THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
of
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

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AND
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Editors

THE MONASTERIES OF THE FAYYŪM

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
SHANGHAI

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE *of* THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION, NO. 16

THE MONASTERIES OF THE FAYYŪM

By
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PUBLISHED MAY 1937

COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY
OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

Reprinted from
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
Vol. LIII, 1936-37, pp. 13-33, 73-96, 158-79

THE MONASTERIES OF THE FAYYŪM[1]

In the Moritz collection acquired in 1929 by the Oriental Institute are three Arabic parchment documents of the fourth century Hijrah (tenth century A.D.), two of which are contracts of sale of property, while the third deeds property as a charitable grant to what seems to be the earliest known and definitely named monastery of the Fayyūm. A few facsimiles and transcriptions of somewhat similar contracts of sale[2] have been published from time to time. But these, without exception, have been given us with meager notes and partial translations. Again, though *wakf* documents are too numerous to mention, Arabic documents of another form of charitable donation, namely, the *ṣadaḳah* —to which our third document here belongs—are comparatively rare, and rarer still are they in connection with Coptic monasteries. It is, therefore, the object of this study to give an annotated translation of the three documents and to follow up the last—to us the most interesting of the three—with a historical sketch of the monasteries of the Fayyūm.

ARABIC CONTRACTS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY HIJRAH

The three documents here presented are linked together by locality, time, and principal characters. The properties concerned were located

[1] Grateful acknowledgments are due Professor Sprengling for his patient reading and criticism of the manuscript and for his invaluable help with the translation of the much involved legal terminology. My thanks are also due to Miss Elizabeth Stefanski for helpful suggestions with some of the Coptic names.

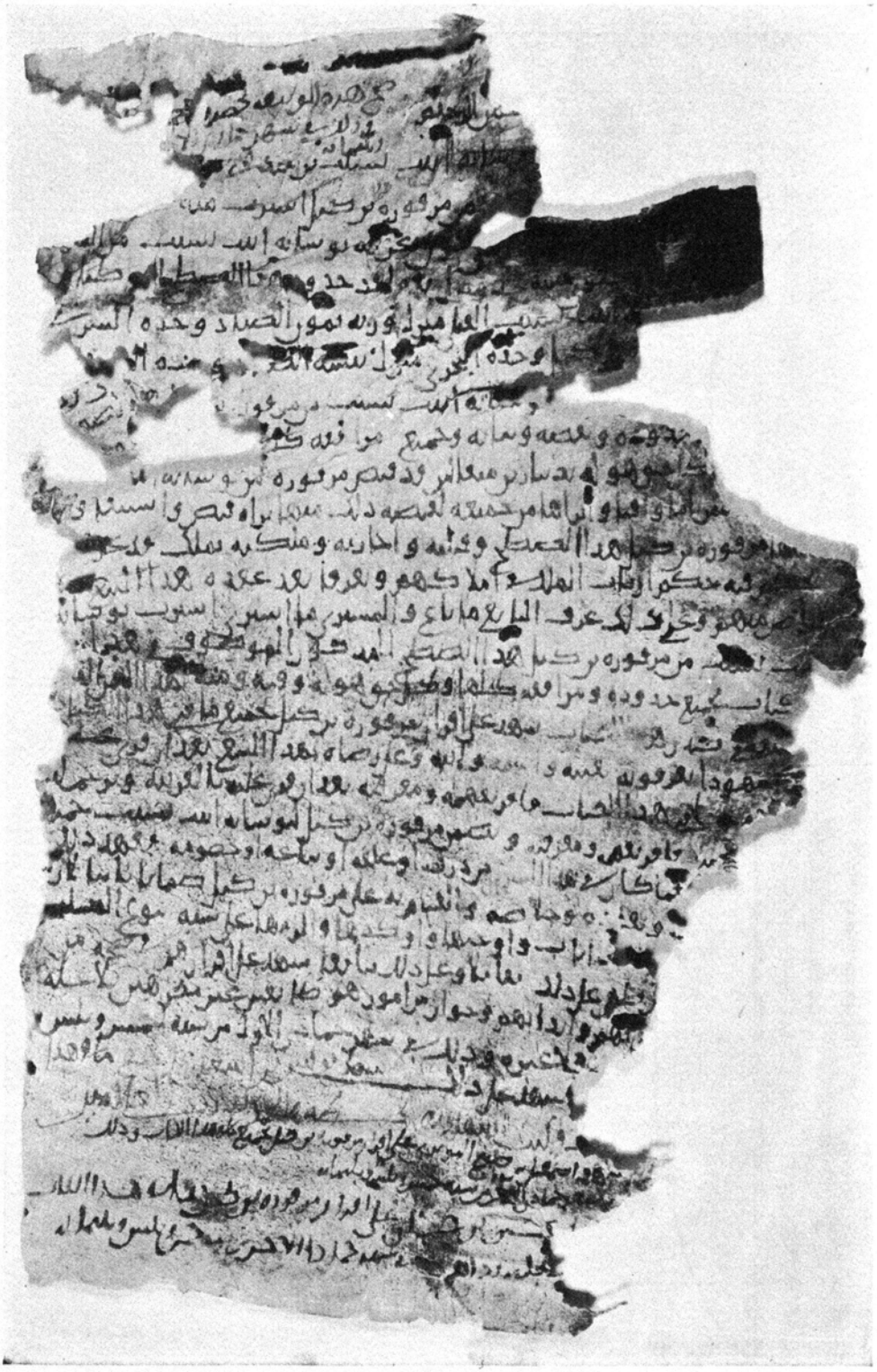
[2] Cf. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography* (Cairo, 1905), Pls. 112–13, 115–16; Abel, *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, Arabische Urkunden* (Berlin, 1896); Erman and Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 284–90, which contains partial translations of some of the documents given by Abel; Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 101 ff. A sale contract from Sinai of much later date, 988/1580, is published with an annotated translation by Aapeli Saarisalo in an article entitled "A Waqf-Document from Sinai," appearing in Vol. V of *Studia orientalia* of the Finnish Oriental Society (Helsingfors, 1933). Though considerably different from the earlier Fayyūm documents, it is, nevertheless, interesting in showing the persistence of similar phraseology; for which point cf. also ʿAlī al-Naifar al-Tūnisi, *Kitab al-Durr al-Manzūm fi Kayfiyat Kutub al-Rusūm* (Tunisia, 1298/1881), pp. 58–70, etc. Other judicial, and especially marriage, contracts have been more recently published by Grohmann (after this paper was written), in *Der Islam*, XXII (1934), 1–69.

in the town of Buljusūḳ-Bursh in the southwestern part of the Fayyūm, a little to the north of the Gharaḳ region. In the first and earliest document Marḳūrah, son of Kail, is selling some of his property to Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, his next-door neighbor on the west. In the second document, written some eight months later, he is selling the rest of his property to Ḳalḥash, son of Boḳṭor, and in the third document, written again some three months later, Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, is deeding some of her property as a charitable grant to the Naḳlūn and Shallā monasteries situated in the desert to the northeast of Buljusūḳ-Bursh.

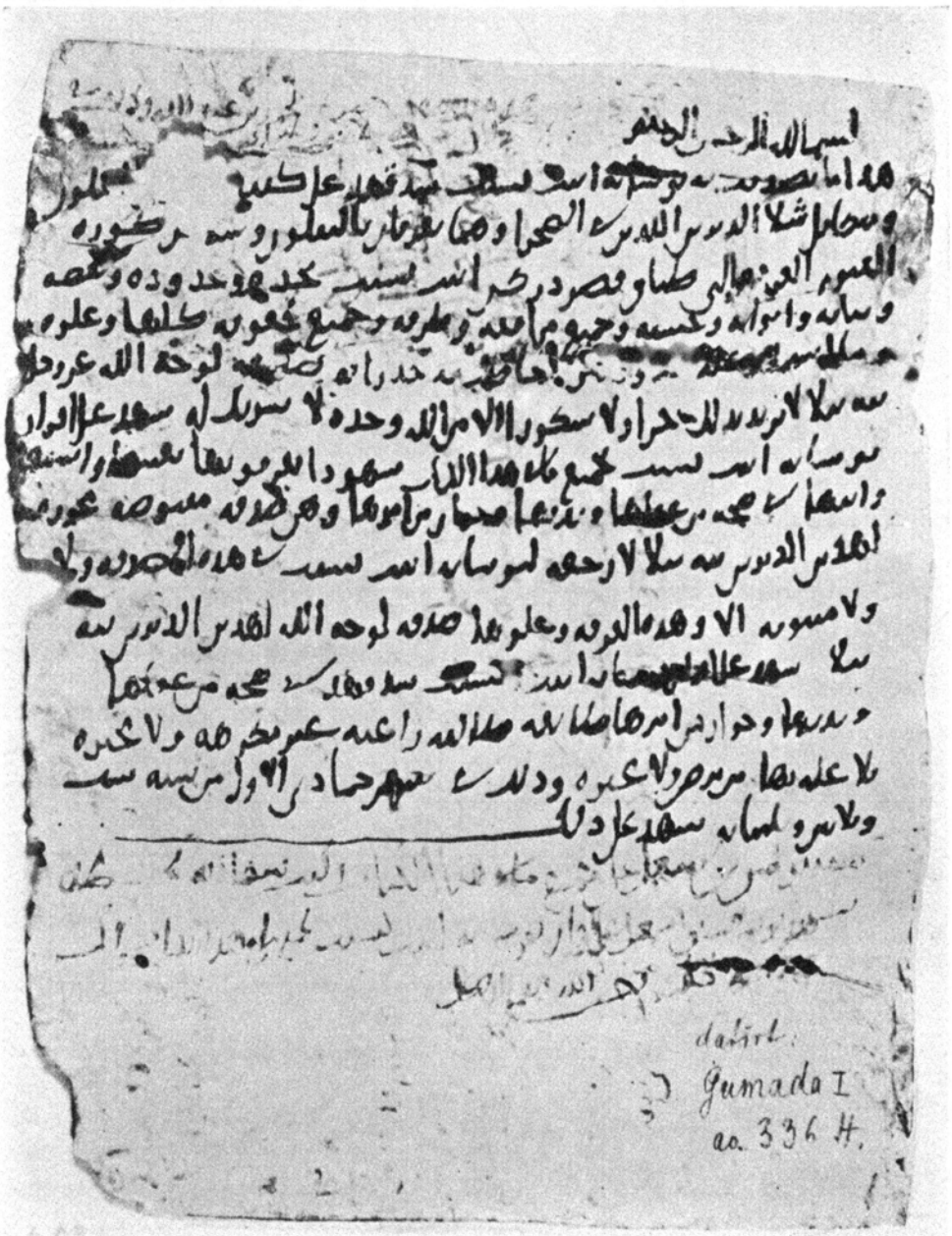
The documents have yet another point in common. They are drawn up in accordance with the Muslim law of sale and of charitable grant (*ṣadaḳah*). The fundamental principles of the law of sale are practically identical in the four leading schools of Muslim jurisprudence but differ somewhat in that of *ṣadaḳah*. The two systems most widely accepted in Egypt were the Shāfiʿite throughout the country and the Mālikite in Upper Egypt. But since al-Shāfiʿī was an eclectic, we find in these primarily Shāfiʿite-Mālikite documents of the Fayyūm some Ḥanīfite principles and terminology, making it necessary to refer to works representing the three schools.[3]

[3] For these schools and their founders see article "Fiqh" in *Encyclopedia of Islam;* Nicolas Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance* (New York, 1916), pp. 133-47 (this work contains an excellent Bibliography of Arabic sources); S. Fitzgerald, *Muhammadan Law: An Abridgement According to Its Various Schools* (London, 1931).

DOCUMENT I



DOCUMENT II



TEXT[4]

I

(١)[بسم الله الرح]من الرحيم (٢) [هذا ما اشترت] توسانه ابنت بسنت بن ؟؟ . . . . (٣). . . . من مرقوره بن كيل اشترت منه [صفقة واحدة] (٤) وعقدا واحدا الصطح الذى فوق عرفة توسانه ابنت بسنت من الم[نزل] (٥) الذى يشتمله وجنوبى منه حدود اربعه احد حدود هذا الصطح الذى طباق (٦) [منزل توسانه] ابنت بسنت القبلى منزل ورثة بمون الصياد وحده الشرقى (٧) [منزل مرقوره] بن كيل وحده البحرى منزل سنبه الصياد وحده الغ[ربى منزل] (٨) [توسانه اشترت] توسانه ابنت بسنت من مرقوره بن كيل هذا الصطح (٩) [بحده] وحدوده ونقضه وبنائه وجميع مرافقه كلها[. . . (١٠). . . . وكل حق هو له بدينارين مثقالين قد قبض مرقوره من توسانه ابنت [بسنت (١١) هذا الثمن تاما وافيا وابراها من جميعه لقبضه ذلك منها ابراة قبض واستيفا وسلم (١٢) لها مرقوره بن كيل هذا الصطح وقبلته واحازته وملكته تملك(ا)قد تجرى فيه ما تشا و] (١٣) تحكم فيه حكم ارباب الملك فى املاكهم وتفرقا بعد عقدة هذا البيع [فرق] (١٤) تراض منهم وعلى ذلك عرف البايع ما باع والمشترى ما اشترى اشترت توسانه (١٥) ابنت بسنت من مرقوره بن كيل هذا الصطح المذكور الموصوف فى هذا (١٦) [الكتاب بجميع حدوده ومرافقه كلها وكل حق

[4] Square brackets inclose reconstructed text; pointed brackets inclose scribe's omissions; overlining indicates illegibility or uncertain reading; cross-reference to the documents is by number and lines, e.g., I, 1–2.

هو له وفيه ومنه بهذا الثمن الذ[ى] (١٧)[و]صفه فى صدر هذا
الكتاب شهد على اقرار مرقوره بن كيل بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب
(١٨) شهودا يعرفونه نفسه واسمه وانه على رضاه بهذا البيع
بعد ان قرى عل[يه] (١٩) جميع[ما فى هذا الكتاب فاقر بفهمه
وسعرفته بعد ان قرى عليه بالعربيه وترجم له (٢٠) محمد
فاقر بفهمه وسعرفته ويضمن مرقوره بن كيل لتوسانه ابنت بسنت
جميع (٢١) [الضمانات] فما كان فى هذا الشرى من درك اوعلقة
او تباعة او خصومة فعهد ذلك (٢٢) [وضمانه] ونفاذه وخلاصه
والقيام به على مرقوره س كيل ضمانا ثابتا لازما (٢٣) [بجميع
الض]مانات واوجبها واوكدها والزمها على سنة المسلمين (٢٤)
[وعلى شر]وطه وعلى ذلك تعاملا وعلى ذلك تبايعا شهد على
اقرارهم فى صحة من (٢٥) [عقو]لهم وابدانهم وجواز من امورهم
طائعين غير مكرهين بلا علة (٢٦)[من مرض]ولا غيره وذلك فى
شهر جمادى الاول من سنة خمس وثلثين (٢٧)[وثلثمايه] شهد
على ذلك، شهد بولس بن اسمعيل على جميع ما فى هذا (٢٨)
[الكتاب]وكتب شهادته بخطه والحمد لله رب العالمين (٢٩)
شهد اسمعيل بن صبيح النويرى على اقرار مرقوره بن كيل
بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب وذلك (٣٠) فى شهر جمادى الاخر
من سنة خمس وثلثين وثلثمايه (٣١)[شهد] حسين بن حسان

على اقرار مرقوره بن كيل بما فى هذا الكتاب (٣٢) [وكتب شهادته] بخطه وذلك فى شهر جمادى الاخر من سنة خمس وثلثين وثلثمايه

(١) صح هذا الوثيقة بحضرة محمد [بن عبد الله] (٢) وذلك فى شهر جمادى الاخ[ر] من سنة خمس وثلثين[] (٣) وثلثمايه

II

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) [هذ]ا ما اشترى قلحش بن بقطر من مرقوره بن كيل من سكان ابو الجسوق المعروف ببرش (٣) [اشتر]ا منه ومن والدته اقطهون ابن ابو تيدر المنزل الذى لهم بابو الجسوق برش من كورة (٤) الفيوم بثمان الدنانير من تلك دينر واحد خوان والسبع الدنانير معسولة صحاحا وازنا (٥) بالمثاقيل الجدئد وهو المنزل الذى حده القبلى ينتهى الى منزل متوس بن دهله وحده (٦) البحرى منزل ورثة بنى قسا وحده الشرق منزل فقرى بن شنوده وحده الغربى منزل (٧) [توسانه] ابنت بسنت اشترا قلحش بن بقطر من مرقوره بن كيل ومن والدته اقطهون ابن ابو تيدر (٨) ح[ق]هم بالمنزل المحدود الموصوف بها دارت عليه الحدود الاربع حده وحدوده

وكل(٩) حق هوله داخلا فيه وخارجا منه بهذا الثمان الدنانير
الموصوفة فى هذا الكتاب(١٠) وسلم به قلحش بن بقطر الى
مرقوره بن كيل هذا الثمن تماما وافيا وابراه من جميع الثمن
براة قبض (١١) وتراضا وافترقا عن اتراض منهما وتشاور على
بيع الاسلام وشرطه بلا خيار منهما ولا فسخ (١٢)[هذا] بما
تبايعا عليه فما ادرك قلحش بن بقطر من درك او تبعة ؟
او علقة من احد من الناس (١٣) بسبب من الاسباب اوجهة
من الوجوه فعلى مرقوره بن كيل ضمان ذلك وعقدته وذلك
(١٤) فى صفر من سنة سته وثلاثين وثلثمايه شهد على ذلك
على بن ابراهيم الاسوانى بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب (١٥) فى صفر
من سنة ست وثلثين وثلثمايه شهد على ذلك محمد بن القسى
بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب وكتب عنه على بن ابراهيم (١٦) بامره
وبحضرته (١٧) شهد محمد بن الحسين بجميع ما فى هذا
الكتاب وكتب بخطه (١٨) شهد احمد بن الخشرم بجميع مافى
هذا الكتاب وكتب بخطه (١٩) شهد فساو بن احمد بجميع ما فى
هذا الكتاب وكتب عنه على بن ابراهيم بامره وبحضره (٢٠) شهد
احمد بن محمد بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب (٢١) شهد على بن
حسين بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب وكتب شها[دته بخطه]

III

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) هذا ما تصدقة به توسانه ابنت بسنت سد قهد على كنيسة دير النقلون (٣) وميكائل شلا الديرين الذين فى الصحرا وهما يعرفان بالنقلون وشلا من كورة (٤) الفيوم العرفة التى طباق قصر دركن ابنت بسنت بحده وحدوده ونقضه (٥) وبنائه وابوابه وجنينته وجميع مرافقه وطرقه وجميع حقوقه كلها وعلوه (٦) وما اشتملت عليه حدوده واحاطت به جدرانه صدقة لوجه الله عز وجل (٧) بتة بتلا لا تريد بذلك شكورا الا من الله وحده لا شريك له شهد على اقرار (٨) توسانه ابنت بسنت بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب شهودا يعرفونها نفسها واسمها (٩) وانها فى صحة من عقلها وبدنها وجواز من امرها وهى صدقة مقبوضة محوزة (١٠) لهذين الديرين بتة بتلا لا رجعة لتوسانه ابنت بسنت فى هذا الصدقة ولا (١١) مثنوية الا وهذه العرفة وعلوها صدقة لوجه الله لهذين الديرين بتة (١٢) بتلا شهد على اقرار توسانه ابنت بسنت سد قهد فى صحة من عقلها (١٣) وبدنها وجواز من امرها طائعة طالبة راغبة غير مكرهة ولا مجبرة (١٤) بلا علة بها من مرض ولا غيره وذلك فى شهر جمادى الاول من سنة ست (١٥) وثلاثين وثلثمايه شهد على ذلك (١٦) شهد بولس بن اسمعيل على جميع ما

فى هذا الكتاب وكتب شهادته بخطه (١٧) شهد يوسف بن اسمعيل على اقرار توسانه ابنت بسنت بجميع ما فى هذا الكتاب وكتب (١٨) شهادته بخطه وحسبه الله ونعم الوكيل

(١) صح هذا الوثيقة بحضرة محمد بن عبد الله وذلك فى
(٢) شهر شوال من سنة ثلاثين وثلثمايه

I. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NO. A6965 (SALE OF PROPERTY)

Date.—Jumādā I 335 Hijrah = 28 November–28 December, A.D. 946.

