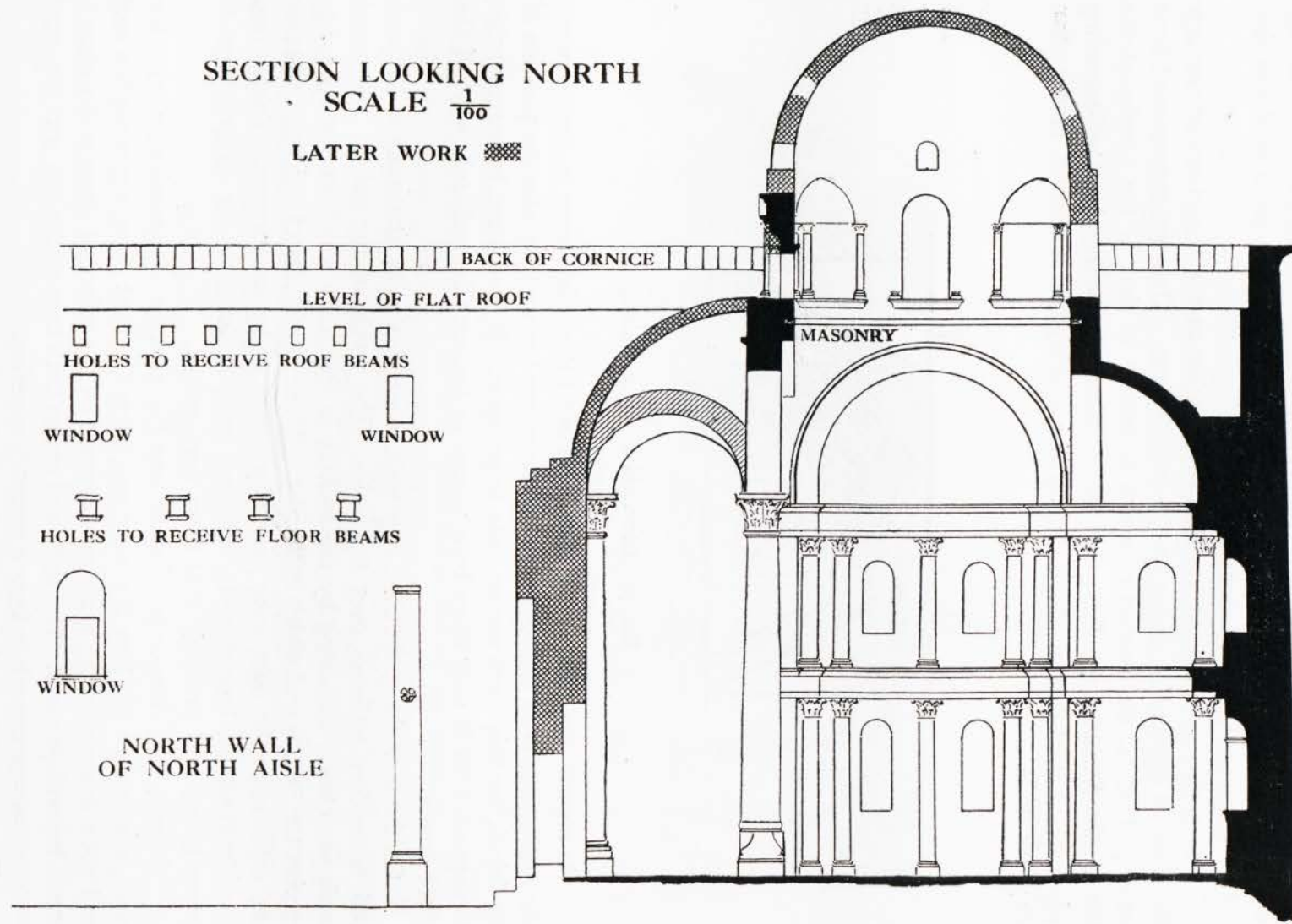


SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

DËR EL AHMAR

SECTION LOOKING NORTH
SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

LATER WORK 



SECTION ON LINE E B C F

of the bricklayer of to-day, who thinks so much of fine joints and the verticality with which alternate joints should be placed one over the other, the brickwork of these walls is not very good, but the prim regularity he admires does not give a more sound piece of construction than the less regular work of old ; always provided there is plenty of mortar. The bricks themselves are irregular in size, and by no means very well shaped.

The enclosure walls are considerably thicker at the base than at the top, the slope of diminution being on the outside face. They are surmounted by a cornice of stone, the section of which is similar to that of the cornice of the Dêr Amba Shnûda, the Egyptian *Gorge*, minus the astragal or roll-moulding below it. The stones of which the cornice is composed are small, higher than they are wide.

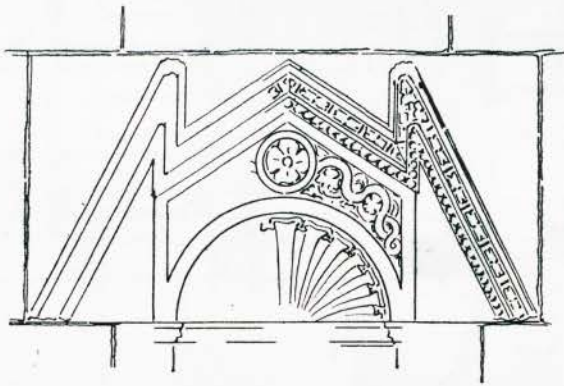


FIG. 35. Dêr el Abiad. Head of niche.

As regards the plan at the floor-level but little is left open to doubt except the arrangements at the south-west angle where the well is ; also the position of the *higâb*, for this there are no data to go upon. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that it may have been placed in the arch immediately west of the three domes.

On the next floor, the chief approach to which was by the stairs at the west end, were deep galleries over the aisles. The levels of the gallery floors and roofs are clearly indicated by the sockets in the walls which were prepared to receive the beams and which still exist. There is not direct evidence whether the columns in the nave were joined by arches or by architraves. Taking into consideration the height of the columns and the levels of the gallery floors it seems to me very probable that there were arches.

There is no evidence to show us how the galleries communicated with the nave, nor can we tell how the nave was lighted. That there was a timber roof and not a dome over the space now covered by the principal dome of the church seems beyond question. The walls and arches both here and in the next bay west were not strong enough to bear a masonry covering.

There must have been a timber roof over the whole structure. At the

time this church was built there were plenty of buildings in Italy covered with timber roofs of a wide span. As one may be permitted to look upon the whole scheme of the interior of the church as imported, the method of roofing would be included, nor may we overlook the probability that there were timber roofs in Alexandria.

The walls of the church itself are of brick, faced internally in many parts with limestone, and in others covered with plaster. The columns are of hardstone or granite, as are the bases. The external walls have two tiers of windows.

Attention has already been called, in describing the church of Amba Shnûda, to the pieces of wood inserted under the stone architraves of the apses, to assist

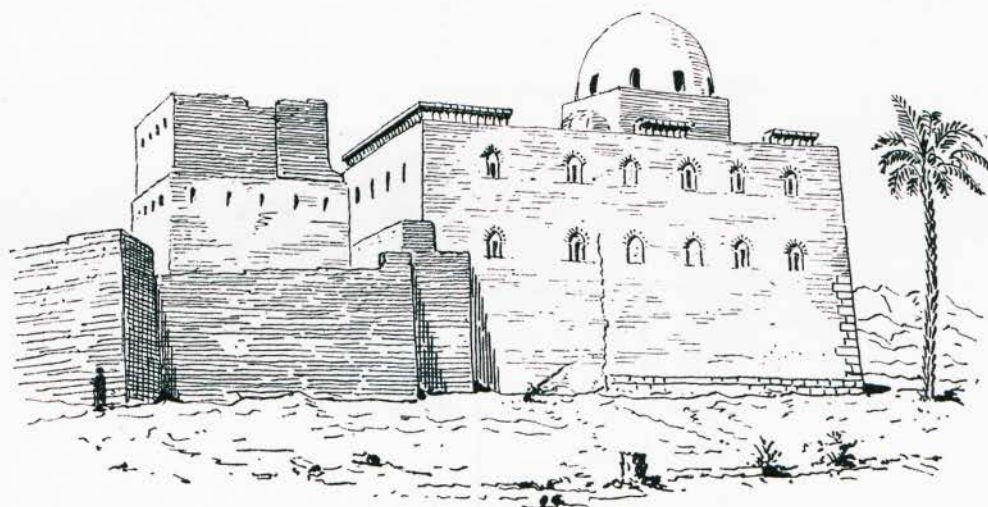


FIG. 36. Dér el Aḥmar, Sohâg.

in keeping them in their places. In this church the system of inserting small beams of wood is carried much further. Over the arches of the apses long pieces are built in. These, if they had extended to the angles and been pinned together where they crossed, would have been of no little value, as ties, so long as they lasted; but, merely built into the walls as they are, their value must be but slight.

Following the curve of the architraves of the apses we find the wood, in most parts, replaced by burnt brick. The masonry facing of the walls, which is exceedingly thin, is also divided by a number of horizontal bands of wood. Some are visible, whilst others are hidden by a fine plaster surface which has been laid over the whole of the interior of the walls. In some places where the wood is visible its surface is scored with vertical lines and crosses. This is done with such regularity that one can hardly think it was only a means of giving a 'key' to the plaster.

The three apses at the east end of the church are vaulted with burnt brick; of the same material are the walls of the square structure above the arches of the

apses ; indeed, except the very thin casing of masonry with which the walls are generally faced towards the interior of the church, every part is of burnt brick.

The eastern end of this building has suffered less than that of Amba Shnûda. The two have evidently been very much alike ; important features that are missing in the larger church are here well preserved, and show us what the other must have been. The buildings enclosed within the rectangular red brick wall consisted only of : A, the church ; B, a large hall on its south side ; C, some apartments attached to the east end of the church. Of a narthex there are no

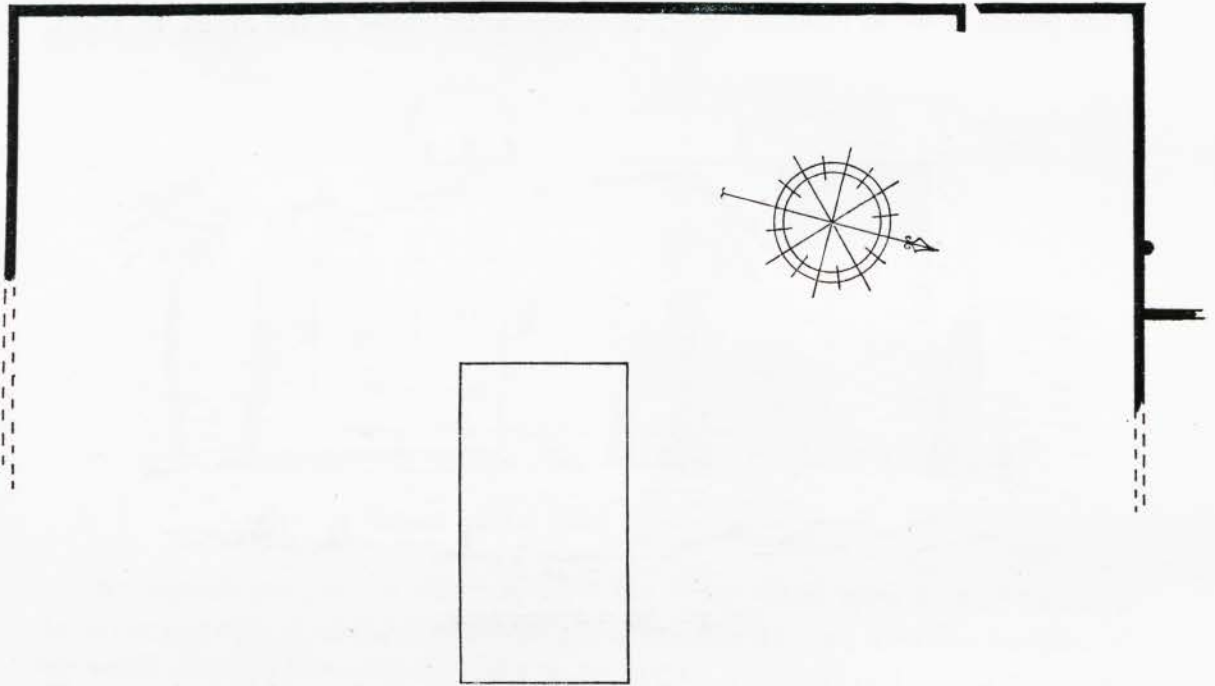


FIG. 37. Dêr el Aḥmar, showing brick enclosure wall surrounding the church and monastery.
Scale 1:1000.

evidences. It seems unlikely that there was one, as there is not a doorway at the west end of the building by which it or the church could be approached. That there was a gallery over the aisles of the church is clear, because the holes are still visible to receive the floor and roof beams, but where the stair was by which the gallery was approached is not so evident. There are indications against the west wall, over the place which is now a little chapel, which make it possible that the stair was here. It will be found, on comparing together a considerable number of our plans of churches, that a west doorway is not a common feature. A north and south doorway are almost always found and a stair at the west end.

Seen from a distance, the building has the same air of solid simplicity which characterizes the Dêr Amba Shnûda (see Fig. 36). Its outline bears a close resemblance to that of an Egyptian temple. The walls are also crowned with a cornice similar to that at Amba Shnûda. Two ranges of windows are seen in the outer

walls. The windows are small rectangular openings, but, towards the outside, they are recessed within pointed openings (see Fig. 38). It seems beyond doubt that many of these windows are mere ornamental recesses, to give an air of uniformity to the exterior ; others are pierced. In a few places a little plaster adheres to the outside walls, but high up, where it would be best preserved, there is none.

The doorways are two in number—one on the north, the other on the south. That on the north opened directly into the north aisle of the nave. It consists of a rectangular opening with pilasters, and lintel made of limestone. It is carved most elaborately. The doorway in the south wall is opposite that in the north. It is of the same rectangular form, and has pilasters with carved capitals on either side, but it is so completely encased by a building attached to the south side of the Dêr that it is with difficulty even the form of the doorway can be ascertained. This doorway is now the only entrance, and is approached by a passage which turns at right angles and is, in consequence, dark as night.

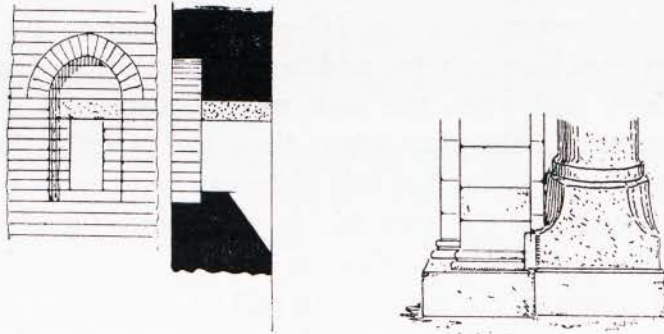


FIG. 38. Dêr el Aḥmar. Details of window and column.

Entering by the south doorway we find ourselves in a narrow passage between houses, and advance into a space which has been the nave of the church. A high wall of burnt brick closes the eastern end of the nave. In the middle is a doorway set in a cusped arch of brick. Sundry carved stones from various parts are built in as ornaments to the doorway, and a little niche above it. This wall now forms the western boundary of the church. The original plan was almost the same as that of Amba Shnûda, basilican in type.

As we have done in the previous case, so in this, it will probably be best to begin the more detailed description at the east end of the church, the most interesting and best preserved part of the fabric.

From a square space 4.50×4.50 , there project three apses, north, east, and south, covered by semi-domes. The walls of the apses are decorated with detached columns in two ranges, each surmounted by architraves. Between these columns are niches. In the eastern apse the central niche is semicircular on plan, the other two are square. In the north and south apses the niches are semicircular on plan. The vertical faces of the architraves are not carved, but the cornices are in every case decorated.

It has already been said that slight beams were built in under the architraves. These having in many places decayed or been stolen, brick walls have been inserted, with arched openings in them corresponding with the niches which are placed between the columns. These inserted brick walls completely hide the original walls of the apses and engulf the columns. Beyond the fact that there are ornaments in the form of pilasters and pediments to each niche, we can say no more. (In the year 1908 these inserted walls were removed.)

The apses open into the rectangular space by three semicircular arches of stone, slightly stilted. Towards the west, an arch supported on two columns completed the rectangle. This space is now surmounted by a lantern, square on plan, and by a dome, all in brick. Heavy piers of burnt brick have been built at the entrance to the eastern apse, but these do not reach above the springing of the arches.

Above the arches we now see a lantern story surmounted by a dome. The eastern side of this, up to the capitals of the pilasters which flank the little windows, is original. The eastern half of the north and south sides is also original. The middle of the western side has fallen, consequent on the collapse of the western arch, but even here only the middle of the arch fell; the walls above the haunches remained, and when the arch was reconstructed a niche enclosing a window was built in in the place where there had probably been a window of old. It seems hardly probable that this niche can be actually in its place. It is hardly to be doubted that the arch fell, in which case the stonework above it would not have escaped damage as this has done.

The original design of the lantern can still be made out. There were three windows on the north, east, and south sides. From certain joints in the west wall it seems possible that there were also three windows on that side. On the other hand, as the remains of this side are still partly encased in their facing of wrought masonry—a casing which did not exist on the other three sides—it seems almost certain that the roof of the nave or transept enclosed this wall, which was seen from the floor of the church. Except for the masonry above-mentioned, the walls of the lantern are built of burnt brick. The little windows within have sills and pilasters of stone, the intermediate surfaces plastered. To carry the dome, the side windows, north, east, and south, have been built up. This fact, with the thinness of the walls, and the insufficient abutment there would have been to resist the pressure against the west wall, make it almost certain that the square area could not at first have been surmounted by a dome. Towards the west, an arch supported on two columns (the arch already mentioned as having collapsed) completed the square.

