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*Nubian Scenes of Protection from Faras  
as an Aid to Dating*

A feature which is characteristic only of Nubian art (and which evolved typologically in specific periods) is the manner of depicting local dignitaries protected by holy figures,<sup>1</sup> which apart of its iconographic and historic values, can be used as an aid to dating. Of great assistance here is the known sequence of bishops of Pachoras,<sup>2</sup> which allows the individual schemes to be sorted in chronological order. Although this type of representation had its precursors both in Coptic and early Byzantine designs,<sup>3</sup> in Christian art it was only in Nubia that it endured and became a particularly popular theme of murals from the ninth century up to the Terminal Christian Period. Scenes depicting Nubian dignitaries protected by holy figures do not feature in Faras Cathedral's original eighth century mural programme. The oldest known representation associated with this atelier comes from Abdalla-n Irqi<sup>4</sup> and appears most closely related in terms of technique to Faras murals representing archangels (Michael – Field Inv. No. 115<sup>5</sup> and in the one of scene of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace – Field Inv. No. a80).<sup>6</sup> It depicts an archangel with his right

<sup>1</sup> The first attempt at establishing a typology of these representations (see: M. DE GROOTH, Mögliche Einflüsse auf die nubische Protektionsgebärde, in: N. JANSMA and M. DE GROOTH, Zwei Beiträge zur Ikonographie der nubischen Kunst, pp. 9–19, separatum from: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 22, 1971 [= Protektionsgebärde]) had been carried out before the complete mural assemblage was uncovered and had not lead to any conclusions regarding chronology. It recognised the following types: 1. Protector and protected with no direct physical contact: 1.1. Figure of protector smaller than that of protected and positioned above him; 1.2. Protector depicted in tondo format; 2. Protector touching protected: 2.1. Both figures of equal size, the protector standing behind the protected with his hands on the latter's shoulders; 2.2. Protector or protectors standing beside protected touching his shoulder; 2.3. Protector standing beside protected with hand stretched out towards him; 2.4. Protector standing behind protected, the former providing a backdrop for the latter; 2.5. Protector depicted as half-length figure emerging from clouds and touching protected; 2.6. Protector smaller than protected and positioned above him. M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, defines three general schemes of protection concerning the Late Period (Late Christian Painting in Nubia [= Late Christian Painting], in: CH. BONNET (ed.) *Études nubiennes. Conférence de Genève. Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études nubiennes, 3–8 septembre 1990*, I, Genève 1992 [= *Études nubiennes – Genève*], p. 308), namely: 'The protecting persons stands behind the protégé (1); on the protégé side (2), or appears out from behind the clouds above (3).'

<sup>2</sup> See especially: S. JAKOBIELSKI, Portraits of the Bishops of Faras [= Portraits], in: J.M. PLUMLEY (ed.), *Nubian Studies. Proceedings of the Symposium for Nubian Studies, Cambridge 1978*, Warminster 1982 [= *Nubian Studies*], pp. 127–141, and S. JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III. A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras, Warsaw 1972 [= Faras III], pp. 206–211.

<sup>3</sup> For more on this subject: DE GROOTH, Protektionsgebärde, pp. 12–18, and B. MIERZEJEWSKA, Murals in the Bishops' Chapel, Faras: The Visual Expression of the Ruler's Ideology in Nubia [= Murals], in: S. EMMEL, M. KRAUSE *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit. Akten des Internationalen Koptologenkongresses Münster 1996*, I, SKCO 6,1, Wiesbaden 1999 [= *Ägypten und Nubien*], p. 285ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. V. MOORSEL *et al.*, The Central Church of Abdallah Nirqi, Leiden 1975, Inv. No. 6/7, Pls. 70, 80–81 (dated to the eighth century); W. GODLEWSKI in his articles: The Early Period of Nubian Art, Middle of 6th – Beginning of 9th Centuries [= Early Period], in: BONNET (ed.), *Études nubiennes – Genève*, p. 35, and Some Remarks on the Faras Cathedral and Its Painting, *Journal of Coptic Studies* 2, 1992 [= Remarks], p. 107, Pl. 9, dates this representation to an earlier period (seventh/eighth centuries) than the Faras murals based on the hypothesis that the church was raised in the seventh century.