General description.—Fine parchment, somewhat crepelike in texture; 36×23 cm. comprising the entire document; very narrow margins; upper portion and right half much broken and discolored in places by smoke or burning. The ink of the main document is a medium brown of uniform shade and weight, but some of the testimonies are in a darker brown and others in black ink.

Script.—A stiff angular cursive in which some of the letters are very close to small Kufic forms; unpointed, except partially in one or two instances of personal names; closely written both as to word and as to line spacing; some of the testimonies are in a more crowded and cursive hand than that of the main document.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. (2) This is what Tūsānah,[5] daughter of Bisanti,[6] son of ? bought . . . . (3) . . . . from Marḳūrah, son of Kail.[7] She bought from him by one agreement (4) and one contract[8] the level land[9] (terrace?) that is above the fertile tract[10] of Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, appertaining to[11] the house (5) that comprises it and south of it. (It has) four boundaries: one—the southern—of the boundaries of this level land that adjoins (6) the house of Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, is the house of the heirs[12] of Pamon,[13] the fisherman; and its eastern boundary

[5] Though the name appears in all three documents, the *n* alone, and that not always, seems to be pointed; as *t* is a prefix for many feminine Coptic names, it is given the preference here with the suggestion that perhaps we have here the Arabic form of TCANNA, which is considered as the Coptic form of Anna by Carl Maria Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg, 1917), 78.

[6] The well-known name ϫεϫεννε. The last name is illegible. The text missing in ll. 2 and 3 must refer to the locale of the document, specifying in particular the district of the Fayyūm if not actually mentioning the town of Buljusūḳ-Bursh mentioned in the next document, which see.

[7] An abbreviation of Mikail (or Michael); cf. Flinders Petrie, *Medum*, pp. 48–50. Both names are very common among the Copts.

[8] This phrase appears in several sales contracts (cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f., 52, 57 f.; Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115–16) and is used to guard against invalidity since in Shāfi'ite law a sale involving more than one transaction is automatically invalidated. Cf. Shīrāzī, *al-Tanbih*, ed. Juynboll (1879), pp. 96–97.

[9] Arabic dictionaries do not give *ṣ-ṭ-ḥ* though they do give *s-ṭ-ḥ*. We have then an instance of the frequent change of *s* and *ṣ*, natural enough when followed by a *ṭ*, though not limited to that condition; see references to Abel and Moritz cited in the preceding note for the alternation of *s* and *ṣ* in *ṣafaḳah*.

[10] For *'arfah* see below, III, 2, where this very one is the subject of a charitable grant.

[11] *Min*, partitive, in legal terminology.

[12] Cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 22, ll. 7–9, etc.

[13] The familiar ϫαμουν.

(7) (is) the house of Marḳūrah, son of Kail; and its northern[14] boundary (is) the house of Sanbah,[15] the fisherman; and its western boundary (is) the house (8) of Tūsānah.[16] Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, bought from Marḳūrah, son of Kail, this level land (9) within all its boundaries,[17] with its timber beams[18] and its structures, and the sum total of its accessories in their entirety[19] . . . . (10) . . . . and every right pertaining to it, for two dinars, full weight. Marḳūrah, son of Kail, received from Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, (11) this entire sum in full payment, and receipted her for the whole, as having received that (sum) from her, with a receipt for payment received in full; and Marḳūrah (12), son of Kail, conveyed[20] this level land to her, and she accepted it, and took possession of it, and took over actual ownership[21] to do with it as she pleases[22] and (13) to control it as proprietors control their property.[23] And

[14] Literally, the sea boundary, commonly so used in Egypt; cf. Saarisalo, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 9.

[15] I.e., ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲁⲥ; cf. Karabacek, *Mitt. aus Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Wien, 1887), I, 2.

[16] The text is lost in the parchment, but the locations specified in this and the next documents call for the house of Tūsānah at the same time that the parchment space allows for her first name only. It will be noticed that others in these documents are sometimes indicated by their first names only.

[17] Literally, with its bound and boundaries—a common technical phrase occurring in almost every document of like nature and used to insure definite specification; see also II, 8.

[18] For *nakḍ*, نقض, the dictionaries (see Lane) give "ruins," "beams," both in connection with property and in connection with buildings. Dr. Anis K. Frayha informs me that the term is at present in use in connection with buildings and applies chiefly to the timber used and usable in a building.

[19] Unless so specified, the secondary accessories, *marāfiḳ*, belonging to any property, e.g., the loft(?), the entrance passage, and the water closet, are not included in the contract. Though the term *marāfiḳ* is frequently used (e.g., in these and other documents referred to), several other alternative phrases may serve the same purpose, e.g., to buy a house "with every right belonging to it" or "with everything, little or much, that is in it or goes with it"; cf. Shaibānī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghir* (Būlāḳ, 1884–85), p. 84 (on margin of Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharāj*). See also Iwan Dimitroff's study of this author (Berlin, 1908), pp. 62–63, 86–87, 135–36, for further details. But, as is frequently common in legal documents, alternative phrases are, for the purpose of security, used simultaneously. These Arabic documents are no exception to this practice or to the even more tiresome one of several repetitions of the same phraseology, as the translations readily show.

The break in the text in ll. 9–10 allows for the use of another alternative phrase, but it is risky to attempt to state which of the usual phrases was used.

[20] No sale is complete and therefore valid unless delivery or transfer on the part of the seller is followed by definite acceptance and actual possession by the buyer, hence the great care taken to specify these facts. Cf. Shirāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Macnaghten, *Principles of Hindu and Mohammedan Law* (London, 1885), pp. 198–203; Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–82.

[21] Actual ownership is a condition prerequisite for any future legal transaction involving the land, such as selling, bequeathing, or establishing it as a grant; cf. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 182, and others. The final *alif* of *tamallukan* is left out.

[22] Most of the Arabic phrase is missing in the text, but its reconstruction is gained by comparison with Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[23] The same Arabic phrase is to be seen in Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 60; Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 116, l. 12; for variations of or alternatives for the same phrase see Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 44, 48, 50; Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115, ll. 10–11.

they separated after contracting this sale (14) with mutual satisfaction.[24] And on these terms the seller knows what he sold, and the buyer what he bought. Tūsānah, (15) daughter of Bisanti, bought from Marḳūrah, son of Kail, this level land, mentioned and specified in this (16) deed, within all its boundaries, and with all its accessories and with every right pertaining to it and which is in it and of it,[25] for this sum of which (17) the specification is in the first part of this deed. The acknowledgment of Marḳūrah, son of Kail, of all that is in this deed is testified to by (18) witnesses[26] who know him in person and by name and that he is satisfied with this sale after the (19) entire content of this deed was read[27] to him. He acknowledged his comprehension of it and his cognizance of it after it had been read to him in Arabic and translated for him (by) (20) Muḥammad.[28] He acknowledged his comprehension of it and his cognizance of it, and Marḳūrah, son of Kail, guarantees to Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, (21) all the guaranties.[29] And whatever there may be in this purchase by way of damages, or attachments, or claims, or contentions,[30] the security for that (22) and its obligation and its effective refutation and its settlement and its management[31] rest on Marḳūrah, son of Kail, as a valid and binding (23) obligation for all pledges—the most obligatory, the strongest, and the most binding—according to the Muslim law of sale (24) and according to its stipulation.[32] And on these terms these two concluded their sale. Witness is given to their acknowledgment, made in sound (25) mind and body, in control of their affairs, assenting unconstrained without any defect (26) of disease or of anything else. And that in the month of Jumādā I of the year five and thirty (27) and three hundred. Witness is given to these (facts): Būlus, son of Ismaʿīl, gave witness to all that is in this (28)

[24] Cf. II, 11, and Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115, l. 11. Separation in mutual agreement at this point completes and validates the sale, leaving neither party, according to the Mālikite school, any option of recall or repudiation; cf. Zurḳānī, *Commentary on the Muwaṭṭā* (Cairo), III, 140. The other schools differ on this right of option; Shīrāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Macnaghten, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[25] For this and similar phrases see II, 9; Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 21, 47–48; Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 112, l. 3.

[26] Note the grammatical construction of *shuhhida . . . . shuhūdan*, which occurs also in III, 7–8.

[27] For other instances of this cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22, and Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115, l. 18.

[28] The Arabic text of the phrase is in the active because of the usage of Arabic language.

[29] The word is missing in the Arabic text and is supplied from l. 23 of the document.

[30] For this and the preceding three terms see Lane, *op. cit.*, with whose help the English equivalents are selected. The terms with one or two others of like meaning belong to the common legal terminology of contracts of sale; cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 31–32, 43, 52, 59–60; Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115, ll. 13–14; Pl. 116, l. 11.

[31] This series of terms, like that of l. 21 above, occurs frequently in most of the documents already cited.

[32] More often than not this statement, or something to the same effect, is mentioned in contracts drawn up for Christians, as in these three; see also those cited from Abel and Moritz.

deed and wrote his testimony with his own hand. And praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. (29) Ismaʿīl, son of Ṣabīḥ al-Nuwairī[33] gives witness to the acknowledgment of Marḳūrah, son of Kail, of all that is in this deed, and that (30) in the month of Jumādā II[34] of the year five and thirty and three hundred. (31) Ḥussaīn, son of Hassan, witnessed the acknowledgment of Marḳūrah, son of Kail, of what is in this deed (32) and wrote his testimony with his own hand and that in the month of Jumādā II of the year five and thirty and three hundred.

In the upper left corner of the document appear the following three lines:

(1) This contract (written obligation?) was certified[35] in the presence of Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd-Allah,[36] (2) and that in the month of Jumādā II of the year five and thirty (3) and three hundred.

II. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NO. A6966 (SALE OF PROPERTY)

Date.—Ṣafar 336 Hijrah = 22 August–20 September, A.D. 947.

General description.—Fine light parchment; 33×21 cm.; upper right margin much broken, lower right part much shrunk, and so of irregular shape, though this must have taken place before the present document was drawn up. The parchment is a palimpsest, but very few and light traces only are to be seen of the underscript. The same ink—a medium brown—is used for the main document and by the witnesses.

Script.—A small cursive hand with some angularity but, on the whole, closer to the regular *naskẖī* hand; freely though not completely pointed; not voweled except for one instance of a *tanwīn* (l. 9); closely

[33] For al-Nuwairah cf. Yāḳūt, *Dictionary*, IV, 826, where it is described as a *nāḥiyah* in Egypt. *Etat*, ed. De Sacy and published at end of his edition of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's *Relation de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1810), p. 687, mentions a similar place in the province of Baḥnasa, which must be the same as the modern al-Nuwairah; cf. Baedeker, *Egypt and Sudan* (1914), p. 209, and map of the Fayyūm. Salmon, in *BIFAO*, I, 75, lists a نوارة in the Fayyūm, but I am unable to tell if it has any connection with al-Nuwairah.

[34] The actual contract was drawn up in Jumādā I, though these witnesses and the ratification were not secured until Jumādā II. Perhaps the delay was due to inability to secure witnesses readily, since these had to qualify as such; cf. Russell and Suhrawardy, *Muslim Jurisprudence* (London, 1906), pp. 60–61. Official witnesses were kept for this purpose by the state, but these moved about as needed and were, therefore, not always immediately available. Certification and registration are not essential to the validity of the contract; see Macnaghten, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Wilson, *Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan Law* (3d ed.; London, 1908), p. 323.

[35] Cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 59; in Karabacek, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–68, used in sense of "correct."

[36] The last name, missing in the Arabic text, is supplied by comparison with III top.

[37] (Number not used.)

written as to words but not crowded in line spacing; most of the signatures are in a crude and unpracticed hand (cf. Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115, for even more inferior samples).

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. (2) This is what Ḳalḥash, son of Boḳṭor,[38] bought from Marḳūrah, son of Kail, of the inhabitants of Abū al-Jusūḳ, known as Bursh.[39] (3) He bought from him and from his mother, Aḳṭahūn, (daughter) of Ibn Abī Tīdur,[40] their house in Abū al-Jusūḳ Bursh of the district (*kurah*) of the (4) Fayyūm for eight dinars, of which one dinar is debased[41] and seven dinars unadulterated,[42] sound (5) full weight by the new mithḳals. And it is the house whose southern boundary extends to the house of Matūs, son of Dahlah,[43] and its (6) northern boundary

[38] Both names fully pointed; a suggestion for Ḳalḥash is the Coptic ⲕⲁⲗⲗⲁⲫⲓⲣⲉ, "the little Syrian," with the last letters dropped; Boḳṭor is, of course, Victor.

[39] This is the Coptic ⲡⲉⲗⲱⲥⲓⲥⲱⲕ which occurs several times in Coptic documents; Cf. *Corpus papyrorum Raineri*, ed. Krall (Vienna, 1895), II, No. 225, l. 3; Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts from the Fayyūm* (London, 1893), pp. 64, 67, 78–79 (ⲡⲉⲗⲱⲥⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩⲕ). So far as I know, this is the only Arabic document in which it appears as Abū al-Jusūḳ, though as Buljusūḳ it appears in Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 115–16, of the years A.H. 423 and 429, and in all these three instances it is associated with the Arabic Bursh; whether it is possible to identify Bursh with the Arabic Burj and this again with ⲡⲉⲗⲱ with an *r* replacing the *l* (which is a possibility) is a question; cf. Crum, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note under l. 25. If this identification is to be accepted, ⲡⲉⲣ(ⲗ)ⲱⲥⲓⲥⲱⲕ being compounded of two elements, ⲡⲉⲣⲱ, i.e., *b-r-y*, which means "laughing," "happy," "well-being," and ⲥⲱⲕ, standing for the god name Sobek, it could easily be abbreviated to ⲡⲉⲣⲱ, whence later comes برج or برش, though this last is no longer associated with the Buljusūḳ of later times. In Arabic sources it is first mentioned by al-Nāblusī (643/1245). See Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 70–71, from which we learn that the original Buljusūḳ, located in the rapidly declining region of Baḥr al-Tanabṭawaih, had fallen into ruins but was rebuilt by the time of al-Nāblusī who describes it as a large and beautiful city in the southern Fayyūm, some four hours' ride on horseback from Madīnat al-Fayyūm. The Christian inhabitants must have deserted the place sometime after A.H. 429, the date of the last (now known) Arabic document, and sometime before the time of al-Nāblusī, since he reports only the ruins of a Christian church in contrast with a flourishing mosque serving the new inhabitants, viz., the Banū Ḥātim, a subtribe of the Banū Kilāb. We find it in the eighth/fourteenth century referred to as Baljūḳ in *Etat*, p. 681, after which it seems to have disappeared again in later times, so that its precise identification is impossible, although Wessely, *Denkschriften K.A.W.* (Wien, 1904), L, 12 and 121, and Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, *Tebtunis Papyri* (London, 1907), II, 394, place it between Taṭūn and Ṭalīt near the Gharaḳ region.

[40] Literally, Ibn Abū Tīdur's Aḳṭahūn; this same construction occurs again in l. 7 and cannot, therefore, be considered a scribal error. Though impossible as an Arabic construction, it is a common way of indicating this relationship in the Coptic. Aḳṭahūn may be either a variation of ⲟⲕⲧⲁⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁⲛ or a derivation from the Semitic root of Aḳiṭ; cf. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 129.

[41] Literally, "unfaithful" or "treacherous."

[42] Literally, "faithful," "veracious," as opposed to *khawwān*; cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 26.

[43] دهلة ⲑⲉⲕⲗⲁ?; Matūs is, of course, Matthew.

(is) the house of the heirs of Banī Ḳasā, and its eastern boundary the house of Faḳrī, son of Shinūdah,[44] and its western boundary the house of (7) Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti. Ḳalḥash, son of Boḳṭor, bought from Marḳūrah, son of Kail, and from his mother, Aḳṭahūn, (daughter) of Ibn Abī Tīdur, their right (8) in the house delimited and described by the four boundaries that surround it to the limit of all its boundaries,[45] and every (9) right pertaining to it, entering in it, and issuing from it,[46] for these eight dinars specified in this deed. (10) And Ḳalḥash, son of Boḳṭor, delivered it to Marḳūrah, son of Kail, this entire sum[47] in full payment, and he receipted him with a receipt for full payment received. (11) And they were satisfied and parted on terms of mutual satisfaction on their part.[48] And they consulted[49] (with each other) in accordance with the Muslim law of sale and its stipulations[50] without option for either of them and without annulment.[51] (12) These are the terms on which they concluded the sale. And whatsoever should ensue to Ḳalḥash, son of Boḳṭor, by way of damages or claims or attachments[52] from anyone whatsoever (13) for any reason whatsoever or in any manner whatsoever[53]—the responsibility for that and security[54] for it rests on Marḳūrah, son of Kail. And that (14) in Ṣafar of the year six and thirty and three hundred. ʿAlī, son of Ibrahīm, al-Aswānī, gave witness to that, to all that is in this deed (15) in Ṣafar of the year six and thirty and three hundred. Muḥammad, son of al-Ḳasr,[55] gave witness to that, to all that is in this deed, and ʿAlī, son of Ibra-

[44] Shinūdah needs no comment; Faḳrī is likely ⲡⲕⲟⲟⲣⲉ.

[45] Cf. note on I. 9.

[46] Cf. I. 16.

[47] A case of redundancy here.

[48] Cf. I. 13–14, for similar terminology. For the form *itrāḍa* cf. Vollers, *Lehrbuch der aegypto-arabischen Umgangssprache* (Cairo, 1890), p. 71; Spitta-Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialects von Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 213–35.

[49] The *alif* of the dual form in *tashawarā* is left out. Though the word as it stands could be read as a noun, the verbal reading is more in keeping with the preceding and following clauses.

[50] Cf. I. 23–24 and note.

[51] Cf. notes on I. 14.

[52] Cf. I. 21 and note. There seems to be another word between *tabiʿat* and *ʿalḳat* but it is illegible, and the space is too small for an "or" plus another term such as لا حق (cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 59). A guess on the evidence of the script alone suggests تبعة هبا, but I know of no other instance of this usage in these sale contracts, even if the context were to admit of this reading. There is the more likely possibility that it is a scribal error to be overlooked.

[53] For these and similar phrases cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22, 28, 52, 59; Moritz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115, l. 14; Pl. 112, l. 15; Pl. 116, l. 13.