Advancing westward from this arch we find ourselves in a space which corresponds with that which we have called 'the transept' in *Dér Amba Shnúda*. It is now enclosed on its west side with the brick wall before mentioned, but this wall has preserved for us the original arrangement. Built half-way into it are four columns: two of them on a line with the north and south range of columns

of the nave, the intermediate columns, taller than their neighbours, ranging in height and position with the piers, which assist in carrying the western arch under the lantern. We are able to appreciate the architectural scheme by which the eye was led forward from the wide nave to the narrow arch beyond it.

The pavement in this part of the church is probably original. It consists of small squares of dark granite and basalt, inlaid upon bands of white marble. On the line of the screen of columns there is a change in the floor level of the building. The nave floor was evidently lower, but as none of it is preserved we cannot say how much.

Most fortunately, the architectural features of all this part of the church are far better preserved than is the case at Amba Shnûda, nor have they been so completely cased up with brick buttresses and piers.

The four principal columns are monoliths. Their capitals are very elaborately carved, with acanthus leaf-foliage, arranged very much after the manner of the leaves on an orthodox Corinthian capital. Pilasters corresponded with these columns, smaller pilasters corresponding with the shorter columns, which formed part of the colonnade separating the aisles from the nave. Above the lower range of pilasters we find more pilasters and niches forming an elaborate architectural composition as seen from the nave.

The ritual arrangement of this part of the building as it now exists can hardly be original. A solid wood screen extends from the front of one of the brick buttresses to the other. As the buttresses are inserted, and take no place in the architectural composition of the design, we cannot accept them as starting-points for the original *higâb* or screen.

The floor within the *haikal* and outside is at the same level. The pavement does not help us. There is the usual solid cubical altar within the *higâb*.

The north and south apses are without altars ; indeed, there does not seem a place for them. In the eastern, as well as in the side apses, the columns stand on a low plinth, just above the floor level : there is no place for a range of seats. On either side of the eastern apse, right and left, are small apartments. That on the right contains a font.

At the north end of the transept is a crazy structure up some steps, which is used as the *ambon*. Beneath it are two ancient columns. It is doubtful whether they have not been placed where they are merely to assist in supporting the floor of the *ambon*.

The area of the original nave and aisles of the church was at the time of my last visit nearly all occupied by houses. One column, of black granite, stands in sight on its original base close to the west wall of the present church. If there are others they are enveloped in the houses. From indications on the walls it is evident that here, as at Amba Shnûda, there was a gallery above the aisles, and when we observe to what a height the decorative masonry on the west wall of the lantern was carried we may assume that there was a low clerestory.

The doorway already referred to (p. 167) opened directly into the north aisle. The interior of this doorway is now covered with buildings. Opposite is the south doorway. Here, as at the Dêr Amba Shnûda, it was necessary to cross the width of the long southern hall before entering the church.

In the south-west angle of the nave a little church has been built. It seems of high antiquity, but its walls do not coincide with the lines of any original walls. Above it, on the inner face of the west wall of the Dêr, are marks which suggest that there was once a stair in this position—probably the usual stair in the south-west angle.

Immediately west of the little church is the well, which we may assume to be old.

The arrangement of the ruined walls south of the apses, and a comparison of this plan with that of the Dêr Amba Shnûda, make it evident that parallel with the south aisle of the church lay a long hall. Of this we can give no particulars. At the east end of the hall was a square apartment, traces of which can still be made out. This room was vaulted.

Except that it is much smaller in its dimensions, there is no doubt that both in plan and architectural treatment this church and that of Amba Shnûda were very much alike.

It would be superfluous to enter into a more detailed description of these churches. The material is now being collected, and is being prepared for publication by the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe, for an exhaustive work, giving not only measured drawings in full of these most precious monuments, but admirable photographs and coloured drawings.

A study of the plans of the triapsal churches raises some interesting questions. Was it permitted that one screen should enclose more than one altar? In the Dêr el Abiad the eastern apse encloses three blocks of masonry, but whether each of these is an altar I have not been able to ascertain: evidence is contradictory. When we see how this church and that of the Dêr el Aḥmar have been knocked about, and especially how they are now contracted from their former proportions, we may be justified in doubting whether the existing arrangements are not very far removed from the original. Again, as the *higâb* was essential, in order to veil the mysteries celebrated at the altar, we should find ourselves, in the side apses of the Dêr el Aḥmar and the Dêr el Abiad, face to face with the following difficulty. The altars, it is admitted, must face east, but the *higâb* placed, as it must be, across the mouth of the apse, would lie at one side of the altar. We find no trace of such an arrangement anywhere. These difficulties are stated, but no solution is offered: that must be left to those who have studied the ritual and ancient customs of the Coptic Church.

If we compare the plans of the two churches last described with most of the others here collected together, it will be found that the triapsal arrangement of the east end is rare. We see it fairly well developed in the church of the monastery of S. Simeon, Aswân, but in no other case. In none of these three churches does

there seem any preparation to receive more than one altar. We have to bear in mind that the orientation not only of the fabric of the church, but also of the altar, was always insisted upon. It will be shown later on how the orientation of churches made in ancient tombs and quarries was contrived under considerable difficulties.

In the church at the Dêr el Abiad it might be possible to get an altar into the side apses, but in a clumsy way, and incommoded by doorways; the side apses in the church of the Dêr el Aḥmar are, however, small and inconvenient unless the altars faced north and south, which I venture to think we cannot admit as possible. In the church of S. Simeon at Aswân altars might be placed in the lateral apses and retain a proper orientation.

DÊR EL ADRA, GANÂDLE

PLATE LII, FIG. I

The ruins lie almost in a direct line west of Sidfa, a railway station a little south of Asyût. After riding an hour and ten minutes we reach the village of Ganâdle, lying on the western edge of the cultivated ground. To reach the village we pass a depression, as of an old canal, hardly dry even in April. Ganâdle is on the west border of this depression. In the village are an old Coptic church, a new Roman Catholic chapel, and a chapel of the American Mission—religious divisions are well maintained. The village stands on a mound, and is no doubt a site of considerable antiquity. We then come upon the long slope of grits and broken stone, worn down from the great range of cliffs which face us, rising at least six hundred feet high. Quite at the foot of these cliffs, and immediately in front of us, is a patch, a surface darker in colour than that of the surrounding limestone cliffs. To the north of the patch are black marks indicating holes in the rock. The opening of a barren jagged valley divides the cliffs immediately to the south. Riding straight forward the dark patch gradually resolves itself into the walls of the Dêr.

The cliff is here very vertical, but at a level of some 15.0 above the desert is a ledge, partly natural and partly formed by the débris from the ancient quarry. It will be well to explain that an ancient Egyptian quarry differs very much from an ordinary quarry in England. The Egyptian did not generally make a great hole open to the sky, and in getting out the stone waste a very large quantity of it. In the case of the limestone cliffs, in which horizontal beds of good stone are found between beds of material useless for building, the masons selected the particular bed they approved of, and the quarrymen then proceeded to work their way straight into the face of the cliff. The stone was extracted from the rock in rectangular blocks somewhat in excess of the sizes required by the builders. Pillars of rock were left at intervals to carry the superincumbent mass. This neat method of extracting the stone left a series of chambers cut into the cliff, and often extending to great distances. The ceilings were fairly level, the walls

more or less vertical. By the insertion of a few walls of crude brick it was easy to make very tolerable dwelling-rooms in corners of the vast chambers, as we shall presently see to have been the case. Small churches were lodged in the quarries under equally favourable circumstances.

As we approach the Dêr el Adra we first come, at the very foot of the slope, to the well. This is really a fine piece of work. It must be about 5·0 in diameter, and is lined right down to the bottom with well-laid masonry of rather small stones. It must be at least 20·0 down to the water. An arch of masonry is thrown across it, and the columns of stone still stand at the sides to receive the *sâkya*, or water-wheel. Viewed from the well, we see the Dêr to be enclosed by a wall on the north, east, and south sides, whilst the west is formed by the frowning cliff. The wall is built for two-thirds of its height of squared masonry, with buttresses at intervals, semicircular on plan.

We ascend a considerable slope towards great rectangular quarry holes, yawning in the face of the cliff. On our left, in the north wall of the enclosure, is the doorway of masonry, with a slightly pointed arch. The door is strengthened with iron plates. Entering, we find ourselves in a desolate yard, the church immediately on our right, in the north-west part of the enclosure. The yard is not on a level, but slopes up rapidly towards the south. The surface of it is littered with broken brickwork, crude bricks, burnt bricks, and small stones. Sticking up through this medley are walls of rock, the thin partitions between ancient tombs, the upper parts of which have been broken away. Judging by this we must conclude that the place has been much quarried since the tombs were made, and long before the Dêr was established. In all directions we see the little square doors leading into rock-cut tombs, and, in addition to these, the vast cavernous mouths of the quarries.

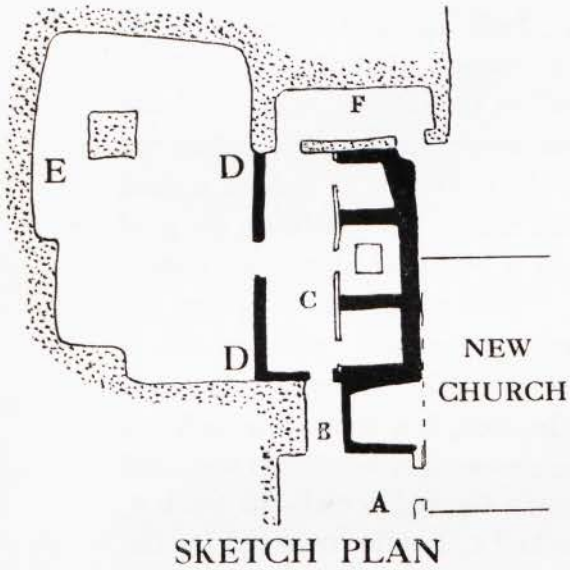
The church is not attached to any of the enclosure walls. It stands a little way south of the north wall, leaving a space in which is the door of an ancient tomb. This tomb is now used as a passage for the women to enter the rock church—for there are two churches: the old, or church in the quarry, and the new. The church—its domes seen from a distance, standing, as before stated, in the north-west part of the enclosure—was built, we were told, some thirty-five years since. It is laid out altogether on old lines, except that we find but three instead of four divisions; i. e. there are but three bays from east to west, and not four. Each bay is covered by a dome. There are three altars: the north, S. Makrufius; the middle, SS. Peter and Paul; the south, Mari Girgis. The *higâbs*, of masonry, have middle doors flanked by little windows. In the outside wall-face we see sundry carved stones used up, taken evidently from another building, probably the predecessor to this one. The interior is everywhere plastered and whitewashed. We found it unusually clean, and apparently not in use. The plan is very similar to that shown on Plate LII, Fig. 2.

Behind this church, and lying directly west of it, lies an older church dedicated to El Adra (Plate LII, Fig. 1). It is built in the mouth of, and is partly walled

DÊR EL ADRA
GANÂDLE

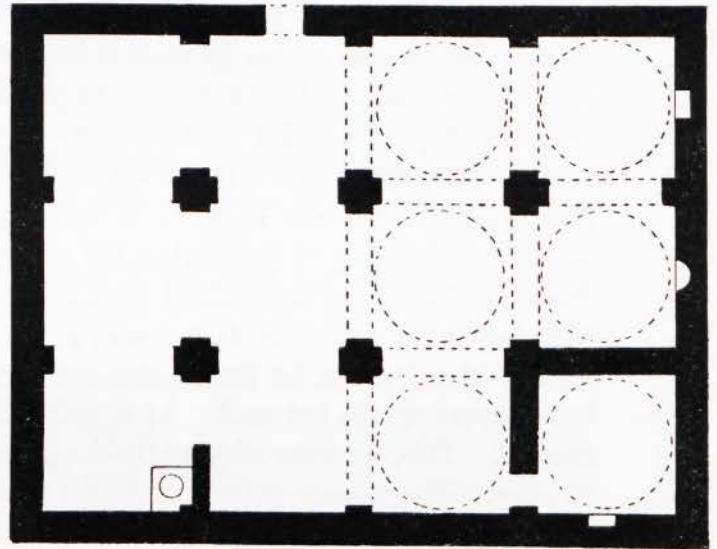
NEAR SIDFA

FIG. 1



KANISAT EL MALÂK
DRONKA

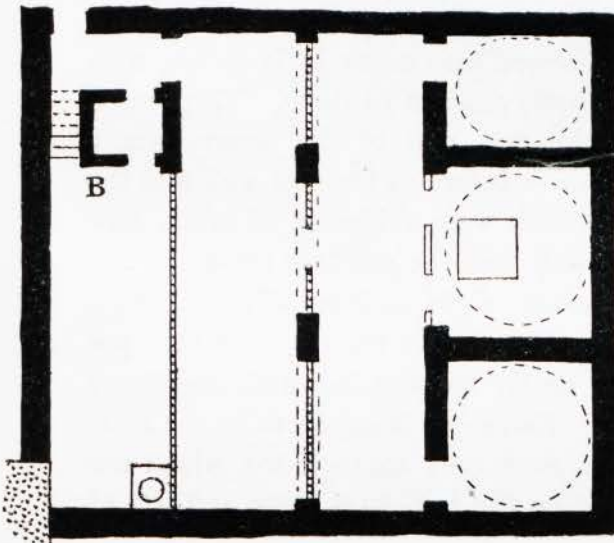
FIG. 2



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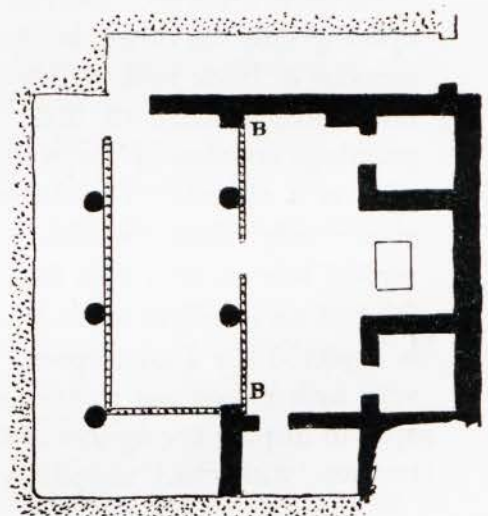
EL ADRA·DRONKA

FIG. 3



EL ADRA·RIFA

FIG. 4



in by, an ancient quarry, which extends much further back into the cliff. The new church is built up against the *haikal* of the old.

In this church, as in the newer, there are but three divisions, and not the usual four; i. e. for women, for men, for the chorus, for the altar or altars. The *higâb* is of commonplace geometrical panelled woodwork, the door in the middle.

The wall, partly hidden by the *higâb*, has, built up in it, sundry carved stones, but dotted about in such a fashion as to suggest that they come from some other place. On one stone is carved a scroll, in the interstices of which are bunches of grapes and a bird pecking. On other stones are crosses, elaborated in the customary way. The chief entrance to the church is at F down a dark little passage, one side of which is formed by the rock. The partition DD is of brick, not reaching to the roof of the quarry. At a height of about two metres from the floor there is a grill of open brickwork. West of this, as shown on the sketch-plan, is a considerable space, in the bowels of the cliff; whether this is used as the division for the women we could not ascertain. A pillar of rock is left supporting the flat roof. At E, painted on the rock, is a cross on a dark red ground. This, we were told, marks the place where some very holy saint was used to pray. The women enter the church at A, passing through a rock-cut tomb B, and so gain access to the part of the church marked C, usually reserved for the chorus. The Dêr is not now inhabited.

About twenty minutes north of the Dêr just described are the ruins of a considerable town—El Medina el Sarga. This stands at the mouth of the Wadi el Sarg, or Sarga. (It seemed uncertain whether the valley was called by the name of Sarg = a saddle, or Serga = S. Sergius.) The face of the cliffs rising at least two hundred metres, and forming part of the chain of rocky hills before referred to which close in the western side of the Nile valley, is here broken by an opening; the mouth of a narrow gorge, the Wadi Sarga, which runs northward, almost parallel with the face of the cliffs, and suddenly turning at right angles towards the east, opens to the Nile valley. From a very little way the mouth of the gorge is not observed. Entering the valley we see the long low openings of quarries, subdivided by pillars of rock. Entering these, each chamber opening into the other, we find the walls recessed into many little niches, with remains of brick walls which seem to have some relation to them. There must have been a series of little rooms. At the east end of the quarry many paintings are seen on the wall; in fact, we have before us the east wall and the apse of a church. The side-walls of the church were evidently of brick, now gone; only where the rock was used for a wall does the painting remain. The surface was covered with fine, hard, lime plaster—*Gyps*, as it is called in Egypt. On this an excellent surface for painting can be got. In the conch of the apse is depicted the Last Supper. The table is nearly rectangular, with one figure very near it—on our right—as if receiving. There not being room in the little apse to display the figures of all the apostles, some only are included, whilst the rest are, with much simplicity, spread along on the wall-faces right and left of

the centre. In several places within the area of this church we can trace a horizontal band of painted decoration, geometrical in character, of red, green, and a purple black. The style leans towards Saracenic, but it includes oval forms in the scheme—an uncommon development in anything Saracenic. The figures are painted chiefly in outline, with red ochre and a little yellow and green pigment here and there.

A second church can be traced west of the first. The conch of the apse, cut in the rock, still remains, with a niche on the south side. In very faded green, a decoration enclosing the head of the niche can be seen—a cog-wheel pattern.

There are a few inscriptions in Coptic, some well preserved, painted in red on the white walls; some also in Arabic; and in pencil a low brute has stigmatized himself as having 'visited this location'. We need not say what country he came from.

DRONKA, KANĪSAT EL MALĀK

PLATE LII, FIG. 2

Dronka lies a little to the south of Asyût, at the foot of the long line of frowning cliffs, which extend from Asyût to behind Sohâg. The church and a new village near it lie on the slope at the foot of the cliffs. A church is stated to have existed here for many centuries, to have become very ruinous, and to have been rebuilt on the old lines some years since.

