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## Faras, Seventeen Years after the Discovery\*

As was so aptly expressed by Georg Gerster<sup>1</sup>, the historian, journalist and photographer, in one of his articles in the daily press, the name of a practically unheard of up to then little village in northern Sudan, which was fated to disappear after the waters of the Nile had been harnessed by the Assuan Dam, was to become thanks to our discovery, the synonym for certain type of art in the development of Nubian culture, or in other words, one which was to be associated with the artistic creativity of Nubia of the Christian Period.

Gerster's opinion was to be confirmed in entirety, for the discovery in Faras was not only the greatest and most effective event in the Nubian campaign performed under the patronage of UNESCO in the nineteensixties, but also brought the material among which the most important were the excellently preserved mural paintings and inscriptions which possess great historical value for the Christian Period.

This does not, however, mean that the discoveries in Faras were confined to these two categories of objects, since apart from the above mentioned, there should also be included some remarkably interesting architecture, as the Cathedral itself with its relief interior decoration, superimposed monastic buildings as also the reliefs and inscriptions dating from the times of the XVIIIth and XIXth Egyptian Dynasties, reliefs from the Late Meroitic or the so-called X-Group times, and also an abundance of pottery from various periods (among which not only vessels and fragments of vessels, but also other ceramic objects such as window grilles, niches etc.) as well as decorated objects of wood, iron, bronze, glass objects and fragments of cloth totalling a rich yield of discoveries.

As finds were made, these were announced in reports from individual campaigns of excavations in the journal Kush<sup>2</sup> as well as in final reports published in the Faras series<sup>3</sup>. These rich discoveries inspired the first attempts at elaborating synthesis performed in the first place by the participants in the Faras excavations<sup>4</sup>.

After the concluding of field work and the final divisioning of the most important finds between the Sudan National Museum and the National Museum in Warsaw, more detailed studies were initiated which resulted in the appearance of the first monographic works<sup>5</sup>. The object of our relatively quick publications was to provide as full as possible documentations for the use of interested scholars so that these could, in turn, express their own opinion.

So then, in this way the problem of Faras soon became of interest to a wider circle of scholars and the wall paintings from Faras were be quickly included into encyclopaedias and monumental works on this subject<sup>6</sup>.

After the completion of excavations in 1964, the antiquities were transported to Khartoum and Warsaw. This occured at practically the last moment when the waters were already rising; for in the October of 1964, Faras was inundated by the waters of the Nile.

After the first publications which made available to the scientific world the documentation of the Faras excavations, the collections of salvaged antiquities assembled in Warsaw and in Khartoum, were subjected to specialistic studies by other scholars who were at that time attracted by the actuality of Nubian problems.

A considerable role in the developing of studies on the Faras finds was played by the Villa Hügel Foundation in Essen, which in connection with the exhibition of Coptic Art<sup>7</sup>, had already in 1963, organized a special session at which and for the first time, the problem of the development of the style of the Faras paintings was presented and discussed (Michałowski 1964b). It was indisputably due to the then director of the Villa Hügel, Professor Carl Hundhausen, that the general interest in our discoveries in Faras greatly increased.

When in connection with the 20th anniversary of ICOM, we organized the first exhibition of part of the restored murals together with some reliefs and architectonic decorations<sup>8</sup>, Carl Hundhausen, who came to Warsaw with other several European museum directors for this event, initiated an international exhibition of the Faras antiquities which were later presented in several European cities: Berlin, Essen, the Hague, Zurich and Vienna<sup>9</sup>.

In connection with the exhibition of the Faras antiquities held in the Villa Hügel in Essen, in September of 1969 this Foundation organized a second conference then exclusively devoted to the Nubian problem <sup>10</sup>, which was attended by 25 of the most outstanding at that time, specialists in Nubian history among which there were egyptologists, archaeologists, specialists in Byzantine art and Arabic scholars. Obviously, the leading problem dealt with at this conference, was the one connected with our discoveries in Faras. Here were involved not only the murals in themselves, but the conclusions to be drawn from the abundance of inscriptions found there. At this conference many scholars submitted papers concerning the problems of Faras and clarifying selected problems from other scholarly points of view than the Polish one<sup>11</sup>.