<sup>5</sup> M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII. Les éléments décoratifs sur les peintures de la Cathédrale de Faras, Varsovie 1982 [= Faras VII], pp. 16–17, 20, 21; EAD., L'Archange Michel sur les peintures de Faras, *EtTrav* XII, 1983 [= L'Archange Michel], pp. 172, 173; EAD., Faras Paintings of the Period between mid 8th and mid 10th Centuries, *EtTrav* XVI, 1992, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> K. MICHAŁOWSKI, Faras. Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, Warsaw 1974 [= Wall Paintings], Cat. No. 6; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 20–21, Pls. 13, 19a, 22, 25a; K. GAMBER, Die

hand on the shoulder of a smaller figure (a Nubian) standing next to him. This composition is somewhat reminiscent of the mural (Field Inv. No. 75),<sup>7</sup> dating from the eighth century, which shows two figures (a bishop and a saintly figure: the Virgin?) standing alongside one another. The upper section of this painting is missing, however the liturgical vestments, which are different to those used for bishop saints, seem to indicate that the individual concerned is a local Church dignitary, and that, therefore, this mural possibly represents a protection scene. Nevertheless, as this is not a reliable identification it has not been included as an example of one of the schemes occurring at Faras.

The following types of protection scene were noted in the Cathedral:

1. The protector standing behind the person protected, placing his/her hands on this individual's shoulders.

Subtype a. Only the right hand of the protector touches the right shoulder of the one protected<sup>8</sup> (ninth century). Example: the mural Field Inv. No. a19 – An Archangel and a Queen<sup>9</sup> – **Fig. 1.**

Subtype b. Both of the protector's hands rest on the shoulders (or on the breast and shoulder) of the person protected. Examples of murals: Field Inv. No. a47<sup>10</sup> – St Aaron and a Queen (second half of the ninth century); Field Inv. No. 1<sup>11</sup> – The

nubische Kathedrale von Pachoras (Faras) und ihre Wandmalereien, in: *Sancta Sanctorum*, Regensburg 1985, pp. 25–26; M. RASSART-DEBERGH, Les trois Hébreux dans la Fournaise en Égypte et en Nubie Chrétiennes, *RSiOr* LVIII, 1984, pp. 148–149, Fig. 16, Pl. IIIb; GODLEWSKI, Early Period, p. 300, Fig. 31; M. ŁAPTAŚ, S. JAKOBIELSKI, 'Unknown' Mural of the Three Youths in a Fiery Furnace from the Faras Cathedral, in: *Ars Graeca, Ars Latina. Studia dedykowane Prof. A. Różyckiej Bryzek*, Kraków 2001, p. 77, Fig. 2 (on p. 83).

<sup>7</sup> JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, p. 56, Fig. 7; *Id.*, Portraits, pp. 127, 128, 131, Fig. 2; *Id.*, Remarques sur la chronologie des peintures murales de Faras aux VIII<sup>e</sup> et IX<sup>e</sup> siècles, in: *Nubia Christiana I*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 159–165, Fig. 3; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, p. 22, Fig. 4; K.C. INNEMÉE, Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East, Leiden – New York – Köln 1992 [= Dress], p. 205, Pl. 27.

<sup>8</sup> This posture may stem from the fact that the archangel's left hand is occupied (holding an orb).

<sup>9</sup> K. MICHAŁOWSKI, Faras. Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand, Einsiedeln – Zürich – Köln 1967 [= Die Kathedrale], pp. 114–115, Pl. 34; *Id.*, Faras – Centre artistique de la Nubie chrétienne, Leiden 1966, p. 12, Pl. V,1; *Id.*, Wall Paintings, pp. 31, 34, 44, 49, 124; B. ROSTKOWSKA, Iconographie des personnages historiques sur les peintures de Faras, *EtTrav* VI, 1972 [= Personnages], p. 205, Fig. 15; M. MARTENS, Observations sur la composition du visage dans les peintures de Faras (VIII<sup>e</sup> – IX<sup>e</sup> siècles), *EtTrav* VI, 1972 [= Observations I], pp. 237–238, 244–246, Figs. 23–24; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 33–34, 44, Pls. 33–34; *EAD.*, L'Archange Michel, pp. 175, 180, 188, Fig. 6; G. VANTINI, Christianity in the Sudan, Bologna 1981, Pl. III; W. GODLEWSKI, The Paulos Cathedral in Faras (Pachoras) and the Question of Byzantine Influences, in: CH. MOSS, K. KIEFER (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton, 1995, p. 239; *Id.*, The Role of Dongolese Milieu in the Nubian Church Architecture, in: *ΘΕΜΕΛΙΑ, Spätantike und Koptologische Studien Peter Grossmann*, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 131.