[54] Cf. I. 21–22 and note.

[55] Cf. Ibn Doreid, *Genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854), p. 302; the last part of the word is not so clear, and there is a possibility of reading the name as al-Ḳasā, as in l. 6 above, though spelled here with final *yā*, as in Ibn Doreid, *op. cit.*, p. 183; or even as al-Ḳāsim in Ṭabarī, *Annals* (Index), and Ibn Doreid, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 233. The *alif* of al-Ḳāsim is frequently missing in third-century papyri; cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–40, and in *Archiv Orientální*, VII (1935), 456.

hīm, wrote (signed) for him (16) by his order and in his presence. (17) Muḥammad, son of al-Ḥusain, gave witness to all that is in this deed and wrote with his own hand. (18) Aḥmad, son of al-Khashram,[56] testified to all that is in this deed and wrote with his own hand. (19) Fasau(?),[57] son of Aḥmad, gave witness to all that is in this deed, and ʿAlī, son of Ibrahīm, wrote for him by his order and in his presence. (20) Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, gave witness to all that is in this deed. (21) ʿAlī, son of Ḥusain, gave witness to all that is in this deed and wrote his testimony with his own hand.

III. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE NO. A6967 (*Ṣadaḳah* OR CHARITABLE GRANT)

Date.—Jumādā I 336 Hijrah = 18 November–18 December, A.D. 947.

General description.—Fine parchment, comparatively well preserved except for two fair-sized lacunae; 25.5×20.5 cm.; very narrow margins. It is a palimpsest, written in both cases on one side only of the parchment. The underscript, now very faint, runs parallel to the length of the parchment and is, therefore, at right angles to the lines of the second writing. Three varieties of ink are to be seen—that of the remains of the underscript; the dark, almost black, ink of the main document; and the very light brown of the signature of the witnesses.

Script.—Small, somewhat angular, cursive hand of mediocre execution but of fair legibility. It is unpointed except for one instance of a *ḳ* (l. 2) and another of a *sh* (l. 3). *Tashdīd* is spelled out in full, e.g., two *l*'s in *ʾallādhīn* of line 3, and two *n*'s of *innaha* in line 9.

Nature of contract.—In addition to the well-known alms tax of the *zakāt*, the Muslim is urged to further individual and private philanthropy: *waḳf*, *ṣadaḳah*, and *hibah* are the three main types of such philanthropic and charitable outlets. The first of these is too well known to detain us, and the last is a gift for a consideration, tangible or otherwise, received from one's fellow-men; in the first instance it is essentially of the nature of a sale, and in the second it is the simple gift, both motivated and rewarded by human sentiments alone.[58] *Ṣadaḳah*, "in the way of God," differs from *waḳf* for the same purpose in that

[56] Cf. Ibn Doreid, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[57] The letters of the name seem to be *f-s-a-w*, but it is unusual for an Arabic name to end with an *-a-w*, and I am unable to find any such name as *Fasaw* or *Fashaw* or even *Fasaf* or *Fasaḳ*, taking the last letter for a *f* or *ḳ*. On the other hand, the name from its appearance could be read as *Finaw*, for the Coptic ⲫⲓⲛⲁⲱ, which again is a peculiar combination with "son of Aḥmad."

[58] Cf. Baillie, *A Digest of Moohummudan Law* (London, 1864), Part II, pp. 203–9; Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–37; Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, pp. 210–15. For Arabic texts on these three subjects see Malik-Zurḳānī, *op. cit.*, Shīrāzī, *op. cit.*, and Shaibānī, *op. cit.*; for English translations see Macnaghten, and Russell and Suhrawardy, both cited above.

(*a*) any unincumbered and commendable object may be given as a *ṣadaḳah*, while those that can be given in *waḳf* are limited; (*b*) the donee is free to do as he pleases with the given object, as against the mortmain principle of the *waḳf;* and (*c*) though Christians and Muslims may both give and receive a *ṣadaḳah* at any time, there are certain conditions to be met before either, especially the former, can make a *waḳf*, since the purpose of the *waḳf* must be approved both by Islam and by the religion of the founder. Thus a Christian may make a *waḳf* in favor of a hospital or an almshouse, but he cannot make one in favor of a mosque, since that is not approved by his religion; neither can he make a *waḳf* in favor of a church, because that is contrary to Islam.[59] And it is for this last reason that our document here is a *ṣadaḳah* and not a *waḳf*. On the other hand, *ṣadaḳah* differs from *hibah* in that (*a*) its object is solely to gain merit and favor with God and so is made without any worldly consideration whatsoever; (*b*) it is (like *waḳf*) in some instances, at least, effective on declaration[60] while *hibah* requires both acceptance and delivery; and (*c*) it is final and absolutely irrevocable,[61] while *hibah* may be revoked under certain conditions. The reason for this non-revocability is that the object of the *ṣadaḳah*, favor with God, has been attained, and so it has become like a gift for which a value has been received.[62]

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. (2) This is what Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti . . . . (?)[64] gave as a charitable grant to the church of the monastery of Naḳlūn[65] (3) and (to that of) Mikail (of) Shallā[65]—the

[59] Cf. Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–9.

[60] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 202–3, 217. One such instance is where there is no determined beneficiary, e.g., as a *waḳf* for the poor or for the foundation of a mosque. As a general rule, however, where acceptance and delivery are possible, they are both required for the completion of the transaction.

[61] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 202; Wilson, *op. cit*, p. 336.

[62] Cf. Baillie, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

[63] (Number not used.)

[64] The two words following the name Bisanti occur again in l. 12 and, though clearly egible as *s-d ḳ-h-d*, are difficult of explanation. They seem to be an attempt on the part of the Arab scribe to give the equivalent of a Coptic titular phrase that was obscure to him. I am led to this suggestion by what Crum writes of a Sahidic papyrus (*Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London, 1905], pp. 452–53), drawing attention to very frequent but obscure additions after a name and title, "one such being the word ϭΛΛϵ, 'lame?,' appended to a name." Since *ḳahada* means to "walk with short steps," perhaps an idea of lameness is implied as Crum suggests, but it is difficult to tell if this means actual physical lameness—it seems to occur too often for that—or if it is to be taken in a figurative sense.

[65] The location of Naḳlūn is dealt with in the historical study growing out of this document; that of Shallā is not definitely known except that it belongs with Buljusūḳ in the list of rapidly declining towns in the Tanabṭawaih region. See n. 39 on Buljusūḳ.

two monasteries that are in the desert and are known as al-Naḳlūn and Shallā in the district (*kurah*) (4) of the Fayyūm: the fertile tract[66] (of land) that adjoins the residence[67] of Darkun,[68] daughter of Bisanti, to the limits of all its boundaries, with its timber beams[69] (5) and its structure and its gates and its small garden[70] and all its accessories and its paths and the sum total of its rights in their entirety[71] and its loft(?)[72] (6) and all that is contained within its boundaries and inclosed within its walls. (This is) an irrevocable charitable grant for the sake of God, to whom be glory and majesty. (7) She desires for this neither reward nor praise except from God alone without any associate.[73] The acknowledgment of (8) Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, to all the contents of this deed was testified to by witnesses who know her in person and by name (9) and that she is sound in mind and body and in control of her affairs.[74] And it is a charitable grant seized and possessed[75] (10) for these two monasteries irrevocably. Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, can neither revoke this charitable

[66] From the further specifications which follow in ll. 4–6 the tract must have been improved and cultivated with at least some buildings standing on it. It is also clear from this and the first document that Tūsānah is not disposing of all her property in that location; for she still has her house and the level land she bought from Marḳūrah, son of Kail, unless we assume that she has disposed of these in the interval between these two contracts.

[67] Perhaps the use of the word *ḳaṣr* and not the humbler and more usual *manzil* is evidence of the general prosperity of the Bisanti family, unless we take *ḳaṣr* in the sense of a small "keep," which is possible but not likely.

[68] Written sometimes as Ṭarkhūn (طرخون), both forms derived from the Coptic ΤΑΡΧΩΝ; cf. Krall, *op. cit.*, p. 72, No. 74.

[69] See I, 9 and note.

[70] The reading of جنينة is given with some reluctance, mainly for paleographic reasons, since in comparison with the rest of the script there seems to be a *s* or *sh* instead of those three teeth standing for *n-y-n*; for these, together with the *b* and its sister-letters, are usually more marked than the unit of three teeth for *s* or *sh*. From the context the reading "small garden" fits in very well; cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Other possible readings are خشبة, "wood"; حسنة, "benefits"; or, less probably, جبسة, "gypsum"; حبسة, "prison" or "pond"; and حُبسة, "inalienable rights."

[71] Cf. I, 16.

[72] The *ʿulū*, علو, is the higher or highest part of anything. In this case it seems to stand alone; when associated with a house or any building, it may mean either the raised foundation or the second story of a house or just a simple loft. The term is usually coupled with its antonym (e.g., Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 22, 48) to mean either specifically the second story and the basement or, where no such things exist, then to mean comprehensively the entire structure (cf. Shaibāni, *op. cit.*, p. 84 [margin]; Shaibāni, ed. Dimitroff, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–87). Is Dimitroff right in concluding that *ʿulū* is the right to future construction, i.e., something of the nature of "air rights," when this is against the general principle that nothing that is not in actual existence can be the subject of sale or alienation? For would not such air rights be tacitly included in one of the usual comprehensive phrases used when an entire property is bought outright, e.g., "with all its rights," "to do with as he pleases," etc.?

[73] Cf. Surah VI, 163, for this phrase, which the Muslim scribe irrelevantly adds; see also Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a similar instance.

[74] Cf. I, 17–18 and 24–25 and notes.

[75] It would seem that declaration alone would suffice since the beneficiary is a church (as in the case of a mosque); but not to take any chances, this and the repetitions which follow are added; see introductory comment on the nature of the document.

grant (11) nor make any condition or reservation[76] (regarding it). For this fertile tract of land and its loft[77] are an irrevocable charitable grant for the sake of God to these two monasteries. (12) Testimony is given to the acknowledgment of Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, ... (?)[78] made in sound mind (13) and body and in control of her affairs, of her own volition, seeking, and desire, neither constrained nor forced, (14) without any defect of disease or of anything else.[79] And that in the month of Jumādā I of the year six (15) and thirty and three hundred. Witness is given to these (facts): (16) Būlus, son of Ismaʿīl, gave witness to all that is in this document and wrote his testimony with his own hand. (17) Yūsuf, son of Ismaʿīl, gave witness to the acknowledgment of Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, of all that is in this deed and wrote (18) his testimony with his own hand. God is his sufficiency, and the best of guardians is he.

Two lines appear in the upper left corner:

"(1) This (written) document was certified in the presence of Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd-Allah, and that in the (2) month of Shawwāl[80] of the year (six and?)[81] thirty and three hundred."[82]

[76] Cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 60, where the term *maṯnawiyyah*, مثنوية, is preceded by *taʾawwul*, تاوّل, a term of similar meaning which our scribe here seems to have omitted by mistake at the end of l. 10 where, though there is room for it, we find no traces of it. If we take the omission to be intentional, then we must credit the scribe with the error of repetition for the phrase *wa lā*, ولا. This precaution is taken since all but a few specified conditions or reservations render these contracts illegal (see n. 24 on I, 14).

[77] Note that the pronominal ending here is feminine, although in l. 5 it is masculine.

[78] Cf. l. 2 of this document and note. [79] For these series of terms cf. I, 25–26.

[80] Shawwāl, A.H., 336, falls between April 14–May 13 of A.D. 948, i.e., five months after the initial drafting of the document (see n. 34 on I, 30).

[81] The year date given is thirty and three hundred and so raises the question as to whether this certification refers to the present document or to that of the underscript, which was written in the year 330. Except for this similarity of date, everything else is in favor of its inclusion with the present document: it is written in the same light ink as that used by the witnesses and across clear traces of the underscript, to which, therefore, it could not belong. Thus we are left free to accept a scribal error in the omission of the word "six" in the date group. The earlier document of the underscript consists of ten lines written at right angles to the present one and is legible now only in isolated words—*kurah*, "acknowledgment," "receipt," "all," and "sum total of"—which, together with the date, indicate that the document was a deed of sale executed some six years previous to the present one.

[82] Professor Grohmann's *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, Vol. I (Cairo, 1934), reached us after this manuscript had gone to press. The wealth of documents at his disposal, and the full and scholarly way in which he has treated them, make his publication, like the rest of his work on Arabic papyri, indispensable to the Arabist. I regret that it did not reach us earlier, for in several instances it would have made my path much easier.

Professor Grohmann on his p. 152 has thrown some light on the formula سفله وعلوه which helps to clear the question raised in connection with the word علوه in III, 5. On the other hand, I trust that the fact that the sh of Bursh is clearly pointed with three dots in II, 2-3, together with the solution suggested in n. 39, will help to clear the question he has raised (p. 151) regarding the name Buljusūḳ-Bursh.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE FAYYŪM MONASTERIES

The history of Egyptian monasticism has an enduring fascination for the many who are interested in early Christianity, both doctrinal and institutional. Not only has the subject as a whole received expert attention at the hands of many workers, but specific monasteries, or groups of them, have likewise been the object of much interest and labor for scholars of both the Old and the New World. To the works on the monasteries of the city of St. Menas, Bawīt, Tabennēse, and Thebes there has recently been added a monumental work by Evelyn-White on the most famous of all Egyptian monastic groups—the monasteries of Nitria and Scetis.[1] Our interest centers for the time being on yet another group of monasteries, frequently met with, but almost as frequently ignored except for a passing mention—the monasteries of the Fayyūm.

There is every reason to believe that Christianity found its way into the Fayyūm region if not simultaneously with, then shortly after, its entrance into the Delta or Lower Egypt. The Fayyūm of the first centuries of our era was at the height of prosperity, and frequency of contact between it and both Lower and Upper Egypt is

[1] See Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wādi 'n Natrûn* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, "Publications," Vols. II, VII, VIII [New York, 1926, 1932–33]).

widely evidenced in both the Latin and Greek sources and the later Coptic and Arabic accounts.

Taking area and population into consideration, there would be, to begin with, fewer Christians and therefore fewer anchorites and hermits in the Fayyūm than in the much larger and equally thickly populated Delta or along the borders of the Nile. This may be one reason why the Coptic saints and martyrs from these latter regions so far outnumber those from the Fayyūm.[2] Another reason may prove to be that documents from and about the Fayyūm monasteries have not yet come to light, either by purchase or by excavations. Such source material may now be completely lost to us by reason of the economic decline of the Fayyūm in the Middle Ages, which, reacting on the monasteries, doubtless caused some of them to die a slow natural death, while the reputed prosperity and wealth of a few made them victims of violent robberies and fatal attacks. Then, too, the Fayyūm has not had its share of Western travelers, whose curious and observant eyes and rescuing hands might have given us more and richer evidence of the monastic units of the region. These may be some of the reasons why the history of the churches and monasteries of the Fayyūm still remains to be written. If they are indeed the only reasons, then that history may never be written. But the situation does not seem so hopeless. For even the published materials that might be of help have not been investigated, let alone exhausted, while unpublished manuscripts, both Coptic and Arabic, scattered in several libraries and museums await the coming of workers. This preliminary sketch, inadequate as it must perforce be, is offered as a possible bait for both workers and patrons who would be interested in such a project.

But to return to our present problem. So much has already been written on early Christianity in Egypt that it is hardly necessary, in a sketch like this, to go into even an outline of it. Suffice it to say that it is safe to assume that in the first two centuries of our era Christian practices and conditions in the Fayyūm were similar to those existing in the rest of Egypt. Our available sources give no specific data on the subject for the Fayyūm of that period. Parallelisms, however, of existing conditions are frequently met with from the third

[2] Cf. Amélineau, *Les actes des martyrs de l'église copte* (Paris, 1890), p. 3.

century on, beginning with the episcopate of Nepos,[3] bishop of the Fayyūm in the first half of the third century, who was an outstanding millennialist and a writer whose psalmody was still the delight of many in the days of Eusebius. Our next definite materials deal with the well-known Decian persecution of the Christians in A.D. 250. The Fayyūm itself has yielded us several papyrus documents mentioning that time, especially in connection with the offering of the imperial sacrifice.[4] The Diocletian persecution claimed its martyrs from the Fayyūm as from the other regions, and ancient records have left us the names of a few.[5] Among these are Theophilus and his wife Patricia, from the city of Fayyūm, both of whom suffered martyrdom at the hands of Antihipoṭos, the governor, for refusal to offer sacrifices in the temple of Jupiter.[6] Another Christian couple, Bartholomew and his wife, also natives of the city of Fayyūm, were buried alive by the (same?) governor.[7]

Two monks who were martyred in Diocletian's time stand out. The first was Abba Nahraw[8] of the city of Bawīt in the Fayyūm.[9] Leaving his pupil in the Fayyūm, he sought martyrdom in far-away Antioch, where he is supposed to have had an interview with Diocletian himself, who personally urged him to renounce his faith and offer sacrifices to the idols. His refusal brought torture and death, but his courageous martyrdom caused six thousand people (so the Coptic!) to turn Christians, saying: "There is no God but Jesus Christ, the God of Nah-

[3] Cf. Alfred Baudrillart *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, IV (Paris, 1930), 760–62; Eusebius *Church History* vii. 24 ("A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church," 2d ser., ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, I [New York, 1904], 308 f.).

[4] Cf. Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme," *Patrologia Orientalis* (hereafter called *PO*), IV (1908), 112 ff., and XVIII (1924), 341–98, esp. chap. i (pp. 354 ff.).

[5] Two martyrs of the Fayyūm, Abba Stephen (Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* [Cambridge, 1928], II, 563 f.) and Abba Helias or Elias (*Synaxarium Alexandrinum* ["Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium," *Scriptores Arabici*, 3. ser., t. XVIII–XIX], I, 329–32; *PO*, III, 436 ff.), are mentioned whose dates cannot be ascertained, though it is more than likely that they belong in the third to the fourth century. For yet another Fayyūm martyr, Macarius, see Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte* . . . . (Paris, 1811), I, 391. A monk, Michael of Ḳalamūn, otherwise unidentified, is mentioned in Budge, II, 371.

[6] Budge, I, 263 f.; *Syn. Alex.*, I, 68; *PO*, I, 348; Amélineau, *Actes*, p. 67.

[7] Budge, I, 167.

[8] Budge, I, 213 f.; *Syn. Alex.*, I, 93; *PO*, III, 257 f.; Walter Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden* ("Orientalia Christiana Analecta," No. 102 [Roma, 1935]), pp. 3 ff.

[9] Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Egypte à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1893), pp. 3–5.

raw."[10] His body was brought back to his home city in the Fayyūm by a certain Julius who was then in Antioch.

The second monk was Abba Kāw,[11] who dared to defy Cilicianus with anathemas for his persecution of the Christians. Cilicianus, taking pity on the monk's old age, overlooked this at first and urged Abba Kāw to sacrifice to his favorite idol of Apollo and go free. Instead the monk broke the idol in two, which caused the enraged Cilicianus to give orders for his torture. He was bound and taken to the Christian center, the city of Bahnasa, and then imprisoned at Anṣanā (Antinoë), where he was eventually executed, his martyrdom being shared by some five to eight hundred of the company of the saints. His body was brought back to his cell near his native city of Bimāy,[12] and a church was erected over it in his honor.