The plan and general arrangement of the existing building are such as thoroughly to justify the above statement, and in view of the disappearance of so many of the old churches, of the utter and hopeless neglect in which others are left, and of the fact that, now, new churches are not built following the old and historical types, but are, as I have before had occasion to remark, examples of a mean, unpicturesque vulgarity which it has been reserved for the nineteenth century to develop in Egypt as in other parts of the world; for these manifold reasons I have ventured to preserve this plan.

It will be observed that the subdivisions of the plan are normal. The western division of the building is for the women, next comes the division for men, then the choir, and lastly the *haiikal*. The northern altar is dedicated to Amba Bishoï, the central to El Malâk. The six eastern bays of the church are covered with brick domes. The rest of the church, westward, is roofed with beams, on which are laid reeds covered above with a flat of mud bricks. The central bay of the men's division is, however, not flat-roofed, but is surmounted by a small ogee dome of wood and plaster. The arches which carry the western row of domes are already pushing over the piers on which they rest, which, unless timely precautions be taken, will fall over into the men's division of the church and lead to a general collapse of the whole structure. The font is in the women's division. The *higâb* has a single door in the middle.

Above the new village of Dronka is a range of quarries pierced in the steep limestone cliffs before mentioned. Many of these quarries have had walls of

crude brick built into their openings, and have been used, and are now used, as houses. Looked at from the green plain below, the houses appear like nests, adhering to the face of the rock. Among these nests is the old church of El Adra. The west end of the church is in the quarry, the eastern part is built up on an artificial platform. As shown on plan (Plate LII, Fig. 3), the normal arrangement for men, women, choir, and altars is maintained, and so important is the true orientation considered that, at some inconvenience in construction, the entrance is not at the east, i.e. where the approach ends, but within the quarry, at the west of the church.

Except the *haikal* and chambers adjoining it, north and south, which are domed with brick, the building is roofed with beams and a layer of mud resting on reeds or *boos* straw. The flat ceiling of the quarry is higher than the roof of the church, so that the necessary light is easily got in the roof from the open mouth of the quarry towards the east. The *higáb* is of wood, in small geometrical panels, but it does not seem to be old. All the internal surfaces of the church, whether it be the rock in the south-west angle or the crude brick walls, are plastered and whitewashed, with the exception of the arch (of brick) opening to the *haikal*. Here the bricks are coloured a dark red, the mortar joints being a vivid white. All arches in the building are pointed. The screens which enclose the women's and the men's division are of wood, nicely turned, and are superior to what we might expect to find in so rough and primitive a building.

Mounting the stairs at B, we were shown over the eastern part of the church, and on a projecting rock some walls of rubble stone. These were stated to be the remains of a church, older than the present building. It may be so, but there was not anything in the disposition of the ruins to show what the building may have been. The whole village is nested away in the quarry, a most strange and picturesque jumble of walls, pieces of rock, and little doors in unexpected places. The houses are being deserted for the new ones built on the plain below. Measured, April 1901.

DÊR EL ADRA, RIFA

PLATE LII, FIG. 4

This place is about an hour's ride south of the last. Its position is even more remarkable than that of Dronka. Looking up from below, the first thing observed is the deep shadow between the octagonal columns of the front of a large tomb, in type precisely like those so well known at Beni Hassan. The ascent to the village is by a steep climb, and then up steps cut in the hard limestone rock and well worn. Some of the houses are built on a little shelf of the cliff, but the greater part of the residences are ancient tombs, some with walled enclosures in front to form an extra room or a yard, but many consist of the ancient tomb chamber, or chambers only. Out of the little square doors of these we could see the inhabitants, like rabbits, examining us. The little doors are less than a yard square.

To reach the church the path leads through a massive archway, closed by a door covered with stout hoop-iron. In the wall above it is a loophole to shoot through. We enter a square space, a sort of hall, out of which certain of the houses of the village are reached, or, turning sharp to the left, we mount a slight ascent and find before us a little doorway spanned by a lintel. On this is carved a pattern of foliage, very flowing in character, but which is made by repeating the same design, alternately reversing it. In the spaces between the foliage are animals ramping about—oxen (as it seems), a dog, a bird. The whole has been coloured a vivid blue. Through this doorway we enter the church. Here again it will be observed how much care has been taken to ensure orientation. A narrow passage is contrived within the quarry chamber, leading westward, until the men's division of the church is arrived at, and then, by a doorway on the south, we are admitted to the church.

The church is divided up, in the customary way, for the women, the men, the choir, and the *haikal*, with a chamber north and south of it. The *higâb* is of wood; it is of elaborate geometrical panelling; the interspaces are adorned with inlay of bone. Over the door is an inscription in Coptic letters, and in Arabic, of a very Cufic type. The screen is considered a great wonder in the little place, and they tell the tale that the man who made it made one other and then, incontinently, died. The altar is dedicated to El Adra.

The church is very picturesquely lighted by a considerable hole in the roof just before the *haikal*. The quarry roof extends, from the west, just far enough to shelter this hole. The screen at BB is built of three arches resting on pillars, all in brick. The wood screen is set against the eastern face of the pillars, and is nicely executed in turned work. The screen enclosing the gloomy retreat for the women is very open, with a lattice below and arched work above. The interior of the church was, when visited, more neat and well kept than is usually found—and in this poor little nest of houses glued against the face of the cliff!

Within the great tomb above referred to stands the little shrine of S. Tadrus or Theodore, a small mud-brick structure roofed with a little dome.

Abu Şâlih (p. 214) refers to 'Rifah and Udrunkah':

'Here there is a church named after the Lady, the Pure Virgin (El Adra), two churches of the valiant martyr Theodore; a church named after the Saviour; a church named after S. John; two churches named after the martyrs Thomas and Severus, and a monastery named after the great saint Sinuthius.'

Are we not justified in thinking that what in the translation are called 'churches' are really the dedications of the little chapels or *haikals* grouped together so often in one building?

It may be asked why in the plans of two of the churches, one at Rifa, the other at Dronka, the method of drawing is not the same as is usually employed. The lines indicating the walls, &c., are not ruled. This method of drawing was adopted because anything more mechanical and exact is absolutely misleading.

These humble little buildings, pathetic in their poverty, are hardly better built than the cottages adjoining. And again, it may be asked, why give such full descriptions of such poor little places? The answer to this is, that probably very soon these churches—which are, after all, hundreds of years old—will cease to exist. As security and wealth increase, so the fastnesses in the rock are deserted, the tomb dwellings abandoned, and the people go to live in houses among the fields below, where they are more comfortable and nearer their daily work. Anything worth moving is taken from the church, or stolen, and soon the neglected building collapses or becomes a mere dust-hole, like the churches near Nagâda and Kamûlah.

DÊR EL AẒAM, ASYÛT

PLATE LIII, FIG. 1

This ruin lies in a sequestered and desolate valley on the hill-tops immediately west of Asyût. Around the ruins of the Dêr the valley on all sides is riddled with graves, which have been systematically dug over and rifled. Coarse garments, bits of coffins, skulls, pieces of bodies with leather-like skin still adhering to the bones—all these melancholy relics are scattered about. All materials of clothing in which the poor folk were buried are of the cheapest kind. Blue and white striped *lebbas* and *gallabeas* are seen—none of the ordinary indigo-stained cotton now in use. In the midst lie the ruins of the little monastery. A surrounding wall has enclosed a somewhat irregular form. The wall is built of crude brick and stone intermixed.

The scanty remains of the church lie rather low, partly buried in its own débris, and also in consequence of the number of graves which have been made within the area of the church since it was ruined. Not only are graves within the area of the church walls, but they are seen in the remains of adjacent chambers, and indeed in every corner of the enclosure of the Dêr.

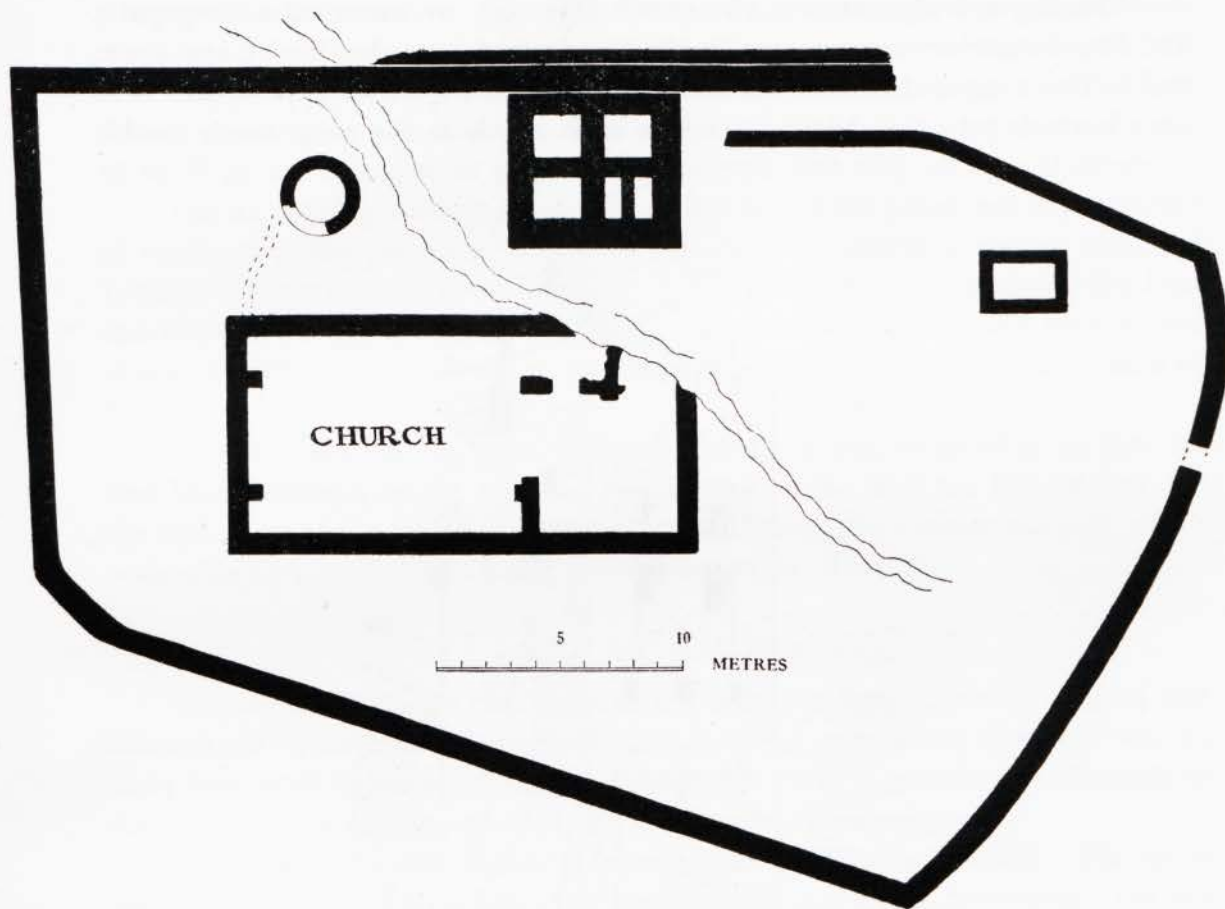
The church, so far as one can tell, seems to have been of the type A, basilican in plan. The stump of a small square tower lies to the north, very near to, but not touching, the church. For the plan of the Dêr I am indebted to the interesting work of M. W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, St-Pétersbourg, 1901. Visited, April 1901.

GEBEL ABU FÔDAH

It is often a matter of considerable difficulty to ascertain the real name of a place that is visited in the Nile valley. Accuracy is the last thing the fellah cares about, and therefore why should you be more particular than he? Asking for Dêr el Gebrawi, a place on the east bank of the river, we were shown where the place lay, across a mile and a half of cultivated land, but with a good deal of flood water intervening. A guide was found, or we should have sunk into mire and slime, and we contentedly followed him over a long causeway, passing

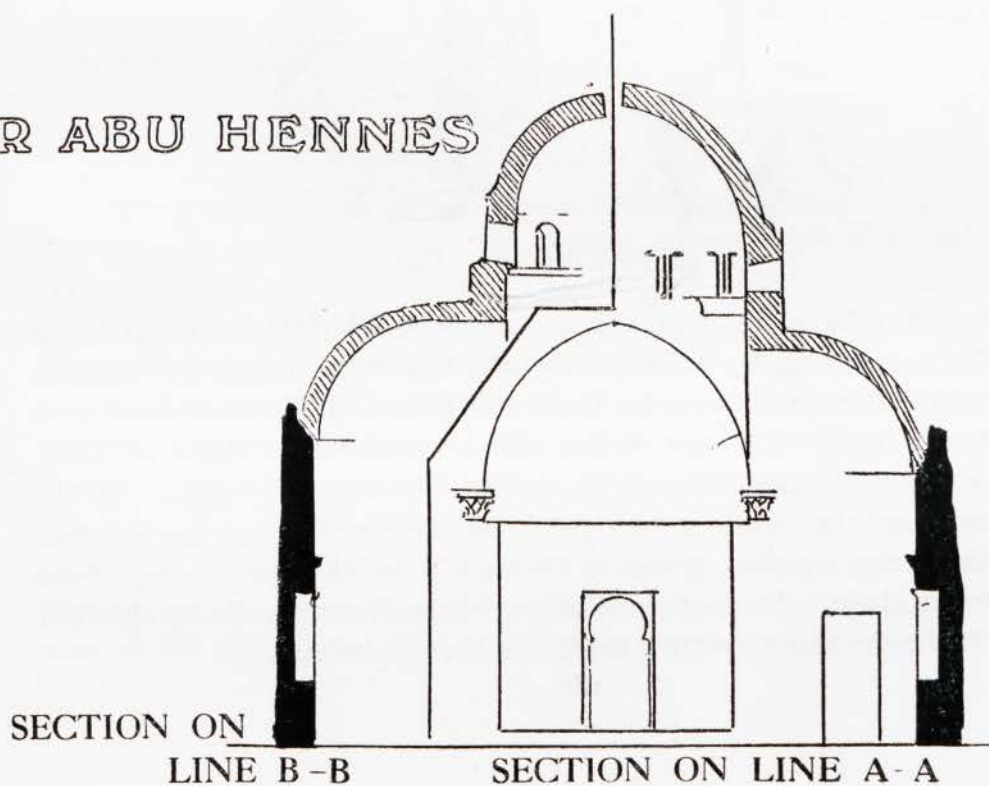
DÊR EL AZAM ASYÛT

FIG. 1



DÊR ABU HENNES

FIG. 2



a village, and then seeing before us, about half-way up the face of the cliff, a tower-like edifice, gummed to the face of the rocks.

Crossing a bridge, seen in the sketch (Fig. 39), we ascended a steep path, and found ourselves approaching the building, which is made of brick and stone, and is thrust against a cave which seems ready to engulf its upper part. The cave is made into the church. The *haikal* is a hole in the rock, much trouble



FIG. 39. Gebel abu Fôdah. Dêr.

having been taken to make it face east. An artificial platform is made, on to which this cave opens by walls, chiefly of rough stone cemented together with Nile mud. These walls must be about 20·0 high, and are ornamented with crosses in burnt brick. The foot of the wall is cased with a shield of stone, pierced by a doorway now built up. The entrance now in use is not seen in the sketch, being round the corner to the right. There is another door much higher up, over which hangs a pulley, as seen in the sketch; whilst from the top of the doorway hangs a chain. There are foot-holes in the wall, entrance being obtained by clinging to the chain and inserting the feet in the foot-holes.

Entering by the lower door, we find ourselves in a room occupying the width of the tower. Out of this opens a doorway at some 2·0 from the floor, with a crazy ladder to reach it. Climbing the ladder, and passing through the doorway, we enter a tortuous passage on a steep slope, a sort of winding stair. At last we gain the platform at the top of the tower, and see before us the *higāb* or screen shutting in the *haikal*. This screen is of the usual type—woodwork, of small pieces, arranged in geometrical patterns, but without special interest.

The six openings seen in the sketch, at the top of the tower, are in the nature of windows to the platform, and from them a very extensive view is obtained towards the west across the Nile valley. The tower, which constitutes the Dêr, can have accommodated but few people. No one was living there at the time of our visit (November 28, 1903), nor are there houses nested about as at Rifa or Dronka.

After we had left the place and sailed away, it was revealed to us that we had been deceived by the obliging people, and it was then too late to find out the real name of the Dêr, but it is so characteristic of the curious places in which some churches are lodged that it seemed deserving of record.

DÊR EL NAKHLA

This building, on the east bank of the Nile, has been so much patched and covered with plaster and whitewash that it is not possible to dissect it and to state how much is the original church and how much is additional. A study of the plan leads us to suppose that the building has been enlarged.

The roof is formed partly of domes, partly of tunnel vaults. The *higāb* are of brick, set in geometrical patterns, with bits of white limestone. On the north side a small stair is arranged which leads to an upper level, at which are two apsidal chapels. The church is dedicated to Amba Bishoi. Visited, November 1900.

