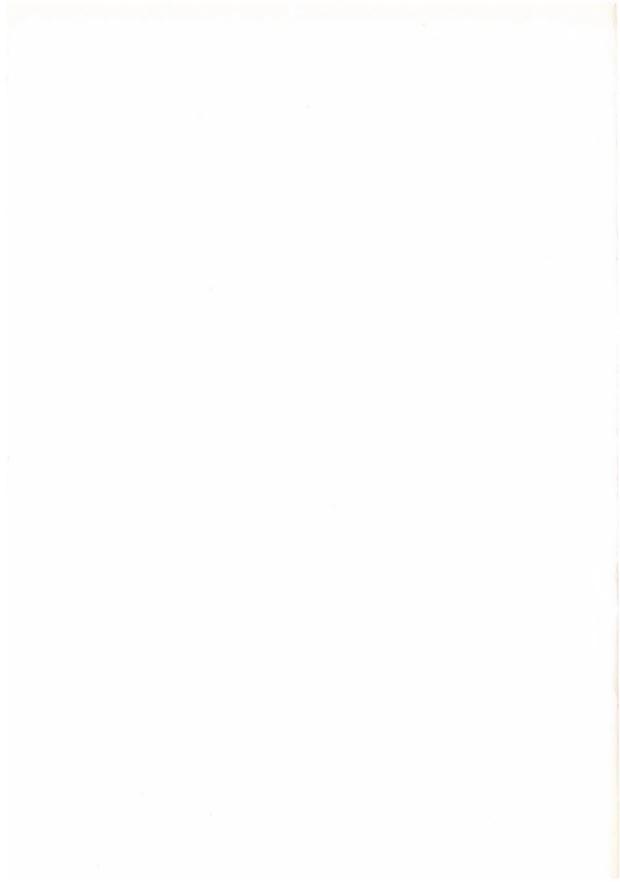
A N T A E U S COMMUNICATIONES EX INSTITUTO ARCHAEOLOGICO ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE 16/1987

L. TÖRÖK

LATE ANTIQUE NUBIA





ANTAEUS COMMUNICATIONES EX INSTITUTO ARCHAEOLOGICO ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE 16

Abbreviation: Antaeus

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Distribution of exchange copies by the Library of the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences H—1250 Budapest I., Uri u. 49.

ISSN 0238-0218

The periodical Antaeus, Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae is the continuation of the periodical (Antaeus) Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

> 8717466 MTA Sokszorosító, Budapest F. v.: dr. Héczey Lászlóné

ANTAEUS COMMUNICATIONES EX INSTITUTO ARCHAEOLOGICO ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM HUNGARICAE 16

László TÖRÖK

LATE ANTIQUE NUBIA

History and archaeology of the southern neighbour of Egypt in the 4th-6th c. A.D.

With a Preface by Sir Laurence Kirwan

Budapest 1988

Edited by L. Török Co-editors: L. Kovács and F. Redő

> Cover design E. Egyed

Plates III-VI, VIII-X, XIII-XXVI by Dieter Johannes

Drawings by the author

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Preface

by Sir Laurence Kirwan

The post-Meroitic period is the darkest age in the ancient history of the Nile Valley to the south of Egypt. The area covered by this book extends as far south as the middle reaches of the Blue Nile. Its post-Meroitic history is beset by problems and limitations. In the first place, the ending of Meroitic sovereignty appears not to have been uniform in either time or place. Archaeological evidence, for example, from sites such as Kawa and Sanam between the Third and Fifth Cataract suggests that Meroe may have lost control over much if not all of this reach of the Nile Valley well before the end of Meroe's royal dynasty and the final disintegration of the kingdom in the fourth century A.D.

Then there are the limitations imposed on the historian by the amount of archaeological and other evidence available. Lower Nubia and its cultural and economic extension to the Third Cataract has proved rich in post-Meroitic discoveries, notably the royal tombs at Ballana and Qustul excavated by W. B. Emery and myself over fifty years ago. There are also numerous references to this northern zone in contemporary classical literature. There are inscriptions and most recently papyri from the hill fortress at Qasr Ibrim, the only historic site in Egyptian Nubia to have escaped total flooding by the High Dam at Aswan.

But the position farther south above the Third Cataract is very different. Post-Meroitic discoveries in the Nile Valley between the Third and the Fifth Cataract are virtually limited to two groups of mound tombs at Tanqasi and Zume near Gebel Barkal. Further south recent discoveries by the French Archaeological Unit in the Sudan have begun to shed some light on the post-Meroitic period in the Meroe-Shendi and the Khartoum regions. But this is only a beginning and there are innumerable sites to be explored. Little attention has yet been paid to post-Meroitic levels at Meroe, the capital, and the so-called Necropolis there has yet to be rediscovered. Its cemeteries, only partially excavated and scantily and inadequately published early this century, appear to contain many transitional and post-Meroitic graves which could provide important clues to developments in the capital. There is also a dearth of inscriptional evidence with one notable exception - that is the great stela in Ethiopic of Ezana, king of Axum, describing his campaign in and around the island of Meroe in the mid-fourth century A.D. Found at Axum many years ago this stela, precise in its geographical detail, sets the scene for the post-Meroitic period in this southern region.

The dearth of references to these southern territories during the post-Meroitic period in contemporary classical literature is understandable. The kingdom of Meroe had been a Roman protectorate since the end of the first century B.C. and in the north, in Lower Nubia, adjoined a frontier zone incorporated with Upper Egypt and defended by the Roman army. However, after Rome's withdrawal from Lower Nubia three centuries later, leaving this frontier zone in the hands of federates – Blemmyes and Noubades (Nubians) – Upper Nubia above the Third Cataract was relegated to

two centuries of comparative isolation. Trade with Roman Egypt flourished through Lower Nubia but further south Romano-Egyiptian imports are very rarely found in post-Meroitic graves.

Disintegration often follows the withdrawal of imperial power and influence beyond the frontier; new forces then arise. As the kingdom of Meroe approached its end the Nubians, originally immigrants from the Western Sudan, emerged as the dominant element. By the middle of the fourth century, these Nubians (Noba) had taken over large tracts of Meroitic territory above the Fifth Cataract. Indeed it is likely that Nubians from west of the Nile had settled on the river lands between the Third and Fifth Cataract at an even earlier date. In the course of the next two centuries three Nubian kingdoms arose and eventually spanned the whole Nile Valley from Egypt to the Blue Nile. When their rulers were converted to Christianity all these former Meroitic territories were brought again within the Roman orbit. Arab writers testify to the Nubian origins of these kingdoms although there were differences between them. The circumstances in which each of these kingdoms arose is far from clear. It is one, and perhaps the most perplexing of the problems with which Dr. Török has had to contend in this valuable work, the first comprehensive study of the post-Meroitic period in the Nile Valley.

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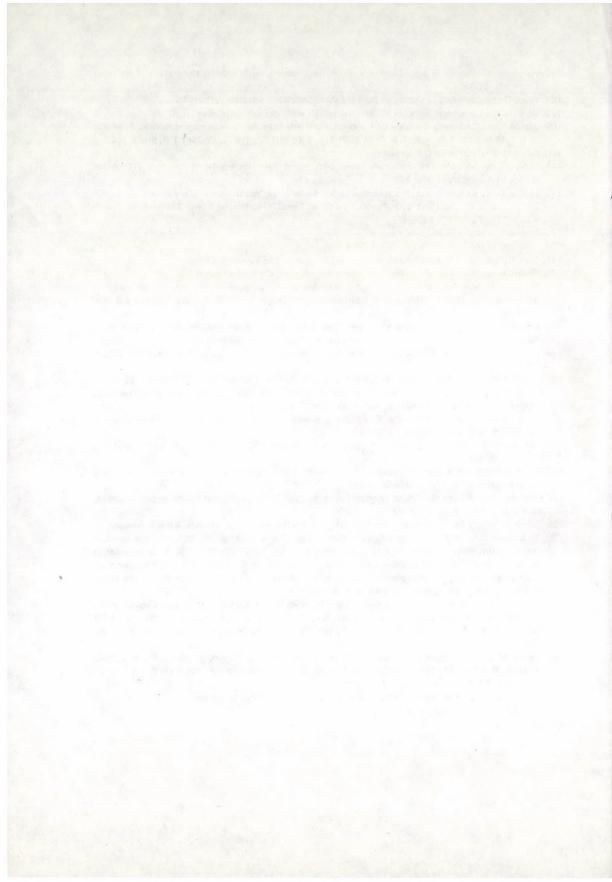
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Introduction

In his comprehensive history of Nubia W. Y. Adams termed the period between the end of the Meroitic kingdom and the conversion "post-Meroitic dark age".¹ The term is doubtless more felicitous than the current denominations "X-group age", "X-Horizon", "Ballana Age", "Ballana Culture", "Tanqasi Culture".² The notion "dark" is doubtlessly justifiable on the basis of certain historical and cultural processes that strongly resemble European Dark Age. The use of the word in a more literary sense in earlier Nubian research is due, however, to the fragmentary nature of the sources and to the unevenness of research itself.

The inhabitants of post-Meroitic Nubia were frequently mentioned in contemporary literary works and documents: as also their ancestors were known in Greek and Roman ethnographic literature.³ But, unlike other *Randvölker*, Nubians (Noubae, Noubades, Nobatai, Anouba) and Blemmyans were never adorned with idealized features, and their image became especially frightful during the long period of their devastating incursions to Egypt after the middle of the 3rd century A.D. These sources are responsible for the simplified picture of post-Meroitic history and culture in 19th and early 20th century literature. The discovery of the royal necropoleis at Qustul and Ballana in the 1930oies revealed, however, not only the richness of the rulers but also an unexpected complexity of their culture and brought about a revision of the current image.

Fortunately enough, the finds made at Qustul and Ballana were not the last to elicit admiration and produce changes in current views. Surveys and excavations conducted in Egyptian Nubia and in the Sudan in the past five decades⁴ and especially during the UNESCO Nubian Salvage Campaign⁵ have provided us with a wealth of new information. Recent surveys by André Vila south of the Dal Cataract have shed light on the history of a region that was hardly known previously.⁶ The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Qasr Ibrim⁷ yielded (and continue to yield, for researches at the site will be continued) new information the decisive importance of which can be appreciated only after the publication of the finds.

Ever since the first publications of G. A. Reisner⁸ and H. Junker⁹ on post-Meroitic Nubia the historical problems of the period continued to attract the attention of Nubian scholars. The list of writers on political and cultural history of the Nubian dark age includes first of all W. B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, the discoverers and publishers of the royal cemeteries. Emery has repeatedly returned to the issue of the ethnic identity of the Ballana princes.¹⁰ The most recent study of Sir Laurence Kirwan, an admirable synthesis of the "X-group problem", was published in 1982.¹¹ The list also includes the names of W. Y. Adams,¹² V. Christides,¹³ J. Desanges,¹⁴ A. Dihle,¹⁵ E. Dinkler,¹⁶ F. Ll. Griffith,¹⁷ T. Hägg,¹⁸ F. Hintze,¹⁹ I. Hofmann,²⁰ H. Jacquet-Gordon,²¹ U. Monneret de Villard,²² T. Papadopoullos,²³ J. M. Plumley,²⁴ P. L. Shinnie,²⁵ B. G. Trigger,²⁶ R. T. Updegraff.²⁷ We must also specially emphasize the importance of the contribution of a number of philologists who have edited and re-edited sources and documents: without the works of T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce²⁸ and H. Satzinger²⁹ basic aspects of post-Meroitic history could hardly be elucidated. The reader will find a more detailed account of the researches of the above-named scholars in the forthcoming chapters of this book. I also shall give a more detailed description of the more important archaeological finds.

It is not the task of this book to draw a balance of the achievments of the archaeological researches concerning post-Meroitic Nubia before, during and after the UNESCO Salvage Campaign. Nevertheless, I should like to stress here two unduly neglected aspects.

Shortly after their discovery, Freiherr von Bissing dedicated a series of studies on Byzantine imports in the Qustul and Ballana tombs.³⁰ His masterly analyses went unnoticed by historians of late antique art, although there are among these objects uniquely important pieces (as e.g. the church treasure from Ballana 3) and despite the fact that these objects come from archaeological contexts, unlike the majority of late antique art objects. On the other hand, von Bissing's statements also remained unknown for Nubian scholars, or they were refused without persuasive arguments. Thus, objects of foreign origin from Qustul, Ballana or other Nubian sites continue to figure in literature as Nubian products.³¹

Writers on the post-Meroitic period have furthermore neglected the investigation of absolute and inner chronology of the royal cemeteries. Disinterest, or scepticism towards the possibility of a more precise chronology resulted in the view that there were no temporal changes in the material culture of the period, or that temporal changes cannot be properly analyzed before the discovery of some more unambiguous stratigraphical sequence.

The principal aims of this book will therefore be the analysis of the imported objects found at Qustul and Ballana on the one hand, and the establishment of a - however tentative - chronology of these cemeteries and of the archaeological find material that can be brought into connection therewith, on the other. Evidently enough, the issue of archaeological chronology cannot be treated independently from the historical data, and it is this circumstance that can perhaps justify, at least to a certain extent, the ambitious title of this study. I must emphasize, however, that the present stand of research and publication does not allow us to deal with the entire territory of the post-Meroitic culture and it does not allow us to make conclusive statements, either. Almost every statement concerning political history must stand in conditional tense before the publication of the written documents found so far (and, hopefully, to be found in the future) at Qasr Ibrim: the informatory value thereof can be appraised in the knowledge e.g. of the Phonen letter or the Tantani documents.³² We also hope for the publication of other major sites such as Meinarti, and are aware that their publication will devaluate a series of our earlier statements. However, it is also to be feared, that a series of important large-scale excavations of the UNESCO Campaign (I mention only Gebel Adda and Semna South) will inevitably share the fate of some major excavations of the past (I mention only the most depressing of these, Meroe City). It is thus self-evident that no comprehensive history of the period can be written for the time being, as it must also be realized that the interpretation of the fragmentary evidence inevitably runs the risk of oversimplification.

My interest in the post-Meroitic period dates back to the early 1970ies. Being

confronted with the controversial opinions concerning date and circumstances of the end of the Meroitic kingdom and its concrete links with the Ballana monarchs, I came fortunately across a so far overlooked group of finds which allowed to confirm a late (around 360-370 A.D.) date for the fall of the Meroitic kingdom and to suppose some sort of dynastic connections.³³ My approach was, and continues to be, determined by my two principal fields of work: late Meroitic history on the one hand, and the history of late antique art in Egypt, on the other. More extensive researches to this present work were first inspired, however, by Professor Bernard V. Bothmer who invited me in 1978 to speak about Ballana art and its relation to late antique art at the Symposium organized in conjunction with the exhibition Africa in Antiquity in The Brooklyn Museum.³⁴ My work was then greatly encouraged by Professors T. Hägg, T. Eide and R. H. Pierce during my visiting research fellowship at the Klassisk Institutt of the University of Bergen in 1980. I am especially indebted to my friend Tomas Hägg. It was on his initiative that I was invited to Bergen, where I have experienced an exceptionally stimulating atmosphera and where I have spent the most fruitful period of my professional life. He displayed an indefatigable interest in this work at its every stage and, beyond valuable suggestions and criticisms, he also granted me access to his papers on Nubian subjects in manuscript form.

My special thanks are due to the Director of the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo, for his generous permission to study the finds from Qustul and Ballana. I owe it to the help of Professor Dr. Werner Kaiser, First Director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, that in winter 1982/83 Mr. Dieter Johannes took the photographs of a series of objects from Ballana in the Cairo Museum (PIs III-XXVI). In the course of the - several times interrupted - work I have enjoyed the privilege, to receive advice and criticism from several other eminent scholars, too. I am indebted first of all to Sir Laurence Kirwan, I hardly can say anything about the post-Meroitic period what could not be found explicitely, or in an implicit form in his penetrating and admirably clear papers. I have to express my gratitude to Professor J. M. Plumley, who allowed me in a magnanimous way to read his papers on several Qasr Ibrim manuscript finds in advance of publication. I am indebted to Professors Eide, Hägg and Pierce for their permission to quote the manuscript of unpublished parts of their "Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History". Special thanks are due to Professor W. Y. Adams, whose works, especially Chapter 13 of his "Nubia Corridor to Africa", are omnipresent in this book. I owe a debt of gratitude to my wife. Without her assistance I never could have accomplished this work. Last, but not least, my thanks are due to Mr. Robert Morkot for the revision of my English manuscript.

Finally, I am glad to state the coincidence that my manuscript will be printed at the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the finds made at Qustul and Ballana. I hope that this work can be accepted as an homage dedicated to the discoverers of the tombs of the post-Meroitic kings and queens of Lower Nubia.

Budapest, January 1987.

I. The last century of the Meroitic kingdom

1. Economy and administration

1.1. Economy: the sources

The mortuary remains of the post-Meroitic period were first discovered in Cemetery 7 at Shellal and described in 1909 by G. A. Reisner.³⁵ Like his Groups A, B, and C, the cultural complex labelled X-Group was interpreted by him first of all on the basis of the unfamiliar grave type, the non-Meroitic pottery and the (idiosyncratic) anthropological investigations of Elliot Smith, as evidence of the arrival of a new people in Nubia. This theory was maintained in literature until the late 1950s, when archaeologists began to accept and prove Batrawi's statement³⁶ according to which "The Meroitic and X-Group series... may be considered to represent variants of the same population." On the basis of the data collected in the course of the UNESCO Rescue Campaign it appears certain that the end of the Meroitic kingdom cannot be explained as a catastrophe brought about by the invasion of a new people. Despite the lack of evidence for a violent end to the Meroitic period and for a largescale population change, however, it cannot be denied either, that the post-Meroitic culture is not simply a variant of, or epilogue to Meroitic culture and that cultural changes may have been brought about by changes in the ethnic composition. Yet it is also probable that the changes that led to the apparently abrupt end of the Meroitic kingdom and the sudden emergence of the post-Meroitic culture had started already during the 3rd century.³⁷ The discussion of the post-Meroitic period must thus start with the discussion of the last phases of Meroitic history.

At the middle of the 3rd c. A.D. the kingdom of Kush looked back at a history of over one thousand years. Its rulers styled themselves Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt like the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.³⁸ The traditional ideology of kingship, although it has absorbed influences from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, is valid in essentially the same form as at the beginning of the Meroitic period.³⁹ However uninformed we are about late Meroitic public feeling (if we may use at all the term in this context), we may perhaps deduce from the material level indicated by 3rd c. A.D. settlement and grave finds that signs of a decline were not necessarily apparent in this period. Although the culture obviously lacks any high achievment that could be compared with the production of the 1st c. A.D., the zenith of late Meroitic cultural development, a general prosperity cannot be denied.

Its economic basis can only be guessed.⁴⁰ An intensification of the agricultural production, i.e. an expansion of the cultivated area, can be observed both in the South and in Lower Nubia from the early 2nd c. B.C. onwards.⁴¹ The process might have been brought about, or at least strongly influenced, by the decline of trade with Egypt during and after the Upper Egyptian revolt.⁴² It could also have been interconnected with population movements, first of all in the South, where Nubian-speakers had moved apparently constantly towards the Meroitic heartland from a western direction ever since the early Ptolemaic period. It was also influenced by the introduc-

tion of the *saqia* waterwheel some time in the 1st c. B.C. or in the 1st c. A.D.,⁴³ however, the largest process of growth occurs in Lower Nubia during the 1st c. A.D.⁴⁴

In the 2nd c. B.C. Lower Nubia is only scarcely populated; there were hardly any other settlements than military and caravan stations.⁴⁵ According to the archaeological finds, a popular resettlement began in the early decades of the 1st c. B.C. Inscriptions from the first half of the century attest that a certain part of the Lower Nubian Nile Valley, probably the valley stretch between Maharraqa and the second cataract, was organized as an administrative unit under the authority of a *pešto* i.e. viceroy.⁴⁶ The development of the newly organized province considerably quickened after the war with Rome.⁴⁷ It was also a consequence of the peace treaty with Rome that trade contacts between Meroe and Egypt, and, through the mediation of the latter, the Mediterranean world were re-established after a long time.⁴⁸

The principal items of this trade were, as far as it can be deduced from the usually overestimated but in fact rather scarce and uninformative sources, gold and exotic wares.⁴⁹ It is quite obvious that gold constituted, as a trade item, a royal monopoly. Considering the fact that the African luxuries had to be acquired from foreign countries, it seems probable that also the trade of these belonged to the realm of royal monopolies. It would thus appear that the profit of external trade contributed to the prosperity of the country through the channels of a redistribution, which we may perhaps imagine on the basis of contemporary examples. Griffith and later Adams have suggested that Lower Nubian surplus foodstuff production (first of all grain) was sold by small enterpreneurs (and perhaps also by farmers) to Roman settlements in the Dodekaschoinos and to the Roman military stationed at the Egyptian frontier.⁵⁰ Their hypothesis is also supported by reference to Philostratos' frequently quoted description of the "silent trade" between Meroites and Egyptians at the frontier between the two countries (Vita Apoll., VI, 2). I have shown elsewhere⁵¹ that Philostratos' narrative concerns in fact the Ethiopia of Utopy and has nothing to do with really existing Meroe. Furthermore, it is also probable that all land was owned by the ruler.⁵² In view of the absolute royal land ownership it is difficult, although not absolutely impossible, to imagine that agricultural surplus production could have been traded by the producer or by small enterpreneurs. I am inclined thus to believe that general prosperity was primarily secured through a centralized redistributive system, in which the king shared the trade profit and the agricultural surplus production not only with the temples and the military, but also with his subjects in general. It must be stressed, however, that the forms of ownership and of redistribution cannot be understood on the basis of archaeological finds:⁵³ and, regrettably enough, our sources fail to give relevant information on this issue, while they highlight quite clearly several features of the economic administration.⁵⁴

Textual sources from the 1st-4th c. A.D. reflect an intricate economic administration. Since the texts in question are almost without exception mortuary inscriptions consisting of cursus honorum of the deceased, we may form a picture of the structure of the administration, but cannot see the actual forms and effect of the activity of the officials. This is true, evidently enough, also for state and for temple administration.

1.2. Lower Nubian administration: the viceroy

As mentioned above, some time in the 1st c. B.C. Lower Nubia was organized under the authority of a deputy. 1st-3rd c. A.D. inscriptions reflect a centralised provincial administration with a viceroy at its top who is subordinate only to the king. However, since the inscriptions in question are almost without exception funerary texts with descriptions of cursus honorum of the deceased, we can form an idea only of the structure of the offices and of their interconnections in a formal sense, while the activities themselves of the officials remain obscure. In the 3rd c. A.D. the Lower Nubian viceroys seem to have been appointed for a certain period (the average tenure was around three years).⁵⁵ The viceregal seat was in the 1st c. B.C. in Faras, but it was transferred some time around the turn of the century to the vicinity of Karanog (Aniba) further north.⁵⁶

1.3. Officials subordinate to the viceroy

On the basis of the cursus honorum descriptions from the period between the 1st and 4th c. one may identify three classes of Lower Nubian officials. The highest class embraces those provincial offices which occur only in the career of pesto-viceroys. To the second class belong medium-rank "career bureaucrats" of the civil administration of the royal and temple domains. To this class also belong the middle priestly ranks, while prophets (presumably second, third and fourth prophets) occur exclusively in the families of pestos.⁵⁷ The third class embraces local (village?) officials, smaller administrators of temple estates and the lower priesthood. In the third class there were also officials whose titles were qualified with toponyms. I have suggested elsewhere that these titles - which never occur in the cursus of officials belonging to one of the higher classes - may signify village offices that originate perhaps in the early phase of the Lower Nubian resettlement.⁵⁸ I did not even exclude the possibility that some of the offices had their roots in tribal units which arrived in Lower Nubia from more archaic, or perhaps less Meroiticized, surroundings. Titles of this kind are attested in connection with the toponyms Dor/Derr, Nlote/Aniba, Teñ/Shablul, Tmñ/Gezira Dabarosa, Amod/Qustul, Bogh/Ballana and Tnr (?).59 These localities already existed, as the itinerary of Bion attests, in the 3rd c. B. C., mostly on New Kingdom sites,⁶⁰ and they were situated approximately at equal distances from each other.

1.4 Administration of the South

While the administration of Lower Nubia, as far as the skeleton of the bureaucratic system is concerned, is fairly well-known, the situation between the second and third cataracts and in the Meroitic heartland is almost entirely obscure. The former territory seems to have had a less complicated administrative system, with an official called *sleqeñ* on its top.⁶¹ The Lower Nubian viceroy never occurs in a cursus honorum from this territory. For lack of data we cannot form any judgement on the administration of the vast territory south of the third cataract. There can be no doubt, however, that the high officials were appointed by the ruler. It can also be supposed that the highest provincial offices were not life-long appointments as a rule, for a number of *peštos* were promoted after a Lower Nubian career to a higher rank (*pqr*, *pqr qori-s* i.e. *pqr* of the ruler) which removed them from the province.⁶² Also a certain inter-province mobility of medium-rank officials and priests can be detected from the cursus inscriptions.

1.5. Administration of the Dodekaschoinos

Thank to more easily understandable demotic inscriptions in the temples of the Dodekaschoinos,⁶³ we are better informed about circumstances in this territory in the 1st to 3rd c. According to the Samos treaty concluded between Augustus and the envoys of the Meroitic ruler in winter 21/20 B.C., ⁶⁴ it belonged under Roman supremacy.⁶⁵ In the past it was occupied repeatedly by Meroe and 2nd-1st c. B.C. sources attest that a part of its population was "Ethiopian" i.e. of southern, non-Egyptian origins.⁶⁶ After the Samos treaty Meroitic names occur in the local administration and in the temple bureaucracy.⁶⁷ After a gap in the evidence Meroitic names reappear in temple graffiti around the end of the 2nd c. Proskynema-inscriptions of different types attest the activity of the powerful Lower Nubian Wayekiye family between the late 2nd and the late 4th c.⁶⁸ Its members were responsible for the administration of the temple domains of Isis of Philae and Thoth of Dakka. In view of the importance of these temple domains in the political and economic life of the Dodekaschoinos, their role must have been decisive. This is also indicated by the unusual title rp or $rp^{c}i$, "hereditary chief" (of Takompso), held by several members of the family in the 3rd c.⁶⁹ The first known member, Sesen, appears first as lesonis-priest of Isis at Philae.⁷⁰ In another inscription⁷¹ he is styled as royal scribe of Kush. The same remarkably dualistic nature appears also in inscriptions of his descendants. Although they were endowed with administrative offices in the sanctuaries at Dakka and Philae, which lay on Egyptian territory, at the same time they held Meroitic official titles. Moreover, they received orders from the king of Meroe and were obliged to report him, as it seems, regularly. This extraordinary status of the Philae and Dakka sanctuaries is a matter of debate since Griffith's edition of the demotic graffiti. Griffith tended to believe that the Dodekaschoinos was already under Meroitic control⁷² around the middle of the 3rd c. Later writers suggested the possibility of an Egyptian-Meroitic condominium. In her recent reconstruction of the Wayekiye family tree A. Burkhardt interpreted the activity of the officials in question as a practical compromise which would betray Egypt's inability to prevent Meroitic interference in the affairs of the sanctuaries at the frontier 73 – in a territory, it can be added, that was inhabited partly by a non-Egyptian, Meroitic population and which was traditionally claimed by Meroe. Although this view is not unrealistic, I have tried to reconstruct from the inscriptions a slightly different process.⁷⁴ Egyptian readiness to compromise might have characterized its beginning. However, around 240-250 it came to conflicts,

in the course of which, for a time Meroe seems to have established an administrative unit extending from the second cataract to the first cataract. Also, for a time, Egypt seems to have prevented Meroe from any interference in Philae, although the financial administration of the Isis-domain was, in this period, in the hands of a dignitary of Meroitic origin. This dignitary, a certain Tami, left Philae around 253,75 but returned there in 260 as ambassador in the company of Abratove, viceroy of Lower Nubia and concluded a treaty with the priests of Philae.⁷⁶ On this occasion he crowned i.e. installed a prophet: with this act he performed an official duty which was according to Egyptian law a privilege of the Roman praefect in his quality as deputy of the emperor.⁷⁷ Unfortunately enough, we do not have information about further affairs of similar character that would affirm, or negate the open Meroitic authority that is indicated by Tami's act. It is nevertheless highly significant that from the 240ies onwards there are no signs of Roman military presence in the Dodekaschoinos, where forces of frontier defence had been stationed since the Samos treaty and also, that around 251 A.D. the exploitation of the Kertassi quarries was given up.⁷⁸ In 253,⁷⁹ 260⁸⁰ and some time around 265⁸¹ three major Meroitic embassies were sent to Philae. Their records do not dwell upon the issues that were discussed with the priests of Isis, and with civil dignities at Philae and perhaps also in Alexandria; but it is rather likely that they also were concerned with the status of the Dodekaschoinos. Another issue might have been the appearance of the Blemmyes in the frontier area.

We may perhaps risk the hypothesis that the main concern of the Egyptian government in the troublesome times of the middle of the 3rd c. was not the status of the Dodekaschoinos and of the sanctuaries of the territory, but the defence of the Thebaid from Meroe on the one hand, and from the Blemmyes, on the other. Whilst Egypt's withdrawal from the Dodekaschoinos resulted in a Meroitic expansion, which had perhaps a positive effect on Meroitic-Egyptian relations, it also created a situation in which it was first of all Meroe that was confronted with the Blemmyan threat.

It seems thus to have been the recognition of a status quo, when in 298 A.D.⁸² Diocletian withdrew the southern Egyptian frontier from Hiera Sykaminos to Aswan. It was the last considerable territorial expansion of the Meroitic kingdom, when it occupied the Dodekaschoinos. In the following decades new population groups were settled in the territory from farther upstream. I shall return later to the discussion of the frontier withdrawal and the ensuing situation.

Although not being a fertile territory, the Dodekaschoinos was not economically unimportant. First of all, its ownership secured access to the gold-mining areas of the Wadis Allaqi and Gabgaba, and also to the emerald mines of the Eastern Desert. It also secured taxes imposed on commercial traffic from, and to Egypt. Although we have reasons to believe that the wealth of the sanctuaries at Philae and Dakka did not exclusively derive from the income of their domains situated in the Dodekaschoinos and from taxes on trade, a good part of it was doubtlessly drawn from these local sources.

2. The peoples of the late Meroitic kingdom 2.1. The Nubian-speaking peoples

For lack of sufficient information, the ethnic history of Meroe can be discussed only in very general terms.⁸³ To quote a synthesis of Priese, "the population of the Nile Valley probably did not consist of a single ethnic group. The region around Meroe was certainly the dwelling place of the Meroites. In the Nile Valley south of the Third Cataract, Nubian-speaking peoples probably existed as early as the New Kingdom, or perhaps even earlier, as can be deduced from the names of some localities in the area. The extent to which pastoral tribes west and east of the Nile Valley accepted the sovereignty of the Kushite king is in some doubt. Nubian tribes lived in the Bayuda, the large desert steppe extending from a point south of Napata to the region of Meroe... In the Eastern Desert lived the Blemmyes, the ancestors of the Beja of to-day. According to Greek accounts,⁸⁴ this group must have been at times subject to the "Ethiopians". Indeed, the inscriptions of Napatan kings inform us of repeated conflicts with them."⁸⁵

In the 4th-3rd c. B.C. Lower Nubia was only very scarcely populated. Inscriptions of Harsiyotef⁸⁶ and Nastasen⁸⁷ mention conflicts with tribes in the territory, who were subdued by the kingdom of Napata. Some of them tried to regain their independence through an alliance with the fleeing last native king of Egypt, Khababash in the years around 336 B.C.⁸⁸ Sources from the 2nd c. B.C.⁸⁹ attest the existence of "Ethiopian", i.e. Meroitic (?) communities in the Dodekaschoinos and the bulk of the population of the Ptolemaic Triakontaschoinos was presumably of similar origins. It seems probable that they were settled here during the Meroitic occupation of the area in the period of the Upper Egyptian revolt between 207/6 and 186. It is obscure, however, whether they were Meroitic-speakers or Nubian-speakers, or both.90 According to the testimony of ceramic finds, the material culture from the 5th-4th c. onwards was considerably standardized all over the Kushite territories from the Khartoum area to the Second Cataract.⁹¹ The same is true for mortuary customs, it seems thus rather improbable that different ethnicities could be geographically localized unless we have also other sources than graves and artefacts. It can be deduced, however, from the disappearance of Meroitic writing and presumably also language at the beginning of the post-Meroitic epoch and from other sources to be discussed further below, that Lower Nubia was resettled in the course of the late Meroitic period mainly with Nubian-speaking peoples. These must have belonged to the family of Noubades/Nobatai. At the time of their arrival they seem to have been thoroughly Meroiticised, and we have thus reason to believe that they descended from Meroitic subjects living farther upstream. Other Nubian-speakers, the Noubai, are mentioned by Eratoshenes who places them in the early Ptolemaic period on the left (western) bank of the Nile betweeen the latitude of Meroe and the great bend of the river.⁹² According to him they were a numerous people and lived in independent kingdoms. Centuries later Pliny mentioned Noubai living south of Meroe, on the west bank of the Nile.93 It seems, therefore, that these peoples moved from the southwest towards the Meroitic heartland. Furthermore, Nubian-speaking groups - the Noba of the Ezana inscription - moved towards the Butana from the lower reaches of the Blue Nile. In the second half of the 4th c. A.D. we find the Noba in the possession of large parts of the Meroitic heartland and also north of the Nile-Atbara junction. Although it is highly probable that their settlement in this late period did not take place only under peaceful circumstances, the story of their earlier settlement on Meroitic territory could have been different, at least at times. Periods of sudden expansion of the cultivated area in the early Meroitic period and again after the war with Rome might have been periods of largescale admissions of groups from the southwestern fringes of the kingdom. On the other hand, scenes on the walls of the late 1st c. B.C. Temple 250 ("Sun Temple") at Meroe City,⁹⁴ the mid-1st c. A.D. Gebel Qeili monument⁹⁵ of King Shorakaror and contemporary magic statuettes and figures,⁹⁶ all representing defeat of a barbaric people (or its magical binding) which is occasionally identified in inscriptions as Noba,⁹⁷ indicate armed incidents in the course of immigration.

2.2. The Blemmyans

It is likely, but unproved that the above peoples belonged to the same family. Racially somewhat better defined are the Blemmyes.⁹⁸ They were ancestors of the Beja tribes, nomadic pastoralists occupying the area of the Red Sea Hills, who speak languages that belong to the Kushitic family. They appeared first under the name Medjay in Old and Middle Kingdom texts. In Napatan records they occur first in the text of the Anlamani Stela (late 7th c. B.C.)⁹⁹ as nomadic enemies living in the Eastern Desert, and later Napatan texts repeatedly mention them in this same quality.¹⁰⁰ During the 5th-4th c. they appeared in Upper Nubia around Kawa and in the Fourth Cataract region as well as in Lower Nubia where they were defeated by King Harsiyotef.¹⁰¹ These texts indicate that, at least from time to time, Blemmy tribes were under Napatan supremacy. In the early Meroitic period Eratosthenes mentions them as Meroitic subjects.¹⁰² Later classical sources locate their tribes in the Eastern Desert. However, some accounts place them falsely "near the source" of the River Nile.¹⁰³ Next time we hear about them as frightful barbaric plunderers of the Thebaid.¹⁰⁴

The history of the ancient inhabitants of the fringes of the Meroitic kingdom is entirely obscure, and the predecessors of the Nilotic tribes of the Sudd swamps and the tropical rain forests, the Shilluk, Nuer, Dinka, Azande etc. are also archaeologically unexplored.¹⁰⁵ For lack of data, and also for their presumable irrelevance for a post-Meroitic history, they are not included in the present investigation.

3. Political history

3.1. Conflicts in Lower Nubia before 298 A.D.

I have already mentioned above my debated hypothesis¹⁰⁶ concerning the de facto Meroitic supremacy in the Dodekaschoinos after c. 240/41 A.D. After these not quite unambiguous preliminaries the Roman frontier withdrawal was officially declared by Diocletian in 298. Conflicts in the frontier area are also recorded between these two dates. Some records are doubtless unreliable and are to be discarded, and other data are to be interpreted in a different way. The narrative of the Chronicon Paschale¹⁰⁷ about Decius' action against the Blemmyes and Nobades ("Decius... brought from dry Libya poisonous snakes and dreadful hermaphrodites and released (them) at the Egyptian frontier because of the barbarians") is clearly fabulous. The place of the SHA, Gallienus, ¹⁰⁸ about the pretender L. Mussius Aemilianus' measures against barbarians at the Egyptian southern frontier is equally of doubtful authenticity. The demotic proskynema Ph. 252 is usually interpreted as record of an Egyptian campaign against Blemmyans. From this adoration text we learn that a certain Dd-hr fleet admiral arrived in Bigga on the 13th of December, from where he sailed back to the north (Memphis or Alexandria?) on the 20th of December. Griffith brought the graffito into connection with a passage of the SHA according to which the list of captives in the triumphal procession of Emperor Aurelius celebrating the defeat of the Alexandrian rebel Firmus who "cum Blemmyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis" was headed by Blemmyans.¹⁰⁹ In fact, however, no usurper under the name Firmus existed in these times, ¹¹⁰ and also the Egyptian revolt under Aurelianus is fictitious.¹¹¹ Dd-hr does not hint at any possible official or military motive for his visit. Although Updegraff supposes that he was a son of the Dd-hr son of Asklepiades, who was active in the supression of a rebellion which occurred in 255/6 (third year of Valerianus), and interprets this presumed descent as indication for the younger Dd-hr's anti-Blemmy activity,¹¹² it is fairly clear that he went as a pilgrim to Philae. Regarding the date and the length of the visit, it can be hardly doubted that its purpose was Dd-hr's participation at the Choiak festival of Osiris.

Another remark of the SHA concerning the Blemmyes being expelled from Coptos and Ptolemais in 279/80 by Probus must also be discarded.¹¹³ Behind the passage there is, however, a quite reliable source, the Panegyricus Maximini delivered by Mamertinus in summer 291 in Gallia.¹¹⁴ The panegyric referred to recent events. Mamertinus tells in it about a war between Ethiopians i.e. Meroites and Blemmyes who were engaged in a mortal struggle with each other. It must have been a conflict of considerable importance, like another Meroitic-Blemmyan conflict in 296 or 297 which seems to have ended with Roman intervention and the defeat of both the Meroitic and Blemmyan forces. According to the Panegyricus Constantini¹¹⁵ the victory was Diocletian's, and the panegyric, delivered on March 1. 297, depicts the "trophaea Nilica sub quibus Aethiops et Indus intremuit" where Indus means Blemmy. L. Castiglione has identified a now destroyed terracotta statuette in the Berlin (East) Egyptian Museum from Egypt as commemoration of Diocletian's victory over the Blemmyes.¹¹⁶ A further unpublished exemplar of the type is in the Benaki Museum in Athens.¹¹⁷

3.2. The withdrawal of the Roman frontier to Syene

It is rather probable that the Roman withdrawal from the Dodekaschoinos was brought about by the Meroitic presence in the population as well as in the high administration of the temples, further by conflicts with the Blemmyes and by the general insecurity of this area at the frontier in a difficult period. The official version of the causes and consequences of the frontier withdrawal are preserved in Procopius' Persian War, written before 545 and published in 551. The author describes them as follows:¹¹⁸ "From the cities of the Axumites to the boundaries of Roman rule, where the city called Elephantine is located, the way is a thirty day journey for an unencumbered man. Among the many peoples settled there are the Blemmyes and the Nobatai, very populous tribes. But the Blemmyes inhabit the interior of this country, while the Nobatai possess the lands on either side of the River Nile. Formerly, however, this was not the limits of the Roman Empire, which extended approximately seven days' journey further beyond. But when the Roman Emperor Diocletian came there, he perceived that the tribute from those places was of the least possible account, for the following reasons: The (arable) land there is extremely narrow, since not far from the Nile exceedingly lofty cliffs rise up and fill the rest of the country. In addition, a very large number of troops had been stationed there from old, and the Treasury was excessively burdened by the expenses for these. At the same time the Nobatai, formerly settled around the city Oasis, were for ever ravaging and plundering all the places there. For all these reasons, Diocletian persuaded those barbarians (i.e., the Nobatai) to migrate from their own haunts and to settle on either side of the Nile, promising to present them with great cities and with a large territory, markedly better than which they formerly inhabited. In this way he supposed they would stop harrassing the territories around Oasis and also, taking possession of the land which was given to them, probably drive off the Blemmyes and the other barbarians, since the land was (now) their own. This pleased the Nobatai, and they made the migration very quickly indeed, in the way Diocletian had commanded them. So they took possession of both the Roman cities and all the country on both sides of the river beyond the city of Elephantine. Then this emperor decreed that there be given both to them and to the Blemmyes each year a stated amount of gold on the condition that they no longer plunder Roman territory. Although they have been receiving this right down to my day, none the less they continue to overrun the places in these parts. Thus, it seems, with regard to all barbarians, it is simply not possible for them to keep faith with the Romans unless through fear of active defence forces. Even so this emperor chose an island in the river Nile somewhere very near the city of Elephantine and constructed there a really strong fortification, and in that place he founded some temples and altars for the Romans and for these very barbarians in common and settled in this fortification priests of both peoples, in the expectation that their friendship would be secure for the Romans because of their participation in the rites. This is the reason why he named the place Philae (Friendship)."

Obviously inaccurate statements of the narrative were noticed already in earlier literature, such as the erroneous etymology for Philae (it does not come from $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega$ but from $\pi \dot{\upsilon}\lambda \alpha \iota$, gates),¹¹⁹ and the imprecise localization of Philae within the territory ceded to the Nobatai.¹²⁰ However, the text also contains further inaccuracies and its explanation of the cause of the withdrawal is certainly a propagandistic distortion. To begin with the last, it has already been mentioned above that the Dodeka-

schoinos, although being from the point of view of agriculture obviously unimportant, secured the ownership of the gold-mining areas of the Wadis Gabgaba and Allaqi, and the entrance to the area of the emerald mines: sources of income, the possession of which was certainly very rewarding, as is shown by the long struggle for their ownership through previous centuries.

Procopius seems to commit an anachronism when he speaks about the Nobatai and the Blemmyes as immediate successors of Rome in the Dodekaschoinos. As we shall see presently, the Blemmyes could not have been settled in the area at this time. On the other hand, both epigraphic and archaeological sources attest a Meroiticisation of the Dodekaschoinos after the Roman withdrawal;¹²¹ Rome's official successor was thus Meroe and not a people "settled" by Diocletian. It is indeed more probable that the Nobatai – whose localization in the Kharga Oasis is entirely impossible – were in fact originally inhabitants of Lower Nubia.¹²² It is also likely that, if the Nobatai were settled in the Dodekaschoinos after 298, they came from Meroitic territories farther south. Similarly anachronistic is the statement on the yearly gift paid to the Nobades and the Blemmyes from 298 onward: it is more likely that Procopius projected back a later practice to the time of Diocletian.

3.3. Lower Nubia between A.D. 298 and c. 370

As a consequence of the evacuation of the Dodekaschoinos, it was now the Meroitic kingdom that had to collide with Blemmyan attempts to get a foothold in Lower Nubia. Meroe was now not only confronted with a direct Blemmyan threat, but was forced to be mixed up in one way or another with Blemmyan actions directed against Egyptian territory. It would seem logical that the frontier garrisons mentioned in general by Procopius' later narrative, and in particular by a papyrus dating from 322 speaking about military concentration in Syene/Aswan,¹²³ were destined to defend the Egyptian frontier against Meroe as well as against Blemmyan incursions. Towards the end of the reign of Constantine a *comes rei militares* was in charge of the *limes* in the Upper Thebaid.¹²⁴

In this time the Blemmyes reappear in an interesting manner. In his Life of Constantine Eusebius makes mention of the arrival of Ethiopian i.e. Meroitic, and Blemmyan envoys at the court.¹²⁵ The joint embassy came to the emperor in all probability on the occasion of his *tricennalia* in 336 A.D. It is likely that their visit was connected to an existing, or to a desired foedus with the empire; we do not know, however, what kind of ties existed between Meroe and the Blemmyes and it is also obscure, whether the Blemmyan envoys travelling together with Meroites represented the majority of the Blemmy tribes, or only some secessionist groups.¹²⁶

The next mention of the Blemmyes in an external source may be interpreted as a narrative on events that ensued from the visit in Constantinople in 336 A.D.

In his petition of redress Flavius Abinnaeus, a cavalry officer from the Fayoum, records the following: "I was posted ... at Diospolis in the province of Upper Thebaid. [After] thirty-three [years of service] I was directed ... to conduct refugees of the people of the Blemmyes to ... Constantinople ... they were presented [to the emperor]

whereupon ... being instructed to conduct the said envoys to their own country, I spent with them a period of three years."¹²⁷ It seems that the envoys mentioned by the cavalry officer were not identical with those mentioned by Eusebius, for FI. Abinnaeus speaks about 337 or 338 and the following three years. However, there could have been some connection between the Blemmyans paying their homage in company of Meroitic envoys to the emperor in 336, and Blemmyan refugees, who had to be escorted from the Upper Thebaid to Constantinople, after having obviously decided to ask for an alliance with Rome, in opposition to another trend of Blemmyan policy. Taking into account the principles of the African policy of the sons of Constantine,¹²⁸ it is very probable that a foedus initiated at the end of Constantine's reign resulted two years later in the delegation of FI. Abinnaeus as Roman praefect to a group of Blemmyes.

As he relates, FI. Abinnaeus spent three years in the country of the allied Blemmyes. Where could this country have been? In Updegraff's opinion it was situated in the Lower Nubian Nile Valley.¹²⁹ Besides the overexertion of FI. Abinnaeus' laconic and fragmentarily preserved narrative, Updegraff also refers to the Vita Prima of Pachomius i.e. to a passage thereof mentioning a Blemmy attack some time before 346 A.D.¹³⁰ He must admit, however, that the Vita Prima (together with the other Vitae of Pachomios) was not written before 390, and geographical descriptions refer in it to the situation at the time of the writing. Moreover, it must be added that the Arabic Vita which has a prominent place as to reliability among the Vitae, speaks in the corresponding section only generally about a barbarian attack, which could have meant equally a Meroitic and a Blemmyan incursion.¹³¹ Against a Blemmyan settlement in the Nile Valley at this time a remark in Book XIV of Ammianus Marcellinus also speaks unambiguously enough.¹³² The passage deals with events of the year 354 A.D., but it cannot be excluded that it describes a geopolitical situation which was also valid in, or shortly before the period of Ammianus' travels in Egypt between 371 and 378.¹³³ It describes the territory inhabited by the Saracens i.e. Nabateans, and localizes in this context the country of the Blemmyes in the Eastern Desert between Nile and Red Sea, whilst placing the Meroites in the Nile Valley south of Elephantine. This picture is also corroborated by the Vita Senutii, 134 from which we can conclude that around 370 A.D. the king of the Blemmyes still dwelt in the Eastern Desert.

II. The end of Meroe

1. The date of the end of Meroe

1.1. The evidence of the Ezana inscription DAE 11

In literature there is no consensus as to the date of the end of the Meroitic kingdom. The current dating of the final collapse of the entire kingdom, i.e. of its southern as well as Lower Nubian parts moves between 320¹³⁵ and the middle of the 4th c., ¹³⁶ but Monneret de Villard supposed that Meroe City was destroyed as early as the late 3rd or early 4th c.¹³⁷ In the late 1960ies, however, Haycock ¹³⁸ and Hintze¹³⁹ produced arguments in favour of the later, i.e. mid-fourth century dating. In general, all datings were based on Reisner's chronology of the royal burials.¹⁴⁰ This is, for the late Meroitic period, largely hypothetical, for there is only one single independent datum for a late Meroitic ruler: King Tegorideamani is approximately dated to the years around 253 A.D. by a demotic graffito mentioning his name at Philae.¹⁴¹ He was buried in the pyramid grave Begarawiyah North 28.¹⁴² Several scholars maintained that there are four pyramids in the Begarawiyah North cemetery which are later in date than Tegorideamani's burial.¹⁴³ According to Hofmann and this writer there are at least seven royal tombs (Beg. N. 24, 27, 51, 38, 37, 26, 25)¹⁴⁴ that postdate Tegorideamani's burial. Haycock's low dating was based mainly on the analysis of late Meroitic inscriptions from Lower Nubia. Hintze re-interpreted the inscription DAE 11 of King Ezana of Axum and stated that this text does not speak about the Meroitic kingdom as already extinct at the time of Ezana's campaign. Thus the questions of the date and circumstances of the fall of Meroe became more dependent than realized so far on the dating and interpretation of the inscription DAE 11. In Meroitic literature however, more recent researches concerning Ezana's dating were not taken into consideration.

The inscription relates the following: 145

"(1) Through the might of the Lord of Heaven, (who is) victorious in Heaven and on earth over all! (2) Ezana, the son of ('Ella)^CAmida, of the tribe Halen, the king of Axum and Him(yar) (3) and of Raidan and of Saba' and of Salhen and of Şiyamo and of Bega and (4) of Kasu, the King of Kings, the son of ('Ella-)^CAmida, who will not be defeated by the enemy. (5) Through the might of the Lord of Heaven, who has created me, of the Lord of All by whom the King is beloved, (6) who will not be defeated by the enemy, no foe shall stand before me and behind me no foe shall follow! (7) Through the might of the Lord of All I took the field against the Noba, when the people of the Noba revolted, (8) when they boasted and "He will not cross over the Takkaze", said the (people of) the Noba, (9) when they did violence to the peoples Mangurto and Hasa and Barya, and the Blacks (10) waged war on the Red peoples and a second and a third time broke their oath and without (11) consideration slew their neighbours and plundered our envoys and our messengers (12) whom I had sent to interrogate them, robbing them of their possessions and (13) seizing their lances. When I sent again and they did not hear me, and reviled me (14) and made off,

I took the field against them. And I armed myself (?) with the power of the Lord of the Land (15) and fought on the Takkaze and the ford of Kemalke. And thereupon they fled (16) and stood not still, and I pursued the fugitives (?) twenty-three days, (17) slaving (some of) them and capturing others and taking booty from them, where I came; while prisoners and (18) booty were brought back by my people who marched out; while I burnt their towns, (19) those of masonry and those of straw, and (my people) seized their corn and their bronze and their dried meat (20) and the images in their temples and destroyed the stocks of corn and cotton and (the enemy) (21) plunged into the river Seda, and (there were) many who perished in the water, (22) the number I know not; and as their vessels foundered, a multitude of people, (23) men and women, were drowned. And I took prisoner two chieftains, (24) who had come to spy, riding on camels, and their names were (25) Yesaka, 1, Butale, 1, also a man of noble birth, 'Angabenawi: and the following chieftains fell: (26) Danokue, 1, Dagale, 1, 'Anakue, 1, Haware, 1, Karkara, 1; their priest, 1, (the soldiers) had wounded him and taken from him a silver crown (?) and a gold ring (?); it was thus five chieftains who fell, (27) and the priest, 1. And I arrived at the Kasu, slaving (some of) them and taking (others) prisoner (28) at the junction of the rivers Seda and Takkaze. And on the day after my arrival (29) (1) dispatched into the field the troop Mahaza and the troop Hara and the Damaw(a) and Falh(a) and Sera' (30) up the Seda (against) the towns of masonry and of straw; their towns (31) of masonry are called 'Alwa, 1, Daro, 1. And they slew and took prisoners and threw (them) (32) into the water, and they returned safe and sound, after they had terrified their enemies and had conquered through the power of the Lord of the Land. (33) And I sent the troop Halen and the troop Laken (?) and (34) the troop Sabarat and Falh(a) and Sera' down the Seda (against) the towns of straw (35) of the Noba, 4, Negues, 1; the towns of masonry of the Kasu which the Noba had taken (were) Tabito (?), 1, (36) Fertoti, 1; and they arrived at the territory of the Red Noba, and (37) my people returned safe and sound after they had taken (some) prisoner and slain (others) and had seized their booty through the power of the Lord of Heaven. (38) And I erected a throne at the junction of the rivers Seda and (39) Takkaze, opposite the town of masonry which is on this peninsula. (40) The Lord of Heaven has given me (as follows): male prisoners 214, female prisoners 415, total 629. (41) And men slain 602; women and children slain 156; total 700 (and) 58, (42) And that is, prisoners and dead (together), 1387. And booty about 10500 cattle (and) 60, (43) and about 51050 sheep. And I erected a throne here in Sado (44) through the power of the Lord of Heaven who has helped me and has given me dominion. (45) The Lord of Heaven strengthens my dominion! and as he now has given me victory and has overthrown my enemies, (47) (so will I rule) in right and justice, doing no wrong to the peoples. And I placed (48) the throne, which I have set up, and the earth which bears it, in the protection of the Lord of Heaven who has made me King, (49) and if there is one who obliterates it and destroys it and tears it down, (50) he and his line shall be uprooted and torn (asunder); of them no trace shall remain (in the land). (51) And I set up this throne through the power of the Lord of Heaven."