The story of Panine and Panaw,[13] of the days of Diocletian and Maximianus, is another that has its setting, in part at least, in the Fayyūm. Panine, the son of a priest whose home was in Terot Saraban, was sent to his maternal uncles at Anṣanā (Antinoë) to be educated. The youth soon outdid his fellow-pupils in the school and so incurred their hatred and jealousy, to the extent that his monitor, envious of his excellent penmanship, twisted and broke several of his fingers. Only one fellow-pupil, Panaw, befriended the unhappy youth, and together the two went back to Panine's home town. They soon became inseparable, developing a David-Jonathan friendship based on their common piety and great desire for saintliness. Young and ignorant of the northern country, they nevertheless set out in that direction, seeking "the three saints of the desert." On the way they were met by the archangel Michael, in clerical disguise, who guided them to the three saints—Timothy, Theophilus, and Christodorus—of the mountain of Ḳalamūn in the Fayyūm. Here they stayed (eight months or three years?) until their training for the monastic life was completed, after which they returned southward to Psoi in the district of Akhmīm. They went to the near-by mountain of Ebot, where they

[10] Till, p. 10.

[11] Budge, II, 559; *Syn. Alex.*, I, 432–35; *PO*, XI, 736–42; Amélineau, *Actes*, pp. 69–71.

[12] Bimāy was not far from the city of Fayyūm; cf. Amélineau, *Géog.*, p. 101. It must have been to the south near the mountains, where later the monastery of Naḳlūn was located, for we find the body of Abba Kāw reported as being in the monastery of Naḳlūn (Budge, II, 559).

[13] Till, pp. 55 ff.; *PO*, III, 388 ff.; *Syn. Alex.*, I, 316–19.

found a company of monks and pilgrims worshiping in a church not large enough to hold them. It was decided to build a new and larger church, and Panine was commissioned to seek out Abba Psoti, bishop of Akhmīm, who had fled from persecution and was in hiding, to come and consecrate the new church—a mission in which he was successful. Panine and Panaw were then consecrated by this same bishop, the one as priest and the other as deacon. Though moving about freely in the Thebaid, their headquarters seem to have been the mountain of Ebot, where they stayed for a "long time." Eventually they were martyred at Edfu, as had been prophesied by Timothy of Ḳalamūn, in the time of Maximianus, who was persecuting the Christians throughout Egypt.

These stories are significant in that they point to the deserts of the Fayyūm in general, and to the mountain of Ḳalamūn in particular, as the home of hermits and of small groups of monks from as early as the second half of the third century,[14] since Abba Kāw, of the older of the two generations represented, is already an aged man in 303, the year of Diocletian's persecutions. The stories further illustrate the constant movement of these earlier devotees between the Fayyūm and Syria as well as both Upper and Lower Egypt.

It was partly due to the combination of the natural desire for asceticism and the equally natural impulse to flee persecution that Christian monasticism originated and spread in Egypt. The hermits Paul (A.D. 281?–341), Amon (275–337), and Antony (251–356), the last destined to become the father of Christian monasticism, typified the first element, while the persecutions of Decius, Diocletian, and Maximianus drove larger and larger numbers of would-be ascetics farther and farther into the outlying deserts and mountains throughout the country. Thus was created a demand for a more or less grouped, and presently—particularly in the south—an organized, form of monasticism. The immediate tangible results in the north are to be found in the foundation of the monasteries of St. Paul and St. Antony in the Eastern Desert and in the emergence of the monastic communities in Nitria and Scetis southwest of the Delta—all in the first half of the fourth century of our era. The first steps thus having

[14] Though hermits are thus early definitely linked with Ḳalamūn, it does not necessarily follow that *organized monasticism* first located here.

been taken, the turn of the wheel in favor of Christianity and Christian institutions in the days of Constantine (324–37) and of Theodosius I (379–95) made the fourth century primarily one of liberty and prosperity for Christianity—a situation which, in turn, reacted favorably on the growth and prosperity of monasticism.

We should expect, then, to find the Fayyūm monasteries founded about the same time; for the advantages for monastic settlements were fully as good in the Fayyūm as in Nitria and the Wādī Habīb. They were both far enough removed to be free from too much interference from both the civil and the patriarchal authorities at Alexandria. Besides, the Fayyūm provided not only mountains with numerous caves but water in near-by springs and canals, and those features were about all that a monastic unit then needed. On the other hand, the disadvantages of the northern localities were somewhat minimized for the Fayyūm in that the latter was not as easily accessible to marauding expeditions or to factional troops, though, as we shall presently see, it did not escape these entirely.

That some Fayyūm monasteries were indeed founded in this period and received personal encouragement from Antony is evidenced repeatedly. Traveling in the desert regions, establishing and strengthening the monks everywhere, crossing and recrossing the Nile from the Eastern Desert to the Naṭrūn Valley, he had the opportunity to size up the situation in the Fayyūm and envisage its future possibilities. The Arabic version of the Jacobite *Synaxarium* states expressly that when Antony, after twenty years of hermit life, felt the urge to benefit humanity in general and to teach men the fear and worship of God, he went to the Fayyūm and strengthened the brothers that were there and then returned to his monastery.[15] The Ethiopic *Synaxarium* in reporting this incident states: "And he departed to the district of the Fayyūm, and made monks of many of the brethren who were there, and he confirmed them in the Law of God (now there were there many religious houses that were [full of] monks and spiritual fighters)."[16] Evagrius Pontius, writing in 356, gives further evidence of Antony's interest in and direct connection with the Fayyūm, since he tells of an epistle sent by Antony to Arsinoë

[15] *PO*, XI, 663; *Syn. Alex.*, I, 227 f.

[16] Budge, II, 533. The addition is all the more significant since the Ethiopic version is frequently briefer than the others.

(Fayyūm) and its parishes.[17] In all likelihood this epistle must have followed after the personal visit, which in turn must have taken place not long after the emergence from the twenty-year period of asceticism and the foundation of Antony's own monastery in 305.[18] These accounts, taken together, leave us with the fact that monastic communities of the Antonian type were in existence in the Fayyūm in the early years, if not the first decade, of the fourth century.

In the face of these facts it is somewhat tantalizing, to say the least, to find that the foundation of the earliest definitely known and named monastery of the Fayyūm—none other than the Naḳlūn monastery of our Oriental Institute Arabic document No. III—is shrouded in dark mystery, pierced only by the feeble light of a fantastic Coptic Christian tale. This is the "History of Aūr," of which there is both a Coptic[19] and an Arabic[20] version, to the first of which I have unfortunately no direct access. With the Arabic version I have been more fortunate, for Oriental Institute No. A 12063 (Moritz Collection), an Arabic manuscript of the sixteenth century (1552), contains among nineteen homilies and stories the story of Aūr (أور), copied for the priest-monk Gabriel, "chief of the notables and clerks of St. Macarius." The copyists are two monks, Gabriel and Abraham, possibly the same Gabriel and his nephew Abraham who were working in the library of the Syrian monastery of Scetis in 1493.[21] Amélineau has given us a French translation of the story based on the Arabic,[22] and Budge an English one based on the Coptic.[23] Neither of the translators throws any light on the date either of the "events" or of

[17] *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . . . Series Graeca* (hereafter called *PG*), ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66), LX, 981.

[18] See Evelyn-White, Part II, pp. 13 f., for Antony's chronology.

[19] See Budge, *Egyptian Tales and Romances* (London, 1931), pp. 12, 29, and 247–63 (trans. only).

[20] *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. W. M. de Slane (Paris, 1883–95), Nos. 148 (A.D. 1655) and 154 (A.D. 1604–7); Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscripts arabes* (suppl. to the foregoing), Nos. 4796 and 4888; Vansleb, *Nouvelle relation . . . . d'un voyage fait en Egypte* (Paris, 1698), p. 276.

[21] Cf. Evelyn-White, Part II, p. 451, and W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, No. MXXXIII.

[22] *Contes et romans de l'Egypte chrétienne* (Paris, 1888), I, x f. and 109–43.

[23] Budge does not indicate his Coptic source for the story, though from his p. 12 it is clearly not in the British Museum. Information as to its whereabouts would be appreciated.

the author of the story. Abū Ṣāliḥ[24] tells us that the church in this monastery was founded by Aurā (Aūr) in the episcopate of Abba Isaac, whose time he does not specify, though an unsupported note by Evetts (the translator) puts the founding "early in the fourth century." Our study so far does, indeed, point to this early date for the events; and the date of authorship must fall between the fourth and the seventh century or at the latest in the eighth, since it was during that period that Coptic Christian tales and romances took form.[25]

Leaving the questions of date and authorship aside for the moment, let us look into the story itself. Stripped of much of the magic of Abrāshīt and the miracles of Gabriel, who appears throughout as the guardian and guide of Aūr, the story runs thus: Abrāshīt, a much-favored magician in an eastern pagan court, fell in love with the king's daughter, who bore him an illegitimate son whom she named Aūr ("that is to say, 'he who has been conceived secretly and furtively,' or in other words 'the disgrace of his parents' "). For eight years the queen kept the secret of Aūr's birth from the king, but on being questioned then as to the boy's identity she told him the truth. The king was so furious that Abrāshīt thought it best to take his two older sons and the boy Aūr and flee the court to a place of safety. He started out for Jerusalem, but was led (by Gabriel) to change his course for the Fayyūm in Egypt, where the family settled in the mountain of Naḳlūn and grew prosperous practicing the arts of magic. The father died some five months after their arrival, and some time after that the three sons were converted to Christianity (through the miraculous appearances of Mary, Gabriel, and Michael) and began the building of a church in honor of Gabriel (who, together with Mary, chose the site and planned the church). In the meantime the oriental king had been succeeded by his son, who yielded to his mother's request for the return of her grandson Aūr. Aūr was received with great joy at the court, but he was restless now and anxious to get back to his monastery in the Fayyūm. Loaded with gifts and riches, he returned to his mountain. The small church of sun-dried brick was now replaced with a larger and more pretentious one of baked bricks, and this new church was consecrated amid a great gathering of

[24] *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* . . . . . trans. . . . . by B. T. A. Evetts (Oxford, 1895), pp. 205 f.

[25] Cf. Amélineau, *Contes*, I, xliv f.

the people of the Fayyūm by the bishop of that district, Abba Isaac, at the same time that he ordained Aūr as priest. On the death of this bishop the people of the Fayyūm requested the Patriarch (unnamed) at Alexandria to make Aūr their bishop. He granted the request; but Aūr himself seems to have returned to stay at the mountain of Naḳlūn, building "habitations for large numbers of monks, and cells for the brethren, and houses for the use of the people who flocked thither on pilgrimage." As his death drew near, Aūr called to him the anchorite John, one of the monks, and committed his story to him; and it is this John, speaking in the first person, who reports this last event and informs us that he is recording the story of Aūr for the use and benefit of the monks and the brethren.

The name of our chief character, Aūr, deserves some attention. It is but natural to regard it, on first thought, as a variation of Or or Hor and so to connect it with the Egyptian god-name Horus. But monastic literature presents us with no Abba Or or Hor in the Fayyūm of the early centuries, though several are found in other parts of Egypt. Among these is Abba Hor of Nitria,[26] who was visited by Melania and who is said to have died before 390. Little else is known about him except that his main virtue was humility. A second Hor,[27] this time of the Thebaid, has been frequently confused with the first, though he was still alive in 394, when a party of seven touring monks visited him at Lycopolis. This Hor is reported to have moved about, founding several monasteries in the Thebaid. Knowing as little as we do about both of these, it is hardly possible to attempt an identification of either of them with Aūr.

From the story as it stands it is clear that Aūr was not an Egyptian but a stranger from some eastern land. Again, it is but natural to connect the name with the Semitic name Ḥūr,[28] readily found not only in both North and South Arabic[29] but also in the Hebrew[30] and

[26] *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, ed. Cuthbert Butler (Cambridge, 1898–1904), I, 39 f., 177, n. 2; II, 29, 190, n. 17; Evelyn-White, Part II, pp. 52–54.

[27] Sozomenus in *PG*, LXVII, 1370 f.; *Lausiac History of Palladius*, I, 39 f.

[28] Cf. W. F. Albright, "The Canaanite God Ḥaurôn (Ḥôrôn)," *AJSL*, Oct. 1936, pp. 1–12.

[29] Ibn Doreid, *Genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch*, hrsg. von Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1854), p. 228; G. Ryckmans, "Inscriptions sud-arabes," *Museon*, XLVIII (1935), 169.

[30] Gesenius' *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* (17. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1921), under "ʾwr." As Aūr, it might be connected with Ur of the Chaldeans and with the proper names Uri, Uriel, and Uriah; or again it might be connected with *ʾôr*, found also as *ʾôrah*, the latter meaning "light" in Ps. 139:12 and "happiness" in Esther 8:16.

Ethiopic.[31] Again, we may take the name just as it stands in the Arabic version and, by accepting the interpretation given it in the story, limit Aūr's origin to the courts where North Arabic was the common language. It is true that we do not find it as a personal name elsewhere, but this can perhaps be explained by its meaning, for few could be expected to name an illegitimate child "the shame of his parents." If we are to accept the name as Aūr, then Abrāshīt may, indeed, be either a corruption of ʿAbd al-Rashīd, as suggested by both Budge and Crum, or perhaps even a corruption of Abū al-Rashīd.

However, there is the possibility, as Professor Sprengling suggests,[32] that the name may be of Iranian origin, derived from the Persian Hōrmazd, found also in the forms Ōramazd, Ormezd, and Aōrmizd.[33] The name, traveling westward, is to be found as Ormizd in the Armenian, Hormizd or Hormazd in the Syriac, Hurmuz in the Arabic, and Hormisdas or Hormesdes in the Greek.[34] The name is the earlier Persian Ahura Mazda, always compounded in the later literature into one word, but frequently written in the earlier literature as two words, either in succession or separated by other words or phrases in the sentence.[35] Since Ahura, outside of its connection with the god-name, means "lord" or "prince," it would indeed be a suitable name for the son of a Persian princess; and the father's name, Abrāshīt, might then well be a corruption of the Persian Afrasiab, while the Arabic interpretation given for the name can be readily accounted for by some Arab's overzealous love for etymology.

It is clear, then, that regardless of the form of the name, be it Aūr (اور), Ḥōr (حور), or Hōr (هور), the chief character of the story hailed from the East, and any one of the eastern courts of the fourth century could have been the place of his origin. Court magicians were the rule; and neither the story of the birth of an illegitimate child at court nor that of the subsequent flight to a safe distance is

[31] Ernst Trumpp, *Der Kampf Adams. Aethiopischer Text* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische Klasse, "Abhandlungen," Vol. XV, No. 3), p. 168.

[32] I am indebted to Professor Sprengling not only for the suggestion but for the references which follow.

[33] Heinrich F. J. Junker, *The Frahang i Pahlavik* (Heidelberg, 1912), p. 90; cf. Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), pp. 7, 130, 132.

[34] Heinrich Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1897), I, 62, No. 139.

[35] Christian Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904), pp. 294 f.

an uncommon motif. In the Egypt of the third and fourth centuries conversions to Christianity and to monasticism took place on a large scale, and it is not at all strange that Aūr and his brothers should fall under that spell, or even that he should build a church and found a monastery that grows considerably during his own lifetime. Thus the essential facts of the story find a genuine setting in the known conditions of the early fourth century of our era.

No original list of the bishops of the Fayyūm has come to light so far. A list with many gaps is to be found in Baudrillart's *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (IV, 761 f.), in which the Aūr of our story is placed in a gap covering the period from the last quarter of the fifth to the first half of the seventh century; but no reason at all is given for this position. The same list shows other gaps, among them one in the early and one in the late fourth century. Considering the evidence in favor of the presence and growth of monasticism and monasteries in the Fayyūm in the fourth century, it is my belief that the Aūr of our story belongs to one or the other of these two periods, though to which one it is extremely difficult to tell from the list alone, since we have no terminal dates given for any of the bishops listed, but only the dates of some outstanding contemporary person or of some well-known event. The problem is further complicated in that we must find a place not only for Aūr but also for his predecessor in the bishopric, namely Abba Isaac. As the list stands, it begins with Nepos[36] in the first half of the third century, followed by Apollonius, who held the see some time between 265 and 281. There is no way of telling whether his period of office ended within or extended beyond these dates. The next to be listed is Maximianus, one of the four famous Egyptian bishops who visited Constantine in Constantinople[37] shortly after the famous Edict of Nicaea of 325. His term ended some time between that event and 327, when we find his successor, Melas, in the bishop's see. Though not impossible, it is hardly likely that Maximianus was the only bishop in the period of about forty-six years between 281 and 327. Could we not place both Abba Isaac

[36] For the sources used in compiling the list see Baudrillart, *loc. cit.*, in which, however, the volume reference for the source for Apollonius should be corrected from Nov., 1890, to Nov., 1900. See also individual bishops in the same source and in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. Sir Wm. Smith and Henry Wace.

[37] *Syn. Alex.*, II, 184; *PO*, XVII, 590; Budge, IV, 1028 (Maximus).

and Aūr between Apollonius and Maximianus? This would place Aūr early in the fourth century, perhaps in the first decade—the period in which Antony, as we have already seen, was traveling in the Fayyūm, strengthening the brothers in their several monastic houses.

Following Melas there are three bishops in succession: Calosiris I, who died before 341; Silvanus, mentioned in 341; and Andrew, mentioned in 347 and 362, though it is impossible to tell whether one or two Andrews are involved in the long period. Again, it is impossible to tell how far beyond 362 the period really extended, for it is here that the second gap occurs, stretching from 362 to about 444, when Calosiris II was already in office. This gap is larger than the first and therefore gives us more time for the episcopates of both Isaac and Aūr, with the possibility of throwing that of the latter into the early fifth century. But apart from this advantage of more leeway of time—which, however, may be cut shorter with further research leading to a more complete list of bishops—everything so far would make the earlier period preferable. The spread of monasticism in the Fayyūm itself; its geographic location where it was bound to be influenced by the progress of Antonian monasticism east of the Nile and the Nitrian organization to the north; the location of the mountain of Naḳlūn itself, just a short two hours' journey from the city of Fayyūm (the earliest practice of monks and hermits was to keep close to the cities or villages); and the indirect testimony of both Abū Ṣāliḥ and Maḳrīzī, who list the monastery of Naḳlūn first in their accounts of the Fayyūm monasteries—all these point to the earlier date.

This brings us back again to the author of the story and his time. We have already pointed out that the story itself mentioned a certain monk named John as the author; since he was contemporary with Aūr, the story, if we are correct so far, must have been written in the fourth century. But is the story, as we have it now, in the form in which John left it, or has it been retouched by a later hand? Amélineau states, though without citing the documents, that Coptic manuscripts ascribe the authorship to an Isaac, bishop of the Fayyūm.[38] At any rate, this could hardly be the Bishop Isaac of the story itself, since he died before Aūr, who then succeeded him. The bishops' list

[38] *Contes*, I, xxxiii.

already referred to has no bishop named Isaac, though one may have come in the gap from 484 to 645 or in that from about 768 to 1078. The author of the *Life* of the more famous Samuel of Ḳalamūn was a certain Abba Isaac,[39] abbot of that same monastery toward the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century; but he does not seem ever to have been a bishop. All that we can say definitely is that the story, as we have it now, was written before the days of Abū Ṣāliḥ.