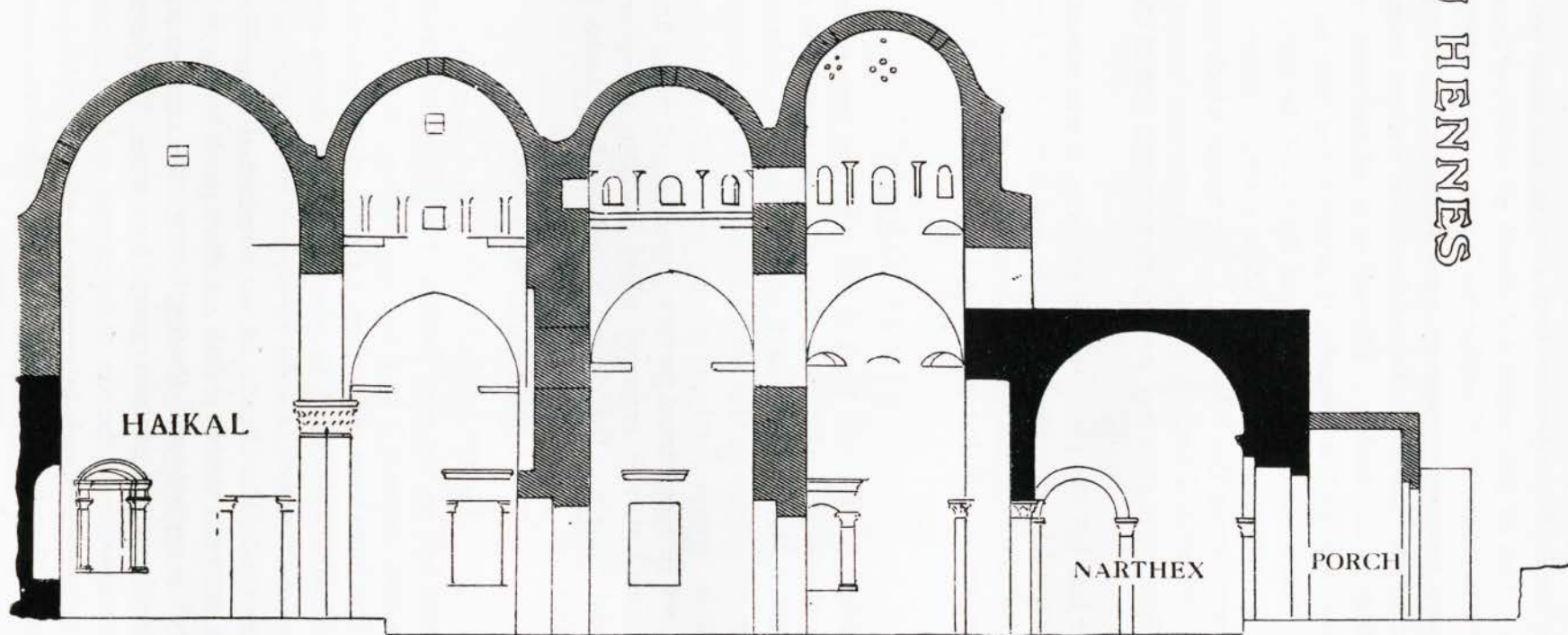
DÊR ABU HENNES

PLATES LIII (FIG. 2), LIV, LV, LVI

This church lies on the east bank of the Nile a little south of the ruins of Antinöe. In some respects it is of unusual interest, as it shows us most clearly the changes that have been made from a church of the orthodox basilican plan (type A) and roofed with wood, to one roofed with domes and obstructed by clumsy masses of brickwork in order to support them.

As it now exists, the church, of very restricted dimensions, consists of a narthex at its western extremity, with a shallow porch leading to it (see Plate LV). Over this porch is a platform. Passing through the narthex we enter the nave, which is in three bays, each of them covered by a dome. The piers supporting these domes are, in proportion to the size of the church, so large as completely to block the interior, being pierced only by openings hardly larger than doorways. As is seen on the plan, there are doorways next the walls of the church as well as on

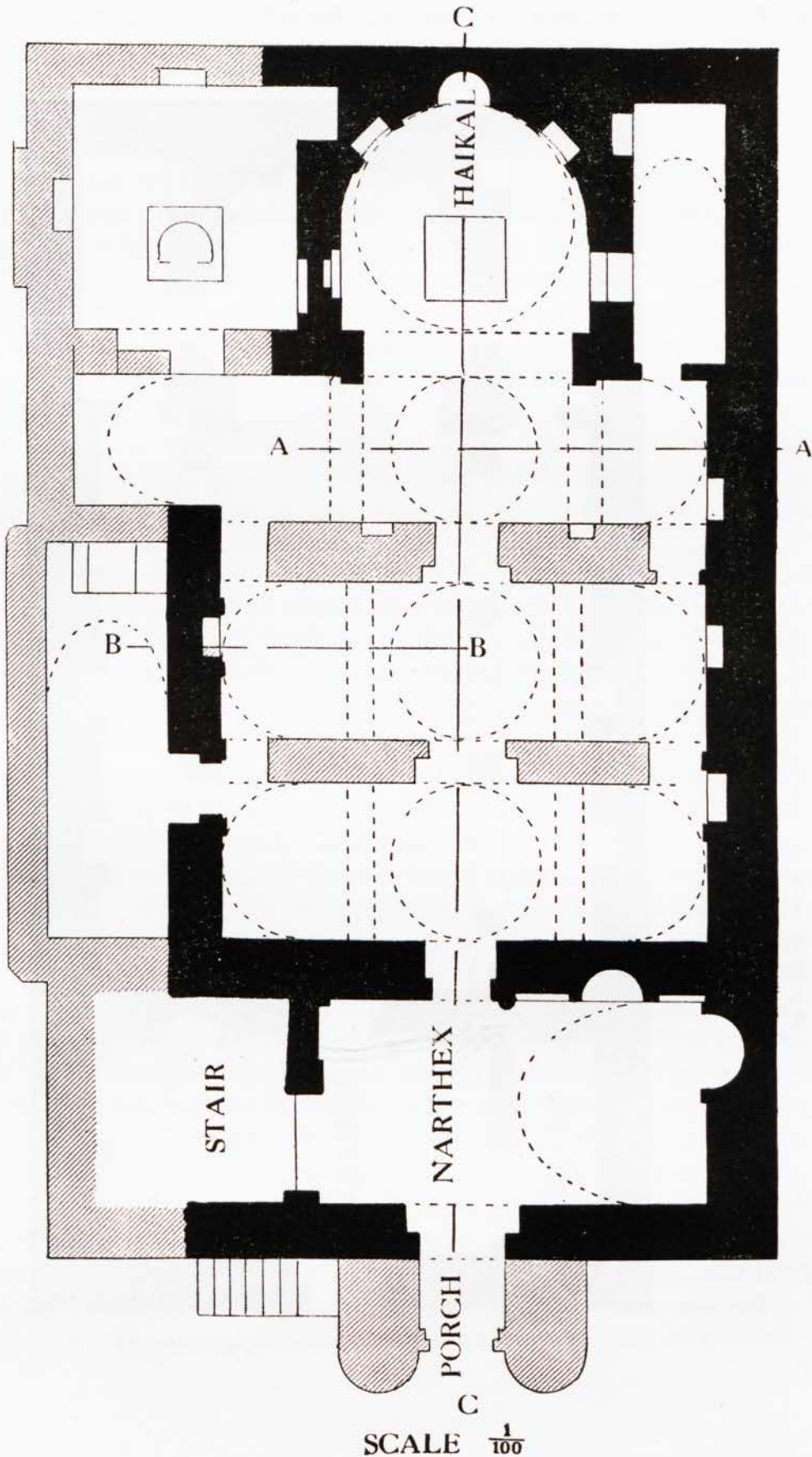
DÉR ABU HENNES



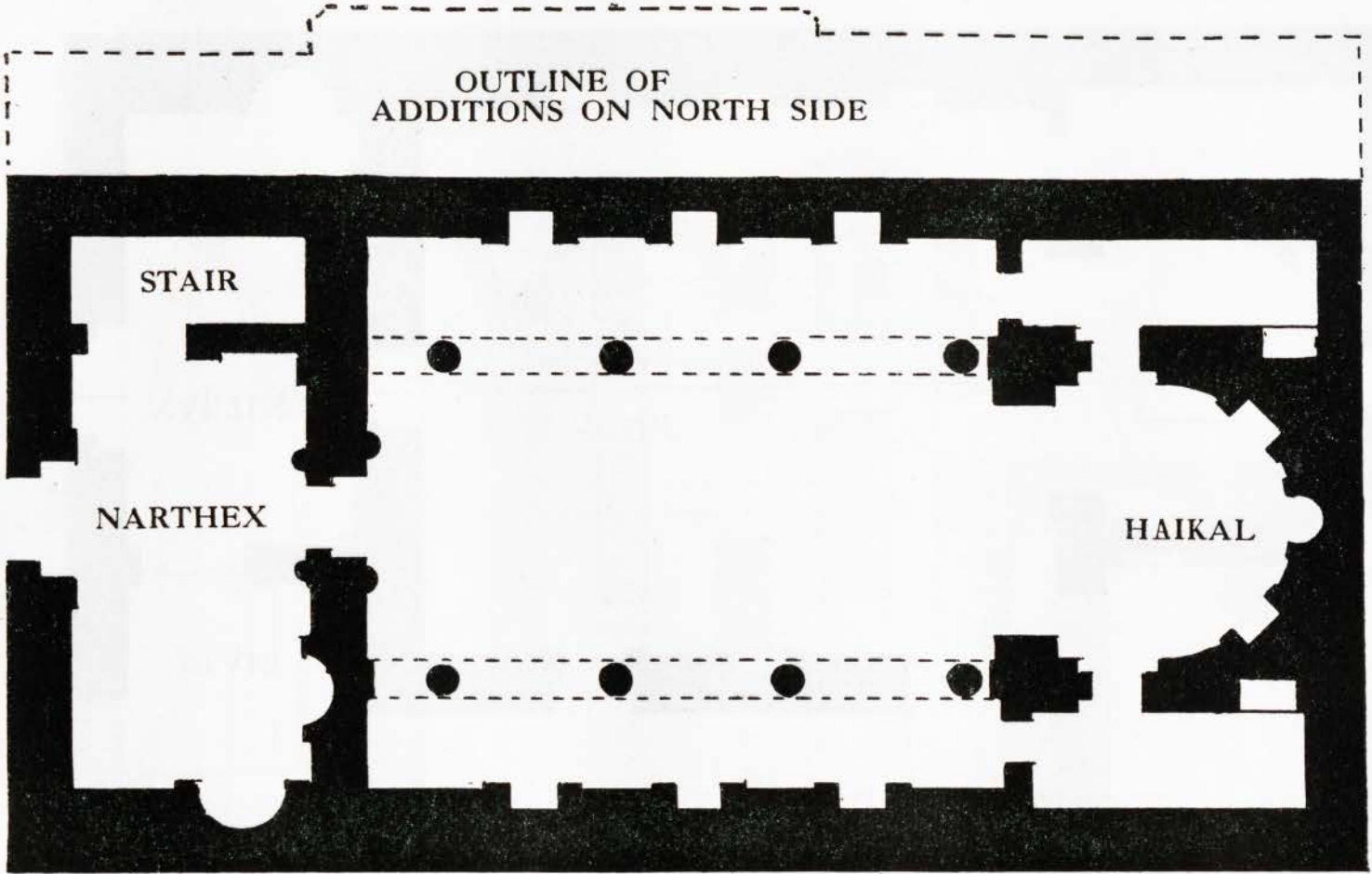
SECTION ON LINE C-C

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

DËR ABU HENNES



DËR ABU HENNES



OUTLINE OF
ADDITIONS ON NORTH SIDE

STAIR

NARTHEX

HAIKAL

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$

the axis. A passage-way is thus obtained from one division of the building to the other, not only by the central archways, but by the lateral openings. We find, then, that the nave is divided into three—the westernmost division for the women, the next for the men, and the easternmost for the chorus. East of the chorus comes the *haikal*, terminating in an apse and surmounted by a dome. On the south the *haikal* is flanked by a small chamber in which is the font. On the north lies a chamber of greater size, in which is an altar. On the north side of the nave is a long narrow chamber.

At the west end a few steps outside the porch lead down to the level of the church floor, a descent of perhaps 0.50 metre. The north wall is, however, more deeply buried, and at the east end of it the accumulation is so considerable that it is easy to mount on to the church roof. The south wall is free from accumulation, the ground level outside being almost level with the floor within. The outer walls are, generally, of brick, but at the west end, parts have been encased with masonry.

We will now describe the building more in detail. As we approach from the west (see Fig. 40), the first thing we observe is the doorway, set in a porch, which is built in advance of the main wall, and is flanked by masses of masonry, semicircular on plan toward the west. There is a platform above the doorway approached by steps from the north. The masonry flanking the doorway is faced with ashlar stone, a thin slab alternating with a header. The northern end of the west wall of the church is faced in a similar way. This style of masonry was much in fashion with Saracenic builders, and was made use of to cover a multitude of sins within. The porch and steps are additions to the original fabric, and are separated from it by a straight joint.

Passing through the porch we enter the narthex, which is covered by a barrel vault. In the southern wall of it is a niche, semicircular on plan, and built close up against the east wall. In the east wall, and south of the east doorway, is a shallow recess, perhaps for lamps or books. In the north end of the narthex is a doorway, walled up. We were told that here was a stair leading to the roof.

Passing through the narthex we enter the nave, and can observe, here and there, pieces of carved work, pilasters, cornices, and niches, which bear no relation to the existing subdivisions of the building. A short inspection makes it very clear that we are standing within the walls of the original building of a basilican plan. It was of three bays in length, the centre of each bay being marked by a niche in the aisle wall (see Plate LVI). At the eastern end of the nave is a pointed arch opening to the *haikal*. The flat pilasters from which this arch springs are original, and retain their carved capitals. The arch is, probably, of later date.

The apse walls are ornamented with three niches, whilst two little doors open into chambers north and south. Either by violence, fire, or industry of the worms, the original wood roofs disappeared and a more permanent system of covering was substituted, by making use of masonry domes and vaults. Unfortunately, the material selected, crude brick, was as feeble as the skill of the

builders. To sustain the very small domes masses of wall have been inserted, so large in proportion to the work to be done and the building itself that the ritual subdivision of the structure only communicate by doorways, as we have already shown, and are almost shut off one from the other.

Whilst the south wall of the church remains intact, nearly half of the north wall has been taken down, and the building has been enlarged, as in shown by difference of tint on the plan (Plate LV).

The section along the axis from east to west is interesting (see Plate LIV). We can realize from it the absolute change of effect, both external and internal, obtained by substituting a roof of brick domes for one of wood. The effect of length is entirely lost and gives way to one of height.

A few quotations from Abû Şâlih are subjoined to show how frequently these changes were effected.



FIG. 40. Dêr abu Hennes. External view.

On page 2, he states : ' He then undertook and carried out the reconstruction of this church of S. James which had been burnt down : he built for it, above the sanctuary, a lofty dome which could be seen from afar : he erected arches and vaults.'

Referring to the monastery of S. Menas, he tells us (p. 106) : ' this monastery and this church were burnt to the ground, except the apse and the northern and southern sides of the sanctuary, which were preserved intact ; these were restored, and domes and arches were built, and piers were set up instead of the marble columns.'

Of the church of S. Mercurius he tells us (p. 120) : ' So they restored (the church) and completed the sanctuary, and substituted for the roof of timber cupolas and arches of baked bricks.'

Of the dangers attendant on wooden roofs he tells us (p. 127) : ' (the church) was roofed with great beams. On a recent occasion the blacks determined to pillage this monastery, and they attacked this roof, so that they succeeded in ruining the building.'

In another case he records (p. 186) : ' The worms destroyed the timbers of

this monastery and the church, and so they were pulled down at the expense of that *sayyid*, who constructed instead of the roof [of timber] a vaulted roof, and enclosed the columns within piers of masonry, and none of the columns remained visible.'

Some drawings of the stone carvings to the niche-heads and capitals of columns are given in Fig. 41.

EL MADYNA

This considerable group of brick ruins lies immediately to the south of the ruins of Antinöe. What its history may be I am not able to state; but the area covered by it, the fact that the remains of three churches can be seen upon the surface, without excavation—these things go to prove that it must have been a

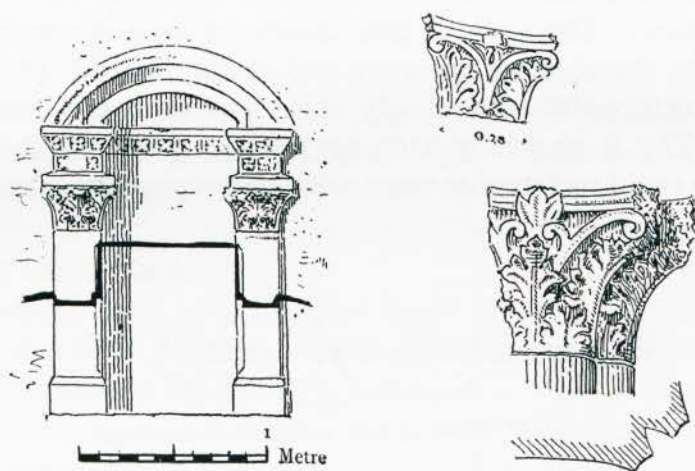


FIG. 41. Dér abu Hennes. Capitals and niche-head.

place of no little importance. One ventures to ask the historian—if he can be got to interest himself in this page of the history of Egypt—the following questions: Does this place represent a Christian settlement existing contemporaneously with Antinöe? Was the Christian community forced to settle itself out here whilst the people of the old faith still held possession of the Roman city? Or do these brick ruins represent a fresh settlement, made after Antinöe had been deserted?

A rough sketch-plan, not drawn to scale, is given, merely as an indication of the relation of the churches to each other; to a wall which seems to form part of an enclosure on the east, and to the city of Antinöe on the north (Fig. 42). Here are remains of the church B, of crude brick, terminating towards the east in three apses at its eastern end—one north, one east, one south—as at Dér Amba Shnúda or Amba Bishoï (see Plates XLV and XLIX). The building was very small, and no traces of stonework of any sort remain.

Another church, within the walls of which we excavated a little, lies south of the last. Its total length, internal, is but 9.35. It consisted of a central

nave, terminating in an apse with a narrow aisle on either hand. Rough brick bases 0.50×0.70 were found 1.0 below the surface of the drifted sand. The position of these bases makes it probable that there is yet one more, which would give us five arches opening into the aisle. The spring of the apse vault can be detected. The unusual feature is observed of the curve of the apse showing outside the east wall of the church (see plan, Figs. 42 and 43).

The structure, so far as it remains, is built entirely of crude bricks. Except the vault of the apse, no indications of vaulting are seen. The church is filled with sand and débris to a depth of fully one metre. A careful removal of this would show whether there were not vaulting bricks in the rubbish.