Of great help in the understanding of the position of Nubia and the value of the documents found by us were the materials from three other archaeological sites which were read at the conference: Abdallah Nirqi<sup>12</sup> excavation of the Dutch A. Klasens, Italian excavations at Sonqi Tino by S. Donadoni<sup>13</sup> and the other Polish site – Old Dongola<sup>14</sup>. They produced many analogies to some of the architectural elements from Faras and against the background of these new excavations, the role of Faras as the artistic centre of Nubian painting was indisputably confirmed<sup>15</sup>.

During this conference in Essen, for the first time the necessity of integrating the problems of the history, archaeology, language, art and the material culture of Nubia into a separate scientific discipline – Nubiology was clearly defined. This was fully confirmed during the next conference of Nubiologists held in Warsaw in June 1972 on the occasion of the opening of the Department of Nubian art in the Warsaw National Museum.

At that time not only were there many valuable papers submitted <sup>16</sup>, but the decision to establish the Society for Nubian Studies (Michałowski 1975) was also made. The materials from this conference appeared in print as the first publication of this Society.

Alongside the international conferences devoted to Nubian problems in which Faras always played an important part, there should also be mentioned the many detailed studies and even larger syntheses which in the course of these years have been elaborated by individual centers. Obviously, these are headed by the Warsaw centre which no doubt was stimulated by the fact that this has at its disposal the antiquities in the National Museum and documentation collected in the Research Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and also the fact that throughout these years the Society had its headquarters in Warsaw<sup>17</sup>. Of a special note are the works written here, some of which have already appeared in print. Among the latter should be mentioned Jakobielski's "A History of the Bishopric of Pakhoras" (1972), which was based on Coptic and Greek inscriptions. The latter inscriptions were later published separately by J. Kubińska<sup>18</sup>. A separate difficult problem are the hieroglyphic texts found in Faras on the blocks re-used for building the cathedral and the inscriptions from the so-called Hathor Rock and other sacral edifices in Faras. With these can also be included the inscriptions on minor objects such as scarabs, ushabti etc. The most important among these were, quite naturally, the inscriptions on the Pharaonic blocks dating from the New Kingdom. As was proved by J. Karkowski, most of these blocks originated from the times of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, and derived from the architraves and walls of the temple at Buhen where they had been cut into smaller pieces before being transported to Faras as building material 19 during the Christian Period.

Apart from the historic<sup>20</sup>, topographic<sup>21</sup> problems and the elaboration of discovered texts<sup>22</sup>, the Warsaw centre began to specialize on iconography<sup>23</sup> and already at the conference held in Essen, Warsaw had been appointed the task of undertaking work on a dictionary of Nubian iconography and the tentative entries for this by T. Golgowski had been presented at the Warsaw conference of 1972. It may be said that considerable progress has been achieved since the time of the first studies on the wall paintings from Faras (Michałowski 1967). Studies concerning, for instance, an analysis of the facial features of the persons in the paintings<sup>24</sup> or of the decorations on the robes have led to the defining accurately the character of the style and to the differentiating of individual artists, while further work led to the establishing of the contents of the paintings, on one hand, the symbolics of these representations and on the other, to the specification of individual iconographical attributes and elements<sup>25</sup> as well as the connections with paintings of neighbouring countries 26. Work on the ornamentation in frescoes from Faras resulted in establishing new criteria for the chronological development of this painting and in consequence, for the whole Nubian painting, for as was revealed in the work of M. Martens-Czarnecka, the manner of arranging individual geometrical motifs like lines, stripes, circles, nets, dots etc., in appropriate ornaments had according to the period, its own distinctive peculiarities 27.

It was just these detailed studies that made possible the identification of the representations of saints like the anchorite Mela<sup>28</sup> and the warrior saints appearing on the pillars in the southern aisle of the Cathedral, as being Saint Mercurios and Saint Theodore Stratelatos<sup>29</sup>. Other work was devoted to the representations in individual paintings and their iconographical values<sup>30</sup> while a number of works dealt with the style of the paintings in their chronological development<sup>31</sup>.

Apart from the above-mentioned, there appeared articles on painting techniques which were based on the experience acquired in the course of conservation work on the frescoes <sup>32</sup>.