If we are to accept the fourth century origin (early or late) of the monastery of Naḳlūn, we must assign to it some of the famed growth of monasticism in the Fayyūm in the days of Serapion, the abbot of all the monasteries in the region of Arsinoë (Fayyūm) and director of ten thousand monks, whose needs he supplied with great care and whose industry helped him practically to banish pauperism in the district and to send gifts to the needy in Alexandria.[40] Petronius, who visited him in 394 (or between 385 and 394), bears personal testimony to these facts.[41]

The story of Aūr itself contains a "prophecy" which throws some light on the early history of the monastery of Naḳlūn. We quote from Budge's translation (*Egyptian Tales . . . .*, p. 261); Gabriel is speaking!

> Peace be to thee, O Aur, friend of God! I testify that I am pleased with thy noble work . . . . . But I say unto thee, this place is a desert, and those who come hither will wish for what is necessary to satisfy their needs. Send none away, neither rich nor poor . . . . . Many marvellous things shall be performed in this church, and its fame shall be noised abroad in all the countries of the earth. . . . . This mountain shall prosper, and shall become as crowded as a dovecot by reason of the immense multitudes of people who shall come to visit it from all countries of the earth; and their prayers shall mount up to God.

How much of this came to pass in the late fourth century it is difficult to tell, for the subsequent history of the monastery through several centuries fulfils in a general way such a prophecy.

[39] *Syn. Alex.*, I, 153 ff.: *PO*, III, 443. Budge (III, 782) merely mentions "Isaac the abbot"; cf. Paul van Cauwenbergh, *Etude sur les moines d'Egypte* (Paris, 1914), pp. 46 f.

[40] Hieronymus, *The Histories of the Monks*, chap. xxix, in *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers*, ed. Budge (London, 1907), I, 380.

[41] Cf. *Dict. of Christian Biography*, IV, 613, "Serapion," No. 10.

Even allowing for exaggeration of numbers, there is ample evidence that large monastic communities actually existed throughout Egypt. Butler, in writing of this and the following centuries, says:

> The number of monks and monasteries in Upper Egypt [he uses the term to cover all Egypt except the Delta] from the fourth century onwards, seems to have been prodigious. Rufinus relates that in the region about Arsinoë he found ten thousand monks: at Oxyrynchus the bishop estimated his monks at ten thousand, and his nuns at twenty thousand, while the city itself contained no less than twelve churches. Pagan temples and buildings had been turned to monastic uses: the hermitages outnumbered the dwelling houses: in fact the land 'so swarmed with monks, that their chaunts and hymns by day and by night made the whole country one church of God.' . . . . But, with all due allowance for oriental weakness in arithmetic, it is certain that every town of importance along the valley of the Nile had its churches and friars, while many parts both of the country and the desert were occupied by vast monastic settlements.[42]

The fifth century yields but one reference to the Fayyūm monasteries, but it is a significant one. In about 444 the Patriarch Cyril (412–44) sent to Calosiris II,[43] bishop of the Fayyūm, a letter to be read in all the monasteries of his diocese, especially in one that stood on a very desolate mountain called Ḳalamūn, against anthropomorphism and against confounding idleness with sanctity. The same bishop, in Ephesus in 449, declared that he had always maintained communion with Eutyches. The Fayyūm, then, as it was natural to expect, from the days of Nepos on took part in and was influenced by the religious controversies of the day.[44] This fact was reflected in the monasteries, where in the Fayyūm as in the Nitrian and other groups monks of "heretical" tendencies were to be found with the "orthodox." For us the main significance of Cyril's Epistle 83 lies in its reference to a monastery at Ḳalamūn. We have already seen how this mountain was visited by Panine and Panaw about A.D. 300, but hitherto the existence of a monastery of Ḳalamūn has always been linked with the times of Samuel of Ḳalamūn. Now we know definitely that, though Samuel founded a monastery there, it was not the first monastery at Ḳalamūn. We find it clearly stated in his biography

[42] Alfred J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches* (Oxford, 1884), I, 341 f.

[43] *Dict. of Christian Biography*, I, 393; *PG*, LXXVI, 1066 ff.

[44] For the presence of the heresy of Hierax and that of Origen among monks of the Fayyūm see Evelyn-White, Part II, pp. 117, 127.

that when he first went to Ḳalamūn he occupied a small deserted church, whence he was taken captive, and that when he returned it was to this church that he came and to the cells surrounding it.[45]

How soon after 444 this first monastery of Ḳalamūn was abandoned we cannot at present tell. Perhaps it suffered from the barbarian invasions of that same year, when the third sack of Scetis took place,[46] and perhaps its misfortunes came about 570, when the fourth sack of Scetis occurred.[47] Samuel's *Life*, however, tells us that when he first went to Ḳalamūn it had been abandoned for a "long time," the church being then invaded by sand.[48] From 444 on we have no mention of either Naḳlūn or Ḳalamūn until the coming of Samuel and the linking together of these two ancient monasteries. Among the various factors which must have contributed to this long silence the barbarian invasions must be reckoned. The Mazican invasions[49] from the Libyan Desert had already not only penetrated the Nitrian settlements, which were sacked no less than thrice in the first half of the fifth century (407, 434, 444), but had likewise worked their way into the valley of the Nile, and in all probability also into the Fayyūm, as they certainly did when Samuel of Ḳalamūn was carried into a three years' captivity in about 635. Religious controversies and persecutions, foreign invasions, and beginning economic decline, which characterize the history of the whole of Egypt of the Byzantine period, doubtless played their part in the Fayyūm.

Cauwenbergh's study,[50] which limits itself to this period (451–640), details these conditions. In combining the Scetis and the Fayyūm groups[51] he brings out their close connection in general. So far as the

[45] Cauwenbergh, pp. 109 f., 114 f. The *Ethiopic Synaxarium* (Budge, II, 341) confuses Samuel's stay at Naḳlūn with his stay at Ḳalamūn, but straightens out the story of his being carried away from the church in the desert of Ḳalamūn, to which he returned from his captivity. *Syn. Alex.* (I, 142) and *PO* (III, 406–8) do not mention Naḳlūn, but only Ḳalamūn—all excusable since their accounts are brief and since Ḳalamūn and Naḳlūn are not really far from each other. Again, the Arabic sources give Ḳalamūn as the monastery from which Samuel was chased by Cyrus; Coptic sources give it as Naḳlūn; Ethiopic sources mix the two. Amélineau also at first confused the two by identifying them with each other; cf. *Journal asiatique*, Nov.–Dec., 1888, p. 398.

[46] Evelyn-White, Part II, p. 164.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 249 f.

[48] Cauwenbergh, p. 109.

[49] Evelyn-White, Part II, pp. 151–53.

[50] *Etude sur les moines d'Egypte.*

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 81 ff.

Fayyūm proper is concerned, he leaves untouched the earlier part of the period, beginning only with the time of Samuel. He thus overlooks the mention of the first monastery of Ḳalamūn and the general condition of the monasteries in the episcopate of Calosiris II, which extended beyond 449. He overlooks, also, the further testimony to the general monastic trends in the early sixth century afforded by two Greek papyri from the Fayyūm dated 512 and 513.[52] In each document a certain Eulogius, formerly a Meletian monk but now turned orthodox (monophysite), is selling a monastery to other Meletians. The Meletians had been prominent enough in the Fayyūm to have one of their members a bishop of that province in 327.[53] These documents show that the sect still held its own in the province and in the country as a whole. Denying that they were heretics and remaining dissidents, some of them were to be found in monasteries and some in the deserts until the patriarchate of Michael I (744–68). The monasteries which Eulogius was selling were located in Mount Labla in the district of Arsinoë (i.e., around the city of Fayyūm) in the province of Arcadia (Fayyūm). Mount Labla itself was situated on the outskirts of the city of Fayyūm. The boundaries of the first monastery sold are given as follows: to the south, the mountain and the monastery of the priest Andrew; to the north, the monastery of the priest Naharaos; to the east, the mountain; and to the west, the public road passing by the monastery of Peter the Deacon. The boundaries of the second monastery were as follows: to the south, an abandoned monastery; to the north, the monastery of the priest Naharaos; to the east, the mountain (as well as the passage to and from the same monastery); to the west, the public road passing by the monastery of Peter the Deacon. We have here three named monasteries, those of Andrew, Naharaos, and Peter, and three unnamed ones, the abandoned one and the two being sold. A seventh monastery in this group is one specified as the monastery of Labla, whose monks are buying the property from Eulogius. An eighth monastery, that of orthodox Macrouphyon, for which Eulogius left the Meletian Labla, is also described as on the outskirts of the city of Fayyūm. But, since we

[52] *Revue des études grecques*, III (1890), 131–44; H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924), p. 42.

[53] Baudrillart, *Dict.*, IV, 761; *PG*, XXV, 375.

have no way of telling in which directions Labla and Macrouphyon lay, we have no way of telling their locations relative to each other.

How large were these monasteries, and how were the seven situated in Mount Labla related to one another? Was the monastery of Labla itself the leading one (its purchase of the other two may be indicative of prosperous growth), and had it any organic relationship with the three others named? Did it eventually purchase the abandoned monastery too? These are questions that we cannot now answer definitely but that are likely to repay looking into. It is hardly possible that seven monasteries of any pretentious size would locate on a single mountain so close to the city. The size of the two monasteries sold is perhaps indicative of that of the others. The first of these is described as a property consisting of the entire monastery with all its cells, together with all the extent of land situated in front of these cells; the second is specified only as the entire monastery with all its cells. This suggests the early *laura* type, that is, unwalled monasteries consisting only of groups or rows of cells for hermit monks.

Such, then, was the general monastic situation in the Fayyūm from the fourth to the sixth century. Our sources show that, from about the middle of the seventh century on, the influence and the fame of the monastery of Ḳalamūn begin first to approach and then to surpass that of Naḳlūn. It is therefore our purpose to sketch here the history of Ḳalamūn, which at this point is linked with the life of its most famous abbot—the most famous in the whole Fayyūm—Samuel of Ḳalamūn. Cauwenbergh has given us a full account of his monastic career,[54] and we need touch here only the high points. Born between 598 and 603, Samuel lived to the good age of ninety-eight years. He was eighteen when he joined the monastic settlement of Abba Macarius at Scetis, where he remained for sixteen years, leaving it under the violent pressure of the persecution by Cyrus in the decade 631–41, specifically for his opposition to the Chalcedonian doctrines and his refusal to subscribe to the *Tome* of Leo. He turned his face to the south, accompanied by four disciples, to the monastery of Naḳlūn in the Fayyūm, where he stayed for three and one-half years, ap-

[54] *Op. cit.*, pp. 46–50 and 88–122. Cf. *Syn. Alex.*, I, 141–43; *PO*, III, 405–8; Evelyn-White, Part II, pp. 252–55. See also Amélineau in *Journal asiatique*, Nov.-Dec., 1888, pp. 261–410, and in Mission archéologique française au Caire, *Mémoires*, IV (1888), 516–20, 770–89.

parently exerting his influence on its inmates, for on the approach of Cyrus to Naḳlūn he persuaded the two hundred lay members and the one hundred twenty monks to flee (to the mountains) and hide. Cyrus' wrath on reaching the deserted monastery knew no bounds. Returning to the Fayyūm he ordered Samuel brought before him, submitted him to severe questioning, and was about to have him publicly flogged when the civic authorities saved him. He was, however, driven out of his monastery (Naḳlūn), going to that of Takinash,[55] where he stayed but six months. He was carried into a three years' captivity by the barbarian Mazices, who invaded the valley of Ḳalamūn whither he had gone to live in a small abandoned (in 444?) church with cells attached. Set at liberty in return for the (miraculous) healing of his captor's wife, he returned to his valley, summoned his four disciples, and set about the establishment of his monastery. Some two years later the group consisted of forty-one monks, fourteen of whom had come from the neighboring monastery of Naḳlūn and five more from the monastery of Takinash, while seventeen were new recruits. The new community won the favor of the people, who contributed freely toward its support. George, bishop of Ḳais, visited Samuel, who healed him of a grievous disease, in return for which Ḳais sent rich gifts of provisions and some livestock for the use of the monastery. Presently there were sufficient funds to build a new church, which was consecrated by Joseph, bishop of the Fayyūm. Fifty-seven years of Samuel's life were spent here, the fame of his monastery growing the while as his disciples increased to one hundred twenty monks at his death. One of these, Stephen, was elected bishop of Pemdje (ancient Oxyrhynchus, modern Bahnasa),[56] in or near which city the monastery of Takinash was situated. Samuel's powers of spiritual and administrative leadership earned for him a place among monastic stars of the first magnitude (Basil, Gregory, Severus, Antony, Macarius, Pachomius, and Shenūte),[57] his reputation helping to keep alive the fame of his monastery so that it rivaled and sur-

[55] Cauwenbergh, p. 105, n. 3. W. E. Crum (*Coptic Manuscripts Brought from the Fayyum* [London, 1893], No. XLV [see note, p. 67]) places it in or near the Fayyūm; Amélineau (*Géog.*, p. 121) places it in the province of Bahnasa.

[56] Cauwenbergh, p. 117.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

passed that of the earlier monastery of Naḳlūn. Through the centuries that followed, at first both, then now one, now the other, of these two ancient monasteries of the Fayyūm come in for their share of attention at the hands of writers and travelers.

The mountain of Ḳalamūn[58] has been located in the southwest of the Fayyūm province; it is identified by Maḳrīzī with the mountain of al-Ġharaḳ.[59] The identification fits in very well with information supplied by Abū Ṣāliḥ, who mentions that the mountain of Ḳalamūn lay opposite that of Rayyān. Further information, due mainly to Western travelers in the Fayyūm within the last century, has led to the identification of the Ḳalamūn region with the present Wādī Mawāliḥ(?) or "Salt Valley,"[60] south of the better-known Wādī Rayyān. The monastery itself is located in the northern part of this wadi, some thirty-four kilometers southwest of Ṭalīt, according to Schweinfurth,[61] whose map is the only one that I know of that actually locates both Ḳalamūn and Naḳlūn (marked as "Dēr Abu-schaschab" instead of "Dair al-Khashab"; see below). From the map Ḳalamūn is seen to be about fifty kilometers southwest of Naḳlūn. This latter was situated near Ṭārif al-Fayyūm at the western foot of Gabal Sidmant, some two hours' travel by horse from the city of Fayyūm.

The first mention we have of Ḳalamūn after the time of Samuel seems to be that of the sacking of the monastery and the church at the hands of the Arabs. When this took place it is difficult to tell. The only account I know of it is to be found in the fourth miracle of St. Ptolemy, the writing of which is assigned to the eighth century at the latest by Nau.[62] The text of this miracle gives but two hints

[58] There seem to be several Ḳalamūns, and some of these have been sometimes confused. Besides Samuel's monastery of Ḳalamūn there was another in Palestine near the Jordan and a third fifteen miles south of Alexandria. The name was applied by early Christian writers to sites in Sinai and near Salonika also, and it still designates a village in the oasis of al-Dākhlah. The name is Greek in origin, meaning "reed bed," the reeds being papyrus, from which were made reed pens, the familiar κάλαμος, from which word we have Arabic *ḳalam*. See Cauwenbergh, pp. 110 f., and H. E. Winlock, *Ed Dākhleh Oasis* (New York, 1936), pp. 37–39 and Pl. I.

[59] See E. Quatremère, *Observations sur quelques points de la géographie de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1812), pp. 27 f., who assumes the mountain to be west of the lake of al-Ġharaḳ.

[60] H. Munier *et al.*, "Notes sur le Ouady Mouellah," in Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte, *Bulletin*, XVIII (1932), 47 ff.

[61] "Reise in das Depressionsgebiet im Umkreise des Fajûm im Januar 1886," in Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, *Zeitschrift*, XXI (1886), 96–149, esp. pp. 108–15, and map.

[62] *PO*, V, 699, with French trans. by Leroy on pp. 784–86.

of the time element, the first in the introductory sentence, which reads:

> At the time when the Muslims conquered these territories and plundered many towns in the Fayyūm they departed and took with them captives from many settlements. Now while they were so doing they went astray. Some from among them sought the way and kept wandering in a daze till they came to the mountain of Ḳalamūn. There they took captive a large number of people from that holy church and turned out many of the brothers that were in the monastery. Then they went to Dair al-Dhakhil. . . . .

The invaders were headed south. When they reached the church of Ptolemy at Ashnīn, Ptolemy, so the story goes, appeared in person and drove them away. They were so overawed that they urged one another to return all the captives and plunder they had taken on their expedition. When this had been done, the people came and took their liberated children, but presented all the plundered goods to the church of St. Ptolemy. Then Epiphanius, bishop of Ṭaḥā, returned to the church of the monastery of Ḳalamūn all the silver and gold vessels that had been taken from it. This Epiphanius, bishop of Ṭaḥā, I am unable to locate. If these events really belong to the period of the Muslim conquest, they must be connected with the invasion of the Fayyūm in 640 by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣī.[63] But this would place us in Samuel's own time and too close to the foundation of his new church. Then, too, we are told that, in accordance with a promise of the Virgin Mary given to Samuel on his return from captivity, the monastery was not molested again (in his lifetime?).[64] Again, the incident may refer to the time of the advance of Marwān II into the Fayyūm in 750; but we have no definite information. At any rate, it is sure that Marwān himself did not penetrate so far southwest in the Fayyūm, though a company of his defeated and fleeing soldiers may have wandered that far. The second century of Islam (eighth century after Christ) saw many religious disturbances resulting in open rebellion, as in A.H. 107/A.D. 725, 121/739, 132/750, 135/752, 150/767, 156/773;[65] and the event reported may have occurred at any of these dates, preferably the first if one is to put faith in the statement that the sack was early in the times of the Arabs. To connect it with the

[63] Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 218–25.

[64] Cauwenbergh, p. 114.

[65] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II. 994.

first Arab sack of Scetis (fifth sack in the history of the monasteries), which took place about A.D. 817,[66] is to ignore this statement that the Ḳalamūn invasion took place in the time of the Arab conquest. On the other hand, the story of Abba Isaac of Ḳalamūn and of his famous disciple Mīṣāʾīl[67] certainly gives evidence of an invasion which must have occurred in the late eighth or early ninth century. It tells of a large number of soldiers led by the governor coming to the monasteries, where much grain was stored. Their object seems to have been to confiscate these supplies. They were prevented from doing this through the intervention of the saintly Mīṣāʾīl and the miraculous appearance of wandering ascetics who drove away the invaders. Is it not likely that Abba Isaac built the church in honor of Samuel after this (or a similar) invasion in his day? The story of Mīṣāʾīl tells us further that his large inheritance was handed over by Athanasius, bishop of Mīṣāʾīl's home province (not named, but not the Fayyūm), to Abba Isaac, who built with it a church in honor of Mīṣāʾīl. From the story it is not clear where this church was built—whether it was at Ḳalamūn or in Mīṣāʾīl's home town.