1.2. Interpretation of the inscription

As interpreted by Kirwan¹⁴⁶ and Hintze,¹⁴⁷ Ezana's army pursued the Noba from the junction of the rivers Atbara and Takkaze, the ford of Kemalke, northwestwards across the Island of Meroe, i.e. the Butana. After a battle at the banks of the Atbara at the abovenamed ford, his soldiers pursued the Noba for 23 days and attacked the settlements of the Butana. Settlements of masonry mentioned in the text may perhaps be identified as Meroitic towns between the Wadi el Hawad and the Nile (?), while towns of straw seem to have been villages of the Noba settled in the Island of Meroe. The chase ended at a point of the banks of the Nile, where the Noba tried to escape by boat. However, their boats overloaded with fleeing soldiers and womenfolk, foundered as they were going to cross the river. After this Ezana's army is said to have "arrived at the Kasu", i.e. on Meroitic territory. Meroitic forces are destroyed in a battle fought at the junction of the Nile and Atbara. The next day an expedition was sent southwards along the Nile, in the course of its operations two Meroitic cities of masonry, Alwa and Daro were seized. The wording makes it probable that the cities were not totally destroyed. In his 1960 paper Kirwan identified Alwa, in agreement with Sayce and Hintze, with Meroe City and, refusing Crawford's identifications of Daro with Arbagi or with Abu Haraz near the junction of the river Rahad with the Blue Nile, proposed that Ezana's Daro was identical with the Meroitic settlement of Wad ban Naga.¹⁴⁸ However, it was convincingly shown by K.-H. Priese that Daro, the And(a) of the Juba itinerary and the $\Delta \alpha \rho \sigma \nu$ of Klaudios Ptolemaios is identical with modern Ša^cdinab at the Nile somewhat south of the junction of Atbara, while Alwa is in all probability nothing else than the Al(a)be -Abale of the Juba itinerary, i.e. the $Op\beta\alpha$ of Klaudios Ptolemaios, = modern El Mogren at the junction of the rivers Nile and Atbara.¹⁴⁹ The expedition sent by Ezana from the junction of the Nile and Atbara would thus have seized two Meroitic settlements in the close vicinity of the junction, instead of seizing first Meroe City c. 100, and then Wad ban Naga c. 170 km further south from the junction.

After the seizure of Alwa and Daro the troops return to the junction of Atbara and Nile. Two of them, together with three other detachments, are now sent downstream, i.e. along the Nile northwards. This area is again in the hands of the Noba, who have taken towns of masonry from the Meroites here, and who furthermore also possess villages of straw huts, built presumably by them after they have taken the territory into their possession. The Axumites destroy two towns of Meroitic origin and four (?) Noba villages. After their return Ezana erects a throne at the junction of the Nile and Atbara, opposite a Meroitic town situated in the Island of Meroe, which can tentatively be identified with the Alwa of the inscription. According to Kirwan the possible limit of the northern expedition was in the Kawa-Dongola region,¹⁵⁰ as it is strongly suggested not only by the Old Abyssinian graffito on one of the exterior walls of Temple T at Kawa¹⁵¹ but also by the fact that the temples at Kawa were burnt down some time at the end of the Meroitic period.¹⁵² After the seizure of the towns of masonry and the villages of straw, Ezana's army reaches the territory of the Red Noba. According to Kirwan the Red Noba, as contrasted with the Black Noba occupying large parts of the Island of Meroe and also territories north

of the junction of the junction Nile-Atbara – being obviously also identical with the owners of the Tanqasi tumuli –, are to be regarded as identical with the Nobades, i.e. the so-called X-group people of Lower Nubia.¹⁵³

The manouvres described by DAE 11 seem thus to have avoided the Meroitic heartland, i.e. the northern part of the Island of Meroe with Meroe City. It can be inferred from the use of the notion "land of the Kasu" that at the time of the campaign a reduced Kingdom of Meroe still has existed.

1.3. Date of the inscription

As stated already by Dillmann,¹⁵⁴ DAE 11 was in all probability written after Ezana's conversion to Christianity. Although the monotheistic formulae used in the text could theoretically be looked upon as insufficient proofs of Christianity, they indicate the king's conversion as a fact beyond any doubt if we put them against the background of the pagan ideology and terminology stressed in his earlier inscriptions. Disregarding here Altheim and Stiehl's repeated attempts to upset the chronology of 3rd to 6th century Axumite history,¹⁵⁶ we are in the fortunate position of being able to rely upon Dihle's masterly analysis¹⁵⁶ of the data concerning the circumstances of Ezana's conversion and the date of this act.

The Apologia ad Constantium imperatorem of Athanasius¹⁵⁷ preserved the text of a letter written by the emperor Constantius II to Aizanas and Sazanas. $\alpha \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \delta i \tau \mu \omega \sigma \alpha \tau \sigma i$, whom Athanasius designates in the Apologia as $\tau \delta \rho \alpha \nu \nu \sigma i$. The emperor, a zealous supporter of the Arianist creed, asks them to send Frumentios from Axum to Alexandria, in order to be re-consecrated by the Arianist Georgios, for he was originally consecrated by the non-Arianist Athanasios. Since the letter mentions bishop Georgios of Alexandria, who occupied the see between 356-362, and not Gregorios, who occupied it between 339-345.158 it could not have been written before Athanasios' third exile between 356 and 361. The text is unambiguous as to the paganism of the tyrants Aizanas and Sazanas. Although the apparently equal rank of the two "brothers" and the title tyrant itself would suggest that at the time of the letter Aizanas was not yet sole ruler, King of Kings of Axum, we must take following into consideration. It is possible that Constantius II adressed the King of Kings Aizanas and his sub-king Sazanas, who ruled perhaps over the province in which Frumentios had been active, without making a distinction between their respective ranks, as adelphoi timiotatoi.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand we know that in official Byzantine terminology and diplomatic language a foreign ruler who would style himself in his titulature at home as King of Kings or some other equivalent of the Greek $\beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda \epsilon \dot{v} \varsigma$, was termed as $\tau \dot{v} \rho \alpha \nu \nu \sigma \varsigma$ (or an equivalent of this title).¹⁶⁰ We must thus accept the possibility that Ezana was King of Kings already around 361 A.D. But his conversion could occur only after this date. It is attested not only by Constantius' letter and the Apologia that he was pagan during the early period of his reign, but also by the inscriptions DAE 8, 4-6-7 and by the recently found Greek inscription (from Geza Agumai).¹⁶¹ The latter texts describe a pacification of the country after Ezana's enthronement, and at least two successive military expeditions to remote parts of the kingdom, all occurring before the king would have embraced the Christian faith. Everything thus points to the probability that Ezana's conversion, and, consequently, the campaign against the Noba and Meroe cannot be dated earlier than the decade after 361, perhaps closer to 370 than to 360.

1.4. The Meroitic kingdom at the time of Ezana's campaign

As we have seen, at the time of the Ezana campaign there still existed a Meroitic kingdom, confined to the northern part of the Island of Meroe. The existence of the Meroitic kingdom in the years around 360-370 is also indicated by a pair of silver bracelets found in one of the latest pyramid graves of the Meroe West Cemetery. 162 The owner of W. 130 was adorned with two jewels of particular design and structure (PI, 189). They were obviously made in imitation of a late antique bracelet type which seems to have constituted a transition between late 3rd c. A.D. bracelets with small bezel adorned with one jewel and attached to the armlet with hinges and pin and 5th c, bracelets with large, flat bezel decorated with stones and attached to the flat armlet similarly with hinges and pin.¹⁶³ The transitional type occurs e.g. in Rome in the representations that decorate the hypogeum of Trebius Justus, ¹⁶⁴ dating from the middle decades of the 4th c. A.D. Yet the type seems to have been more fashionable in the eastern part of the Empire.¹⁶⁵ An analogous bracelet from Egypt is now in the Benaki Museum in Athens (see Ch. IV. 1.5 § 15); and a silver ring of identical form and structure was found in Qustul tumulus Q 14 (Pl. 37). Furthermore, an analogous pair of bracelets adorned the arms of the queen buried in Ballana tumulus B 47 (PI. 75, 76). All these jewels seem to have been made within same rather short period of time and can perhaps be attributed to the same workshop as well. However, the ring seems to have been buried not long after the bracelets of W 130, while the bracelets of the queen of B 47 may have been 30-40 years old when they became parts of a funerary equipment.

1.5. On the AF. AC inscription

The Ezana campaign described in DAE 11 and thus the last phase of the existence of the Meroitic kingdom was recently brought into connection with a Greek inscription. It was discovered in 1969 in Axum, ¹⁶⁶ and relates the war against the Noba of a Christian ruler of Axum, Himyar, Reeidan, Saba, Sileel, of the Kasu, the Bega and of Tiamo, who is of the tribe of Halene and is a son of 'Ella-^CAmida.¹⁶⁷ The Greek text seems to have been the introduction of a longer Sabaean text on the other side of the stone¹⁶⁸ and the two texts – of which the Sabaean part cannot be read due to the bad preservation of that side – are considered as equivalent to DAE 11 and are attributed, accordingly, to Ezana. The Greek part tells about an expedition against the Noba who have attacked the Mangartho, the Hasa, the Atiaditai and the Barya. The campaign is launched on the eighth day of the month of Magabit, on a Saturday. The editio princeps stresses that Magabit 8, that corresponds with Pachons

8, and with March 4 of the Julian calendar, fell on a Saturday in 349, 355 and 360 A.D.¹⁶⁹ We can add that it fell furthermore on a Saturday in a number of years in the later part of the 4th, and during the 5th century, which were disregarded because the authors of the editio princeps ascribed the text to Ezana. However, they have accepted the traditional dating of Ezana, overlooking thus Dihle's remarks on the king's conversion, and this is why they have looked for possible years around the middle of the century.

Unfortunately enough, the stone cannot be studied at present. Mr. R. Schneider, whom I asked to check the royal name in the inscription in 1983, could only refer to the photograph published by Anfray, Caquot and Nautin.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, I am fairly convinced that the royal name of the inscription is not identical with the Greek form of Ezana's name.¹⁷¹ The authors of the editio princeps were perhaps led astray by the titulature and especially by the notion $vios \tau ov' E \lambda \lambda \epsilon \alpha \mu i \delta \alpha$, son of 'Ella-^cAmida. The partly damaged name consists of six letters, three of which - the first, and the two last letters - are clearly legible, while the second letter is more or less traceable. What can be established is AF..AC. The name can thus not be read as a "somewhat strange rendering" of the name which we know in the forms 'A $\epsilon i \zeta \alpha \nu \delta \varsigma$, ¹⁷² Aitavas, 173 HZANA¹⁷⁴ and 9,49.175 Caquot has noticed the difficulty, but chose a simple solution writing that "la deuxième lettre ne paraît pas être un sigma, car tous les sigma de l'inscription sont lunaires. L'inscription ne presentant pas d'autres zeta, nous optons pour la lecture que recommendant les autres inscriptions."176 Another difficulty, brushed silently aside, is the appearance of the Atiaditai among the tribes attacked by the Noba. They do not occur in DAE 11, thus the two texts do not seem to deal with same event(s).

The father of the king of the inscription is, however, identical with Ezana's father.¹⁷⁷ If he is not identical with Ezana, he must be a brother of Ezana. We know of two men called "brothers" of Ezana: $\Sigma \alpha i \alpha \zeta \alpha \nu \alpha \zeta$ and $A \delta \eta \phi \alpha \nu$.¹⁷⁸ Their names are unfitting, but it must also be taken into consideration that "brother", as also in Byzantine terminology, could equally have been a title that designates the relationship between king and sub-king (or, in Byzantine usage, between the Emperor and a foreign ruler). It must be thus supposed that there was a son of 'Ella-CAmida with the name AF...AC who has succeeded his brother Ezana on the Axumite throne. Judging on the basis of style and contents of his inscription, he was in all probability the immediate successor of Ezana who still had difficulties with the Noba and who erected, after having defeated them, an inscription which copied almost word for word a triumphal inscription of Ezana. It is worth remarking that we know of a certain 'GZ who erected an inscription relating to irrigation works in Ge'ez.¹⁷⁹ Although from the point of view of language and paleography the inscription seems to belong to the period of Ezana¹⁸⁰ and although the Ethiopian name 'GZ could have been the equivalent of AF...AC, the identification of the two persons would be of course far-fetched. Interestingly enough, $A\Gamma$. AC does not, in the legible parts of the inscription, mention Meroe. We may perhaps conclude that the Meroitic kingdom did not exist any more in the time of Ezana's successor.

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2. The causes of the end of the Meroitic kingdom

2.1. Views on the causes of Meroitic decline

The causes of the decline and fall of the Meroitic kingdom are not fully understood. It is generally assumed that the process of economic and political decline in the Meroitic steppelands can be recognized as early as the 2nd c. A.D.¹⁸¹ As it seems, this view is based mainly, if not exclusively, on the supposedly decreasing size of the royal pyramids of the last ten or so generations and, somewhat less decidedly, on the seemingly disappearing difference between the richness of the royal and nonroyal burials in the cemeteries at Meroe City. As to the changes in the pyramid size, it would suffice to give here the list of the sizes of the pyramids of rulers of the last 24 generations between c. the 1st quarter of the 1st c. A.D. and the end of the kingdom:¹⁸²

Generation Pyramid

Ruler Pyramid size in metres

(50)	Bar. 6	Nawidemak	11,50
(51)	N. 6	Amanishakheto	17,68
(52)	N. 2	Amanikhabale	11,72
(53)	N. 22	Natakamani	8,92
(54)	?	Shorakaror	?
(55)	N. 36	Amanitaraqide	6,34
(56)	N. 16	Aryesbokhe	4,74
(57)	Bar. 9	?	7,10
(58)	Bar. 10	?	7,00
(59)	N. 17	Amanitenmomide	8,75
(60)	N. 18	Amanikhatashan	7,80
(61)	N. 19	Tarekeniwal	7,80
(62)	?	Amanikheremy	?
(63)	N. 34	Ariteñyesbokhe	8,30
(64)	N. 32	Amanikhedolo	4,50
(65)	N. 29	Takideamani	7,20
(66)	?	Mashqadakhe (?)	?
(67)	N. 28	Teqorideamani	7,10
(68)	N. 24	Maloqorebar (?)	6,28
(69)	N. 27	Tamelordeamani	6,60
(70)	N. 51	Yesbokheamani	5,70
(71)	N. 38	k	5,60
(72)	N. 37	pnin	5,20
(73)	N. 26	Patrapeamani	6,30
(74)	N. 25	Amanipilade	7,12

It would thus seem that, although there are certain regularities in the size sequence that can perhaps be called tendencies, no tendency of diminution of the pyramid size towards the end of the kingdom can be observed.

In order to decide the question of when the process which led to the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom started, and what its causes were, we need first of all written sources. The evidence of archaeology would be almost as informative as textual evidence. However, it cannot be limited to such isolated, and in a way subjectively required, data as the estimated impoverishment of a certain group of badly plundered burials, or the diminution in size of royal pyramids. It was demonstrated above, what the value is of this latter "statistical" data. The supposed general economic decline still needs to be proved through stratigraphic evidence from southern sites. Rebecca Bradley, collaborator of P. L. Shinnie in recent excavations at Meroe City, formulates the problem as follows: "The chief questions ... seem to be whether Meroe went with a "bang" or a "whimper", and when the transition between Meroitic and post-Meroitic can be said to have taken place. The transition is very shadowy in Upper Nubia, particularly as neither Meroitic nor post-Meroitic assemblages outside of funerary contexts have ever been adequately defined. Accounts of the fall are based largely on textual evidence, on the impoverishment and abandonment of the royal cemeteries at Meroe, and on the emergence of post-Meroitic burial types, but continuities and discontinuities have not been systematically studied. In the north, the question is tied up with the resettlement of Lower Nubia, the apparently gradual severance of administrative ties with Upper Nubia, and the eventual emergence of a successor state - in a sense, not a decline at all", ¹⁸³ and she adds in the analysis of the top strata of the trenches dug at Meroe City: "...the far-ranging nature of the imports, the increasingly Mediterranean look taken on by certain of the local arts and artifacts, and perhaps even the signs of viticulture in the top level "(dated elsewhere to the 3rd-4th c.) "all point to a degree of cosmopolitanism never before seen at Meroe. This pattern carried on throughout the topmost coherent levels to the surface, so that the sequence ended, as it were, on the up-beat; there was no suggestion in either trench of a degeneration, a destruction, or a transitional level."¹⁸⁴

Although it seems to me that the evaluation of the finds from the trenches at Meroe City is somewhat exaggerated in the knowledge of the published material, the lack of the signs of a marked economic decline is also apparent in the late Meroitic levels of the Lower Nubian settlements and also in the mortuary complex.¹⁸⁵ However, it is certainly mistaken to limit the notion of decline on the level of prosperity observed at a few settlements of urban character and in the realm of the burials of the upper and middle strata of Meroitic society.

The Ezana inscription clearly describes a phenomenon which contradicts the picture of undisturbed prosperity in 4th c. A.D. Meroe City: this is the presence of the Noba. The appearance of other, clearly hostile, foreigners already at an earlier time will be discussed in a moment. In the following I shall briefly discuss the problem of the decline in the broader sense of the word.

2.2. Causes of the decline of Meroe

As pointed out in a summary treatment of the problem by Adams, "three factors seem to have contributed to the decline of the Meroitic south. One was the rapid impoverishment of Egypt - the traditional market for most of Nubia's exports... Another was the increasing mobility and military power of the desert nomads, menacing the long and exposed caravan route between Meroe and Egypt ... From being simple pastoralists, narrowly confined within a highly specialized ecological niche, they became [through the introduction of the camel] far-ranging predators and desert enterpreneurs, under powerful but loosely organized military aristocracies. Once this transformation was achieved, desert caravan trade could exist only at their sufferance. In some areas nomad depredations disrupted the caravan trade altogether, but the better organized desert tribes were more far-sighted; they sold their protection to the caravan merchants at a high price. The end result was a continuation of trade, but at a substantial diminution of profit. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, Kush at the beginning of the Christian era no longer possessed a monopoly of civilization and of trade in the African interior. A rival civilization, nurtured originally in the fertile highlands of southwest Arabia, had spread its influence across the Babel-Mandeb ... to the neighbouring plateau of Abyssinia."186 It is perhaps needless to add that the impoverishment of Egypt was one of the consequences of the 3rd c. crisis of the Roman Empire. To the impact of the nomads I shall return presently, but first I shall briefly discuss what we know about Meroitic-Axumite contacts prior to the end of Meroe.

The emergence of Axum as rival of Meroe in the trade of exotic wares has already been discussed by Kortenbeutel.¹⁸⁷ For lack of new evidence the details of the process are still obscure. Already the 1st c. A.D. Periplus of the Erythraean Sea¹⁸⁸ describes the port of Adulis as a place from where ivory is exported to the Roman Empire; the ivory was acquired by the king of the region - who is generally believed to have been the first historical king of Axum – from beyond the Nile.¹⁸⁹ To a certain extent also the mid-sixth c. A.D. Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes¹⁹⁰ can be used as a source for the discussion of early Axumite trade. It is probable that trade contacts with lowland neighbours, who provided Axum with gold nuggets, and with the Blemmy/Beja tribes of the Red Sea Hills, who sold emerald (which was then traded by Axum to India), described by Cosmas were established already as early as the 2nd c. A.D. Contacts with the Blemmyes could have disturbed Meroitic interests concerning emerald from Blemmyan territory, but also conflicts between Axum and the Blemmy tribes could have an impact on circumstances in Meroe. An undatable, but probably 3rd c. A.D. Axumite inscription in Greek, which was copied by Cosmas at Adulis, records conquests of an Axumite king (Sembruthes?), and states that the king subdued the Atalmo and the Bega and with them all the Taggaites who occupied the territory bordering on the Egyptian frontier.¹⁹¹ A scholion on the margin of one of the Cosmas mss equates the Bega with the Blemmyes.¹⁹² According to the inscription the king not only extended his kingdom to the borders of Meroe, but also opened a caravan route connecting Axum with Egypt.¹⁹³ The route avoided the Nile Valley and was certainly meant to, and

succeeded in all probability in concurring with Meroitic trade. Motives and aims of the action against the Blemmyes are unclear, and we are also ignorant of the very extent of the conflict. It is imaginable that only certain Blemmy tribes were involved in it, while other tribes were allied with Axum and were co-operative in the maintenance of desert trade. According to another interpretation of the Adulitana II the intense Blemmy raids to Egypt in the 3rd (?) c. were consequences of an Axumite victory that produced a massive northward movement of the tribes living in the Eastern Desert.¹⁹⁴ This assumption is not quite unlikely, especially if we connect it with data indicating Meroitic-Blemmyan conflicts at the end of the 3rd c., but it remains a speculation as long as the Adulitana II is undated.

Similarly undatable are the two fragments of Axumite inscriptions in Greek discovered in Meroe City.

2.3. The Axumite inscriptions from Meroe City

The better preserved fragment was found in the early years of this century and became widely known after the editio princeps by Sayce.¹⁹⁵ Sayce's defective reading suffered further mistreatments by Altheim and Stiehl,¹⁹⁶ but was recently replaced by the excellent new reading of Bingen¹⁹⁷ which was further improved by Hägg.¹⁹⁸ The second, smaller and ill-preserved fragment was unearthed in the surroundings of Temple KC 102 situated on the processional way leading to the great Amun Temple by Shinnie, and was published by Hägg in 1984.¹⁹⁹ The Sayce fragment tells about a king of Axum and Himyar who, after having pillaged territories, taken prisoners and/or hostages, pursued a fleeing king of Meroe (?), issued a tribute imposed on this same king (?) and dedicated a statue to Ares. In Hägg's translation:²⁰⁰

- (1) [I, N.N., King] of Axum and Himyar ...
- (2) [son of the invincible god] Ares. When [the people of ...] disputed ...
- (3) ... I conveyed from ...
- (4) ... and I pillaged the ...
- (5) ... having arrived here ...
- (6) ... is produced, and another ... alternative reading:
- (6) ... [women] of noble birth, and another ...
- (7) ... together with the king as far as ...
- (8) ... most (things) in the ...
- (9) ... generals and children ...
- (10) ... I went against [them?] at once ...
- (11) ... I shall (?) to you ...
- (12) ... subject to pay tribute ...
- (13) ... a bronze [statue?]
- (14) ... 21 ...

alternative reading:

(14) ... 24 ...

The second fragment is much more damaged. From the preserved fragment Hägg concluded that it belonged originally to a throne erected as a gift to the god Ares. His translation is as follows:²⁰¹

- (1) ... of Ares ...
- (2) (4)?
- (5) ... having arrived here I sat down
- (6) ... giving [as a recompense ?]
- (7) ... [to Ares] this throne.

The wording of the last lines is obviously a parallel of the corresponding section of the Adulitana 11.²⁰² The date and chronological relation of the two inscriptions to each other is very problematic. In a recent article²⁰³ S. Y. Bersina tried to persuade us that the Sayce inscription was erected by Ezana. Her view is supported by a reading of the first two lines proposed by her:

(1) βασιλεύς αξω]μειτών και ομηρειτώ[ν

(2) " $\alpha \pi \alpha]\xi' \rho \epsilon \omega [\epsilon] \varsigma' \alpha \nu \tau \iota \delta \iota \kappa \eta' \sigma \alpha \nu \tau [\alpha \varsigma \mu \epsilon...$

I repeat her translation, however I have slightly altered her erroneous English rendering of the royal title:

(1) ... King of Axum and Himyar ...

(2) ... [1] immediately attack those who rivalled me ...

The reading is not tenable, for even the new photograph published by Bersina shows unambiguously enough that the beginning of line (2) cannot be read only as ${}^{*}\!A[\rho \epsilon \omega \varsigma$. It is thus unnecessary to alter the readings of Bingen and Hägg; and it continues to be impossible to attribute the inscriptions to actual Axumite rulers. According to Hägg the preserved part of the titulature in the Sayce inscription agrees with Ezana's titulature, but there is no place for his *full* titulature as it appears e.g. in DAE 4. Also the titulature of A Γ .AC is longer.²⁰⁴ Correspondence between the Shinnie fragment and Adulitana II is striking, but not compelling.

It is rather tempting to believe that both fragments refer to Axumite conquests of only temporary effect achieved by one of Ezana's predecessors. This is also indicated by the fact that Ezana already uses the title King of Kasu, i.e. of Kush (Meroe) prior to his great expedition against the Noba and Meroe recorded in DAE 11. His claim might have been founded by one, or even repeated Axumite incursions to Meroitic territory, which eventually reached the capital. Archaeological researches carried out so far at Meroe City did not disclose signs of a lasting Axumite domination and perhaps also the broken condition of the inscriptions discussed above may be interpreted as a reference to the temporary nature of the Axumite occupation(s) which was (were) followed by the destruction of its (their) monuments.

It must be mentioned here that the Axumite coin found by Shinnie at Meroe City²⁰⁵ cannot be interpreted as a relic of the Ezana campaign or any other Axumite activity in the 4th c. A.D. Although at present our knowledge of the Axumite mints is far from satisfactory,²⁰⁶ so much seems certain: that the coin is later than the date assigned to it by Shinnie. Its obverse shows a royal bust in the legend BACI/AEYC; on the reverse there is a "Maltese" cross within wreath and the legend TOYTO APE Σ ETH X Ω PA. For its dating it is to be taken into consideration that the cross appeared for the first time on a coin on obverses of mints of Theodosius II²⁰⁷ (408–

450). This means that no Axumite coin imitating a Byzantine obverse type with cross can be earlier than the first quarter of the 5th c. A.D.

The presence of Axumite triumphal inscriptions in Meroe City was dealt with recently by Stanley Burstein.²⁰⁸ He tried to elucidate it by means of a fascinating hypothesis, which sets out from the passage of the Sayce fragment that makes the existence of a Meroitic king at the time of the campaign related in the text probable. Supposing that this campaign did not end with the sack of Meroe and the end of the Meroitic kingdom, he poses the question: "how is then the continued existence of Meroitic kings to be reconciled with such an obvious act of sovereignty as the erection of a victory stele at Merce and Ezana's use of the title of King of Kasu before his campaign against the Noba?" and answers the following: "only one solution seems possible. The Adulis inscription [e.g. the Adulitana II] (OGIS 199, lines 27-29) reveals that in Arabia the Axumite kings confirmed conquered kings in their kingdoms as vassals in return for tribute. Conclusive proof that the last kings of Meroe were Axumite vassals is, unfortunately, lacking, but if true, it would explain one otherwise puzzling aspect of Ezana's campaign against the Noba, namely, the bitter fighting between him and the Kasu who, according to his titulary, were already his subjects. Could it be that the Kasu had exploited the disruption of Axumite authority in the area caused by the bellicose actions of the Noba to escape their vassal status? If so, it would have been their refusal to return to their former status that provoked Ezana's devastating attack".²⁰⁹ It must be added, that the hypothesis is greatly dependent on the assumption that line (4) of the Sayce fragment speaks about a former attack against Meroe City, while line (5) speaks about a later appearance of the Axumite king in the city.

2.4. The Noba and the last period of the Meroitic kingdom

The Ezana inscription depicts the southern parts of the Island of Meroe and the territory lying north of the junction of the Nile and Atbara as territories taken from Meroe by the Noba. Post-Meroitic burials at Meroe City found by Garstang²¹⁰ and generally interpreted to-day as Noba graves from the late Meroitic and early post-Meroitic periods²¹¹ further the thousands of mound graves observed on the east bank of the Nile in the Khartoum region and northward as far as El Metemma and in the Napata region,²¹² although only very few of them was archaeologically investigated and could render more detailed information, are in clear accordance with the testimony of the inscription. I have mentioned the data indicating the migration of Nubian-speaking peoples towards the Meroitic heartland in Ch. I. 2. Both the Ezana inscription and the archaeological finds strongly suggest that in the middle decades of the 4th century a large number of Noba lived on Meroitic territory, and a part of the Noba did not accept Meroitic authority at the time of the arrival of Ezana's army, i.e. around 360-370. It cannot be decided before we know more about the contents and chronology of the Noba burial mounds in the said territories whether the Noba who took cities and territories from Meroe around the middle of the century, were newcomers, in other words invaders, or, what is more probable, whether

they had been settled on Meroitic territory a longer time. But even without detailed knowledge it seems rather probable that the immigration of Noba tribes to Meroitic territories was in most periods encouraged by the Meroitic government. The increase of the population and of the cattle stock was presumably wanted in the periods of "land-rush", as in the 3rd-2nd c. B.C., and again after the war with Rome when Lower Nubia was resettled with an agrarian population which must have left behind a vacuum and caused a shortage of manpower somewhere else in the kingdom. However, the admission of Noba tribes could also at times have been motivated by the interests of the security of the borders - and it was brought about during the 3rd and 4th century in all probability by similar factors of political and economic nature which one can observe in the practice of the Roman Empire at her eastern and western borders.²¹³ It is perhaps not entirely erroneous to interpret the changes in late Meroitic culture in this sense. I have tried to show in another place²¹⁴ that the simplification of Meroitic pottery forms and decorative styles - which is not coupled with any marked decline of the technical level - had already occurred in the second half of the 3rd century and is not, as generally believed, a phenomenon to be dated in the final period of decline of the Meroitic kingdom. On the other hand, the decoration of the hand-made pottery of the presumably southern, Nubian-speaking population that was settled in the Kalabsha area at the turn of the 3rd c., 215 shows a particularly interesting development which sets out from Meroitic tradition but displays an increasingly "plebeian" variant of it. It is tempting to regard it as a Nubian parallel of the general development of arts towards late antique that can be observed in the Roman Empire from the 2nd c. A.D. If I understand correctly the discolouration of Meroitic pottery tradition and the genesis of the "plebeian" variant, these processes may be taken as illustrations of certain aspects of the demographic explosion brought about by the mass admission of unaccultured Noba tribes. One of the main factors of the decline of the Meroitic kingdom seems to have been thus the rather sudden increase of superficially, or absolutely not Meroiticized population groups: a process which critically unbalanced Meroitic society, upset its economic and administrative structure and caused inevitably the fading of mass culture.

2.5. The end of Meroitic rule in Lower Nubia

It is generally maintained in literature that the final decline of Meroitic power in Lower Nubia was brought about by the impoverishment of Egypt and her inability to buy Lower Nubian surplus foodstuff on the one hand, and by the attacks of the Blemmyes on the other.²¹⁶ Data concerning this opinion were surveyed in Ch. I. 1 and 3. We have seen that in his Book XIV Ammianus Marcellinus still writes about Meroe as the southern neighbour of Egypt, which makes it probable that at the time of his travels in Egypt, which he started in 371, the fall of the Meroitic kingdom had not yet occured, or was not yet known in Egypt. Another possibility is, however, that Ammianus' informants did not care much about Meroe, or spoke about the post-Meroitic successor state as "Meroe", too.²¹⁷ Around 370 A.D. Blemmyan activities became unusually vivid and successful. In 373–74 Blemmy forces managed to reach the Sinai Peninsula and, in the course of this farthest-reaching adventure of theirs, they raided the monastery of Raithou.²¹⁸ It must be noted, however, that it could be carried out only because the Blemmyes had seized a ship at a harbor of the Red Sea and forced its crew to take them northward. Halting at Raitha, they massacred the monks of the said monastery, but they could not return with the booty, because they were slaughtered by a force of Pharanites. In 373 they attacked the inhabitants of the Dodekaschoinos, too. The event is recorded in a demotic inscription at Philae:²¹⁹

"The obeisance of Patsinamre son of Pge the great pharmacist (?) of the workshop (?), his mother's name being T-šr.t-hl-hr, here before Osiris, the great god, I being anointed for the affair of Athyr, performing the services of the king of the whole land Osiris Wennofer, to-day, Athyr day 15 (?) wrote [this] Petesenenufe, 'son of Harentyotef the hierogrammateus of Isis with his hand. In the year named the Ble.w (=Blemmyes) attacked the Nwbe.w (=Nubians)²²⁰ and gave (? slip of the "pen" instead of took?) hostages in the year 90 of Diokles (373 A.D.). In the year named, the sky-boat of Isis was far away for two years, and it reached the Abaton."

Although it cannot be proved, it is tempting to suppose that the difficulties that resulted in the two years-absence of the sacred bark of the goddess mark the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom and the beginning of a new era, where the "Nubians", i.e. the surviving mostly Nubian-speaking population of Lower Nubia began to live under a new overlord and were confronted with the immediate Blemmyan threat.

III. Post-Meroitic Nubia: Historical sources

1. Sources to Nubian history in the late 4th and the 5th century

1.1. The transition

Recent literature tends to maintain, especially since Adams' powerful argumentation.²²¹ that the successors of the Meroitic kings in Lower Nubia did not assume authority by means of violence. A number of fully excavated Lower Nubian settlements failed to display any sign of violent changes at, or a hiatus after the Meroitic period. Continuity without a phase of catastrophe, or any sort of invasion-like immigration of a new population is also indicated by the great number of Meroitic cemeteries which were continuously in use from the beginning of the post-Meroitic period.²²² It must be added, however, that we also know late Meroitic settlements which were abandoned at some mid- or late 4th c. A.D. date.²²³ But they do not seriously contradict the general picture of a more or less peaceful change of regime. For lack of data, no picture of comparably clear features stands at our disposal of the change in the South.²²⁴ Apart from the Ezana inscription, there is no written evidence concerning the last hours of the central power. To the scarce data concerning cultural changes in the South we shall return in Ch. IV. 13ff. The political history of the South in the post-Meroitic period is entirely unknown. We must thus be content with the survey of data relative to the political history of Lower Nubia.

1.2. The Blemmyan conquest of the Dodekaschoinos

The demotic graffito quoted at the end of Ch. II. 2 may be interpreted as a hint at the forceful attempts of the Blemmyes at the seizure of the Dodekaschoinos in the years after the fall of the Meroitic rule, in a period when the new rulers were presumably unable to uphold sufficient military forces in the territory. In a few years we shall find the barbarians from the Eastern Desert in possession of the Valley between the Egyptian frontier and the area of Talmis/Kalabsha. In 395/6 Epiphanios of Salamis wrote a treatise "On the twelve stones on the breast-plate of Aaron" dealing with the precious stones worn by the high priest, as described in the Old Testament (Exodus 28, 17ff.).²²⁵ Epiphanios displayed in the work his knowledge of geography and ethnography and remarked in connection with the sources of the emerald the following: "The mountain, however, which is our subject now, was then under the Romans. It is naturally enough called Smaragdinum (i.e. Emerald) and is an island of modest size lying off Beronike, where the port for the traffic between India and the Thebais is situated. The distance from this island to the mainland of the Thebais is one day's crossing when the sailing is prosperous, i.e. 80 (Roman) miles. Now Beronike, as it is called, is contiguous with the district of Elephantine, and also with Telmis (=Kalabsha), which is now held by the Blemyi. The mines of this mountain, however, have collapsed. There are also other mines established in the mountains in the barbarian district of the Blemyi, near Telmis, where the natives now dig to extract the emeralds."226 The placing of the Mons Smaragdinum in the Red Sea as an island is obviously erroneous and originates, as pointed out by Eide, Hägg and Pierce from Agatharchides of Cnidus' description of an island off the Egyptian coast near Berenike where topazes were mined. According to Agatharchides the island was 80 miles long, whence the 80 miles distance between the mainland and the island in Epiphanius' account.²²⁷ Despite this inaccuracy, it is well imaginable that he used a reliable source when he wrote that Talmis and the Mons Smaragdinum are now held by the Blemmyans. There are at least two independent sources rendering it probable that the Blemmyan conquest of the Dodekaschoinos occurred not long before 395/6. The first is the evidence of the Notitia Dignitatum. We learn from its part concerning the eastern half of the Empire, 228 the final draft of which was redacted between July 392 and May 394²²⁹ that the southernmost Egyptian garrison was at that time stationed at Syene and that the frontier area was provided with considerable forces. We learn furthermore, what is decisive from our point of view, that there was a detachment of the ala VIII Palmyrenorum stationed at Phoenikon. Since Phoenikon was situated at the junction of the desert roads to Leukos Limen and to Berenike, we may conclude that before May 394 the Mons Smaragdinum and probably also the Dodekaschoinos could not have been under Blemmyan control.

It must be mentioned here that according to Desanges²³⁰ and Kirwan²³¹ there was at the time of the redaction of the Notitia Dignitatum or. a Roman garrison with detachments of the Legio II Traiana at Dabod south of Syene/Aswan in the Dodeka-schoinos. This would excellently support the above assumption about the terminus post quem of the Blemmyan occupation of the Dodekaschoinos. However, the Parembole listed in the paragraph in question of the ND or. is erroneously identified with Dabod in Lower Nubia; in fact it is identical with Parembole-Nicopolis in the vicinity of Alexandria.²³²

The other evidence is rendered by a poem of Claudius Claudianus.²³³ It locates in a description of the course of the Nile the Blemmyes between Meroe and the cataract region of Syene/Aswan: the River "errat per Meroen Blemmyasque feros atramque Syenem". Claudianus, a native of Alexandria, went to live in Rome in 394 and he published there his first Latin poem in the early months of 395.²³⁴ Towards the end of his life, i.e. before 404, he returned to Egypt in order to take a wife there. While it is unlikely that the verse would reflect information gathered before 394, for it was written during the wedding trip,²³⁵ it is probable that it mentions the Blemmyes *in* the Valley on the basis of recent information. We know that Claudius was, even if only superficially, interested in Meroe "at the end of the world".²³⁶

To these two data we may add a somewhat less exact source, the Historia Monachorum which makes a series of small remarks in connection with Lower Nubia.²³⁷ One of these mentions "Ethiopians", i.e. inhabitants of the territory which used to be called Ethiopia or Meroe, ravaging the area of Syene/Aswan. A further remark is given in the mouth of a certain monk Mark who lives in the cataract region: "there is a race to the east of us and the south-west of our city. He is called Anouba and is in great straits". Another passage²³⁸ gives the description of a Blemmyan raid introduced with the words: "the demons made a raid in the valley", indicating thus

unambiguously enough that the barbarians dwelt in the Eastern Desert. These remarks are dated only in an indirect manner. As noted by Kirwan,²³⁹ this section of the Historia alludes to a Mark, bishop of Philae, as contemporary of the events. This Mark was probably a contemporary of the patriarch Athanasius (328–373). The section in question mentions furthermore also a certain bishop Pselusios, who was consecrated by patriarch Timotheos I (380–385).

Although not quite as clearly as we would wish, both the above-quoted demotic graffito Ph. 371 from the year 373 and the Historia Monachorum hint at the fact that the Blemmyes had to collide with a people called sometimes Ethiopians and sometimes more precisely Noubades or Anouba when they tried to occupy the Dodekaschoinos. While the notion Ethiopians, $\epsilon \delta \circ \circ \circ \circ$, of the Coptic sources is mainly a geographical term that goes back on the ancient Egyptian and Greek designation for the southern neighbour of Egypt, the notion Noubades and Anouba is a more concrete and actual ethnographic and also political term.

1.3. Egypt and the Blemmyes: the Philae graffito 436

The Egyptian attitude towards the Blemmyes, more precisely towards their Lower Nubian ambitions, was ambivalent. The official attitude, as we have already seen, was determined by interests of self-defence and tried to win over Blemmy groups as foederates, or, if necessary, played off the Noubades against them. We learn from the latest dated hieroglyphic inscription, Ph. 436, written on August 24 394, 240 that at this time there were priests in the Isis temple who regarded it opportune to pay homage to Mandulis, a deity who was specially worshipped by the inhabitants of Lower Nubia as well as by the Blemmyes.²⁴¹ The inscription and the relief which is accompanied by the text are the only relics of the Mandulis cult at Philae in late antiquity. Whilst the cult of Mandulis continued to flourish in the Lower Nubian temple of Kalabsha (i.e. Talmis), the cult of the deity in Philae, which was attested in the 2nd c. B.C., seems now to have been extinct for centuries.²⁴² It is perhaps not quite mistaken to suppose the attitude of Upper Egyptian pagan resistance against Rome in this curious act of devotion. The writer of the inscription might have hoped a Roman setback from a Blemmyan expansion in Lower Nubia. Similar considerations can be detected behind later alliances of Upper Egyptian rebels with Blemmyans.²⁴³

In the following I shall discuss the data concerning the Blemmy occupation of the Valley. They are, with a few exceptions, unconnected to exact dates. Most of them concern only in a general manner the decades around the visit of Olympiodorus in the land of the Blemmyes between c. 418 and 421, and around the great conflicts between Romans and Blemmyans, and Blemmyans and Nubians.

1.4. Olympiodorus' visit in Blemmyan Lower Nubia in c. 418–421

Olympiodorus of Thebes is the author of a history of his own time, covering the years A.D. 407–425. Quotations and excerpts from the lost treatise are preserved

in Photios' Bibliotheca, compiled in the 9th century.²⁴⁴ We read in the Bibliotheca the following summary of his narrative of the visit in Lower Nubia:²⁴⁵

"The historian [i.e. Olympiodorus] says that when he was staying around Thebes and Syene to do research, the tribal chiefs and priests of the barbarians around Talmis, i.e. the Blemmyans, formed a desire to meet him; and that it was his reputation that motivated them to this.

"And", he says, "they took me as far as Talmis itself so as to investigate also those regions which extend for a distance of five days' (journey) from Philae as far as a city known as Prima, which was at one time the first city in the Thebaid when entering from the land of the barbarians. For this reason the Romans called it in Latin Prima, i.e. 'First'; and that is what it is called now, even though long occupied by the barbarians together with four other cities, Phoinikon, Khiris, Thapis, and Talmis." He also says he learned that in these regions there were even emerald mines from which the kings of Egypt used to obtain an abundant supply of emeralds. "These too", he says, "the priests of the barbarians urged me to visit, but this was not possible without a royal order".

Talmis is identical with modern Kalabsha, Thapis (=Taphis) with Tafa, Phoenikon with El Lageita in the Eastern Desert. Khiris cannot be identified. Prima is usually identified with Qasr Ibrim, the Pidema of Juba, Pindi(mis) or Primis (?) of Bion and Primi of the itinerary of the Petronius-expedition, which toponyms occur in Meroitic texts as Pedeme.²⁴⁶ However, Olympiodorus' geographical localization of this place is very confusing. Primis/Qasr Ibrim did never belong to the Thebaid, which ended in both the Egyptian geographical tradition and the terms of administration at Syene/Aswan (or Philae, or at Elephantine).²⁴⁷ If Olympiodorus or his informants would have falsely regarded the Dodekaschoinos as part of the Thebaid, Primis is similarly "misplaced", for it is lying more than 70 kms south of the southern border of the Dodekaschoinos. Moreover, it belonged to Rome only for a couple of years before the Samos treaty, almost 450 years before Olympiodorus' day. Also the distance from Philae given by Olympiodorus is somewhat puzzling. As we saw (Ch. 1. 3), according to Procopius the southern border of the Dodekaschoinos, i.e. Hiera Sycaminos/Maharraga, was at a distance of seven days' journey from Elephantine: Qasr Ibrim is still over 70 kms farther south from this point! It is thus worth considering, whether Olympiodorus' Prima is not identical with Agatharchides' (in Photius, Bibl.)²⁴⁸ (púth, as suggested by Desanges.²⁴⁹ This place-name occurs in the Itinerarium Antonini as Corte, 250 which is identical with modern Qurta and was doubtlessly the first Roman settlement when one entered Roman territory crossing the border at Hiera Sycaminos before 298 A.D.

Although Olympiodorus enjoyed in fact a great reputation among his contemporaries – a philosopher, Hierocles, even dedicated to him his treatise on "Providence and Fate" saying that Olympiodorus "attached many great barbarian peoples to the Roman Empire"²⁵¹ –, it is still difficult to imagine that his fame which he gained mainly by his visit to the Huns in 412, could have reached the Blemmyes whose knowledge of the world hardly went beyond Egypt. It seems more likely that, as assumed by Blockley, he was sent to the Blemmyes in a diplomatic mission by the Eastern court.²⁵² Both scheme and outcome of this presumed mission are, however,

unknown. Kirwan's hypothesis, according to which the Blemmyes were at this time foederates of Rome, is indeed very attractive.²⁵³ The hypothesis is also supported by the apparent silence of the sources about Blemmy raids in the times prior to Olympiodorus' visit. However, Palladius wrote between c. 406–412 that the monastery of Tabennesi in the Thebaid was crowded with refugees who had fled from the Blemmyes who were plundering Upper Egypt.²⁵⁴ Palladius was at this time exiled in the Thebaid. It may be added furthermore that Olympiodorus would perhaps have mentioned that the Blemmyes were Roman foederates if this had indeed been the case. I prefer therefore Blockley's hypothesis.

1.5. The Appion letter and Nubian-Egyptian relations around 425–500

The well-known appeal of Appion, bishop of Syene, Contra Syene and Elephantine, is preserved in an imperial rescript.²⁵⁵ It was addressed some time between 425 and 450 to emperor Theodosius II. Pleading that the dux and comes of the Upper Thebaid may order his troops to protect the churches in Syene, Contra Syene and Elephantine, the bishop complains that the Christians living at these places and their properties are delivered, being left entirely undefended, to the barbarian Blemmyes and Annoubades. The bishop's plea reveals that the picture of the garrisons has considerably changed since 392-394, i.e. the time of the redaction of the Notitia Dignitatum oriens, for the latter had still listed the following units at the frontier: milites miliarenses in Syene/Aswan: cohors I felix Theodosiana on Elephantine, and cohors V Suentium at Syene/Aswan.²⁵⁶ It would be certainly unwise to connect Appion's letter directly with the devastating raids that were recorded around 440 A.D. by Egyptian monks,²⁵⁷ but even if we refrain from such a hypothesis, we can interpret the letter as a testimony of the general neglect of the military protection against the barbarians beyond the border. The answer of the emperor is not preserved, but it was in all probability appropriate and generous, for a fragment of it is legible in the emperor's own handwriting on the rescript: it reads "bene valere te cupimus".²⁵⁸ P. Grossmann suggested that the late antique military barracks built in the temenos of the Chnum temple at Elephantine are to be interpreted as a consequence of the emperor's answer on Appion's plea.²⁵⁹ This convincing assumption is clearly supported by the architecture and also by the (so far unpublished) ceramic finds of the building complex.

A new feature in the Blemmyan raids seems now to be their compliance with the Noubades, or, as Appion renders the Coptic name in his Greek letter, the Annoubades. A rather striking development, the causes of which are obscure, but can perhaps be guessed at. In the religious sphere it was perhaps the interest in the worhsip of Isis of Philae which demanded access to Egypt through Blemmyan territory. There must also, however, have been more practical reasons for a Nubian approach towards the Blemmyan occupiers of the Dodekaschoinos, on the consent of whom must have depended all traffic between Egypt and the post-Meroitic state(s) in Lower Nubia.

1.6. Noubadian foederates of Rome in the 1st half of the 5th c.

Circumstances in the Dodekaschoinos after c. 360–370 are rather well-known on the basis of archaeological finds, and, also, for the period of the Blemmyan occupation between c. 395/6 and the middle of the 5th c., through written sources which are discussed in this chapter and, partly, in Ch. V. 5. The history of the Dodekaschoinos prior to, and after the Blemmyan occupation can be approached only on the basis of archaeological finds, and the same is valid for the post-Meroitic state(s) in Lower Nubia for the most part of their existence.

As we shall see in more detail in Ch. IV. 1, the royal tombs at Qustul contain a richness of Egyptian luxury objects. Late tombs at Qustul and early burials at Ballana continue to be provided with funerary equipment that consists of objects of Egyptian origin during the period of the Blemmyan occupation of the Dodekaschoinos. Evidently enough, the great majority of these objects do not reveal their origins: they are silent, as to their having been presents, or having been bought from Egyptian merchants - or taken as booty. Certain objects are, however, somewhat more informative, although, evidently enough, their testimony never can be as exact as that of written evidence. While we can be quite certain that the church treasure found in B 3 cannot have been bought and it cannot have been presented to the Ballana prince, either, it could thus only have been part of a booty, it can also be assumed that the luxurious silver trappings in Q 3, Q 31, Q 2, the alabaster dishes in Q 36 and B 10 and the silver amulae in Q 2 are of political significance. It is furthermore probable that not only the horse equipments, the alabaster dishes and the silver jugs belonged to the category of Roman presents to allied barbarian princes, 260 but also the folding chairs found in B 3, B 10, B 37, B 80, B 95, B 114, B 118 and B 121 signify Roman recognition of the kingdom the rulers of which were buried at Qustul and Ballana.

Due to the plundered condition of the Qustul and Ballana tombs it is impossible to decide whether the discontinuous presence of objects in the funerary equipments that can be interpreted as official presents is only virtual, or whether there were also, in reality, shorter or longer periods when diplomatic relations with Rome alternated with hostilities. The letter of Appion may indeed hint at such a period, when the post-Meroitic state south of Hiera Sycaminos/Maharraqa joined the Blemmyan foes of Egypt and directed predatory expeditions to the Thebaid. This possibility is neatly supported by the church treasure in B 3, which seems indeed to have been buried around the middle of the 5th c. A.D.

Objects which can be regarded as Roman presents – perhaps presents from the praefect of Egypt – occur at other Nubian places besides Qustul and Ballana. An alabaster largitio dish with relief representation of two co-emperors of the period between 400 and 450²⁶¹ was unearthed in one of the chieftains' tumuli at Gemai.²⁶² Two small metal bowls, with the bust of a mid-fifth century (?) emperor on one of them²⁶³ were found in a child's grave at Arminna.²⁶⁴ The origin of the latter might have been one of the princes buried in Ballana. The largitio dish found at Gemai could, by contrast, have belonged to a chieftain who was more or less independent from the Ballana princes and who maintained a foederate relation with Rome in his own right. The same can also be assumed about the original receiver of three alabaster

vessels discovered in tomb A 14 at Firka (Pl. 146). They date from the late 4th or early 5th c.

The above objects strongly indicate that the general Roman policy towards the Lower Nubian successor states of Meroe aimed at a foederate relationship. Its actual forms and effectivenesss in the course of time are absolutely unknown to us, for these objects of modest value (the more valuable ones could, however, have been robbed from the tombs or lost in other ways) do not tell us anything beyond the statement of the existence of official contacts *besides* other forms of contacts which could always secure the influx of Egyptian luxury goods.

In the second quarter of the 5th c. other sources attest, besides the Blemmyan raids, incursions of Anouba or Ethiopians – 66000 – into Egypt. I have mentioned above Palladius' narrative, the contents of which are confirmed by the less precisely datable narrative of Besa's Vita of Apa Shenute.²⁶⁵ The impact of the Blemmyan and Nubian incursions on the Upper Egyptian population is mirrored in the Coptic tales in which Satan appears in the form of an Ethiopian.²⁶⁶ It was perhaps the alliance with their Nubian neighbours that enabled the Blemmyes to launch an attack as far as Kharga Oasis. It is recounted by Nestorius. The famous heretic was sent into exile in 435/6 to the Theban region. Evagrius quotes in his Ecclesiastical History²⁶⁷ his letter in which he described how he was taken captive by Blemmyan raiders when he was in the Oasis.²⁶⁸

1.7. The defeat of the Noubadians and Blemmyes in 452

By the middle of the century the Blemmyan and Nubian raids must have become intolerable. Towards the end of the year 452 Roman forces were sent against these peoples, and defeated their combined army at an unknown place. We are informed about the battle and the ensuing peace treaty by Jordanes and Priscus.

Jordanes relates shortly that "Novades Blemmyesque Ethiopia prolapsos per Florum Alexandrinae urbis procuratorem sedavit et pepulit a finibus Romanorum".²⁶⁹ The account of Priscus, who was an eyewitness of the events, 270 is considerably longer and more detailed:²⁷¹ "The Blemmyans and the Noubadae, having been defetated by the Romans, sent a delegation to Maximinus from both peoples, wishing to enter into a peace treaty. And they proposed that this be observed so long as Maximinus remained in the country of the Thebans. When he refused to enter into a treaty for such a short period, they said that they would not take up arms for the rest of his life. But as he would not accept even the second proposal of the embassy, they made a treaty for one hundred years. In this it was agreed that the Roman prisoners be released without ransom (regardless of) whether they had been captured during this or during any other attack, that the animals carried off at that time be returned, and that the compensation for their expenses be paid; further that the well born among them be handed over as hostages to guarantee the treaty, and that their crossing to the temple of Isis be unhindered in accordance with the ancient law, Egyptians having charge of the river boat in which the statue of the goddess is placed and ferried across

the river. For at a stated time the barbarians bring the statue to their own country and, after having consulted it, return it safely to the island.

Therefore Maximinus decided that it was appropriate that the text of the compact be ratified in the temple of Philae. Some (people) were sent. Also present were those of the Blemmyans and of the Noubadae who were to conclude the treaty on the island. After the terms of the agreement had been committed to writing and the hostages had been handed over – they were children of the ex-despots (tyrants) and former sub-despots (hypotyrants), something that had never before happened in this war, for never had children of Noubadae and of Blemmyans been hostages with the Romans – it turned out that Maximinus fell into precarious health and died. When the barbarians got word of Maximinus' death, they took away their hostages by force and overran the country."