<sup>10</sup> MARTENS, Observations I, pp. 238, 242, 246–248, Figs. 25, 30; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 38, 45, 47, Pl. 45; S. JAKOBIELSKI, Tentative d'identification de certaines peintures de Faras, *EtTrav* XIX, 2001 [= Identification], pp. 66–69, Fig. 7; ROSTKOWSKA, Personnages, p. 204, Fig. 14; MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, pp. 48–49, 58; G. VANTINI, Il Cristianesimo nella Nubia antica, Verona 1985 [= Cristianesimo], Pl. XLIV.

<sup>11</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Die Kathedrale, pp. 119–123, Pl. 40/41; *Id.*, Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 19; *Id.*, Open Problems of Nubian Art and Culture in the Light of the Discoveries at Faras, in: E. DINKLER (ed.), *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit*, Recklinghausen 1970 [= KuGN], p. 13, Fig. 2; ROSTKOWSKA, Personnages, pp. 198, 200, Fig. 5; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 39–40, 46, 47, Pls. 37, 48, 49; JAKOBIELSKI, Identification, 65–66, Fig. 6.

Virgin Mary and a Nubian King<sup>12</sup> (first half of the tenth century); Field Inv. No. 60 – St Peter and Bishop Petros<sup>13</sup> – **Fig. 2**; Field Inv. No. 61 – The Virgin Mary and King Georgios II<sup>14</sup>; Field Inv. No. 1C – Bishop Ioannes in Protection Scene<sup>15</sup> (last three dated to the late tenth century).

Subtype c. As subtype a, but the left hand of the protector is perhaps involved and both figures are depicted within frames. Example: Field Inv. No. 58 – Bishop Stephanos? Protected by an Archangel<sup>16</sup> (first half of the tenth century) – **Fig. 3**.

2. The protector standing next to the protected individual, touching this person's shoulder with his/her hand. Both figures are of equal height.

Subtype a. The protector standing on the protected person's left, his/her right hand touching the individual's left shoulder. Example: Field Inv. No. 19 – The Virgin Mary and Queen Mother Martha<sup>17</sup> (early eleventh century) – **Fig. 4**.

<sup>12</sup> The king's figure added to the apse composition and included into the protection of the Holy Virgin was painted, according to stylistic analogies (cf. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 39, 46, 47), in the beginning of the tenth century, after re-plastering of the Cathedral (i.e. under the episcopate of Kollouthos). The figure was wrongly interpreted as representing King Georgios I, who was thought to reign until A.D. 915. However, recently an information obtained from a stele found in Hambukol seems to indicate that Georgios died before, or in A.D. 887 (see A. LAJTAR, Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum, *OLA* 122, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, Ma 2003, Cat. No. 18, pp. 1–93, esp. p. 91; cf. also JAKOBIELSKI, Identification, pp. 64–66).

<sup>13</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Die Kathedrale, pp. 137–138, Pls. 57–59; ID., Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 33; JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 127–128, Fig. 36; M. MARTENS, Observations sur la composition du visage dans les peintures de Faras (IX<sup>e</sup> – XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles), *EtTrav* VII, 1973 [= Observations II], pp. 185, 191, 194, 196, 201, Figs. 8, 9; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 54–68, 86–87, Figs. 90, 104–105; JAKOBIELSKI, Portraits, *passim*; S. WENIG, Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan II: The Catalogue, Brooklyn 1978 [= Africa in Antiquity II] p. 326 (Cat. No. 292), Fig. on p. 327; W. GODLEWSKI, Faras VI. Les baptistères nubiens, Varsovie 1982 [= Faras VI], pp. 49–50, Figs. 16, 22; ID., Remarks, p. 108, Pl. 63; INNEMÉE, Dress, pp. 137, 140, 148–149, 154, 198–199, Pl. 17; MIERZEJEWSKA, Murals, pp. 289–295, Fig. 1; W. GODLEWSKI, Pachoras. The Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros. The Architecture, Warsaw 2005 [= Pachoras], esp. p. 111.