There seems to be a gap in the sources, so far as Ḳalamūn is concerned, from the time of Abba Isaac to that of Abū Ṣāliḥ, that is, from the ninth to the eleventh century.[68] The lost book of the monasteries by al-Shābushtī (d. 388 or 390/998 or 1000) must have contained some valuable information, part of which is probably reflected in the accounts of Abū Ṣāliḥ and Maḳrīzī. Abū Ṣāliḥ[69] gives the fullest account of the monastery as it was in A.D. 1178. The account is too well known to be quoted here in full. Briefly, he tells us of a walled monastery inclosing flourishing gardens, having twelve churches (some of them chapels?), four large towers (or keeps), and a high lookout whence approaching visitors (friendly or hostile) could be seen and so prepared for; that the monastery possessed land in several districts of Upper Egypt and sixteen feddans at Shubrā (which Shubrā?), salt marshes from which it received nearly 3,000 ardebs of salt, and a

[66] Evelyn-White, Part II, pp. 297 f.

[67] *Syn. Alex.*, I, 153–56; *PO*, III, 443–48.

[68] The monastery of Ḳalamūn is mentioned in a marriage contract of A.H. 448 (A.D. 1056; cf. A. Grohmann, "Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin," in *Der Islam*, XXII (1934/35), 68.

[69] Pp. 206–8 and references there cited

quantity of dates.[70] The monastery then had one hundred and thirty monks.[71] Yāḳūt (575–626/1179–1229) merely mentions the monastery, stating that it was famous and well known.[72] ʿUthmān ibn al-Nāblusī (about 643/1245) merely lists it among the thirteen Fayyūm monasteries mentioned by him.[73] Our next significant mention is the account of al-Maḳrīzī[74] (d. 1442), from which it is clear that the monastery was in his day already on the decline, as, indeed, was to be expected. According to al-Maḳrīzī it was still walled and possessed its gardens, but had only two instead of four towers; and nothing is said of its twelve churches or its high lookout. Two wells, one within and one without the walls, are mentioned. The monastery still profited from the salt marshes it owned, but neither its revenue nor the number of monks dwelling in it is mentioned.

The next evidence we have of the fame (if not of the prosperity) of the monastery is in the honor paid to its two leading figures, the abbot Samuel and Abba Mīṣāʾīl, by including them in a painting done on a heroic scale for the chapel of al-Suwwāḥ (the Wanderers or Hermits) of the monastery of Abba Macarius in Wādī Habīb. This polychrome painting shows nine figures, which represent the nine famous wanderers to whom the chapel was dedicated, the first—from right to left—being our Samuel, and the eighth Mīṣāʾīl. It is the work of an Abyssinian priest, Teklas, done in A.D. 1517, in the patriarchate of Abba John XIII (1482–1524), so that the blessing of these wanderers "might descend, and that the monastery might be protected and built up by their prayers and supplications."[75]

From that day to very nearly our own time both Eastern and Western writers and travelers have added little to our knowledge of this once so famous monastery. Vansleb, Pococke, the *Description de l'Egypte* by Napoleon's scientists, Cailliaud, Wilkinson, and Curzon do not so much as mention it; Amélineau, Quatremère, Butler, and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak draw their information from Abū Ṣāliḥ and

[70] Quatremère (*Mémoires*, I, 474) gives 3,200 ardebs of salt and 200 ardebs of dates.

[71] Quatremère (*op. cit.*, p. 475) places the figure at 200 monks.

[72] *Dictionary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 687.

[73] The full work is not available to me. Cf. Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte, *Bulletin*, V, No. 5 (1899), pp. 253–59 and 277; also *BIFAO*, I, 72.

[74] *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 505, and English trans. in Abū Ṣaliḥ, ed. Butler, p. 314.

[75] Evelyn-White, Part III (1933), pp. 68–71 and Pl. XIII.

Maḳrīzī. Most of the nineteenth century travelers that do mention it report it as in ruins. Belzoni, who passed through the region in 1819, has this to say of it:

In this place [El Moele] I found the ruins of a small ancient village, and the remains of a very large Christian church and convent. Some of the paintings on the wall are very finely preserved, particularly the figures of the twelve apostles on the top of a niche, over an altar; the gold is still to be seen in several parts, and their faces are well preserved. This place is situated at the end of a long tract of land, which had been cultivated in former times, but is now left for want of water.[76]

Linant de Bellfonds indicated, in 1854, a "Wadée Moleh, couvent ruiné."[77] Schweinfurth, who explored the region in 1886, also reports it as "die Klosterruine in Moëleh";[78] but though he locates the place correctly, as we have already seen, he neither names it nor gives any further information as to the state of its preservation. Beadnell, in his description of a survey of the region in 1899,[79] is the first to report signs of a recent revival of the monastery. He writes:

Close to the north end of the valley, and about 33 kilometres from El Gayat, lie the ruins known as Der el Galamûn bil Muêla. At the time of our visit a new square stone building was in course of erection and five or six persons were inhabiting the place. There are several small palms scattered about to the south of the monastery and an excellent running spring of clear water five hundred paces to the south-west. A new well is being sunk within the premises.

Smolenski, who paid the monastery a one day's visit in 1908,[80] reports the new building to be a simple and unadorned one. Within an inclosure the ruins of the older structures, especially of the ancient church with its limestone and marble columns and immense and beautiful capitals, are still to be seen; the ruined walls still show traces of old paintings, now hardly recognizable. During building operations the monks had found several Coptic inscriptions, unfortunately nearly illegible, and used them in constructing the inclosing wall; also some fragments of art, including two interesting reliefs of a lion, were

[76] *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries . . . . in Egypt and Nubia* (London, 1820), p. 433.

[77] Munier, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[78] *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

[79] *The Topography and Geology of the Fayum Province of Egypt* (Cairo, 1905), pp. 20 f.

[80] "Le couvent copte de Saint-Samuel à Galamoun," in Service des antiquités de l'Egypte, *Annales*, IX (1908), 204–7.

found. Smolenski suspects that the monks did not show him their treasures, though by chance he did get to see some fragments of Coptic manuscripts. The abbot of the monastery, Ibrahim, told him he had sent all the ancient books to a certain Shaikh Muḥammad at Ghayāḍah, near Gamhūd. Smolenski adds (cautiously, because the information is based only on the authority of his servant) that the monastery contains the relics of Samuel.

In the information supplied a few years later to Somers Clarke[81] concerning the monasteries of Egypt, Ḳalamūn is listed as "Dêr Amba Samouil," one of the eight monasteries left in Egypt and the only one in the modern district of Fayyūm, the eight monasteries altogether having from three hundred and fifty to four hundred monks. Recently Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, attempted to visit the monastery but on account of the unwillingness of his guides was prevented from reaching his goal. However, he expressed the hope of making a second attempt later.[82] We have no information that this hope was realized. Strothmann informs us that the present Ḳalamūn, now named "Deir Samūīl," is the poorest of the monasteries, with but four monks, and is hardly recognized officially.[83]

The latest incidental reports of the monastery come from Munier, Hug, and Azadian,[84] who together visited the region in January, 1932, and from Jean Cuvillier.[85] They tell of no new improvement in the monastery itself, but the wide interest shown in the valley as a whole promises a somewhat brighter future for this once famous establishment.

[81] *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (Oxford, 1912), p. 192.

[82] *Neue Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens* (Berlin, 1930), p. 20.

[83] *Die koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1932), pp. 126 f.

[84] In Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte, *Bulletin*, XVIII, 47–63, esp. pp. 51, 54, and 61, and Pls. II–IV.

[85] "L'oasis de Mouellah et sa constitution géologique," *ibid.*, pp. 65–81, esp. pp. 66 f., and Pls. I–IV.

The monastery of Ḳalamūn was a rival (perhaps a friendly one) of the monastery of Naḳlūn. It will be recalled that fourteen monks had left Naḳlūn to follow Samuel to Ḳalamūn. But the monks in all Egypt, especially those in the north, moved about rather freely. The loose organization of the Nitrian and the Wādī Habīb communities as well as of those of the Fayyūm centered as much, if not more, around an outstanding personality as around any given monastery or locality. And so it would not be at all surprising if someday we should find that in the long history of these two monasteries, which seem to share honors for fame and antiquity, monks from Ḳalamūn found their way to Naḳlūn also. But the incident will probably center round a strong personality, and thus far I know of none from Naḳlūn who could match an Abba Isaac or an Abba Mīṣā'īl of Ḳalamūn.

The first documentary reference we have to the Naḳlūn monastery after the time of Samuel is the Oriental Institute document which led to this study. From it we have already seen that the monastery was the recipient of a fair-sized property located at Buljusūḳ and deeded to it as a gift by Tūsānah, daughter of Bisanti, in the year A.H. 336/A.D. 947. But this property is deeded jointly to two monasteries, that of Naḳlūn and that of Shallā. This raises the question of the relationship of these two monasteries. Was the monastery at Shallā administered from the Naḳlūn monastery, or was the revenue of the donated property simply to be divided between the two? That the monastery at Shallā was a smaller monastery may be inferred from its decline and complete disappearance within the next three centuries. It was located not far from Naḳlūn,[86] probably to the south and west and perhaps across the Baḥr al-Gharaḳ, since it lay in the valley of the Baḥr al-Tanabṭawaih and within view of the very mountain on which stood the monastery of Naḳlūn (see map). It was already abandoned in the time of ʿUthmān ibn al-Nāblusī.[87]

[86] Maḳrīzī, II, 505, or Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 313.

[87] *BIFAO*, I, 31.

A second documentary reference to this monastery is found in a Coptic letter[88] written by a certain deacon, Macrobius, to another deacon, Macarius, who seems to have been left alone at Naḳlūn. Macrobius sends him a donkey and begs him to come north and stay until they will have finished building; he is to bring with him some provisions and his *kabos* in which to sleep. The manuscript is on paper, undated, but since it contains the word *amīr*, the letter probably belongs to the Arab period. Again, since the place is deserted except for Macrobius, and since (re?)building is anticipated if not in progress, the time may be the post-Ḥākim period of restoration, that is, the first part of the eleventh century (see below). The Bohairic tendencies of the text and the references to the north may also mean that Macrobius was writing from Nitria.

When Abū Ṣāliḥ's account of the monastery of Naḳlūn is compared with his account of the monastery of Ḳalamūn,[89] it is easy to see that the Naḳlūn monastery, though of ancient fame and of proud tradition linking it with Joseph and Jacob, is but a poor second, in tangible assets, to the monastery of Ḳalamūn; for it has but two churches and one tower against the twelve churches and four towers of the monastery of Ḳalamūn. The two churches are those of Michael and Gabriel, the first within the wall, the second without, though having a wall of its own. No mention is made of revenues, property, or number of monks. Maḳrīzī's account[90] adds but little, though it mentions that the monastery was also known as the monastery of Gabriel and as the monastery of the "Beam" or "Log" (Dair al-Khashabah), and that a festival celebration at the monastery brought to it Christians from Madīnat al-Fayyūm and other places. It was located then on a road leading to Madīnat al-Fayyūm, though the road was in general very little used.

Another undated reference to the monastery of Naḳlūn is to be found in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*.[91] Since the compilation of this *Synaxarium* is placed between 1178 and 1425, this reference must be

[88] W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), p. 281, No. 590. The middle Egyptian manuscripts from the Fayyūm (pp. 237–314) are all undated, and from the *Catalogue* little but the general impression of monastic activity and correspondence is to be gained.

[89] Pp. 205–8.

[90] II, 505.

[91] Budge, II, 559.

placed in the period between Abū Ṣāliḥ and Maḳrīzī.[92] The reference is of further interest in that it states that the body of Abba ʾAkāweḥ is "at the present day" in the monastery of Naḳlūn. Abba ʾAkāweḥ is our Abba Kāw, who, as we have seen above, was martyred in the Diocletian persecutions and buried in his native city of Bimāy, where a church was erected to his name. When and why was the translation of his body to Naḳlūn accomplished? The reason can be guessed. Abba Kāw was *the famous native* monk of the Fayyūm, and the monastery of Naḳlūn was at that time *the* monastery of the Fayyūm; it would, therefore, be only natural that the body of the one should find its final resting place in the crypts of the other. As to when this happened, even a guess is difficult. In all probability it took place before Samuel's day, that is, roughly in the years between 300 and 660. It may have been the earlier part of the period, when the memory of Abba Kāw was still fresh, in which case it may have been soon after the foundation of the Naḳlūn monastery; again, it may have been late in the period, about the time when the translation of the Forty-nine Martyrs to Scetis took place, in which act the Fayyūm played a rival part.[93]

The monastery of Naḳlūn, like that of Ḳalamūn, is simply listed by ʿUthmān ibn al-Nāblusī among the thirteen Fayyūm monasteries. The next important account of the monastery of Naḳlūn we owe to Vansleb's observations,[94] made during a visit to it in 1672. So far as I know, he was the first westerner to discover an Arabic manuscript of the story of Aūr, and from it he drew his material concerning the origin of the church of the monastery. Vansleb found the monastery almost entirely ruined, but its two churches seem to have been still standing. Though he does not mention the church of Michael by name, it must have been the one to which he could not gain entrance because the monks (number not given) had their provisions stored in it. The church of Gabriel he describes as being very beautiful, all painted within with pictures of Bible stories, and having the nave supported by slender columns constructed of several stone drums each.

[92] *Ibid.*, I, pp. xv–xvi.

[93] Evelyn White, Pt. II, pp. 269–71.

[94] *Op. cit.*, pp. 274–77.

Neither Pococke nor Napoleon's *Description* nor Curzon mentions the monastery. Butler gives it only a passing mention, and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak repeats the accounts of Abū Ṣāliḥ and Maḳrīzī. Quatremère and Amélineau both take up the question of its geography but add nothing to its history. Here again it is Somers Clarke's account[95] that helps us to bring our survey up to date. The monastery is not listed as such; but in the list of churches in the bishopric of the Fayyūm and Gīzah there is a church of the monastery of the angel Gabriel (No. 18 in the list, named "Dêr el Malâk Ghabriâl"). The significance of the name appears from the following explanatory note supplied to Clarke by his informant:

> 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 a *kanêssah*, a corruption of the Greek word *ecclesia*. The place is not called a Dêr even if it counts among 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.[96]

Of the nine churches given for the Fayyūm this is the only one that has the title "Dêr." Thus, though now but a parish church, the church at Naḳlūn, like that at Ḳalamūn, has survived the ups and downs of the long centuries. Johann Georg is our latest informant on its present condition. He mentions it only as "Deir-el-Melak," but from what we have already learned from Clarke, this can be none other than "Dêr el Malâk Ghabriâl," that is, the church of Gabriel in the monastery of Naḳlūn. Brief as his account is, it is very interesting, and so we give it here in full:

> Die Weiterfahrt ging zuerst durch reiche Felder und zuletzt durch volle Wüste. So erreichten wir Deir-el-Melak . . . . , an dem von aussen gar nichts zu sehen ist. Die Kirche wirkt wie jedes andere Haus. Der Eintritt erfolgt durch einen Eselstall, der noch jetzt als solcher benutzt wird. Und so tritt man in eine hochinteressante Kirche, etwa aus dem VII. Jahrhundert. Vorzüglich sind da die Kapitelle, die noch ganz korinthisch wirken, sowohl im Schiff als im Haikal. Sehr schön ist ein Bücherpult, das wohl etwa aus dem XII. Jahrhundert stammt. Interessant ist die hölzerne Decke. Fast das Bemerkenswerteste ist ein Grabstein mit griechischer Inschrift, den wir aufrichten mussten, um ihn zu photographieren.[97]

[95] *Op. cit.*, p. 205.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[97] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

The tombstone is similar to others used by the early Christian Copts. In general appearance it is nearest to one now in the Cairo museum.[98] In both the inscription is written in the spaces formed by the intersection of the cross. The text is almost identical with that of Crum's No. 8698,[99] which is reproduced and deciphered by Kaufmann.[100] The inscription of the Naḳlūn tombstone has been deciphered by Professor Sprengling, with the assistance of Mr. Procope S. Costas, and reads as follows:

(1) ✝ ΚЄ ΑΝΑ (2) ΠΑΥCΟΝ (3) ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗ
(4) ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ (5) CΟΥ ΧΡΙC (6) ΤΟΔΩΡΟΥ Є
(7) ΚΟΙΜΗΘΗ ΜΗ (8) ΝΙ ΦΑΡΜΟΥ (9) ΘΙ ΚЄ Η ΙΝ.

The last Η of line 7 seems to be corrected from an Є; the Ν of line 8 is turned about thus Ν; final Ν of the abbreviation for indiction is not clear and well drawn and is followed by a semiornamental abbreviation.

The text in translation reads: "Christ Lord, grant rest to the soul of thy servant, Christodorus. He fell asleep on the 25th of the month of Pharmuthi, 8th indiction."

The very fact that the tombstone has been preserved all these long centuries may indicate that the Christodorus whom it commemorates was of some importance and renown in the locality if not in the monastery itself. Could it possibly be that he dates back to the days of Diocletian and Maximianus[101] and is therefore none other than the Christodorus who, together with Timothy and Theophilus, was associated with the mount of Ḳalamūn, the three being known as the three saints of the desert (see above)? Obviously, the question cannot be answered as yet. Nevertheless, the inscription, despite its incompleteness as to name and date, stands as one more piece of tangible evidence of the antiquity of Naḳlūn.

We turn now to the general monastic situation in the Fayyūm after the Arab conquest. The number and the prosperity of the

[98] W. E. Crum, *Coptic Monuments* (Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire, IV [Cairo, 1902]), Pl. V, No. 8423.

[99] *Ibid.*, Pl. LIII.

[100] *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg, 1917), p. 77, No. 75; cf. also p. 73.

[101] The "8th indiction" being taken as the eighth year of the first indiction, i.e., 297/98 +8 or 312 +8, which would be 304/5 or 319.

churches and of the monasteries reflected the condition of the Coptic church as a whole, and this, in its turn, was fundamentally influenced by the political and economic conditions of the country. Evelyn-White[102] has shown how these factors reacted on the external history of the monasteries of Nitria and Wādī Habīb. The monasteries of the Fayyūm appear to have followed, in general, the same periodic curve of vicissitude as those of Nitria and Wādī Habīb, without however reaching its high peaks, and descending to the lowest levels more gradually. While this holds true of the external history of the two groups, it is even more evident in the spiritual and purely ecclesiastical phases of monastic life.

We have no way of telling the sum total of churches and monasteries in the Fayyūm in the period immediately preceding the Arab conquest and the religious settlement of ʿUmar through ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAṣī. We do know that in the troublous time before the conquest many monasteries (and churches?) were abandoned. The alleged settlement of ʿUmar forbade not only the building of new monasteries and churches, but also the repair of ruined (and abandoned?) ones.[103] However, historical tradition seems here to have made ʿUmar sponsor of an intolerant attitude which had a later origin; for, apart from the fact that all provincial officials were Copts, considerable evidence exists to show that during the first century the official attitude was very liberal and that the Christians could build and restore churches with very little, if any, interference. What restrictions existed could usually be overcome by a payment of money.[104] The early exemption of the monks from the poll tax helped to attract large numbers to the existing monasteries,[105] and this, in turn, must have led to the repair of the old or the building of new ones. It is in these favorable conditions that one must see the explanation of the great number of churches and monasteries in the Fayyūm in later Umayyad times. Abū Ṣāliḥ states that there were thirty-five monasteries there,[106] and we know that in every province the number of churches greatly exceeded that of its monasteries.

[102] Pt. II, pp. 265–329.

[103] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (hereafter abbreviated *EI*), II, 992.

[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 992 f., and literature referred to there.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 993.