1.8. The treaty with the Empire

As the narrative refers to Maximinus' death, the treaty must have been concluded and broken in 453 A.D., for after Maximinus' death Priscus went to Alexandria where he witnessed the religious rioting of 453.²⁷² At this occasion he came into close contact with the Florus whom we know from Jordanes' brief account of the Roman-Blemmyan/Noubadian conflict. The difference between Jordanes' and Priscus' narratives, i.e. the exclusive mention of Florus in the first, and of Maximinus in the second, may raise doubts as to whether both accounts relate the same episode of the conflict.²⁷³ We know, however, that a considerable part of Jordanes' Romana is based on works of Priscus, so e.g. the passage that concerns us in the moment goes in all probability back on his lost $(I_{070}\rho i \alpha)^{274}$ Uncertainties concerning the identity of Florus and of Maximinus do not weaken the reliability of Priscus' or of Jordanes' accounts. According to Jordanes Florus was procurator urbis in Alexandria. Seeck identified him²⁷⁵ with a comes rei militaris i.e. military governor of the city. Maximinus does not bear any title in the account. The proposal of the barbarians, to conclude a peace treaty for the time of his stay in the Thebaid, renders it probable that he was there in some official quality with fixed tenure. In preserved sources of the period there appear two Maximini: both could theoretically have been partners of the barbarians in the affair. Literature, understandably, generally prefers a military dignitary under the name Maximinus to a Maximinus, magister scrinii, who is known to have worked on the preparation of the Theodosian Code, 276 The first Maximinus is attested in 449 as ambassador of the emperor to Attila,²⁷⁷ in 450 as commander of an expedition sent against the rebellious Zeno to Isauria;²⁷⁸ and in a letter dated from November of same year Pope Leo mentions a Maximinus comes,²⁷⁹ who may have been identical with the soldier. It is nevertheless unclear in what capacity Maximinus acted in Philae. As it is also unclear, I must ask whether the ambassador sent to Attila is really identical with the leader of the expedition directed against Zeno of Isauria? Blockley supposes²⁸⁰ that Maximinus was sent to the Egyptian frontier in the mission to negotiate a peace with the defeated barbarians, thus as a diplomat. This would mean that he arrived there only after Florus had fulfilled his duty. Taking

into account Jordanes' narrative, and the corresponding remarks of Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos²⁸¹ and Evagrius²⁸² (all three preserving fragments of the lost first part of Priscus' narrative), this reconstruction of the events is rather likely. It is, however, faltered by the fact that the barbarians want to conclude a treaty for the time of Maximinus' stay in the Thebaid, which would not have any sense if he was only a diplomat who arrived there to settle a covenant. On the contrary, it seems more probable that at the time of the conflicts he was in office in the Thebaid. Furthermore, in order to be able to negotiate a peace treaty with barbarians, he must have been holding the office of dux of the Thebaid.²⁸³

Thus Priscus' narrative describes, however briefly, that in the period before 452 the Blemmyans and Noubadians directed raids - perhaps also joint raids - to Upper Egypt in the course of which they presumably took rich booty and hostages. In A. D. 452 (?) a force under the command of Florus, the Alexandrian procurator and comes rei militaris (?), was sent to the Egyptian border. It defeated the Blemmyan and Noubadian forces at an unknown place (beyond the Egyptian frontier?). The next known episode is that the defeated barbarians sent a delegation to Maximinus pleading for a peace treaty. Maximinus was apparently dux of the Thebaid at this time, thus he was the person who was officially entitled to deal with the matter. Although it is absolutely unlikely that the barbarians could have dictated terms, they first insisted that the treaty should be concluded for the time of Maximinus' official tenure in the Thebaid, and then that it should be observed for the rest of his life. However strange these conditions may sound, they were far from uncommon among the usual conditions of Roman peace treaties and it is thus surprizing to see that Blemmyan and Noubadian diplomatic and legal practice also consisted of generally accepted elements of ancient international law. As a result of lengthy negotations, the treaty is made for one hundred years. According to it, Roman hostages must be released without ransom, animals carried off from Egyptian (and perhaps also from Nubian?) territory returned, furthermore the Egyptians must be paid compensation (?), and the Blemmyans and Noubadians must hand over well-born hostages. In return, they are granted, in accordance with ancient law, free access to the sanctuary of Isis and are allowed to take the sacred boat of Isis with the statue of the goddess once a year to their country. This point of the treaty may go back on a point of the treaty concluded by Diocletian and the predecessors of the Noubadian and Blemmyan (?) partners of Maximinus in 298. The treaty was ratified in the temple of Isis, its text was written down (perhaps by an official of the temple, and was deposited in the temple archives) and the barbarians handed over as hostages children of high Blemmyan and Noubadian dignitaries (former tyrants and hypotyrants). Hardly was the treaty concluded, however, when Maximinus fell ill, died, whereupon the barbarians took away their hostages by force and raided Upper Egypt anew.

1.9. The effect of the treaty

Both the terms of the treaty, and the raid, itself an immediate violation of the contract, following upon the death of Maximinus, leave us in no doubt that the treaty

did not establish a foederate relationship between the two parties. In spite of the barbarian defeat, the free access granted to the Isis sanctuary and the decision of a high Christian dignitary, to ratify and deposit a peace treaty in a pagan temple suggest that the Blemmyans and Noubadians were regarded as a formidable enemy.

The fragment of a Greek Blemmyomachia in mid-fifth century A.D. style²⁸⁴ praising a victorious Roman general of the name Germanus may refer to a raid after 453, although it cannot be excluded entirely that it is connected to a conflict of the preceding period. The poem reflects perhaps a turn of the events, in which the Blemmyan overlords of the Dodekaschoinos found themselves alone as foes of Rome.

1.10. Silko and the expulsion of the Blemmyes

The new chapter of Lower Nubian history is summarized in the inscription of King Silko of the Noubades carved on the west wall of the court of the Mandulis temple at Kalabsha. It was first published in 1820 by Niebuhr and later republished with improved readings of several parts of it several times. I use here the translation prepared by Eide, Hägg and Pierce.²⁸⁵ The inscription was in earlier literature generally considered to be written in the second half of the 6th century. The dating was based on the assumption that the use of the word $\vartheta \epsilon \delta \varsigma$, and furthermore, the appearance of $\epsilon \delta \omega \lambda \alpha$ signifying the idols of the Blemmyans (lines 3 and 8) would indicate that Silko was a Christian, who reigned only after the conversion of the Nubian kingdoms.²⁸⁶ However, Krall²⁸⁷ and Wilcken²⁸⁸ had already believed the inscription to be no later than the 5th c., and opposed the idea that Silko was a Christian. This dating seems now to be confirmed by the letter of Phonen (see below) which is dated on paleographical grounds to c. 450 A.D. or, more generally, to the 5th c. and which was addressed to Silko's successor on the Noubadian throne. Further discussions revolved around the question of whether the inscription was written by a Copticspeaking scribe or whether its linguistic pecularities could be explained by Late-Greek usages.²⁸⁹ While it seems that some points of the inscription can only be explained as Copticisms, in general it seems to fit well into the Late-Greek sphere. Nevertheless, as put by Eide, Hägg and Pierce, "for both historical and political reasons, it can hardly be doubted that the scribe did come from Egypt, whichever his first language".290

The text is as follows:

"(1) I, Silko, king of the Noubades and all the (2) Ethiopians, came to Talmis and Taphis. On two occasions I (3) warred with the Blemmyes; and the God gave me the (4) victory. On the third occasion I was again victorious and took control of (5) their cities. I occupied (them) with (6) my troops. Now on the first occasion I conquered them, (7) and they sued me for terms. I made peace with them, (8) and they swore to me by their images, and I trusted (9) their oath in the belief that they were honest people. I withdrew (10) to my upper regions. When I had become king, (11) I did not by any means proceed behind the other kings, (12) but well ahead of them. (13) For those who contend with me I do not permit to remain settled (14) in their country unless they have beseeched me and entreat me. (15) For I am a lion in the lower regions, and a bear in the upper regions. (16) I warred with the Blemmyes from Primis to Telelis; (17) on one occasion I ravaged the country of the others too, (18) above the Nubades, because they contended with me. (19) (As for) the rulers of the other peoples who contend with me, (20) I do not allow them to sit in the shade, but in the sun (21) outside, and they did not drink water inside their house(s). For (22) I rob my adversaries of their women and children."

Notes: (1) king = $\beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda (\sigma \kappa \alpha \varsigma, (2)$ Talmis = Kalabsha, Taphis = Tafa, god = $\vartheta \epsilon \delta \varsigma$ may refer according to Eide, Hägg and Pierce either to the god [of this temple], i.e. Mandulis, or, if the scribe was a Christian or a Jew, to the (one) god. (10) King = $\beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda (\sigma \kappa \alpha \varsigma, (11)$ behind the other kings = $\tau \omega \nu \alpha \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu$, (15) lion, bear: the connection already appears in the Septuaginta (1 Rg. 17, 34,36; Amos 5,19). (16) Primis = Qasr Ibrim, Telelis = Shellal at the First Cataract (?), (18) "above the Noubades" was understood by Eide, Hägg and Pierce as indication of upstream direction, similarly to "upper regions" in line 10. I prefer, however, to believe that in line 18 the hillregion of the Blemmyans between the Nile and the Red Sea is meant, whereas Silko's upper regions were lying in all probability farther upstream, south of Talmis i.e. the region of the Dodekaschoinos which he has conquered from the Blemmyans. (19) Rulers = $\delta \epsilon \sigma \pi \delta \tau \alpha \iota$.

1.11. Silko, Abourni and Phonen. The Phonen letter

It became now clear from a letter in Greek found at Qasr Ibrim²⁹¹ that Silko's opponent in the war was a Blemmyan king of the name Phonen. The same Phonen seems to occur at an earlier point of his career as phylarchos in an inscription at Kalabsha which we shall discuss in Ch. V. 5. In order to survey the events in their presumable interconnections, I give here first the text of the Phonen letter. It was first published in 1977 by T. C. Skeat and E. G. Turner and reedited in 1979 by J. Rea.²⁹² Its language was repeatedly analysed by T. Hägg who came to the following conclusion: "The king (i.e. Phonen) himself - or perhaps his "secretary of state" has known enough Greek to be able to dictate a reply to Abourni's letter. His Greek, however, was a Pidgin Greek, in the technical sense of that term. The scribe, on the other hand, was well versed in Greek; he may have been an Egyptian. But I have the grave suspicion that he did not know what he wrote, when it came to the narrative itself. The phrases of courtesy at beginning and end are all right, for this time and place, and so are some other more general utterances. However, who conquered whom, in these fights among barbarians, the scribe did not know, and the king's Pidgin did not include articulate personal endings. So the scribe wrote the correct endings, only at the wrong places".²⁹³ It was necessary to mention in advance Hägg's attempt at an explanation of the confusing use of personal endings, in order to make it understandable why I shall be hesitant in the reconstruction of the chain of events hinted at in Phonen's letter to Abourni.

The text of the letter is in Rea's English translation: 294

"The most noble Phonen, king of the Blemmyes, to Aburni, king of the Nubades, and to Nacase and Moyses, your sons.

I give my greetings in the first place to your majesty along with all the people of the land, and I pray in God for the health of your followers, which is quite the most important thing. I write now to your excellency, because you wrote me thus, 'Great is the man who is great in his tribe.' For indeed, just like you, I too have a son. I have my son Breeitec and the brothers of Eienei and (many?) other (kinsfolk?).²⁹⁵ No, do not suppose that I am not very rich in kin (?). Indeed, all these that we have become none sees but God.

I wanted my son Breeitec and the brothers of Eienei to look into the death of Eienei, but after that your ambassador came here to me, and I called Breeitec and the brothers of Eienei and I prevented them. No person whatever can make war without my order; but perhaps your men do not obey you, rather you listen to the words of your men? As you wrote to me thus, 'I want us to have concord between each other.' I welcomed it (?) utterly. If you wish, let you and I remain honestly in our houses. For first indeed Silko conquered and took Talmis, but today you have conquered and taken Talmis; first Silko took and kept us off our lands, but today you have conquered and taken Talmis; first Silko spoke thus, 'Give me sheep and cattle and camels in plenty (?), so that your lands may be returned,' and I gave them all and he spurned and restrained us. And I wrote to Eienei for the sake of peace and sent ambassadors under truce and he (i.e. Silko) spurned and murdered the chieftain and prince and took prisoner the prophets on the site of Phontauu. Yes, it is lawful for war to be waged, but he unlawfully spurned people and murdered people under truce. And indeed because of the actions of Silko by which he spurned Eienei - for this reason -I was grieved and came down and made war. Yet the words of Silko and Eienei have passed away. Are we, perhaps, to take up with each other the position of Eienei and Silko? No! For now I and you, as a brother and as an elder (brother), shall share a good time with each other. Go up out of our land and send the gods to the temple, so that I and you can share a good time. And you sent me word about silver and sheep and camels. We found these and I have sent them to you. Go up out of my land and give us our own possessions and gods. And I have sent you the guarantee of my hand. But be sure that, if you forbid us our lands and gods, we cannot stand by and allow everything to perish. And indeed the war is not for your lands; the war is for our lands. I write to you again that Pachenios went and laid waste Danant. And go up out of our land. And indeed Coei went to the country beyond Tabales and set up altars, and conquered Cabantia (?). And we, who are all kings, will not allow you to conquer our lands. And I did not desire to occupy your lands, since it is not honourable.

When your ambassador came to meet me, I appointed Scaroü son of Aeinem quickly, so that my lands may be given him. When the ambassador came, I trusted you and I have sent the brother of Eienei. Behold! I have sworn thus, 'Give me back our lands, (and) they shall keep peace for ever.' And finally I have given my oaths to the brother of Eienei, so that you may give him my lands.

I, Breeitec, the phylarch, give many greetings to my lord brother Aburni, king of the Nubades, along with the gods of Talmis, thus, 'If you give back our lands, we shall no longer have war with each other for ever, but I shall keep the peace honourably.'

I, Phonen the king, have sent you one camel. It is a present to greet you. I write to you thus, 'I and Breeitec...'

And as for lasatec, do not allow him to rest. No! Do not listen to the words of deserters (?)!"

We understand from the inscription of Silko that he has directed three campaigns against the Blemmyans residing in the Talmis/Kalabsha area. The campaigns were, as he claims, all victorious. On the first and on the third occasion he occupied Talmis/Kalabsha and Taphis/Tafa and, as it seems, it was on the third occasion that he warred with them "from Primis to Telelis", i.e. from Qasr Ibrim to Shellal (?) at the First Cataract. He records furthermore that the first conflict ended with a peace treaty between Noubades and Blemmyans, which was sealed by the oath of the latter by their images of gods. It can be inferred from lines 8-10 that Silko withdrew his forces from the Dodekaschoinos, after the treaty, whereupon the Blemmyans broke their oath. A second and a third campaign of Silko followed, and it is remarked that one of the campaigns was connected with an expedition to the country "of the others (i.e. Blemmyans) above the Noubades", i.e. to the area of the Eastern Desert where the centre of the Blemmyan kingdom seems to have been (see below). At the moment of the erection of the triumphal inscription Silko seems to have been in the possession of Kalabsha and Taphis/Tafa and although he does not speak about the actual political situation that has been established by him as a consequence of his victory, we may perhaps assume that this time he annexed the territory to his kingdom. This assumption may be supported by the incised drawings accompanying the inscription (PI. I). The better-known graffito represents Silko on horseback, wearing Roman military dress and in the attire of spearing an enemy, in all probability a Blemmy. 296 He is crowned by a winged Victory with a traditional Meroitic crown composed of a skullcap, diadem with streamers, and a hmhm superstructure.²⁹⁷ The second graffito was (to the best of my knowledge) never brought into connection with Silko, although it is carved under the inscription as a pendant of the other graffito and also the stylistic connection between the two drawings is obvious. It shows the king wearing the combination of a kilt and of a Roman military dress, but also wearing Meroitic armlets, a broad pharaonic collar and the Double Crown of Egypt supplemented with an uraeus at the forehead, with the ram's horns of Amun, and with Kushite streamers. 298

1.12. The representations of Silko in Kalabsha

In his "X-group problem" Kirwan interprets the first graffito as an iconographical proof for Silko's having been a Roman federate: "the drawing ... shows him being crowned with his own native regalia, a crown of Ballana type, by a Winged Victory symbolizing Rome; a custom affirming Rome's loose suzerainty over a frontier kingdom and voice in the selection of its ruler, known from north-west Africa, Armenia, the Eastern frontier, and Roman Britain. It seems then that Procopius may be right in saying that both peoples, Blemmyes and Noubades, had been Roman federates".²⁹⁹ I am inclined to believe that the iconographical type, which must have been entirely unknown in Nubia, was imported by the writer of the inscription, an Egyptian, who was given precise prescriptions only as to the form of the crown of Silko. Nevertheless, it is still highly probable that the choice of this particular triumphant image was determined by Silko's status as Roman foederate. But it can similarly be imagined that the Egyptian scribe carved the only triumphal image which he knew, a Romano-Egyptian iconographical topos.³⁰⁰

While the first drawing might equally have been determined by Silko's wish to express his foederate status, or by the Egyptian carver's conscious attempt to represent a barbarian king who, to his knowledge, owed his power to Rome, or simply by the limits of the iconographical repertoire available for the carver: the second drawing has more unambiguous backgrounds. It shows the king with the attributes which have signified the King of Egypt from time immemorial, and which attributes were used in an unaltered form to show Pharaoh throughout the Roman period, too. In the knowledge of the crowns worn by Silko's predecessors and successors (see Ch. IV. 1.8), we may be fairly certain that the choice of the insignia in both drawings was conscious and corresponded with pharaonic Egyptian and with late Meroitic iconography. The hmhm expressed royal power and invincibility of the ruler.³⁰¹ The Double Crown was in all probability meant to stress Silko's pretension to be looked upon, both in Nubia and in Egypt, as the legal heir to ancient kings and an equal of other great rulers of his day. One would like to believe that no visitor of the temple could in Silko's days have been unaware of the fact that on its walls all kings are represented wearing the Double Crown, kilt, broad collar, and carrying ankh and sceptre. However, while the message of the drawing must have been clear for Nubians in general, it seems likely that it remained unintelligible for Egyptians in general, for it cannot be forgotten that no ruler of Egypt had been represented according to pharaonic iconography since the early 4th c. Thus while the triumphal scene with the winged Victory had an evident meaning for the Egyptian onlooker, the insignia in the other image were at best exotic for him - and vice versa: Noubadians and Blemmyes must have understood the message of the pharaonic-style image, and needed an explanation when they wanted to perceive the other.

1.13. Development under Silko's successor

In earlier literature the Silko inscription was usually taken for an indication of the final expulsion of the Blemmyes from the Dodekaschoinos.³⁰² In the knowledge of the Phonen letter Kirwan³⁰³ and Updegraff³⁰⁴ argued recently for a different reconstruction of the course of events. Kirwan used, however, a preliminary translation of the document and believed that it was earlier in date than the Silko inscription; and Updegraff apparently knew only from a verbal communication about its topic.

Stressing in advance that the interpretation is based on Rea's translation which tried to reconstruct a logical course of events, individual details of which could, due to the entirely defective use of personal endings in the letter, be reconstructed differently, ³⁰⁵ Phonen's text relates the following.

Blemmyan-Noubadian conflicts in the Dodekaschoinos did not end with Silko's victory. Phonen started, some time after Silko has established Noubadian rule in the

territory, attempts to regain the possession of the Dodekaschoinos. Silko's answer on the Blemmyan approach sounded favourable: he showed himself ready to return the conquered lands for "sheep, cattle and camels in plenty". Phonen claims to have delivered the ransom, but he was cheated. Instead of returning the conquered lands, Silko murdered Eienei, chieftain (phylarchos) and an unnamed hypotyrannos, and imprisoned certain prophets. Eienei seems to have been nobody else, than the deputy of the Blemmyan king in the Blemmyan "province" between Primis and Telelis. Although it cannot be proved beyond doubt, it seems rather probable that the Blemmyan king never resided in the Valley, as is indicated, however indirectly, by Olympiodorus' account and as can also be inferred from Phonen's letter itself. The phylarchos Eienei appears as Silko's partner not only in the peace negotations that ended so tragically for the former, but also in Phonen's warning: "Yet the words of Silko and Eienei have passed away. Are we, perhaps, to take up with each other the position of Eierlei and Silko? No!" Eienei might have been a successor in the function of the phylarchoi who were Olympiodorus' hosts in the Dodekaschoinos and who were subordinate to the Blemmyan king; he was apparently expelled by Silko from Talmis and Taphis. However, some part of the Blemmyan domains in the Valley seems to have remained under Eienei's control, as is indicated by Phonen's remark according to which he "wrote to Eienei for the sake of peace" whereas he appointed him as leader of an embassy constituted of a hypotyrannos of the Lower Nubian administration of the Blemmyes and of local (?) Blemmyan prophets, too.

After recording that Silko has conquered Talmis and other possessions of the Blemmyes in the Valley and that his attempts at a peace treaty which would have resulted in the returning of the conquered possessions against a ransom have failed, Phonen relates that now Silko's successor on the Noubadian throne. Abourni "has conquered and taken Talmis". Phonen records only unsuccessful negotiations after Silko's conquest, but does not speak of a Blemmyan reconquest of Talmis which would account for this sentence. We may thus conclude that it is only a rhetoric formula, and that in fact Talmis and the other conquests of Silko were inherited by his successor Aburni. Phonen started new negotiations with the new Noubadian king. That these begun before this letter, is attested by Phonen's remark according to which Abourni made a proposal which very closely resembles Silko's earlier message: viz. that he returns the conquered lands against a ransom of silver, sheep and camels. According to Phonen's letter, these were already collected and sent to Abourni, thus there remains only to fulfill the Blemmyan wish: go up out of Phonen's land and give back the Blemmyans their possessions and their gods. As to the latter demand, it can refer to the temples lying in the conquered territory, or to statues which were, according to general custom in the antiquity, taken as booty, or to both.

For lack of other documents concerning Blemmyan-Noubadian conflicts and contacts of other nature from this period, it is impossible to say whether Phonen's letter marks a final change in the political conditions of Lower Nubia, or whether it is the document of an ephemeral stuation. We have reasons, however, to believe that the first version is closer to reality. This opinion is first of all suggested by the Silko inscription. It was written in a distinguished place of the great court of the Mandulis temple and placarded the humiliations of the Blemmyes in a language which was also used by the Blemmyans in their own inscriptions in the same temple, before it was taken from them. Moreover, one of these Greek inscriptions made before the Noubadian conquest, eternalized the name of the same Phonen, then phylarch, ³⁰⁶ who later repeatedly tried to regain the territory as king of the Blemmyans. It is rather evident that the triumphal inscription of Silko would not have escaped erasure if Phonen or one of his successors could have reconquered Talmis. It would thus seem that Silko's words and image on the wall of the Kalabsha temple mark in fact the end of Blemmyan rule in the Nile Valley. Although there were attempts to alter the situation under Silko's and Abourni's reign, the kingdom of the Blemmyes was again confined on the region of the Eastern Desert. If the passages in Phonen's letter mentioning Eienei and the conflicts involving the persons Pachenios and Coei and the places Danant, Tabales and Cabantia (all unidentifiable) mean that parts of the Valley still belonged to the Blemmyes under Phonen, so this situation could hardly last very long.

1.14. The date of Silko, Abourni and Phonen

Before the treaty with Maximinus the Blemmyes and the Noubadians appear as allies. It is thus hardly debatable that the victories of Silko and the letter of Phonen postdate A.D. 453. Indeed, it is not quite improbable that the change in Blemmyan-Noubadian relationship was brought about by diplomatic efforts of the Romans, which might well have accompanied the military answer on the barbarian raid at Maximinus' death.

1.15. The Tantani letters

It is highly significant from the point of view of this issue that the Phonen letter was found hidden in a jar³⁰⁷ which also contained three further documents. They are letters written in Sa^Cidic Coptic by three different persons. Their recipient is the same: a certain Tantani who is called in the longest one Tantani **negrologyce Magee**. **NCE WANGTON**: phylarchos of the nation of those who belong to Nouba (or to the Anouba).³⁰⁸ In another document he is addressed **niceric Wingres**, Lord of the Nouba.³⁰⁹ It has been suggested that the two titles of Tantani would have marked a similar cursus honorum as phylarchos and basileüs in Phonen's documents.³¹⁰ It occurs to me, however, that **niceric Wingres** is not necessarily a designation of royal dignity. We find that Greek basileüs is rendered with Coptic **p**po in contemporary documents³¹¹ (I consider here especially the texts relating to Blemmyan kings).³¹²

The longest of the letters was written by a certain Viventios, a Byzantine officer describing himself as "the devoted tribune placed over all the soldiers who are in the limiton of Egypt".³¹³ At the top of the letter there are written the words "the translation of the letter".³¹⁴ They render it probable that Viventios originally wrote his letter in another language, most pobably Greek, while the normal language of communication between Egypt – from where also the other two letters came – and

Nubia was Coptic, and, accordingly, Tantani's scriptorium used the Coptic language. The second letter was written by a certain Eiahataki who was, judging by his name, obviously a Nubian. Also the writer of the third letter, Mouses, is thought to have been Nubian, although the fact that he addresses Tantani as "beloved lord and brother" (again Nybic, clearly not in the meaning of "king") may be explained as well as current formula of courtesy. Differing from Plumley's suggestion, ³¹⁵ I do not think that this Mouses would have been identical with the son of Abourni (see the letter of Phonen above). Judging from the text of his letter, he seems rather to have been Egyptian and his obvious Christianity³¹⁶ is not relevant from the point of view of Tantani's religion.

The contents of two of the letters – those of Viventios and Mouses – revolve around the conclusion of a Byzantine-Noubadian alliance or, more precisely, foedus. Before their publication I cannot say more about them than that certain details in them strongly suggest a mid-fifth century A.D. dating and that a passage of one of the letters makes it probable that they were written after Silko had conquered Talmis.

The above documents — the Silko inscription, the Phonen letter and the Tantani dossier — seem thus to suggest unanimously that the Blemmyan occupation of the Talmis-Taphis area, and perhaps of the whole Dodekaschoinos, and at times of Qasr Ibrim (?), came to an end in the years after 453. In 545 A.D. Procopius wrote, as we have seen in Ch. I. 3, that "the Blemmyes inhabit the interior of this country, while the Nobatai possess the lands on either side of the River Nile", and at his time this geopolitical situation must have been long established, for he believes that the Blemmyes invans lived always in the desert.

The political history of post-Meroitic Lower Nubia is thus documented, very imperfectly, by the sources and documents discussed above. The data nevertheless allow us to form an impression of the decades following immediately the fall of Meroe: yet this early period is better documented by archaeological finds to be discussed further below. The date of the Blemmyan occupation of a part of Lower Nubia and the circumstances of its end could be established on the basis of written sources, and further texts will highlight some aspects of the culture of the conquerors. The Noubadian state(s) appear in documents only around the middle of the 5th century. The second century of the post-Meroitic period is not documented in texts concerning events of political history: we must try to describe Nubia in the second half of the 5th and the first half of the 6th century almost entirely on the basis of archaeological discoveries. The survey of post-Meroitic history will therefore be continued in Chapter IV discussing finds from cemeteries and settlements. The documents to be surveyed in the following section have a bearing on our topic only in an indirect way. They are documents of a Blemmyan foederate community living on Egyptian territory in the first half of the 6th century.

2. The Gebelen documents

2.1. Introduction

These documents were probably found on the small island of Gebelen some 25 English miles south of Thebes.³¹⁷ All are written on a material which appears to be gazelle (?) skin, nine are in Greek, four in Coptic with Greek insertions. They belong to the same official archive. The homogeneity of the collection is indicated by the following circumstances: a) five of the nine loan texts in the collection involve the same lender; b) four of the above-mentioned five loans are written by the same scribe, a certain Sansnos; c) three further loans were written again by Sansnos. They were arranged recently into a chronological sequence on the basis of the indiction datings and by indications consisted in the texts themselves by Hägg.³¹⁸ I reproduce here his list and then I shall briefly discuss the historical significance of the texts on the basis of the translations prepared, together with a revised edition of the original texts, by Eide, Hägg and Pierce.³¹⁹

No. 1. BKU III 350, scribe Sansnos, 9th Ind., Thoth 29.
No. 2. BKU III 361, scribe Sansnos, ?th Ind., Epeiph 29.
No. 3. BKU III 359, scribe Sansnos, undated.
No. 4. SB III 6258, scribe Agathon, 11th Ind., Athyr 23.
No. 5. SB X 10554, scribe Agathon, 13th Ind., Mecheir 23.
No. 6. SB III 6257, scribe Sansnos, 1st Ind., Phaophi 24.
No. 7. SB X 10553, scribe Dioscoros, undated.
No. 8. SB III 6259, scribe Sansnos, 2nd Ind., Epeiph 13.
No. 9. P. Köln ägypt. 13, scribe Agathon, 2nd Ind., Phamenoth 15.
No. 10. SB X 10552, scribe Sansnos, 4th Ind., Pharmouthi 17.
No. 12. BGU III 795, scribe Sansnos, 5th (?) Ind., Pharmouthi 18.
No. 13. BGU III 797, scribe Sansnos, ?th Ind., Thoth 11.

2.2. The documents

No. 1. BKU III 350. Donation and manumission within a family. Coptic and Greek.³²⁰ "(XP monogram) (Coptic part) (1) I, Kharaftik, son of [.....], write to my beloved Ma(hanat): (2) Behold, my captive (fem.) whom I (took) on the mountain before I had yet married, (3) Apehset, I have given her to you (fem.) in life (as) in death; and she has become your (4) captive. And I, Mahanat, write to (you) Sentekhaynis (5) and Munkokhnhiu, the children of my son Kharaftik: (6) whereas you (masc. sing.) have given Apehset to me to be (my) slave, (and whereas,) while she has been in (7) my house, you (masc. sing.) have had two children by her, i.e. Sentekhaynis (8) and Munkokhnhiu, I have made you (pl.) free in order that (9) you (pl.) dwell in my house and serve me as free (10) persons. And (except for) the king only, no one has the right of compulsion over you (pl.) (11) ever, either on the mountain or on the water; but you (pl.) (shall be) my (12) legitimate children and free persons. (13) (Greek part) Khaias, phylarchos, I am a withness. Osien, hypotyrannos, I am a witness. Enbiek, I am a witness. (14) Inshikput, I am a witness. Yauize, her (i.e. Mahanat's) son I am a witness. Seneno, I too (am a witness). (15) Kharaftik, her (i.e. Mahanat's) son, I am a witness. Kuta, their capitularius, I am a witness. (16) (cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 29th of Thoth, 9th Ind(iction)."

Notes: the text documents a) the gift by a son to his mother of a female slave, b) the manumission by the mother of her son's children Sentekhaynis and Munkokhnhiu, by this female slave. According to the translation of Eide, Hägg and Pierce the children manumitted by Mahanat also became the manumittor's legitimate children and thus in law the siblings of their father. The slave-mother herself was not set free. But it is unclear even, whether she was alive at this time.

No. 2. BKU III 361. Acknowledgement of debt. Coptic and Greek.

"(XP monogram) (Coptic part) (1) I, Trempyoh, she (sic) writes to (Ka....): (2) I owe you (fem.) sixteen holokottines (3) and a trimesion, (Greek:) making (....) so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (Coptic:) And (4) these come to my lot of (agricultural) land (.....) (5) it as (a) pledge in your (fem.) hands (.....) and you (fem.) take it, (6) and you (fem.) exploit it and its pasture, and you (fem.) take them (7) until I may you (fem.). No one (...); (8) and you (fem.), for your part, give them for me and my daughter in captivity (.....) (9) (cross) (Greek:) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 29th of the mo(nth) Epeiph, in the (..)th Ind(iction). (10) (Coptic:) I, Trempyoh, daughter of Phant, agree."

Notes: the debt seems to be an antichretic loan³²¹ in which the debt is secured by the land belonging to the debtor. The creditor held and exploited it until the debt was repaid. Usufruct of the cultivated land may have been in lieu of interest on the sum of the debt. It seems that the creditor was obliged to use the property pledged to ransom the debtor and her daughter from captivity. Damages in the text make, however, the meaning unclear. The names Trempyoh and Phant are Egyptian.

No. 3. BKU III 359. Acknowledgement of debt. Coptic and Greek.

"(Cross) (1)(Coptic) I, Sulien, son of Wanaktikuta, (2) he (sic) writes to Phant: I owe you (...) (3) two holoko(ttines) and a trimesion, (Greek) ma(king) 2 1/3 so(lidi) (4) only. (Coptic) And behold, the tavern, the one that is in Tune, (5) I have placed it as a pledge in your hands (in case I do not come back.) Remain (6) the owner and be in it until I repay them to you in full. (Cross) (Greek) By me, Sansnos. (7) (Coptic) Likewise, Sulien, I have received a holo(kottinos) (...) (8) from you, Phant, on the security of the tavern, (9) (Greek) ma(king) 3 1/3 so(lidi) of go(ld)."

Notes: antichretic loan, like No. 2, this time secured by a tavern (symposion). The place-name Tune is unidentifiable.

No. 4. SB III 6258. Royal disposition. Greek.³²²

"(Cross) (1) I, Pokatimne, the most noble king, write to you, Poae, the most well-born priest: (2) I have given you expressly the administration of the island Temsir, (also) called Tanare, (3) from this time forward and for ever more. And everything is satisfactory to me as ab(ove). (4) Written by me, Agathon, scribe, on the 23rd of Athyr, 11th Ind(iction)."

Notes: most noble king: entireq(αν eστατος) βασιλίσκος. The most well-born priest: evyeveστατος (ερεύς. Administration: curatoria. The island Temsir or Tanare is most likely identical with Gebelen.

No. 5. BKU III 360. Acknowledgement of debt. Greek. 323

"(Cross) (1) I have received, I, Sulien, son of Wanaktikuta, from you, Phant, (2) son of Kirbeeitak, prie(st), thirteen (3) and thirty-two hundreths solidi of gold, ma(king) 13 (and) 32/100 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (4) And this, G(od)willing, I am prepared to return to you when (5) I return (from) my business. If I do not do this, (6) you are in command of my slaves calle(d) Todetes (and) (7) her daughter until payment of the above-mentioned (8) loan. And it is satisfactory to me as ab(ove). (9) Written (by m)e, Agathon, on the 23rd of Mecheir, 13th Ind(iction). (Cross)" *leavey*

Notes: priest: $\beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda i \sigma \kappa \sigma s$. This time the parties known from No. 3 secure the debt by the pledge of two female slaves. Differences between the two documents seem to be due to the fact that they were written by two different scribes and in different languages.³²⁴

No. 6. SB III 6257. Royal disposition. Greek. 325

"(Cross) (1) I, Kharakhen, king of the Blemmyes, (2) write to (my) children Kharakhen, Kharapatkhur, (3) and Kharahiet so that I order to give(to you) (4) the administration of the island called Tanare. (5) And no one is ordered to hinder you. But if (6) the Romans make difficulties (and) do not hand over the customary (dues), (7) the phylarchos shall not be hindered, or the hypotyrannos, (8) from seizing the Romans until (they) pay the customary (dues) (9) for my island. (10) Kharakhen, king (sign) (11) Laize, domesticus, (I am) a witness (sign) (12) Tiutikna, dom(esticus), (I am) a witness (cross) (13) (Cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 24th of the mo(nth) Phaophi, 1st Ind(iction)."

Notes: king: $συν ή \partial εια$. Administration: curatoria. The reading of lines 2 and 3 is uncertain, they can also be read as "to Kharakhen's children Kharapatkhur and Kharahiet (or: Kharaziet)." Customary dues:

No. 7. SB X 10553. Acknowledgements of debts. Greek. 326

"(Cross) (1) To the well-born Ose. (I, NN acknowledge) (2) I have received from you in my hand, in Nov $\beta\alpha\rho$ (...) (Noubadian?) coins (3) eight solidi of gold, ma(king) 8 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. And this (4) I shall return to you whenever you demand. And it is satisfactory to me (5) as ab(ove). (Cross) Written by me, Dioskoros. (6) To the well-born Ose (.....). (7) I acknowledge I have received in my hand, in (Noubadian?) coins, (.....), (9) eleven solidi of gold, ma(king) 11 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (10) And this I shall return to you whenever you demand. (11) And it is satisfactory to me as (ab(ove)). (12) (Cross) Written by me, Dioskoros.

Notes: Well-born: $ev\gamma ev\eta s$. The reading in lines 2 and 7 of the adjective of the coins is uncertain. It is usually read as indicated above, but either the reading is wrong, or the scribe may have misunderstood or rendered unintelligibly for us something, for the existence of a Noubadian currency is improbable.³²⁷ The document records two distinct loans.

No. 8. SB III 6259. Acknowledgement of debt. Greek. 328

"(Cross) (1) I have received, I, Argon, son of Laize, silversmith, (2) from you, Noaymek, in (....?) coins, (3) eleven solidi of gold, ma(king) 11 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (4) And this (I am prepared) to return (to) you whenever (you) demand. (5) And if there should be found another instrument by the hand of (6) Dioskoros, (it shall) be invalid and without force – if not (7) by the hand of Sansnos, scri(be). (8) (Cross) By me, Sansnos, on the 13th of Epeiph, 2nd Ind(iction)."

Notes: Eide, Hägg and Pierce suppose also here in line 2 the adjective Noubadian of the coins.

No. 9. P. Köln ägypt. I. 13. Royal disposition. Coptic and Greek. 329

"(XP monogram) (1) (Coptic part) Barakhia, the king of the nation of the Blemmyes, I write to (2) Amn(as), her whose Christian name is Sophia: (3) I order you (fem.) to remain in the komerkion under (=which belongs to?) the (=your?) fa- (4) thers in the way that everyone is and to be, yourself, (5) as a free person. It is not permitted for anyone to (pass by) there (6) ever; for (when) I ascended the throne (after) King Kharakhen, (7) I myself ordered you to be in the komerkion in a (town); (8) for no one should hinder (you) there. And I assent to the (9) document; for it was at my command that Agathon, the scribe, wrote this document. (10) (Greek part) Barakhia, king,(I am) a witness. Tata, phylarchos, (I am) a witness. Eisoeit, hypotyrannos, (I am) a witness. (11) Eutieka, (I am) a witness. Prekam, (I am) a witness. Hatik(a), (I am) a witness. Laize, (I am) a witness. Kaet, (I am) a witness. (12) Noupika, phylarchos, (I am) a witness. (Cross) Written on the 15th of the mo-(nth) Phamenoth, 2nd Ind(iction). (13) (Cross) Writ(ten) by me, Agathon, scri(be), at the command of the most glorious King Barakhia. (Cross)"

Notes: king in lines 1 and 6: ppo; most glorious king in line 14: ένδοξότατος βασιλίσκος. Line 6 was translated by Weber³³⁰ differently: "denn ich habe den Thron bestiegen in der grossen Einfriedigung 'Charachen, der König'." As stressed by Eide, Hägg and Pierce, the understanding of the nature of the document depends on the interpretation of the words komerkion in lines 3 and 7, and +MH town, in line 7. The word komerkion is apparently related to Latin commercium which is attested in the meaning "trading place" in Plinius, N.H. XXXVII, 45. Further cases are listed in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae III s. v. However, according to the Oxford Latin Dictionary s. v. the word has the meaning (in pl.) "trade routes". Egyptian documents of the period do not clarify the issue. In Byzantine Greek kom(m)erkion means in general "trade", and specifically "customs" and "taxes".³³¹ In Weber's interpretation time is the equivalent of Greek $\tau \mu \eta$ and means "penalty". The phrase containing the word would thus mean "as a penalty". In this case the king would be reaffirming a previous order of his, according to which Amnas-Sophia must remain in the *komerkion*, but at the same time he would improve her situation, i.e. allow her to live "as a free person". However, the general tone of the text indicates rather (as also stressed by Eide, Hägg and Pierce³³²) that the king reconfirms an earlier favor granted to the woman, thus the expression "as a penalty" has no meaning in the context.

No. 10. SB X 10552. Acknowledgement of debt. Greek. 333

"(XP monogram) (1) I have received, I (Osi)an, from you, Ose, (2) twenty-four solidi of gold, (3) ma(king) 24 (so(lidi) of go(ld) only. And this, G(od)willing, (....) when I (come down) (5) I shall return to you (....) (6) (.....) And (it is satisfactory to me) (7) (as) above. (sign) (8) (Cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansno(s), on the (5th) of the mo(nth) Phaophi, 4th Ind(iction)."

No. 11. BGU III 796. Acknowledgement of debt. Greek. 334

"(XP monogram) (1) I have received, I, Sle, from you, Ose, phylarchos, (2) fourteen solidi of gold, ma(king) 14 so(lidi) only. And this, G(od)willing, I, Sle, (am prepared) (3) to return to you whenever you demand. And it is satisfactory (4) to me as ab(ove). Nubal, (his) broth(er), (I am) a witness. (5) Amatepshoy, (I am) a witness. Sentasao, (I am) a witness. (6) Kruahe, (I am) a witness. Pasapiep, (I am) a witness. (7) (Cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansno(s), (8) on the 17th of the mo(nth) Pharmouthi (9) (..)th Ind(iction)."

No. 12. BGU III 795. Acknowledgement of debt. Greek. 335

"(XP monogram) (1) I have received, I, Sle, from you, Ose, phylarchos, (2) five solidi of gold, ma(king) 5 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. And this, G(od)willing, (3) (I am prepared) to return to you whenever you demand. (4) And it is satisfactory to me as ab(ove). (5) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 18th of the mo(nth) Pharmouthi, (5th) Ind(iction). (6) Nubal, (I am) a witness. (7) Amatepshoy, (I am) a witness. (8) Sentasao, (I am) a witness. (9) (sign)"

No. 13. BGU III 797. Acknowledgement of debt. Greek. 336

"(XP monogram) (1) I have received, I, Tusik(i)a, with Hadetak(.), (2) from you, Ose, phylarchos, one solidi (sic) of gold, (3) ma(king) 1 so(lidus) of go(ld). And this, G(od)willing, (I am prepared to return to you) whenever (4) you demand. And it is satisfactory to me (5) as ab(ove). (6) (Cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansno(s) (7) on the (11)th of the mo(nth) Thoth, (..)th Ind(iction).

2.3. The date of the documents

The political and social situation reflected by the above thirteen documents will be discussed in Ch. V. 6. Here I discuss only their date. On paleographical grounds they were dated by Wessely to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century, ³³⁷ by Wilcken to the 6th century, ³³⁸ and by Satzinger in 1968³³⁹ to the beginning of the 6th century, a dating which also occurs in Weber's publication of the document No. 9.³⁴⁰ More recently they were dated by H. Harrauer³⁴¹ to the last quarter of the 6th century. It was argued that the scribe of No. 7, Dioscoros, may have been identical with the scribe of BGU III 972 from the Latopolite nome, who is mentioned there as "Dioskoros, scribe of the Blemmyan people".³⁴² The identification is indeed tempting. BGU III 972 is placed "in the 6th/7th century", this dating is, however, far from being incontestable.

The customary dues mentioned in No. 6 with the word $\sigma v \eta \vartheta \epsilon \omega$ were gratuities which belonged in the complicated taxation system of Byzantine Egypt. As a custom, they were not imposed every year.³⁴³ The synetheia appear extremely rarely in the late 5th century, while the word is frequently used to designate obligatory gratuities to be paid to different dignitaries during the first third of the 6th century.³⁴⁴ In his eighth Novel Justinian regulates the various synetheia to be paid to the different officials who were entitled to receive them (A.D. 535), and the system of the customary dues was improved somewhat later in Edict xiii.³⁴⁵

As we shall see in more detail, the documents come from a mixed Egyptian-Blemmyan community which was, though situated in Egypt, under Blemmyan control.

The majority of the Blemmyans figuring in the texts are pagan, and the case of Sophia in No. 9 seems to be isolated. It occurs towards the end of the period covered by the documents. Although paganism as well as different heresies among barbarian foederates were in the early 6th century still officially tolerated, as the Cod. Just. I, 5.12 (A.D. 527) attests, it must be stressed that the tolerance expressed by this decree was confined to the army. A mixed pagan-Christian community can be imagined in Egypt as long as paganism is to an extent officially allowed in the country: i.e., as long as the sanctuaries at Philae are still open. (We cannot forget that pagan cult life in Philae was first of all allowed as a consequence of the treaties with the Noubadians and the Blemmyans.) They were closed by Justinian around 535.346 Although not all motives of the closing of the temples are known, so much seems rather certain: that the abolishment of the pagan cults significantly marks the beginning of a new era in which the legal subordination of Christian Egyptians to pagan foederates on Egyptian soil can hardly be imagined. I prefer thus to place the documents in the first third of the 6th century. It seems to me, that BGU III 972 (independently now from the issue of Dioskoros' assumed identity with the scribe of No. 7) can be dated in the first half of the 6th century as well.

3. Noubadians and Blemmyes in the early 6th century

3.1. The question of Nubian Christianity before the middle of the 6th c.

As we have seen in section 1.15 of this chapter, the course of the Blemmyan-Noubadian conflicts in the period of the Noubadian kings Silko and Abourni, and of their foe, King Phonen of the Blemmyans, who tried - in my opinion unsuccessfully - to reconquer or to regain by means of a treaty the Lower Nubian possessions of the Blemmyans, was greatly influenced by Byzantine interferences. There can be no doubt that both parties were actually dangerous for Upper Egypt, we may nevertheless suppose that the eventual scheme of the alliance with Noubadian kingdom(s) in Lower Nubia appeared more promising than an alliance with the Blemmyes against the Noubadians. The scheme may also have included from the early years of the 6th c. the Christianization of the Noubadian kingdoms. A Byzantine-Noubadian foedus, as it appears in the Tantani documents which I would like to date in the second half of the 5th century, naturally did not exclude that groups of the Blemmyes were from time to time similarly approached. The Gebelen documents testify that Blemmyan foederati were eventually admitted to Egyptian territory some time in the early 6th century. A source concerning A.D. 524³⁴⁷ speaks about a promise of the Emperor Justin to send an army of Blemmyans and Noubadians to king ^CElla Asbeha of Axum, via Coptos and Berenike, in order to support the king in his fighting against the Himyarite ruler Dhu-Nuwas.348

The development of the relations between the Noubadian kingdom of Silko and his successors in Lower Nubia and Egypt may have been influenced by the spread of Christianity in Lower Nubia. It has been frequently supposed³⁴⁹ that Christian communities existed in Lower Nubia as early as the 2nd half of the 5th century. Archaeol-

ogical finds that are quoted in support of this assumption are, however, not conclusive. Clay lamps and pottery vessels with Christian symbols and incised crosses imported from Egypt and discovered in post-Meroitic settlement layers and graves³⁵⁰ testify in fact only to the Christianity of their makers in Egypt. 351 It was furthermore supposed that the earliest church, the ground walls of which were excavated under the cathedral of Faras, was erected in post-Meroitic times.³⁵² Although this interpretation of the post-Meroitic building history of the Faras cathedral area proved later to be untenable,³⁵³ literature continues to maintain that "wie die Ausgrabungen in Nubien gezeigt haben, ist das Christentum in Nubien bereits Jahrhunderte vor der offiziellen Missionierung an vielen Orten bezeugt,"354 and now bases this opinion on the allegedly 5th or early 6th century church buildings at Meinarti, Abd el Gadir South and Karanog, 355 and further on a church building at Qasr Ibrim. 356 However, Abd el Gadir South and Karanog were never proved to have been churches, while the dating of the Meinarti and Qasr Ibrim churches is so far undocumented. Egyptian legends quoted by Krause³⁵⁷ speaking about monks leading missionary journeys to Nubia in the 3rd or 4th c. may well attest Egyptian attempts but do not stand for their results. The Tantani letters were also mentioned by Kraus as eventual proofs of Noubadian Christianity, at least in higher circles, around the middle of the 5th c. 358 Before their publication the text of the letters (which I know through the generosity of Professor Plumley) cannot be discussed in any detail. So much can be remarked, however, that in my view they do not support Plumley's³⁵⁹ and Krause's³⁶⁰ conclusions.

Thus, for the time being it seems more likely that the conversion of the Noubadian kingdoms was not preceded by significant missionary activities that would have been successful to any greater extent. The history of the conversion does not belong to the topic of the present investigation, its sources concern us here only insofar as they give – however faint – a picture of the political situation at that period.

As it is discussed in great detail by earlier³⁶¹ and more recent literature,³⁶² the evangelization of Nubia had already begun before the middle of the 6th c. A.D. It was introduced by the closing of the pagan sanctuaries at Philae around 535-538.363 According to Procopius "...these shrines on Philae (which) these barbarians (i.e. the Blemmyes and the Nobatai/Noubades) still had in my time, the Emperor Justinian determined to destroy. Then Narses who was born in Persarmenia ... was the leader of the soldiers who, on the order of the Emperor, destroyed the shrines. He took the priests into custody and sent the statues (of the gods) to Byzantium."³⁶⁴ Around 543 Julian (a friend of the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, Theodosius, while in exile in Constantinople) arrived in the northernmost Nubian kingdom, Nobatia. After two years of work he returned to Constantinople, his work being continued by Theodore, bishop of Philae.365 The kingdom of Makuria, south of Nobatia, was converted only around 570.366 Until recently literature maintained that Makuria was converted to the dyophysite faith,³⁶⁷ critical re-evaluation of the remarks of John of Ephesus, 368 John of Biclarum, 369 Eutychios 370 and of epigraphical sources³⁷¹ led, however, to the probable statement that the three post-Meroitic kingdoms were converted to the monophysite faith. Furthermore, they remained monophysite (as opposed to the thesis of Michałowski³⁷² according to which Nobatia

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converted to dyophysitism in the 11th c.). The history of the conversion of Makuria is nevertheless guite obscure and we know only that it began in 569 or 570 (John of Biclarum). As to the kingdom of Alodia or Alwa, it was converted around 580 by the monophysite missionary Longinus (John of Ephesus³⁷³). John of Ephesus relates that Longinus worked first in the evangelization of Nobatia after Theodore, bishop of Philae returned after c. 6 years of work to his see in 551.374 However, he did not immediately continue Theodore's activity, for he was unable to leave Constantinople before c. 569. He stayed in Nobatia for six years, and left in 575 for Egypt. In 578 he was invited by the king of Alodia, who was, according to John of Ephesus, in friendly relations with the king of Nobatia, to evangelize his country. Because Makuria was unfriendly, Longinus travelled via the land of the Blemmyans, i.e. the Eastern Desert. The narrative of John of Ephesus also preserves a fragment of a letter sent by the king of Nobatia to the king of Alodia on this matter: "But because of the wicked devices of him who dwells between us, I sent my saintly father to the king of the Blemmyes, that he might conduct him thither by routes further inland; but the Makuritae heard also of this, and set people on the lookout in all the passes of his kingdom, both in the mountains and in the plain."³⁷⁵ None the less, Longinus arrived safely in Alodia where he converted the king, baptized him and his nobles and subsequently his people. John adds furthermore that Longinus met Axumite merchants in Alodia who confessed the heresy of Halicarnassus, and whose belief he then corrected.

The account of John of Ephesus thus describes the post-Meroitic territory between the First Cataract and the region of modern Khartoum as divided into three separate and independent kingdoms. It is fairly certain that their beoundaries were more or less identical with the boundaries we know from later sources: 376 the kingdom of Nobatia extending from the First to the Third Cataract; the kingdom of Makuria from the Third Cataract to the junction of Nile and Atbara (?)³⁷⁷ and Alodia over the former Meroitic south. The limits of the latter are, hogever, entirely unknown so far. We are perhaps not mistaken if we suppose that the Nobatia which accepted the evangelization carried out by the missionary bishopric of Philae³⁷⁸ and by missionaries sent by the court in Constantinople, and was ready to establish a church organization subordinate to the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, is identical with Silko's and Abourni's kingdom, which had continued ever since the time of these kings to maintain good relations with Byzantium. John of Ephesus introduces his account of the mission sent by the Empress Theodora to Nobatia with the remark, that the "Nobades receive a subsidy from Rome".³⁷⁹ This remark, if based on reliable information, would prove that the successors of Silko and Abourni were foederates of Byzantium around the middle of the 6th c. The assumed extension of the kingdom to the Third Cataract is supported by the homogeneity of the picture shown by burial customs and pottery finds from the First Cataract to Sesebi, 380 although it can be imagined that the political unity of this territory does not go back as far as the first century of the post-Meroitic period. As we shall see in Ch. IV. 8, 11, the tumuli of Gemai and Firka may indicate the existence of more or less independent chiefdoms south of the Ballana kingdom in the period c. 370-450.

It seems that the king of Nobatia who invited Theodore to continue Julian's

missionary work is identical with King Eirpanome who ordered the erecting of a cross at Dendur some time in the period of Theodore's Nubian activity (c. 545-551) or, at the latest, before his death.³⁸¹ The act of erecting a cross and the consecration of a church is recorded in a Coptic inscription of the temple at Dendur:³⁸² "By the will of God and the command of the King, Eirpanome, and Joseph, the exarch of Talmis, zealous in the word of God, and by our receiving the cross from the hand of Theodore, bishop of Philae, that I, Abraham, the humblest priest, should place the cross on the day of the founding of this church, which is the 27th day of Tobi, Indiction VII, there being present Shai the eunuch, and Papnute the stepharis, and Epiphanius the keeper of the seal (samata), and Sirma the courier (veridarius).³⁸³ May everyone that shall read these writings of this charity offer a prayer for me." The text commemorates the conversion of a pagan temple, and it seems probable that the transformation of pagan sanctuaries into places of Christian worship was the general practice of the early period of Nubian Christianity.³⁸⁴ It indicates furthermore that Dendur - and at that time perhaps the whole of the Nobatian church - stood under the authority of the missionary bishopric of Philae.³⁸⁵

The name of the kingdom of Makuria is unknown from any previous source, although a people called Makouritae was mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy.³⁸⁶ For lack of sources, written or archaeological, we cannot venture into speculations about the post-Meroitic and early Christian history of these people and the territory which became named after them by the middle of the 6th c. The centre of the kingdom may have been at Old Dongola, although recent excavations at this site³⁸⁷ have so far yielded only remains of later periods. Adams supposed that the early – i.e. post-Meroitic – rulers of Makuria were buried in the tumuli at Tanqasi.³⁸⁸ The striking poverty of the opened burials contradicts Adams' assumption. The Tanqasi tumuli belong nevertheless to the post-Meroitic history of the area, and their presumable connection with Noba immigrants settled there in the late Meroitic period was touched upon in Ch. II. 2.4 and will be discussed further in Ch. V.