Nearer to the ruins of Antinöe, and standing alone, are the remains of a considerable enclosure of crude brick, quadrangular in plan. Hardly any walls remain above the level of the sand, which has now drifted over the slight mound made by the ruin. The scale of this church for such it was is much larger than that of the churches we generally find in Egypt (Fig. 42, c). The only part of the structure still seen clearly above ground is the lower part of the eastern apse. This is unusually wide, not less than 7.05. On the south side are the remains of a small rectangular room, with coarse paintings, nearly obliterated (D, Fig. 42).

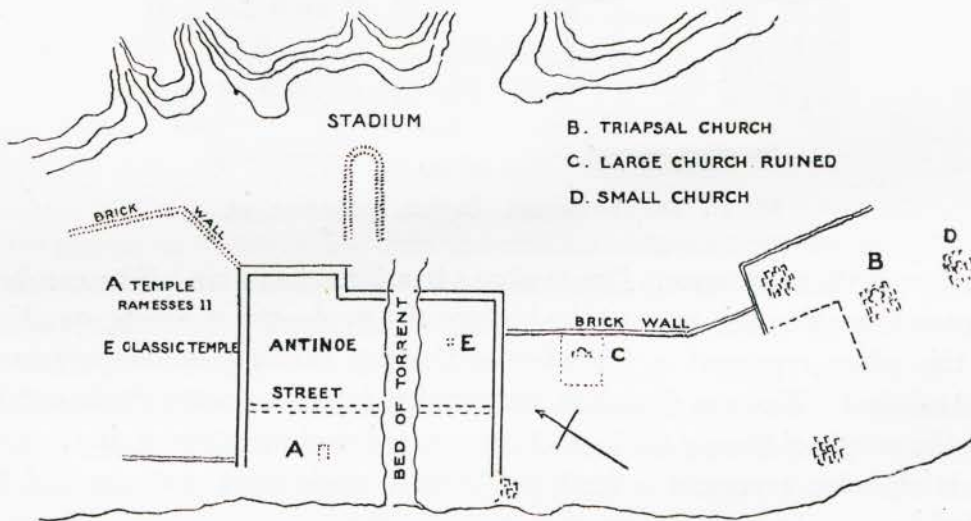


FIG. 42.

CONCLUSION

THE object I have set before me in making public the plans and drawings here collected has not been to compile a catalogue of all the ancient Christian remains in the Nile valley, but to provide a considerable selection, and thereby to assist in throwing a ray of light on a subject that has hitherto received but little attention. To make use of the words of Isaac Walton: 'I think fit, gentle reader, to tell thee these following truths: that I did neither undertake, nor write, nor publish this discourse to please myself. And, as I propose not the gaining of credit by this undertaking, so I would not willingly lose any part of that to which I had a just title; and I do therefore desire and hope, if I deserve not commendation yet I may obtain pardon.'

I am painfully aware how imperfect many of the drawings are. To make complete excavations in all of the buildings before drawings were made would involve a terrible outlay, and indeed in some places, as, for example, in the Batn el Hagar, it would be difficult to find the labour. The careless irregularities of plan and construction in most of the churches is such that, to note them exactly, would take hours, or even days, and yet the general scheme of the structures would not be better illustrated thereby.

The ancient churches in Cairo itself and in old Cairo are purposely omitted. An exhaustive study of these, with a fine series of drawings and photographs, is being prepared under the auspices of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. The materials are also collected for a similar monumental work at the Dêr el Abiaḍ and the Dêr el Aḥmar near Sohâg, two buildings which the Comité has recently repaired with great care. The photographs and coloured drawings of the rich ornamentation of these two churches will doubtless be a surprise to many. The few drawings of these buildings here printed are no more than seem necessary for the purposes of comparison and description.

The materials here offered for the consideration of the reader have been many years in course of collection, beginning in the year 1893-4. The mental attitude of the Egyptologist towards any study of Egyptian Archaeology, excepting along his own lines, was, at that time, as unscientific as it was discouraging. The Director-General of Antiquities could speak only with disdain of 'les méchants Coptes'. He was guilty of cruel and absolutely needless barbarities at Medinet Habu. One of the courts of this ponderous and impressive building had, at

a remote period, been turned into a church. Monolithic columns had been erected and an apse constructed for the reception of the altar. The walls of the ancient building had not been seriously defaced—indeed, it is probable that the work done by the Christians had assisted to preserve the original wall sculptures, for it was, as we know, their custom to cover with a thick coat of plaster the ‘superstitious images’ of the old religion, and on this plaster to paint ‘superstitious images’ of their own. However, this page of history did not please the gentleman who was director-general at that time, so out the evidences must come. At no little trouble and cost the monoliths were dragged away and are to be seen lying outside the walls of the courtyard on its south side. And not only so, but no plans, drawings, or notes were published. We must now, to find out how the Christian community had tried to re-arrange the court to suit its own uses, refer to a plan in the *Description de l'Égypte*.

In the temple of Luxor, the same gentleman carried forward works of destruction begun by others. After passing through the great court and hypostyle hall of Amenophis III we enter what is now an open court, but what had been a covered chamber, its roof supported by columns. To quote Murray's *Handbook*¹:

‘This Hall was in early Christian times converted into a church. A niche or apse was hammered out in the south wall and the ancient reliefs were daubed over with frescoes, which have now nearly disappeared.’

I quote these words as they stand because they so well interpret the venomous feelings displayed towards any work of ‘les méchants Coptes’. As a matter of fact, the ‘niche hammered out’ was a doorway, which, by slight alterations, had been re-arranged as an apse, whilst the sculptures were covered with a thick coat of plaster, on which were painted some exceedingly stately and monumental figures—none better in Egypt. We may admit that for the purposes of a complete study of the excellent wall sculptures it was necessary to remove these paintings; but it was a piece of unscientific barbarism to break them up without even procuring careful copies. The monastic remains at Dêr el Bahari which encrusted the beautiful temple were broken up in the same reckless way. It was sufficiently obvious that they could not be maintained, but surely, careful plans and registers should not have been neglected, as they were.

The Nile valley from Cairo to Khartûm is not less than 1,720 miles in length. Seeing the unwarrantable neglect with which this page of the archaeology in Egypt was treated, and, as there seemed no one but myself willing to take the matter in hand, I set to work upon the compilation and collection of materials. A study of this nature has not any very attractive results to show. No cartouche of a hitherto unknown king can be hoped for. The buildings, being generally of crude brick, have no gems of carving to show, nor can we ascertain their dates by varieties in the mouldings. That which would have assisted the

¹ *Egypt and the Sûdân*, eleventh edition. Edward Stanford, 1907, p. 390.

student, the painting of figures and inscriptions with which the interiors were liberally covered, is nearly all gone. There is left but a study of bare mouldering walls and fallen roofs.

It is not a matter of wonder that societies for the study of Archaeology could not be induced to spend the money of their subscribers on things which gave so small an opportunity to produce an attractive volume.

And yet there is hope. In the neighbourhood of Wadi Halfa Dr. David Randall MacIver, working for the University of Pennsylvania, has made some valuable researches, assisted by Mr. Geoffrey Mileham, and to them I am indebted for many kind hints and corrections of my more hurried labours.

It was at the suggestion of Sir Reginald Wingate, the Governor-General of the Sûdân, that I examined the long line of country between Soba in the south and Halfa in the north. It would be difficult to over-estimate the kindness, hospitality, and ready help I received from him and all those who have the honour to serve under him.

In England we know but little of the customs and ritual made use of in the ancient churches of Egypt. Although it would be absurd to claim the Christian buildings as distinguished examples of architecture, they have their place in the history of that art. When these structures, for the most part so humble, were built, architecture was not, as it is now, a mere matter of imitation and masquerade. People did not ask 'in what style is your building', they did not make use of 'period' furniture, nor did they devise a church so as to look pretty, but to be at the same time quite unsuited to the ritual which was to be carried on within. The ritual was, in those days, the kernel, the building was the shell made to fit. Under these circumstances it is unfortunate that we know so little of the controlling motives which dictated the form of the buildings under consideration.

In answer to sundry questions I have asked him, the following information has been given me by Marcus Bey Simaika, whose very lively and intelligent interest in the Christian antiquities of his country is well known. Regarding the number of altars he tells me :

'There are as many *haikals* as there are altars, one place is not singled out as the *haikal*, *par excellence*. Their number varies. Some churches have one altar, others more. According to a popular work entitled *Miracles of the Virgin*, the great church of Athrib, near Benha, had twenty-four altars. It is, however, probable that this church, like that of Abu Sifain at Cairo—for example—consisted of a group of churches which made up, amongst them, the large number of altars above stated.

'The only exception I can name to the custom of placing the altars in a row on the eastern side of the church is in the crypt of Abu Sargah, where, owing possibly to the exiguity of the place, the central altar faces east, the side-altars north and south.

'The practice of having three altars in a church is said by some to be in

honour of the three persons of the Trinity, by others that the three altars correspond to the Altar of Incense, the Altar of Sacrifice, and the Table of the Ark in the Jewish tabernacle and temple.

'It is, however, certain that there was a necessity to have more than one altar, as no altar can under any circumstances be used more than once in one day. The centre altar of three, the one almost always used, is dedicated to the saint of the church, the others to other saints, thus contradicting the theory of the three altars being dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity. When two altars are used simultaneously, only the priest at the middle altar sings the service aloud, the other must read inaudibly.'

In answer to some questions I asked him about existing monasteries, Simaika Bey gives me the following information :

'There are eight monasteries for monks: (1) Dêr Abu Makâr ; (2) Dêr Amba Bishoi ; (3) Dêr Sûriâni ; (4) Dêr el Baramûs—all in the Natron valley ; (5) Dêr Amba Antonius ; (6) Dêr Amba Bûla, these two near the Red Sea ; (7) Dêr Amba Samouil, near the Fayoum ; (8) Dêr el Moharrak, near Manfalout. With the exception of the last named they are all in the desert, and lie at distances varying from a six-hours' to a four-days' journey from the cultivated land. They contain from 350 to 400 monks in all. There are five convents for nuns, all in Cairo: (1) Mari Girgis ; (2) Abu Sifain, in Old Cairo ; (3) Haret er Roum ; (4) Mari Girgis ; (5) El Adra, Haret Zeweila, containing about 100 nuns in all.

'With regard to monastic and parochial churches. There are and have been parish churches from the earliest times. Each parish church is in charge of one or more married priests, who are sometimes assisted by one or more ordained monks. As a rule the chief priest or the vicar of the parish must be married.

'The word Dêr is properly applied only to a place where a monastery or a convent exists, or has existed. A parish church is called *kanéssah*, a corruption of the Greek word *ecclesia*. The place is not called a Dêr even if it counts amongst its ministers several monks. If, however, the church once belonged to a monastic institution it retains its monastic title. Thus Dêr el Abiaḍ and Dêr el Aḥmar have become parish churches long since, and are served by married priests. They do not contain one monk, but are yet called Dêr.

'The number of bishops in Egypt is at present fifteen. This is much less than of old.

'We read in the life of Simeon the forty-second patriarch, who lived towards the end of the seventh century, that a synod was convened at Alexandria by order of Abdil Aziz, which was attended by sixty-four Monophysite bishops besides Melkite bishops and those of other sects.

'In the eleventh century a synod met at Fastât by order of the Khalif Mustansir, and his vizir Amêr-el-Goyûsh was attended by forty-seven bishops under Cyril the sixty-seventh patriarch.

'It does not appear that after the Arab Conquest churches were often converted into mosques.¹ They were generally pulled down and mosques built with their materials.

¹ Is there not a good reason for this? What makes a suitable plan for a church is very ill suited to a mosque.—S.C.

' Before as well as after the Arab Conquest, different sects tried to appropriate the churches. We read in the life of Khayal (A.D. 744-68) that the Melkites claimed the church of Mari Mîna at Mariout. Abdil Malik, after hearing both sides, decided in favour of the Monophysites. Again, we read in the life of Theophilus, sixty-fifth patriarch (A.D. 970-95), in the reign of the Fatimite Khalif Muez-adîn-Allah, that the Melkite patriarch Arsenius (who was the brother of one of his wives and mother of El Hâkim) laid claim to the church All Mu'allakah. After great difficulties the Monophysites gave to the Melkites the church of Sitt el Adra in Kasr el Sham'ah, now known by the name of Kasnet el rêhân, of which they subsequently regained possession.'

I will venture on a few remarks with regard to the number of altars above referred to.

With regard to the plans of churches south of Aswân (Plates III—XXIV), it will be observed that in most cases the aisles are so narrow that it hardly seems possible to have placed an altar at the east end of them, more particularly as there is usually a door in the east wall of the aisle giving access to the little room beyond (see Plates VI—XII, XV, XVIII—XX, XXIII, XXIV). On Plates VIII, XVII, and XXXVI of *Churches in Lower Nubia*, Mr. Mileham shows us that he found the traces of small screens at the east end of the aisles, but in each case these screens are evidently so disposed as to mask the door into the little room beyond. They are not *higâb* arranged in relation to an altar. Convenience and decency of arrangement seem to have been of but small account in the churches we have examined. There is in them all very restricted space, but in the aisles of the churches in Nubia there is not any space for the smallest of altars. Such indications as we now see are all in favour of one altar only on the ground floor, and that in the apse. I will not venture on a speculation whether there may have been any altar on the upper floor.

When we examine the plan on Plate XXXI, Dêr Simeon at Aswân, we find that the available space is not quite so restricted. In the description of the building the question is considered whether there can have been three altars, one in each apse. As for altars at the east end of the aisles, we are here met with the old difficulty, want of space and doors very inconveniently placed.

When we find ourselves north of Aswân the conditions are much changed, but even in this part of Egypt, when we meet in a few cases with a plan of undisputed antiquity, we are faced with the same difficulties as above stated. For example, at the Dêr el Abiad (Plate XLV) and Dêr ei Aḥmar (Plate XLIX), we find ourselves in the presence of two plans, purely basilican in type. There does not seem in these any accommodation for three altars at the east end of the church, unless two of them were faced north and south. The eastern ends of the aisles and of the transeptal spaces beyond them are so much ruined that it seems useless to speculate upon what may have been the arrangements. On Plate LV is shown the plan of Dêr Abu Hennes, one of the best preserved of the

basilican plans. Here the narrow aisles and inconvenient doorways at once declare themselves.

When we study the plans of the type C we find a great change. On Plate xxxiii (Fig. 2), Esna, Dêr es Shuhada, the building can be made to accommodate three altars very easily, and in this building we find not less than five: one in that which I take to be the original church, and which could have accommodated three; and four in an addition on the north side.

On Plate xxxiv, Dêr Todrus, Medinet Habu, we may be justified in thinking that the church, as first built, had three altars, and that the fourth was provided for later.

On Plate xxxv, at Medammôt, we find five altars in a row, and nothing to indicate that all these *haikals* were not built at the same time.

On Plate xxxvi, Dêr el Malâk Mikhaïl, Kamûlah, it is hardly open to doubt that we see two churches standing side by side. The southern is clearly prepared for three altars, the northern may be the same.

At Dêr Mari Boctor, Nakâda (Plate xxxvii), may we be justified in supposing that the church was originally built for three altars in a row?

On Plate xxxviii, Dêr es Salîb, Nakâda, the southern and the northern churches are prepared for three altars, the intermediate has at present two only, but may there not in this case have been some alteration since this part of the building was erected? At present the eastern part of the little church does not seem at all to fit the western.

Plate xl, Dêr el Megma, Nakâda; it would be very difficult to squeeze three altars side by side into the church of Abu Hennes, but there is room in the other two churches.

At Naga' ed Dêr (Plate xli, Fig. 2), the church seems to have begun with three altars side by side. The two to the north are, we may believe, in an addition.

At Dêr Mari Girgis (Plate xlii, Fig. 1) and at Dêr el Adra the main building seems in each case to be prepared for three altars. It can hardly be denied that as regards plans of the type C there is a preference for placing three altars in a row in *haikals* prepared for them.

As regards sites, there must be many places in which remains of ancient churches will be hereafter revealed to those who search. In the Sûdân investigations are yet in their infancy. In one district only has scientific examination been made, and that is from Farras, the northern frontier of the Sûdân, to Wadi Halfa. There is yet much more to be done at the mouth of the Second Cataract, both on the mainland and on the islands, the west bank of the Nile opposite Halfa making an admirable point for head-quarters.

A reference to Maps 3 and 4 (Plates xxvii and xxviii) establishes this fact. There are certainly many ancient sites which I was not able to visit. There must be some, we cannot doubt, on the east bank of the river as well as upon the west, and we know they exist on the islands with which this part of the cataract is thickly studded. To make a general survey, as I have done, a cavalcade of camels,

tents, &c., was essential, but for a detailed investigation of a district such a following is both costly and useless. A couple of tents, a few trusted men who understand excavations by experience, and who do not, after the manner of the ordinary native, dig up and destroy that which one is looking for ; with these, starting from a well-established head-quarters, short expeditions can be made at a reasonable cost. It is also essential that the investigators shall be provided with a boat. With regard to this there are difficulties. In many places in the Sûdân, especially in the Batn el Hagar, boats are not to be found. In others the native-built *nagr*, a curious and interesting structure, described by Herodotus, and of the shape of half a walnut, is the only vehicle. This antiquated machine will sail indifferently well before the wind, but against it progress is nearly hopeless ; tacking is almost impossible. I have crossed the river in a *nagr* in half an hour and been more than four hours in returning whence I started. These boats cannot be rowed, and indeed have not any oars. The place of the one oar is taken by a crooked pole, with which, as may well be supposed, but little progress can be made. On the other hand, the wood—'sunt : *Acacia Nilotica*'—of which the boats are built is exceedingly hard, and will resist the hard blows and buffetings which it will certainly receive at one time or another from the rocks against which one is easily swept by the swiftly rushing water. A folding boat must be used with great circumspection ; in many places it is not safe. I have tried boats of two makes, and in neither case were the oars sufficiently strong ; those which are made in two pieces fitted together with a socket are dangerously weak. To make use of a boat as the chief means of conveyance is, I think, out of the question. Not only are the available machines such as have been described, but, travelling in them, there is every chance, indeed almost a certainty, that sites which should be observed will be passed by.