Here, it would be worth recalling the anthropological and paleopathological analyses of the skeletal remains found in Faras<sup>33</sup>. The Warsaw group also undertook detailed studies on the ceramics. Here were concerned not only vessels<sup>34</sup> for which the basis was Adam's chronology<sup>35</sup>, but also such objects as pottery window grilles<sup>36</sup>. It would also be worth mentioning that studies were also carried out on other objects made of bone, bronze, wood and stone<sup>37</sup>.

As far as the complex of architecture discovered in Faras is concerned, the position is different, for this has not been conclusively elaborated <sup>38</sup> up to now. The general description and particular stages of building the Cathedral were discussed in the first publication dealing with the history of this edifice (Michałowski 1967). Whereas in later elaborations, the Faras Cathedral was analysed above all from the point of view of the peculiarity of the plan and spatial arrangement of its interior in works concerning the church architecture of Nubia <sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, individual architectonic elements of decoration like capitals, lintels and jambs were dealt with in detail <sup>40</sup>. The Faras Baptistry was elaborated in detail by W. Godlewski against the background of all other Nubian baptistries <sup>41</sup>.

Apart from the studies which were performed in the Warsaw centre, which has at its disposal not only the original objects, but also the complete archaeological documentation including photographs and drawings from excavations also the problem of Faras has, during the last several years, become a subject of attraction to many scholars concerned with the problem of Nubia. In the first place should be mentioned the monograph by G. Vantini, who on the basis of our material, wrote an important study on the significance of our discovery in Faras for the history of Christian Nubia<sup>42</sup>. This study is worthy of notice because the selection of Arabic sources on the history of Nubia included in this work, was an incentive for him to elaborate an extensive compendium of oriental sources which was published by the Society for Nubian Studies<sup>43</sup>.

Alongside the serious studies on the interpretation of individual problems, which began with the discovery in Faras, there are also pronouncements which disaccord with scientific methods and which put forth absurd attempts at evaluating the relics of Faras which now lies 40 metres below the surface of Lake Nasser and these theories are therefore impossible to verify. Such a suggestion is to be found in the work of the German architect, P. Grossmann, who even though is not personally familiar with Faras, but is acquainted with it only through the publications of drawings and plans, suggests a complete change in the chronology of the early buildings in Faras<sup>44</sup>. Another attempt of this type is the interpretation of some of the inscriptions from Faras published by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl<sup>45</sup> in which the authors propose a new reading of texts based on photographs of the texts which are herein completely erroneously read and these errors concern even the shape of individual letters. Furthermore, their reading contains dates which were not written in the discussed inscriptions. The connecting of two independent inscriptions into one whole which differ in the original as regards even the colours of the paint employed (red and black), leads to erroneous supplementations in the chronology of bishops, whereas other erroneously interpretated texts suggest changes in the chronology of the Faras paintings. However, these errors were totally remedied during the Conference of Nubiologists held in Chantilly in 1975 46.

Yet another unsuccessful interpretation was that attempted by M. Krause at the symposium in Chantilly in which he stated that bishops Marianos and Mercurios of the 11th century should be regarded as the true sons of bishop Ioannes<sup>47</sup>, however, in this, the author had not taken into consideration the stele of Marianos discovered at Qasr Ibrim<sup>48</sup> on which it was stated that he had been sent from Cairo (and so, was undoubtedly an Egyptian) and in accordance with the convention, depicted in his portrait in Faras as light complexied, contrary to bishop Ioannes (whose representation was also to be found in the Faras Cathedral), and who was depicted as a Nubian. So then Krause's theory should be regarded as unacceptable.

The question of the introduction of the Melkite orthodox ritual into the Monophysite cathedral in Faras at the turn of the 10th/11th centuries and during the time of Ioannes' episcopate had already been the subject of few controversial papers at the Conference in Essen in 1969<sup>49</sup>. The discussion on this subject is continuing up to the present in spite of the fact that historical data mentioned by Vantini<sup>50</sup> would seem to indicate that such a change in the religious trend did actually occur.