The territory of the southernmost kingdom, Alodia (in Coptic texts also Almodia, Aroadia,³⁸⁹ in Arabic sources Alwa,³⁹⁰ in modern literature Aloa³⁹¹) is identical with the southern part of the Meroitic kingdom. As indicated in Ch. II. 1 and 2.4, great parts of it were inhabited by immigrant Noba tribes by the 2nd half of the 4th c. A.D. At the time of Ezana's campaign the central part of the Island of Meroe was still under the authority of a Meroitic king, but Meroe City seems to have been inhabited partly by Noba (see Ch. IV. 15). No written source of post-Meroitic date mentions the territory, but archaeological finds to be discussed in Ch. IV. 13ff., indicate that the Meroitic element and its culture – with the probable exception of burial rites – quickly disappeared or dissolved after the final fall of Meroe.

Not only is the prehistory of the Kingdom of Alodia, that emerges in John of Ephesos' account around 580, unknown, but its name also presents us with a puzzle. Earlier literature generally associated the Alwa of the Ezana inscription with Meroe City and thus suggested that the kingdom of Alwa not only occupied the ancient Meroitic South but also got its name from its capital.³⁹² Ezana's Alwa is, however, hardly identical with Meroe City: it is in all probability to be identified with the Al(a)be-Abale of the Juba itinerary and Ptolemy's ${}^{*}O_{\rho\beta\alpha}$, i.e. modern El Mogren at

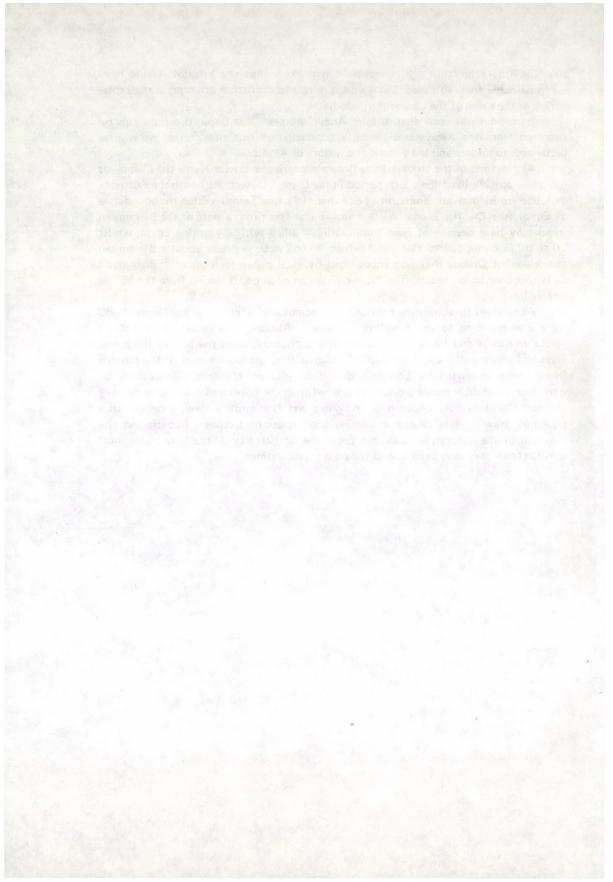
the Nile-Atbara junction.³⁹³ However, it is unlikely that the kingdom would have taken its name from this place, so we must refrain from further attempts at the explanation of the name of the kingdom of Alodia.

Its capital was according to later Arabic sources³⁹⁴ at Soba. It can perhaps be expected from the excavations recently conducted at this site³⁹⁵ that we will be better able to understand the genesis and history of Alodia.

At the time of the arrival of the first missionaries to Lower Nubia the Blemmyes had again already lived for a long period in the Eastern Desert. Although the existence of foederate Blemmyan communities like that of Tanare/Temsir within the boundaries of Egypt (see Ch. III. 2 and V. 6) is unlikely at this time, a part of the Blemmyan tribes may have been – at least temporarily – allied with Byzantine Egypt, whilst other tribes continued to raid the Thebaid. In 552 A.D. we hear about a Blemmyan attack against Ombos that was encouraged by local pagan resistance.³⁹⁶ Blemmyan raids continue to be recorded in Upper Egyptian documents dating from the 560ies and 570ies.³⁹⁷

As referred to above, the missionary Longinus was safely conducted around 580 by a Blemmy king to the kingdom of Alodia. Although Longinus had to endure "great weariness and bitter trials, spiritual and physical, ... in the land of the Blemmyes", ³⁹⁸ Kirwan³⁹⁹ and Updegraff⁴⁰⁰ suggest that the Blemmyans of the Eastern Desert were converted by Longinus during his journey through their country or were even previously converted and so trusted with the conducting of the missionary as good Christians. As opposed to Kirwan's and Updegraff's view, I believe that Longinus' travel, while clearly indicating good relations between Nobatia and the kingdom of the Blemmyes, does not prove the Christianity of the latter: Longinus' spiritual trials may have been due to the pagan surroundings.

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IV. Post-Meroitic Nubia: archaeological sources

1. The royal cemeteries of Qustul and Ballana

1.1. Introduction

Although a list of post-Meroitic finds between the First Cataract and the Khartoum area could be expected at this place, the virtual comprehensiveness of such a list would be certainly misleading. Not only is the intensity of archaeological research extremely different from region to region (ranging from the almost total neglect of post-Meroitic sites between the Third and Fourth Cataracts to the meticulous surveys in the Dal region and in Lower Nubia). Also the number of the unpublished sites and finds is too great: a topographical survey of all published finds would certainly be less fruitful than the detailed investigation of some find complexes which I consider to be of key importance.

As regards their size, richness, the length of the period covered by them, and the importance of the persons buried there, the royal necropoleis of Qustul and Ballana are of primary importance. They also are promising, as to the establishment of the missing internal chronology of the post-Meroitic culture, I thus start this chapter with their discussion.

"(It) would seem ... that the classical authors are our best guides to the events of the post-Meroitic period, and that the archaeological record must somehow be reconciled with them. In fact, just the reverse is true. ... I will therefore begin on the solid ground of archaeology". So Adams introduces his analysis of post-Meroitic culture.⁴⁰¹ This is not the place to elaborate upon the ambiguous attitude of Meroitic researches towards classical sources, 402 and a critical survey of the sources on post-Meroitic history has been presented in Chapters I-III above (cp. also Ch. V below). The adjective with which archaeology is honoured by Adams - solid ground of archaeology - is none the less quite provoking in our particular case. What kind of solid basis can we expect from an imbroglio of cultural manifestations, of artefacts of native and imported origins, in which the great majority of the phenomena are undated and can a piacere represent beginning, floruit, or end; and in the realm of which the explanation of differences, trends, developments or mutations is, consequently, subordinate to any kind of theory? No doubt, archaeology is par excellence a solid basis - but, it must be added, it serves history only if it presents us with phenomena ordered according to internal chronology which is fixed in time. Post-Meroitic archaeology is largely without internal and absolute chronology. Existing beyond the dimension of time, it is forced to remain descriptive, which brings about the unpleasant consequence that the post-Meroitic period appears as two hundred years of strange stagnation. Connections with Egypt are richly documented by artefacts imported from there, but without being able to put them into a chronological system, judgements formed on their basis concerning political and economic relationship between Nubia and Egypt are bound to run the risk of grave errors.

Evidently enough, the lack of chronological foundation in post-Meroitic archae-

ology cannot be explained by some sort of methodological idiosyncrasy. It was not until the UNESCO Rescue Campaign that a stratified post-Meroitic settlement was identified and fully excavated.⁴⁰³ Apart now from the fact that this settlement also is known only from preliminary publications, and that the other major stratified Lower Nubian post-Meroitic site is entirely unpublished,⁴⁰⁴ archaeologists have had to realize that these sites yielded chronologically or socially incomplete sequences. For lack of final publications we are unable to see whether these excavations present us with fixed points for absolute chronology or not.⁴⁰⁵ Post-Meroitic layers at Qasr Ibrim may prove to be more informative, however, works at this site are still very far from conclusion and from publication. Progress can be thus expected for the time being only from the analysis of large cemeteries. The cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana present themselves for a chronological investigation first of all on account of the great number of high-quality imports found in their burials.

Although Qustul and Ballana have been regarded, ever since their discovery in 1932-34 and first publication in 1938,406 as keys not only to the understanding of post-Meroitic culture but also to its chronology, scholarly attempts never went beyond the establishment of a general chronology. The cemeteries were fixed between the end of Meroe and the advent of Nubian Christianity. However, strangely enough, the inclusive dates following from this historical consideration were from A.D. 400 to 600: thus wide margins were left for a supposed transition between Meroitic and post-Meroitic, and between post-Meroitic and Christian. However, the first transitional period was not looked for in Qustul or Ballana, although late Meroitic features at Qustul were obvious to the excavators, 407 while the last pagan generations of the cemeteries were dated to the first fifty years of official Nubian Christianity. The 5th-6th c. date - with a preference for a 6th c. range - of the original publication was first of all based on Kirwan's analysis of the more outstanding import objects, the majority of which he dated to the 6th c. In 1939 and 1941 von Bissing published two reviews of the work of Emery and Kirwan, in which he also discussed the related cemeteries of Gemai and Firka.⁴⁰⁸ The longer 1941 review discusses in great detail a number of import objects and proposes a late 4th - early 5th c. date. 409 Neither the original analyses of Kirwan, nor von Bissing's review try to go beyond general chronology and to project the individual datings of objects on the internal chronology of the cemeteries. In an admirable paper published in 1982 Sir Laurence Kirwan abandons his 1938 datings and accepts, with, however, reservations concerning the terminal estimate, the chronology of von Bissing.⁴¹⁰ The paper suggests a late 4th c. starting and a late 5th c. closing date, but does not cover the issue of internal chronology. However, it rejects Trigger's suggestion, 411 according to which Qustul and Ballana were simultaneously used, and maintains that Qustul as a whole is older than Ballana.412

Trigger's suggestion was based on a tentative scheme of development: "it is possible that the tombs which employ cave construction (Qustul 3, 14, 24, 24 and Ballana 2, 4, 6, and 90) are older than tombs that do not; 'caves' being a feature of Meroitic graves. Tombs with their rooms arranged along a single axis (like 4 and 10 at Ballana) also may be more Meroitic than those with multiple axes, and hence earlier than the rest. This suggests (but certainly does not prove) that the rough sequence of tomb styles that is illustrated in pl. XXIX" (here we find the following sequence: Q 14, 24, 3, B 4, B 47, 2, 6, 10, 9, 37, 3, 68, Q 36, 17, 2, B 80, 73, 114, 121, L. T.) "may have some temporal significance, the simplest forms being earliest. If this is the case, it would appear that through time the orientation of the tomb ramp became less rigid. It would also suggest that the cemetery at Ballana grew from south to north."⁴¹³

Attempts at an internal chronology must have been equally frustrated by the seeming diversity of the tomb layout types on the one hand, and by the seeming homogeneity of the imported luxury objects, on the other. The assumed typological development from simple towards complicated, if confronted with analogous finds, proves untenable, for, perplexingly enough, tombs which seem to belong typologically to the same horizon contain objects that are chronologically obviously far apart from each other, and vice versa.

While the typological diversity of the tomb layouts led to the opinion that there were no two tombs in Qustul and Ballana that were identical in design, the seeming homogeneity of the funerary equipments (especially as regards pottery) brought about the assumption that the tombs were built over a rather short period of time. Von Bissing's analysis of the imported luxury objects led to a similar conclusion.

Apart from Kirwan's analyses of individual objects in the 1938 publication, which led to far too low a dating, and von Bissing's in most cases correct datings of a number of imports, which remained largely unknown in Nubian studies, the list of studies dealing with objects from Qustul and Ballana in order to establish absolute dates, is similarly very short. In 1948 Emery extended, entirely aphoristically, the lower time limit of Qustul to the 3rd c. A.D., 414 but this view remained without followers. In his Late Roman Pottery⁴¹⁵ Hayes discussed the imported terra sigillata dishes from B 3, 73, 114 and 122,416 whereas he moved in an appreciable manner his datings of the dishes in question towards later time limits than indicated by their typological contexts, because he felt bound to accept the late general dates of the 1938 Qustul and Ballana publication. In 1974 the present writer undertook the dating of Q 14 and B 47, 417 but while the dating of Q 14 could be confirmed by later investigation, that of B 47 proved too high (see below the discussion of layout type E, and in § 15). In a lecture held in 1978 and published in 1979⁴¹⁸ I tried to date objects from Q 14, 3 and B 47 to the 380ies (again with a wrong dating of B 47) and from B 3, 2, 80, 37, 9, 52 to the period between c. 390-440. My datings were accepted by Wenig in his catalogue of the exhibition Africa in Antiquity in the Brooklyn Museum (1978).⁴¹⁹ He did not, however, follow my dating of the bracelets from Meroe West 130 to around 360-370 although he agreed with the dating of their analogies to this period.⁴²⁰ Moreover, he discussed a number of objects which were regarded by von Bissing and by me to have been imports, as Nubian products.⁴²¹ Finally the church treasure from B 3 was treated by me in a study written in 1980 but published only in 1986.422

Besides these studies dedicated to groups of objects from Qustul and Ballana, individual imports appear from time to time in literature on late antique art. Unfortunately, most writers deal with them in the impression that the 5th-6th c. general dating of the 1938 publication followed from some sort of firm archaeological dating

evidence such as coins, or from a relative chronology some points of which are fixed in absolute chronology. It must also be added that the finds are known only from the small and insufficient photographs published in 1938 and 1948.⁴²³ Even publications such as Strong's fundamental work on Greek and Roman gold and silver plate⁴²⁴ deal with the figural plate and the religuary from B 3 without autopsy. This is perhaps why Strong does not make mention of the uniquely beautiful silver amulae from Q 2 or the silver censer (the only known exemplar from this period) from B 3, which could not have failed to attract his attention if he could have seen them in the Cairo Museum or at least in a better photograph. Another regrettable case of the reliance on the general datings of the 1938 publication is to be found in the monograph of Carandini on the Secchia Doria.425 Carandini states, albeit with some discomfort, the stylistic affinities between the figural silver dish from B 3 and the figural plate from the Mildenhall treasure (and related late antique embossed plates). Although accepting the dating of the latter to around 360, he still dates the former to the early 6th c., referring to the archaeological context. Moreover, he places the Secchia Doria itself, in the quality of a mid-fifth century A.D. connecting link, between the Mildenhall group and the supposedly early 6th c. Ballana silvers. Instead of the forced mid-5th c. dating, the Secchia Doria could have been dated to the turn of the 4th c., as is unambiguously suggested by its style.

Ross was similarly impressed and influenced by the late dating of objects found at Ballana. The date given by him to late antique standard lamps in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection⁴²⁶ derives from Kirwan's suggestions made in 1938, and is accepted, on account of Ross' generally accepted authority, as a firm basis for the evaluation of related lamps.⁴²⁷

By contrast, independence from the 1938 publication may result in more objective views. So e.g. Lepage knew the bracelets with large bezel from B 47 only from Emery's 1965 book⁴²⁸ where they were not dated, thus he was free to regard them as links of a developmental chain at their proper place and to give them the typologically logical late 4th century date, which can be confirmed both on the basis of the internal chronology and of the chronological position of analogous finds from Meroe West and Qustul. Similarly independent from the 1938 publication is the dating and interpretation of the figural dish from B 3 in the catalogue Age of Spirituality.⁴²⁹

1.2. Dating evidences

As mentioned in the foregoing, von Bissing discussed several import objects discovered in tombs at Qustul and Ballana and dated them to the late 4th and early 5th century. Kirwan, accepting in general von Bissings results, came in his 1982 paper to the conclusion that Qustul as a whole predates Ballana and suggested for the former a late 4th c. starting date, and for the latter a late 5th c. closing date. His suggestion was partly based on von Bissing's stylistic analysises and partly on the following finds: a) the Valens coin (364-378) from Q 14, b) an onyx cameo portrait of a Roman emperor from Q 3 supposed to have been made around 350, c) the dice-

box from Q 3 compared to an illustration of a manuscript dated A.D. 354, d) the type 6 amphorae (see PI. 25) dated to the late 5th and 6th c., e) the silver objects from B 3 which are regarded by Kirwan as mid-5th c. objects that were buried only after a longer (however, undefined) period of time.

These dates — even if we add to them Hayes' datings of African terra sigillatae from the Ballana tombs — cover only a small part of the necropoleis. It must be realized furthermore that the datings of von Bissing concern objects made presumably within fifty or sixty years. However, the exact place of the individual objects within this time span can only rarely be fixed. The internal chronology cannot be solved thus without the accomplishment of the orthodox procedure of the dating of as many objects and tombs on independent grounds as possible on the one hand, and without the establishing of a tomb typology, on the other. In the following I shall discuss the considerations that have led to the chronological scheme summarized in Table 1 only briefly; in more detail I go down only to the tomb typology and to the dating of the funerary equipments.

The tomb typology is based on formal criteria, including also the orientation of ramp, tomb and body. Evidently enough, the analysis of a royal necropolis is specific insofar as this kind of cemetery allows us to pose the question already at the very outset: how many ruler generations were buried here?

The main index of a royal burial was in the case of Qustul and Ballana the presence of crowns. The following burials contained crowns or jewels from stolen or decayed crowns: B 6, 10, 47, 80 (two pieces), 95 (two pieces), 114 (two pieces), 118, and jewels were in B 4 and 37. In B 51 there was found a simple diadem. From these crowns of ruling kings were in B 80, 95, 114, of ruling queens in 47 and 118 (for the criteria see Ch. IV. 1.8).

However, the majority of the tombs in both cemeteries were badly plundered. It was thus necessary to identify further criteria for royal burials. It must be stressed in advance that the tumulus size proved from this point of view almost entirely irrelevant. The sizes of the royal tumuli move at Qustul between 53,4 m (Q 3) and 30 m (Q 36) (diametres), of the princely tumuli between 49 m (Q 31) and 29 m (Q 24); the diametres of the mounds over the graves of aristorcrats range from 23 to 3 m. However, an exceptional grave of the latter category is covered by a tumulus the diameter of which measures 51 m (Q 48)! This tomb dates from the final period of the use of the Qustul cemetery. The Ballana mounds are in general larger. The diametres of royal tumuli range from 54 (B 118) to 77 m (B 3), but the exceptionally rich queen in B 47 has an exceptionally small mound with a diameter of 39,3 m over her tomb. By contrast, the size of tumuli over princes' burials moves at the same time between 48 (B 73, 122) and 74 m (B 10).

A more useful index seemed to be the number of retainers and sacrificed animals. As to this feature, the following tombs must be taken into consideration:

Q 3 (8 adults, 3 children, 69 sacrificed animals); Q 17 (14 adults, 21 sacrificed animals); Q 36 (8 adults, 2 or 3 children, 10 sacrificed animals); Q 31 (6 or 8 adults, 11 sacrificed animals); Q 24 (4 adults, 6 sacrificed animals); Q 2 (16 or 18 adults, 1 child, 15 sacrificed animals); B 80 (8 adults, 2 sacrificed animals); B 95 (5 adults, 2 children, 1 sacrificed animal); B 121 (4 adults, 1 child); B 114 (8 adults, 1 sacrificed

animal). However, on the basis of other criteria (see below) Q 24 is to be excluded from the list of the royal burials, in spite of the relatively high number of retainers and sacrificed animals. Q 31 and B 121 are similarly non-royal burials. On the other hand a ruler's crown was found in B 37, a tomb with only 5 or 6 adult retainers and no sacrificed animals. B 47, the tomb of a reigning queen as indicated by her crown, consisted of 3 adult retainers and a sacrificed horse, and B 3, which is in all probability the tomb of a queen, although there was no crown found in it, contained only two female retainers and two sacrificed horses.

But it is not without lessons to survey also the tombs identified on the basis of crowns and in some cases of other criteria as princes' burials:

Q 24 (4 adults, 6 sacrificed animals); B 6 (2 adults, two sacrificed animals); B 2 (2 adults, 2 sacrificed animals); B 9 (2 adults, 4 sacrificed animals); B 4 (4 sacrificed animals); B 73 (1 sacrificed animal); B 121 (4 adults, 1 child); B 122 (1 sacrificed animal).

The presence of a sacrificed ox or cow (in the original publication in the tomb descriptions we always find "cow", however, on p. 25 we read about ox; Trigger writes only about ox: "in the Qustul and Ballana burials an ox was often placed at the head of the funeral bier".⁴³⁰) is an equally remarkable feature. The cow or ox is sometimes replaced by a calf. We find this sort of animal sacrifice in the following burials: Q 2 (calf), 3, 25, 31, 36, B 9, 95, 114, 118. A sacrificed cow (or ox?) was found in the forecourt or antechamber of Q 17, 24, B 6, 10, 122. There are, however, also perplexing exceptions from the rule: in spite of the crowns found in B 37, 47 and 80, there were no sacrificed cows or oxen in these graves.

Not only the crown can be identified as an insignium of royal power. The survey of the items of armour, jewellery and personal belongings resulted in the identification of some recurrent weapons and objects of other sort that seem to have the significance of royal attributes. I consider, however with certain reservations, the spears and swords found in graves at Qustul and Ballana to have been symbols of rank, which, if coinciding with other items of royal significance, can be interpreted as symbols of royal power.

Spears were found in Q 3, 14, 31, B 6, 9, 10, 37, 47, 80, 95, 114, 118. But there were no spears in Q 17, 36, 2 and in B 3 which seem, on the basis of other criteria, to have been royal tombs. Q 31, B 6, 9 and 10 are, by contrast, non-royal tombs with spears.

Swords were discovered in the following tombs: in the burial chamber in Q 2, B 80, B 95, B 114, outside of the burial chamber in B 47 (queen!) and Q 3. Also princely tombs produced swords (B 6 and 9).

Archer's thumb guards turn up apparently with the same regularity as spears and swords: in Q 24, B 80, 95, 122, 114 further in B 6, 37, 9, 10.

As to items of jewellery, a certain type of bracelet with lion heads (cp. Pls 71, 74, 76, 84) turns up, albeit less significantly than the above items, in a number of conspicuously rich tombs: in B 6, 9, 47, 80, 95. But the rare occurrence of this (and, it must be added, of others as well) kind of jewel in earlier tombs may be due to plundering. As demonstrated by unplundered tombs, in the late period of the Ballana cemetery jewellery on the body of kings and queens was no longer customary.

Fortunately enough, another item of the funerary equipments which we have good reasons to identify as an insignium of royal power, seems to have been not very valuable in the eyes of grave robbers: the folding chairs. These were also left behind in the most thoroughly plundered burials, more or less elaborate exemplars being discovered in B 3, 10, 37, 80, 95, 114, 118, 121. In B 80, 95, 114, 118 this find coincides, fortunately enough, with a crown of a ruling king or queen. However, the owner of B 10 was buried wearing a prince's crown, thus the significance of the folding chair must be interpreted with certain reservations.

Summing up the results of the above survey, the following tombs seem to be rulers' burials:

Q 2, Q 3, Q 17, Q 36, B 3, B 37, B 47, B 80, B 95, B 114, B 118;

while the following tombs may be identified as burials of princes:

Q 24, Q 25, Q 31, B 2, B 4, B 6, B 9, B 10, B 73, B 90, B 111, B 121, B 122.

Due to the plundered condition of several large tombs, the above lists also contain some hypothetical identifications. It cannot be excluded that some of the burials I have identified as royal were in fact tombs of non-ruling persons and that there are further burials at Qustul and/or Ballana which I have failed to identify as the tomb of a ruling king or queen. This possibility has, however, no bearing on the dating of the beginning and end of the use of the cemeteries. Moreover, the typological "sequence" of the tombs (cp. Pls 4–14) allows alterations in this sense without necessitating changes in the structure of internal chronology.⁴³¹

It seems thus that there were four royal generations buried at Qustul and a further seven generations at Ballana. From the point of view of layout types and of funerary equipment complexes these eleven royal tombs belong to seven phases. Each phase contains besides royal tomb(s), princely tomb(s) and/or a number of tombs of lesser members of the royal family or courtiers. It must be remarked here that for lack of exact criteria, I call more or less aphoristically "princes' burials" all burials which contained a prince's crown or are from the point of view of layout and funerary equipment comparable to a tomb with a prince's crown. The identity of the owners of the smaller tombs can be defined even less exactly. Although the family structure of the rulers buried at Qustul and Ballana is unknown, it can be well imagined that their clans were large and all tombs belong to the "royal family".

The phases thus represent typological units, and, in a somewhat broader sense, chronological clusters. Their dating and the dating of the individual burials, if possible, is based on datable objects. Their analysis, and thus the explanation of the details of my chronology, will be found in the discussion of the individual tombs.

1.3. Classification of the tombs

I have already hinted above at Adams' remark according to which "no two of the Ballana and Qustul tombs were identical in design".⁴³² This opinion can certainly be explained to an extent by the fact that it is indeed very difficult to get a clear picture of the layout types from the 1938 publication. Still, it appears unduly sceptical. For it is quite conspicuous that B 95, 111, 114, 118, 121 and 122 are almost

entirely identical in layout, orientation and burial rite. Q 17, 31 and 36 are similarly close to each other, and the correspondences between Q 2 and B 80 are obvious. We find identical layouts in B 6 and B 90, or in B 9 and B 37, in B 3 and B 68, furthermore such pairs are constituted by B 21 and B 48, or by B 72 and B 76. There are to be mentioned furthermore the typologically identical pit graves at Qustul. As a matter of fact, typological affinities between tombs in both cemeteries are conspicuous and characterize them better than the diversities.

In the following sections 1.3.1-1.3.7 I shall discuss the different layout types. Each type has variants which I shall call subtype; most types do not occur in the form of "clean" type, only in the form of subtypes. The correspondences between the subtypes of each type are visualized on Pls 11-14. The internal chronology of the cemeteries is divided into Generations and Phases. The Generations are identical with the royal generations and are characterized by a ruler's burial. The Phase is a typologically determined time unit and embraces one or more royal generations buried in typologically associated tombs, further princely and non-royal tombs, belonging typologically in the same manner together.

The sequence of the generations was established on the basis of the tomb types and the absolute dates rendered by the tomb inventories. The sequence of the Phases follows from the sequence of the generations. However, it could be excellently controlled by the sequence that follows from the tomb layout typology itself.

In the discussion of the layout types I shall refer both to Generations and Phases, because the establishment of the tomb typology, Generation and Phase sequence cannot be separated from each other and was not solved separately, either. After the layout types I shall discuss in section 1.4 the development of the layout types and the burial rites.

1.3.1. Types A, A/1, A/C (cp. Pls 4, 11)

There can be hardly any doubt that the earliest tomb type is the pit-grave with lateral niche. This type can be found only at Qustul, and it closely resembles one of the main Meroitic types.⁴³³ The lateral niche is divided from the rest of the pit that serves as forecourt by a mud-brick wall. In Type A tombs these brick walls are built in such a way that layers of stretchers and layers of headers alternate. The orientation of the lateral niche is N–S (here, as throughout this chapter, *only the local North is considered*!), and, accordingly, the owner's body was oriented either N–S or S–N. Type A/1 is a monumental variant of Type A, having an axially elongated forecourt and two 3/4 circular side niches at the narrow ends of the "lateral niche". Orientation is the same as with Type A. The walling of the partition shows, however, a slightly differing system: two rows of stretchers are followed always by one row of headers. A similar walling fashion is observed in Type A/C, with which a new orientation occurred. The only excavated tomb of this type, Q 22, has its longer side oriented E-W, the owners' bodies are W-E oriented (head on the E): a body orientation characteristic for the later part of Phase I and for Phase II.

1.3.2. Type B (cp. Pls 4,11)

Type B is represented by one tomb, Q 3. This is the only tomb where the burial chambers are built of burnt brick. Q 3 is apparently the first tomb at Qustul with a ramp leading to the forecourt and the burial chambers. This arrangement has, however, Meroitic antecedents.⁴³⁴ The brick walls were built on four courses of roughly cut sandstone blocks. Between the sandstone base and the vaults there are only two courses of brick, one of stretchers and above it one of headers. This fashion

roughly cut sandstone blocks. Between the sandstone base and the vaults there are only two courses of brick, one of stretchers and above it one of headers. This fashion was observed in Type A and A/1 (Phase I) tombs. Although the body orientation is W-E (head on the E) as in Type A/C (later part of Phase I), the orientation of the main axis of the tomb and of the ramp is W-E (burial chambers on the W), corresponding thus with Types A and A/1 of the earlier part of Phase I. It seems that Q3takes an intermediate position between Types A, A/1 on the one hand, and Type A/C on the other. Q 14 representing Type A/1 and Q 3 are closely associated with each other by their funerary equipments and by a small detail of their layouts. The 3/4 circular niches in Q 14 occur in Q 3 in the form of sidechambers opening from the forecourt. In both burials these rooms serve for the burial of retainers and sacrificed animals. This detail of the layout is also prevalent at Kosha (Firka), where, interestingly enough, not only the grave (and probably also body) orientation is identical, but also the association of "retainer niche" with pit grave of Type A can be observed (see below Ch. IV. 12 and cp. Pl. 148). The only post-Meroitic analogy of the remarkable spear Q 14–42 with Meroitic inscription (PI. 33/6) was discovered in Kosha tomb 1, a humble variant of the layout Type B.

1.3.3. Type C (cp. Pls 11, 12)

Type C is a layout type of long life which also represents the typological connecting link between Qustul and Ballana. Its basic features are best visualized by Q 24, 25 and 26. The ramp leads to a perpendicularly orientated room complex. It is placed in the case of these three tombs within the same pit and consists of a narrow forecourt, the eastern end of which is walled off for the purposes of a magazine (which is connected by a doorway to the burial chamber), and the burial chamber itself. The royal variant puts the magazine into a separate pit which is connected with the burial chamber by means of a vaulted passage. Q 17 has a ramp leading from the E to a transversal forecourt that also has a sidechamber walled off on the southern end for retainers. The burial chamber is oriented with its longer axis E-W, the body of the tomb owner was lying E-W oriented, head on the E. The passage to the magazine opens in the NW corner. The main axis of the magazine is E-W oriented, the room is divided into two parts by a heavy wall-pillar-like protrusion of the north wall.

This layout type has a very long life span. Subtypes C (Q 17, 36, 31) and C/1 (Q 24, 25) with subtype C/2 (Q 26) constitute Phase II of the Qustul cemetery. Subtype C/3 leads over to Phase III. It seems that subtype C/1 is confined to the earlier part of Phase II, while C/2 is characteristic for its later part. The royal tomb of

the earlier part of Phase II (or Phase IIa), Q 17, has a walling fashion known from Type A and B tombs: alternating courses of stretchers and headers. In the large tombs of both subphases the same fashion can be observed as in Type A/1 tombs: two layers of stretchers alternating with one layer of headers. C, C/1 and C/2 tombs are not only typologically or from the point of view of walling fashion close to each other, also their funerary equipments are composed of objects made within the same short period of time. It is therefore very difficult, or even impossible to establish their internal chronology. The chronological position of Q 17 and Q 31 in the earlier part of Phase II is indicated by the rectangular doors with stone lintels that repeat a detail of Q 3, which does not occur in earlier tombs. Q 36, which I regard as a royal tomb of the later half of Phase II, has an interesting walling fashion: there are put on several courses of stretchers upright standing bricks. This fashion will occur in subtypes C/3 (Q 2), C/4 (B 80) and in Type D/2 (B 2). The closeness of these tombs to each other in time is also indicated by their funerary equipments. Subtype C/3, represented by the royal tomb Q 2, differs from subtype C insofar as its magazine is split into two separate rooms in separate pits and designed to be entered separately from the more elongated burial chamber through a doorway (western magazine), or a passage (eastern magazine). The transversal forecourt disappears, leaving only the side-chamber for retainer burials; but the general orientation of the tomb and the body orientation of the tomb owner is unchanged.

Subtype C/4 leads over to Ballana. It is represented there by B 80. The typological connection with former subtypes, especially with C/3, is clearly visible in spite of the considerable enlargement of the layout. As already in subtype C/3, the ramp does not lead to a forecourt but it mounds into the pit of the burial chamber which had the same width as the ramp. The sidechamber with retainer burials is missing. The elongated burial chamber is supplemented at the end lying opposite the ramp side with a second burial chamber. This latter room has a transversal axis and can be entered through a passage in the main axis of the main burial chamber. The arrangement of the magazines is only very slightly altered.

Two features are, however, entirely new. The body of the royal owner was lying on a bed (angareeb); and in the second, smaller burial chamber there was buried a retainer queen. Although the plundered condition of the Qustul tombs does not allow more than hypothetical statements, it seems that both features are first attested in B 80 and they are absent at Qustul. To the problem of the contemporary revival of the ancient Kushite custom of bed-burial and the introduction of the sati-burial I shall return in Ch. V. 2.

Chronological distance between subtype C/3 i.e. Q 2 and C/4 i.e. B 80 is indicated also by the changed orientation: it is altered by 90 degrees. The tomb axis is oriented now N–S, the owner's body is lying N–S, with head on the S, a rather unusual position, but not unprecedented, for it already occurred in Type A burials at Qustul.⁴³⁴

Further tombs of the type complex C have a more modest layout and would seem at the first glance to have been transitional between subtypes C and C/4. That it was not the case becomes clear as soon as we form a judgement about the date of their funerary equipments, which is obviously identical with the terminal date of the

Ballana necropolis. As it will be demonstrated in the discussion of the tomb inventories, C/4 i.e. B 80 is divided from C/5 i.e. the group constituted by B 95, 114, 118, 121, 122, by a time span of around 50 to 80 years.

Tombs of subtype C/5 are oriented N–S with the chambers lying on the N. The royal tombs, B 95, 114 and 118, were furnished with angereebs on which the kings (and the queen in 118) were lying N–S, with the head to the S, while in B 95 the retainer queen was lying flexed at the feet of the king on the floor of the burial chamber oriented E–W, head E. In B 114 also the queen was lying on the angareeb on the side of the king. Both were flexed, with the head to the N. B 95, 114 and 118 represent three ruler's generations which followed in all probability immediately upon each other.

The burial chamber had two annex rooms. In the main axis lay a transversal chamber which in C/4 served as burial chamber of the retainer queen. It is in subtype C/5 the burial place of retainers who, being mostly of the male sex, cannot be identified as concubines; and also serves as a magazine. A further magazine can be entered from the NW corner of the main burial chamber. It is considerably smaller than the magazines of B 80. As for the walling fashion, tombs of subtype C/5 display certain differences. B 95 is very carefully built, the doorways are rectangular with stone lintels which are reused Meroitic carvings.⁴³⁵ The longitudinal chamber walls are built entirely of cut sandstone, while the head walls are of mud-brick, of courses of stretchers only, upon one course of sandstone. It is worth noticing that the architecture of the chambers in B 95 repeats that of tomb B 3. In the princely tomb B 121 there were observed five courses of stretchers upon a course of cut sandstone, then a course of headers, and so on. In B 114 over the sandstone course there were two courses of stretchers, one course of headers, then five courses of stretchers. Finally in B 118 there was one course of headers over the sandstone course, over this four courses of stretchers and so on.

1.3.4. Type D (cp. Pls 6-8, 13)

Type D emerges apparently simultaneously with subtype C/4 i.e. with B 80, as is indicated by correspondences in the funerary equipments of B 80 on the one hand and B 6 and B 90 on the other, and by the particular fashion of upright positioned bricks occurring in B 80 and in B 2, the only exemplar of subtype D/2. The subtypes D extend over almost three phases of the Ballana cemetery, from Phase III b to the end of Phase V b. Among Type D graves there is only one burial which can be identified as royal, B 37, which is datable to the later half of the period covered by the layout type. The further burials are the very important princely tombs B 2, 4, 6, 9 and 90. The most essential feature of Type D tombs is that the owner of the tomb is buried in a pit. In subtype D/1 tombs, i.e. in B 6 and 90 the entrance to the pit is below the floor of the burial chamber and the pit itself is cut into the hard alluvium and it has a narrow oblong form which extends in the direction of the ramp axis. Both ramp and pit have a N-S orientation, the body of the owner was lying slightly flexed on the right side with head on the S and looking to the E. From the SE corner of the burial chamber leads a passage to an oblong-shaped magazine room having an E-W axis. Tomb and body orientation is as with B 80. It seems furthermore that also subtype D/2 is roughly contemporary with B 80, it introduces, however, a different form of pit. This, although cut similarly into the hard alluvium, and lying deeper than the chamber floor, is not placed on the main axis as in D/1 tombs. Moreover, its axis is perpendicular to that of the tomb. This seems to be the first occurrence of the sharply broken axis so characteristic for the subsequent Phases IV and V.

I have already mentioned the brickwork fashion of B 2 i.e. of subtype D/2. Both D/1 subtype tombs, B 6 and 90, have vaults supported by ledges cut into the natural earth. However, they are connected to earlier tradition by the rectangular door with stone lintel in B 6.

The difference between subtypes D/2 and D/3 lies in the further development of the broken axis. The axis of the ramp that descends from the S is identical with the main axis of the first chamber (antechamber), but the burial chamber lies perpendicularly to the antechamber and the burial pit again has a S-N axis. The rooms are thus arranged along an axis that is broken twice. The burial pit itself is a transition between a proper burial pit and a separate burial chamber, for, while being covered with a brick vault and having a floor on the same level as the other parts of the tomb, it has the small dimensions of a pit as e.g. in B 2 of subtype D/2. Body orientation of the owner is N-S, head to the S, thus the same as in D/1 and D/2 tombs. D/3 is represented by two excavated tombs, B 9, which is the burial of a prince, and B 37, which can be identified as royal. The chronological position of B 9 is rather obscure, since its layout corresponds very closely with that of B 37, which seems, on the basis of its funerary equipment, to date from Phase V; but its funerary equipment seems to be closer to Phase III and IV funerary equipments. It is suggested by datable objects that the chronological gap between B 9 and B 37 be filled with Type E, which is represented by one single tomb, B 47, which reveals features in common with both B 9 and B 37. B 47, although having instead of a burial pit a longitudinal cave-like niche placed 2 metres above the floor level of the burial chamber, is built with a thrice-broken axis, an improvement of the D/3 arrangement. It has the same orientation of the owner's body.

B 4 is listed as subtype D/4 only on account of its burial pit. It has nevertheless a layout which may perhaps be interpreted as descendant of the unknown prototype of the other D-subtypes. The burial pits of Type D obviously go back to Meroitic antecedents, and the axial arrangement of B 4 recalls more clearly a current Meroitic tomb type than exemplars of D/1–3 do. B 4 is in layout no more removed from the Meroitic axial niche grave type than are Types A and A/1 from Meroitic pit graves. Attempts to explain the possible reasons of the emergence of the archaizing pit-graves at the time of the introduction of bed burial and sati-burial are reserved for Ch. V. 2. Although B 4 could be placed from the typological point of view at the beginning of the career of Type D, this is excluded by the funerary equipment discovered in it. This is composed of objects which unambiguously indicate that the tomb dates from the end thereof, i.e. from the late part of Phase V.

B 10 seems to fit into same chronological surroundings. It is classified as the

only excavated exemplar of a transitional layout type. Type D/F is connected to Type D by the orientation of the owner's body (E–W, head on the W, as in subtype D/4); to Type F (see section 1.3.6) by the broken-line access to the entrance of the tomb. The funerary equipment is chronologically close to B 4 (subtype D/4) and B 3 (subtype F/1), thus seems to belong in Phase V.

1.3.5. Type E (cp. Pls 7 and 14)

As stated above, the broken-line axis occurs first in Phase III b tombs and seems to remain predominant during the subsequent Phases IV and V. B 47 is to be regarded on the basis of its equipment as later than Type C/1-4 tombs and earlier than Type F/1. The orientation of the owner's body: N-S with head on the S, associates the tomb with D/1-3 tombs. The walling fashion – three courses of stretchers, one course of headers, three courses of stretchers and so on – was observed in sub-types D/1 and D/3 and it will also occur in subtype D/4 and D/F tombs. The brick wall is laid upon a course of roughly cut sandstone blocks.

In spite of these associations, the chronological position of this tomb is far from being unambiguous. It must be admitted that its strange layout and perplexing funerary equipment do not allow more than a hypothetical dating. The objects buried with the queen nicknamed "Jingling Milly" by the excavators on account of the barbarously abundant personal adornment seem to date partly from the early 5th c., however, a part of them, such as e.g. the bracelets with large bezel (Pls VII, 75), are apparently heirlooms.

It is worth noting that B 47 is covered by the smallest mound among the royal burials. While the diameter of the tumulus B 47 does not reach the 40 m, tombs of princes in Phases III and IV are covered by mounds with diameters ranging between 46 (B 90) and 68 m (B 6). This strange contrast between the small royal and large princely tumuli continues to dominate the picture of Ballana in the subsequent Phase V.

1.3.6. Type F (cp. Pls 7–9, 14)

Type F tombs consist of one or two chambers (antechamber and burial chamber) approached by a ramp, and a perpendicularly annexed magazine on the right side of the burial chamber. Chronologically they range from the early part of Phase IV to the end of Phase VI or the beginning of Phase VII. Subtypes F/1 and F/1A have an E–W main axis. The owner's body (which was not preserved in any of the tombs) may have been similarly oriented. As in the case of Type E and subtype D/F, the ramp of subtype F/1 i.e. B 3 is perpendicular to the tomb axis. This feature seems to indicate the chronological position of B 3, which would appear more ambiguous on the basis of the funeral equipment. A further common feature with subtype D/F, i.e. B 10, is that antechamber and chamber are placed in the same pit; also the layout of these two rooms is identical (the magazine is, however, differently placed and shaped).

By contrast, the rooms of B 68, the only excavated exemplar of subtype F/1A, are built in separate pits, but otherwise the layout and orientation are identical. The ramp is, however, not perpendicular to the tomb axis. It is worth noting that the magazine in both tombs is annexed at an angle of c. 105 degrees to the main axis. This divergence from the rightangle may have been intentional and seems to indicate that the two tombs were built within the same short period of time.

Other Type F tombs lack this particular feature. Subtype F/2 is an abbreviated version of F/1. It seems to be fashionable among the burials of the lesser members of the royal family and/or the courtiers during Phases V–VII (B 21, 48, 72, 76). The chronological position of the individual tombs is indicated by their funerary equipments and/or their orientation. B 21 and 48 in subtype F/2 are identically oriented as subtype F/1 (E–W). Subtype F/2A, being a variant of the layout F/2, has a N–S ramp orientation which associates it with the only excavated exemplar of subtype F/3, the tomb B 73. The layout of B 73 takes an intermediary position between subtypes F/1A and C/5. Its orientation is identical, however, with that of the tombs belonging to subtype C/5.

F/4 is a rather special subtype. Only one exemplar thereof was excavated, B 84. The layout resembles C as well as C/4. The axis of the magazine runs parallel to the tomb's main axis. The orientation is identical with the orientation restricted on Phase II and III tombs: E–W, with ramp access from the E. The presumable E–W orientation of the owner's body (with head on the W) is similarly a feature of burials datable to Phase III. Although the tomb was badly plundered, a bronze patera left behind by the robbers has close analogies in tombs of Phases IV–Va.

1.3.7. Smaller tombs

The royal and princely tombs were surrounded in all phases by smaller tombs of the lesser members of the royal family and/or aristocrats. Mounds over these tombs vary in diameter in Phases I and II between 3 and 13 m. In Phase III, as mentioned above, tumuli over princes' graves match in size the average royal tumulus at Ballana. In this phase also the aristocrats' burials are covered with mounds the diameters of which range between 21 and 34 m. In the early part of Phase III we even find a non-royal mound with a diameter of 51 m (Q 48). During Phases V and VI the average diameter of non-royal mounds is around 20 m, the smallest having a tumulus with a diameter of 10, the biggest of 39 m. It seems that no non-royal burial dating from Phase VII was excavated. It is not unlikely that the rather large mounds situated to the NW from B 114 and 118 belong to this phase.

The layouts of the smaller tombs do not seem to have copied the layouts of the royal tombs. However, in Phase I subtypes A and A/C have the same origin as the royal subtype A/1. Another exception is subtype Z/4 which is contemporary with the royal layout subtypes D/3–4. It has, like the royal tombs of the period, a burial pit, but otherwise it does not copy their layout. Z/4 would pass as a late Meroitic tomb type, ⁴³⁶ but its forecourt with sacrificed animals is a distinctly post-Meroitic feature.

Most layout types observed in small non-royal tombs are devoid of features that



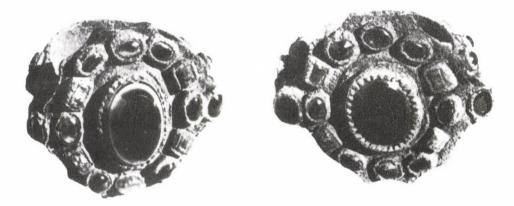


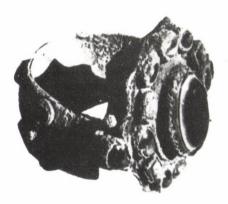


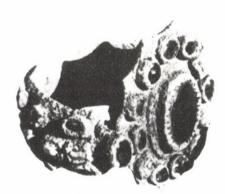




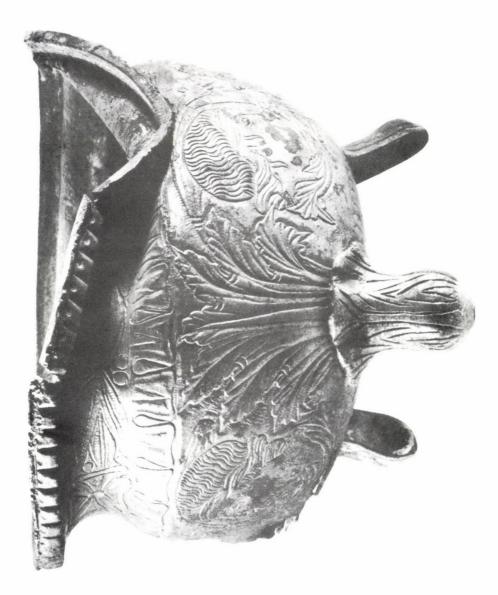














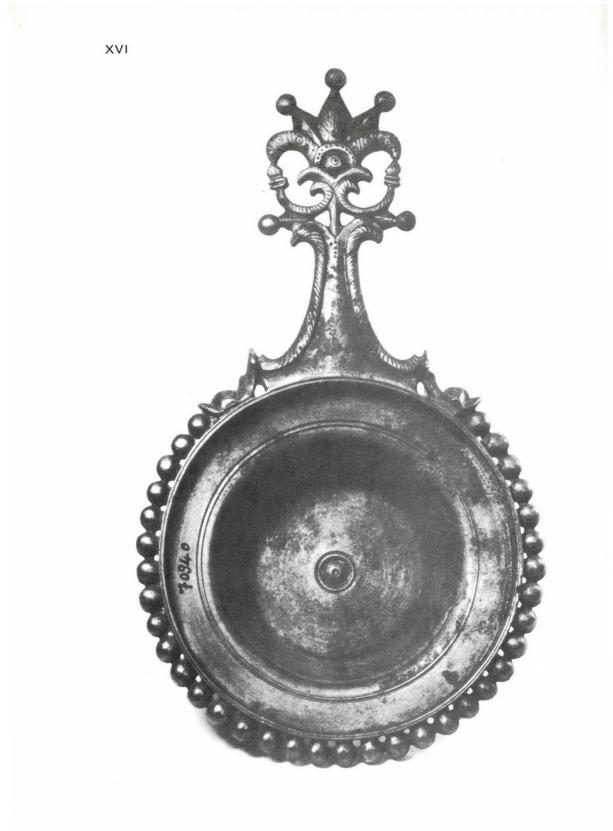






















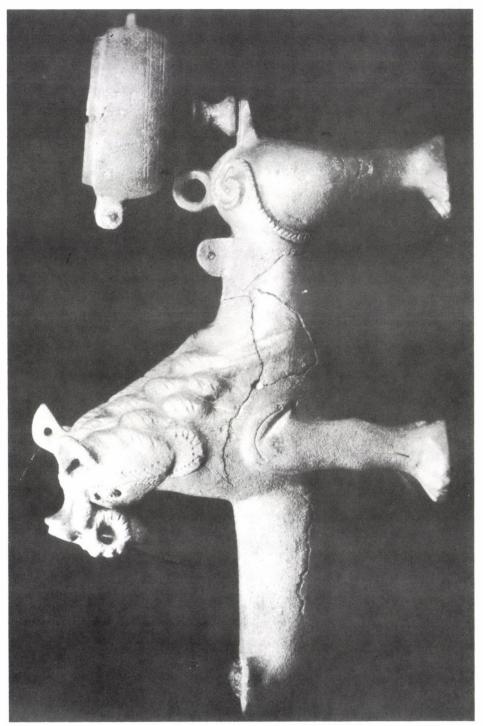












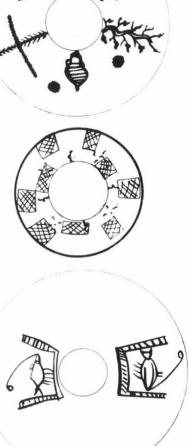
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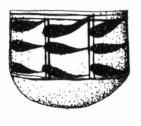










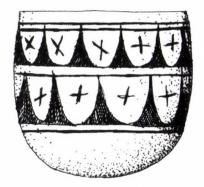


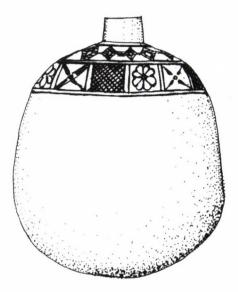




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would render their association with larger tombs possible. Their chronology could be established – in many cases only hypothetically – on the basis of their funerary equipments and orientation.

Subtype Z/1 displays a ramp approaching from the E, a small forecourt and a small burial chamber. The layout is asymmetric and both forecourt and burial chamber are perpendicular to the ramp axis. We have no information concerning the position of the owner's body, for Q 48 was plundered and disturbed. The other excavated exemplar, B 49, was published by Shafik Farid who is silent about the eventual anthropological finds effectuated by him (and altogether about the burial rite). The particular orientation of the ramp associates subtype Z/1 with subtype C/3 and thus dates it to the earlier part of Phase III.

Subtype Z/2 differs from Z/1 in the placing of the ramp, which runs here symmetrically, i.e. in the tomb's main axis, and also its "antechamber" is walled. Orientation remains unchanged. Body orientation and objects in the funerary equipment that were datable associate Z/2 tombs chronologically with Phase III b and IV tombs.

Subtypes Z/3 and Z/3A seem to be descendants of a simple Meroitic tomb type; the excavated burials belonging to these subtypes are associated with Phase V and the earlier part of Phase VI. Subtype Z/4 has a burial pit like bigger princely graves of Phases III–V. Both excavated Z/4 graves (B 24, 44) seem, however, to date on the basis of body orientation from Phase V a.

No small tomb appears to be datable to Phases II, VI and VII. Subtype C/2 of Phase II is, however, small and simple enough to be identified tentatively as an "aristocratic" tomb. Its asymmetric layout may have served as a model for Z/1. Both subtypes have the same orientation. As to the small tombs of Phases VI and VII, they could not considerably differ from the subtypes that had occurred in previous phases.

1.4. Problematic points of the typology. Developmental models. Burial rites

Although it cannot be pretended that the above typology is final, it seems to reveal a rather consistent trend underlying the frequent changes of layout types and subtypes. This trend is from time to time interrupted or accompanied by incidental layout types that have no direct connections with their chronological environment. In this way Type B appears in Phase I as a layout without predecessors and descendants, standing virtually isolated among the tombs of the period which are variants of the Meroitic-type pit graves (Type A). But is type B really absolutely isolated? at a closer look, two features thereof seem rather familiar. The first is the side-cave in the forecourt which also occurs, albeit in smaller dimensions, in subtype A/1. The second is the ramp which connects Type B to Meroitic precedents⁴³⁷ on the one hand, and to the further development at Qustul and Ballana, on the other. The new tomb layout type of Phase II; Type C, has in common with Type B, besides the ramp, the perpendicular forecourt with a side cave consisting of the burials of retainers and sacrificed animals. Subtypes C/1 and C/2 reduce to a very simple arrangement the transvers forecourt + burial chamber + side magazine ensemble of the contemporary

Type C. However, they are recognizably descendants also of the pit-grave types A and A/1, and they repeat, although in small dimensions, the asymmetrical forecourt-side cave ensemble of Type B. It cannot be accidental that the place of the retainer burials in subtype C/1 corresponds with the northern side-cave of Type B: in both cases this room has an E-W main axis running parallel with the main axis of the tomb and perpendicular to the axis of the forecourt.

The relation between C and C/3, thus between Phases II and IIIa is even more direct: the only difference is that in C/3 the side magazine is split into two separate rooms built in separate pits: but also in subtype C the magazine was divided by a wall-pillar into two halves.