The native does not in the least distinguish between an outcrop of rock and the foundation of a stone building. A modern brick structure set up in the time of Mohammed Ali has the same, or indeed more, value in his eyes (being probably better preserved) than the ruin of an ancient church or castle. The traveller is, to no small extent, at the mercy of what these people have to tell.

The only reliable conveyances are the donkey, the camel, and one's feet, the latter the best of the three, the others following.

There is most water in the river in the shorter months of the year ; this is consequently the best time to select, apart from the question of summer heat. A capacious boat can be moved easily. On the other hand, the wind, persistently blowing from the north-west, is perniciously cold. Often it is impossible to make any progress towards the north, although floating on a powerful stream.

Halfa being reasonably accessible, head-quarters for the examination of a certain part of the river can be established there and stores easily obtained. From that place antiquities could be examined as far as the Dal Cataract.

As we go southward the next place, accessible with reasonable care, is New Dongola. From Kareima (see Gebel Barkal on Map 3, Plate xxvii) the steamer

makes the journey northward to New Dongola. Kareima is itself reached by train from Atbara and Khartûm. When there is sufficient water the steamer goes beyond New Dongola as far north as Kerma. New Dongola or Kerma can be made head-quarters for examining the antiquities northward to Dal and southward towards Old Dongola. Old Dongola should, again, be made a centre and head-quarters, as not only is there much to be investigated there, but close by is the Wadi Letti, and other places lie on the river or in lateral valleys.

Between Old Dongola and Kareima (Gebel Barkal) it will be observed that on Map 3 are many sites marked, and doubtless there are several more not yet known. Here the steamers cease to run, as they cannot ascend the Fourth Cataract.

It is said that in the Fourth Cataract are several ruins of churches; Lepsius refers to some. The railway from Kareima to Abu Hâmid is of no use for investigation, as it does not skirt the river, and, if it did, the progress is too rapid and the stations are too far apart.

Of the stretch of river between Abu Hâmid and Khartûm I cannot give any information. Up to the present no one seems to know whether there may be relics of Christian antiquity. It seems not a little remarkable, if it be true, that whilst sundry ruins of churches are found south of Soba, none should exist north of it, more especially when we reflect that Soba was a capital town, a very considerable centre, and that there had been settlements of no little importance at the places now known as Massawarat and Kabushia. Why should not the Christians have lived there as other people had done before?

The last head-quarters for investigation I can at present suggest is Khartûm, but probably Sennar can soon be added to the list.

Such information as we possess we owe to the interest of such inspectors and others who may care to make notes. These gentlemen and those who are making maps are not sent out by the government on archaeological missions. They have not the time to spare nor the money to spend on excavation, nor are they equipped for the work by previous study. Mere aimless digging does actual harm. It would be better that the sites should be left untouched than that ill-directed trenching and confused piling up of materials should result, as it may do, in destroying evidence or, at the best, burying it in a mound of brickbats, or, at the worst, even causing the downfall of that which might have remained standing for many a long year.

Attention has already been called to the unfortunate efforts of well-intentioned diggers at Soba. One cannot, however, speak with too much esteem of those gentlemen, government inspectors, each having a considerable area of country under his charge, who often quite alone move up and down their districts, and, where many men would simply rust away in the dull routine of their work, make interests for themselves, some in a study of ethnology, others of the botany or geology of their districts, and others of ancient sites or objects that appear to them to be deserving of observation. These are duly noted down

on the maps with which they travel. I have found no men more ready to impart what they have observed than these gentlemen, and, indeed, without their kind co-operation and that of the survey department, the Sûdân maps would have had but a few sites marked upon them. I can only express a hope that these gentlemen will hold their hand at excavation, for reasons already given.

As regards the maps and investigations of sites, it may be observed by a reader who refers to those I here submit and compares them with the maps issued by the Sûdân or the Egyptian Government, that the names of places do not, in many cases, agree.

As the government maps do not agree amongst themselves, a diversity of readings may be excused. Dealing, as the surveyors have to do, with countries where there may not be any written language, or, if there be, where the people are careless as to pronunciation, and, finally, where those who have to write down the names do not know the value of the sounds, several different interpretations of the name of one place are often to be found. Furthermore, the natives themselves neither appreciate nor are careful as to exactitude. Under such conditions real accuracy cannot be attained.

To add to the difficulties, several varieties of transliteration from Arabic to European languages are made use of, and are, it seems, current at the same time. We arrive by train at a station where is written up 'Guergueh'; we look in a map and find the same place written down as 'Girga' or 'Girgeh'. The French find it impossible to squeeze enough vowels into a transliteration; to them we owe the melodious compound 'Mallaoui'. On the government map we find 'Mellawi', and so on. In quoting from Messrs. Evetts and Butler's *Abû Sâlih*, I, of course, make use of their method of transliteration, and find a well-known town under the name of 'Uswân'; others write it 'Aswân'; at the railway-station it figures as 'Assouan'.

In the list of churches given by Simaika Bey and printed in the Appendix may be observed sundry varieties of spelling. It is not for me to undertake the enterprise of getting into harmony all the variations above referred to, as I am quite unequipped for such an undertaking. Undoubtedly place-names in a developing country are as yet very fluid. It may, indeed, be asked, What is the authority for the names as now spelt in Arabic?

It will be observed that the number of names given in the list (Appendix A) is much in excess of the names indicated on the maps. This is explained by the fact that I have done my best to indicate only those places where the churches have about them somewhat of antiquity, or are reputed to have such remains.

It is needless to say that it has not been possible to visit all the churches in Egypt. Whilst the people themselves neither know nor care—with the rarest exceptions—about antiquities, no means are at hand for gaining information that can be relied upon. I have had to be content without it.

Apologies are due to the reader for the style, or to speak more properly, the want of style with which this book is written. It could hardly be otherwise.

Very much of it is in the nature of a catalogue, the items of which have been collected year by year in not less than eighteen note-books, sundry sketch-books, and many places, some of which have been visited five or six times. The compilation of the matter has partaken not a little of the nature of excavation in the aforesaid books, and is consequently not always as coherent as might be wished.

I have already expressed my obligation to Mr. F. W. Green and Professor Sayce. In collecting materials from Halfa northwards I have had the kindly help of several friends, amongst others of Max Herz Bey, Architect to the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, of Mr. C. R. Peers, now the Secretary to the Royal Society of Antiquaries ; to the late Harold Swainson, to Mr. R. D. Wells, to Mr. Blackburn Daniell, and others ; and last, but not least, to kindly and intelligent assistance given me by my servants and sailors.

APPENDIX

LIST OF 'ORTHODOX' COPTIC CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES IN EGYPT

ALTHOUGH unduly cumbersome if included in the text, there can be no doubt that the list of churches and sites in Egypt here appended and which I have received through the courtesy of H.B. The Patriarch, assisted by my kind friend Marcus Bey Simaika, will be of no little value.

Attention has already been called to the extreme fluidity which marks the spelling of place-names when turned from the Arabic into European tongues. It is therefore important to the topographer and historian that the list of place-names should be set forth in Arabic. The Arabic place-names as here printed are those which have been in use for a long period of time in the official lists at the Patriarchate, it would probably be impossible to find a list older or of more authority.

The list is printed as supplied to me. I do not guarantee its accuracy or correctness.

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A. Patriarchal Diocese

CAIRO AND ITS SUBURBS

الكرسى البطركى

مصر وضواحيها

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Governorate</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
1. Mâri Morcos	Ezbekieh	Ezbekieh	Cairo	الازبكيه	مار مرتس 1
2. El Adra	Faggala	"	"	الفجاله	السيدة العذراء 2
3. El Malâk Mikhaïl	El Abbassieh	Waily	"	العباسيه	الملاك ميخائيل 3
4. Amba Rûess	"	"	"	"	انبا رويس 4
5. Es Sitt Dimiâna	Boulac	Boulac	"	بولاق	الست دميانه 5
6. El Malâk Ghabriâl	Haret es Sakayin	Abdeen	"	حارة السقاين	الملاك غبريال 6

¹ Cathedral Church. Seat of the Coptic Patriarch. A new building. There are several Cathedral Churches in or about Cairo, the chair of the Bishop not being confined to one only. ² Rebuilt in 1895. ⁴ Built in the eighteenth

century, was an anchorite of the thirteenth century. ⁶ Rebuilt, 1890.

⁵ A new church.

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Governorate</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
7. El Adra	Haret es Zeweila	Mouski	Cairo	حارة زويلة	السيدة العذراء 7
8. Mâri Girgis	" "	" "	" "	" "	مار جرجس 8
9. El Adra	Haret er Roum	Darb el Ahmar	" "	حارة الروم	السيدة العذراء 9
10. Mâri Girgis	" "	" "	" "	" "	مار جرجس 10
11. Mâri Mîna	Fom el Khalig	Sayeda Zeinab	" "	قم الخليج	دير مار مينا 11
12. Marcoriûs Abus-Sifain	Old Cairo	Old Cairo	" "	مصر القديمة	الشهيد مرقوريوس 12
13. El Adra bil Damchirieh	" "	" "	" "	" "	السيدة العذراء بالدمشيرية 13
14. Amba Shnûda	" "	" "	" "	" "	انبا شنودة 14
15. Mâri Girgis	Roman Fortress	" "	" "	" "	مار جرجس 15
16. Al Adra bil Muallaka	" "	" "	" "	" "	السيدة العذراء بالمعلقة 16
17. Al Adra bi Kasriet er Rihân	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " بقصرية الريحان 17
18. Es Sitt Borbâra	" "	" "	" "	" "	الست بربارة 18
19. El Kaddisan Sargius wa Wakhis	" "	" "	" "	" "	القديسان سرجيوس و واخس 19
20. El Adra bi Bablûn	Bên el Kiman	" "	" "	" "	السيدة العذراء ببابلون 20
21. El Amir Tadros el Mishriki	" "	" "	" "	" "	الامير تادرس المشرقي 21
22. Abukîr wa Yûhanna	" "	" "	" "	" "	القديسان اباكير و يوحنا 22
23. El Malâk Mikhaîl	" "	" "	" "	" "	الملاك ميخائيل 23
24. Dêr el Sayeda el Adra	Haret Zeweila	Mouski	" "	حارة زويلة	دير السيدة العذراء 24
25. Dêr Mâri Girgis	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " مار جرجس 25
26. Dêr el Amîr Tadros	Haret er Roum	Darb el Ahmar	" "	حارة الروم	" " الامير تادرس 26
27. Dêr Abus Sifein	Old Cairo	Old Cairo	" "	مصر القديمة	" " ابي سيفين 27
28. Dêr Mâri Girgis	" "	" "	" "	" "	" " مار جرجس 28

⁷ Ancient. Cathedral. Repaired by the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. ⁹ Ancient. Cathedral. ¹⁰ Seventeenth century. ¹² Ancient. Cathedral. Repaired by Comité. ¹³ Ancient. Cathedral. Repaired by Comité. ¹⁴ Burnt and rebuilt in 1870. The Roman fortress is called 'Kasr es Shamm'ah', within its walls are the churches 14-18.

¹⁵ Restored to death. Cathedral. ¹⁶ Seventeenth century. ¹⁷ Seriously altered about forty years since. ¹⁸ Ancient. Cathedral. ¹⁹ Seventeenth century. ²⁰ Seventeenth century. ²¹ Seventeenth century. ²² A convent. ²⁴ A convent. ²⁵ A convent. ²⁶ A convent. ²⁷ A convent.

B. Bishopric of Alexandria, Behera, and Menûfieh

ابروشييه كرسى الاسكندريه

1074

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C C

Dedication of Church	Locality	District	Governorate	الجهة	اسماء الكنايس
1. Mâri Morcos	El Missalla	Attareen	Alexandria	المسلة	كنيسة مار مرقس 1
2. Mâri Girgis	Gehat Charky	"	" Mudirea	جهة شرقى	مارى جرجس 2
3. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Damanhûr	Damanhûr	Behera	دمنهور	كنيسة الملك ميخائيل 3
4. El Adra	Atfe	Abu Hommos	"	العطف	السيدة العذراء 4
5. Mâri Morcos	Rosetta	Rosetta	"	رشيد	مار مرقس 5
6. Mâri Girgis	Dimatiû	Neguila	"	دمتيوه	مار جرجس 6
7. El Adra	Terraneh	"	"	الطرانه	السيدة العذراء 7
8. El Adra	Ezbet Abu Hamrah	Teh el Barûd	"	عزبة ابو حمرة	" " " 8
9. El Adra	Dahrieh	" "	"	الضهرية	" " " 9
10. El Adra	Ezbet Abu Hana	Shibrekhith	"	عزبة ابو حنا	" " " 10
11. Mâri Girgis	Ezbet el Garaïsa	"	"	عزبة الجرايسه	مار جرجس 11
12. El Adra	Shebin el Kom	Shebin el Kom	Menûfieh	شبين الكوم	السيدة العذراء 12
13. El Adra	Batanûn	" "	"	البتانون	" " " 13
14. Amba Sarabamûn	"	" "	"	"	انبا صرابامون 14
15. Amba Sarabamûn	Melig	" "	"	مليج	" " " 15
16. Mâri Girgis	Miniatein	" "	"	المنييتين	مار جرجس 16
17. El Malâk Mikhaïl	"	" "	"	"	الملك ميخائيل 17
18. El Adra	Minchah	" "	"	منشاة شنوان	السيدة العذراء 18
19. El Adra	Zawyet en Naûrah	" "	"	زاوية الناعورة	" " " 19
20. Mâri Girgis	Menûf	Menûf	"	منوف	مار جرجس 20
21. Mâri Girgis	Ezbet Tatta	"	"	عزبة تتا	" " " 21
22. El Adra	Sedûd	"	"	سدود	السيدة العذراء 22
23. El Adra	Ficha en Nassara	"	"	فيشا النصارى	" " " 23
24. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Bay el Arab	"	"	بى العرب	الملك ميخائيل 24
25. El Adra	Behnai el Ghanam	"	"	بهناي الغنم	السيدة العذراء 25
26. Mâri Girgis	Serss el Lianna	"	"	سرس الليانة	مار جرجس 26

¹ New church built over the tomb of S. Mark. Seat of the Archbishop.

³ New.

⁴ New.

⁵ Eighteenth century.

⁶ New.

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
27. El Adra	Sobk	Ashmûn	Menûfieh	سبك	كنيسة السيدة العذراء 27
28. Mâri Girgis	Talia	Ashmûn	"	طاليا	" مار جرجس 28
29. Mâri Girgis	Shatanûf	"	"	شطانوف	" " " 29
30. Mâri Girgis	Ekwa	Tala	"	أكوه	" " " 30
31. Mâri Girgis	Bamam	"	"	بعم	" " " 31
32. El Adra	Tûkh en Nasara	"	"	طوخ النصارى	السيدة العذراء 32
33. Mâri Girgis	" "	"	"	" "	مار جرجس 33
34. El Adra	Ezbet el Baramûs	"	"	عزبة البرموس	السيدة العذراء 34
35. Mâri Girgis	Kafr el Zayat	Kafr el Zayat	Gharbieh	كفر الزيات	مار جرجس 35
36. El Adra	Ebiar	" "	"	ابيار	السيدة العذراء 36
37. Mâri Mina	"	" "	"	"	مار مينا العجائبي 37
38. Mâri Girgis	Berma	Tantah	"	برما	مار جرجس 38
39. Mâri Girgis	Mehallet Marhûm	"	"	محلة مرحوم	" " " 39
40. El Adra	Tantah	"	"	طنطا	السيدة العذراء 40

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Monasteries. Natrûn Valley

Dêr el Baramûs contains four churches :

1. El Adra.
2. El Amîr Tadros.
3. Mâri Yûhanna el Meimidân.
4. El Malâk Mikhaïl.

Dêr es Sûriani contains three churches :

1. El Adra.
2. El Adra.
3. El Malâk Mikhaïl (in the keep).

Dêr Abû Makâr contains four churches :

1. El Kaddîs Abû Makâr.
2. Shûiûkh Shihât et tesa'a wa arba'ain.
3. Esh Shahîd Abûskhirûn.
4. El Malâk Mikhaïl (in the keep).

اديرة الرهبان بوادي النطرون

1 دير البرموس يحتوي على اربع كنائس الكبرى باسم السيدة العذراء و الثانية باسم الامير تادرس و الثالثة باسم القديس يوحنا المعدان و الرابعة "بالقصر" باسم الملك ميخائيل

1 دير السريان يحتوي على ثلاث كنائس الكبرى باسم السيدة العذراء و الثانية بالمغارة باسم السيدة العذراء و الثالثة باسم الملك ميخائيل

1 دير ابا مقار يحتوي على اربع كنائس الكبرى باسم القديس مقاريوس و الثانية باسم شيوخ شيهات التسعة و اربعين و الثالثة باسم القديسين ايسخريون و الرابعة بالقصر باسم الملك ميخائيل

³ 'in the keep'. See quotations, p. 104, from Abû Şâliḥ. Also Plate XXXII, the Monastery of S. Simeon at Aswân, where the keep is shown.