<sup>14</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 34; ROSTKOWSKA, Personnages, p. 197, Fig. 1; G. VANTINI, The Excavations at Faras – a Contribution to the History of Christian Nubia, Bologna 1971, pp. 211, 233, 289; JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 128–129, Fig. 37; MARTENS, Observations II, pp. 178, 210, Fig. 20; GODLEWSKI, Faras VI, pp. 49, 71, Figs. 16, 22; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 57, 68, 71, 73, 75, 87, Figs. 63b, 106; MIERZEJEWSKA, Murals, pp. 289–295, Fig. 1; JAKOBIELSKI, Identification, p. 66, Fig. 5; W. GODLEWSKI, Introduction to the Golden Age of Makuria (9th–11th Centuries), *Africana Bulletin* 50, 2002, pp. 90–91 (therein as Georgios III).

<sup>15</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 1; ID., Die Kathedrale, pp. 119–123; JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 141–143, 147; M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Observations on Repainted Murals from Faras [= Repainted Murals], in: M. KRAUSE (ed.), *Nubische Studien. Tagungsakten der 5. internationalen Konferenz der International Society for Nubian Studies, Heidelberg 1982*, Mainz a/Rhein 1986, pp. 330–331; EAD., Faras VII, p. 67; JAKOBIELSKI, Portraits, pp. 127, 131, Fig. 4; INNEMÉE, Dress, p. 190, Pl. 4; P.O. SCHOLZ, Das nubische Christentum und seine Wandmalereien [= Wandmalereien], in: S. JAKOBIELSKI, P.O. SCHOLZ (eds.), *Dongola-Studien. 35 Jahre polnischer Forschungen im Zentrum des makuritischen Reiches, Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica* 7, Warszawa – Wiesbaden 2001 [= *Dongola-Studien*], pp. 229–232.

<sup>16</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 28; T. GOLGOWSKI, On the Iconography of the Holy Virgin Represented on Faras Murals, Standing Virgin Holding the Child on Her Arms, *EtTrav* II, 1968 [= Holy Virgin], p. 303, Fig. 4; JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, p. 108, Fig. 26; ID., Portraits, pp. 128, 129, 131, Fig. 8; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 40, 47, Fig. 50; EAD., L'Archange Michel, pp. 188–189, fig. 8; INNEMÉE, Dress, p. 197, Pl. 15.

<sup>17</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Die Kathedrale, pp. 154–157, Pls. 77–79; JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 113, 178–180; ROSTKOWSKA, Personnages, pp. 197–199, Fig. 2; MARTENS, Observations II, pp. 194–195, 210–212, Figs. 13–14;

Subtype b. Protection scene featuring two holy figures on either side of the person protected. The protector on this individual's left side has his/her right hand on the central figure's left shoulder, whilst the protector on his right side has his left or right hand (sic!) on the protected one's right shoulder.<sup>18</sup> Example: Field Inv. No. 69 – The Virgin Mary, Christ, and Bishop Marianos<sup>19</sup> (early eleventh century) – **Fig. 5**.

Subtype c. The protector standing by the left side of the person protected, wrapping his/her right arm around this individual from behind and placing his/her hand on the protected one's right shoulder. Example: Field Inv. No. 57 – The Virgin Mary and Bishop Mercurios?<sup>20</sup> (first half of the eleventh century) – **Fig. 6**.

3. The holy protectors as small figures leaning out of the heavens and placing one of their hands on the shoulders of the person protected.

Subtype a. One or two figures (the Virgin Mary and Christ) leaning out from clouds and placing a hand on the shoulders of the protected individual. As an example of this type may serve most probably a mural of which only faint traces survive,<sup>21</sup> Field Inv. No. 101 – Bishop Petros II under Protection<sup>22</sup> (second half of the eleventh century) – **Fig. 7**.