Subtype C/3 occurs in Ballana in an altered form as subtype C/4. The changes of the layout coincide with, and are presumably due to changes in burial rite. In B 80 seems to be the first occurrence of sati burial i.e. the burial of the sacrificed queen, and this is also the first post-Meroitic tomb in which we encounter a bed burial, the body of the king being laid on an angareeb. The perpendicularly oriented second burial chamber may have been built for the purpose of the sati burial; it is only in later tombs that the sacrificed queen is buried together with the king in the main burial chamber. Simultaneously with C/4 seem to appear in Phase III b also subtypes D/1 and D/2. The latter are more isolated typologically than Type B. They introduce burial pits dug deep into the hard alluvium. The pits were lying under the floor level of the burial chamber and they were also outside of the walls thereof. These pits are obviously descendants of the Meroitic axial niche grave. The descent is, however, only indirect. The archaizing burial pit is coupled with an innovation that will be a dominant feature of subsequent layout types: this is the broken-line access to the owner's burial.

If my typology is not entirely wrong, two long periods (Phases II-III and VI-VII) with Type C and the related Type F royal tombs are separated from each other by a period (Phases IV - V) in which royal tombs and much larger princely tombs were built following an incidental layout type with burial pit. The first occurrences of the incidental Type D are not in the realm of royal tombs, but among tombs of princes and it is highly characteristic for the long interlude of Phases IV-V that princely tombs have larger mounds than the royal tombs (cp. Table 2). To the explanation of the changes from layout type C to D (and E) and again back to C I shall return in Ch. V below. But it must be mentioned here in the enumeration of changes observed in Phases IV-V that the queen of Phase IV was accompanied to the other world by only three female retainers and a sacrificed horse; the king of phase V by five retainers and his tomb does not seem to have been provided with sacrificed animals. The ruler buried in Phase VIa still had only two retainers, and all three burials were without the usual sacrificed cow (or ox). Conspicuous is furthermore the small amount of spears in these graves, in contrast to earlier royal tombs and especially as opposed to contemporary princely tombs. I already have mentioned above the mound sizes characteristic for this period (in section 1.2).

The layout type of the first ruler tomb after the pit-grave interlude preserves from Type D the broken-line axis: the approach to the tomb entrance is oriented S-N, the burial chamber W-E, and the magazine annexe N-S. Otherwise it means

a return to the Type C arrangement insofar as it has a magazine opening through a passage from the burial chamber but built in a separate pit. It has, however, an antechamber, this room is absent in all C types. Affinities between the new layout, Type F, and the Type C layouts are more clearly visible in subtype F/3, but can also be detected in F/4 which is perhaps the earliest among type F tombs and can be interpreted as variant of Type C, too.

The re-emergence of Type C in the form of subtype C/5 in Phase VII a is nevertheless unexplicable, unless we interpret the change from Type C to Types D and E and again the change from D to C as brought about by certain political changes. The hiatus in the practice of C-type burials is at the maximum five generations, thus about fifty years: in this time the C-type layout cannot be forgotten. Perhaps such tombs were built also during this period at other cemeteries of Nubia.

Not only Type C is discontinuous. After the bed burial in B 80 (subtype C/4) no example of this rite is observed for at least five generations; it recurs with the reappearance of Type C in Phase VII a. However, it is coupled now with two changes which follow each other during the three last generations of the rulers buried at Ballana. The first change is that the retainer queen's body is placed at the foot of the king's angareeb (B 95); the second that both king and retainer queen are buried lying on the angareeb (B 114). Interestingly enough, while in B 95 the king's head is on the South, in B 114 the heads of the king and the retainer queen are on the North.

The changes in grave and body orientation are shown on Plates 4-10. During Phases I, II and IIIa the tombs are, almost without exception, orientated E-W with the ramp approaching the chambers from the W. During the same time, however, the body orientation undergoes a change. The N-S orientation (head on ?) of Phase Ia is replaced in Phase Ib with an E-W orientation, with head on the W, and this orientation can be observed until the end of Phse IIIa. Owing presumably to the small size of the tombs, body orientation also determines tomb orientation. This is why Phase Ia tombs of Type A/C have a N-S axis. In Phase IIIb both the tomb and the body orientation is changed to N-S where the head is on the S. This is the period in which the broken-line tomb axis first occurs. The direction of the ramp may thus vary, but the body orientation remains the same. Phase IV keeps the body orientation that was prevalent in Phase IIIb, but prefers a ramp leading down to the tomb from a western direction. In Phase V a same body orientation is observed, the ramp leads from the South to the tomb entrance. In Phase V b the body orientation is E-W, with the head on the W, while ramps descend either from a western, or, rarely, from an eastern direction. In one case (B 10, subtype D/F) the ramp is perpendicular to the tomb axis and thus runs E-W. In Phase VI b both tomb and body orientation are altered by 90 degrees. The ramp descends now from the S, and this arrangement remains valid until the end of the use of the Ballana cemetery. The owner's body is oriented N-S, with head on the S, during Phases VII b and c.

The orientation of the tomb owners' bodies changes thus five times during the time of use of Qustul and Ballana. The changes occur more or less strictly in coincidence with major changes in tomb layout types. The same body orientation prevails

on average over two or three royal generations, which period is also more or less identical with the periods of the subsequent ramp directions.

The changes of body and tomb orientation and the coinciding alterations of the ramp direction are unexplicable for me. It may be perhaps assumed that the changes of this sort were meant as measures of precaution against tomb robbers; however, it is more likely that it was rather the invention of the broken-line tomb axis and the varied placing of magazines that were intended to deceive and confuse tomb robbers. It may also be supposed that the changes had religious significance, but this explanation is even less probable. Also other larger post-Meroitic cemeteries as e.g. Qasr Ibrim cemetery 192⁴³⁷ and smaller cemeteries like the ones discussed by Säve-Söderbergh, Englund and Nordström excavated by the SJE in the Faras area⁴³⁸ display a variety of tomb and body orientations (N–S, head on N or S; E–W, head on E or W). By contrast, the majority of the graves of the extensive Missiminia cemetery in the Dal region are N–S orientated and only 3,6% of the tombs were E–W oriented.⁴³⁹ It must be stressed that there were no typological differences between tombs oriented N–S and tombs oriented E–W.

The inhomogeneity of grave and body orientation is not explained in literature, it is obviously regarded as a contemporary inhomogeneity⁴⁴⁰ and the possibility is not taken into consideration that the different orientations prevailed in different periods of the cemeteries.

It must be added for completeness' sake that the tombs at Qustul and Ballana could theoretically be arranged into a sequence during the course of which orientation is changed only one or two times altogether. However more "logical" such a sequence would occur, it is refused in an absolutely unambiguous manner by the chronology of the funerary equipments.

The decomposition of the bodies and the plundered and decayed condition of most tombs does not render it possible to gain a clear picture of all changes of body position. Information concerning the connections between the rank of the deceased and the extended, flexed and contracted body positions is scarce, and these relations cannot be investigated in their connections to tomb type and internal chronology, either. It deserves mention nevertheless that the extended position (on back; or extended dorsal position) seems to have been predominant among royal burials, the only recorded exception being the royal couple in B 114. These latter were supposed to have been lying in a slightly flexed position (or in lateral position) on their right side. But also this case is somewhat uncertain, for both bodies were found, owing to the collapse of the roof of the burial chamber, rolled down from the bier on to the floor. It would seem that the burials of princes consistently follow a different tradition. In B 6, 9, 10 and 121 the princes' corpses were found in contracted lateral position, lying on the right side, facing East. The difference between royal and princely burial rite is quite remarkable in these instances. However, it would be rash to conclude that there was a direct relation between rank and body position, for the retainer burials do not display any regularity of this kind. Within the same tomb there were observed retainers in contracted and flexed lateral position and in extended dorsal position, and also the orientations differ in the same tomb.

1.5. The dating of the individual funerary equipments

In the following I shall discuss in more detail the tomb inventories in order to obtain data for the absolute chronology of Qustul and Ballana. The great majority of the objects are illustrated in drawing or photograph. Detailed description of the objects will be given, however, only if necessary for the dating, otherwise I refer to the relevant Catalogues in the 1938 publication.

The individual items are referred to with the object Nos given to them in the 1938 publication. Object Nos not appearing in following §§ and in the Plates cover, apart from a few insignificant finds left unmentioned here, *pottery vessels*, which were numbered individually by Emery in the original publication but which are listed here only by Forms.

It must be stressed in advance that the majority of the dating objects are of Egyptian origin. As is well-known, Egyptian late antique material culture is, for lack of stratified excavations and adequate typologies, largely undated. Thus the following datings will be based first of all on art historical researches concerning the art of the late antique Mediterranean area in general, therefore a good part of the datings concerning provincial Egyptian products will be hypothetical or approximate. I am nevertheless rather confident that recent researches concerning late antique art, in particular silver plate, have provided this investigation with a useful chronological framework.

§ 1: tomb Q 14

Probably non-royal. Owner probably female. Mound dm: 40.88 m, height 8.95 m. Plundered. No retainer burial found, apparently no animal sacrifices; scattered bones of male adult(s) refer, however, to retainer(s). Layout: Pl. 36. Objects: Pls 36-41.

The only coin find made at Qustul and Ballana was in the earth of the mound over Q 14. I was unable to trace the piece in the Cairo Museum and it was not illustrated in the 1938 publication, either. Thus the only basis of its discussion is rendered by the 1938 description of Emery. In spite of the uncertainty caused by the lack of properly exact data, we must also dwell longer on the problem of this coin, in order to decide to what extent it is justifiable to regard it as a precise dating evidence. It may be argued that it provides us only with a post quem in the broadest possible sense; it occurs to me, however, that there is no need to be unduly sceptical.

According to the excavators the coin was found "while sieving otherwise empty debris from deep in the mound."⁴⁴¹ It was identified laconically as a "small bronze coin of Valens"; perhaps because of the small size of the coin and its bad preservation (?) there is no information as to measures and reverse type. In this way we are in the regrettable situation that we are forced to date it in broad terms to the reign of Valens, i.e. 364–378 and assume consequently that the tomb postdates 378.

The dating value of the coin may be interpreted in different ways. Being not a silver coin and being alone, it cannot render the sort of information about the presumable time of its coming into the earth as coin ensembles do. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the contemporary Nubian economy did not use money⁴⁴² thus Nubian coin finds do not fit into any currency system with durations of *Umlauf* of subsequently issued native or imported coins. On the other hand, this fact also means that coins were unlikely objects of accumulation and treasuring in Nubia, and this must be true especially for an insignificant small Byzantine drachma. It thus seems improbable that Nubians would have kept small bronze coins for long periods of time. An interest towards the same on account of curiosity or superstition is not much more probable, either.

The "circulation" of small bronzes in Nubia must thus have been determined by their length of circulation in Egypt, from where they came in one way or another to Nubia. The circulation of mints of the A.D. 4th century – especially of the later part of the century – was short, because issues were frequent and abundant, and large amounts of drachmae were circulating.⁴⁴³ It was eminently in the interest of the fiscal government of the Empire to prevent the constant altering of nominal value of the successive issues, a process due to the inflation characterizing the period, and measurements against it were taken repeatedly as edicts from c. 348 and again c. 395 attest.⁴⁴⁴ They prohibit the circulation of previously issued coin types. As pointed out by Jones, these laws were not too effective, for, as coin hoards show, coins issued at very different dates were in circulation at the same time.⁴⁴⁵ However, it must be emphasized that *this holds true only for large coins* of earlier dates that were valued as multiples of smaller, more recent pieces of money but does not seem to be valid for minute nummi like the one discovered in Q 14.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the coin finds made in Nubia, the more so that the published material constitutes but a fragment of the unpublished discoveries.⁴⁴⁶ A small remark on the temporal distribution of issues in one of the finds is, however, highly relevant at this point of our investigation. Grave No. 6 of the small Cemetery E at Bab Kalabsha contained four coins of base metal:447 one Constantinopolitan mint from 330-335; one of Rome from 330-335; one unidentified mint from 335-340, and one Eastern mint from 341-346. These mints are lying so close in time to each other that it seems, they were received by their Nubian owner at the same time. The coin complex from Bab Kalabsha also suggests that neither the circulation of its elements in Egypt lasted long, nor did their pseudo-circulation in Nubia last for a considerable period of time. Concerning the Nubian pseudo-circulation, the earliest issue could have been in the Bab Kalabsha ensemble a mint from 330(-335), the latest one a mint from 346. Thus, if the ensemble came in this composition into the possession of its Nubian owner, it consisted of coins which were in circulation for ten-fifteen years, at the minimum. To this period of ten or fifteen years we must add the unknown period which the owner lived after he got the coins. We may perhaps conclude that the circulation time of the smallest coins in Egypt in the late 4th c. was not longer than 10-20 years at the maximum. Taking the funerary equipment of Q 14 into consideration and regarding its place in the internal chronology, I would like to conclude that the theoretical upper and lower time limits of the coming of the Valens drachma into the earth are c. 364 + max. 20 years = c. 384, and 378 + max. 20 years = c. 398, whereas I tend to believe, on the basis of the funerary equipment, that a date around 384 is more likely.

Turning to the grave inventory, it consists of two ensembles, the one being found within the pit, partly in the chamber and partly in the large forecourt; the other outside of the pit on the original surface over which the mound was then built. The latter ensemble consisted of three spear heads, a big ivory inlaid bridal chest, and, in a distance of a couple of metres from these, a quantity of jewels put in a leather bag and in a bundle of coarse linen (Nos 44-58 and 59-65). These finds from the original surface are in all probability in connection with the body of a girl found lying next to the bag and the bundle, in contracted position. Her death was caused by throat cutting. The girl, likely a domestic servant (of the deceased?), who associated herself with a party of thieves (recruited from, or guided by men participating in the digging of the burial pit), was apparently captured, murdered and buried together with the stolen items of the funerary equipment next to the pit. Her booty was not replaced in the burial chamber apparently because at this time the filling of the pit with earth was already accomplished. It is obscure, however, whether were the whole gang captured, or do we have here only the girl's share of the booty?⁴⁴⁸ Two of the spear heads found outside of the pit belong to types that are unknown from any other burial at Qustul and Ballana. No. 40 is of Type 3 (cp. Pl. 33), a Meroitic type that we encounter on the battle relief of the so-called Sun Temple (M. 250) in Meroe City, on the S side of the podium. The relief was carved in the late 1st c. B.C.⁴⁴⁹ It occurs, however, in another post-Meroitic tomb at Firka (tomb A 11) in a funerary equipment that consists of exactly the same spear head types as Q 14. From the point of view of layout, Firka A 11, i.e. the tomb with the analogous spear heads, represent an intermediate type between the Qustul/Ballana subtypes C and C/4, which would point to a date in Qustul Phase II-III. The approximate position of Firka A 11 between Qustul Phases I and II-III is also indicated by its pottery (PIs 138, 139).

Spear head No. 42, of Type 6, also has an incised Meroitic inscription on the one, and the engraved design of two seated lions on the other side of the blade (not illustrated). The inscription⁴⁵⁰ reads *mlole*. It was suggested by M. F. L. Macadam⁴⁵¹ that it has the meaning "the good one". Although this interpretation is in fact fitting for a spear head, it must be considered, whether "the good one" would not sound in Meroitic as *mlo-lo*? Spear head Type 6, like the above-mentioned Type 3, is Meroitic and occurs similarly in the representations of the "Sun Temple". The inscription indicates that No. 42 was in fact made before 360-370, i.e. the fall of the Meroitic kingdom. An analogous spear head occurs in a post-Meroitic context in Kosha tomb K 1, which is related typologically to Q 3, layout Type B, and seems thus to be roughly contemporaneous both with Q 14 and Q 3. It is provided mainly with pieces of funerary equipment of late Meroitic origin. The third spear head from Q 14 is of Type 4 (No. 41), a type of Meroitic origin, which continues, however, to be in fashion for a couple of decades for it still occurs in a larger quantity in B 80, i.e. in Phase III b. No later exemplars are known to me.

A fourth spear, No. 43, is of Type 2 and was found together with a shield placed in front of the forecourt face of the brick wall of the chamber and doubtlessly was destined to magically guard the burial. It is of a common Meroitic type which is to survive to the end of the use of Ballana. Its contexts make it probable that it was this type of spear that belonged to the royal insignia.

Close to the spear No. 43 a bronze hanging lamp in the form of a dove (No. 74) was lying on the forecourt floor. An analogy thereof is known from Firka tomb A 12 (PI. XXXII). The latter tomb fits typologically into Qustul Phases II b to III b. Although also several further analogous lamps were found in Egypt⁴⁵² and Europe,⁴⁵³ the chronology of the type is obscure. The exemplar found at Altrip (Speyer) seems to have originated from a context datable to the second half of the 4th century. A chariot ornament with the figure of a duck found at Trier⁴⁵⁴ is stylistically close to the Qustul lamp; it is decorated with large beads, a motif occurring on metal objects made in the second half of the 4th c.

Among the jewels hidden in the leather bag and the linen bundle there are several fairly well-datable pieces. First to mention is the ring No. 84. It belongs to the circle of the bracelets discovered in Meroe West tomb W 130 and in B 47. They were dated by me in an earlier paper to around 360-370, 455 and I see no reasons to change this dating. Stylistic and technical features of the bracelets (PIs VII, 75, 76) and the ring No. 84 are identical and indicate that all these pieces were produced in same workshop and within a rather short period of time. The child's bracelet No. 60 is made of a single strip of silver sheet decorated with beaded borders and stones set en cabochon bent in a circular form and closed with a pin passing through three miniature tubes. The en cabochon settings are framed with spiral silver wire. The type is a simplified version of bracelets "à porte" and "en forme de manchette" (being the "porte" not necessarily because of the small size): thus of bracelets the earlier form of which is well-known from Palmyrene reliefs of late 3rd c. date and from finds made in the Bosporan region⁴⁵⁶ and in Taxila, India.⁴⁵⁷ Their later form is represented e.g. on an ivory leaf of a dyptych of Empress Ariadne carved c. around A.D. 500, now in Vienna.⁴⁵⁸ No. 60 can be put at a point of this long time of the type's existence on account of its beaded borders which are, together with the form of the stone settings, characteristic for the second half of the 4th c. 459

Earrings Nos 59 and 65 belong to the plaque-and-pendants type, the pendants being in these cases in the form of two amphorae made of silver sheets, filigree and coral beads. The plaque is decorated with an amethyst in high claw setting which is accompanied by a double silver wire. Related types were published from an American private collection by A. Greifenhagen⁴⁶⁰ with a highly improbable late Hellenistic dating. Greifenhagen did not notice the late antique details of the stone settings of the earrings quoted from the Louvre collection as analogies,⁴⁶¹ nor did he realize the significance of the use of agate in both the Louvre and the American private collection earrings. The chain-and-stone pendants applied on both sides of the amphora pendants on these earrings are furthermore characteristic for late 4th century A.D. jewels as demonstrated by several pieces, predominantly of Egyptian provenance.⁴⁶² Decisive for the dating is, however, first of all a mummy mask from Deir el Bahari in Marseille⁴⁶³ with the unmistakeable representation of earrings analogous to those published by Greifenhagen. Although Parlasca eludes the dating of the mask, and only hints at a "late antique" date, there can be hardly any doubt that it belongs to the

latest known mummy masks which can be dated on stylistic grounds to the one or two decades preceding Theodosius' edict of 392 A.D. prohibiting mummy burial.⁴⁶⁴

The pair of earrings No. 50 can similarly be dated in the last decades of the 4th c. They are constructed of a circular hook above a column capital-shaped filigree-work ornament set with two beryls and two cornelians. The ornament is terminated with a silver ball. Related earring types occur on several mummy portraits of the second half of the 4 th c.⁴⁶⁵ Of similar date is No. 61, a necklace of silver ball beads, variants made of gold of which frequently are represented on late 4th c. mummy portraits.⁴⁶⁶ To the necklace also belong three bracelets of identical ball beads between spacers, under No. 54.

The silver toe rings Nos 48 and 49 stand apart from above jewels, they are Meroitic both in form and the style of their decoration (lotus flower and walking lion). Analogous rings are, however, attested also in other post-Meroitic burials as Kosha grave 1⁴⁶⁷ and Ballana 47 (PI. 78). Nevertheless, they are presumably of late Meroitic date, and were either heirlooms or originated in late Meroitic burials.

Turning to objects of other materials, the most outstanding item of the tomb furniture is doubtlessly the ivory inlaid wooden chest No. 77. Since it has been illustrated and described several times, most recently in the Catalogue of the exhibition Africa in Antiquity, ⁴⁶⁸ I do not repeat the descriptions. But in order to make it better available for the study of its iconography, I tried to publish useful drawing copies of its decoration (PIs 38, 39). The 21 ivory panels of the chest front show the gods Bes (two panels), Dionysos (two panels), Zeus-Ammon (?, two panels), the goddess Aphrodite (six panels), Perseus (two exemplars), a male and a female servant (1-1 exemplar), a siren, satyrs (two panels), and somersaulting acrobats (two panels).

In one of the representations the goddess Aphrodite is shown with a mirror, or, more probably, a patera in her hand. This detail as well as the predominance of her figure, and further the composition of the other figures strongly suggest that the chest was destined as bridal chest and the iconography of the representations in the decoration was meant to hint at religious aspects of the marriage as well as to the festivities connected to it. As already pointed out by Bissing, the chest was in all probability made in Egypt. Ivory inlaid chests and caskets of Egyptian origin were found in late Meroitic tombs, 469 and a stylistically closely analogous chest was unearthed in Gebel Adda in a post-Meroitic tomb.470 According to the unfortunately very laconic information given by the excavator in his preliminary report,⁴⁷¹ the tomb in question was situated in a cemetery section where he has found in another tomb a coin of Theodosius I. Since no data concerning the reverse of it is communicated, we are forced to take into consideration as dating evidence Theodosius' I regnal period, 379-391, extended with c. 10 years. Yet even this quite general dating moves in the period indicated by the style of the casket in Gebel Adda, and the chest from Qustul. It is furthermore worth considering that the visibly Egyptianizing style of some of the panels of the Qustul chest does not seem to survive the turn of the 4th c. As to decorated chests and caskets, a classicizing style (in accordance with the general trend of the art of the period) emerges towards the beginning of the reign of Theodosius I, and the predominance of this style can be observed on the caskets

decorated with encaustic painting⁴⁷² and made at the turn of the century and in the first half of the 5th century.

A date towards the earlier part of the second half of the 4th c. is also strongly indicated by the elaborately decorated lock plate of the Q 14 chest (Pl. 39). Its engraved decoration repeats, to rather small details, the decoration that occurred on Constantius' II vicennalia dish made in 343 A.D.⁴⁷³

No. 75 is a conical glass lamp of translucent white glass, with modelled rim and incised parallel lines and blue blobs decoration. Lamps of this kind were manufactured in Egypt for, as it seems, a considerably long period of time between the middle of the 4th and the middle of the 5th c., and are known from Karanis from mid- and late 4th c. contexts.⁴⁷⁴ Such lamps occurred in closed deposits dating from between c. 390 and 420 in Kellia.⁴⁷⁵

In the tomb the following pottery forms were represented (in the following I shall give the pottery forms numbered according to the original form numbering of the 1938 publication, and illustrated here in chronological order on Plates 16–27; I shall furthermore give the Ware denomination according to Adams' classification⁴⁷⁶)

Form	Ware	Form	Ware
4a	U 16	59	R 1
41b	W 28	70	R 1
42b	W 28	75a	H 1
43a, b	W 28	76a	H 1
50a	R 31	83, 84, 85a, b	R 1
56a	W 24	87b	R 1

Form 42b vessels of Ware W 28 occurred in a 3rd c. A.D. context at Medinet Habu, while Form 41b of Ware W 28 is also known from a 4th c. A.D. ensemble discovered at Armant. Form 85 vessels, but of an Egyptian ware, occurred in the Bucheum at Armant where the late antique layers are closed with the year 395 A. D.⁴⁷⁷

The layout of the tomb, the Meroitic objects in its inventory, and the objects of Egyptian origin equally indicate a dating around the beginning of the post-Meroitic era. This assumption is also supported by the Valens coin found in the earth of the mound. It seems thus that the burial is not later than c. 380-390 A.D. I have placed Q 14 in Table 1 at the top of Phase I, i.e. as the earliest excavated burial of the Qustul cemetery. It is perhaps not necessary to stress, however, that owing to the approximate character of the dating of Egyptian artefacts of the period, this placing is hypothetical and it can be imagined that Q 14 is not earlier, or not considerably earlier than Q 3.

The late 4th c. dating of the equipment is further confirmed by the recently published Thetford treasure⁴⁷⁸ which I could not properly include into the present investigation. It is dated with considerable probability to the last third of the 4th c. A.D., and includes a ring⁴⁷⁹ that is closely analogous to No. 84.

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§ 2: tombs Q 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15

Owners: Q 6: male; Q 9: ?, Q 10: male, Q 11: male, Q 12: male, Q 15: male.
Mounds: Q 6: dm 11.50, h 3.10, Q 9: dm 5, h 1, Q 10: dm 13, h 2.80, Q 11: dm 12, h 2.30, Q 12: dm 3, h 1, Q 15: dm 4, h 1.30.
Condition: all plundered.
Retainers: none.
Animal sacrifices: Q 6: a gazelle.
Layouts: Pls 4, 11.
Objects: not illustrated.

These tombs, belonging all to subtype A, did not contain objects of dating value. The leather garment fragments from Q 6 and the sandals from Q 15 are in themselves undatable. The layout type is Meroitic and is judged on this basis as the earliest non-royal tomb type at Qustul. They are, however, orientated as tombs of subtype A/1 and as tomb Q 3 (Type B). Tombs showing the features of subtype A occur in the cemetery at Kosha (e.g. Kosha 2) apparently contemporaneously with a variant of Qustul types B and C (e.g. Kosha 1). It is worth noting that the orientation of the said Kosha tombs is identical with that of the Qustul subtype A tombs.

§ 3: tomb Q 3

Owner: ? Mound: dm 53.40, h 9.70. Condition: plundered. Retainers: 4 adult males, 4 adult females, 3 children. Animal sacrifices: 16 horses, 4 camels, 2 donkeys, 1 cow, 1 bull, 45 dogs. Layout: Pl. 43, sections Pl. 44. Objects: Pls 45–49.

The inventory of Q 3, the only burnt brick tomb, was extremely rich, even in the decimated condition after the plundering, and it seems to have been in full accordance with the uniquely luxurious architecture of the chambers and with the great number of retainers and sacrificed animals. The composition of the inventory is highly interesting, despite its fragmentary preservation.

A spear blade (No. 76) was found on the original surface of the north side of the pit (Type 5, see Pl. 33) and a spear butt spike (No. 87) in the earth of the tumulus. Their position suggests that as one of the final acts of the burial, spears were stabbed into the earth of the pit. It is perhaps the same custom that is indicated by the three spears found on the original surface around the pit of Q 14. No. 87 is the only exemplar of the type found at Qustul. An analogous spear head occurs in the inventory of Firka tomb A 12, a tomb, as already mentioned, roughly contemporary with Q 14.

The owner's personal adornment was taken by the grave robbers. It is highly unlikely that the earrings No. 89 would have belonged to the owner, for they were found in Room 3 while the main burial chamber seems to have been Room 4. In type they are associated with the earrings under No. 20 from B 47. The most outstanding items of the furniture are three horse harnesses with silver bridles and trappings (Nos 91, 92, 93), complete with bronze bells (Nos 69–71). The silver bits, as stressed in literature on the Qustul burials, are of an otherwise unknown type, which is even more puzzling if the only attested parallel really originated from Iran.⁴⁸⁰ Apart from the ones made of silver which were, curiously enough, as indicated by teeth marks discernible on them⁴⁸¹ in real use, there are also exemplars made of iron. Bits of the latter material were also used in donkey harnesses (cp. Q 24 No. 45, B 9 No. 38). It seems to me that this bit construction was demanded by a special sort of horsemanship, and, it must be added, a particularly cruel one in which it may have been requisite, to force the horse to a sudden halt. It cannot be exluded that the equestrian warriors of the post-Meroitic period used their bow on horseback and it was this that needed a sudden halt.

The bits Nos 91–93 are decorated with couchant lions which also serve as devices connecting the bit to the head stalls. The rein rings are held by human hands. The head stalls are of heavy silver ribbon chains, joined by medallions decorated with embossed lion heads. The eyes of these lions are set with precious (?) stones. The trappings (Nos 53, 55) are composed of rectangular silver tubes from which flat or slightly convex disks are suspended. On the horse marked CC in Room 2 there was a leather collar decorated with twelve silver medallions set with precious stones and/or embossed designs (No. 94). Among them there are five round medallions with embossed lion heads, the eyes being made of garnets; further seven oval medallions set with a) an onyx fantasy (?) portrait (dated by D. M. Metcalf⁴⁸² around 350 A.D.) of an emperor, b) a blue faience pectoral scarab and three garnets, c), d), e), f) an oval cut red and white onyx. The scarab is set in a high claw setting, all the other stones en cabochon where the box is surrounded by silver spiral wires.

The trappings Nos 53 and 55 are not illustrated here for they are analogous in form and execution with No. 63 from Q 17 (PI. 52). Together with the embossed roundels with lion heads, these trappings recall the trapping fragments found in the Esquiline Treasure (PIs 180, 181), to whose dating I return presently.

Parallels of the settings can be found in great abundance among jewellery dating from the 3rd and 4th centuries. It suffices to quote here three openwork mountings of early 4th c. date in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 483 and the framing of the empress medallion in the famous Tenès treasure⁴⁸⁴ which was generally dated in earlier literature to the late 4th c.485 but which is more recently dated, in my opinion not entirely convincingly, to the beginning of the 5th c.486 The pectoral scarab with its setting recalls the beautiful scarab-and-stones medallion of the Louvre, 487 where the mounting is golden interrasile. Latter piece, dated arbitrarily by Coche de la Ferté "to the 3rd or 4th century", has close analogies in the style of its opus interrasile mounting among gold jewels of the period c. 360 to 380, as e.g. a fibula from Apahida, Hungary,⁴⁸⁸ the Tenès bracelet,⁴⁸⁹ a bracelet of the ancient Collection de Clercq, 490 and part of the bracelets from Tortosa in Syria now in St. Louis and Berlin West.⁴⁹¹ Judging on the basis of the majority of the above jewels, it seems that the suggested Roman provenance of the Louvre piece is unlikely and, as also indicated by the scarab, its Alexandrian provenance is much more probable. All these parallels suggest a date for the Qustul harness decoration in the last third of the 4th c. This

date is corroborated also by the trappings from the Esquiline Treasure. This find was dated to the last third of the 4th century on the basis of the identification of Proiecta, owner of the treasure, with the sinonymous lady whose epitaph was written by Pope Damasus (366–384). The datation was accepted undiscussed for many decades,⁴⁹² but it became recently subject of much debate.⁴⁹³ The owner of the Proiecta casket in the Treasure does not seem to be identical with the Proiecta of the epitaph, and according to the researches of K. Shelton, which seem now to have satisfyingly decided the debate, the Treasure consists of objects made around 350.⁴⁹⁴ This dating strongly suggests that the trapping and the associated harness decoration was made at the latest in the early part of the last third of the 4th century. Its provenance is fairly certainly Egypt.

The silver saddle fitting No. 104 with an embossed design of floral motifs, although obviously made under the influence of some classicizing prototypes, betrays more likely a Nubian workshop. The saddle seems to have been Nubian-made, although it is in every detail similar to the Arab camel saddle used to the present day (so much so that the saddle reconstruction in the Ballana Room of the Cairo Museum was made by a native craftsman⁴⁹⁵).

Two ewers, one made of bronze (No. 51) and another of silver (No. 52), constitute a remarkable ensemble. They are, in spite of the different material, a pair, thus revealing the close stylistic connections between the industry of silver plate and that of bronze vessels. Both have an ovoid body on broad footing, and a long, tapering neck. The silver ewer has a roll moulding on the neck, and an horizontal rim and square handle with an open fretwork device joining the horizontal rim of the mouth. The bronze ewer had a lid of which only the attaching hinge remained. The bronze ewer is decorated with incised designs: the body with wavy fluting, the neck with a frieze of long pointed vertical leaves and another of hearts. The decoration doubtless imitates that of a silver vessel. A close parallel is to be found on a (partly gilded) ewer in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum discovered in Aquincum, Hungary. 496 The form of the latter stands ever more closer to that of No. 52. Both form and decoration are characteristic for the transitional phase between the ewer type with broad foot ring, square handle, squat body and horizontal rim passing out of fashion around the middle of the 4th century, and, on the other hand, the taller ewers of more slender body, high foot with moulding and arched handle, which (in three main form variants⁴⁹⁷) were to became the dominant jug form of the last third of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century. The position of the Qustul Q 3 ewers is also well visualized by their formal relationship with the Water Newton jug being part of a treasure deposited probably around, or just after 350 A.D.⁴⁹⁸

A beautiful ivory comb with painted decoration in red and brown, No. 83, is similarly of considerable art historical interest. The carved and painted floral ornaments on both sides show acanthus "trees" of remarkably fresh and highly skilled execution. The leaves grow on fleshy, thick stems; stems and leaves are joined with a ring. Both this detail and the broad, fleshy forms of the leaves are characteristic for an acanthus rendering that occurred in the second half of the 4th century. Good exemplars can be studied on the Water Newton jug mentioned above and in the decoration of the Liberius sarcophagus in Ravenna carved after 378 A.D.⁴⁹⁹ The

jug as well as the sarcophagus have close connections with the art of Constantinople around 350–400. Another significant analogy of the acanthus style occurring on the comb is the acanthus rendering of the carving on the sarcophagus of Constantine the Great.⁵⁰⁰ It was carved of porphyry probably in Egypt around 350 A.D. and decorated with acanthus scrolls with scenes of vine harvest.

The Water Newton jug has in its decoration a small detail which, although certainly not insignificant, was overlooked by scholars dealing with it. This is the small flower rosette with deeply impressed centre. It is known only from one further late antique silver vessel, the Antioch chalice,⁵⁰¹ and this fact is to be regarded as one more reason for the reconsideration of the dating of this frequently misunderstood vessel.⁵⁰²

The fine gaming board No. 95 is richly decorated with ivory inlay imitating opus interrasile and marking the places of the ball game. The motifs are related to the opus interrasile jewels mentioned above and would thus suggest that the gaming board was made in the late decades of the 4th century. Found together with the gaming board there was also a dice box or pyrgus made of wood and ivory. As noticed by Kirwan,⁵⁰³ it looks similar to the dice box depicted on the leaf illustrating the personification of December of the Filocalus Calendar from the year 354 A.D. (known only from a 17th century copy).⁵⁰⁴ Both gaming board and dice box are, judging on the ground of the exquisite execution of their ivory decoration, to be ascribed to an Egyptian (Alexandrian?) workshop producing valuable luxury objects.

The bronze head lamp No. 90 is similarly of de luxe execution. It is a variant of a popular lamp form. Head lamps had been produced in Egypt since late Hellenistic times and remained popular until the late 4th or even the 5th century. In the 2nd-4th c. both bronze⁵⁰⁵ and terracotta⁵⁰⁶ head lamps were mass-produced. Most of the heads are Negro heads or grotesque heads, but the difference between the significance of the two is diminutive. There are also lamps representing the head of Athena, and another female face.⁵⁰⁷ No. 90 has eyes made of silver and set with garnet. The style of the face, ears and hair fashion was compared by A. Effenberger⁵⁰⁸ to the heads of the "tetrarchs" in Venice.⁵⁰⁹ Wenig believed⁵¹⁰ that it was produced in Nubia. I am convinced, by contrast, that it was made – together with the other head lamps found in post-Meroitic tombs – in Egypt. Stylistically it can be associated with a group of Egyptian figural stone carvings executed in the period between c. 330 and 360 A.D. and which is summarily, and not quite correctly, called Ahnas sculpture.⁵¹¹

The further finds include a circular wooden casket with ivory inlay and bronze fittings (No. 150) which could, on account of its decayed condition, not be photographed and saved by the excavators. Its lock (now lost?) was decorated with couchant lions, the lid had a beaded bronze ring handle. It can be assumed on the basis of the drawing published by Emery and Kirwan that it was of Egyptian provenance, and it may have come from the same workshop as the bridal chest in Q 14 or from the workshop of the gaming board.

The three conical glass lamps under No. 47 belong to same type as the conical lamp from Q 14. From among the pottery finds to be listed below type 58 – which does not occur in any other tomb at Qustul or Ballana – is known from the Bucheum

find. Also types 50b and 85 are connected to same Egyptian find dating from the decades before 395 A.D.

Pottery finds:				
Form	Ware	Form	Ware	
6	U 3	60a	W 30	
13a, b	U 18	65b	W 30	
15a	R 25	66b	W 30	
17a	Н1	71a	R 1	
19	R 25	73b	W 30	
22d	R 1	76a, b	H 1	
26a	Н1	80a	R 1	
50a, b	R 31	82d	R 1	
51b	R 25	85a, b	R 1	
52	R 25	86b	R 1	
58	R 30 (?) or R 25 (?)	87c, d	R 1	
59a	R 1			

In sum, Q 3 contained a grave furniture dating from the same general period as the inventory of Q 14. They seem thus to have been more or less contemporary burials, around 380-390, whereas Q 3 can be regarded as somewhat later than Q 14 on account of typological differences in the layout.

§ 4: tomb Q 22

Owners: two women. Mound: dm 24, h 4. Condition: plundered. Retainers: none. Sacrificed animals: none. Layout: Pl. 4.

With the exception of two pottery fragments, the entire grave furniture was stolen in antiquity. Its chronological poisiton was established on the basis of the Phase I-layout subtype A, and the Phase II grave orientation (axis N-S): between the end of Phase I and the second part of Phase II.

Ware
R 25
H 1

§ 5: tomb Q 17

Owner: male (king of Generation 2). Mound: dm 40, h 5.50. Condition: plundered. Retainers: 11 or 12 adult males, 3 or 4 adult females. Sacrificed animals: 5 horses, 4 camels, 2 cows, 1 goat, 1 sheep, 8 dogs. Layout: Pl. 50. Objects: Pls 50-52.

The jewelry found in the tomb does not seem to have belonged to the tomb owner. The toe rings Nos 48 and 50 made of silver, the spiral finger rings under No. 49 and the open wire ring, similarly of silver, under No. 54 were apparently buried with the retainers. The beads found in same room (No. 46), among them also cornelian beads, belonged more likely to the tomb owner's personal adornment. No. 61 consists of five silver plaques with embossed designs, being originally parts of a decayed casket. They are Nubian products. One of the designs represents a syncretistic deity in the form of a hawk-headed sphinx with crocodile tail, seated on a processional altar and holding an ankh sceptre and a flower, and wearing a diadem surmounted with atef plumes. The deity was revered in late Meroitic times, it is represented e.g. in the Apedemak Temple at Naga.⁵¹² Another design shows a pole on which a bucranium is fastened between two spears of type 2 or 5 (cp. Pl. 33). It seems that the representation can be associated with post-Meroitic royal iconography, for the spears belonged to the insignia. The symmetric arrangement of the spears to the right and the left of a bucranium suggests the assumption that we have here to do with a symbolic representation that is in connection with the sacrificed oxen found in royal burial chambers. In view of the symbolism of the bucranium in antiquity, it would not be surprizing if this design would have hinted to some aspect of royal power.

Presumably of Egyptian craftmanship were the fragments of three ivory toilet or ointment pyxides (Nos 58–60).

The tomb also contained the fragments of three luxurious harnesses made of silver (Nos 62, 63) and bronze (No. 31). The silver trappings are of the same type as those discovered in Q 3 and Q 2, and they can be dated with good reasons to the last third of the 4th c. The bronze pectoral No. 31 is decorated with a Medusa head, its border is beaded. As suggested above in the discussion of Q 3, the harnesses of this type were made on the basis of a pattern that was known in Rome as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Egyptian origin of the harness to which No. 31 belongs (and presumably of all related harnesses from Qustul) is indicated by an analogy of the perforated pectoral of Egyptian provenance in the ancient Collection Grüneisen (dated by Grüneisen erroneously to the 6th century and discussed as "Coptic").⁵¹³

No. 75, a terracotta frog lamp is unfortunately not illustrated in the 1938 publication and I could not trace it in the Cairo Museum. Frog lamps were still fashionable in the 4th century and the centre of their production at this time was in Upper Egypt.⁵¹⁴

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
6	U 3	50a	R 31
7a, b	U 2	78	R 25
10	U 4	84	R 25
13a	U 18	85a, c	R 1
39b	U 2	87a, d	R 1

§ 6: tombs Q 24 and Q 25

Owner: Q 24: male; Q 25: child.

Mound: Q 24: dm 29, h 5, Q 25: dm 30, h 4.50.

Condition: both plundered.

Retainers: Q 24: 4 male adults, Q 25: two children (if these were not similarly owners of the tomb).

Sacrificed animals: Q 24: 1 camel, 1 donkey, 1 cow, 1 calf, 2 dogs, Q 25: 1 donkey, 1 sheep, 1 bull, 1 dog.

Layout: Q 24: Pl. 53, Q 25: Pl. 5.

Objects: Q 24: PI. 53, Q 25: not illustrated.

Q 24 is typologically associated with Generation 2. The most important item among the pieces left by the tomb robbers is No. 41, a shallow square bronze dish with circular central depression and with a rim edged with large beads measuring 15 x 15 cms and 3 cms in height. It was not illustrated in the original publication and I was unfortunately unable to photograph it in the Cairo Museum.⁵¹⁵ The dish is a bronze variant of a type known from the silver treasures from Mileham,⁵¹⁶ Traprain⁵¹⁷ and Abbeville⁵¹⁸ (PI. 179). The Mileham dish is stylistically associated with vessels from the Mildenhall treasure⁵¹⁹ dating from, or around, the reign of Julian the Apostate (360–363).⁵²⁰ The Traprain Law treasure consists of pieces made during the course of the 4th century and was deposited in the early years of the 5th century,⁵²¹ while the Abbeville find is provided with an ad quem by an associated Valentinian II (375–395) coin. These parallels suggest a date for the bronze dish from Q 24 around c. 360–390. To the same period the blue glass flask No. 50 can also be dated. It can be compared typologically to Isings' form 121b,⁵²² and further with the silver ewer forms discussed above in § 3 (cp. No. 52 from Q 3).

The robbers left untouched in Q 24 finally an iron donkey bit of the type represented by the silver horse bits from Q 3, further from Q 2 and Q 31. Analogous iron bits were found in Q 2 and in tomb A 11 at Firka. The latter tomb is typologically a variant of the Qustul types C and C/1, and its date is further suggested by the spear of Type 3 (cp. Pl. 33) that occurs at Qustul only in Q 14.

Q 25 belongs typologically in Phase II. It was thoroughly plundered, the only object of interest left by the tomb robbers is an iron donkey bit of the above type, and decorated with engraved figures of Bes (not illustrated, I could not trace the piece in the Cairo Museum). The plunderers left there furthermore six bronze bells of Type 4 (cp. Pl. 35) which may have belonged to the donkey harness.

Pottery finds fro	m Q 24:		
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
7a	U 2	73a	R 1
14	U 1	75a	H 1
22c	H 1 (?)	84	R 25
34b	R 1	85a, c	R 1
67	R 1	86a	R 1
68	R 1	87c, e	R 1
69	U 6 (?)		

Pottery finds from	m Q 25:
Form	Ware
4a	U 16
7a	U 2
20a	R 1
85c	R 1
87d	R 1

§ 7: tomb Q 31

Owner: female (?) Mound: dm 29.10, h 7.67. Condition: plundered. Retainers: 5 or 6 female adults, 1 or 2 male adults. Sacrificed animals: 4 horses, 2 camels, 1 cow, 4 dogs. Layout: Pl. 54. Objects: Pls 54, 55.

In the forecourt two horse harnesses (in incomplete condition) were found, both made of silver. No. 48 consits of a complete bridle, bit and reins. The bit has couchant lions like No. 93 from Q 3, but the mane of the lions is differently rendered. The bridle reins are made of heavy silver ribbon chains with lion-headed medallions at the joints. No. 49 consists of circular chain members and drop pendants of a trapping, identical in type with the trapping found in Q 3.

The harness was used with Nubian-made silver bits of the type described in the discussion of the finds from Q 3. Similarly of Nubian craftmanship are an embossed silver saddle pommel (No. 40) and one Type 2, two Type 7 and one unidentifiable spear (cp. Pl. 33). The saddle pommel bears the design of two hawks wearing the Double Crown of Egypt and facing a horned altar in the middle, further two rosettes. The hawks were beaten on the same matrix which was also used for the making of a saddle pommel found in Q 36 (No. 165 Pl. 56) and the king's crown discovered in B 80 (Pls IV, 60). Spears Nos 41 and 42 belong to a rare type of Meroitic origin (King Shorakaror is represented in the 2nd half of the 1st c. A.D. at Gebel Qeili holding a spear of this type⁵²³). It occurs in B 80 and in Firka grave A 14. By contrast, No. 46 of Type 2 is present in almost every royal and princely burial throughout Phases I-VII.

Judging on the basis of the affinities between the above items and objects in the inventories of Q 36 and B 80, Q 31 may be looked upon as dating from the end of Phase II.

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
6	U 3	26b	H 1
7a	U 2	40a	W 28
13a	U 18	50a	R 31
14	U 1	51b	R 25
20b	R 1	53	R 25
24	H 1	61b	W 30

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Form	Ware	Form	Ware
63	W 30	84	R 25
64	W 30	85a	R 1
82c	R 1	87b, c, e	R 1

§ 8: tombs Q 36 and Q 26

Owner: Q 36: king. Q 26: ?

Mound: Q 36: dm 30, h 6.25, Q 26: dm 23, h 6.

Condition: both plundered.

Retainers: Q 36: 3 or 4 female adults, 2 or 3 male adults, 2 children. Q 26: ? (the tomb contained the body of 1 female adult, 1 male adult with traces of silver jewellery, and scattered bones of two children).

Sacrificed animals: Q 36: 4 horses, 2 camels, 1 cow, 4 dogs. Q 26: ? (forecourt and ramp were not excavated).

Layout: Q 36: Pl. 56, Q 26: Pl. 5. Objects: Q 36: Pl. 56.

The badly plundered tomb Q 36 is tentatively identified on the basis of its size, layout, and the number of retainers and sacrificed animals as the tomb of a ruler, and represents in the classification and chronology the burial of the king of Generation 3. The plunderers have left behind, besides the pottery (or a part of it) a decorated saddle pommel (No. 165), an alabaster dish (No. 150) and a bronze tripod (No. 163). The two silver fittings decorating the pommel are handsome examples of post-Meroitic craftmanship. The front fitting shows a winged image of Isis in a form which obviously goes back on late Meroitic models. 524 The decoration was beaten on a matrix and complemented with incised design, like the back fitting showing two Horus hawks on two sides of an altar and a floral design. The hawk figures and the altar were made on the same matrix as the pommel fitting from Q 31 (PI. 55) and the decoration of the king's crown from B 80 (PIs IV and 60). The floral motif was beaten on the matrix which also was used for a silver sword scabbard owned by the king buried in B 80 (PI. 59). The alabaster dish came from Egypt, and it was perhaps one of the official presents discussed in Ch. III. 1.6 above. With its moulded horizontal rim and the low base ring it fits well into the context of dish forms fashionable around the turn of the 4th century. The bronze tripod is of an excellent craftmanship. Two sides are decorated with cobras facing an ankh resp. with knots, the third with a tendril. All decorations are à jour. Analogous objects were found in B 80 (Nos 64, 65, Pl. 66 and No. 107, Pl. 67).

Q 26 is non-royal and was classified as contemporary with Q 36 on account of its layout and orientation.

Pottery finds:			
Q 36			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
6	U 3	21	R 1
7a	U 2	22b	R 1
13a	U 18	32b	R 1
17b	H 1	35a	R 1

	Ware
74	R 1
75b	H1
80c	R 1
84	R 25
85c	R 1
87c	R 1
	75b 80c 84 85c

§ 9: tombs Q 2 and Q 48

Owner: Q 2: king. Q 48: ? Mound: Q 2: dm 47.80, h 8.84. Q 48: dm 51.20, h 7. Condition: both plundered. Retainers: Q 2: 10 male adults, 7 female adults, 1 child. Q 48: none found (?). Sacrificed animals: Q 2: 10 horses, 2 calves, 1 gazelle, 2 dogs. Q 48: none found. Layout: Q 2: PI. 57. Q 48: PI. 6. Objects: Q 2: PIs III, 57, 58.

Tomb Q 2 was identified on account of its layout, size, and the number of retainers and sacrificed animals as a royal tomb. Its chronological poisition is indicated by layout, orientation and funerary equipment and it is suggested that Q 2 was the burial of the ruler of Generation 4.

The most outstanding items of the equipment were not placed in the tomb itself: the silver ewers under No. 112 (PI, III and PI, 57) were discovered in the earth of the tumulus at a place not indicated by the excavators. It seems thus that they were deposited only when the burial pit was filled up with earth, or they were brought here during the building of the mound in the quality of libation vessels for funerary offering (?). They doubtless belong to the most beautiful late antique ewers that have come down to us, if they are not the most handsome among the ones without figural decoration. The elegance of their shape and the finesse of their execution can only be compared to the phiale from the ancient Albani Collection, now in the Vatican⁵²⁵ (PI. 177/1). The Vatican phiale is dated by Volbach to the early 5th century, a plausible date, although the turn of the 4th century cannot be excluded, either. Related, but not entirely analogous vessels such as a jug from Beneventum⁵²⁶ and another jug from Kertch⁵²⁷ seem to support a dating to the turn of the 4th and 5th c. It is highly probable that these outstanding ewers came to Nubia as presents to the ruler of Egypt's southern neighbour. At the time of this present the northernmost post-Meroitic kingdom may have been an ally of the Empire, and it seems rather likely that the ewers - presumably parts of a sumptuous gift from the Egyptian praefect - arrived here before the Blemmyan occupation of Lower Nubian territory in c. 394 A.D. It is worth noting that vessels of this kind constituted parts of services in pairs, but to my knowledge no ewer pair is preserved from the turn of the 4th century. As to their place of manufacture, both Constantinople and Alexandria are likely candidates.

Perhaps part of the same present was also the horse equipment No. 103 with disc- and drop pendants made of silver, and similar in design as the trappings discov-

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ered in Q 3, 17 and 31 (PIs 45, 52, 55). There was also a silver bit of the Nubian type found in association with one of the harnesses. Further three bits of the same type were made of iron (Nos 74–76). The silver saddle fitting No. 78 was, as already mentioned above, embossed on the same matrix as the saddle fitting No. 64 from Q 17 (PI. 50). A sword blade, without its scabbard which was made presumably of silver and taken by the grave robbers, was found in the burial chamber. The spears of the king, if there were any, were also robbed.

Q 48 was thoroughly plundered, only some beads of jasper, cornelian, quartz, and glass remained dispersed on the floor of the burial chamber. The tomb is dated to Phase III a on the basis of the layout and the orientation.

Pottery finds:			
0.2			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
2	U 16	26a	H 1
6	U 3	39a, c	U 2
7a	U 2	52	R 25
9	W 28	75a	H 1
13a	U 18	 85a, b, c	R 1
17a	H 1	86a	R 1
20a, b	R 1	87c	R 1
22b	R 1	89	R 1
0.48			
Form	Ware		
13c	U 18		
33a	R 1		
40b	W 28		
41a	W 28		
72b	R 1		
82b, c	R 1		
85c	R 1		

§ 10: tomb B 80

Owner: king. Mound: dm 62, h 12. Condition: unplundered. Retainers: retainer queen, 3 male adults, 4 adults. Sacrificed animals: 1 camel, 1 dog. Layout: Pl. 59. Objects: Pls IV, 59–68.

The direct descent of layout subtype C/4, to which B 80 belongs, from subtype C/3, represented by Q 2, suggests that B 80 is to be dated as immediate successor of Q 2, or, in other words, if Q 2 was dated as the burial of the king of Generation 4, then B 80 is that of the king of Generation 5. The chronological closeness is also indicated by the special fashion of brick laying shared by these two tombs and is also obvious on account of the funerary equipments.

The reasons of the changing of the royal burial place from the E bank to the

W bank, i.e. from Qustul to Ballana escape our understanding. While on the one hand the tomb layout type, details of its architecture and, moreover, the orientation are identical in the last Qustul tomb of a king and the first Ballana tomb of a king, and furthermore, there are also correspondences in the funerary equipments which suggest continuity, on the other hand in B 80 there occur for the first time bed-burial and sati-burial. Both suggest that at this time the royal family accepted an influence which was previously not present, or was from some reasons insignificant.