An analysis of the wall paintings from Faras produced many valuable observations in the works of such specialists as, for instance, K. Weitzmann or P. du Bourguet<sup>51</sup>. Two important works by E. Dinkler: on the crosses from Faras written against a background of Nubian painting<sup>52</sup> and one dealing with a certain type of decorative motifs and their iconographical meaning<sup>53</sup> provided much interesting material on this topic. A similar theme was also dealt with by P. van Moorsel<sup>54</sup>. The Faras wall paintings aroused such great interest that a number of scholars who had not up to then been involved in Nubiology made successful attempts at elaborating particular problems in this domain<sup>55</sup>.

The established chronological criteria for the Faras paintings were fully applied in the studying of groups of wall paintings from other sites in Nubia in final publications of this material<sup>56</sup>.

The conclusive elaboration of the group of paintings in the National Museum, Warsaw appeared in the form of a catalogue<sup>57</sup>. However, the Khartoum group of wall paintings is still waiting to be elaborated and work on this has already been initiated by the Warsaw centre.

Among the recent publications which are syntheses on the subject of Nubia and which take into account the results of the excavations in Faras are: the extensive monograph on the material culture of the Sudan by I. Hofmann<sup>58</sup>, the history of Nubia of the Pharaonic times by B. Trigger (1976) and also that by W. Y. Adams (1977) which covers the Nubian history from prehistoric times up to the present. In spite of some draw-backs, this work because of the extensive source material it contains, which allows it to be regarded as a compendium of information on this country, will for long remain a fundamental text-book for every scholar who is interested in the culture of Nubia.<sup>59</sup>

\* Illustrations see pls. I-VIII.

- <sup>1</sup> Georg Gerster, Neue Züricher Zeitung, 13. 10. 1962.
- <sup>2</sup> Michałowski 1962; 1963a; 1964a; 1965a.
- <sup>3</sup> Michałowski 1962b; 1965b.
- <sup>4</sup> Michałowski 1964b; Jakobielski 1966.
- <sup>5</sup> Michałowski 1967; 1966a; 1963b.
- <sup>6</sup> Hintze/Hintze 1966; Hinkel 1966; Fouchet, Nubien. Stuttgart 1966; du Bourguet, Die Kopten. Baden-Baden 1967; Leroy/Leclant, Nubien. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Band 3: Byzanz und der christliche Osten, 361-362. Berlin 1968; Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, vol. 1-8. Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1968-1976; Leclant, L'archéologie de la vallée du Nil, in: Picard, L'archéologie découverte de civilisations disparues, 198-199. Paris 1969; Lexikon der Kunst, vol. 1-4. Leipzig 1968-1975; An Encyclopedia of Ancient Art. Warszawa 1974; A Terminological Dictionary of the Fine Arts, 2nd ed. Warsaw 1976; The Horizon History of Africa. New York 1971.
- <sup>7</sup> Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil. Katalog der Ausstellung in der Villa Hügel. Essen 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Faras. Warsaw 1967 (Catalogue published by the National Museum Warsaw).