Subtype b. As subtype a but with the protected figure from the shoulders down depicted in a rectangular frame. Example: mural Inv. No. 122 – Bishop Georgios under Protection<sup>23</sup> (second half of the eleventh century) – **Fig. 8**.

4. A representation of the protected individual is depicted in front of a larger standing figure of the protector, as if held aloft by him/her though not necessarily maintaining

MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 51–55, 57–59, 68–69, Pls. 61, 73, 108–109, 115, 119; DE GROOTH, Protektionsgebärde, pp. 10, 13, Fig. 8; S. DONADONI, MHTHP ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, *StClOr* XVIII, 1969, pp. 123–125; VANTINI, Il Cristianesimo, pp. 172, 253, Pl. XLIX; B. ROSTKOWSKA, The Title and the Office of the King's Mother in Christian Nubia, *Africana Bulletin* 31, 1983, pp. 75–77, Fig. 1; SCHOLZ, Wandmalereien, pp. 203–207.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *infra*, n. 36.

<sup>19</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Die Kathedrale, pp. 157–159, Pls. 80–83; Id., Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 45; GOŁGOWSKI, Holy Virgin, pp. 295–312; MARTENS, Observations II, pp. 176–177, 191f; JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 143–147, Fig. 44; Id., Portraits, pp. 129, 131, Fig. 12; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 57–58, 64–68, Figs. 70, 74, 103; INNEMÉE, Dress, pp. 201–202; GODLEWSKI, Remarks, p. 111, Pl. 64; Id., Pachoras, pp. 84–85, 101, 111, 112, 114, 142.

<sup>20</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, p. 50; JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 141ff; Id., Portraits, pp. 130–131; GODLEWSKI, Faras VI, pp. 70–71, Fig. 29; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 95–96; INNEMÉE, Dress, pp. 196–197.

<sup>21</sup> Similar to the scheme of mural Field Inv. No. 122, considered to be the work of the same artist (classified as the subtype b, *infra*).

<sup>22</sup> JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 123–125, Fig. 34; Id., Portraits, pp. 129–130, Fig. 9; T. DZIERŻYKRAY-ROGAŁSKI, Faras VIII. The Bishops of Faras. An Anthropological-Medical Study, Warsaw 1985, p. 193, Fig. 302; INNEMÉE, Dress, p. 206, Pl. 28. Somewhat similar scheme of protection can be observed on the much later painting of a bishop from Rivergate Church at Faras, see: M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, New Look at the Wall Paintings of the Rivergate Church in Faras [= New Look], in: P.O. SCHOLZ (ed.), *Orbis Aethiopicus. Studia in honorem Stanislaus Chojnacki II*, *Bibliotheca nubica* 3, Albstadt 1992, pp. 369–372; GODLEWSKI, Late Period, p. 60, Fig. 60.

<sup>23</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Die Kathedrale, p. 161, Pl. 86; MARTENS, Observations II, pp. 214–116, 220–222, Fig. 45 (p. 208); JAKOBIELSKI, Faras III, pp. 157–159; Id., Portraits, pp. 129–131, Fig. 10; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 95–96, 101, 104, Fig. 151; INNEMÉE, Dress, pp. 138, 160, 209, Pls. 34, 63,1; SCHOLZ, Wandmalereien, pp. 229–232; GODLEWSKI, Pachoras, pp. 117, 142.

physical contact. Examples: Field Inv. No. 21 – The Virgin Mary and a Queen<sup>24</sup> (mid twelfth century) – **Fig. 9**; Field Inv. No. 63 – Christ and Aron, a Nubian Dignitary<sup>25</sup> (mid twelfth century) – **Fig. 10**; Field Inv. No. 4 – Christ Protecting a Bishop<sup>26</sup> (second half of the twelfth century) – **Fig. 11**.

5. The protected individual partly obscures his holy protectors, who appear to stand a little way behind him with their hands on his shoulders (a derivation of types 3 and 2b).