Dēr Amba Bshoī contains three churches :

1. Amba Bshoī.
2. Esh Shahīd Abūskhirūn.
3. El Malāk Mikhaīl (in the keep).

دير انبا بيشوي يحتوي على ثلاث كنائس الكبرى باسم
القديس ابنا بيشوي و الثانية باسم الشهيد ايسخريون
و الثالثة "بالقصر" باسم الملك ميخائيل

C. Bishopric of Jerusalem, etc.

ابروشييه كرسى اورشليم

Dedication of Church	Locality	District	Mudirea	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس	
1. El Adra	Port Said	Port Said	Port Said	بور سعيد	كنيسة السيدة العذراء	1
2. El Adra	Suez	Suez	Suez	السويس	العذراء	2
3. Māri Girgis	Damietta	Damietta	Dakahlieh	دمياط	مار جرجس	3
4. El Malāk Mikhaīl	Mansūrah	Mansūrah	"	المنصورة	الملك ميخائيل	4
5. El Adra	"	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء	5
6. Māri Girgis	"	"	"	"	مار جرجس	6
7. El Adra	Redanieh	"	"	الريديانية	السيدة العذراء	7
8. Māri Girgis	Salamūn el Kammash	"	"	سلامون القماش	مار جرجس	8
9. El Adra	Kafr Yūssef el Awad	Simbellawein	"	كفر يوسف عوض	السيدة العذراء	9
10. Māri Girgis	Mit Damsis	Miniet Samanūd	"	ميت دميس	مار جرجس	10
11. El Adra	Dakadūs	Mit Ghamr	"	دقادوس	السيدة العذراء	11
12. El Adra	Kafr Ibrahim Yūssef	" "	"	كفر ابراهيم يوسف	" "	12
13. Māri Girgis	Mit Ghamr	" "	"	ميت غمر	مار جرجس	13
14. Māri Girgis	Sahragt el Kūbra	" "	"	صهرجت الكبرى	" "	14
15. Māri Girgis	Kafr esh Shahīd	" "	"	كفر الشهيد	" "	15
16. El Kaddīs Tekla Himanūt	Zagazig	Zagazig	"	الزقازيق	تكلا هيمنوت	16
17. Amba Bshoī	"	"	"	"	انبا بشاي	17
18. El Adra	Kafr Atalla Soliman	Hehia	"	كفر عطا الله سليمان	السيدة العذراء	18
19. Es Sitt Dimiāna	Kafr Abd esh Shahīd	Kafr Sakr	"	عبد الشهيد شنودة	الست جميانه	19
20. El Adra	Sheblanga	Miniet el Gamh	"	شبلنجه	السيدة العذراء	20
21. El Adra	Kafr Yūsef Semri	" "	Sharkieh	كفر يوسف سمري	" "	21
22. El Adra	Mit Bashar	" "	"	ميت بشار	" "	22
23. El Adra	Kafr Farag Girgis	" "	"	كفر فرج جرجس	" "	23

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
24. Mâri Girgis	Tarût	Miniet el Gamh	Sharkieh	طاروط	كنيسة مار جرجس 24
25. Marcurius Abus Sifein	Kafr Salama Ibrahim	" "	"	كفر سلامة براهيم	" القديس مرقوريوس 25
26. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Kafr ed Dêr	" "	"	" الدير بالتلين	" الملاك ميخائيل 26
27. El Adra	Benha	Tûkh	Galiûbieh	بنها	" السيدة العذراء 27
28. Mâri Girgis	Kafr Atalla	Nakbas	"	كفر عطا الله نقباس	" مار جرجس 28
29. El Adra	Mostorod	Nawa	"	مسترد	" السيدة العذراء 29
30. El Malâk Mikhaïl	El Kosheish	"	"	القشيش	" الملاك ميخائيل 30
31. El Malâk Mikhaïl	El Kalzam	"	"	القزائم	" " " 31
32. El Adra	Kom Eshfin	Galiûb	"	كوم اشفين	" السيدة العذراء 32
33. Mâri Girgis	Sindibis	"	"	سنديبس	" مار جرجس 33
34. Mâri Girgis	Galiûb	"	"	قليوب	" " " 34
35. Mâri Girgis	Mahallet Kebir	Mahallet Kebir	Gharbieh	المحلة الكبرى	" " " 35
36. Abanûb en Nehissi	Samanûd	" "	"	سمنود	" ابانوب النهيسي 36
37. Marcurius Abus Sifein	Zifteh	Zifteh	"	زفتي	" القديس مرقوريوس 37
38. Mâri Girgis	Masgad Wasef	"	"	مسجد وصيف	" مار جرجس 38
39. Es Sitt Rifkeh	Sombat	"	"	سنباط	" الست رفقة 39
40. Mâri Girgis	Dessûk	Dessûk	"	دسوق	" مار جرجس 40
41. Mâri Girgis	Kafr el Kheir	"	"	كفر الخير	" " " 41
42. Mâri Girgis	Kafr Yûssef Hennis	Kafr el Cheikh	"	" يوسف حنس	" " " 42
43. El Adra	Sakha	" "	"	سखा	" السيدة العذراء 43
44. El Adra	Kafr Suleiman Awad	Santa	"	كفر سليمان عوض	" " " 44
45. Mâri Girgis	Bousat	Talkha	"	بساط	" مار جرجس 45
46. Mâri Girgis	Nabaroh	"	"	نبروه	" " " 46
47. Al Adra	Belcas	Cherbin	"	بلقاس	" السيدة العذراء 47
48. Es Sitt Dimiâna	Beriet Belcas	"	"	برية بلقاس	" الست جميانه 48
49. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Seberbey	Tantah	"	سبرباي	" الملاك ميخائيل 49
50. Mâri Mina	Bassiûn	Kafr el Zayat	"	بسيون	" مار مينا العجائبي 50
51. Mâri Girgis	Ebnas	Kûesna	Menûfieh	ابنهس	" " " 51
52. Mâri Girgis	Mit Behreh	"	"	ميت برة	" " " 52
53. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Tûkh Tambesha	"	"	طوخ طنبيشا	" الملاك ميخائيل 53

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
54. El Adra	Kafr Abdû	Kûesna	Menûfieh	كفر عبده	كنيسة السيدة العذراء 54
55. El Adra	Shentena el Hagar	Shebin el Kom	"	شنتنا الحجر	" " " 55
56. El Adra	Menshat Masgid el Khadr	Melig	"	منشأة مسجد الخضر	" " " 56

D. Bishopric of Fayûm and Gizeh

				ابروشية كرسى الفيوم والجيزة	
1. El Kaddis Macariûs	Etris	Embabeh	Gizeh	اتريس	كنيسة القديس مقاريوس 1
2. El Adra	"	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء " 2
3. El Adra	Ousim	"	"	أوسيم	" " " 3
4. El Adra	El Warrâk	"	"	الوراك	" " " 4
5. Mâri Morcos	Gizeh	Gizeh	"	الجيزة	مار مرقس " 5
6. Kozmân wa Dimiân	Manial Shiha	"	"	منيل شيحة	قزمان و دميان " 6
7. El Amîr Tadros	Mona el Amîr	"	"	منا الامير	الامير تادرس " 7
8. El Kaddis Marcûriûs	Tammûh	"	"	طموه	القديس مرقوريوس " 8
9. El Amîr Tadros	Om Khenan	"	"	ام خنان	الامير تادرس " 9
10. El Adra	Adawieh	"	"	معادى الخيمرى	السيدة العذراء بالعدويه " 10
11. Mâri Girgis	Tûra	"	"	طرة	مار جرجس " 11
12. Amba Barsûm el Eriân	Maasara	"	"	المعصرة	انبا برسوم العريان " 12
13. El Adra	Abifar	El Ayyat	"	ابى فار	السيدة العذراء " 13
14. El Adra	Eskor	Atfih	"	اسكر	" " " 14
15. Es Sâda er Rossol	Atfih	"	"	اطفيح	السادة الرسل " 15
16. El Adra	Medinet el Fayûm	Fayûm	Fayûm	الفيوم	السيدة العذراء " 16
17. El Adra	El Ezab	Etsa	"	العزب	" " " 17
18. Dêr el Malâk Ghabriâl	El Gabal	"	"	الجبل	دير الملك غبريال " 18
19. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Sennûres	Sennûres	"	سنورس	الملك ميخائيل " 19
20. Mâri Girgis	Ebshaway	Tabhar	"	ابشواي	مار جرجس " 20
21. El Adra	Fadimen	Sennûres	"	فديمين	السيدة العذراء " 21
22. El Adra	Sanhûr	"	"	سنهور	" " " 22
23. El Mâlak Ghabriâl	El Nazla	Tabhar	"	النزله	الملك غبريال " 23
24. El Amîr Tadros	Dassia	Etsa	"	دسيا	الامير تادرس " 24

¹⁶ The seat of the Bishop of the Diocese.

E. Bishopric of Beni Sûef and Bahnasa

ابروشية كرسى بنى سويف والبهنسا

Dedication of Church	Locality	District	Mudirea	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس	
1. Amba Antoniûs	Dêr Maimoun	Atfih	Gîzeh	دير الميمون	كنيسة انبا انطونيوس	1
2. Amba Bûla	Bûsh	Beni Sûef	Beni Sûef	بوش	انبا بولا	2
3. Amba Antoniûs	"	" "	"	"	انبا انطونيوس	3
4. Mâri Girgis	Sedment el Gabal	" "	"	سدمنت الجبل	مار جرجس	4
5. El Adra	Beni Sûef	" "	"	بنى سويف	السيدة العذراء	5
6. El Adra	Balad en Nasara	" "	"	بياض النصارى	" " "	6
7. El Adra	Abû Sir el Mâlak	Wasta	"	ابو صير الملق	" " "	7
8. El Adra	Dêr el Hamâm	"	"	دير الحمام	" " "	8
9. Mâri Girgis	Bibeh	Bibeh	"	ببا	مار جرجس	9
10. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Dashasha	Fashn	Minieh	دشاشه	الملاك ميخائيل	10
11. El Adra	Fashn	"	"	الفشن	السيدة العذراء	11
12. El Kaddis Apkilûg	Fant	"	"	الفنت	القديس ابكولوج	12
13. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Shenra	"	"	شنرا	الملاك ميخائيل	13
14. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Nazlet el Katsha	Samalût	"	نزلة عوض القطشه	" " "	14
15. El Adra	Minbal	"	"	منبال	السيدة العذراء	15
16. Mâri Girgis	Ashnein en Nassara	Maghagha	"	اشنين النصارى	مار جرجس	16
17. El Adra	Dêr el Garnûs	"	"	دير الجرنوس	السيدة العذراء	17
18. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Sharûna	"	"	شارونه	الملاك ميخائيل	18
19. El Adra	Abû Girg	Beni Mazar	"	ابو جورج	السيدة العذراء	19
20. El Amîr Tadros	Dêr es Sankûrieh	" "	"	دير السنقوريه	الامير تادرس	20
21. Amba Itnasiûs er Rasûli	Kafr Sûlia	" "	"	كفور الصوليه	انبا اثناسيوس الرسولي	21
22. Amba Kastûr	Bardanûha	" "	"	بردونها	ابا قسطور	22

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الديران الموجودان بالجبل الشرقى

The Monastery of Amba Antoniûs in the Eastern Desert contains five churches :

1. Amba Antoniûs.
2. El Malâk Mikhaïl (in the keep).
3. The dedication of the others not stated.

1 دير القديس انطونيوس ويحتوى على كينسه باسم مار انطونيوس واخرى باسم الملاك ميخائيل بالقصر وثلاث كنائس اخرى احداها لها اثنا عشرية وفي الجبل على ارتفاع الف وخمسمائة قدما توجد مغارة مار انطونيوس وهي عبارة عن تقب طبيعي في الصخر وتشرق على الصحراء

The Monastery of Amba Būla (S. Paul the Hermit) also in the Eastern Desert :

Contains several churches (the number not stated).

The principal church is dedicated to Amba Būla.

دير انبا بولا وبه جملة كنائس ١

F. Bishopric of Minieh and Ashmūnein

ابروشية كرسى المنيا و الاشمونين

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<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس	
1. Māri Girgis	Minieh	Minieh	Minieh	المنيا	كنيسة مار جرجس	I
2. Amba Hūr	Dēr Sawada	"	"	دير سواده	القديس اباهور	2
3. Māri Mīna	Nazlet Ebeid	"	"	نزلة عبيد	مار مينا العجائبي	3
4. El Amīr Tadros	Damshir	"	"	دمشير	الامير تادرس	4
5. El Adra	Tūah	"	"	طوه	السيدة العذراء	5
6. El Kaddīs Abū Bgūl	Talla	"	"	تلة	القديس ابو بجلول	6
7. Amba Barsūm el Eriān	Tahnasha	"	"	طهنشا	انبا برسوم العريان	7
8. Māri Mīna	Tahna et Gabal	Samalūt	"	طهنا الجبل	مار مينا العجائبي	8
9. El Adra	Dēr Gabal et Teir	"	"	دير جبل الطير	السيدة العذراء	9
10. Abū Makār	" " " "	"	"	" " "	القديس ابو مقار	10
11. El Kaddīs Abuskhirūn	Albihū	"	"	البيهو	الشهيد ايسخيريون	11
12. Māri Girgis	El Maasara	"	"	المعصرة	مار جرجس	12
13. El Malāk Mikhaīl	Klossana	"	"	قلوصنا	الملاك ميخائيل	13
14. Māri Girgis	Kom Dafash	"	"	كوم دفش	مار جرجس	14
15. El Kaddīs Marcoriūs	El Iba	"	"	الطيبة	القديس مرقوريوس	15
16. El Malāk Ghabriāl	Beni Ghani	"	"	بني غني	الملاك غبريال	16
17. Māri Mīna	Taha el Aameda	"	"	طحا الاعمدة	مار مينا	17
18. El Adra	Balansora	Abū Kirkas	"	بلنصورة	السيدة العذراء	18
19. El Malāk Mikhaīl	Beni Ebeid	" "	"	بني عبيد	الملاك ميخائيل	19
20. El Adra	Gress	" "	"	جريس	السيدة العذراء	20
21. El Kaddīs Marcoriūs	Kom el Zoheir	" "	"	كوم الزهير	القديس مرقوريوس	21
22. El Kaddīs Marcoriūs	Abiūha	" "	"	ابيوها	" "	22
23. Abūkir wa Yūhanna	Manharry	" "	"	منهري	اباكير و يوحنا	23
24. Māri Mīna	"	" "	"	"	مار مينا العجائبي	24

²³ S. Cyrus and S. John. Natives of Damietta.

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
25. El Amīr Tadros	Abū Kirkās	Abū Kirkās	Minieh	ابو قرص	كنيسة الامير تادرس 25
26. Māri Yūhanna	Sheikh Tammi	" "	"	الشيخ تمي	" " 26
27. El Malāk Mikhaīl	Nezlet Asmant	" "	"	نزلة اسمنت	" الملك ميخائيل 27
28. Māri Girgis	Etlidem	Mallawi	Asiūt	اتليدم	" مار جرجس 28
29. Māri Mina	Nazlet Haraz	"	"	نزلة حرز	" مار مينا العجائبي 29
30. El Malāk Mikhaīl	Rerimūn	"	"	دير الملك باليريمون	" الملك ميخائيل 30
31. Abū Yehnes	Dēr Abū Yehnes	"	"	" ابو حنس	" " 31
32. Amba Bshoī	Dēr el Barsha	"	"	" البرشا	" " 32
33. El Adra	Mallawi	"	"	ملوي	" السيدة العذراء 33
34. Abū Fanah	Kasr Hor	"	"	قصر هور	" " 34
35. El Malāk Ghabriāl	Hor	"	"	هور	" الملك غبريال 35
36. El Adra	El Barsha	"	"	البرشا	" " 36

G. Bishopric of Sanabo and Koskām

1. El Malāk Mikhaīl	Tanda	Mallawi	Asiūt	تندة	كنيسة الملك ميخائيل 1
2. Māri Girgis	El Sheikh Shebeka	"	"	الشيخ شبيكة	" " 2
3. Māri Girgis	El Badramān	"	"	البدرمان	" " " 3
4. Māri Girgis	Sanabo	Deirūt	"	صنبو	" " " 4
5. El Amīr Tadros	"	"	"	"	" " 5
6. Māri Mina	"	"	"	"	" " 6
7. El Adra	El Kassīr	"	"	القصير	" " 7
8. Es Sitt Dimiāna	Kom Būha	"	"	كوم بوها	" " 8
9. El Amīr Tadros	Biblahūn	"	"	ببلاو	" " 9
10. Es Sitt Dimiāna	Banūb Zahr el Gamal	"	"	بانوب زهر الجمل	" " 10
11. El Adra	Kūdiet el Nasara	"	"	كودية النصارى	" " 11
12. Amba Sarabamūn	Deirūt el Sheriff	"	"	ديروط الشريف	" " 12
13. Māri Girgis	Dēr Moes	"	"	دير مواس	" " 13
14. El Adra	Delga	"	"	دلجا	" " 14

²⁶ S. John the Apostle ?³¹ Also known as Abū Yehnes el Kassīr. See Plates LIII-LVI.

* Seat of the Bishop.

	<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس	
1074	15. Mâri Girgis	Delga	Deirût	Asiût	دجا	كنيسة مار جرجس	15
	16. Mâri Mîna	Nazlet Awlâd Morgân	"	"	نزلة اولاد مرجان	مار مينا العجائبي	16
	17. Esh Shahîd Abadîr	Dashlût	"	"	دشلوط	الشهيد ابادير	17
	18. Mâri Girgis	Amshûl	"	"	امشول	الشهيد مار جرجس	18
	19. Mâri Yûhanna el Mimidân	Kûssieh	Manfalût	"	القوصية	مار يوحنا المعمدان	19
	20. El Malâk Ghabriâl	"	"	"	"	الملاك غبريال	20
	21. El Kaddîs Marcoriûs	Mîr	"	"	مير	القديس مرقوريوس	21
	22. Esh Shahîd Klodiûs	"	"	"	"	الشهيد اكلوديوس	22
	23. El Malâk Raphaîl	El Tanalieh	"	"	التنالية	الملاك رفاييل	23
	24. Mâri Girgis	Balût	"	"	بلوط	مار جرجس	24
	25. El Malâk Mikhaîl	Bûk	"	"	بوق	الملاك ميخائيل	25
	26. El Adra	Beni Rafia	"	"	بني رافع	السيدة العذراء	26
	27. El Amîr Tadros	El Timsahieh	"	"	التمساحية	الامير تادرس المشرقي	27
209	28. Mâri Girgis	Es Sarakna	"	"	السرقنة	مار جرجس	28
	29. Mâri Yûhanna	Om el Kosûr	"	"	ام القصور	مار يوحنا	29

Monastery of El Moharrak, near Manfalût.