- <sup>9</sup> Catalogues: Faras. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Berlin 1968; Das Wunder aus Faras. Villa Hügel. Essen 1969; Het wonder uit Faras. Haag 1969; Nubische Kunst aus Faras. Wien 1970; Christliche Fresken aus Nubien. Zürich 1970. Some of the wall paintings were exhibited earlier than this in Paris, Petit Palais, at the UNESCO exhibition, cf. catalogue "L'art copte". Paris 1964.
- <sup>10</sup> Dinkler 1970 (Herein after quoted KuGN).
- <sup>11</sup> Weitzmann, Some Remarks on the Sources of the Fresco Paintings of the Cathedral of Faras. KuGN, 325-346; Krause, Zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte Nubiens. KuGN, 71-86; du Bourquet, La peinture murale copte: Quelques problèmes devant la peinture murale nubienne. KuGN, 303-324.
- <sup>12</sup> Schneider, Abdallah Nirqi Description and Chronology of the Central Church. KuGN, 87–102; van Moorsel, Die Wandmalereien der zentralen Kirche von Abdallah Nirqi. KuGN, 103–110. For the final publication of these excavations cf. Jacquet et al. 1975.
- <sup>13</sup> Donadoni/Curto, Le pitture murali della chiesa di Sonqi nel Sudan. La Nubia Christiana, Quaderno del Museo Egizio di Torino 2, 1968; Donadoni/Vantini, Gli scavi nel diffi di Sonqi Tino (Nubia Sudanese). Rend. Pont. Acad. Rom. Arch. ser. 3, XL, 1967–1968, 247–273; Donadoni, Les fouilles à l'église di Sonqi Tino. KuGN, 209–214.
- <sup>14</sup> Michałowski 1966b; Jakobielski/Ostrasz 1967a; Jakobielski/Krzyżaniak 1967b; Michałowski, Dongola. Archeologia. No. 29, 30-33, 1969; Michałowski 1970; Jakobielski 1970; Martens, Dongola. Ét. Trav. VII, 1973, 263-271.
- <sup>15</sup> See Michałowski, 1966a.
- <sup>16</sup> These materials were published in Michałowski 1975.
- <sup>17</sup> Kazimierz Michałowski was elected Chairman of the Society and the following were elected members of the Presidium: E. Dinkler, Heidelberg; J. Leclant, Paris; J. M. Plumley, Cambridge; J. Vercoutter, Lille.
- <sup>18</sup> Kubińska, Faras IV. Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes. Warszawa 1974.
- <sup>19</sup> Karkowski, The Problem of the Origin of the Thutmoside Blocks Found in Faras. Ét. Trav. VI, 1972, 83-92; id., A Note on the Hathor-Rock at Faras. Ét. Trav. VIII, 1975, 117-124; id., Faras V. The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Faras (in print).
- 111-124; Id., Furda V. The Herogryphic Inscriptions from Fatas (in princ).
- <sup>20</sup> Michałowski, La Nubie Chrétienne. Africana Bulletin 3, 1965, 9–26; id., Das christliche Nubien 1158–1272, in: Ägypten und Kusch, 203–313, Berlin 1977; id., The Coming of Christianity, a chapter in the History of Sudan. Khartoum (in print).
- <sup>21</sup> Godlewski, Topografia Faras (Ms.); a part of this work published: Faras à l'époque méroïtique, Ét. Trav. VI, 1972, 185–194.
- <sup>22</sup> Jakobielski, Two Coptic Inscriptions from Faras. Mélanges Michalowski, 103-109. Warszawa 1966; id., Inskrypeja fundacyjna katedry w Faras. RMN X, 1966, 99-106, Warszawa; id., Some New Data to the History of Christian Nubia as found in Faras Inscriptions. KLIO, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte 51, 1969, 499-508; id., Some Remarks on Faras Inscriptions. KuGN, 29-40; Kubińska, La prière nubienne pour les morts et la question de son origine. Nubia R. R., 83-84; id., Prothesis de la Cathédrale de Faras. Documents et recherches, Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain IX, 1976, 7-37.
- <sup>3</sup> Gołgowski, Remarques sur l'iconographie de l'évêque de Rivergate Church. Mélanges Michalowski 1966, 97-101; id. Z problematyki ikonografii biskupów Pachoras. RMN 1967, 157-191; id., On the Iconography of the Holy Virgin Represented on Faras Murals, Ét. Trav. II, 1968, 295-312; id., Scènes de la Passion et de la Resurrection sur une peinture de Faras. Ét. Trav. III, 1969, 207-229; id., Malowidła z katedry w Faras. Przedstawienia Marii z Chrystusen typu Eleusa i Galaktrophusa. RMN XIV, 1970, 389-408; Rostowska, Remarques sur l'iconographie des éparques en Nubie. Ét. Trav. V, 1971, 201-208; id., Iconographie des personnages historiques sur les peintures de Faras. Ét. Trav. VI, 1972, 195-205.
- <sup>24</sup> Martens, Observations sur le composition du visage dans les peintures de Faras (VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles), Ét. Trav. VI, 1972, 207-250; id., Observations sur la composition du visage dans les peintures de Faras (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles), Ét. Trav. VII, 1973, 162-226.