Subtype a. The person protected is flanked by two protectors (the Virgin and Christ), who are of the same height as the central figure and stand slightly behind him, their arms outstretched towards his breast (similar to subtype 2b, but with the positions of the protectors reversed – the Virgin Mary stands on the right side of the one protected, and Christ on the left). Example: Field Inv. No. 5 – The Virgin Mary, Christ, and a Bishop<sup>27</sup> (late twelfth century?)<sup>28</sup> – **Fig. 12**.

Subtype b. The protector, equal in height to the person protected, stands slightly behind him to either his left or right; the position of the hands is undetermined. An angel wraps his wing around this individual from behind. Example: Field Inv. No. 74 – Archangel Michael and a Nubian Dignitary<sup>29</sup> (twelfth or thirteenth century) – **Fig. 13**.

<sup>24</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, *Die Kathedrale*, pp. 167–168, Pls. 94, 95a; MARTENS, *Observations II*, pp. 211–212, 221–222, Figs. 49, 50; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Faras VII*, pp. 92–94, 96, 100–103; EAD., *Late Christian Paintings*, p. 308, Fig. 1; JAKOBIELSKI, *Identification*, pp. 70, 78–79, Fig. 13; SCHOLZ, *Wandmalereien*, pp. 203–205; D.A. WELSBY, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia*, London 2002, pp. 226, 228, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>25</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, *Wall Paintings*, Cat. No. 58; ID., *Die Kathedrale*, pp. 169–170, Pl. 95b, 96; ID., in: KuGN, p. 18, Fig. 13; B. ROSTKOWSKA, *Remarques sur l'iconographie des éparques en Nubie [= Éparques]*, *EtTrav V*, 1971, p. 204, Fig. 4; DE GROOTH, *Protektionsgebärde*, p. 11, Fig. 9; MARTENS, *Observations II*, pp. 213–214, 222, Fig. 51; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Faras VII*, pp. 93, 97, 100, 103–105, Pls. 139–140; WENIG, *Africa in Antiquity II*, (cf. n. 13, *supra*), pp. 110, 329, Figs. on pp. 112, 328; JAKOBIELSKI, *Identification*, pp. 70–77, Figs. 8, 9; SCHOLZ, *Wandmalereien*, pp. 203–207; B. ŻURAWSKI, *A Study of Origins of Nubian and Ethiopian Horned Headgears of the Medieval Period [= Headgears]*, in: *Äthiopien und seine Nachbarn / Etiopia and its Neighbours, 3. wissenschaftliche Tagung des Orbis Aethiopicus, Gdańsk, Gnień 1997*, Gdańsk – Frankfurt a/Main 1998, pp. 127–129, Fig. 6.

<sup>26</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, *Wall Paintings*, Cat. No. 64; JAKOBIELSKI, *Portraits*, pp. 130–131; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Faras VII*, p. 108, Fig. 169; INNEMÉE, *Dress*, p. 191; JAKOBIELSKI, *Identification*, pp. 73–76, Fig. 11.

<sup>27</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, *Wall Paintings*, pp. 46, 51f, 60; MARTENS, *Observations II*, pp. 220, 223, Fig. 59; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Faras VII*, pp. 93, 96, 101, 105; ROSTKOWSKA, *Eparques*, p. 204, Fig. 5; JAKOBIELSKI, *Portraits*, p. 130, Fig. 14; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Late Christian Painting*, p. 308, Fig. 2; W. GODLEWSKI, *The Late Period in Nubian Art – from the Middle of 13th to the End of 14th Centuries [= Late Period]*, in: R. GUNDLACH, M. KROPP, A. LEIBUNDGUT (eds.), *Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart – Sudan Past and Present*, Berlin 1995, pp. 56, 59, Fig. 14; JAKOBIELSKI, *Identification*, pp. 72–74, Fig. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Possibly also to that scheme belongs Field Inv. No. 7 – Christ and an Eparch of Nobadia – if it depicts three figures (the left and lower parts of the composition are missing), in other case it should be classified as subtype b. Cf. MICHAŁOWSKI, *Die Kathedrale*, pp. 165–166, Pls. 12–13, 91, 92; ROSTKOWSKA, *Éparques*, pp. 203–204; EAD., *Personnages*, p. 204, Fig. 9; MARTENS, *Observations II*, pp. 219, 223, Fig. 58; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Faras VII*, p. 101, Fig. 164; EAD., *Late Christian Painting*, p. 314, Fig 9; GODLEWSKI, *Late Period*, p. 56; ŻURAWSKI, *Headgears*, pp. 127–128, Fig. 5.