Contains several churches (particulars not given).

The principal is dedicated to Al Adra.

دير المحرق وده جملة كنائس

اشهرها كينسة العذراء

H. Bishopric of Manfalût

ابروشية كرسى منفلوط

1. El Adra	Manfalût	Manfalût	Asiût	منفلوط	كنيسة السيدة العذراء	1
2. El Malâk Mikhaîl	Beni Kalb	"	"	بني كلب	الملاك ميخائيل	2
3. El Adra	Beni Shekeir	"	"	شكير	السيدة العذراء	3
4. El Amîr Tadros	" "	"	"	" "	الامير تادرس	4
5. El Adra	Beni Addi	"	"	عدي	السيدة العذراء	5
6. El Adra	El Ezba	"	"	العزبة	" "	6
7. El Adra	Ezalah	"	"	عزاه	" "	7
8. El Kaddîs Marcoriûs	El Gawli	"	"	الجاولي	القديس مرقوريوس	8

¹⁰ S. John the Baptist.

¹ Seat of the Bishop.

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
9. Mâri Girgis	Neggû'a Beni Hûssein	Manfalût	Asiût	نجوع بني حسين	كنيسة مار جرجس 9
10. El Adra	Messreh	"	"	مسرع	السيدة العذراء " 10
11. Mâri Mina	El Meabda	"	"	المعابدة	مار ميئا العجايبى " 11
12. Mâri Girgis	" "	Abnûb	"	"	مار جرجس " 12
13. El Adra	" "	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء " 13
14. El Amîr Tadros	Bosrah	"	"	بصرة	الامير تادرس " 14
15. El Adra	El Wasta	"	"	الواسطى	السيدة العذراء " 15
16. El Malâk Mikhaïl	El Maasara	"	"	المعصرة	الملاك ميخائيل " 16
17. Mâri Girgis	Beni Morr	"	"	بني مر	مار جرجس " 17
18. El Adra	Beni Eleig	"	"	بني عليج	السيدة العذراء " 18
19. El Kaddîs Marcoriûs	El Hammam	"	"	الحمام	القديس مرقوريوس " 19
20. Abû Ishâk	" "	"	"	"	القديس ابو اسحق " 20
21. Mâri Fâm	Abnûb	"	"	ابنوب	مار فام " 21
22. Mâri Yûhanna	"	"	"	"	" يوحنا " 22
23. El Adra	"	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء " 23
24. Mâri Boktor	Dêr Boktor Shû	"	"	دير بقطر شو	مار بقطر شو " 24
25. Mâri Boktor Shû	El Gabrawi	"	"	" الجبراوي	" " " " 25
26. El Adra	Beni Mohammad	"	"	بني محمد	السيدة العذراء " 26

I. Bishopric of Asiût

				ابروشية كرسى اسبوط	
1. Esh Shahid Abadir	Asiût	Asiût	Asiût	اسبوط	كنيسة الشهيد ابادير 1
2. El Adra	"	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء " 2
3. El Talâta Fatieh	Dronka	"	"	درنكة	الثلاثة فتية " 3
4. El Malâk Mikhaïl	"	"	"	"	الملاك ميخائيل " 4
5. El Adra	"	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء " 5
6. Amba Kolta	Rifa	"	"	ريفة	الشهيد ابو قلته " 6
7. El Amîr Tadros	Dêr Rifa	"	"	دير ريفة	الامير تادرس المشرقي " 7
8. El Adra	" "	"	"	" "	السيدة العذراء " 8
9. Mâri Boktor Shû	Mûsha	"	"	موشا	مار بقطر شو " 9

¹ Seat of the Bishop.

³ The three youths.

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
10. Esh Shahîd Marcoriûs	Shatb	Asiût	Asiût	شطب	كنيسة الشهيد مرقوريوس 10
11. Esh Shahîd Faltaûs	El Motiaa	"	"	المطبعة	" " فيلوتاوس 11
12. Abi Tarbo	El Zawya	"	"	الزاوية	" " القديس ابي تروبو 12
13. Esh Shahîd Klodiûs	Yacûr	Abû Tig	"	ياقور	" " الشهيد اقلوديوس 13
14. Mâri Girgis	El Awana	El Badâri	"	العونه	" " مار جرجس 14
15. Es Sitt Dimiâna	" "	" "	"	"	" " الست دميانه 15
16. El Adra	El Chamia	" "	"	الشاءيه	" " السيدة العذراء 16
17. El Amîr Tadros	Bawitt	" "	"	بويط	" " الامير تادروس 17
18. El Amîr Tadros el Meshriki	"	" "	"	"	" " " " " " " " 18
19. El Adra	El Nawamiss	" "	"	النواميس	" " السيدة العذراء 19
20. El Adra	El Marawna	" "	"	المراونه	" " " " " " " " 20
21. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Dêr Tassa	" "	"	دير تاسا	" " الملك ميخائيل 21
22. El Kaddis Harmina	Ezbet el Akbat	" "	"	عزبة الاقباط	" " القديس هرمينا 22
23. Mâri Morcos	Kaû el Shark	" "	"	قاو الشرق	" " مار مرقس 23
24. El Adra	Zawyet en Nassara	" "	"	زاوية النصارى	" " السيدة العذراء 24

K. Bishopric of Abû Tig

				ابروشية كرسى ابو تيج	
1. Abû Makâr	Abû Tig	Abû Tig	Asiût	ابو تيج	كنيسة ابو مقار 1
2. El Adra	" "	" "	"	" "	" " السيدة العذراء 2
3. El Malâk Gabriâl	El Massûdi	" "	"	المسعودي	" " الملك غبريال 3
4. Amba Shnûda	El Zarabi	" "	"	الزرابي	" " انبا شنوده 4
5. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Dêr el Ganadla	" "	"	دير الجنادله	" " الملك ميخائيل 5
6. El Kaddis Macrofiûs wa el Adra	" " "	" "	"	" "	" " القديس مرقوريوس والعذراء 6
7. Al Adra	El Ghanaïm	" "	"	الغنائم	" " السيدة العذراء 7
8. Mâri Girgis	" "	" "	"	"	" " مار جرجس 8
9. Mâri Girgis	Awlad Liass	" "	"	اولاد لياس	" " " " " " " " 9
10. Mâri Mina	El Nekhela	" "	"	النخيله	" " " " " " " " 10
11. Mâri Yûhanna	Dûena	" "	"	دوينه	" " " " " " " " 11
12. Mâri Girgis	El Azaïza	" "	"	العزايزه	" " " " " " " " 12

¹ Seat of the Bishop.

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس	
13. Amba Shnūda	El Azaīza	Abū Tig	Asiūt	العزايزة	كينيسة القديس انبا شنودة	13
14. El Kaddīs Abuskhirūn	El Shanaīna	" "	"	الشانيند	" " ابسخيرون	14
15. El Adra	Sidfa	" "	"	صدفا	" " السيدة العذراء	15
16. Amba Bshoī	"	" "	"	"	" " انبا بشاي	16
17. Māri Girgis	"	" "	"	"	" " مار جرجس	17
18. El Kaddīs Marcoriūs	El Dūer	" "	"	الدوير	" " القديس مرقوريوس	18
19. Māri Girgis	El Katna	Tima	Girgeh	القطنه	" " مار جرجس	19
20. Māri Girgis	Es Sūk	"	"	السوق	" " " "	20
21. El Adra	Nazlet Saīd	"	"	نزلة سعيد	" " السيدة العذراء	21
22. El Malāk Mikhaīl	Nazlet Emara	"	"	" عمارة	" " الملاك ميخائيل	22
23. Er Rasūlein Būtros wa Būlos	" "	"	"	" "	" " الرسولان بطرس و بولس	23
24. Māri Girgis	Elkom el Asfar	"	"	الكوم الاصفر	" " مار جرجس	24
25. Māri Girgis	Kom Eshkaw	"	"	كوم اشقاو	" " " "	25
26. Amba Fām	Tima	"	"	طما	" " القديس ابي فام	26
27. Es Sitt Dimiāna	"	"	"	"	" " الست دميانه	27
28. Māri Girgis	"	"	"	"	" " مار جرجس	28
29. El Kaddīs Abū Lamba	"	"	"	"	" " القديس ابو لمبة	29
30. El Adra	El Waadla	"	"	الوعاضله	" " السيدة العذراء	30
31. El Adra	Abi Meghezal	Tahta	"	ابي مغيزل	" " " "	31
32. El Adra	El Sheikh Masūd	"	"	الشيخ مسعود	" " " "	32
33. Esh Shahīd Faltaūs	Nazlet el Kādi	"	"	نزلة القاضي	" " الشهيد فيلوثاوس	33
34. Er Rasūlein Būtros wa Būlos	Nazlet es Sakk	"	"	نزلة السك	" " الرسولان بطرس و بولس	34
35. El Malāk Ghabriāl	Gehena	"	"	جهينه	" " الملاك غبريال	35
36. Esh Shahīd Kiryakos	Tahta	"	"	طهطا	" " الشهيد قرياقس	36
37. Esh Shahīd Kiryakos	Sahel Tahta	"	"	ساحل طهطا	" " " "	37
38. El Adra	Maragha	"	"	المراغه	" " السيدة العذراء	38
39. El Kaddīs Ghabrianūs	"	"	"	"	" " القديس غبريانوس	39
40. Māri Girgis	El Gazazrah	"	"	الجزازره	" " مار جرجس	40
41. Māri Girgis	Es Sawalem	"	"	السوالم	" " " "	41
42. El Adra	Banga	"	"	بنجا	" " السيدة العذراء	42

L. Bishopric of Girgeh and Akhmim

ابروشييه كرسى جرجا واخميم

Dedication of Church	Locality	District	Mudirea	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس	
1. El Adra	El Battakh	Tahta	Girgeh	البطاخ	كنيسة السيدة العذراء	1
2. Mâri Girgis	El Fezerat	"	"	الغزيرات	مار جرجس	2
3. Mâri Girgis	Geziret Shandawil	Sûhag	"	جزيرة شندويل	" " "	3
4. El Adra	El Sheikh Yûssef	"	"	الشيخ يوسف	السيدة العذراء	4
5. Esh Shahîd abû Kolta	Shandawil	"	"	شندويل	الشهيد ابو قلته	5
6. El Adra	Sûhag	"	"	سوهاج	السيدة العذراء	6
7. Dêr Amba Shnûda	Hâger Sûhag	"	"	حاجر سوهاج	دير انبا شنوده	7
8. Dêr Amba Bshoî	" "	"	"	" "	" " "	8
9. Esh Shahîd Faltaûs	Edfa	"	"	ادفا	الشهيد فيلوثاوس	9
10. Amba Begûl	Hâger Edfa	"	"	بحاجر ادفا	انبا بجول	10
11. Esh Shahîd Marcoriûs	Akhmim	"	"	اخميم	الشهيد مرقوريوس	11
12. Es Sitt Dimiâna	"	"	"	"	الست دميانه	12
13. Mâri Girgis	"	"	"	"	مار جرجس	13
14. El Adra	"	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء	14
15. Dêr esh Shohada	"	"	"	"	دير الشهداء	15
16. El Malâk Mikhaîl	"	"	"	"	الملاك ميخائيل	16
17. Esh Shahîd Tadros	El Sawamaâ	"	"	الصوامع	الشهيد تاووضروس	17
18. Amba Thomâs	" "	"	"	"	انبا توماس	18
19. Amba Bakhûm	" "	"	"	"	" باخوم	19
20. Amba Shnûda	" "	"	"	"	" شنوده	20
21. El Adra	Minshah	"	"	المنشاه	السيدة العذراء	21
22. Mâri Girgis	"	"	"	"	مار جرجس	22
23. Amba Ibsâda	Hâger Minshah	"	"	بالحاجر شرق المنشاه	انبا ابيصاده	23
24. El Adra	El Assirat	Girgeh	"	العسيرات	السيدة العذراء	24
25. Mâri Yûhanna	El Berba	"	"	البربا	مار يوحنا	25

⁷ The White Monastery. See Plates XLV-XLVIII.

⁸ The Red Monastery. See Plates XLIX-LI.

¹¹ Seat of the Bishop.

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس	
26. El Adra	Girgeh	Girgeh	Girgeh	جرجا	كنيسة السيدة العذراء	26
27. Mâri Girgis	"	"	"	"	مار جرجس	27
28. Mâri Girgis	Shark Girgeh	"	"	شرق جرجا	" " "	28
29. El Malâk Mikhaïl	" "	"	"	" "	الملاك ميخائيل	29
30. Esh Shahîd Marcoriûs	El Zawatna	"	"	الزواتنة	الشهيد مرقوريوس	30
31. Mâri Girgis	Bet Khallaf	"	"	بيت خلاف	مار جرجس	31
32. El Adra	El Zankûr	"	"	الزنقور	السيدة العذراء	32
33. Mâri Girgis	El Elwanieh	Baliana	"	العوانيه	مار جرجس	33
34. Amba Shnûda	" "	"	"	"	انبا شنوده	34
35. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Sheikh Marzûk	"	"	الشيخ مرزوق	الملاك ميخائيل	35
36. Amba Moïssas	El Arâba el Madfûna	"	"	العرابة المدفونة	انبا موبساس	36
37. El Adra	Bardîs	"	"	برديس	السيدة العذراء	37
38. El Adra	Baliana	"	"	البلينا	" " "	38
39. Amba Shnûda	El Baskia	"	"	البسكية	انبا شنوده	39
40. El Adra	Shark el Khiam	"	"	شرق الخيام	السيدة العذراء	40
41. Esh Shahîd Faltaûs	" " "	"	"	" "	الشهيد فيلوتاوس	41
42. El Malâk Mikhaïl	El Kaseh	"	"	الكشع	الملاك ميخائيل	42
43. Amba Shnûda	" "	"	"	"	انبا شنوده	43
44. Mâri Girgis	Nahiet el Gabal	Farshût	Keneh	ناحية الجبل	مار جرجس	44
45. Mâri Girgis	Bahgûrah	"	"	بهجورة	" " "	45
46. El Adra	Farshût	"	"	فرشوط	السيدة العذراء	46
47. Amba Bidaba	El Gabal	"	"	بالجبل تبع فرشوط	انبا بضابه	47
48. Amba Shnûda	Nahiet el Kara	"	"	ناحية القارة	" " "	48

M. Bishopric of Keneh

ابروشيہ کرسی قنا

Dedication of Church	Locality	District	Mudirea	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
1. Dêr Amba Balamûn	El Kasr Wal Sayad	Naga Hamâdi	Keneh	القصر و الصياد	كنيسة دير انبا بلامون I
2. Amba Bshoï wa Amba Psintaûs	Essalmieh	Keneh	"	السالمية	انبا بشوي و انبا بسنتاوس 2
3. El Adra	Keneh	"	"	قنا	السيدة العذراء 3
4. Mâri Girgis	"	"	"	"	مار جرجس 4
5. Es Sitt Dimiâna	"	"	"	"	الست دميانه 5
6. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Dandara	"	"	دندرة	الملاك ميخائيل 6
7. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Nagada	Kûs	"	نقادة	" " " 7
8. El Adra	"	"	"	"	السيدة العذراء 8
9. El Malâk Mikhaïl	Hâger Nagâda	"	"	بحاجر نقادة	الملاك ميخائيل 9
10. Dêr es Salib wa Amba Shnûda	" "	"	"	" "	دير الصليب و انبا شنودة 10
11. Amba Andrawis	" "	"	"	" "	انبا اندراوس 11
12. Mâri Girgis	" "	"	"	" "	مار جرجس 12
13. Mâri Boktor	" "	"	"	" "	" بقطر 13
14. Amba Psintaûs	" "	"	"	" "	انبا بسنتاوس 14
15. El Kaddis Marcoriûs	Kûs	"	"	قوص	القديس مرقوريوس 15
16. Esh Shahid Estafanûs	"	"	"	"	الشهيد استفانوس 16
17. Mâri Boktor	"	"	"	"	مار بقطر 17
18. Amba Shnûda	El Ezab	Deshna	"	العزب	انبا شنودة 18
19. New Church	Deshna	"	"	دشنا	مستجدة 19
20. New Church	Tawabya	"	"	الطوابية	" 20
21. El Adra	Es Sallamia	Luxor	"	السلمية	كنيسة السيدة العذراء 21
22. Dêr Bakhûm	Ez Zina	"	"	الزينة	دير انبا باخوم 22

N. Bishopric of Esna

ابروشييه كرسى اسنا

<i>Dedication of Church</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mudirea</i>	الجهة	اسماء الكنائس
1. Māri Mina	Hāger How	Naga Hamādi	Keneh	حاجر هو	كنيسة مار مينا العجايبى 1
2. Māri Girgis	„ el Ballās	Kūs	„	„ البلاص	„ مار جرجس 2
3. Amba Bakhūm	„ Luxor	Luxor	„	„ الاقصر	„ انبا باخوم 3
4. Māri Antoniūs	Luxor	„	„	الاقصر	„ مار انطونيوس 4
5. El Malāk Mikhaïl	Kamūla	„	„	قامولا	„ الملاك ميخائيل 5
6. El Amir Tadros el Mishriki	Hāger el Baïrāt	„	„	حاجر البعيرات	„ تاوضوروس المشرقي 6
7. Māri Girgis	El Rezikāt	„	„	الرزقات	„ مار جرجس 7
8. El Kaddīs el Fakhūri	Esfūn el Mataana	Esna	„	اصفون المطاعنة	„ القديس الفاخوري 8
9. El Adra	„ „ „	„	„	اسنا	„ السيدة العذراء 9
10. Es Sitt Dūlaghi	„ „ „	„	„	„	„ الست دولاجي 10
11. Dēr esh Shohada	Hāger Esna	„	„	حاجر اسنا	„ دير الشهداء 11
12. Amba Bakhūm	Hāger Edfū	Edfū	Aswān	„ ادفو	„ انبا باخوم 12
13. El Adra	Aswān	Aswān	„	اصوان	„ السيدة العذراء 13

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