- <sup>25</sup> Szolc, Remarks on Hebrew Inscriptions and Symbolics of Faras, Ét. Trav. II, 1968, 285–294; Dobrzeniecki, Maiestas Domini w zabytkach polskich i obcych z Polska związanych. Część druga. Maiestas crucis w ściennym malarstwie Nubii (Faras), RMN XVIII, 1974, 215–308; id., Maiestas Domini w zabytkach polskich i obcych z Polska związanych. Część trzecia, RMN XIX, 1975, 5–263; id., Maiestas Crucis in the Mural Paintings of the Faras Cathedral now in the National Museum in Warsaw. (Some iconographical notes), Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie, XV, 1974, 6–20; Martens, Księga jako motyw ikonograficzny w malarstwie ściennym w katedrze w Faras, RMN XVIII, 1974, 309–335; Steinborn, Przedstawienia Prędów końskich w malarstwie nubijskim, Nubia Christiana I (in print); Iwaszkiewicz, La frise de l'abside de la première Cathédrale de Faras, Orientalia Christiana Periodica, vol. XL, fasc. II, 377–406, Roma 1974; Górecki, Przedstawienia świętych w zbroi w malarstwie Faras, Nubia Christiana I (in print).
- <sup>26</sup> Zawadzki, Les fouilles de la mission archéologiques polonaises à Faras et leur importance pour l'histoire de l'art byzantin, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* V, 1967, 283– 298; Szolc, Some Problems of the Genesis of Painting in Faras, *Ét. Trav.* III, 1969, 199– 206.
- <sup>27</sup> Martens/Czarnecka, Faras VII. Les éléments décoratifs sur les peintures de la Cathédrale de Faras. (in print); id., General results of using decorative ornaments and motifs as a criterium for dating the Faras murals. Nubia Christiana I (in print).
- <sup>28</sup> Łukaszewicz, Quelques remarques sur un saint anachorète de Faras, Ét. Trav. X (in print).
- <sup>29</sup> Górecki, op. cit. n. 25.
- <sup>30</sup> Łukaszewicz, La fresque de l'anachorète Aaron de la Cathédrale de Faras. Ét. Trav. XI (in print); Kubińska, L'ange Litarguel en Nubie, Le Muséon 89, fasc. 3–4, 1976, 451–455; Keler/Pigłowska, Painting of Christ Enthroned from Faras. Nubia Christiana I (in print).
- <sup>31</sup> Michałowski, Classification générale des peintures murales de Faras. Mélanges Devambez. Rev. Archéologique 2, 1972, 373-380; Jakobielski, Remarques sur la chronologie des peintures murales de Faras. I-ère Part (VIIIe-IXe siècles), Nubia Christiana I (in print).
- <sup>32</sup> Jędrzejewska, Konserwacja dwóch malowidel ściennych z Faras, RMN IX, 1965, 217-259; id., Zagadnienia konserwacji malowidel ściennych z wykopalisk archeologicznych na przykładzie malowidel z Faras. Bibl. Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków XI, 1965, 237-252; id., Conservation of the Mural-Paintings from Faras. MUSEUM (Unesco) XIX 3, 1966, 204-208; id., The Conservation of Wall-paintings from Faras, Bull. Mus. Nat. Varsovie VII, 1966, 81-89; id., Konserwacja malowidel z niszy z katedry w Faras, RMN XIV, 1970, 431-454; Gazy, How the Frescoes from Faras were removed and conserved. Kush 16 (in print); Michałowski, Jak odkryto i ocalono malowidła ścienne z Faras. Kultura i Społeczeństwo XV, 4, 1971, 21-28.
- <sup>33</sup> Dzierżykray/Rogalski, Sprawozdanie z badań antropologicznych w Egipcie i Sudanie w 1963 r., Człowiek w Czasie i Przestrzeni VI 2/22, 1963, 49-59; id., Szczatki kostne poworodków znaleziene w naczyniach glinianych w Faras (Sudan), Człowiek w Czasie i Przestrzeni VI 2/22, 1963, 86-90; id., Wczesnochrześcijańskie cmentarzysko z VI-VII w.n.e. w Faras (Sudan), Człowiek w Czasie i Przestrzeni VI 2/22, 1963, 91-96; id. Remarques sur la typologie anthropologique des fresques de Faras (Pakhoras) .Mél. Mich. 1966, 83-89; id., Bones of Newborn Infants from the Church of the Citadel at Faras (Sudan), Ét. Trav. VII, 1973, 237-243; id., Analyse des Ossements dans le tombeau de Ioannes I., FARAS I, Chap. IX, 218-240. Warsaw 1965; Dzierżykray/Rogalski/ Promińska, Szczatki kostne pierwszych kapłanów Pachoras z okresu wczesnochrześcijańskiego odkryte w 1961-62 roku w Faras (Sudan), Przegląd Antropologiczny XXIX, 2, 1963, 205-225; Promińska, The Jawbones and Teeth of the Pachoras Bishops excavated in 1961-62 in Faras (Sudan). Ét. Trav. I, 1966, 217-222.
- <sup>34</sup> Kalicki, Ceramika meroicka z Faras (Problem ceramiki meroicki w literaturze naukowej). RMN XIV, 1970, 263–337; Kołodziejczyk, Problem ceramiki wczesnochrześcijańskiej