The sacrificed queen was buried in the second burial chamber (Room 2) which also served as magazine and burial place of other retainers. She was buried wearing her crown (which has fallen from her head and was found in a position as if it had belonged to the retainer lying next to the N wall of the chamber; the inverse position of the crown has, however, revealed the original situation). The king was buried in extended dorsal position on an angareeb. His crown was decorated with the help of the same matrix as the silver saddle fittings from Q 31 and 36. The retainer queen's crown has a decoration that is unique among the crowns discovered at Ballana: the embossed figure of a pharaoh offering. The king wore a silver rod bracelet on his right wrist (No. 32) identical in design with jewels from B 95 and 114 (Nos 66, 67 Pl. 110, No. 14 Pl. 125), further an iron bracelet on his left arm (No. 43⁵²⁹ not illustrated). His weaponry is represented by two swords with silver scabbards. The scabbards are decorated with embossed patterns among which there occur a motif beaten on the same matrix which was also used for the saddle fitting No. 165 in Q 36 (Pl. 56), and two motifs made with the help of matrixes used for scabbards in B 6 (No. 22 Pl. 70) and B 9 (No. 5 Pl. 83). Four swords were put in the burial chamber without their scabbards. A number of spears were also placed in the king's burial chamber (five Type 1, eleven Type 2, one Type 7, one Type 8, four Type 9, cp. Pl. 33). Next to the body of the queen there were placed three Type 2 spears. The only occurrences of Types 8 and 9 are in this tomb, while Type 7 is known also from Q 31, and Type 1 spears were found also in tombs B 6, 95 and 118. All these types go back to Meroitic prototypes. Finally there were ten Type 4 spears in the magazine (Room 4, Emery-Kirwan 1938 128 has erroneously Type 2, but see ibid. 229 Cat. No. 255). This latter type is similarly of Meroitic character and the only occurrence outside B 80 was in Q 14.

On the left hand of the king there was in its original position a silver archer's bracer (No. 49). Archers' bracers were discovered furthermore in B 6 and B 9. This exemplar is decorated with the sacred and doubtless highly protective images of the ankh, the scarab and the Isis-crown. To conclude the enumeration of Nubian-made objects found in the tomb, there were two remarkable bracelets carved of porphyritic rock and quartzite and inlaid with coloured pastes, found on the right arm of one of the retainers lying in the main burial chamber (Nos 33, 34).

B 80 gives an idea of the composition and richness of the Egyptian objects that may have been given as a rule to a king of the post-Meroitic kingdom of Nobadia in the first half of the 5th century to make his life in the netherworld comfortable and worthy. His personal adornment was none the less modest and consisted, besides the above-mentioned Nubian-made bracelets, a gold ring (No. 111). It is set with a garnet and its filigree hoop has openwork decoration and beaded edges; the stone is in a box setting. Bezel form and the beaded openwork hoop suggest a late 4th – early 5th c. date⁵³⁰ which is perhaps best supported by the stylistic analogy of an openwork necklace made of gold in the Louvre. This was found probably in Syria and was made not later than the turn of the 4th century.⁵³¹

A bronze folding table stand (No. 75) of elegant design and fine execution is decorated on the top of the legs with goats' heads, below this with balustrade moulding; its loop handles are adorned with griffins' heads. The ends have lions' paws as decoration. Form and decoration are very conservative, the tripod would in fact better fit in a 1st-2nd century archaeological context. However, at a closer look the rendering of the animal heads (especially the manes and the protruding eyes) and of the leaves below the griffin protomes suggest a lower dating as these details occur e.g. on an early 5th c. A.D. griffin lamp from Egypt.⁵³² Yet I do not want to suggest that the tripod is in fact dating from the 5th century. Similar tripods from late 3rd century graves in Europe⁵³³ refer to the possibility that the Ballana tripod could have been one century or so old when it came to the burial B 80, however unlikely this sounds.

Equally ambivalent is the appearance of the two incense burners Nos 59 and 66. They are, however, making a contrary impression: as if they were much younger products than the other items of the burial. On account of its rather embarrassing style, both von Bissing⁵³⁴ and Kirwan⁵³⁵ regarded No. 59 as an object of East Asian or Persian provenance, although von Bissing also referred to similar objects found in Egypt. Indeed, close analogies of No. 66 from Egypt are in the Louvre, 536 in the Walters Art Gallery, 537 in the Benaki Museum in Athens 538 and in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (PI. XXVII). In spite of smaller differences in details and in the quality, Nos 59 and 66 are obviously products of same workshop and their grotesque style appears less absurd if it is viewed from the angle of late antique zoomorphic lamps and censers with griffin's head or approached from the direction of late 4th-5th century Egyptian stone sculptures of mediocre quality. Here, first of all, a series of Upper Egyptian (?) water stands is meant.⁵³⁹ As to No. 59, it is tylistically especially closely related to a group of stone friezes decorated with peopled scrolls where the animal figures bear great resemblance to the rendering of the lion of the censer. Although we are far from being able to establish a reliable chronology of 4th-5th c. Egyptian sculpture, it seems that the carvings in question⁵⁴⁰ are relics from the early 5th century of a stylistic trend that has started around the middle of the 4th century.

Three miniature tables (Nos 64, 65, 76) and an amphora stand (No. 107) made of bronze – the tables having originally been covered with leaf $gold^{541}$ – originate apparently from the same workshop as No. 153 in Q 36 (PI. 56). The magazine contained numerous bronze vessels representing two stylistically different groups. The first is composed of more expensive products such as the flagons Nos 73 and 74 (73: PI. 187/2; 74 cp. with the analogous flagon No. 8 from B 118, PI. 129), a two-handled vessel on four legs (not illustrated, cp. Type 20, PI. 29) and a shallow dish with ring base (No. 52, not illustrated, cp. Type 13, PI. 29). The flagons have a facetted body resembling a fluted ewer body, moulded trefoil mouth and curved handle with thumbpiece. No. 73 has a thumbpiece in the form of a lion head, No. 74 of a ball. This flagon type is current throughout the 5th c., but early exemplars may be dated to the turn of the 4th c. A jug of this form is depicted on the Brescia casket dated to the 3rd quarter of the 4th c.⁵⁴² As also indicated by the depiction, the earlier form is more slender and the base ring is higher. Later flagons have an increasingly bulbous body. A further flagon, No. 67 (Type 3 Pl. 187) represents the cheaper variant of the former ones. Dish No. 52 has a profile form which is also known as a typical feature of Hayes' African Red Slip Ware form 83.⁵⁴³ Both the bronze dish and the sigillata dishes have obviously imitated silverwork. Hayes suggested for the ARS Ware form 83 a c. 420–460 A.D. chronological range.

The second group consists of cheaper cooking vessels (Nos 61 and 72, Type 6 PI. 28 and Type 2 ibid.) and bronze filters (Nos 55, 63) one of which has a rim decorated with large beads, a decoration characteristic for silver and bronze vessels made in the last third of the 4th and first third of the 5th c. A small bronze amphora on a tripod with openwork decoration (Nos 1, 2) escapes attempts at a dating, being a metal variant of the amphora type 13a current in the Mediterranean area between the 1st c. B.C. and the 7th c. A.D. (Adams' Ware U 18⁵⁴⁴). Before turning to objects of other functions, mention must be made of a curious vessel, No. 58. It is an anthepsa, commonly (and not quite correctly) called in archaeological literature "samovar". Vessels of this kind are more frequent in earlier Roman settlement finds. No. 58 deserves special attention because it was found in a completely preserved condition. It was not used as a vapouriser, as believed by the excavators, 545 but more likely in its proper function as vessel for warming of mixed wines.⁵⁴⁶ Amphora finds abundantly attest the wine drinking habit of post-Meroitic times, 547 the anthepsa in B 80 shows that not only wine but also civilized conoisseur drinking habits were imported from the Mediterranean.

From the point of view of art historical interest two bronze standard lamps deserve special attention. No. 68 (not illustrated) is identical, to small differences in details, in design with Nos 13 from B 2 and 37 from B 3 (Pls V–VI resp. XX–XXI). The lamp is composed of the figure of a nude youth holding two columns decorated with leaves. Each column is surmounted by a circular plate on which rests a dolphin lamp. On the flower-shaped dolphin tail there is fastened a Greek cross (or "Maltese" cross). The columns have simplified Corinthian capitals. The dolphin lamps are detachable, they are put on spikes protruding from the top of the columns. The cross on them was attached with solder.

The figure stands on a moulded base. The hair is rendered in two rows of curls, over which the head is encircled by a diadem-like band (cp. Pls V–VI, XX–XXI). According to von Bissing the lamp was made in a Greek city in Egypt.⁵⁴⁸ A. Effenberger⁵⁴⁹ thought at a late 4th c. Antinoopolis workshop (obviously on account of the figure's relationship with sculptures that are said, however not correctly, to have been found at Antinoopolis⁵⁵⁰) while G. Grimm and S. Wenig believed that the piece was made in Nubia.⁵⁵¹ There can be hardly any doubt that the lamp and its analogies from B 2 and 3 were made in Egypt, for their stylistic affinity with 4th c. Egyptian sculpture is quite obvious. The rendering of the figure and especially of its face is well-known from a large group of limestone grave stelae in high relief the majority of which originates presumably from Oxyrhynchos⁵⁵² but which figure, on the basis of the deliberately misleading provenance data rendered by clandestine diggers and by art dealers, as sculptures from Sheih Abade (Antinoopolis). To quote some examples,

the stylistic relationship between the bronze lamps and the stone sculptures Berlin (West) 3/59, Kansas City Nelson Art Gallery $55-42^{553}$ or Louvre AC 122^{554} strongly suggest a late 4th to mid-5th c. range for the bronzes, too. The Louvre Dionysos figure shows the same hair style as No. 68 in B 80. The lamps were sometimes interpreted as Nubian products, doubtless because they appeared very unusual. The tradition of figural candelabra was, however, quite strong ever since the 1st c. A.D. (cp. below on the candelabra from B 3) and as to the universal late antique character of the style of the candelabra with the nude youth figure, it suffices to compare them with the heads of the Welschbillig Hermengalerie dating c. from 380-381.⁵⁵⁵ The Welschbillig heads display, not unlike the "Sheih Abade" style, a certain dependence on late 4th century Constantinopolitan sculpture.

This is not the proper place to discuss all details of the lamp, for they concern first of all the art of Egypt in Late Antiquity. A small remark may, however stand here. The columns held by the youths seem to have a specifically Egyptian accent, for this form of leaf decking returns on an already mentioned plastic work, the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia made in Egypt around 350 A.D. Although decorated column shafts and floral candelabra belong to the topoi of late antique art, the hard, angular and fleshy leaves of the acanthus tendrils on the sarcophagus and of the columns of the lamps are rather unusual.

No. 69 is a standard lamp in the form of a tall and slender column supported by three dolphin-shaped legs separated by masks from each other. The column terminates in a Corinthian capital which supports a ring through which a double-spouted dolphin lamp is suspended. The suspender of the lamp is crowned by a female bust wearing a Phrygian cap that is decorated with a rosette in front. As to the form of the base and the bust on top of the lamp there were two analogous lamps found at Ballana, in B 3 and B 9 (Pl. 105). The Egyptian origin of the lamp is attested by a small bronze bust found at Thebes⁵⁵⁶ and analogous in form, style, details, size and presumably also function to the lamp decorations found at Ballana (Pl. 186). As also the bust on No. 69, it rises from an ornamental calyx and the cap is ornamented with a rosette. Furthermore, not only the hair style is analogous, we also find on it the beaded shoulder band. In spite of the small size and subordinate function of these casts, they reveal features of the plastic art of the Theodosian period.⁵⁵⁷

No. 54, a casket of rare form, could not be saved, only its silver fittings could be taken out from the tomb. It contained originally a palette and the toilet sticks Nos 113–116.

Further items of the funerary equipment are not useful for dating, but they shed some light on the activities associated with royal power. In the magazine there were two fine balances found (Nos 105, 106) together with one 6-uncia-weight. The weight is provided with an incised and silver-incrusted denomination and belongs to a well-known late antique type which is dated to the 5th century and is generally associated with Alexandria.⁵⁵⁸ Although it cannot be proved, it is tempting to suppose that the balances served the purpose of weighing gold, either received by the king as tax from his subjects or used by him in transactions with Egypt. It is not unlikely that Nubian gold — if it was still produced in considerable quantity — found a good buyer in Egypt, where, similarly to other parts of the Empire, the government was eager to

increase its stock of gold. It may be added that by the early 5th century gold currency was abundant and taxes could be collected in solidi.⁵⁵⁹

While the balances may have referred to an aspect of royal power and the arrow-heads found near the head of the king (35 pieces) belonged to the attributes of his warrior quality, the large collection of tools found in Room 4 is rather embarrassing and I can offer no explanation of their presence, except of referring to their possible connection with the role of the king as source of fertility and productivity. The ensemble contains saw blades (PI. 34 Type 16), iron hoe blades (Type 2), hoe blades with loop socket (Type 1), axe-heads (Types 3–5), iron tongs (Type 17), hammer heads (Types 9, 10), adzes (Types 11, 12), pincers (Type 8), metal cutters (Type 7), chisels (Types 13–15), needles and iron ingots – in short, instruments and products of a smith.

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
5	U 16	38b	R 1
6	U 3 (71 pieces!)	40c	U 2
7b, d	U 2 (over 100 pieces!)	57c	R 1
10	U 4	60b	W 30
13a	U 18	61b	W 30
29	R 1	72b	R 1
30a	R 1	82a	R 1
31a	R 1	87b	R 1
35b	R 1		

§ 11: tomb B 2

Owner: ? Mound: dm 30, h 4.96. Condition: plundered. Retainers: 1 adult (?), one child (?). Sacrificed animals: 1 camel, 1 horse. Layout: PI. 69. Objects: PIs V, VI, 69.

On the basis of its typological position, B 2 seems to date from the later half of Phase II and is judged to have been more or less contemporary with the burial of the king of Generation 5. The burial place of the owner, the burial pit, was thoroughly plundered. The sex of the owner can thus not be established. The lack of weapons may hint at a female owner. Moreover, the finger rings dropped presumably by the robbers on the floor of the chamber have the same small hoop diameter as the rings found on the hands of the queen of B 47. One of the rings, No. 15, is made of gold and set with an emerald. The hoop is constructed of a thick gold wire with grooved lines thus imitating large beads, and associates the ring with 4th-5th c. gold rings from the Eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁶⁰ No. 16 is made of silver and set with an Egyptian steatite seal. It is presumably a Meroitic piece. Another piece of the owner's personal ornament was lost by the thieves in the robbers' passage cut from the SE-side of the

tumulus to the burial chamber. It is a Greek cross decorated at the meeting of the arms with two incised concentrical circles. It came probably from Egypt, like two other objects adorned with crosses: a silver vessel the lid of which has an incised cross (No. 8), and the bronze standard lamp No. 13. The presence of the amulet cross was occasionally interpreted as a sign of inclination towards Christianity, this is, however, a very improbable explanation. The cross was rather used as an amulet among other objects of protective and magic qualities and its exact meaning was not less obscure than that of the others. It was used alongside with the love charm No. 5 written on a gold leaf in Greek and rolled up as usual. The text is as follows in Sam Eitrem's translation:⁵⁶¹

Come to me, Isis, because I am Osiris who was born as thy brother. These waters which I bring you are the water flowed from the breast of Ibis (?), the water of Anubis, the brother of

open thy womb in this hour, in this moment, and receive hurriedly the water sown in thee, Isis, potentate, queen of all living beings (?), just now, quickly, quickly, through your power, quickly.

The silver vessel No. 8 has concave sides, convex base and convex lid surmounted with a moulded cylindrical knob. The rim of the vessel is decorated with a fine engraved arcaded frieze and the lid with a cross (not visible in the drawing on Pl. 69). Similar silver vessels were found in tombs B 9 and B 52 (Pl. 84; tomb B 52 is not illustrated⁵⁶²). They were, in spite of the cross on No. 8, destined for profane use as toilet vessels. Similar silver bottles for perfumes and unguents were placed in Proiecta's polygonal toilet case⁵⁶³ (Pl. 180) made around 350 A.D. A variant on high base of the type was in fashion around 400 A.D. (covered bowl from Hill of St. Louis, Carthage⁵⁶⁴).

Besides the three above-mentioned vessels, a further ten silver toilet vessels of slightly different forms were found in other tombs at Ballana dating from Phases IV-VII. This wide chronological distribution contradicts the assumption put forward on the basis of the incised cross on the lid of No. 8, viz. that these vessels would have originated from churches plundered by Nubians in Upper Egypt.

Another object bearing the sign of the cross in the tomb is No. 13, a bronze standard lamp that is identical in design with No. 63 from B 80. The only difference is due to damage in antiquity: the head of the figure was broken off and clumsily replaced with the help of cement. Identical details of chiselling only support the impression that the lamp from B 80 and No. 13 were made in the same workshop and within the same short period of time. They may even have constituted a pair.

The double-spouted delphin lamp No. 12 is decorated similarly with a cross. An analogous, but one-spouted, lamp was published from the collection of the Egyptian Museum (provenance unknown).⁵⁶⁵ According to Emery⁵⁶⁶ the crosses on No. 68

from B 80 were later additions and have been attached with solder. As to Nos 12 and 13 from B 2, the crosses belonged originally to the lamps as also the ankh to No. 37 from B 3 (cp. Pls V–VI, XX–XXI). As it seems, the workshop produced the same lamp with cross as well as with ankh and it would be perhaps exaggerated to look for a religious reason why some lamps at Ballana were provided with cross, some with ankh. Most dolphin lamps produced in the late 4th and the 5th c. in Egypt and in other Mediterranean countries and preserved to us are provided with relief cross or \Re on their body and there are no reasons to suppose that this would mean a church use. Thus it is also unlikely that Ballana finds with cross would have been robbed from Upper Egyptian churches.

A chronological classification of the dolphin lamps is still wanting. As it seems, the earlier are the exemplars without relief cross on the body and with long and slender spout. 567

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
1	U 16	33a	R 1
3	U 16	47b	W 24
6	U 3	72d	W 30
7b	U 2	80b	R 1
10	U 4 (?)	85c 🛸	R 1
13a	U 18	87b, c	R 1

§ 12: tomb B 6

Owner: male (prince). Mound: dm 68, h 10.75. Condition: unplundered. Retainers: two male adults. Sacrificed animals: 2 cows. Layout: Pl. 70. Objects: Pls 70, 71.

The tomb fortunately escaped plundering and all items of the original furniture were found in situ. The body of the prince was found lying in lateral position on the right side, facing W. He was wearing a diadem crown decorated with the embossed images of a goddess and with oval and round-shaped cornelians. The personal adornment of the prince consisted of two silver bracelets with lion's head decoration (Nos 23, 24), two earrings, two leather anklets adorned with embossed silver rosettes, and two silver toe rings. The earrings were in form of horns above a vase-shaped fluted piece, to the end of which a ball was attached (not illustrated, cp. No. 21 from B 47, PI. 77). The leather anklets decayed, only the silver rosettes which were attached to the leather by means of wire pins could be saved. They are now under Inv. No. 70355 in the Egyptian Museum, however, they are mixed up with silver rosettes and nails with rosette head which presumably originate from other, unidentifiable tombs. The toe rings (not illustrated) were two plain hoops, formed by a thick wire bent in a circle with closed ends. His weaponry was lying by the body and consisted of a spear

of Type 2 (cp. Pl. 33) and a sword with silver scabbard (No. 22), the latter being embossed with the help of the matrixes also used on the scabbards from B 9 and B 80 (Pls 83 and 59); finally a silver archer's bracer (No. 35) and three finger looses made of porphyrite rock. The bracelets seem to have been made in Nubia for the lion heads strongly resemble the lion figures of the horse bits, although it must also be considered that the zigzag ornament marking the lion's neck and body repeats an identical detail of the lion protomes of the ornate folding chair discovered in B 95 (No. 23 Pl. 111). The chair is beyond doubt of Egyptian origin, it is thus likely that the rendering of the lion figures on post-Meroitic silver ornaments was influenced by imports. Similar bracelets occur in B 9 and B 47 (Pls 84 and 76) and in Firka tomb A 14 (Pl. 144). The latter tomb may be regarded as more or less contemporary with B 6. B 9 and 47 belong typologically to the subsequent Phase IV. B 6 and Firka A 14 are also associated by the fact that both burials contained archaizing, i.e. Meroitic-style objects, the former the archer's bracer with lotus designs, the latter a spear of Type 7 (cp. Pl. 33) and two particularly interesting silver vessels (Pl. 145).

As to the imports, there was next to the burial pit a silver toilet vessel of identical form as vessels from tombs B 2, 9, 47 and 114 (Pls 69, 84, 125). No. 11 from B 6 is adorned with an oval-shaped cornelian set in the knob of the lid. The inventory contained furthermore several bronze vessels and a flagon (Types 1, Pl. 28, 2 ibid., 20 Pl. 29, 31 and 32 Pl. 30, flagon: Pl. 187, and see the analogous No. 11 from B 10, Pl. 91). Two of the bowls merit closer attention. Both have a wide horizontal rim decorated with large beads and stand on a high conical base ring (Type 25, PI. 29). The form imitates a standard silver vessel form of the late 4th and early 5th c. treasures. Representative exemplars are kept in Berlin-West, 568 Moscow 569 and New York.⁵⁷⁰ They are provided with Constantinopolitan control stamps showing the personification of the city in the form as it occurs on coins of Valentinian II (383-392). The continuous popularity of the form, and at the same time the slight transformation of its proportions, is shown by a bowl now in Moscow⁵⁷¹ stamped with the Tyche of Constantinople used as control stamp under Theodosios II (408-450) and with the inscription ABAXXATOC COPAFICEN (i.e., Aballatos has stamped it).⁵⁷² The majority of the known exemplars seems to have been made at the turn of the 4th and in the first decades of the 5th c., as also suggested by the Kertch treasure ⁵⁷³ and by the Carthage treasure deposited before 430 A.D.⁵⁷⁴

Analogies of the bronze pail of Type 20 (PI. 29) were discovered in tombs B 9, 27, 37 and 80. As mentioned above, a bronze flagon from the tomb has its analogy from tomb B 10. Both flagons are typologically close to a flagon found in B 80. On the basis of above B 6 with its funerary equipment can be dated in the early decades of the 5th century. Typologically the tomb belongs to the group constituted by B 2, 4, 9 and 90, but, as suggested both by orientation and inventory, it may be placed in the earlier part of the group's existence.

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
1	U 16	7b	U 2
2	U 16	10	U 4
6	U 3	13a	U 18

Form	Ware	Form	Ware
23a	H 1	61b	W 30
28c	R 1	62	W 30
30a	R 1	73c	R 1
33a	R 1	80b	R 1
40b	U 2	87d	R 1
47a	W 24		

§ 13: tomb B 90

Owner: ? Mound: dm 46, h 2,92. Condition: plundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: none found. Layout: PI. 72. Objects: PI. 72.

B 90 is identical in layout with B 6 and was, albeit thoroughly plundered, listed as the burial of a prince of Generation 5. This identification can perhaps be justified with the layout itself, the size of the tomb and with the remaining objects which allow us to conclude that the original funerary equipment was rich. The bronze flagon of Type 4 (PI, 187) is related to Types 8 and 9 (PI, 188) associated with tombs 4, 9, 10, 52 and points thus towards the chronological environment of Phases IV-V. This chronological position is suggested by the standard lamp No. 1, too. It is composed of a tall hexagonal column, widening in the centre, on a rectangular splay base resting on three legs; it terminates in a double capital of simplified form (the lower one only a calathos, the upper one a simple leaf capital) which holds on balustrade moulding a disk and on top thereof a dolphin lamp. The upper capital has large bead decoration as neck ring. A lamp of resembling design but less elegant proportions was found in B 3 (PI. 95). The cross on the lamp from B 90 is according to Emery⁵⁷⁵ a later addition. However, as pointed out above (§ 11), the later addition means probably that the cross was put on the lamp still in the original bronze workshop, for the lamps were produced without any sign and were complemented with cross or ankh according to demand. The great fashion and wide distribution of this standard lamp type is attested by finds from Egypt, Syria and possibly other places of the Eastern Mediterranean. The majority was found, however, in Egypt and it seems thus likely that this lamp type was manufactured exclusively, or first of all, in Egypt. Ross based his 5th to 6th c, general dating of the type⁵⁷⁶ on the Ballana exemplars and referred to papyri rendering it probable that the centre of its manufacture was in Upper Egypt. 577

The remaining part of the funerary equipment that has escaped the attention of the plunderers consisted of bronze vessels of Types 1, 31 and 32 (Pls 28, 30), further an alabaster dish and a bronze table. Unfortunately, I was unable to identify these latter finds in the Cairo Museum.

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
6	U 3	40b	U2
7b	U 2	60b	W 30
24	H 1	82b	R 1
33c	R 1	87d	R 1
38a	R 1		

§ 14: tomb B 49

Owner ? Mound: dm 34, h 3.50. Condition: plundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: none found. Layout: Pl. 6. Object: only pottery finds, see below.

This thoroughly plundered tomb belongs to layout type Z/1 and dates, together with B 29, 50–54, 63 and 84, from the period between the end of Phase III and the end of Phase IV or beginning of Phase V, as indicated by orientation and layout. The grave robbers left only pottery in the small burial chamber, which was covered, however, by a large mound indicating a rather elevated social position of the owner.

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
4a	U 16	49	R 1?
15b	H 1	79	R 1
30b	R 1	80b	R 1
33c	R 1	86c	R 1
37a	R 1	87a	W 29
40d	U 2	87c	R 1
41a	W 28		

§ 15: tomb B 47

Owner: female. Mound: dm 39.30, h 6.82. Condition: although plundered, the main burial remained intact for the unusual position of it obviously deceived the grave robbers. Retainers: 1 female adult, 2 adults (?). Sacrificed animals: 1 horse. Layout: PI. 73. Objects: PIs VII-XII, 73-82.

In contrast to the relatively small mound and the almost total lack of retainers and animal sacrifices, B 47 yielded an important grave inventory. The ruling queen buried here took an extraordinarily rich personal adornment with her to the netherworld and the furniture also consisted of some remarkable bronze vessels, a lamp, and an incense burner. The inventory seems to have been composed of jewels and other objects of different ages, and this eclecticism is also responsible for my too early dating of the entire burial ⁵⁷⁸ which was accepted then by Wenig. ⁵⁷⁹ The earliest items of the queen's jewelry are the interesting silver bracelets (PIs VII, 75, 76) Nos 14 and 15 which constitute a pair and were worn on her left and right wrist; and the ring No. 18 (PI. 78) in their style. It is impossible to decide whether the six toe rings under No. 48 (PI. 78) are of Meroitic, or of post-Meroitic date. Their design is clearly Meroitic, as is also that of the figure of the fly decorating them: identically decorated jewels are known from Meroitic finds. ⁵⁸⁰

In an earlier study⁵⁸¹ I have dated the heavy silver bracelets in the period around 360-370, on the basis of corresponding late antique bracelets as well as in view of the fact that closely related bracelets were discovered in W 130 at Meroe-Begarawiyah, i.e. in one of the late burials of a cemetery that is closely connected with the late Meroitic court and which did not survive the end of the kingdom.582 A ring made in the same workshop and in the same period was discovered in Q 14 (No. 84, Pl. 37). I do not see reasons for the alteration of the dating proposed twelve years ago. It can be further supported by a number of related jewels, such as the golden bracelet No. Inv. 52102 in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo with an identical bezel form and hinge-and-pin construction; with the bracelet representation in the wall decoration of the hypogeum of Trebius Justus in Rome.⁵⁸³ A dating to the 2nd half of the 4th c. is also suggested by related rings in London, 584 one of which has an identical bezel form as the Qustul-Ballana and Meroe West finds, and Cairo 52102; and comes from the Fayoum.⁵⁸⁵ These rings are also related to No. 18 (PI. 78), as also are a ring from Tarsus in London⁵⁸⁶ and another one from the Olbia treasure dated to the turn of the 4th c. by Ross in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.⁵⁸⁷ The latter ring was found in the company of a rod bracelet that is typologically related to Nos 37, 38 and 42 (PI. 77). The Olbia treasure consisted furthermore a ring with revolving bezel closely resembling No. 16 (Pl. 78). Typologically related to the bracelets Nos 14, 15 and the ring No. 18, and, through these, to the bracelets from W 130 and the ring from Q 14 are finally three rings from the recently published Thetford treasure.⁵⁸⁸ This latter was convincingly dated, as a whole, in the second half or late decades of the 4th c. (the manufacture and burial of the rings, bracelets and spoons probably took place in the 380ies or early 390ies), and interpreted, as to the rings and bracelets, as local products.⁵⁸⁹ The common prototypes of the Nubian and the Thetford jewels can thus be dated several decades earlier.

Unlike the dating, my proposal concerning the place of manufacture of the Nubian bracelets and rings certainly needs to be reconsidered. In view of the identical technique – beaten silver sheets welded together and filled with hard plaster and decorated with stones set en cabochon – I supposed that similarly to the crowns, these jewels were also made in Nubia. A bracelet from Egypt in the Benaki Museum, Athens, ⁵⁹⁰ shows, however, that not only the form of the bracelets but also their technique existed in the northern neighbour country. The Athens exemplar has a heavy hoop of round section and without stones, but of similar construction as thehoops of the Nubian jewels. The bezel is octagonal with concave sides, and is decorated with one large cornelian of oval shape set en cabochon in the middle and eight

smaller red glass (?) pieces of round shape set similarly en cabochon around it. Also the section of the bezel and the way of decoration of the bezel parts over the hinge and the pin are identically made, as in the case of the Nubian bracelets and ring. It is thus obvious that the technique of the plaster-filled silver sheet jewels is of Egyptian origin and the Egyptian roots of the post-Meroitic royal silversmith's workshop(s) not only explain the occurrence of the Mediterranean (Egyptian?) bracelet and ring forms, but also that of the en cabochon stone settings on the crowns, whose Nubian style can otherwise not be denied.

To the earlier stratum of the jewelry in B 47 may furthermore belong the ring No. 17 (PI. 76) and the toe rings Nos 22–25 (PI. 78). The torques No. 28 (PI. 77) and the plaited silverwork necklace with ball pendants No. 47 (ibid.) cannot be dated more precisely, but they have their stylistic analogies depicted on mummy portraits dating from the late 4th c. A.D. To the same period are generally datable the earrings (PI. 77). Their Egyptian origin is suggested by an analogy of No. 51 in the Cairo Coptic Museum, ⁵⁹¹ Analogous earrings are represented on mummy portraits from the late 4th c., ⁵⁹² however, the type was generally known and fashionable around the turn of the 4th c. as is suggested by the earrings of the empresses Aelia Flacilla and Eudoxia worn in their representations on gold solidi from 383^{593} and 400-404, ⁵⁹⁴ respectively.

The silver anklets Nos 40, 41 (Pl. 76) are typologically related to bracelets from B 6 (Nos 23, 24, Pl. 71) and B 9 (No. 3, Pl. 84) and seem to be Nubian products like Nos 35 and 36 (Pl. 74). The rendering of the lion heads resembles that of the couchant lions of the silver bits from Qustul burials. The cornelian bead bracelets Nos 26 and 27 have an analogy from B 9 (No. 2, Pl. 84). They reflect Nubian taste. By contrast, the silver bead bracelet No. 45 (Pl. 76) comes from Egypt and is late antique in style. A pendant of it was discovered by Farid in B 8.⁵⁹⁵

The head lamp No. 67 (PIs X1, 82) is contemporaneous with No. 90 from Q 3 (PI. 48) and must thus be regarded as an heirloom. It would seem that some of the bronze vessels buried with the queen were also some decades old when they were put in the tomb. Three interesting vessels are decorated with large beads, a motif which occurs most frequently on silver vessel rims around the middle and in the third quarter of the 4th c., as indicated e.g. by the Mildenhall treasure.⁵⁹⁶ This fashion had started, however, already in the first half of the century, as indicated by a bowl of the "Munich treasure",⁵⁹⁷ a complex of silver plate deposited in 324 A.D.⁵⁹⁸ It seems, however, that the size of the large beads was in this early period smaller than on later vessels.

The first vessel, a square bronze bowl with circular depression in the middle, length of side 9 cm, h 4,5 cm, could not be identified with any of the bronze bowls mentioned, but not illustrated in the original publication. It is labelled B 47 in the Cairo Museum, but also this identification may be erroneous, since Kirwan speaks of a square dish with beaded rim⁵⁹⁹ from Q 24, No. 41, this latter is, however, much bigger (15x15 cm, h 3 cm). The square dish repeats the same model as the well-known Mileham dish⁶⁰⁰ (PI. 179), a lanx that is closely related with the Esquiline treasure (esp. with the fluted bowl)⁶⁰¹ and with a fluted bowl fragment from Traprain Law,⁶⁰² and that is thus datable to around 350 A.D. or a little later.⁶⁰³ A formally and stylis-

tically related bronze patera with square rim and circular central depression and with circular handle piece (No. 72, Pl. 81) points similarly in the direction of the Mileham lanx. Its Egyptian provenance is clearly indicated by an analogous patera (with slightly different handle, however) from Medinet Habu in the Coptic Museum in Cairo.⁶⁰⁴ It seems finally that also the bronze bowl with embossed figural decoration under No. 9 (Pls VIII-X, 73) is several decades older than the burial itself.

This bowl belongs to the most remarkable finds from Ballana, although it is first of all interesting from the point of view of Egyptian late antique art. All decorative elements visible on the unusually large bowl are of classical origin and current on late antique silver plate and bronze vessels: so the kymation-type border below the square rim and the broad floral neck frieze; the acanthus scroll peopled with female heads in profile, the figure of Dionysos holding a thyrsos, and the legs with floral covering. The execution of the embossed design is excellent. It is richly complemented with incised lines and punched details. This latter technique is rather characteristic for the decoration of late antique silver plate. The main frieze is composed of large acanthus leaves, from which tendrils are starting to the right and the left, and the tendrils enclose female profils looking in the right-side tendril medallion to the right and in the left-hand one to the left. The motif was taken over from a vessel of different proportions, for the placing of the individual units of the frieze is confused: there is a female head without framing put in a place that would have remained otherwise empty (PJ. IX), and the placing of the Dionysos figure similarly reveals that the usage of the acanthus scroll pattern was not properly considered in advance. Moreover, the figure of Dionysos is alien in these surroundings, it obviously comes from a different, and artistically inferior context. The same is true for the small bird figure filling out the space to the right of the Dionysos figure.

The acanthus leaves have, strangely enough, their closest analogies in the decoration of the second Baal Temple at Palmyra from the 3rd century (?).⁶⁰⁵ Resembling acanthi can also be found in 4th century Egyptian art,⁶⁰⁶ the conservative character of the leaves on the bowl can nevertheless not be denied. The female profiles belong to a frequent decorative motif of late antique silver plate. Heads with this archaizing Greek hair fashion that characterizes e.g. the goddesses of the Corbridge lanx⁶⁰⁷ occur usually in friezes as rhythmically spaced dividing elements (found, for example, on several Mildenhall vessels⁶⁰⁸), or as the decorative centrepiece of bowl interiors. One of the flanged bowls of the Mildenhall treasure (PI. 178)⁶⁰⁹ bears a head that closely resembles the profiles of the Ballana bowl and indicates that the latter also may have been made some time in the 2nd half of the 4th century. From the same period dates a fine stone head in Berlin East,⁶¹⁰ of Egyptian provenance, indicating that the classicizing of the Mildenhall figures was not unknown in Egyptian art of the 2nd half of the 4th century, either.⁶¹¹

Returning to the vessels with beaded rim, the third exemplar is a round patera with figural handle (No. 8, Pl. 82). There can be no doubt as to its Egyptian provenance, for several paterae with different forms of figural handles and manufactured during a longer period of time are to be found in the Coptic Museum.⁶¹² The most frequently occurring handle decoration is, however, the figure of Venus – who is

shown at her toilet on No. 8 -, indicating that these paterae were intended to be used in the baths.

Closer to the date of the burial seems to be the interesting bronze flagon No. 6 (PI. 80). The bottom of the handle is decorated with two female profiles, with a lotus flower above them and a big leaf below. The above-described handle decoration occurs also on jug No. 9 from B 121 (PI. 117). This was made obviously using the same negative, although the form of the flagon and the handle are different, and B 121 is three generations younger, i.e. at least thirty years later than B 47.

The date of the handsome incense burner in the form of a pine cone on high openwork pedestal (No. 10, Pl. 81 before restauration, Pl. XII after the restauration made before the 1978 Brooklyn exhibition) is more obscure. The large bead decoration may indicate a date in the 2nd half of the 4th century, but it is equally possible that it was made only in the first few decades of the 5th. The latter possibility is indicated by the presence of a very similar incense burner in tomb B 121 (No. 10, Pl. 121). Both were thought by Wenig to have been Nubian products,⁶¹³ a close analogy of the piece from B 47 in the Berlin (DDR) collection⁶¹⁴ is, however, of secured Egyptian provenance (Pl. 186).

The cylindrical bronze casket No. 3 (PI. 79) likewise comes from Egypt.⁶¹⁵ Its decoration is also known from caskets from B 4 (not illustrated⁶¹⁶), B 37 (No. 3, PI. 85), B 52 (not illustrated⁶¹⁷) and from mound E at Gemai.⁶¹⁸ The embossed figures of Horus on horseback, Horus kneeling with flail and wearing the Double Crown, Venus at toilet, Dioscuroi (?) on these caskets seem to have been made with the help of the same matrixes. The plastic head at the lock (occasionally with inlaid eyes and attached bead earrings) also shows one or two basic types. Yet owing to the bad preservation of most pieces and the insufficient descriptions and illustrations, the workshop relations cannot be investigated. The less so because the Ballana pieces could not be studied in the Cairo Museum.

Pottery finds:	
Form	Ware
6	U 3
7b	U 2
13c	U 18
33	R 1
82a	R 1
87c	R 1

§ 16: tombs B 51, B 52

Owner: 51: ?, probably female, 52: ? Mound: 51: dm 23, h 3.50, 52: dm 26, h 5.35 m. Condition: both unplundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: none found. Layout: PI. 7. Objects: not illustrated. According to layout type and orientation these tombs belong to Phase IV. Both were excavated by Shafik Farid. In B 51 there was a simple silver diadem decorated with embossed rosettes. As I have shown elsewhere, ⁶¹⁹ it goes back to a diadem type worn by late Meroitic royal wives. It is unknown, however, what was its significance in post-Meroitic times. Two openwork bracelets made of silver⁶²⁰ reflect in a simplified form the fashionable opus interrasile of the 4th c.⁶²¹ The equipment of the tomb consisted furthermore of a bronze flask with incised leaf decoration⁶²² of the Egyptian type illustrated in Pl. 184^{623} which is closely related to the bottle type also represented on the Corbridge lanx;⁶²⁴ a silver toilet vessel analogous with No. 11 from B 6 (Pl. 70) and a vessel from B 47 (not illustrated⁶²⁵); a bronze tripod⁶²⁶ analogous e.g. with No. 107 from B 80 (Pl. 67); a bronze bowl of Type 25 (Pl. 29);⁶²⁷ and a bronze pedestal bowl of Type 28 (Pl. 30). The latter has elaborate handles decorated with the figures of birds. It is of Egyptian provenance.⁶²⁸ Bowls of this design were found in B 37 (Pl. 86), B 4 (Pl. 90) and in tomb 2 of Cemetery 192 (Qasr Ibrim).⁶²⁹ The complex of these objects suggests a date in the early 5th c.

Similar dating is suggested for B 52 by its funerary equipment which consisted of a pedestal bowl made of bronze⁶³⁰ being an almost exact analogy of No. 1 from B 37 (Pl. 86), a tripod being the pair of the one unearthed in B 51,631 a silver toilet vessel (without the lid)⁶³² identical in form and decoration with the one from B 51; furthermore a bronze bowl of Type 10 (PI. 29) and a pyxis of Type 34 (PI. 30) and a bronze flagon of Type 8 (PI. 188) analogies of which occur in B 4 and B 10 (PIs 89, 91). An alabaster dish⁶³³ belongs to the type represented also in the equipments of Q 36 (PI, 56), B 10 (not illustrated), B 90 (not illustrated) and B 121 (two pieces, PI. 122). An interesting find from B 52 was a bronze casket consisting of a small bronze case divided into three compartments. Owing to the inadequate photographs published by Shafik Farid, this piece also must remain unillustrated here. The casket is rectangular with hinged lid and rectangular lock with hasps. On each side of the hasps there are loop rivets which hold a loop handle attached to the front of the lid. A loop handle is attached to the top of the lid which is decorated with a human mask in relief with eyes inlaid in yellow paste in the manner which was described in § 15 in the discussion of the casket from B 47. Eight panels around the mask are decorated with the embossed figure of Horus on horseback; the deity is hawk-headed and is wearing the Double Crown. Before him is a standing figure of Isis offering a collar (?) to her son. The sides of the lid show the embossed figures of Harpocrates kneeling or standing. The front of the casket is decorated with two plastic masks, and the embossed figures of the riding Horus. The two sides of the casket bear embossed figures of the kneeling Harpocrates. The small case has a loop handle on its lid. The lid is decorated with friezes of uraei, vultures and vine scroll. The front is decorated with embossed figures of Horus on horseback and Isis before him, however, beaten on a smaller matrix than the one employed for the casket. The sides show under arcades the kneeling Harpocrates and Venus at her toilet (?).⁶³⁴

Pottery finds:			
B 51		B 52	
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
5	U 16	3	U 16
6	U 3	4	U 16
30	R 1	7c	U 2
40	U 2	13a	U 18
80	R 1	33	R 1
64	W 30	40	U 2
		65a	W 30

§ 17: tomb B 84

Owner: male. Mound: dm 42, h 7.30. Condition: plundered. Retainers: 2 (?) male adults. Sacrificed animals: 2 dogs. Layout: Pl. 7. Objects: not illustrated.

According to layout and orientation the tomb belongs to Phase IV or V. The grave robbers left from the equipment a bronze patera⁶³⁵ that is analogous with No. 11 from B 9 (PI. 84) and some pottery vessels:

Pottery finds:	
Form	Ware
7b	U 2
66c	W 30
72b	R 1
82a	R 1

§ 18: tomb B 9

Owner: male. Mound: dm 67, h 11.14. Condition: unplundered. Retainers: 1 male, 1 ? adult. Sacrificed animals: 1 horse, 1 camel, 1 donkey, 1 bull or cow. Layout: Pl. 83. Objects: Pls 83, 84.

The prince buried in B 9 was wearing a silver bracelet analogous to bracelets found in B 47 and B 6 (No. 3 Pl. 84, cp. Pls 71, 76) and a bracelet made of large cornelian beads analogous to Nos 26 and 27 from B 47 (No. 2 Pl. 84 cp. Pl. 76). His weapons included a sword with decorated silver scabbard (No. 5 Pl. 83) in the burial pit, and another sword (without scabbard) in the antechamber, further 4 Type 2 spears (Pl. 33) placed similarly in the antechamber, a decorated silver archer's bracer (No. 28 Pl. 83) and archer's finger looses (Pl. 83), one of which (No. 4) was made of

silver. The sacrificed horse of the prince was buried with an iron bit (No. 37) composed of two gazelle horns with an iron cross piece which is held in place with the help of two iron staple rings to which were attached the cheek pieces of the bridle. The sacrificed donkey had an iron bit analogous in construction to the silver horse bits discovered in Qustul tombs (Q 2, 24).

The funerary equipment consisted of a rich collection of bronze vessels. A handsome bronze patera with open ring handle (No. 11 Pl. 84) has its analogy in Berlin East (from Egypt⁶³⁶); a flagon (No. 24 Pl. 84) is a variant of a type occurring in B 4, 10 and 52 (Pl. 188 Type 10). The Type 1 bowls (Pl. 28) have analogies in B 2, 4, 6, 10, 37, 47, 51, 80 and 121. This type goes back to an early imperial form, which became fashionable for silver vessels in the 3rd c.⁶³⁷ Types 7, 9 and 27 occur only in this tomb (Pls 28, 29), while Type 20 (Pl. 29) is also known from B 6, 27, 37 and 80; Type 31 is known from B 121 (Pl. 30) and from a number of other tombs. Type 31 is a more or less timeless drinking cup form of antiquity.

Finally a silver toilet vessel (No. 6 PI. 84) is in form and decoration analogous to No. 8 from B 2 (PI. 69), and the bronze lamp No. 12 (PI. 84) was made in the same workshop as the lamps with bust from B 80 (PI. 60), B 37 (PIs XIII-XV) and B 3 (PI. 105). The cap of the bacchante is decorated, as on the bust of the lamp from B 80 and on the bust in the Cairo Museum (PI. 186), with a rosette-like flower.

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
1	U 16	31a	R 1
2	U 16	40a	U 2
4a	U 16	42a	W 28
6	U 3	53a	R 25
7b	U 2	59a	R 1
13a	U 18	66a	W 30
15a	R 25	80b	R 1
25	H 1	85c	R 1
26b	H 1	87b	R 1

§ 19: tomb B 37

Owner: male (?). Mound: dm 60, h 10.60. Condition: plundered. Retainers: 5 (?) adults, only the sex of one (female) could be ascertained. Sacrificed animals: none found. Layout: Pl. 85. Objects: Pls XIII-XVI, 85-88.

In the burial chamber there were found four cornelians set in box settings made of silver. They were briefly described on p. 103 of the 1938 publication but not illustrated. As pointed out by Emery, they are probably from a crown which was taken by the grave robbers. The rest of the personal adornment was taken. From the weaponry there remained two Type 2 spears (PI. 33) and 7 archer's finger looses,

making it probable that the owner was a king and not a queen. An iron folding chair is mentioned under No. 35 by Emery, but it was not illustrated and cannot be identified now in the Cairo Museum where I have found parts of at least one (but rather two) folding chairs not identical with the ones illustrated in the 1938 plates volume.

The bronze vessels and incense burners left in situ are remainders of a presumably very rich inventory. To begin with two related pieces, the patera No. 24 (PI. XVI) and the footed bowl No. 1 (PI. 86) seem to have come from an Egyptian workshop products of which occur not only in Ballana (cp. the other Type 28 bronze vessels from B 4, 51, 52, 90, 118) and Qasr Ibrim⁶³⁸ or in Egypt, ⁶³⁹ but also were traded as far as China where at P'ong Tük in ancient Siam there was found in a tomb a bronze lamp the handle of which terminates in a lotus flower identical with that of the handle of patera No. 24.640 The workshop copied silver vessel forms that were fashionable in the second half of the 4th century. The copying of luxurious silver ware went as far as to the meticulous imitation of incised decoration. The rim frieze of No. 1 goes back to a rim pattern also used on two of the Mildenhall flanged bowls.⁶⁴¹ It may be added here that these bronze vessels belong to the mass production, where the incised decoration only reminded of more elaborate and better executed patterns. However, we also know bronze vessels which successfully imitated luxurious silver plate to small details, as e.g. an unpublished shallow bowl from Qasr Ibrim on exhibit in the Cairo Museum.

Two legged bowls (Nos 17, 19 Pl. 85) seem to originate from a different Egyptian workshop. A Luxor find in Berlin⁶⁴² suggests that the workshop may have been situated in Upper Egypt.

The bronze casket under No. 3 was already mentioned in the discussion of the caskets found in B 47 and B 52. It seems that the riding Horus on it was made on the same matrix as the identical decoration on the casket from B 52. However, since the latter piece was not accesible to me in the Cairo Museum, I could not ascertain the virtually probable workshop identity. The identity is also suggested by the Isis (?) figure in front of Horus (not visible in the illustration).

The remarkable incense burner No. 25 (PI. 88) with the tragic mask belongs to a widely distributed Roman type. An incense burner in the form of the sitting statuette of a comedy actor was found in B $5.^{643}$

Further bronze vessel finds include bowls of Types 1 (attested in the tombs of the Phases IV-VII), 2 (attested in tomb B 6), a pail of Type 16 (only exemplar), a bowl Type 19 (attested also in B 47), a pail of Type 20 (attested also in B 9, 27, 80), a feeder of Type 22 (attested also in B 121), further bowls of Types 24 (attested in Q 14, B 5), 29 (only exemplar), 30 and 31 (both types attested in almost all Ballana tombs, but unknown in Qustul). Some of the more elaborately decorated vessels imitate, as pointed out above, silver vessels that were fashionable during the 2nd half of the 4th century, or details that were characteristic for such silver vessels. Both the style of these pieces, and the general composition of the other vessel types suggest a general date in the 1st half of the 5th century for the burial. This general date is also supported by the bronze lamp No. 37 (PIs XIII–XV) the analogies of which were discussed above (cp. B 80 No 69, PI. 60, B 9 No. 12 PI. 84, B 3 No. 38 PI. 105).

Finally mention must be made of the undatable silver fittings of a box or casket

(?) Nos 8 and 9 (PI. 85) with the clumsily rendered embossed decoration including the figure of a bird (fowl?), two crosses and knot motives.

Ware	Form	Ware
U 16	31b	R 1
U 2	37a	R 1
U 18	39b	U 2
H 1	40b	U 2
R 1	42a	W 28
R 1	82a, b	R 1
	U 16 U 2 U 18 H 1 R 1	U 16 31b U 2 37a U 18 39b H 1 40b R 1 42a

§ 20: tombs of layout type Z/3: B 5, F 5,⁶⁴⁴ B 18, B 27, B 60, B 70, and of layout type Z/4: B 24, B 44

Owner: see below. Condition: see below. Mound: see below. Retainers: none. Sacrificed animals: only in B 24 (1 donkey). Layout: Pl. 8. Objects: not illustrated.

The tombs discussed in this paragraph constitute a closed group as to layout types and orientation and seem to be more or less contemporary with B 37. This is also indicated by their funerary equipment, or, in the plundered tombs, by the pieces left by the grave robbers.

The sex of the owner of B 5 could not be ascertained. The mound measured 22 m in dm and 3.20 m in height. Judging from the number of objects found in the burial chamber it can be supposed that the tomb was not plundered. A bronze flagon belongs to Type 4 and has its analogy from B 90 (PI. 187),⁶⁴⁵ while another one belongs to Type 6 which is also attested in B 80 and 118 (PI. 187).⁶⁴⁶ Two flagons⁶⁴⁷ repeat Type 10 occurring also in B 95 (PI. 112). Bronze bowls of Types 1 (PI. 28), 21 (PI. 32), 23 (PI. 32), 24 (PI. 28) and 32 (PI. 30) have their analogies in the equipments of several other Ballana tombs (Type 1: Generations 5–8; Type 21: B 4; Type 23: B 121; Type 24: Q 14 (!), B 37; Type 32: Generations 5–10). The interesting incense burner in the form of the figure of a comic actor was already mentioned above.⁶⁴⁸ The analogies of the bronze vessels were found in graves ranging chronologically from the fifth to the tenth Generation (the analogous vessel from Q 14 belongs to an almost timeless form type).

Pottery finds:				
Form	Ware	Form	Ware	9
1	U 16	7a—d	U 2	
3	U 16	8	U 2	
5	U 16	10	U 4	
6	U 3	13ac	U 18	3

Form	Ware
28	R 1
30	R 1
47a, b	R 30
87c	R 1

Tomb No. 5 of Shafik Farid's excavation⁶⁴⁹ was thoroughly plundered. The mound was 10 m in dm and 2 m in height. Tomb B 18 (Farid's No. 12) was apparently unplundered. The sex of the owner could not, however, be ascertained. The mound measured dm 28, h 3.50 m. Apart from two chronologically insignificant glass finds, ⁶⁵⁰ the tomb contained the following pottery finds:

Form	Ware
6	U 3
7b-d	U 2
28c	R 1
33c	R 1
34b	R 1
72e	W 29
80a	R 1

Tomb B 27 (Farid's No. 2) was unplundered, the sex of the owner could not be ascertained. The mound measured 30 m in dm and 6 m in height. The inventory consisted of bronze vessels of Types 20 (PI. 29, attested also in B 6, 9, 37 and 80), 25 (PI. 29, attested in B 6, 29, 51 and 90) and 31 (PI. 30) attested in tombs of Generations 5–11. The Type 25 bowl deserves special attention, because it belongs to a form which was especially fashionable in the last decades of the 4 th century.⁶⁵¹ Interestingly enough, flanged bowls with heavy beading on the flange occur in Ballana only in tombs that can be associated with Generations 5 and 6, i.e. with the early decades of the 5th century.

Pottery finds:	
Form	Ware
6	U 3
7a, d	U 2
8	U 2
28c	R 1
33b	R 1
40a, c	U 2
42a, b	W 28
73d	R 1
82a, c	R 1

Both tombs B 60 and B 70 were totally plundered. The former had a mound measuring 33.80 m in dm and 5.73 m in height; the latter 29 m in dm and 3.84 m in height.

Pottery finds I	B 60:	Pottery finds E	3 70:
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
13a	U 18	7b	U 2
30b	R 1	13a	U 18
33c	R 1	26a	H 1
85c	R 1	36b	R 1
87d	R 1	38a	R 1
		42b	W 28

B 24 (Farid's No. 10) was unplundered. Owing to the bad condition of the bones, the owner's sex could not be determined. The mound measured in dm 30, in height 4.50 m. The skeleton of a sacrificed donkey was found lying in the "antechamber" of the tomb, together with an iron bit (not described by Farid). The chamber contained a great number of pottery vessels and three chronologically uninformative bronze bowls.⁶⁵²

Pottery finds:	
Form	Ware
2	U 16
7c	U 2
10	U 4
13b	U 18
20a	R 1
23	H 1
30a	R 1
42b	W 28
57c	R 1
87c, d	R 1

Finally B 44 (Farid's No. 17) was plundered. Its mound measured 15 m in dm and c. 2 m in height. No bones were identified by Farid. From the equipment the following pottery vessels (or fragments of vessels) were left by the robbers:

Form	Ware
7d	U 2
28b, c	R 1
32	R 1
72e	W 29

§ 21: tomb B 4

Owner: sex could not be determined. Mound: dm 67, h 8.65 m. Condition: plundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: 2 camels, 2 sheep. Layout: Pl. 89. Objects: Pls 89, 90.