<sup>29</sup> JAKOBIELSKI, *Faras III*, pp. 152–153; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Faras VII*, pp. 94, 97, Pls. 145, 154; EAD., *L'Archange Michel*, pp. 184, 190–192.

Subtype c. The protected individual is flanked by two protectors depicted as smaller figures standing slightly behind him, placing their hands on his shoulders. Examples: Field Inv. No. 1A – An Eparch Protected by the Virgin Mary and Christ<sup>30</sup> – **Fig. 14**. To this subtype also apparently belong murals: Inv. No. 1B – A Nubian Dignitary<sup>31</sup>; Inv. No. 13 – An Eparch<sup>32</sup> (all three dated to the period of the thirteenth to fourteenth century).

Subtype d. Two protectors of different sizes stand at various distances from the person protected, slightly behind him, either with or without placing their hands on his shoulders. Example: Field Inv. No. 3 – An Archangel, a Nubian Dignitary, a Bishop, and the Virgin Mary?<sup>33</sup> (thirteenth–fourteenth century) – **Fig. 15**.

The scene configurations listed here encompass all those noted at the Faras Cathedral, however, they were widely used by artists of the various periods at other buildings in Nubia,<sup>34</sup> where a greater number of variations on the main types were observed. For example, in type 2 there is a variation similar to 2a: two standing figures (the protector slightly taller than the person protected) are portrayed without any physical contact;<sup>35</sup> and another variation akin to 2b, in which one of the two protectors is much taller than the other, who is of the same height as the protected individual.<sup>36</sup> In subtype 3a two protectors

<sup>30</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 19; ID., Die Kathedrale, pp. 119–123; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 97–98; EAD., Repainted Murals, p. 331, Fig. 5; EAD., Late Christian Painting, pp. 312–313; ROSTKOWSKA, Éparques, pp. 202–204; GODLEWSKI, Late Period, p. 56.

<sup>31</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 19; ID., Die Kathedrale, pp. 119–123; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Repainted Murals, p. 331, Fig. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Only one figure survives on this representation (a hand of the protector appears on the right arm of the protected person). Cf. MICHAŁOWSKI, Die Kathedrale, p. 166, Fig. 93; ID., Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 61; ROSTKOWSKA, Éparques, p. 203, Fig. 3; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 99, 101, Fig. 159; EAD., Late Christian Painting, pp. 312–313; GODLEWSKI, Late Period, pp. 39–40, 56, Fig. 2 (therein the author identifies represented dignitary as the Eparch Marikuda, basing on similarities with known representation from Abd el-Qadir, this identification seems highly doubtful and needs a larger comment, however there are striking similarities between Abd el-Qadir mural and the Faras one from the apse, Inv. No. 1A, both in the attire as well as the helmet worn); M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Nubian King – a Painting from the Monastery in Dongola [= Nubian King], in: *Dongola-Studien*, p. 299, Fig. 6; ŻURAWSKI, Headgears, pp. 125–127, Fig. 3.