[106] Pp. 202–3 and 349; on p. 53, however, the number is given as 33.

As the monasteries grew in number, so their temporal wealth increased also. This consisted chiefly in large tracts of land, most of which had doubtless come from pious donations made by the Copts, while some of them represented the worldly possessions of the monks given over at the time of their entry into the monastic life. Towards the close of the Umayyad period we find the thirty-five monasteries of the Fayyūm, then under the capable administration of the provincial bishop, Abba Abraham (under the patriarchates of Theodore, 731–43, and Michael, 744–68),[107] owning cultivated lands on which a yearly tax of 500 dinars was levied.[108] The wealth of these monasteries was indeed such as to expose Abba Abraham to "friendly" extortion by the financial governor of Egypt, al-Ḳāsim (114–24?/732–42?);[109] for on one occasion al-Ḳāsim's declarations of love and friendship cost Abba Abraham 400 dinars, and the latter seems to have had no difficulty in paying them on the spot.[110]

The ecclesiasticism which colored Egyptian monasticism during this period flourished more in the Wādī Naṭrūn units than elsewhere, but it penetrated also into the Fayyūm monasteries. The first indirect bid for power on the part of the latter is perhaps to be seen in the attempt of the Fayyūm to have a share in the translation of the famous Forty-nine Martyrs, which seems to have taken place in the last decade of the patriarchate of Abba Benjamin I (622–66).[111] According to the story, Fayyūm weavers and monks attempted to steal the body of Dios and thus separate it from that of his father, but without success.[112]

It was not long, however, before ecclesiastical recognition came to the Fayyūm monasteries. No doubt this was in a large measure due to the influence of Samuel of Ḳalamūn (*ca.* 600–698), whose activity has been sketched above. The Fayyūm monasteries even began to play an important role in the election of the patriarchs. Hitherto the

[107] Dates as given in *PO*, V, 86, 88.

[108] *PO*, V, 94; Abū Ṣāliḥ, pp. 53, 203.

[109] *PO*, V, 92–105. Moslem writers make little or no mention of al-Ḳāsim, but the fact that he was financial governor of Egypt is evident from glass stamps and weights issued by him; cf. Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London, 1901), pp. 29, 48, and Flinders Petrie, *Glass Stamps and Weights* (London, 1926), pp. 3, 15–16.

[110] *PO*, V, 93–94.

[111] Dates as given in *PO*, I, 487.

[112] Cf. Evelyn-White, Pt. II, pp. 269–70; *PO*, XI, 699–703; *Syn. Alex.*, I, 233–34.

Nitrian and the Wādī Habīb monasteries had led in supplying candidates for the patriarchate; in the person of John III (677–86), however, a monk from the monastery of Sailah in the Fayyūm was chosen.[113] Again, in the disputed patriarchal election of 744, it was Abba Abraham, the previously mentioned business-like bishop of the Fayyūm, who together with some northern bishops played a decisive role in the election of Abba Michael (744–68), a monk of the monastery of St. Macarius.[114]

We do not know to what extent the Fayyūm monasteries suffered, if at all, in the fatal flight of Marwān I to Egypt in A.D. 750, since it is difficult to tell how far into the Fayyūm Marwān and his routed army penetrated. He is reported to have been killed at Būṣīr or Abū Ṣīr; but there are several places bearing this name, and the Arabic sources are confused and contradictory.[115] Ṭabarī just mentions Abū Ṣīr in Egypt;[116] al-Makīn[117] and Abū Ṣāliḥ[118] report him to have been killed at Būṣīr Ḳūrīdus. Yāḳūt, quoting Ibn Zaulāḳ, also places the death of Marwān in a Būṣīr Ḳūrīdus, but quoting Kindī, he locates the event in a Būṣīr in the district of Ushmūnain.[119] Ibn Taghrībirdī places the death of Marwān in the Būṣīr of al-Gīzah.[120] The *History of the Patriarchs*, however, does not mention a Būṣīr, but places the last events of Marwān II at a place called Dāwatūn,[121] apparently situated near a Mount Abbah to the west of Cleopatra in Arsinoites.[122] Since the account clearly indicates that Marwān was killed somewhere to the west of the Nile and south of al-Gīzah,[123] the Arsinoites referred

[113] *PO*, V, 6-8; 1, 342; Budge, I, 158; Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 209.

[114] *PO*, V, 105–12.

[115] Cf. Quatremère, *Mémoires*, I, 112–13; Amélineau, *Géog.*, pp. 10–11.

[116] *Annals*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), III, 1, pp. 46, 49; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-kāmil fi al-tārikh*, ed. by C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1867–76), V, 324, 326; Abū al-Fidā', *Annales Moslemici*, ed. by J. G. C. Adler (Hafniae, 1789–94), I, 486.

[117] *Historia Saracenica*, trans. by Thomas Erpenius (Leyden, 1625), p. 119.

[118] P. 257.

[119] *Dictionary*, I, 760; cf. Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. by R. Guest ("E. J. W. Gibb memorial series," Vol. XIX [Leyden and London, 1912]), p. 96; *EI*, III, 309; also J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, trans. by M. G. Weir (Calcutta, 1927), p. 549.

[120] *Al-nujūm al-zāhirah fi mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Ḳāhirah*, I (ed. by Juynboll and Matthes Leyden, 1851–55]), 352.

[121] *PO*, V, 187.

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 186; cf. also p. 156.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 185–86.

to is no doubt the Arsinoite nome of the Fayyūm and not the second Arsinoite nome east of the Nile and reaching to Suez, where an Arsinoites-Cleopatra is to be found at the head of the Arabian Gulf.[124] We must therefore add a Cleopatra to the list of place-names in the Fayyūm, though just where this Cleopatra was located in the Fayyūm is not known, unless it be near Dāwatūn, which may be a misspelling or an Arabic version of Dafdanū (modern Difinnū), so that Būṣīr Dafdanū, a place situated a short distance south of the city of Fayyūm, may be the one meant. Modern scholars, however, doubt if this is the Būṣīr concerned and point to a Būṣīr Ḳūrīdus at the entrance of, but not in, the Fayyūm as the scene of Marwān's last hours.[125] Abū-Ṣāliḥ reports a church and a monastery of Abīrūn at this place,[126] and Ṭabarī tells us that Marwān was overtaken in a church in Būṣīr.[127] If Marwān and his soldiers did indeed reach Būṣīr Dafdanū, then the monasteries in the eastern Fayyūm must have felt his wrath; but if he stopped at Būṣīr Ḳūrīdus, which seems the more likely, then the Fayyūm monasteries, like those of Wādī Habīb,[128] escaped the destruction that was the fate of all monasteries which lay on his route.[129]

The change from Umayyad to ʿAbbasid rule had no immediate effect on the conditions of the churches and monasteries of Egypt. Economic persecution and despoliation of churches[130] went hand in hand with freedom of worship and social visits, at times on a grand scale, to the monasteries.[131] Strained relations and periodic revolts were, under the circumstances, to be expected. Thus in 170/786 the governor ʿAlī ibn Sulaimān issued an edict to destroy all churches (and monasteries?) built since the Muslim conquest, an edict which was fortunately and wisely revoked by his successor on the advice of a body of Muslim jurists.[132] Building was resumed on a large scale in

[124] Cf. H. Gauthier, *Les noms d'Egypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Egypte, t. XXV [1935]), pp. 125–29 and 138–42.

[125] Amélineau, *Géog.*, p. 10; *BIFAO*, I, 65; Abū Ṣāliḥ, pp. xix and 257, note 2.

[126] P. 257.

[127] *Annals*, III, 1, p. 49.

[128] *PO*, V, 175, 183.

[129] *Ibid.*, pp. 162–63.

[130] *EI*, II, 992–94; *PO*, X, 363, 373–75, 512–15; Abū-Ṣāliḥ, p. 87.

[131] Abū-Ṣāliḥ, pp. xiv–xv.

[132] *EI*, II, 992; Kindī, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–32; Maḳrīzī, II, 493.

the patriarchates of Abba Mark III (799–819) and Abba James (819–30).[133] Still it was in this period that a number of revolts against heavy taxation took place. The earlier ones, in which Muslims and Christians alike took part, followed the civil war waged between Amīn and Maʾmūn. A purely Christian insurrection occurred in 214–15/829–30, when the Bashmūrites of the middle Delta revolted contrary to the advice of their patriarch James as well as that of Patriarch Dionysius of Antioch who accompanied Maʾmūn on his visit to Egypt. The Bashmūrites were severely defeated, large numbers were massacred, and many of the survivors were deported to Baghdad.[134] This, Maḳrīzī informs us, was the last Christian rebellion; for from that time on Muslims were in the majority in the villages.[135]

These general conditions are reflected in the contemporary history of the monasteries of Scetis. It was about 817 that the first Arab sack of these monasteries took place. This was followed by a period of restoration and enlargement under Abba James (who visited the monasteries of Upper Egypt and perhaps also those of the Fayyūm)[136] and Abba Joseph (830–49), so that during the patriarchate of Shenūte I (859–81) we find seven instead of four outstanding monasteries in the Wādī Habīb.[137]

That the conditions in the Delta and in Wādī Habīb will have had parallels in the Fayyūm seems natural to expect; yet actual materials on the monasteries of the Fayyūm are woefully lacking, and for the period under consideration we have nothing to point to except the situation in the monastery of Ḳalamūn at the time of its abbot Isaac and his famous disciple Mīṣāʾīl, as sketched above. Nor is our information for the following period, that of the Ṭūlūnids (254–92/868–905) and Ikhshīdids (323–58/935–69), any fuller. On the one hand, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn did not hesitate to imprison Patriarch Michael III (881–909); on the other hand, Khumārawaih's visits to the Naṭrūn monasteries are indicative of cordial relations existing between the

[133] *EI*, II, 992; *PO*, X, 418–19, 460; Kindī, *op. cit.*, pp. 554–55.

[134] *EI*, II, 994; *PO*, X, 486–95.

[135] *EI*, II, 994; Maḳrīzī, II, 494.

[136] *PO*, X, 452–54.

[137] Evelyn-White, Pt. II, pp. 297–304; the dates of Shenūte I are according to Renaudot, *Historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, pp. 301, 319.

Ṭūlūnids and the church.[138] In the short interval between the two quasi-dependent dynasties the ʿAbbasid caliph made a bid for peace and good will by declaring in 313/925 that the *jizyah* or head tax would not be imposed upon bishops, monks, and needy laymen.[139] The Ikhshīdids continued to favor the Christians and frequently attended their public ceremonies and celebrations.[140] The monasteries were coming more and more into the public eye, so that the ninth and tenth centuries saw several Muslim authors devoting their time to narrating the history of the monasteries and describing monastic life. Among these are Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, who wrote a *Book of the Monasteries*, and al-Shābushtī, who gave us a book of the same title.[141] Though al-Shābushtī's work is lost, it was used to good purpose by both Abū Ṣāliḥ and Maḳrīzī. But these authors give us no definite material on the Fayyūm monasteries during this prosperous period, and so we must for the present content ourselves with the one definite event recorded in our present Document III of 336/947, which deeded property to the two monasteries of Naḳlūn and Shallā.

With the Fāṭimids an era of prosperity set in for the churches and the monasteries,[142] marred only by the fanatical persecution of al-Ḥākim (386–411/996–1021), from which only the Wādī Habīb monasteries seem to have escaped.[143] The churches and monasteries of the Fayyūm, however, fell victim to this persecution; for a Coptic note of A.D. 1014, left us by a certain Joseph, a deacon in the Fayyūm, states that he, Joseph, fled in great affliction to the monastery of Macarius, because al-Ḥākim had destroyed(?) the churches and monasteries of the Fayyūm, and because safety was to be found only in the monastery of Saint Macarius.[144]

The Ayyūbids (564–648/1169–1250) were not as generous or indulgent as their predecessors. They despoiled the church of part of its revenue, and though restoring some churches, they did not hesitate to destroy others which for some reason annoyed them. The crusades

[138] Evelyn-White, Pt. II, pp. 335–36; *EI*, II, 994 f.

[139] *EI*, II, 995.

[140] *Ibid.*, II, 995.

[141] Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. xv.

[142] *EI*, II, 992, 995, and references given there; Abū Ṣāliḥ, pp. 15, 47, 89, *et passim*.

[143] Evelyn-White, Pt. II, pp. 343–45; *PO*, XI, 560–61; *EI*, II, 992, 995.

[144] Evelyn-White, Pt. II, p. 345.

made the situation of the church delicate and caused the ruin of many churches, especially in the Delta. It is from this period that the utter destruction of many Egyptian monasteries dates.[145] At the same time the spirit of Egyptian monasticism degenerated into determined ecclesiasticism, which gave rise to many dissensions. In keeping with this decline is the rise of Arabic Christian literature during this period; for this event is in itself an ironical testimony to the victory of Arabic and Islām over Coptic and Christianity. By the thirteenth century Arabic Christian literature was in a flourishing state, and it is at this time (*ca.* 1200) that Abū Ṣāliḥ wrote his treatise and supplied us with valuable information on the monasteries of the Fayyūm.

Abū Ṣāliḥ's account does not attempt to keep track of the thirty-five monasteries of the Umayyad period, neither is it exhaustive for his own period, though in making this statement it must be remembered that his work, as we now have it, is a clumsy abridgement of the original.[146] Be that as it may, Abū Ṣālih, in the account as we now have it, mentions but eight monasteries[147] as having existed in the Fayyūm during his time: (1) that of Naḳlūn, (2) that of Ḳalamūn, (3) that of St. Isaac of Difrī at al-Lāhūn with a church resembling that of Ḳalamūn, (4) the monastery of the Brothers at Sailah, whence John III was called to the patriarchate, and (5) the monastery of the Virgin, also at Sailah, (6) the monastery of the Cross at Fānū, and (7) the monastery of Theodore and (8) that of the Apostles, both at Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn. Since both Isaac of Difrī[148] and Theodore (who is perhaps none other than Theodore the General)[149] were martyred in the time of Diocletian, these monasteries named after them may have very early origins. The monastery of the Virgin was in all probability a Theotokos "duplicate"[150] of the monastery of the Brothers at Sailah.

[145] *EI*, II, 992, 996; *PO*, XI, 617; Abū Ṣāliḥ, pp. 15, 94–97, 112, 174, 248, 253.

[146] Pp. xii f.

[147] *Ibid.*, pp. 205–10.

[148] Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 210.

[149] Budge, IV, 1133–38; also I, 219, 265. According to the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, Theodore was a native of Sabṭ in Upper Egypt; but according to Abū Ṣāliḥ (p. 208) he was a native of the Fayyūm. For other saints named Theodore who might come into consideration see Strothmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[150] The Theotokos "duplicates" appear to have arisen at the time of the Gaianite heresy in the first half of the 6th century to accommodate the Severian monks who had been ejected by the Julianists. They were dedicated to the Theotokos rather than to the Virgin as symbolizing the matter in dispute, the reality of the incarnation. Cf. Evelyn-White, Pt. II, pp. 232–35.

The monastery of the Apostles at Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn and that of the Cross in the district of Fānū are then the only ones of the eight that give no clue of the period of their origin. But we are probably not wrong in considering them as having been among the thirty-five monasteries mentioned for the Umayyad period.

Abū Ṣāliḥ's account is greatly supplemented by that of ʿUthmān ibn al-Nāblusī, given about half a century later (642/1245–46), which credits the Fayyūm with thirteen monasteries and twenty-five churches.[151] Since the intermediate period between Abū Ṣāliḥ and Nāblusī was not particularly conducive to the rise of new monasteries, the difference in the number of the monasteries reported by these authors can hardly be attributed to the appearance of new monasteries, but should rather be explained by the greater fullness of Nāblusī's account. Unfortunately I have no access to the Arabic text of Nāblusī and must work with what information I can gather from the description of Nāblusī's work as given by Ahmed Zéki[152] and by Georges Salmon.[153] From the information supplied by the latter I am able to list twelve monasteries and thirty-eight churches (seven of which are in ruins) instead of thirteen monasteries and twenty-five churches as mentioned by Ahmed Zéki. Five of these are listed by both Abū Ṣāliḥ and Nāblusī: the monasteries of Naḳlūn and Ḳalamūn, that of St. Isaac at al-Lāhūn, that of the Cross in the district of Fānū (called Dair Fānū by Nāblusī), and one of the two monasteries at Sailah (referred to simply as Dair Sailah, so that there is no way of telling definitely whether it is that of the Virgin or that of the Brothers, though the probability is in favor of the latter). One of the two Sailah monasteries listed by Abū Ṣāliḥ must therefore have passed out of existence; the two monasteries located by him in Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn had either disappeared, or they were more probably included then, as now, in the province of Banī Suwaif. The remaining seven of the twelve (or eight of the thirteen) of Nāblusī's list were likely in existence in Abū Ṣāliḥ's time, but were perhaps not considered by him of the same importance (and antiquity?) as the eight which he listed. These seven additional monasteries are the monasteries of

[151] Ahmed Zéki in Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte, *Bulletin*, V, No. 5 (1899), pp. 277–78.

[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 253–95.

[153] *BIFAO*, I, 29–77.

Sidmant, Sinnūris, Dimūshiyyah and Bamūyah, each near a city or village of the same name, the unnamed monastery at Disyā (concerning which more will be said below), the monastery of al-ʿĀmil at al-ʿAdwah, and the monastery of Abba Shenūte in Minshāt Aulād ʿArafah. Thus the combined lists of Abū Ṣāliḥ and Nāblusī give fifteen different monasteries (sixteen if the thirteenth monastery credited to Nāblusī by Ahmed Zéki is not contained in Abū Ṣāliḥ's list). To these we must add the monastery referred to in our Document III, namely that of Shallā, which is not mentioned by Abū Ṣāliḥ, but is included by Nāblusī in a list of ruined and abandoned places[154] and was therefore probably in ruins already in the time of Abū Ṣāliḥ.

In the field of ecclesiastical influence and politics the Fayyūm produced during this period a somewhat prominent figure—the bishop Peter, who is four times mentioned by Abū Ṣāliḥ as having participated in the dedication of churches and monasteries in and near Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr. His first appearance is in 1183, when he is reported to have solemnly opened a monastery which had formerly belonged to the Nestorians but was now changing hands, because no Nestorians were left in Miṣr except one or two men.[155] The monastery was a good-sized one and prospered under the new ownership. The next year (1184) Peter and Gabriel, bishop of Miṣr, opened a restored church,[156] and on two other occasions (in 1186 and 1187) these two bishops were together present at similar functions.[157]

The thirteenth century found the church of Miṣr (Cairo) competing strenuously with that of Alexandria for ecclesiastical leadership, and the indications are that the Fayyūm co-operated with Miṣr. The church of the Fayyūm itself, however, was not free from internal rivalry if not dissension. Bishop Peter found it necessary to take severe measures, even to the point of expulsion from office, against no less a person than the future candidate for the patriarchate, David, son of Laḳlaḳ. In spite of much opposition, the Miṣr-Fayyūm forces won the election, and David of the Fayyūm, taking the name of Cyril

[154] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[155] Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 135; cf. Renaudot, *op. cit.*, p. 553, for correction of the date A.D. 1181, as reported by Abū Ṣāliḥ, to 1183.

[156] Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 127.

[157] *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 139.