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- <sup>35</sup> Adams 1962; Adams 1970; Adams 1975; id., Progress Report on the Nubian Pottery, Part II, *Kush* 16 (in print).
- <sup>36</sup> Rodziewicz, Terrakotowe kraty okienne z Faras, RMN XI, 1967, 143-174.
- <sup>37</sup> Rodziewicz. Late Antique Ivory and Bone Plaquettes in the National Museum in Warsaw, Bull. Mus. Nat. Varsovie VII 2, 1966, 33-37; Ratyński, Hand and pectoral crosses
  from Faras (Nubia), Nubia Christiana I (in print); Nitka, Przedstawienia Besa w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego, RMN XIV, 1970, 7-44.
- <sup>38</sup> Jakobielski prepares a study on this subject.
- <sup>39</sup> Adams, 1965b; Gartkiewicz, Stary Kościół w Dongoli na tle sakralnej architektury wczesnośredniowiecznej Nubii, *Kwartalnik Urbanistyki i Architektury* XVIII, fasc. 3–4, 1973, 207–239; id., The central plan of Nubian church architecture, *Nubia R. R.* 49–64; id., *Studia nad wybranymi obiektami sakralnymi Dongoli* (in print); id., Zagadnienie układu centralnego w nubijskiej architekturze sakralnej, *Księga ku czci prof. Piotra Biegańskiego* (in print).
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- <sup>41</sup> Godlewski, Nubian Baptisteries, Études Nubiennes, Le Caire 1978, 107-117; id., Faras VI. Les baptistères nubiens (in print).
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- <sup>44</sup> Grossmann, Zur Datierung der frühen Kirchenanlagen aus Faras, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 64, 1971, 330-350.
- <sup>45</sup> Altheim/Stiehl, Inschriften aus Faras, in: Christentum am Roten Meer, vol. I, Berlin-New York 1971; id., Weitere Inschriften aus Faras, in: Christentum am Roten Meer, Berlin-New York 1973.
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- <sup>47</sup> Krause, Bischof Johannes III. von Faras und seine beiden Nachfolger. Noch einmal zum Problem seines Konfessionswechsels in Faras. Études Nubiennes, 153-164, Le Caire 1978
- <sup>48</sup> Plumley, Stele of Marianos, Bishop of Faras. Bull. Mus. Nat. Varsovie XI, 1971, 71-74.
- <sup>49</sup> Krause, Zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte Nubiens. KuGN, 71-86; van Moorsel, Die stillende Gottesmutter und die Monophysiten, KuGN, 281-290.
- <sup>50</sup> Vantini, The Excavations at Faras, 83, 98, 223; cf. Jakobielski 1972, 145; Vantini, *Christianity in Nubia* Cairo 1976, 21-22.
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- <sup>52</sup> Dinkler, Beobachtungen zur Ikonographie des Kreuzes in der Nubischen Kunst, Nubia R. R., 22–30: Main A.

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<sup>54</sup> van Moorsel, Une Théophanie Nubienne, Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana XLII, 1968,

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- <sup>58</sup> Hofmann, Die Kulturen des Niltals von Aswan bis Sennar vom Mesolithikum bis zum Ende der Christlichen Epoche. Hamburg 1967.
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