<sup>33</sup> MICHAŁOWSKI, Wall Paintings, Cat. No. 66; ROSTKOWSKA, Éparques, p. 205, Fig. 7; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Faras VII, pp. 107–109; EAD., L'Archange Michel, pp. 191–192; GODLEWSKI, Late Period, pp. 58–59, Fig. 13.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. type 1b occurs at Sonqi Tino (kings under the protection of Christ – cf. VANTINI, Cristianesimo, Pls. XL, XLI); type 4 at Abd el-Qadir (cf. esp. B. ROSTKOWSKA, Contribution à l'iconographie des personnages laïcs dans les peintures murales en Nubie, in: *Études nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly, 2-6 juillet 1975, BdÉ 77*, Le Caire 1978, pp. 247–252, Fig. 1) and Old Dongola (M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, Wall Paintings Discovered in Old Dongola, in: *Dongola-Studien*, pp. 262–264, Pls. XXVI–XXVII).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. P. v. MOORSEL *et al.*, The Central Church of Abdallah Nirqi, Leiden 1975, Inv. No. 6/5b, Pl. 84 (St John Chrysostomus and Petu the Priest), late tenth century? The absence of the shoulder-touching gesture appears to stem from the fact that St John is depicted on Petu's right side, unable to make the gesture with his left hand as he holds a book in it. This problem was solved in Tamit – see the following note.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Tamit, Missione Archeologica in Egitto, Roma 1967, Pl. 15 and Col. Pl. b, pp. 47–48 – judging by the decorative details this is a late eleventh century mural depicting the Nubian bishop Menas? standing between St John (who is the same height as the bishop) and a huge figure of the Archangel Raphael? St John has his left hand on the bishop's shoulder while the Archangel – his right one. It is notable that the saint was represented, contrary to iconographic rules, with a book in his right hand, leaving his left hand free to make the gesture of protection. A similar problem was probably encountered in the Inv. No. 69 mural from Faras – Bishop Marianos

(the Virgin and Christ) are replaced by the Holy Trinity (three identical half-length figures of Christ) positioned behind the head of the protected.<sup>37</sup> The same situation is repeated in subtype 5a.<sup>38</sup>

For reasons entirely unknown none of the Faras Cathedral murals feature any small donor portraits, which were popular in Nubian art (particularly in the late period, though also noted in earlier periods), despite the fact that dedications indicating that they were founded by private individuals appear on many of the (tenth and eleventh century) wall paintings.<sup>39</sup>

Many of the iconographic details which appear in individual paintings can be useful in establishing their chronology. These include attributes and vestments depicted either in keeping with their actual appearance at the time or according to the artistic canons (*hermeneia*) of the particular period. They were also here used to help in dating individual protection scenes.

The first of these instances concerns individual details such as, for example, Christ's footwear: sandals (up until the twelfth century) and shoes of the *campagus* type (from the twelfth century onwards); attributes of the Child Jesus: a *rotulus* (typical of eighth and thirteenth century paintings) or book (ninth to twelfth century). The second concerns, for example, the changes in local bishops' liturgical vestments, which were largely in keeping with the evolution of liturgical robes in Byzantium.<sup>40</sup> In many cases, however, the representations from Faras predate preserved examples of Byzantine models, whilst in others they evidence local variations in dress. Noteworthy features include the way in which the *epitrachelion* is depicted: with the ends of the stole separate (up until the ninth century), and then later sewn together; the presence of an *enchirion* in the hand of a bishop (from the latter half of the ninth to the latter half of the eleventh century); the appearance of the scapular (starting from the mid tenth century), the introduction of the crosier (in the form of a staff with a cross) in the twelfth century and a hand-held cross in the late period; as well as the cut of the *phelonion* changing over the centuries. The data set presented here merely as an example, which is also observable in material from other archaeological sites in Nubia.

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with Christ and the Virgin, though in this instance the position of the hand cannot be determined conclusively, as the relevant section of the Christ figure does not survive. The position of the hand visible on Marianos's right shoulder suggests that it is Christ's left hand, and that the book he should have held in his left hand was transferred to the right, as seen in the mural from Tamit. This inconvenience in depicting Christ as a protector led to his being repositioned in later murals to stand on the protected individual's left (i.e. on the right side of the wall painting).

<sup>37</sup> See the painting of a king protected by the Holy Trinity from the Northwestern Annexe of the Dongola Monastery, Inv. No. P.18/NW12, cf. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Nubian King*, p. 299, Fig. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. e.g. the representation of an eparch protected by the Holy Trinity from the Rivergate Church at Faras – F.L.L. GRIFFITH, *Oxford Excavations in Nubia, LAAA XIII/2*, 1926, Pl. XXX; MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *New Look*, pp. 366–367.

<sup>39</sup> On dedications cf. JAKOBIELSKI, *Faras III*, pp. 177–180 and *Id.*, *Inscriptions*, in: MICHAŁOWSKI, *Wall Paintings, Inscriptions Nos. 31–34*.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. INNEMÉE, *Dress, passim*.