Since the tomb robbers succeeded in finding the burial pit, the personal adornment of the owner is entirely missing except for three cornelians - one of oval and two of round shape - set in silver en cabochon with accompanying silver wire decoration. These were found in the robbers' passage and presumably belonged to a crown (No. 29 Pl. 90). From the rather rich collection of bronze vessels and objects left behind by the thieves the most interesting one is No. 1 (PI. 90), an oinochoe on a rather wide flat foot decorated with large beading, with a stem between foot and the tall, slim body which closes with a heavy moulding below the rim. The handle arches over the rim and is connected to a lid which supports a cross. Similar vessels made of silver are known in a considerable number 653 their dating is - first of all on the basis of the Kertch finds 654 – established: 2nd half of the 4th c. and the 1st half (?) of the 5th century. The flanged bowl on tall foot No. 7 (PI. 90) is closely associated with bowls from B 37 (PI. 86), 51, 52 (not illustrated), 90 (not illustrated) and 118 (not illustrated) (cp. Type 28 Pl. 30). Paterae of the type of No. 10 (Pl. 89) are attested in B 37 (PI. XVI), 118 (PI. 131) and 121 (PI. 120); the Egyptian manufacture of them is suggested e.g. by Inv. 9102 of the Coptic Museum.⁶⁵⁵ The decoration of the type doubtless derived from the silver patera type represented e.g. by a piece in the Louvre⁶⁵⁶ (Pl. 177) from Carthage. The bronze strainer No. 8 (not illustrated) is typologically related to strainers from B 9⁶⁵⁷ (not illustrated), 47 (not illustrated⁶⁵⁸) and 84,⁶⁵⁹ while the strainer No. 6 has analogies from B 121 (PI. 118) and from Kosha tomb K 1 (PI. 150).

The other bronze vessels of the inventory belong to the following types: 1 (cp. vessels from tombs of Generations 5–8), 21 (cp. B 5), 31, 32 (attested in tombs of Generations 5–11). A silver toilet vessel (No. 12, not illustrated by $Emery^{660}$) belongs to the type attested in B 2 (PI. 69), 6 (PI. 70) and 9 (PI. 84). The bronze tripod No. 4 (PI. 89) is stylistically associated with furniture from B 118 (PI. 130) and 121 (PI. 119). A fragmentarily preserved and only sketchily illustrated⁶⁶¹ bronze casket seems to have come from same workshop as the caskets Nos 3 from B 37 and 3 from B 47 (PIs 85 and 79, respectively). A date around the middle of the 5th century A.D. for the burial seems thus to be tenable both on the basis of the correspondences with other tomb furnitures and on that of the presumable date of some more remarkable bronze vessels.

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
1	U 16	42b	W 28
4a	U 16	47a	W 24
6	U 3	51a	R 25
7b	U 2	72d	W 30
10	U 4	73a	R 1
16b	R 25	79	R 1
28b	R 1	80a, c	R 1
37a	R 1	82a, b	R 1
38b	R 1	87b, c	R 1

§ 22: tomb B 10

Owner: male. Mound: dm 74, h 13 m. Condition: unplundered. Retainers: 1 male, 4 ? adults. Sacrificed animals: 3 horses, 1 camel, 1 sheep, 1 cow (in the court). Layout: Pl. 91. Objects: Pls 91, 92.

Owing to the action of water, the crown of the prince was destroyed with the exception of six silver uraei (PI. 91) which were originally fastened along the upper edge of a diadem. The diadem was according to Emery embossed with busts of Isis. The prince's weaponry consisted of two spears of Type 2 (PI. 33) and archer's finger looses of porphyritic stone. He also possessed a folding chair of iron of a simple type.⁶⁶² An alabaster bowl (not illustrated⁶⁶³) belongs to the type attested in Q $36.^{664}$ The two standard lamps Nos 9 and 21 (PI. 92, No. 21 only candelabrum without lamp) are only generally datable to the 4th to late 6th century. It seems that lamps in the form of column supported by elaborate hexagonal base on three legs like No. 9 were fashionable in the earlier part of the said period, while later lamp stands with moulded stem (as the 6th c. silver lamp stand from Lampsacus⁶⁶⁵) have taken their place in the late 5th c.

The bronze flagon No. 11 (PI. 91) belongs to a type attested also in B 4 and B 52 (PI. 188/8). The inventory included furthermore bronze vessels of Types 1 (PI. 28, attested in tombs of Generations 5–8), 6 (PI. 28, cp. B 2, 6, 118), 15 (PI. 31, only exemplar here), 30 and 31 (PI. 32 and 30, attested in tombs of Generations 7–11 and 5–11).

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
2	U 16	40a	U 2
3	U 16	42a	W 28
6	U 3	44a	R 1
7b	U 2	65a	W 30
13a	U 18	50a, c	R 31
16a	R 25	72a	R 1
33b, d	R 1	82a	R 1

§ 23: tombs of layout type Z/3A: B 1, 8, 13, 14, 22, 28, 31

Owner: see below. Mound: see below. Condition: see below. Retainers: not found. Sacrificed animals: not recorded. Layout: Pl. 8. Objects: not illustrated.

According to layout type, orientation and to the general picture of the handful of objects left by plunderers in these tombs, they belong to the chronological environment of Generations 7-8 and can be dated to Phases V–VI. B 1 (Farid's No. 9) was unplundered, but Farid could not identify any human remains in it. The mound measured in dm 28 m and in height 5 m. A sacrificed camel was supposed by Farid to have been lying in the "court".⁶⁶⁶ Curiously enough, Farid records as funerary equipment only a Form 7b (Ware U 2) amphora and a Form 28 (Ware R 1) bottle. The jewelry, if there was any (for the mound size and the careful construction of the chamber imply that there should have been), could have been destroyed by water.

B 8 (Farid's No. 6) had a tumulus measuring 26 m in dm and 6 m in height. It was unplundered, but the sex of the owner could nevertheless not be determined. The inventory included a bronze pan of a form also known from B 3 and B 95,⁶⁶⁷ and bronze cups of Types 30 and 31, attested in numerous burials of the period between Generations 5 and 11. The most interesting item is, however, a silver bracelet analogous to No. 45 from B 37 (PI. 76) suggesting thus that B 8 possibly belongs to the early part of Phase V.

Pottery finds from E	8:
Form	Ware
13c	U 18
28a, b	R 1
30	R 1
34b	R 1
39b	U 2
57a	R 1

B 13 had a tumulus measuring 38 m in dm and 7.15 m in height. It was thoroughly plundered. No object is from the tomb recorded. B 14 had a mound the dm of which measured 36, the height 6 m. It was plundered and the bones of the owner were not preserved. From the inventory the robbers have left a silver vessel of identical design as No. 25 from B 48 (Pl. 133), but 2 cm smaller in height and without the rim design.

Pottery finds from B	14:
Form	Ware
6	U 2
7b	U 2
17a	H 1
33d	R 1
40a	U 2
57a	R 1
61a	W 30
66c	W 30

B 22 had a tumulus measuring 41 m in dm and 7.73 m in height. It was plundered, the bones of the owner were not preserved. From the inventory the robbers left only some pottery:

Pottery finds from I	B 22:
Form	Ware
6	U3
7b	U 2
10	U 4
40b	U 2
50a, b	R 31

B 28 (Farid's No. 8) was unplundered, but Farid could not identify any remains of its owner. The mound measured 13 m in dm and 3.50 m in height. When excavated the inventory consisted only of pottery.

3:
Ware
U3
U2
R 1
R 1
H 1
R 1
R 1

B 31 finally had a tumulus measuring 37 m in dm and 7.60 m in height. It was plundered, the owner's scattered bones were lying in the chamber (adult, sex ?).

Pottery finds fro	om B 31:
Form	Ware
2	U 16
7b	U 2
38c	R 1
82a	R 1
85c	R 1

§ 24: tomb B 3

Owner: female. Mound: dm 77 m, h 11.92 m. Condition: plundered, except of the magazine. Retainers: 1 female adult (?). Sacrificed animals: 2 horses. Layout: Pl. 93. Objects: Pls XVII-XXIV, 94-105.

From the personal adornment of the tomb's owner only two items seem to have survived: a silver earring (No. 22, not illustrated) found at the head of her body, and the necklace of gold pendant beads No. 42 (PI. 94) dropped by the robbers at the entrance to the chamber. The earring is in the form of a horn above a fluted, vase-shaped member attached to the base of which is a ball, and it is analogous to No. 51 from B 47 (PI. 77) and No. 21 from B 6 (not illustrated).

The extraordinarily rich equipment included a church treasure which I shall discuss in the concluding part of this paragraph. The items which cannot be brought directly into connection with this group of objects are the following:

Some of the silver vessels may have belonged to the church treasure, but this cannot be proved. The most important piece is the solid cast silver dish No. 2 (PIs XVII, XVIII). Its decoration is modelled in relief with incised and at places dotted line (for details of the decoration see PI. 98) and represents a male figure seated in a landscape setting. He is partially draped, his head is surrounded by a halo and has wings on his heels as well as on the sides of the modius he is wearing on his head. In his right hand he extends an offering towards a snake coiling around a tree; on the tree the lion skin of Heracles is hanging. In his left hand he holds an ear of corn (?) or a floral sceptre (?). The figure has thus the attributes of several deities: the modius associates him with Egyptian gods, most notably with Sarapis; the wings on his heels with Hermes - with whom he is also associated by his youthful appearance -; the lion skin with Heracles. Moreover, the griffin that attends him and touches with its right foreleg the rock or omphalos on which the deity is sitting, hints at Apollo, while in the foreground of the scene we see the shield and body armour of Ares and the hammer and pincers of Hephaistos. The identification of the deity is beyond my competence.⁶⁶⁸ The quality of the decoration is high, however, awkward details such as the not quite satisfying solution of the right shoulder and the flatness of the body moved Shelton to assume that the dish is "of provincial origin", 669 although she excluded that it could have been made in Nubia. Strong, on the other hand, compared it to the Artemis dish in Berlin.⁶⁷⁰ The stylistic relationship between the Ballana dish and the Artemis dish is obvious. Both vessels are related moreover to the Corbridge lanx⁶⁷¹ in the elongated proportional types, in the rendering of the incised details, in the flatness of the bodies which is not concealed even by the elegance of the figures, and further in the profile types. Corbridge is usually associated with the East,⁶⁷² which is doubted by Shelton.⁶⁷³ The stylistic affinities between Corbridge, the Artemis dish which is thought to have been made in Ephesos, 674 and the Ballana dish suggest nevertheless that these plates were manufactured in some Eastern Mediterranean workshop(s), as opposed to the products of the "Esquiline workshop" (to be understood rather as a stylistic than workshop unit) i.e. the Esquiline, Mildenhall and Traprain Law treasures and the Parabiago plate.⁶⁷⁵ However, the Corbridge lanx marks an earlier phase of the style: while its date can be fixed with considerable certainty in the middle decades (perhaps after 363),⁶⁷⁶ the other two plates are unlikely earlier than the last quarter of the 4 th c.677 For the date is perhaps to be considered the stylistic affinity of the Ballana dish with the missorium of Theodosius 1.678 For the provenance the fact that it seems to belong to a stylistic circle embracing the Corbridge lanx, the Artemis dish, the Madrid missorium and, as a late exemplar of the style, the missorium of Aspar Ardaburius from the year A.D. 434.⁶⁷⁹

The same stylistic environment may also characterize No. 9 (PI. 97), a smaller shallow bowl on high foot ring. It is fluted and the centre is decorated with a medallion showing between simplified floral candelabra acanthus scrolls peopled with birds. The motif is general and occurs e.g. in several variants on the Muse casket from the Esquiline treasure, ⁶⁸⁰ but the actual form of the acanthus leaves of the scroll seems to

go back on a fleshy, rather unorthodox rendering we encounter e.g. on the frieze mouldings of the Galerius arch at Thessaloniki, built between 297-305.⁶⁸¹ To the same set of silver dishes may have belonged furthermore No. 1, an undecorated vessel of identical size as No. 2 (PI. 96), but with a heavier rim that is decorated with parallel grooves; two pairs of bowls on tall foot ring (Nos 10-11 and 12-13 PI. 104), and a flanged bowl with medium foot ring (No. 29 PI. 104). The latter belongs to a type which, occasionally with large beads decorating the flange, frequently appears in silver treasures dating from the middle and the second half of the 4th century.⁶⁸² It is obscure, however, that the two silver toilet vessels Nos 27 and 28 (not illustrated, and could not be identified in the Cairo Museum)⁶⁸³ identical in form and decoration with No. 11 from B 6 (PI. 70) belonged to the same set of vessels; in view of the occurrence of the toilet vessel type in question in other tombs I prefer to regard them as independent from the dishes and bowls.

Similarly independent from both the church treasure and the above set of silver vessels is the remarkable alabaster statuette No. 23 (PIs XXII, XXIII) on moulded lead base. The unique piece represents a naked deity holding in his right hand a thyrsos staff; his shoulders are draped and he wears boots. In front of him there is a lion head. The hair and the lion head were originally coloured. The figure may be identified as Dionysos.⁶⁸⁴ Its material as well as the iconography of the god, which repeats a scheme abundantly attested in "Alexandrian" late antique bone carving,⁶⁸⁵ make an Egyptian, perhaps Alexandrian, provenance very probable. The hairstyle follows the classical model that can be observed also on the syncretistic deity of No. 2, or e.g. on the Achilles and Briseis dish of the Cabinet des Médailles,⁶⁸⁶ and on the rim of flanged bowl no. 6 of the Mildenhall treasure etc.⁶⁸⁷ Alabaster was an esteemed material for luxury vessels in late antiquity, but we know of only one sculptured exemplar (the largitio dish from Gemai with the representation of two co-emperors⁶⁸⁸). However, we know also of reliquaries in the form of a sarcophagus made of alabaster.⁶⁸⁹

The statuette is distinguished by its expensive material and individual execution from the cheap terracotta, and popular bronze statuettes produced, as everywhere in the Empire, also in Egypt in great quantities. It can be parallelled perhaps to works in precious stones like the statuette of Heracles with the Erymanthian boar in rock crystal from Egypt (?), carved around 300 A.D.,⁶⁹⁰ or compared to a Hermes (?) statuette carved in cedar wood and found by Gayet in a tomb at Antinoe.⁶⁹¹ As far as it can be judged on the basis of Gayet's illustration (the whereabouts of the finds is unknown to me), the Antinoe statuette is stylistically related to the Ballana statuette, and both have similar moulded bases.

Close to the body of the queen there was lying a bronze folding table of elaborate design (No. 24 PI. 95) identical in structure and size with No. 75 from B 80 (PI. 65) but having on the tops of the legs instead of goat's heads busts of Dionysos. Tripods of similar design are known from several 3rd c. A.D. finds from Europe, 692 and although both No. 75 from B 80 and No. 24 from B 3 could be mistaken for 3rd c. pieces, a comparison of the Dionysos busts with the child Dionysos figure of No. 16 from B 114 (PIs XXV, XXVI) convinces us that folding tripods of traditional form and details were still produced in the 1st half of the 5th century A.D.

More easily recognizable is the late antique style of the standard lamp No. 37 (PIs XX, XXI). It repeats the design of No. 68 from B 80 (PI. 60) and No. 13 from B 2 (PIs V, VI), but with a number of differences in details. The main difference is in the modelling of the body: the pieces from B 80 and B 2 show a rather realistic modelling of chest, belly and legs and these figures stand in a contrapposto (yet the disproportionately large feet must be noted, too). By contrast, the lamp figure from B 3 was cast in a different mould. The body is square and disproportionate, muscles are not indicated and there is no contrapposto. Also the heads are different: that of No. 37 from B 3 is more rigidly stylized, but it has at the same time a better quality. A necklace with a cross pendant has been engraved on the figure. As it seems, this type of standard lamp was in fashion for a longer period of time, and the differences between the pieces found in B 80 and B 3, i.e. in tombs that are three generations – or 30 years at the minimum – apart from each other, can be explained by alterations brought about by the long use of the moulds.

The standard lamp No. 40 (PI. 95) belongs to the column type which is generally dated between the 5th and 7th centuries,⁶⁹³ although column-candelabra widening in the centre are also represented around 400 A.D. in the mosaics of the Hagios Georgios in Thessaloniki.⁶⁹⁴ The pendant of No. 40 was found in B 90 (PI. 72).

Another column lamp (No. 39 PI. XIX) has a more elaborate design. The dolphin legs are divided from each other by vine leaves with finely incised details. The fluted column is surmounted by a palm capital, above which there is a moulding with large beads which supports a second, Corinthian capital decorated with grapes. Above this second column there is a baluster-shaped support for a circular plate on which rests a dolphin lamp surmounted by an ankh-cross. The standard lamp was made in the same workshop as No. 25 from B 121 (Pl. 121), for both lamps have, despite the differences in the design of the column, identically rendered vine leaves on the splay base, the incised details of which seem to betray the same hand. The dolphin figures of the base with the "bun" or ball in their mouth are characteristic for lamps⁶⁹⁵ and for details of silver objects (e.g. spoons⁶⁹⁶) that seem to originate rather uniformly from the late 4th and early 5th century,⁶⁹⁷ although the origin of the motif was traced back by Potter to the late Iron Age (?).⁶⁹⁸ The Egyptian provenance of the lamp cannot be doubted.⁶⁹⁹

The furniture also consisted of a pair of standard lamps of identical design, demonstrating the assumption that candelabra were usually made and used in pairs. Nos 38 (Pl. 105) and 41^{700} have dolphin legs separated by masks. The masks were cast apparently in the same mould as the masks separating the (slightly differing) dolphin legs of No. 69 from B 80 (Pl. 60). By this base is supported a short column with simple decoration and capital over which there is the figure of a winged female figure standing on a sphere and holding by her wings and outstretched arms two rampant lions which, in turn, hold a ring through which a double-spouted dolphin lamp is suspended. The lamp is surmounted by the bust of a maenad. The winged figure has two uraei on her head, apparently an "Egyptianization" of Nike. The small maenad bust is known from No. 69 from B 80 (Pl. 60), No. 12 from B 9 (Pl. 84) and No. 37 from B 37 (Pls XIII–XV), and from an Egyptian find (Pl. 186). The Phrygian cap of the maenad is decorated on the lamp from B 3 with a flower with six

petals, on that from B 37 with an openwork ankh-cross, while those from B 80, B 9 and Egypt have rosettes with more than six petals. The design of the lamps seems to be unique, as to the winged figure. However, the appearance of the winged figure is by no means unusual, for iconographically it derives from the Roman type of the Victoria descending from the sky.⁷⁰¹

The tomb also contained several bronze vessels, partly of types known from other graves. However, the patera No. 26 (Pl. 104) is unusual among the Ballana paterae, having a deeper bowl with fluted decoration and a base ring. Typologically it resembles e.g. the early 3rd c. A.D. skillet (of silver) in the Manching treasure (München, Prähistorische Staatssamlung) and the 4th or 5th c. skillet Inv. 1942.1–7.1 of the British Museum.⁷⁰² Several bronze exemplars of the type are kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo.⁷⁰³

There were furthermore in the inventory bronze vessels of Types 3 (PI. 30, only exemplar), 5 (ibid., only exemplar), 11 (PI. 31, only exemplar), 31 (PI. 30, attested in tombs dating from Generations 5-11), 32 (PI. 30, attested in tombs dating from Generations 5-10).

An extraordinary find from B 3 was the bronze fitting of a pommel from the back of the sacrificed horse lying in the ramp (No. 286 Pl. 94). It is decorated with two bigger and two smaller round medaillons and with an oblong plaque of bronze with cloisonné work, also bearing traces of gilding. A cloisonné medaillon of the type of the smaller medaillons decorating the pommel is fixed at the bottom of the atef plumes on the king's crown from B 114 (Pl. 124).⁷⁰⁴

Although it is not improbable that the silver dishes and bowls discussed above belonged to the church treasure, with certainty we may regard as its parts only the reliquary No. 3 (PIs 99–102), the censer No. 8 (PI. XXIV), the spoons Nos 4–6 (PI. 103), and the unidentifiable object, which served probably as a spoon rest, No. 7 (PI. 103). Their function suggests that they came into the possession of the queen buried in B 3 as part of a booty made in an Upper Egyptian church.

The most remarkable piece is doubtlessly the silver reliquary. A short description thereof, photographs and a sketchy reconstruction can be found in the 1938 publication, where Kirwan proposed a 6th c. A.D. date, assuming that it was made either in Alexandria, or in Syria.⁷⁰⁵ Strong also mentions it and assignes it to a group of reliquaries (Milano San Nazaro, Pola) considered by him to date from the 5th c. and remarks that it is very handsome.⁷⁰⁶ The reliquary did not evoke, however, more attention and owing to its alarmingly bad state of preservation it certainly does not attract the visitors of the Cairo Museum. It was on account of the condition of the reliquary that I did not risk its removal from the display case in order to take new photographs and decided to rely upon the published record in the following discussion.⁷⁰⁷

The object is described in the original publication as follows: "fragments of octagonal casket of silver with a lid, the octagonal (recte: triangular) sides of which taper to a bell shaped crest, which is surmounted with a ring to which was attached a hanging chain. It has two hinges at the back and a small rectangular lock on the front. The eight triangular panels of the lid are embossed with elaborate floral designs, and the panels of the box bear the figures of some of the Apostles. Construction: beaten

from silver plates with soldered joints. Size: 13.2 cm in diameter and 20.8 cm in height."⁷⁰⁸ The sketchy reconstruction drawing, although inaccurate in many points, allows us to state that the sides of the reliquary without the horizontal ribs were 5.25 cm wide and 7.2 cm high, but the decoration depicted in it cannot be seriously considered. On the basis of the photographs published by Emery and of observations made in the Cairo Museum I have drawn the reconstructions on Pls 101, 102. However, neither the hinges nor the lock is visible in the photographs of Emery and Kirwan, and they do not seem to be preserved now, either.

The pointed lid is probably made of one plate. The decoration was embossed before it was folded into a pyramid. After folding, the pyramid was soldered. It appears that the vertical rim under its sides, which slipped onto the top of the casket, was formed by hammering. The lid was decorated with two alternating types of floral candelabrum. The bell shaped crest soldered to the top of the lid is solid cast and does not seem to belong to the original reliquary (I shall return to this problem below). The chain does not appear on the photographs and in the reconstruction of Emery, and I could not identify it in the Museum, either. However, it can be discerned on a photograph taken during the excavation.⁷⁰⁹ The hinges and the lock were probably simple devices similar to those on the Pola reliquary.⁷¹⁰ The casket was made from two pieces: an octagonal base and an oblong plate onto which the embossed decoration was made. The horizontal ribs of top and base were hammered out from the plate itself,⁷¹¹ and after the decoration was finished the plate was folded and soldered. The base fitted probably into the lowest rib and was soldered there; as it seems, it crumbled before it could have been lifted from the grave.

Seven sides out of the eight of the reliquary are preserved. The decoration of one is completely destroyed, and another side is damaged by corrosion to an extent that its decoration is unintelligible (PI. 102: sides 2 and 3 missing). The casket disintegrated into a larger (5 sides, including sides 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) and a smaller piece (side 1) as it was lifted out of the grave. The relation of the sides to each other is shown in PI. 102, in the following I shall refer to the side numbers indicated there.

The embossed decoration depicted the enthroned Christ and seven apostles. The figure of Christ (side 6) and of five apostles are preserved. The embossing is rather high, the contours of the figures are emphasized by incision, and also the folds of the garments are incised subsequently. Dotted (punched) patterns are visible on the garments of the apostles, on the pillow of Christ's cathedra and in the candelabra of the lid. Traces of gilding cannot be observed, but gilding of the figures and parts of the candelabra could perhaps be found if the object received the necessary treatment.

Christ is sitting on a throne which has no back, and is wearing tunica and pallium. His bare feet rest on a subsellium depicted "in perspective". The right hand is raised in a wide gesture of speech, the draped left is holding a codex. The head is tilted towards the left shoulder and the beardless, young face can be seen in semiprofile. The hair is arranged in big straight locks and does not reach the shoulders. The oblique rib above the codex is probably damage and not the trace of a cross. The thighs are spread symmetrically but the feet do not rest symmetrically on the subsellium. Paul (side 5) is bald and has a pointed beard. He holds a codex in his draped left hand to which he points with his right. His belly is rather paunchy with an accentuated impressed navel. Peter (side 7) stands in a contrapposto and turns towards Christ. He has short hair, a round beard, his hand is raised in front of the chest in a gesture of speech; in his left hand he probably held a scroll. A beardless youthful apostle (side 8) is turning away from Peter, and holding an unrolled scroll in his left hand while he is raising his right in the gesture of adoration. The figure of a beardless apostle standing in profile (side 4) is badly damaged. Side 1 shows finally an apostle stepping towards Christ, stretching his right arm in front of himself and raising a codex (?) with his left. He is beardless and has short hair; his movement is quite dramatic. The folds of all garments are modelled vividly, all figures are depicted in contrapposto (with the exception of Paul). The proportions are excellent.

Kirwan linked the reliquary's style to the Riha paten,⁷¹² the Homs vase,⁷¹³ the Kerynia censer from Cyprus,⁷¹⁴ and to the Antioch Chalice⁷¹⁵ and concluded on this basis that it was made in the 6th century. However, the stylistic affinity between these objects and the Ballana reliquary is very small. It can be rather linked to another group of silver plate which was partly quoted also by Strong.

The Ballana reliquary is typologically connected to the polygonal reliquaries: the hexagonal silver reliquary with a dome-shaped lid from Pola with a representation of the standing, teaching youthful Christ, five full figures of apostles and the busts of the same on the lid;⁷¹⁶ and to the octagonal reliquary with a pointed lid found recently in Novalja on the island of Pag in the vicinity of Zara, in Yugoslavia⁷¹⁷ (PI. 185). Its decoration depicts the traditio legis. Christ is standing and turning towards Peter who is stepping towards him. His right hand is raised in the gesture of speech, and with the left he holds an open rotulus which is about to be accepted by Peter with his draped right hand. Paul stands in profile to the right of Christ and his arms are raised in acclamation. On the lid an acanthus candelabrum alternates with a vase with wine tendrils sprouting from it and a bird hoverning above it. The top terminates in a pine-cone. The reliquary was found in situ is an Altargrab.⁷¹⁸ Unfortunately enough, the architectural context of the latter was not investigated, but in the vicinity of the find spot foundation walls of 4th-5th c. churches were recorded.⁷¹⁹ Judging on the base of the decoration, the reliquary held apostle relics; the Pola reliquary contained probably relics of St. Thomas and other apostles.⁷²⁰ Both objects are also stylistically related to the Ballana reliquary, the relation is, however, somewhat remote in the case of the Novalja piece.

The iconographical ties connecting the three pieces are nevertheless rather loose. The programmes of the Pola and Ballana reliquaries are related to each other insofar as both depict a teaching Christ with whom Peter and Paul are closely associated, while the other apostles with their different gestures and directions of movement are more or less independent from the central scene. The Christ of the Pola reliquary is, however, standing, while the Christ on the Ballana piece is enthroned in a regal posture.⁷²¹ On the Novalja reliquary we see a long-haired, youthful Christ Victor representing an iconographical type that seems to have emerged in Constantinople towards the end of the 4th c. and which apparently was no more in fashion in the 1st half of the 5th c.⁷²² This type is depicted on the sarcophagus No. 533 of the Museo Nazionale in Ravenna⁷²³ and on the silver reliquary found near Thessaloniki.⁷²⁴ The iconography of the three reliquaries seems thus to go back on different prototypes.

The Ballana piece reflects the late Valentinian - early Theodosian style of the rendering of the enthroned teaching Christ in a scene where he is associated with Peter and Paul both substantially and compositionally, and where the group(s) of the other apostles constitute with their different acclamative and conversing gestures and poses a somewhat remote but nevertheless dramatic background to the trio in the foreground. This composition can be recognized on the exceptionally high artistic quality Milano (San Nazaro) reliquary which was made before 382 A.D.⁷²⁵ and on the marble krater of the Museo Nazionale in Rome.⁷²⁶ The former is also stylistically a forerunner of the Ballana reliquary. The head-type and posture of Christ on the krater returns, however, on the Ballana religuary, too, 727 but on the former not only Peter but also Paul is standing in contrapposto. Christ on the Ballana reliquary is depicted almost in an identical manner as the Christ on the Milano religuary and the figures of Peter and Paul are also related. As to their style, they display the same plasticity, the same almost naturalistic rendering of the bodies and of the draperies, and the same use of incised contours and punched details. But while the more vivid and dramatic appearance of the scenes on the Milano reliquary can be explained by the higher artistic consciousness and quality, the iconographic difference - isolated figures, three of which are connected to each other by gestures, on the Ballana casket and the compact scenic representations on the Milano casket - goes back to two different models, which were, however, closely related to each other. It seems that the figure types on the Ballana casket are in style Valentinian, 728 but the dramatic character already reflects the Theodosian period.

The figures of the Ballana reliquary occur on several sarcophagi of the last quarter of the 4th century.⁷²⁹ The dramatic conception which is so dominant in the scenes of the Milano reliquary is best illustrated by Eastern reliefs representing Christ and apostles made around 390: thus e.g. on the Barletta relief,⁷³⁰ on the panels from Taşkasap,⁷³¹ on the already mentioned reliquary from the vicinity of Thessaloniki and on the Strozzi ewer in the British Museum.⁷³² In my earlier study of the reliquary⁷³³ I also quoted as stylistic analogy the marble relief with the scene of the Healing of the Blind Man in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,⁷³⁴ however, in the meantime Gary Vikan has convincingly argued against its authenticity.⁷³⁵

Summing up above observations and taking also into consideration that Christ is depicted on the Ballana reliquary without a halo and that he holds the codex in his draped left hand – an otherwise rare representation that seems to be limited on sarcophagus reliefs carved around 400^{736} –, the Ballana reliquary seems to be datable to the turn of the 4th century.

There can be hardly any doubt that the reliquary reached Ballana from Egypt, however, it is improbable that it was made in Egypt. Although the style of silver plate in Egypt around 400 A.D. is only very superficially known,⁷³⁷ the Ballana reliquary does not seem to fit into it, while it is more probable that it was made in Constantinople from where its stylistic parallels: the Milano reliquary containing relics of St. Thomas and St. John,⁷³⁸ the reliquary found near Thessaloniki, the Pola reliquary containing relics of St. Thomas, and furthermore a vase with the figure of the nine Muses in the Oruzhenaia Palata Museum in Moscow,⁷³⁹ probably originate. From the aspect of the provenance of the Novalia reliquary it must be considered

that it held in all probability apostle relics, which points again towards Constantinople.

When was the bell-shaped crest and the suspension chain added to the reliquary? It is quite unlikely that a reliquary could have been provided with a suspension chain in Constantinople, for in the Eastern church - just like in the Western church - in this period a reliquary with relics could only be placed in an Altargrab. 740 Reliquaries placed outside Altargräber are first attested in the West in the 6th century,741 but the custom remains exceptional until the 10th c.742 It must be stressed, however, that it did not mean suspension.⁷⁴³ Does this mean that the suspension chain was fixed on the reliquary in Nubia when it was no more placed in a church? This is very unlikely, for the casket cannot be opened if suspended, thus its profane use is unimaginable in this way. A more plausible answer can be found if we examine the Reliquienrekondition of early Christan altars in Egypt: we find that, unlike the rest of Eastern and Western Christianity, in Egypt there were no specific precepts concerning the placing of the relics "buried" underneath the altar. 744 Instead, the altar relics were kept in an apse of the altar or in a niche in the wall of the sanctuary, 745 or, if the relic in question was the body of a saint, it was kept in a removeable wooden coffin in a not strictly defined part of the church interior.⁷⁴⁶ This situation is also apparent from the liturgy recited at the altar consecration ceremony.747 It may thus be concluded that the crest and suspension was fitted onto the reliquary in Egypt, because it can be imagined only in an Egyptian church around the turn of the 4th century that a reliquary with important relics was suspended in the sanctuary, perhaps over the altar. The Nubian raiders could thus have easily taken away the reliquary - although we know from the lament of St. Jerome that the barbarians also unearthed the relics of the martyrs, 748 obviously not because of their sanctity but because they knew that they were buried in precious holders.

The second item of the church treasure is No. 8, a silver censer (PI. XXIV). It is chalice-shaped, the foot is now incomplete, the photograph taken after the excavation shows a partly preserved flat base with a low base ring of c. 3.5-4 cm. The domed cap is attached by a hinge and clasp. It is decorated with an openwork vine scroll frieze and with a similarly openwork acanthus leaf crown, and it terminates in a baluster crest surmounted by a suspension ring. The piece is the earliest known silver church censer. Close to it in age may appear a silver censer found in one of the early Christian churches on the territory of the Luxor temple, 749 its shape and proportions are analogous, yet differences can be observed in the openwork decoration of the cap which is simpler on the Luxor piece and in the size of the suspension ring. Details of the decoration of the Luxor piece cannot be examined, however, on account of the bad preservation, and also the foot is missing.⁷⁵⁰ Judging on the basis of what is visible from the openwork decoration and of the other items of the treasure, 751 the Luxor find is probably several decades later in date than the Ballana piece. As to its form, a Syrian incense burner made of bronze in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection⁷⁵² is not analogous, but it has a closely related openwork vine tendril decoration. It was dated by Ross on account of its stylistic affinities with the Antioch Chalice to the 6th century. However, a dating of the latter to the early 5th century is much more plausible.753 The silver censer from the "First Cyprus Treasure" or "Lambousa

As in the First Cyprus Treasure, the censer came to light together with silver spoons. The three spoons from B 3 (PI. 103) belong with a minor difference to the same type: they have pear-shaped bowls with a) plain tapering handle with disk attachment (No. 4) b) plain tapering handle terminating in a baluster moulding and a pointed pyramid (Nos 5, 6). It may be stated on the basis of analogous spoons from datable finds as the Mildenhall treasure,⁷⁵⁸ the Esquiline treasure,⁷⁵⁹ the Thetford treasure,⁷⁶⁰ and further on that of the analyses of Milojčič⁷⁶¹ and Potter⁷⁶² that the Ballana spoons were made in the period c. between 350 and 400.

The mysterious silver object under No. 7 (Pl. 103) may also have belonged to the church treasure, if we accept the idea of the excavators that it was a spoon rest.

Finally one of the ceramic finds must be mentioned here: this is No. 276 of Form 88c, an African Red Slip Ware dish of Hayes' Form 82A. This ware dates according to Hayes⁷⁶³ from the period between c. 430–475, but it must be remarked that the lower time limit was drawn by Hayes at c. 475 because he accepted more or less the low general dating of the Ballana cemetery proposed in the 1938 publication.

The objects belonging to the church treasure date, as we have seen, from the end of the 4th century. A similar date can be proposed, perhaps with extension into the first and second decade of the 5th century, for the other silver plate found in the tomb. The bronze vessels and lamps are associated with tombs which I have dated to the turn of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th c., but also with tombs that are typologically later than B 3. It seems thus that the queen of B 3 was buried around the middle of the 5th century. The burial could have occurred at the latest around c. 475, if we accept the lower time limit of the dating of the African Red Slip Ware dish. This late dating of the burial is, however, rather unlikely because the c. 475 lower time limit of the said dish type rests on the earlier, untenable dating of Ballana as a whole, and also because the probable date of tombs that are later than B 3 would contradict it. On the other hand, the church treasure could most likely have been robbed from an Upper Egyptian church c. between 425–450, while it is very improbable, if even not impossible, that it could have been taken after 452 i.e. the defeat of the Nubians and Blemmyes (cp. Ch. III. 1.6–1.10).

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
1	U 16	13a, b	U 18
2	U 16	33a	R 1
3	U 16	42b	W 28
6	U 3	46	W 24
7b	U 2	47a	W 24
10	U 4	50b	R 31
11	U 6	57a, d	R 1

Form	Ware
71a	R1
82a	R 1
87b	R 1
88c	African Red Slip Ware Form 82A
90a	U 2
90b	U 2

§ 25: tomb B 68

Owner: ? Mound: dm 33, h 5.46 m. Condition: plundered. Retainers: not found. Sacrificed animals: not found. Layout: Pl. 106. Objects: Pl. 106.

The badly plundered tomb belongs typologically in Phase VIa. The two carved ivory fragments (PI. 106) seem to reflect the style of 5th c. A.D. Egyptian bone reliefs.⁷⁶⁴

Pottery finds:	
Form	Ware
6	U 3
7b	U 2
36b	R 1
38a	R 1
44b	R 1
50a	R 31

§ 26: tombs B 48, 21

Owner: ? Mound: B 48: dm 39.30, h 3.93, B 21: dm 26, h 4.60 m. Condition: both plundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: none found. Layout: Pls 9, 133. Objects: Pl. 133.

These badly plundered tombs belong on the basis of their layout and orientation in Phase VIa, i.e. the chronological environment of B 3. B 21 was totally emptied by the grave robbers (Farid's No. 3^{765}), in B 48 there was a silver vessel (PI. 133) which was already mentioned as analogy of a silver vessel from B 14 (see § 23). In B 48 there were furthermore found the following pottery forms:

Form	Ware	Form	Ware
1	U 16	6	U 3
4b	U 16	7b	U 2

Form	Ware	Form	Ware
13a	U 18	72b, c	R 1
39b	U 2	80c	R 1
49	R 31	87c	R 1
57d	R 1		

§ 27: tomb B 73

Owner: ? Mound: dm 48, h 4.48 m. Condition: plundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: 1 horse. Layout: Pl. 107. Objects: Pl. 107.

Layout and orientation date this tomb in Phase VIb. Two pieces of the tomb furniture deserve special attention. The first is an African Red Slip Ware Form 82b dish, which is dated by Hayes to the period c. 460-500, ⁷⁶⁶ but it must be remarked that Hayes' dating was influenced by the late general date assigned by Emery and Kirwan to the Ballana cemetery in the 1938 publication.

The second piece is a miniature table (PI. 107) an analogy of which was found in tomb B 114 (PI. 125).

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
2	U 16	42b	W 28
4a	U 16	47a .	R 30
6	U 3	56b	R 4
7b	U 2	57d	R 1
13a	U 18	71b	R 1
28b	R 1	72b	R 1
33d	R 1	80c	R 1
40d	U 2	88b	African Red Slip
41b	W 28		Ware Form 82b

§ 28: tomb B 95

Owner: king and queen. Mound: dm 56, h 7.42 m. Condition: unplundered. Retainers: queen, 2 male adults, 3 ? adults, 2 children. Sacrificed animals: 1 cow in the burial chamber. Layout: Pl. 108. Objects: Pls 109–115.

The body of the king was placed on an angareeb lying extended on the back, however, the vaulting of the burial chamber had collapsed, and destroyed the wooden bier and caused the king's body to roll to the side thereof. His crown was found in its original place on the bier (PI. 109). Underneath the bier was placed a large bronze bowl of Type 18 (Pl. 32, attested also in B 19), and another one of Type 8 (Pl. 30) was placed beside the bier (No. 25). To the personal adornment of the king belonged three strings of beads, two of them of cornelian ball beads,⁷⁶⁷ two silver rod bracelets (Nos 66, 67 Pl. 110), and archer's finger looses of porphyritic stone and agate, some of the former decorated with paste inlays (PI. 110). Further finger looses were lying in the corner of the chamber together with spears of Types 1 and 2 (PI. 33) and two sword blades (Nos 37, 38), a silver vessel analogous to those from B 14 and 48 (No. 15 Pl. 112, cp. Pl. 133) but with a lid (which is missing in the case of the analogies), and bronze vessels of Types 14 (PI. 31, attested also in B 114, 118, 121), and 31 (PI. 30, attested in tombs of Generations 5-11). The body of the retainer queen was lying orientated perpendicularly to the body of the king, beside the above group of weapons and vessels, with her crown still on her head (PI. 110). It is obscure whether the archer's finger loose of porphyritic rock (No. 17) found with her skeleton belonged to her, or to the group of weapons placed in the corner of the room. One of the retainers was wearing a silver bracelet of the same type as the king's silver rod bracelets (No. 1, cp. Pl. 110).

The magazine which also served as the burial place of retainers contained the following objects: an iron saw blade (Type 16 PI. 34), a collection of spear blades (Nos 4–9) of Type 2 (PI. 33), five iron ingots (No. 10), three standard lamps and pottery vessels. No. 2 (PI. 114) is a simple standard on three legs, the lamp is missing; Nos 12 and 66 are of more elaborate design (PI. 113). The former has a hexagonal splay base on three clumsy legs, a baluster-shaped standard surmounted by a dish, over which a simple lamp with a cross attached to its handle is placed on a spike. No. 66 has a similar base of clumsier form, a taller but simpler standard, a dish over which a griffin lamp is placed. The griffin lamp is equally disproportionate and ugly in execution as the other parts of the standard lamp. It imitates, however, in a still discernible form the elegant griffin lamps of the late 4th century, exemplars of which were e.g. displayed in the Metropolitan Museum exhibition "The Age of Spiritua-lity".⁷⁶⁸

Beside the bier of the king was lying an unusually elaborately decorated folding chair (PI. 111). In the second magazine, besides a great quantity of pottery vessels, there was a large green glass flask with a bronze cup used as a stopper (PI. 115), a stone grinding vessel (PI. 113), a bronze flagon (PIs 112 and 118/10) of Type 10 which also occurs in B 5 dating from Phase V (?), and a large bronze pan of Type 4 (PI. 28, attested also in B 47 and 118). A large bronze amphora (PI. 112) was found in the burial chamber-magazine, and a silver toilet spoon (PI. 114) was lying among the weapons in the corner of the main burial chamber. At the same spot was found the silver object No. 15 (PI. 114) of unknown use. It has the shape of a helmet with brim, on one side of which is fastened a bronze ring. On the crest of the dome is a round cornelian set in a beaded box setting. Its diameter measures 15 cm, it is thus not quite impossible that it was worn on the head, but this is of course only a guess. A similar object was found in B 118 in a position that it can be presumed that it was placed underneath the crown, or on top of it (i.e. of the diadem). (Cp. PI. 132.)

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
4a	U 16	40a	U 2
6	U 3 (42 pieces)	62	W 30
7b	U 2 (63 pieces)	72b, e	W 29
10	U 4	73c	R 1
13a	U 18 (45 pieces)	80a, c, d	R 1
33a, c	R 1	81	R 1
35a	R 1	87b	R 1
37a	R 1		

§ 29: tomb B 121

Owner: male adult. Mound: dm 54, h 8 m. Condition: unplundered. Retainers: 4 ? adults, 1 child. Sacrificed animals: in the entrance ramp, no details recorded. Layout: Pl. 116. Objects: Pls 116–122.

The owner was buried in the main burial chamber in a contracted position. In same chamber were lying an iron folding chair (No. 1), a silver toilet vessel (No. 2 PI. 120) which has its analogy from B 118 (PI. 129), a bronze cup of type 32 (PI. 30, attested in tombs of Generations 5–10) and two alabaster dishes (Nos 35, 36 PI. 122). Further objects of the funerary equipment were placed in the magazine.

The perforated holes of the bronze strainer No. 14 (PI. 118, inscription: PI. 116) form an elaborate pattern. A Greek text below the rim reads: $e\bar{t}s \,\theta e \delta s \,\delta \,\beta \sigma \eta \partial \sigma v \tau \vec{\omega} \pi \lambda \alpha t \vec{\omega} \kappa \alpha t \tau \vec{\eta} \mu \sigma \eta$ which seems to imply that it was originally destined for the holy service i.e. for the preparation of the eucharistic wine. This is also indicated by the presence of silver strainers in treasures which can be identified as church belongings, e.g. Water Newton⁷⁶⁹ and Traprain Law.⁷⁷⁰ The bronze flagon No. 9 (PI. 117) is typologically near to the flagons from B 80, B 5 and B 118 (cp. PI. 188), but the masks attached to the handle were made in the same negative as the handle attachment of the flagon from B 47 (PI. 80). The bronze toilet flask (No. 17 PI. 120) belongs to a type attested by numerous finds from Egypt,⁷⁷¹ like the small flask No. 16 (PI. 120).⁷⁷² The patera No. 21 (PI. 120) is analogous to the paterae from B 4 (PI. 89), B 37 (PI. XVI, 87) and B 118 (PI. 131).

One of the most remarkable finds is the lamp stand No. 5 (Pl. 121). The elegant splay base holds a column in the form of a hound chasing a hare. At the top of the column there is a hexagonal splay dish with spherical bosses at each corner. Details of the animals are finely engraved. Although the form of the column is unique, elements of the lamp go back to Egyptian late antique models. The motif of the animals can be compared to the handle of an equally exceptional lamp discovered in Matara, Ethiopia (Pl. 183).⁷⁷³ The latter lamp is doubtless of Egyptian provenance; the arcaded base repeats the motif attested on a bronze lamp from "North Africa" (probably rather Egypt) in the Ermitage,⁷⁷⁴ and on a rock crystal dish from

Carthage,⁷⁷⁵ and furthermore on the incense burner from B 121 (PI. 121). The form of the hexagonal dish on top of the candelabrum may perhaps be explained as imitation of the arcaded rim occurring e.g. on the silver ladle of the Louvre from Carthage (PI. 177) which has, in turn, analogies in the Mildenhall⁷⁷⁶ and Traprain Law treasures.⁷⁷⁷ This rim decoration is also attested on Egyptian bronze vessels.⁷⁷⁸

The standard lamp No. 25 (Pl. 121) was doubtless made in the same workshop as a somewhat more elaborately decorated lamp from B 3 (Pl. XIX), as is indicated by the vine leaves of the base. This rendering of the leaves occurs e.g. on a late 4th or early 5th c. marble vase in the Metropolitan Museum,⁷⁷⁹ on an early 5th c. belt decoration from Rome in Berlin,⁷⁸⁰ and on a Syrian censer in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection⁷⁸¹ from the first half of the 5th c.

No. 10 (PI. 121) is not less remarkable than No. 5. It is an incense burner in the form of a pine cone which is fixed on the top of a four-columned ciborium. Parallels of the pine-cone incense burner were quoted above in the discussion of the similar example from B 47 (PI. XII) in § 15. Analogies to the ciborium-like postament were mentioned in connection with No. 5. It cannot be excluded that the combination of the pine cone and the ciborium is not accidental, but was an allusion to an existing building, like e.g. the monumental pine cone covered by a baldachin-like four-columned building in the atrium of Old Saint Peter's in Rome.⁷⁸²

The elaborate bronze table No. 7 (PI. 119) is decorated with a punched design and, on the four corners of the plate, the figures of stylized doves. A miniature bronze amphora in the Coptic Museum (PI. XXIX) has a similar figure on top of its stopper. The amphora stand No. 24 (PI. 119) corresponds with a stand from B 10 (PI. 91). Finally mention must be made of the balance No. 12, to which the spherical weight No. 12 (PI. 122) obviously belonged. Spherical weights of bronze are known from Alexandria.⁷⁸³ This one is engraved with the denomination AA and weighs one pound.

Pottery finds:	
Form	Ware
6	U 3
7b	U 2
8	U 2
10	U 4
37b	R 1
72e	W 29
81	R 1

§ 30: tomb B 122

Owner: ? Mound: dm 48, h 6.50 m. Condition: plundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: 1 cow. Layout: Pl. 10. Objects: see Pottery Forms.

With the exception of four archer's finger looses, and necklaces of faience, green marble, cornelian, yellow jasper, obsidian, porphyritic rock, white quartz and onyx beads,⁷⁸⁴ the tomb contained only pottery vessels left there by the tomb robbers. The most important piece of latter category is No. 107, an African Red Slip Ware Form 89B dish whose rim was bound with silver foil. This form is dated by Hayes to the period c. between 450 and 500.⁷⁸⁵

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
5	U 16	29	R 1
6	U 3	34b	R 1
7b	U 2	38a, b	R 1
10	U 4	56b	African Red Slip
13a	U 18		Ware
16b	R 25	60b	W 30
26b	H 1	72b	R 1
27	H 1	88a	African Red Slip
			Ware Form 89B

N.B. In B 73 the Form 88b (= African Red Slip Ware Form 82B) dish coincided, as in B 122 did that of an African Red Slip Ware Form 89B dish, with the presence of a Form 56b pilgrim flask (Pl. 24). It may be thus presumed that they were a "set". It must be noticed furthermore that both in case of Forms 88a-c and of Form 56b Adams' ware identification R 4, i.e. Aswan Byzantine Polished Red Ware⁷⁸⁶ cannot be maintained, for these Forms were not produced in the Aswan manufactures: they can be identified without doubt as African Red Slip Ware vessels.

§ 31: tombs of layout type F/2A: B 72, 76

Owner: ? Mound: B 72: dm 35, h 5.35 m, B 76: dm 34, h 4.38. Condition: both plundered. Retainers: none found. Sacrificed animals: none found. Layout: PI. 10. Objects: none recorded.

According to layout type and orientation these tombs belong to Phase VIIa.

§ 32: tomb B 114

Owner: king and retainer queen. Mound: dm 60, h 9.08 m. Condition: unplundered. Retainers: 5 male adults, 1 female adult, 2 ? adults, and the queen. Sacrificed animals: 1 cow in the burial chamber, undefined animal remains recorded in the entrance ramp. Layout: PI. 123.

Objects: Pls XXV, XXVI, 124, 125.

Both the king and the queen were buried on an angareeb from which the bodies of both rolled off when the vault of the chamber collapsed. The king's crown (Pl. 124) was lying at his head, the queen still had her crown on her head at the time of the discovery, however, it was destroyed by the action of water and could not be taken out from the tomb. According to Emery⁷⁸⁷ it was embossed with Isis busts.

Below the bier was placed a wooden chest (destroyed) which contained a necklace of cornelian and quartz ball beads (No. 3). Around the bier were lying an iron hoe blade (No. 1, Type 2 Pl. 34), a bronze filter (No. 2 Pl. 125), a silver toilet vessel (No. 6 Pl. 125) of identical form as No. 11 from B 6 (Pl. 70), two spear blades (nos 4, 5 Type 2 Pl. 33), a bronze bowl of Type 14 (also attested in B 95, 118 and 121, see Pl. 31), an iron folding chair (No. 8, not illustrated), an iron sword with silver hilt and scabbard. The scabbard was embossed with the help of the same matrix (rhomboid net) as one side of the scabbards No. 39 from B 80, No. 22 from B 6 and No. 5 from B 9 (Pl. 83). Finally, there was found by the folding chair an archer's finger loose of porphyritic rock (No. 10).

Besides the retainers' bodies in the magazine to the North of the main burial chamber were lying eight archer's finger looses (No. 13), a stone mortar (cp. No. 40 from B 95, Pl. 113), and the lamp standard No. 16. One of the retainers was wearing a silver rod bracelet (No. 14 Pl. 125) of the type also occurring in B 80 and B 95 (Pls 61, 110).

The most remarkable item of the tomb is doubtless the lamp standard No. 16 (Pls XXV, XXVI). It is in the form of the child Dionysos holding in his upraised right arm a vine branch which curls around the back of the neck and over the left shoulder. The branch is surmounted by a circular plate on which rested a dolphin lamp, with a cross in the centre of the dolphin. Since discovery, the lamp has been removed from the standard (cp. Pl. 98A in Emery-Kirwan 1938 with my Pls XXV-XXVI). The figure stands on a cylindrical pedestal which rests on a square base with four claw feet. The figure and the branch were hollow cast and filled with cement, the pedestal was hollow cast. Details of the face, the hair and the vine branch were engraved.

The execution of the piece is exquisite and its artistic niveau is matched by only a few objects found at Ballana. The finely modelled, in expression slightly melancholic and transcendental face recalls, perhaps not accidentally, Eastern portraits carved around 400-450 A.D.,⁷⁸⁸ and its models go back ultimately to the style of the eastern capital in this period. In the same style is a somewhat smaller Amor statuette in hollow cast bronze in Vienna⁷⁸⁹ which also seems to have served as lamp holder. A similarly formed Dionysos lamp standard is in a Belgian collection (PI. 186/4),⁷⁹⁰ it is, however, considerably earlier (3rd c. A.D. ?) and of an inferior quality.

The lamp standard No. 35 (lamp is missing, PI. 125) can be compared to two lamps from B 118 (PI. 130), however, the splay bases are different. It resembles furthermore a pair of silver lamp stands from Syria in Baltimore⁷⁹¹ which show, together with bronze exemplars in Dumbarton Oaks,⁷⁹² the survival of the type in the late 5th and 6th centuries.

The miniature table No. 18 (PI. 125) is analogous to No. 9 from B 118 (PI. 130).

Finally the incense burner No. 34 (PI. 125) must have been made originally for church use, as also indicated by the cross which surmounts its dome-shaped lid. Analogous censers are in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,⁷⁹³ in Berlin (PI. 186/2)⁷⁹⁴ and in Cairo.⁷⁹⁵

Among the pottery there were two large African Red Slip Ware Form 89B dishes with stamped cross decoration. The dishes were dated by Hayes⁷⁹⁶ to c. 450–500, and the stamped crosses, which are in Hayes' "style D", are characteristic for vessels made in the 2nd half of the 5th century.⁷⁹⁷

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
2	U 16	38c	R 1
6	U 3	41b	W 28
7b, c	U 2	47a	R 30
10	U 4	48a, d	W 24
12	U 6 (?)	65b	W 30
13a	U 18	72c, e	W 29
17a	H 1	80b	R 1
32	R 1	82a	R 1
33a, c	R 1	88a	African Red Slip
			Ware Form 89B

§ 33: tomb B 111

Owner: ? Mound: dm 50, h 7.51 m. Condition: plundered. Retainers: 1 male (?). Sacrificed animals: none recorded. Layout: Pl. 126. Objects: Pl. 126.