III (1235–43), terminated the twenty year vacancy that had followed the death of John VI in 1216.[158] Cyril soon won the reputation of being a reforming and a grasping patriarch. His "reforms" brought gratifying though temporary victory to the church of Miṣr at the expense of the church of Alexandria and of the monasteries of Wādī Habīb.[159] To what extent, if at all, the Fayyūm shared in this victory we have no way of knowing.

With the coming of the Mamelukes the entire Coptic church faced an era of persecution and despoliation the like of which it had not before experienced, and as a result of this, as well as of the Black Death in 1348 and of famine in 1374, the fourteenth century saw the rapid and tragic decline of Egyptian monasteries, including those of Wādī Naṭrūn. These last, however, seem to have held out in the first half of the century and to have become once again the general refuge for those fleeing the persecutions of 1301 and 1321, which took place in the patriarchate of John VIII (1300–20) and John IX (1320–27).[160] There is no reason to believe that the churches and the monasteries of the Fayyūm escaped the persecuting fury of the Muslims in 721/1321, which resulted in the destruction of numerous churches and monasteries throughout Egypt.[161] Again, in 755/1354 churches were demolished, and a large part of the church revenue was confiscated.[162] Faced with humiliation, economic extortion, and even loss of life at the hands of a surly Muslim majority, the Christian minority continued to dwindle, many becoming Muslims, and the monasteries which escaped destruction, lacking new recruits, fell into ruins and were eventually abandoned.[163] The description given by Evelyn-White for the Nitrian monasteries will probably apply in general to the whole country. So far as the Fayyūm is concerned, indirect testimony regarding these conditions is found in Maḳrīzī's account of the Fayyūm monasteries. Of the fifteen (or sixteen) different monasteries

[158] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, pp. 567–68, 576, 593.

[159] Evelyn-White, Pt. II, pp. 387–89.

[160] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, p. 604; Evelyn-White, Pt. II, pp. 393, 394, 400–402.

[161] Maḳrīzī, II, 512–17 (English translation by Evetts in Abū Ṣāliḥ, pp. 328–40, and French translation in Quatremère, *Mémoires*, II, 225–49); ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *Al-khiṭaṭ al-taufiḳiyyah al-jadidah li Miṣr al-Ḳāhirah* . . . . (Būlāḳ, 1304–6/1886–88), III, 98–101; VI, 74–79.

[162] *EI*, II, 992.

[163] *Ibid.*, II, 992.

reported by Abū Ṣāliḥ and Nāblusī he mentions but three: those of Naḳlūn, Ḳalamūn, and Sidmant. We have already mentioned the decline evidenced in the first two; with regard to the third we are told that it had lost much of its former estate and was then partly deserted. Further indirect testimony of the decline of Christianity and of the pathetic position of the Christians in the Fayyūm during Mameluke times and after is to be seen in the great obscurity of its bishops, if indeed the see was not mostly vacant from the time of John (about 1230) to that of Michael, who was visited by Vansleb in 1672, a period of nearly four and one-half centuries.[164] Vansleb's account states how the Christians of the city of Fayyūm had no church to worship in, but had to go to the near-by village of "Desie" (Disyā) for their services;[165] how the whole province had but a few churches, and these very poor; how fear and timidity were uppermost even with the bishop, who mistook the approach of Vansleb and his men for government soldiers intent on doing harm.[166] This situation may be considered as typical of the whole Ottoman period, which followed that of the Mamelukes. Two exceptions for the country as a whole may be mentioned, due, in part, to the personality of the then patriarch. Thus the patriarch Gabriel VII (1526–69) was in a position to give much of his time and means to rebuilding monasteries,[167] and a second period of building occurred in the patriarchate of John XVI (1676–1718).[168]

The *Etat*, a tax survey made in 777/1375, lists in the Fayyūm a Dair Abī Jaʿrān.[169] If this was merely a monastery, why was it the only one listed? If it was a village paying taxes, then the name would imply the existence of a monastery in the neighborhood. In either case we apparently have a new monastery to the credit of the Fayyūm, built after Nāblusī's time.

Other obscure monasteries in the Fayyūm or in near-by deserts are mentioned from time to time, chiefly by western visitors. Vansleb

[164] Baudrillart, *Dict.*, IV, 762.

[165] *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

[166] *Ibid.*, pp. 259–61, 265.

[167] ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *op. cit.*, VI, 84.

[168] *Ibid.*, VI, 85.

[169] In ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Egypte*, trans. by S. de Sacy (Paris, 1810), p. 682; cf. also *BIFAO*, I, 73.

gives us two: "Deir Abulífe" (Dair Abū Līfah), located in the desert north of Lake Ḳārūn,[170] and "Deir il Azeb," half way between the city of Fayyūm and Naḳlūn.[171] An "Azab" is shown on the map of the Arsinoite nome by Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed.[172] This location accords, on the one hand, with that given by Vansleb and, on the other, with the location of the village of "el-Hazeb" mentioned in Napoleon's *Description*,[173] but not given in the list of towns and villages of this work.[174] That al-ʿAzab and "el-Hazeb" both refer to the same place is very likely indeed, for nothing would be easier than a confusion of the sounds of *alif*, *ʿain*, *ḥā'*, and *hā'* in transliterating Arabic from the spoken sounds. Furthermore, Dair al-ʿAzab must be identified with the "Deir-el-Azrab" mentioned by Johann Georg.[175] The latter speaks of two churches there, an older one which he places in the twelfth century, and a more recent one about one hundred and twenty years old. Clarke[176] mentions a church of the Virgin at al-ʿAzab in the district of Iṭsā, but to which of the two churches of Dair al-ʿAzab the name belongs it is difficult to tell. If the monastery does indeed go back to the twelfth century, it was perhaps founded by Peter, the energetic bishop of the Fayyūm mentioned above, or perhaps somewhat later by the patriarch Cyril III (1235–43), who was formerly David, a priest of the Fayyūm. Pococke[177] remarks on the deserted condition of the monasteries in general, stating that they were inhabited by one or two married priests, but he does not speak of any of the better known monasteries, not even of that of Naḳlūn

[170] *Op. cit.*, p. 268; in G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (London, 1934), II, Pls. CIX–CX, the monastery is located, and on Pl. LXXXVI a photograph is given; in Vol. I, p. 81, the monastery is described thus: "The Deir, a Coptic hermitage, cut in the face of a bluff in the great Tertiary scarp was visited in 1926 by Mr. Starkey in our company who climbed up to the chambers. According to local bedouin the roofs in several places have collapsed within the past generation and crushed the rock-cut chambers. The Coptic inscriptions did not concern us, and we made no investigation of the place."

[171] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

[172] *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Pt. II (London, 1907), Pl. III; the place is also given on the map of the Survey of Egypt and listed in the *Index to Place Names* (Cairo, 1932), p. 12, as al-ʿAzab.

[173] VI, 207.

[174] *Ibid.*, VII, 810–12.

[175] *Op. cit.*, p. 19. Johann Georg is not accurate in reproducing Arabic names; since he gives Ḳalamūn as "Kalamunt," he may well have rendered al-ʿAzab as "el-Azrab."

[176] *Op. cit.*, p. 205; cf. also Survey of Egypt, *Index to Place Names*, p. 12.

[177] *A Description of the East* . . . . (London, 1743), I, 55–67, 176.

or Ḳalamūn. He does, however, mention two monasteries in the northwestern region of the Fayyūm. The first, called Dair Ḥarakat al-Mā>, "the monastery of the stirring of the waters,"[178] is north of Lake Ḳārūn. He adds that the building seemed to him to be "some remains of antiquity, which might be converted into a monastery." Whether this monastery and Dair Abū Līfah are the same monastery with two different names, or two different monasteries in the same desert region north of that lake, is hard to tell. The second monastery reported by Pococke is a ruined one of unburnt bricks some two or three leagues south of Ḳaṣr Ḳārūn.[179]

The *Description* mentions still another ruined monastery, that of Zakāwah, southeast of Madīnat al-Gharaḳ.[180] Finally, Flinders Petrie adds one more to our list, that of al-Ḥammām,[181] three miles north of al-Lāhūn. "The Deir," he writes, "has been rebuilt a few centuries ago, but there are outlines of a much larger Deir showing on the ground. Outside the older Deir are rubbish-mounds. Here we found plenty of scraps of papyrus."[182] Clarke in his *Christian Antiquities* of 1912 does not mention this monastery, neither does Strothmann in 1932 in his *Die koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit.* Johann Georg lists it among the three small monasteries of the Fayyūm visited by him in 1927–28, the trip to al-Ḥammām having been made in the latter year. The monastery was then completely in ruins ("alles ist verfallen") with only a woman and her family around. The church altar was locked up and the keys were at al-Lāhūn, so that he did not get to see it. But his account, like that of Petrie, indicates the antiquity of the monastery, for he mentions a door ornament of about A.D. 500 and capitals of the sixth century and places the church in the first thousand years of our era.[183] If these datings are correct, then this monastery must be one of the thirty-five which were in existence in

[178] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[179] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[180] VI, 219; VII, 810.

[181] Spelled with *h* in *Description*, VII, 810, and on the map, but with *ḥ* in the *Index to Place Names*. The *Index* allocates the village of al-Ḥammām to Banī Suwaif and the monastery to the Fayyūm.

[182] *Coptic Manuscripts brought from the Fayyūm* . . . . ed. by W. E. Crum (London, 1893), p. v. Other travelers and writers of the 19th century, e.g., Miss Platt (*Quarterly Review* [London], LXXVII), Curzon, and Butler, add nothing to our knowledge of the Fayyūm monasteries.

[183] *Op. cit.*, pp. 18–20.

Umayyad times, though it is difficult to see why it was not mentioned by either Abū Ṣāliḥ or Nāblusī; for it can hardly have been a question of boundary line here, especially when Nāblusī does include the village of al-Ḥammām.[184] The three monasteries mentioned by Johann Georg, al-ʿAzab, al-Malʾak (Naḳlūn), and al-Ḥammām, are monasteries without monks, but their churches are still in use according to him.[185] Only two of these three churches, that of Gabriel at Naḳlūn and that of the Virgin at al-ʿAzab, are even listed as churches in the list supplied to Clarke by the patriarch Cyril V (1874–1927), though Clarke warns us that he guarantees neither the completeness nor the accuracy of the list.[186]

Of Arab Muslim historians since the days of Maḳrīzī and Abū Ṣāliḥ, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak is the only one who has devoted considerable space to the churches and monasteries of Egypt. But his account, being for the most part a repetition, when not an abridgement, of these two, adds nothing important to our knowledge of the Fayyūm monasteries. He mentions nine monasteries of their combined lists: those of (1) Naḳlūn, (2) Ḳalamūn, (3) Sidmant, (4) the Cross at Fānū, (5) the Virgin and (6) the Brothers at Sailah, (7) Isaac at al-Lāhūn, (8) Theodore and (9) the Apostles; but unlike Abū Ṣāliḥ, who places the last two at Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak places the monastery of Theodore at Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn and that of the Apostles in the city of Fayyūm.[187] A comparison of the two texts leads me to believe that ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak has confused the churches of the city of Fayyūm with the churches and monasteries of Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn. He repeats, word for word, the account given by Abū Ṣāliḥ of the four churches of the city of the Fayyūm, but gives them right *after* his mention of the monastery of Theodore and *before* his listing of the churches of Macarius, Gabriel, and the Savior, and of the monastery of the Apostles, all four of which, according to Abū Ṣāliḥ's account, belong to Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn. A slight change in the arrangement of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's text will give us an accurate reproduction (except for the omission of the church of St. John at Aflāḥ al-Zaitūn) of Abū Ṣāliḥ's account, to which ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak himself specifically refers us.

[184] *BIFAO*, I, 38.
[185] *Op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.
[186] *Op. cit.*, pp. 199, 205; for the dates of Cyril see Strothmann, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
[187] *Op. cit.*, XIV, 89.

Farther on, writing apparently from personal knowledge and of his own time, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak does actually mention, as though belonging to the city of Fayyūm, a monastery of the Virgin together with a church "in the district of the Arabs which is about an hour's distance to the south (of the city), both being the remains of ancient places of worship."[188] From this account it would seem that the monastery credited to the city of Fayyūm is none other than the monastery mentioned by Nāblusī[189] as lying north of Disyā and referred to by Vansleb as the church in the near-by village of Disyā to which the Christians in the city of Fayyūm came because there was no church in the city itself.[190] ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's account thus helps us to name the monastery at Disyā as that of the Virgin. The name of the modern church at Disyā is given by Clarke[191] as that of "El Amîr Tadros," i.e., of Theodore the General.

Source materials for the inner life of the church of the Fayyūm and for the part which this bishopric played in the ecclesiastical life of the Coptic church at large are woefully lacking. Mediocrity and obscurity seem to have been its fate, but perhaps no more and no less than was the case with other provinces also. A century after Vansleb's visit we find a certain Joseph, a native of the Fayyūm and a monk of the monastery of St. Anthony, elected to the patriarchate as John XVIII (1770–96).[192] The Fayyūm bishopric seems to have been temporarily vacant before 1844,[193] but appears soon after to have received a bishop, one of twenty-three appointed by the patriarch Peter VII (1809–52).[194] A certain Abraham was bishop in 1897.[195] The name of the bishop at the time of Johann Georg's visit to the Fayyūm in 1927–28, and by him called archbishop, is not mentioned by this author, though he accompanied the author on a visit to Dair al-ʿAzab and Dair al-Malʾak (Naḳlūn).[196]

[188] *Ibid.*, XIV, 91.
[189] *BIFAO*, I, 62.
[190] *Op. cit.*, p. 253.
[191] *Op. cit.*, p. 205.
[192] ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, VI, 85; Strothmann, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[193] Strothmann, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[194] ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, VI, 86; cf. Strothmann, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[195] Baudrillart, *Dict.*, IV, 762.
[196] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

When and for what reason the Fayyūm and the Gīzah bishoprics were united, I do not know, but Clarke reports them united in 1912.[197] We also read that the bishop of the Fayyūm is one of the two members of the Jacobite Coptic hierarchy who do not have the title "metropolitan."[198] The situation seems to have been changed again recently, perhaps by the present patriarch John XIX (1928——); for Strothmann lists Gīzah and the Fayyūm as separate bishoprics, naming Isaac as bishop of the Fayyūm.[199] If this Isaac is indeed the bishop referred to by Johann Georg, and if the title archbishop was an official one, the separation of the two bishoprics and the adding of the dignity of a metropolitan must have come about before 1928, but certainly not much before, since Baudrillart in his *Dictionaire* (published 1930) lists them as still united.

The Fayyūm is thus apparently sharing in the mild revival stirring the Coptic church,[200] though to what extent is known only by few, perhaps only by the patriarch John and the bishop Isaac. At any rate, Ralph Bagnold,[201] one of the most recent travelers in the Fayyūm, is silent on the question—a silence perhaps expressing and typifying the deep indifference of the average modern traveler to such matters. Yet his brief description of the Fayyūm as a province with "walled gardens and villages that looked and smelt so different from anything in the Nile Valley" and resounding with "the queer sleepy music of its ancient wooden water-wheels, eternally lifting water from the canal," indicates why the Fayyūm is a land of interest alike to travelers and to scholars.

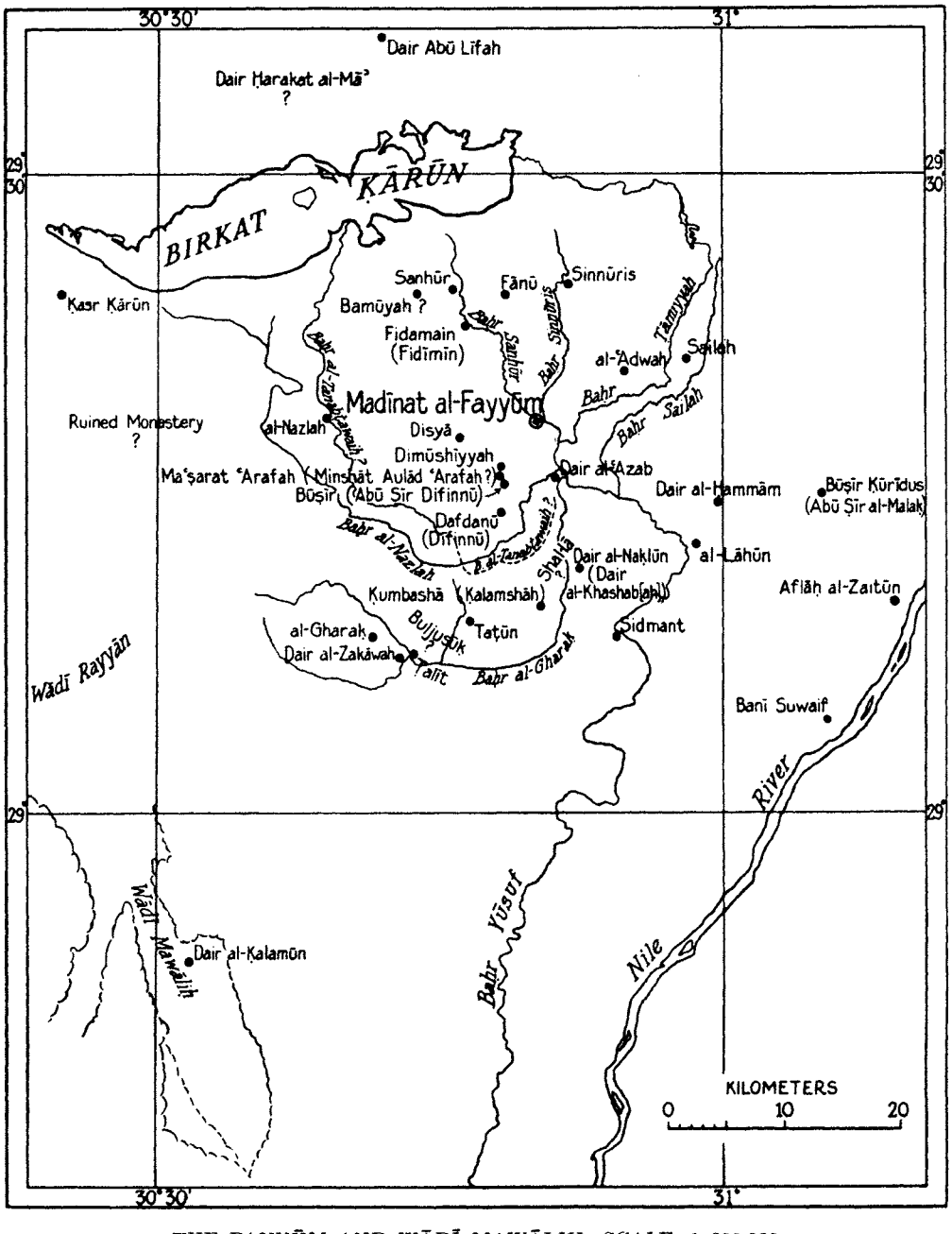
[197] *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

[198] Baudrillart, *Dict.*, IV, 761.

[199] *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

[200] Cf. Evelyn-White, Pt. II, p. 436; and Strothmann's work already referred to; further evidence of a Coptic awakening is to be seen in the recent formation of the *Association des amis des églises et de l'art Coptes*, whose first annual bulletin (for 1935) was published in Cairo in 1936.

[201] *Libyan Sands* (London, 1935), pp. 25–26.



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