According to layout and orientation the burial can be dated to the final phase of the use of the Ballana cemetery. Apart from pottery vessels, the grave robbers left in the tomb nothing more than two small ivory (or bone) fragments with incised drawing from a caset (PI. 126). Several 5th-6th c. stylistic parallels of these are known.⁷⁹⁸

Pottery finds:			
Form	Ware	Form	Ware
2	U 16	54	R 25
6	U 3	60b	W 30
7b	U 2	61b	W 30
10	U 4	65a	W 30
12	U 6 (?)	77	R 25
13a	U 18	80b	R 1
33c	R 1		

§ 34: tomb B 118

Owner: queen. Mound: dm 54, h 8 m. Conditcon: unplundered. Retainers: 2 male adults, 1 female adult, 2 ? adults, 1 child. Sacrificed animals: 1 cow in the burial chamber, unspecified animals recorded in the entrance ramp. Layout: Pl. 127. Objects: Pls 128-132.

The tomb's owner, a ruling queen, was buried lying on an unusually wide angareeb, but, owing to the collapse of the vaulting of the burial chamber, her body rolled off from it and was found near the passage to the magazines on the floor. Her crown (PI. 128) was found close to the place where originally the head of the queen must have been, together with the mysterious silver object (Pl. 118) the analogy of which was discovered in B 95. At the head end of the bier were lying on the floor five archer's finger looses of porphyritic rock (No. 36), an iron folding chair (No. 35), one Type 1 and two Type 2 spears with silver mounted fore-shafts (PI. 33). Underneath the angareeb were placed a large gaming board (?) of which only the bronze corner fittings remained (No. 31 Pl. 131) and a bronze bowl of Type 14 (Pl. 31, also attested in tombs B 95, 114 and 121), and close to the body of the queen was found the silver toilet flask No. 38 (Pl. 129) which shows same shape as No. 2 from B 121 (not illustrated). In the northern magazine there were found a simple bronze tripod (No. 1, not illustrated), a bronze bowl of Type 6 (Pl. 28, attested also in B 2, 6, 10, 24), a bronze amphora stand (No. 3 PI. 130) and an elaborately decorated miniature table (No. 9 Pl. 130), both having analogies in B 121 (Pl. 119), an iron axe head of Type 6 (PI. 34) which was perhaps used, as supposed by Emery, 799 as the weapon in the sacrifice of the retainers with whom it was found; an iron pan with handle (No. 4, not illustrated) and a bronze pan of Type 1 (Pl. 28, attested also in tombs of Generations 5-8) and finally two standard lamps. These latter (Nos 6, 7 PI. 130) constitute a pair and are analogous to Nos 66 from B 95 and 35 from B 114 (PIs 113 and 125, respectively). Also flagon No. 8 was found in this magazine (PI. 129). An identical piece is preserved in the Coptic Museum (Pl. 184),800 attesting the Egyptian origin of the Ballana piece. Another identical flagon - with different decoration of the thumb piece - was discovered in B 80 (No. 74 Pl. 187/6).

Bronze objects were also found in the eastern magazine. The patera No. 27 (PI. 131) has analogies from B 37 (PI. XVI) and B 121 (PI. 120). The toilet bottle of bronze No. 16 (PI. 129) has analogies from B 121 (PI. 120) and in the Coptic Museum.⁸⁰¹ The miniature amphora on tripod No. 26 (PI. 129) is analogous to a piece in the collection of the Coptic Museum (PI. XXVIII). Bronze (Nos 17–19 PI. 132) and silver toilet spoons (No. 20 PI. 132) were also found in same magazine. Two small bronze balances (Nos 23, 24 PI. 131) were lying close to the above vessels, together with three bronze weights engraved with the design of the cross and their denominations (PI. 132). The largest one weighs three ounces and has the denomination $\Gamma\Gamma$, the two ounce one the denomination ΓB , and the smallest one, that weighs

one ounce, has the denomination NS. The engraved letters, the crosses and the framing crowns are filled with silver (no more visible). Weights in the form of square plaques in bronze and inlaid with silver are characteristic for the early Byzantine period. More elaborate exemplars are supposed to have been made in Constantinople;⁸⁰² the exemplars from B 118 may have originated in Alexandria.

Pottery fir	nds:			
Form		Ware	Form	Ware
2		U 16	36b	R 1
6		U 3	38c	R 1
7b	· · ·	U 2	40b, c	U 2
10		U 4	47a	R 30
12		U 6 (?)	48d, e, f	W 24
13a		U 18	61b	W 30
17a		H 1	72b, e	W 30
23a		H 1	85c	R 1
26b		H 1	87c	R 1
33a		R 1		

§ 35: tomb B 110

Owner: male adult. Mound: dm 30, h 3.48 m. Condition: plundered. Retainers: none. Sacrificed animals: scattered bones of ? found. Layout: PI. 133. Objects: PI. 133.

According to layout and orientation B 110 seems to date from the final phase of the use of the cemetery. Besides pottery vessels, the grave robbers left in the tomb two bone plaques from a casket, with incised decoration, both representing boys in the ancient Egyptian gesture signifying infancy (No. 25 Pl. 133); five archer's finger looses, and two necklaces of onyx and cornelian beads.⁸⁰³

Pottery finds:	
Form	Ware
23b	H 1
33a	R 1
35b	R 1
87,b e	R 1

1.6. Typological tables

In the foregoing I have discussed the typological development of the tomb layouts and analyzed the individual tomb equipments in order to explain and also support the layout chronology and to assign dates in absolute chronology to the individual burials, or, if this was not possible, in more general terms to the Phase to which they typologically belong. In the following I shall give some tables for the sake of better comprehensibility of the typological considerations presented above.

Phase	Royal genera- tion	Type of royal tomb	Type of princes' tombs	Types of other tombs	Discussed in §	Approx. date A.D.
la		· · · ·	A/1 Q 14	A Q 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15	1,2	c. 380
lb	1	<i>B</i> Q3		A/C Q 22	3, 4	380/90
lla	2	C Q 17	C Q 24, 25 C/1 Q 31		5,6	390/400
ПР	3	C Q 36		C/2 Q 26	7,8	400/10
IIIa	4	C/3 Q 2		Z/1 Q 48	9	410/20
Шь	5	C/4 B 80	D/2 B 2, 6 D/1 B 90	Z/1 B 49	10, 11, 12, 13, 14	420/30
IV	6	E B 47	100	Z/2 B 53 Z/2A 51,	15 16, 17, •	430/40
IVa			<i>D/</i> 3 B 9	52, 54, 63 <i>F/</i> 4 B 84	18	430/40
Va	7	<i>D/3</i> B 37	D/4 B 4	Z/4 B 24, 44 Z/3 5, F 5,	19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26	440/50
Vb			<i>D/F</i> B 10			440/50
Vla	8	F/1 B 3			24	450/60
VIb			<i>F/3</i> B 73	F/2A B 72	27, 31	460/70
VIIa	9	<i>C/5</i> B 95	C/5 B 121, 122	В 76	28, 29, 30, 31	470/80
VIIb	10	С/5 В 114	C/5 B 111	านสร้าไปค่องกับ	32, 33	480/490
VIIc	11	C/5 B 118	e catalia a circa	<i>F/2A</i> B 110	35 34	490/500

Table 1. The chronology of the layout types

Tomb	8	Mound dm in m	Number of retainers	Number of sacrif. animals	Ox/ cow	Crown	Fol- ding chair	Spear type	Sword	Bra- ce- let	Fin- ger loo- ses
Q 14	1	40.88	?	?				2, 3, 4, 6			
6	2	11.50		1			1				
9	2	5									
10	2	13									
11	2	12					-				
12	2	3									
15	2	4									
3	3	53.40	11	67	2			5	1		
22	4	24									
17	5	40	15	19	2						191
24	6	29	4	5	1				100.00		•
25	6	30	2?	3	1?						
31	7	29.10	7	10	1			2,7			
36	8	30	6	10	1 .						
26	8	23	3?	?	?		,				
2	9	47.80	18	13	2?		•+				
48	9	51.20	?	?	?				1		
B 80	10	62	8	2+?		K,q	•	1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9	6	•	•
2	11	30	2	2							
6*	12	68	2	?	2	pr		2	2	•	•
90	13	46	?	?	?				-	-	
49	14	34	?	?	?						

Table 2. Distribution of the features indicating royal and princely burials

*No. 108, probably two fittings from a folding chair, see Emery-Kirwan 1938 381 and here PI. 58

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Table 2 cont'd

Tomb	89	Mound dm in m	Number of retainers	of	Ox/ cow	Crown	Fol- ding chair	Spear type	Sword	Bra- ce- let	Fin- ger loo- ses
B 47	15	39.30	3	1		٥		2	1	•	
51	16	23	?	7		pr'ss			1 0 32 1		
52	16	26	?	2		in apple					
84	17	42	2	2		and guild					1.00
9*	18	67	2	3	1	and a star of		2	2	•	•
37	19	60	5	?	?	к	•	2			•
5	20	22					1	1.1			
F 5	20	10					- 6		1.4.18		
B 18	20	28						1. 1. 1.	1		
27	20	30				He l			1.0		
60	20	33.80	general M			hare -		1			1
70	20	29									
24	20	30	5.5	1			111		1.0 1		4
44	20	15			11.11		i li ti		35		10 . N
4	21	67	?	4		pr	16				26 45
10+	22	74	5	5	1	pr	•	2	(ALR.)		•
1	23	28		1					opie		
8	23	26		26				1.1			
13	23	38									1
14	23	36		-		•	1				
22	23	41									
28	23	13								- lo	
31	23	37									

Table	2	cont'd
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Tomb	8	Mound dm in m	Number of retainers	Nomber of sacrif. animals	Ox/ cow	Crown	Fol- ding chair	Spear type	Sword	Bra- ce- let	Fin- ger loo- ses
в 3	24	77	1	2			•	7			
68	25	33	?	?							
48	26	39.30	?	?							
21	26	26								34	
73	27	48	?	1				to k			
95 ⁺	28	56	8	?	1	K,q	•	1,2	2	•	•
121	29	54	5	?			•				
122	30	48	?	?	1				878 A.		•
72	31	35	?	?							
76	31	34	?	?							
114+	32	60	9	?	1	K,q	•	2	1		
111	33	50	2	?							
118	34	54	6	?	1.	۵	•	1,2			
110	35	30	?	?							

Abbreviations:

K = king's crown,

Q = ruling queen's crown,

q = retainer queen's crown,

pr = prince's crown,

pr'ss = princesse's crown

⁺at tomb number = unplundered tomb

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Table 3. Concordance I. Tombs listed by number

Tomb	discussed in §	Tomb	discussed in §
Q 1	n.e.	B 23	n.e.
2	9	24	20
3	3	25	n.e.
4	n.d.	26	n.e.
5	n.e.	27	20
6	6	28	23
7	n.e.	29	n.e.
8	n.e.	30	n.e.
9	2	31	23
10	2	32-36	n.e.
11	2	37	19
12	2	38-43	n.e.
13	n.d.	44	20
14	1	45	n.e.
15	2	46	n.e.
16	n.d.	47	15
17	5	48	26
18-21	n.e.	49	14
22	4	50	n.d.
23	n.e.	51	16
24	6	52	16
25	6	53-59	n.e.
26	8	60	20
27-30	n.e.	61-69	n.e.
31	7	70	20
32-35	n.e.	71	n.e.
36	8	72	31
37-47	n.e.	73	27
48	9	74	n.e.
B 1	23	75	n.e.
2	11	76	31
3	24	77-79	n.e.
4	21	80	10
5	20	81-83	n.e.
6	12	84	17
7	n.e.	85-89	n.e.
8	23	90	13
9	18	91-94	n.e.
10	22	95	28
11	n.e.	96-109	n.e.
12	n.e.	110	35
13	23	111	33
14	23	112	n.e.
15-17	n.e.	113	n.e.
18	20	114	32
19	n.e.	115-117	n.e.
20	n.e.	118	34
21	26	119	n.e.
22	23	120	n.e.

Sec.

Table 3 cont'd

Tomb	discussed in §
121	29
122	30
F 5	20

Abbreviations: n.e. = not excavated, n.d. = not discussed for lack of finds and/or significant typological features

Table 4. Concordance II. Imported objects listed by tombs in chronological order

A. Silver horse trappings

Tomb	Object No.	discussed in §	Plate	
0.3	53, 55	3	45, 46	
Q 17	62, 63	5	52	
Q 31	49	7	55	
Q 2	103	9	57	

B. Church silver from B 3, see § 24

Object No.	Object	Plate
3	reliquary	99-102
8	censer	XXIV
4-6	spoons	103
7	spoon rest?	103

C. Silver plate from B 3, see § 24

Object No.	Object	Plate
1	plain dish	96
2	figured dish	XVII, XVIII,
		98
9	fluted bowl	97
11-13, 29	bowls	104

D. Silver plate from diverse tombs

Tomb	Object No.	Object	discussed in §	Plate
03	52	ewer	3	47

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Object	discussed in §	Plate
wine skin in the form		
of a pig	3	47
pair of amulae	9	III
spouted vessel	23	not ill.
spouted vessel	26	133
	wine skin in the form of a pig pair of amulae spouted vessel	wine skin in the form of a pig 3 pair of amulae 9 spouted vessel 23

E. Silver toilet vessels

Tomb	Object No.	discussed in §	Plate
B 2	8	11	69
B 6	11	12	70
B 47	65	15	not ill.
B 51	1	16	not ill.
B 52	14	16	not ill.
B,9	6	18	84
B 4	12	21	not ill.
B 3	27,28	24	not ill.
B 95	15	28	not ill.
B 121	2	29	120
B 114	6	32	125
B 118	38	34	not ill.

F. Jewellery (all silver, except of B 2 No. 15, B 80 No. 11)

Tom	o Object No.	Object		discussed in §	Plate
Q 14	84	finger ring		1	37
	65	éarring		1	not ill.
	59	earring		1	37
	60	bracelet		1.000	38
	50	earring		1	38
03	89	earring		3	not ill.
B 80	111	finger ring of gold		10	61
B 2	15	finger ring of gold		11	69
B 47	14, 15	pair of bracelets		15	VII, 75
	28	torques	•	15	77
	45	bead bracelet		15	76
	39	bracelet		15	76
	19	earring		15	77
	20, 51	earrings		15	77
	21, 53, 54	earrings		15	77
	without No.	earring		15	77
B 51	25,26	pair of bracelets		16	not ill.
	27,30	earrings		16	not ill.
	31,36	earrings		16	not ill.

G. Wooden caskets with bronze or silver fitting or ivory inlay

Tomb	Object No.	Object	Discussed	in §	Plate	
Q 14 Q 3	77 105	ivory inlaid bridal chest cylindrical casket with	1		38, 39	
		ivory inlay and bronze				
		fittings	3		49	
B 80	54	toilet box with silver				
		fittings	10	004	68	
B 2	14	circular ivory box	not discu	ssed ⁸⁰⁴	not ill.	
B 47	3	cylindrical casket with				
		bronze plaques	15		79	
B 52	23	bronze casket with				
		bronze box inside	16		not ill.	
B 37	3	bronze casket	19		85	
B 4	9	bronze casket	21		not ill.	

H. Alabaster vessels

Tomb	Object No.	Discussed in §	Plate
Q 36	150	8	not ill.805 not ill.806 not ill.807 not ill.808 not ill.809 not ill.
B 90	6	13	not ill.806
B 47	66	15	not ill.807
B 52	38	16	not ill.808
B 10	14	22	not ill.809
B 121	33, 36	29	122

J. African Red Slip Ware vessels

Tomb	Object No.	Form	Form (Hayes)	discussed in §	PI.
в 3	276	88c dish	82A	24	24
B 73	53	88b dish	82B	27	24
	50	56b pilgrim bottle		30	24
B 122	107	88a dish	89B	30	24
	106	56b pilgrim bottle		30	24
B 114	185, 186	88a dishes	89B	32	24

K. Glass vessels

Tomb	Object No.	Object	Discussed in §	Plate
Q14	75	conical lamp	1	40
03	74	three conical lamps	3	48
Q 24	50	blue flask	6	53
B 18	38	flask	20	not ill.810
B 95	39	green bottle	28	115

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L. Toilet utensils

Tomb	Object No.	Object	Discussed in §	Plate
Q 14	57, 58	wooden boxes	1	40
03	83	painted ivory comb	3	47
Q 17	55, 58, 60	wooden pyxides	5	50
B 80	113-115	spoons	10	62
B 95	14	spoon	28	114
B 118	17-20	spoons	34	132

M. Bronze incense burners

Tomb	Object No.	Discussed in §	Plate
B 80	59	10	63
	60	10	64
B 47	10	15	XII, 81
B 37	25	19	88
B 121	10	29	121
B 114	34	32	125

N. Bronze lamps

Tomb	Object No.	Object	Туре	Discussed in §	Plate
Q 14	74	dove lamp		1	40
03	90	head lamp	A	3	48
B 80	68	nude male	В	10	not ill.
	69	column + bust	С	10	60
B 2	12	dolphin lamp		11	69
	13	nude male	В	11	V, VI
B 90	1	column	D	13	72
B 47	67	head lamp	A	15	XI
B 9	12	hand lamp + bust	С	18	84
B 37	37	hand lamp + bust	С	19	XIII-XV
B 10	9	column		22	92
	21	candlestick		22	92
B 3	37	nude male	В	24	XX, XXI
	38	Victory + bust	E, C	24	105
	39	column + vine leaves	F	24	XIX
	40	column	G	24	95
	41	Victory + bust	E, C	24	not ill.
B 95	12	column		28	113
	66	column		28	113
B 121	5	animals		29	121
	25	column + vine leaves	F	29	121
B 114	16	child Dionysos		32	XXV,
					XXVI
	35	column		32	125

Туре	Tomb	Object No.	Generation	Plate
1	B 80	30, 47	5	28
	B 2	2,3	5	
	B 6	16	5	
	B 47	5, 11, 68, 69, 70, 71	6	
	B 51	11	6	
	B 9	23, 26	6-7	
	B 37	6, 13, 14	7	
	B 5	80	7-8	
	B 4	5, 11, 15	7	
	B 10	2,7,30	7-8	
	B 121	8	9	
,	B 118	5	11	
2	В 6	13	5	28
2	B 37	26	7	20
	B 37	20	/	
3	В 3	33	8	30
4	B 47	4	6	28
	B 95	42	9	
	B 118	39	11	
5	в 3	21 .	8	30
6	В 2	11	5	28
	B 6	4	5	
	B 24	39	7	
	B 10	29	7-8	
	B 3	32	8	
	B 118	2	11	
7	В 9	34	6-7	28
8	B 95	25	9	30
9	В 9	35	6-7	28
10	B 52	13	6	29
11	В 3	25	8	31
12	В 9	25	6-7	29
13_	B 80	52	5	29
14	B 95	20	9	31
	B 121	4	9-10	31

Table 5. Concordance III. Imported bronze vessels by types and tombs (tombs in chronological order)

Туре	Tomb	Object No.	Generation	Plate
	B 114	7	10	1944
	B 118	37	11	
<u>15</u>	B 10	1	7—8	31
<u>16</u>	B 37	23	7	31
<u>17</u>	B 121	15	9–10	32
<u>18</u>	B 95	24	9	32
19	B 47	9	6	29
	B 37	21	7	NON T
20	B 80	118	5	29
	B 6	12	5	
	B 9	36	6-7	
	B 37	22	7	
1.1	B 27	1	7–8	1.2/8/
21	В 5	93	7	32
	B 4	22	7	
22	B 37	18	7	32
and and	B 121	19	9	
23	B 5	94	7	32
	B 121	20 ″	9	12.1
24	Q 14	46	1	28
1200	B 37	17, 19, 20	7	
Bull .	B 5	43	7	11. 44
25	B 6	1,2	5	29
	B 90	3	5	
	B 51	6	6	
	B 27	2	7	
26	Q 14	17	1	28
27	В 9	29	6–7	29
28	B 90	2	5	30
	B 51	5	6	1.11
	B 52	9	6	
	B 37	1	7	
	B 4	7	7	
	B 118	25	11	
29	B 37	12	7	31

Туре	Tomb	Object No.	Generation	Plate
30	В 37	4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 15	7	32
	B 10	4, 12, 13	7	
	B 8	2	7	
	B 95	51, 55, 56, 59, 60	9	
	B 121	3, 26, 27, 33, 34	9	
	B 114	21, 26, 28, 29, 33	10	
	B 118	11, 12, 15	11	
31	B 80	31, 37	5	30
	B 6	28, 29, 33, 34	5	
	B 90	8, 10, 14	5	
	B 51	2,8	6	
	B 52	12	6	
	B 9	30-33	6-7	
	B 37	16	7	
	B 5	13, 25, 27, 29, 33, 35,		
		37, 39, 45-47, 49, 50	7	
	B 24	38	7	
	B 27	14	7	
	B 4	13, 16, 18, 19, 20,		
		21, 24	7	
	B 10	5, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20	7-8	
	B 3	15, 16, 18	8	
	B 95	19, 49, 50, 52, 57,		
		61,65	9	
	B 121	29, 31, 32	9	
	B 114	23, 27, 32	10	
	 B 118	13, 14	11	
32	B 6	26, 27, 30-32	5	30
	B 90	9,11-13	5	
	B 4	17, 23, 25	7	
	В 3	17	8	
	B 95	53, 54, 58, 62-64	9	
	B 121	28,30	9	
	 B 114	20, 24, 25, 30, 31	10	
33	B 51	7	6	not ill. ⁸¹¹
34	B 52	6	6	30
35	B 52	15	6	30
36	B 54	19	6	30

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Table 6. Concordance IV. Chronological distribution of pottery wares

A. Nubian Ware	S	and the set we set			
Generation	W 30	R 1	R 25	W 29	U 1
1	•	• • • •	•	Sec	
2	•	•	•		•
3	•	•	•		
4		•	•	12.8	
5	•	•	55.05	•	
6	•	•	•	- 1 - 1 - 1	
7	•	•	•	•	
8		•	Contraction Co	5 B. B.	
9	•	•	•	•	
10	•	•	•	• • • •	11/10
11	•				

W 30 = Adams' X-Group Fine White Ware, 812 R 1 = Adams' Classic X-Group Red Ware, 813 R 25 = Adams' Early X-Group Brown Ware, 814 W 29 = Adams' X-Group Ordinary White Ware, 815 U 1 = Adams' Pre-Christian Brown Utility Ware.

в.	Aswan	Wares
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Generation	R 30	R31	W 24	U2	U 6	
1	E.	•	•		1.	
2		•		•	• ?	perhaps U 18 (?)
3			•	• • -		
4				•	1	
5			•	•		
6				•		
7	•	•	•	•		
8	•	•	•	•	•	
9				•	-	
10	•		•		•	
11	•		•			

R 30 = Adams' Aswan Graeco-Roman Ordinary Red Ware,⁸¹⁷ R 31 = Adams' Aswan Graeco-Roman Flaky Pink Ware,⁸¹⁸ R 24 = Adams' Aswan Graeco-Roman Ordinary Cream Ware,⁸¹⁹ U 2 = Adams' Aswan Byzantine Pink Utility Ware,⁸²⁰

U 6 = Adams' Aswan Medieval Grey Utility Ware, 821

U 18 = see below Table 6.C.

Generation	W 28	U 4	U 16	U 3	U 18
1	•		•	•	•
2	•	•	•	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	•
3	•		and a particular	••••••	•
4	•	and have	•	•	•
5	•	•	•	•	•
6	•		•	•	•
7	•		•	•	•
8	•	•	•	•	•
9		•	•	•	•
10	•	•	•	•	•
11	-	•	•	•	•

C. Middle- and Lower Egyptian Wares

W 28 = Adams' Middle Egyptian Plain White Ware,⁸²²

U 4 = Adams' Middle Egyptian Brown Utility Ware, 823

U 16 = Adams' Roman Ballas Ware,⁸²⁴

U 3 = Adams' Saqqara Buff Amphora Ware, 825

U 18 = Adams' Micaceous Brown Utility Ware. 826

1.7. Comments on Table 6

Table 6 shows very clearly that most of the wares occurring in the burial equipments at Qustul and Ballana belong to long-living ceramic wares and they are therefore rather useless for dating.

The Nubian Wares W 30, R 1 and R 25 are present in a great number of graves from the first to the last generation of the royal cemeteries. The cup Forms 60–66, 72d, 73b belong to Ware W 30, it must be stressed, however, that not all these forms were produced throughout this long period. On the contrary, the shapes of cups were changed during the course of the period between the 1st and 11th generation burials, as it can be seen on Pls 17 (early forms), 18 (Generations 5–8), 21 (persistent (?) forms). In Ware R 1 we find medium-size pots (Forms 20–22), bottles (28–38), flagons (44), globular bottles (57), bowls (70, 71), cups (73, 74) and goblets (79– 87). Again, forms are not all persistent: 20–22 occur in tombs of Generations 1–4 (Pl. 15); Form 70 is early (Pl. 17), as also Form 87 (ibid.). Forms 28, 30 seem to be

confined to the middle of the period, 31–38 occur between c. Generations 4 and 11. Yet the goblets 80–87 are persistent shapes (PI. 27).

Ware R 25 includes large jars (15-19, 51-54) of persistent nature (PIs 15, 17, 18, 24). Ware W 29 appears, by contrast, only from the 5th Generation onwards. In this ware we find Forms 71a, 72e and 87a, i.e. the most common later Post-Meroitic cup and goblet forms. Ware U 1 occurs only in a Generation 2 tomb, but its rarity is due to the fact that in U 1 saqia pots were produced which do not belong to the usual funerary equipment.

The distribution of the Aswan Wares is less uniform. R 30 Ware vessels do not occur before Generation 7. To the ware may belong vessels of Forms 45–48, i.e. small amphoras and jugs mostly with painted decoration. R 31 is infrequently attested, from what it may be perhaps concluded that small aryballoi did not belong to the vessel forms liked by the post-Meroitic upper class. While Wares W 24 and U 2 are persistent, U 6 does not appear before Generation 8. To this ware belong the rare amphora Forms 11 and 12.

The most persistent wares originate from Middle- and Lower Egyptian pottery manufactures. In W 28 we find Forms 40–42, i.e. table amphorae which may have served the habit of wine-drinking. U 4 is confined to the amphora Form 10 which was presumably imported as the container for a standard wine. U 16 Ware amphorae (Forms 1–5) were, according to Adams, not wine amphorae but containers for some other commodity.⁸²⁷ The same may have been the case with Ware U 3 (Form 6). Ware U 18 (aphora Forms 13) was produced perhaps outside Egypt and served for storage and transportation of some Mediterranean wine.

1.8. The Ballana crowns: typology and iconography⁸²⁸

No crown or jewel which would indicate the presence of a decayed or stolen crown was found in the Qustul cemetery. Although the plundered condition of the tombs does not allow any certain statement, it seems that, if they wore crowns, the first four generations of the post-Meroitic rulers were buried without them. It is remarkable that the appearance of the crown coincided with a new burial rite that occurred in the grave of the first king buried at Ballana: with the bed burial and sacrifice of the queen.

Five types of crowns were found at Ballana: circlet with ram's head at the front and surmounted by a plumed crest at the forehead and uraei around the edge of the circlet; the same without uraei; circlet surmounted by three plumed crests; circlet with uraei around the upper edge: simple circlet. The first two types clearly derive from a Meroitic crown type.

In the following I give a detailed description of the preserved exemplars, it will be followed by remarks on origin and iconography.

1. B 80 No. 48, PI. IV. On the head of the king. Silver crown composed of two strips of sheet silver bent in a circular form and riveted together at the back. The outer sheet is embossed with a design representing the Horus hawk with the Double Crown between two horizontal friezes of rosettes and large beads (frieze A). The hawks are made with the help of the same matrix as

the decoration of the saddle pommels Nos 40 from Q 31 (Pl. 55) and 165 from Q 36 (Pl. 56). The inner sheet is left plain. The embossed design is backed by a hard plaster. The edges at top and bottom are joined with rounded strips of silver. At the top of the circlet, at the front, is mounted a ram's head (Amun) worked in the round and filled with hard plaster. A vertical rod fastened on the head (above the head with sundisk) supports a broad crescent and stylized ram's horns which are surmounted by four tall plumes flanked by cobras wearing sundisk. On each side of the superstructure are fastened six large cobras and one smaller one, all cut out of silver and wearing sun disks. The superstructure is set with garnets and cornelians en cabochon.

2. B 80 No. 3, Pl. 60. Crown of retainer queen. Silver crown composed of two strips of sheet silver. The outer sheet is embossed with the design of an offering pharaoh wearing kilt and the Double Crown of Egypt, between two horizontal friezes of rosettes. The embossed design is backed with hard plaster.

3. B 47 No. 13, Pl. 74. Crown of ruling queen. Silver crown composed as the above described ones. The outer sheet is embossed with the design of the bust of an unidentifiable goddess en face wearing plumed headdress, between two horizontal friezes of beads. On top of the circlet three superstructures in the form of horns supporting sundisk and two tall plumes. Circlet and superstructures are set with cornelians en cabochon.

4. B 6 No. 20, Pl. 70. Crown of prince. Silver crown composed in the same manner as the above ones. The outer sheet is embossed with the bust of the goddess made with same matrix as on 3 above, between two horizontal friezes of small and large beads. Set with cornelians en cabochon.

5. B 95 No. 22, Pl. 109. King's crown. Silver crown composed in the same manner as 1. The outer sheet is embossed with the design of the bust of king en face, wearing nemes-headcloth and four tall plumes flanked by uraei supported by ram's horns. On each shoulder of the king there is a cobra with sundisk. At top and bottom horizontal rosette friezes made with the same matrix as on 1. At front mounted on top of the circlet ram's head supporting (on now lost rod) ram's horns surmounted by four tall plumes flanked by uraei. Circlet and superstructure are set with garnets, cornelians and beryls en cabochon.

6. B 95 No. 18, Pl. 110. Retainer queen's crown. Composed in the same manner as 4. The outer sheet is embossed with the design of the goddess appearing on 3 and 4 and made on the same matrix, between two horizontal friezes of meander and large beads (frieze B).

7. B 10 No. 31, Pl. 91. From prince's crown. Circlet could not be saved. It was composed in the same manner as 4, the outer sheet was embossed on the same matrix as 3, 4 and 6 with the design of the bust of a goddess, between two horizontal friezes of meander and large beads (perhaps on the same matrix as 6). On top of the circlet were fastened silver cobras en face wearing sundisk, of which six survived. Frieze B.

8. B 114 No. 11, Pl. 124. King's crown. Silver crown composed in same manner as 1. The outer sheet is embossed with the same matrix as 5, between two horizontal friezes (frieze A) of rosettes made on the same matrix as the friezes on 1 and 5. At front a ram's head supported, on a rod (now lost) four tall plumes and sundisk flanked by uraei, placed on ram's horns. On the superstructure the sundisk is decorated with a paste inlay medallion (yellow paste), the setting is accompanied with spiral wire. Circlet and crest are set with beryls, cornelians and green glass en cabochon.

9. B 114 No. 12, not ill. (not preserved). Retainer queen's crown. Composed in same manner as 4, Outer sheet was embossed with the same matrix as 3, 4, 6, and 7, between two horizontal friezes of meander and large beads (perhaps on same matrix as 6 and 7, i.e. frieze B).

10. B 118 No. 29, Pl. 128. Ruling queen's crown. Composed in the same manner as 1. The outer sheet is embossed with udjat eyes in square panels. On top of the circlet five winged uraei wearing sundisk. Circlet set with cornelians and green and blue glass en cabochon.

11. B 51 No. 294, not illustrated.⁸²⁹ Circlet composed in the same manner as 4. The outer sheet is embossed with large rosettes. Diameter 17 cm.

12. B 4 No. 29, Pl. 90. Cornelians in silver box setting, in all probability from a prince's crown.

13. B 37 No. 2, not ill. Four cornelians in silver box setting, in all probability from a King's crown. The following table sums up the above jewels:

Table 7. The crowns from Ballana

No.	Provenance	Owner	Туре	Matrix	Stones	Generation
1	B 80	King	diadem + crest + uraei	Horus, frieze A large beads	garnet cornelian	5
2	B 80	retainer queen	circlet	pharaoh offering		5
3	В 47	Queen	circlet + 3 crests	goddess	cornelian	6
4	В 6	prince	circlet	goddess Iarge beads	cornelian	5
6	B 95	retainer queen	circlet	goddess Iarge beads frieze B		9
7	B 10	prince	circlet + cobras en face	goddess Iarge beads frieze B		7–8
9	B 114	retainer queen	circlet	goddess Iarge beads frieze B		10
5	B 95	King	circlet + crest	king en face frieze A	garnet cornelian beryl	9
8	B 114	King	circlet + crest	king en face frieze A	beryl cornelian glass	10
10	B 118	Queen	circlet + winged uraei	udjat	cornelian glass	11
11	B 51	lesser queen?	circlet	rosettes		6
12	В 4	prince	?	?	cornelian (and ?)	7
13	В 37	King	?	?	cornelian (and ?)	7

Nos 1, 5 and 8 derive from the late Meroitic crown type represented on Shorakaror's triumphal monument (late 1st c. A.D.),⁸³⁰ in Amanitaraqide's funerary chapel (early 2nd c. A.D.),⁸³¹ and on the pylon of Tarekeniwal's funerary chapel (2nd half of the 2nd c. A.D.).⁸³² The Meroitic representations show a diadem with ram-headed cobra at the forehead, with tall plumes or atef supported by ram's horns. The plumes and the atef are flanked by uraei. The circlet of King Tarekeniwal also bears a pattern. No. 1 also shows the influence of a further crown type appearing first in the 1st c. B.C. or in the 1st c. A.D. It is attested in representations of a nameless ruler buried in Begarawiyah N. 20, and of King Natakamani in the 2nd half of the 1st c. A.D.⁸³³ The uraei surmounting the circlet doubtless derive from the type of these latter two insignia. Yet the crest has presumably also further sources. Queen Amanishakheto⁸³⁴ has in the early 1st c. A.D. a patterned diadem with a shield-like piece (Amun's collar ?) at the forehead which supports a ram's head with sundisk and tall plumes. The shield-like piece on the diadem has its origin possibly in the 2nd c. B.C. prince Tedegen's crown type,⁸³⁵ which survives in a special type of the crown prince's crown in the 1st c. A.D.836 The above crowns are, almost without exception, associated with the ruler's and crown prince's warrior aspects.837

Hierarchical differences are clearly indicated by the Ballana crowns. The simplest crown, No. 11, which repeats in design remarkably enough an early Meroitic type of the crown of royal wives,⁸³⁸ was found in a rather small and not particularly richly furnished tomb. The two princely crowns differ in appearance: No. 4 is a circlet set with cornelians, No. 7 is a circlet surmounted by uraeus figures. While the former is identical in type with the crowns of the retainer queens, the latter indicates a higher standing than these, the more so, that the crowns of the retainer queens are without stones. Nos 3 and 10 belong to women whose tomb type and burial rite and equipment suggest that they were ruling queens. Accordingly, also their crowns indicate higher standing than the princely crowns. No. 3 is not only set with stones but it has three plumed superstructures, too, which show the Isis-crown supplemented with the plumes of Amun, unifying thus the insignium of the Meroitic queen with that of the Meroitic king. No. 10 is set with stones and surmounted by winged cobras. Nos 1, 5, 8, 13 have the most complicated design and iconographical message.

The ram's head with the plumed superstructure recalls the *Gottessohnschaft*relation of the Meroitic ruler with Amun; the central idea of Kushite kingship ideology. The cobras of the royal and princely crowns derive from the representation of the Two Goddesses, divine symbols of the rule over Upper and Lower Egypt in Egyptian, over Kush in Kushite royal symbolism, and it cannot be presumed that they were put on the post-Meroitic crowns entirely without the knowledge of their significance. The superstructures of No. 3 clearly derive from the Meroitic ideology of queenship, as also the winged cobras of No. 10 go back on Egyptian royal symbolism as mediated by representations on jewels of Meroitic queens. The embossed motifs also stem from the realm of royal symbolism, as the decoration of the circlet itself goes back to Meroitic prototypes. The connection between kingship ideology and embossed design is obvious in the case of No. 1: Horus with the Double Crown is an image of pharaoh. Much less directly, but still comprehensibly, the design of No. 2 hints at kingship, and the offering pharaoh image may besides have been regarded as highly protective. The royal bust on Nos 5 and 8 is wearing the same superstructure which appears in reality on the Ballana crowns.

The identity of the matrixes used on several crowns deserves special attention. Nos 1, 5, 8 are connected by the friezes, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9 by the embossed goddess bust, 5 and 8 are associated also by the design showing a king en face, and 6 and 7 by their friezes, too. This means that the same matrixes were used for the decoration of royal crowns and crowns worn by certain members of the royal family continuously from the 5th to the 10th Generation. But this time span must be extended back to Generation 3, for the matrix representing Horus was already employed on silverworks found in Generation 3 tombs (Q 31 and 36). The Horus matrix was used only in the time of Generations 3 and 5, as far as preserved monuments attest it, but "frieze A," appearing on No. 1 also appears on the crown No. 8 buried with the king of Generation 10. The goddess bust matrix was used from Generation 5 to 10; the king bust was used, by contrast, only for two generations (9 and 10). The "frieze B" matrix seems to have served for three royal generations.

The survival of Meroitic royal iconography, and especially its most important element, the crown, is also attested by two representations of King Silko, which I shall discuss in the chapter on the post-Meroitic kingship.

1.9. On the technical aspect of the crowns

It is quite surprizing that hardly any gold jewellery was found at Qustul or Ballana. It may be supposed that the more valuable pieces were stolen from most of the burials thus the absence of gold is due to the robbers. However, unplundered tombs such as B 6, 9, 10, and especially 95, 114 and 118 convince us that gold jewels were indeed not put into the tombs. Incidental gold rings speak against the possible explanation that gold was regarded, for some reasons unknown to us, as unfit for afterlife use, but we are unable to tell whether the Ballana princes wore considerable quantities of gold jewellery during their lifetime or not. The balances found in several royal and princely burials hint at the fact that gold was valued in the post-Meroitic society, as is also self-evident.

Yet the silver jewellery discovered in the tombs also conveys a rather strange general picture. The more elaborate pieces, like some bracelets decorated with stones and the earrings are doubtless imports from Egypt. However, in view of the high standard of contemporary Egyptian jewellery (first of all of gold jewels) these pieces cannot be regarded as very valuable. The solid cast and engraved silver bits found in association with the Byzantine silver trappings (Ω 2, two pieces, Ω 3, four pieces, Ω 31) seem to have been made in Nubia, not only because of their strange construction which is apparently unattested elsewhere, but also because iron horse and donkey bits of the same type are also known from other post-Meroitic sites. Their decoration – the lion figures – recalls, however, the style of objects of foreign origin (cp. the lion figures on the fittings of the folding chair from B 95, Pl. 111). The high standard of craftmanship that is characteristic for the silver bits is also prevalent in the case of the solid cast and engraved bracelets with lion head decoration (from B 80, 47, 6, 9, 95,

see Pls 61, 74, 71, 84, 110). It is only seemingly surpassed by the skill employed in the construction of the crowns.

As indicated above, the material of the crowns already poses problems. Is it imaginable that the post-Meroitic rulers wore, instead of gold crowns like their Meroitic predecessors, silver insignia? Even if we answer with yes, we could hardly believe that it was the crowns found in the graves that were previously in fact worn by the kings and queens. Their construction: hard and heavy plaster between two thin silver sheets, does not seem to indicate that they were made for actual use. But even if we accept the unprovable suggestion⁸³⁹ that they were funerary crowns, the fact is quite surprizing that they were decorated with the help of matrices, instead of proper repoussé work.

The technique of using matrices for the decoration of metal plaques is indeed a quite cheap method and was employed for the ornamentation e.g. of bronze casket mounts. Caskets with bronze mounts decorated in this way were also found in Ballana and it deserves our attention that on some of them we encounter plastically rendered female heads the technical execution of which recalls that of the ram's heads of the royal crowns (cp. Pl. 79 and analogies quoted in § 15). On the other hand, it was observed already in § 15 that the technique of plaster-filling of jewels made of thin sheet silver is apparently Egyptian. It is thus highly probable that the production of the crowns was based on two techniques taken over from Egypt, the plaster-filling of "shells" made of sheet silver, corresponding with the traditional Roman technique of *plumbatura*, i.e. supporting of high relief parts of gold and silver plate with lead filling (frequently employed on late antique plate),⁸⁴⁰ and, secondly, the embossing with the help of matrices used currently in workshops producing casket mounts.

It would be mere speculation to say more about the workshop of the Ballana crowns. It must be remarked, however, that its Egyptian origin cannot be doubted, not only because the techniques discussed above stem from Egypt, but also because these techniques coincide with the employment of the en cabochon setting (with accompanying silver spiral wire) and the large beads as frieze motif. Moreover, the matrices also point towards Egyptian sources and Egyptian silversmiths with a limited knowledge of iconography. Although the Horus figure on the crown of the king buried in B 80 is a fitting symbol, its employment on the circlet displays a certain carelessness: the figures are all facing left, i.e. they look only on the left half of the crest towards the front, on the right half they are turned in the wrong direction. This phenomenon, which can be explained by the attitude of a craftsman who is ignorant of the rules of the ornamentation of a crown and decorates it therefore in the way as he would decorate any other oblong field (although No. 40 from Q 31 proves that in the shop there also existed a matrix with the pendant hawk facing right: see Pl. 55). By contrast, we can be positive that late Meroitic diadems were decorated with symmetric figures turning towards the forehead of the king, as is required by Egyptian iconography, too. This carelessness (which is also apparent on the queen's crown from B 80) is the more conspicuous that the cobra figures surmounting the crest turn towards the centre i.e. the crest with the plumes of Amun.

The workshop producing the crowns also made objects of everyday use, as the sword scabbards (found in B 6, 9, 80 and 114, PIs 70, 83, 59, B 114 No. 9 not pre-

served) and saddle fittings (found in Q 2, 3, 17, 31, 36, PIs 58, 45, 50, 55, 56) prove. The long period embraced by the crowns and these objects (Generations 3–11) indicates that there was a royal silversmith's workshop, where, at least at the beginning, there were Egyptian silversmiths working who brought along several Egyptian matrices which remained in use for almost a whole century. It is obscure whether the other Nubian silverworks were produced in this workshop. Spears with silver mounting and silver archer's bracers or silver horse bits are unknown from non-royal burials, it is thus probable that they were also produced in a workshop connected to the court.

1.10. Traces of gilding on Qustul and Ballana finds

Emery observed⁸⁴¹ that the miniature bronze table No. 76 from B 80 (PI. 67) was originally covered with gold leaf. In addition, I could observe gilding traces on a number of other objects, too. I give here their list. Unfortunately enough, I was unable to identify the provenance of the individual bells.

JE 70551–70555, all Type 1 (Pl. 35)

JE 70542-70544, all Type 3 (Pl. 35)

Lamps: No. 37 from B 3 (Pls XX, XXI).

Bells:

Gilding traces are visible on the inner side of both thighs, less on the right leg, but the left thigh has conspicuous traces from the knee to the genitals.

No. 69 from B 80 (PI. 60) has gilding traces on its entire surface, including also the double-burner dolphin lamp suspended on the standard.

No. 16 from B 114 (PIs XXV, XXVI). The figure of the lampadophoros child Dionysos shows gilding traces on the left side of the back, and on the back of both thighs (right leg also beyond the knee). The dolphin lamp (now detached from the candelabrum and lying at its base in the case) has gilding traces on the whole surface.

No. 12 from B 95 (PI. 113) has gilding traces on the front side of the splay base, on the ring base of the lamp, on the spout, around the filling hole, and on the cross attached to the handle.

With the exception of the bells, the provenance of which is unknown, all of the other gilded bronze objects come from Egypt. The gilding of bronze statuettes and furniture fittings was general in Roman times,⁸⁴² and this custom existed also in Egypt, as it is indicated e.g. by a 2nd-3rd c. A.D. bronze statuette in the Cairo Museum (Room 39, vitrine) representing a winged Eros.

Tomb	Type (Object	No.)											
_	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<u>02</u>	84	73						85			82	81		
	86	79												
	87	80												
		83												
<u>Q3</u>	54	60	62	64	68	69	71	57	66				61	63
	58	70												
	59													
	65													
<u>Q 17</u>	67	68					71	69		72				
		70												
		73												
0.24		52												
Q 25				2										
<u>Q 31</u>		52			51			50						
					53			54						
Q 36	154													
l'ile	155													

1.11. Table 8. Concordance V. bronze bells according to tombs (for Types see Pl. 35)

2. Non-royal cemeteries

Burial types and ceramic wares ocurring at Qustul and Ballana, i.e. the cultural complex labelled "Ballana Culture", are known from the territory extending from Shellal at the First Cataract in the north to the Abri-Delgo Reach in the south. The southernmost exemplars of the typical later post-Meroitic goblets of Forms 80-82 known so far are recorded from a cemetery at Sesebi, ⁸⁴³ but we may perhaps assume that the southern limit of the culture – which was presumably a political border at the same time – lay at the Third Cataract.

The state of research concerning the archaeology of post-Meroitic burials was recently summarized by Adams very aptly: "While most Meroitic cemeteries contain at least thirty graves, many burial grounds of the Ballana period have less than a dozen. The largest number of Ballana graves which have been excavated at any one site is 495, at the cemetery of Argin near Wadi Halfa.⁸⁴⁴ However, it appears probable that some cemeteries which are partly or largely unexcavated may be many times larger.⁸⁴⁵ Very few of the larger Ballana cemeteries are 'pure' sites; most of them include also graves of the Meroitic or of the Christian period, or both. In the area immediately surrounding the Second Cataract, for example, there were thirteen cemeteries of the Ballana period which also contained Meroitic graves, twenty-five contained only Ballana graves.⁸⁴⁶ This circumstance points both to the relatively brief duration of the Ballana period and to the small size of the population in most settlements. By far the heaviest concentration of Ballana graves was found in the area just north of the Second Cataract ... there is a second concentration farther

north, in the vicinity of the old administrative centre of Qasr Ibrim ... Beyond Maharraqa, in the former territory of the Dodekaschoenos, Ballana sites are conspicuously smaller and fewer than in the region farther south. The total number of Ballana graves discovered by the First Archaeological Survey between Shellal and Wadi essebua was only 418 – less than the number of graves from any other historic period.⁸⁴⁷

In the south, we know nothing about the distribution of Ballana graves beyond the limit of systematic exploration at the Dal Cataract (cp. sections 9, 10 below, L. T.). We can observe, however, that Ballana sites are much more numerous in the Batn el Hajar than are Meroitic sites... There was even an important administrative centre, or at least the residence of a very wealthy family, at Firka, near the upper end of the Batn el Hajar (cp. section 11 below, L. T.). Some fifteen miles farther upstream, the large but unexcavated necropolis of Sai Island is the southernmost definitely known site of the Ballana Culture'' (cp. however what was said in the introduction to this section).

Continuing in Adams' words, "Ballana graves differ from those of the Meroitic period chiefly in the form of their superstructures. Instead of a brick pyramid or mastaba, the standard surface marking for graves ... was a low, dome-shaped earth tumulus.... The typical Ballana tumulus was from 12 to 40 feet (c. 4 to 13 m) in diameter, and might rise to a maximum height of 15 feet (c. 5 m)... In the ordinary tombs there was no adjoining offering chamber or surface decoration of the earth mound. As in the Meroitic period, many graves seem to have lacked any kind of superstructure; in some places there are whole cemeteries without any tumuli.848 In their subterranean arrangements, the Ballana graves show the same variety of chamber types as do Meroitic graves. Although cave graves are rare, the basic twofold division between vaulted chamber-tombs and niche graves, and the further division of the latter into end-niche and side-niche types, persists throughout the Ballana period." (Cp. Pls 11 (Type A) and 157-158, for chamber tombs see Pls 12ff. (non-royal Types F and Z) and 153ff.) "However, the relative proportions of the two main types are reversed: simple niche graves are much more common than are vaulted tombs in the post-Meroitic period. A further innovation may be seen in the reintroduction of the contracted burial posture, and of the southward orientation of the body in place of the traditional westward orientation of Meroitic times. The great majority of contracted burials are found in niche-graves; they may represent nothing more than a natural adaptation to this rather constricted type of grave chamber. The bodies in chamber-tombs are most often extended on the back, as in Meroitic times. The practice of wrapping the dead in a shroud remained usual throughout the Ballana period. The funerary offerings ... are considerably reduced in number and variety. Quantities of cheap, locally made pottery are the most common grave furnishings. Other objects, except beads, are rare."849

Englund and Nordström⁸⁵⁰ describe in their classification of the c. one thousand Late Nubian, i.e. Meroitic and post-Meroitic, graves excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition between Faras and Gemai, the following post-Meroitic superstructure types:

single stone (?), ring of stones (?), ring of stone pavement, tumulus of silt and

sand, tumulus of stones.⁸⁵¹ In their concession area they have observed the same chamber and shaft forms as indicated above, however, they distinguished a number of variations, whose significance seems, however, not to be great from the point of view of chronology. At Site 25 (Serra) they observed following body orientations: in 194 graves Local E–W, in 92 graves Local N–S, in 9 graves Local NE–SW, and 5 graves Local NW–SE. The distribution on other sites was summarized as follows: in 147 burials the body was orientated Local E–W, in 74 Local N–S, in 44 Local NW–SE, in 34 Local NE–SW.⁸⁵² On Site 25 Local E–W is predominant in graves dated to the Meroitic period, on other sites the Meroitic graves seem to have been predominantly orientated to Local NW–SE.⁸⁵³ Their table showing the correlation between periods (the categories used: "Meroitic/X-Group, Late Meroitic/Early X-Group, X-Group, Early X-Group, Late X-Group, X-Group/Early Christian") and burial types body position and orientation)⁸⁵⁴ displays the same seemingly chaotic multiplicity which we have observed in the Qustul and Ballana cemeteries (Ch. IV. 1.4).

It may be added to Adams' above-quoted survey that the two main grave types, the simple niche grave and the vaulted chamber tomb are as a rule not contemporary. Niche graves occur only in the Qustul cemetery, among non-royal burials, while the non-royal burials at Ballana were exclusively in vaulted chamber-tombs. To this chronological question I shall return below in the discussion of other non-royal burals.

In the following I shall discuss some selected cemeteries and tombs which can be analyzed on the basis of the chronology established for Qustul and Ballana and/or which provide us with significant information about post-Meroitic history and post-Meroitic culture beyond the realm of the royal tombs. I shall deal with the following cemetery sites: Firka and Kosha, Qasr Ibrim (Cemetery 192), with post-Meroitic burials between Dal and Nilwatti and with the cemetery at Missiminia, with the mound graves at Gemai, and with tombs excavated at Tabo and Meroe City (Northern Cemetery). The cemeteries of Kalabsha and Wadi Qitna will also be briefly discussed, because their material is highly relevant for the period discussed above in Ch. I. 3.3. Apart from Firka, Gemai, Meroe City and Qasr Ibrim the selection is random, but I have had to rely upon published material. The section on Gemai is not illustrated for technical reasons.

3. The Kalabsha area

The cemeteries excavated in the Kalabsha area by the joint expedition of the Chicago Oriental Institute and the Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde,⁸⁵⁵ and by a team of the Czechoslovakian Institute of Egyptology⁸⁵⁶ date from the period after 298 when the Dodekaschoinos was ceded to Meroe (cp. Ch. I. 3). However, the graves of the smaller necropoleis in Kalabsha North and of the large cemetery at Wadi Qitna are not Meroitic in type. These cemeteries are situated in the zone of the Nubian mesozoic sandstone rocks, on the slopes and adjacent edges of wadis, i.e. on a hard ground covered by a thick blackish crush, below which there is easily available quarry stone. The side valleys are in many places

covered by gravel. The stone material used for the construction of the graves was collected in situ. Besides gravel lying on the surface, guarry stone was also used, but only in a roughly worked form, as it was broken away from the deposit.857 The "tomb chambers" were built of stone without any mortar on the ground, or above shallow, pan-shaped artificial depressions, or over natural rock crevices. These chambers were covered by stone tumuli which were constructed either by the simple heaping of dry stone, or in the manner that flat stones of oblong shape were laid in layers to form a dome-shaped tumulus. The majority of the tumuli were surrounded by low stone walls which had one or two gates. Flights of steps were also occasionally built to the gates. The tumuli constituted clusters (cp. Pl. 164) which can be interpreted most likely as family "units". E.g. Tumulus 1 of the Wadi Qitna cemetery measured in dm c. 6 m and had, remarkably enough, almost vertical walls and an horizontal top which was surmounted by eight built stone blocks of pillar shape and arranged in a circle. This strange tumulus was surrounded by a wall, to the gate of which led a staircase. At the point where it reached the tumulus, it was flanked by two upright standing pillar-, or narrow stela-shaped stones.⁸⁵⁸ The burial was plundered, but on the flat (!) top of the "tumulus" there were lying sherds of Ware R 25 (Adams) bowls and of a handmade burnished cup (to the type I return below), from which the publisher of the cemetery concluded that the top of the superstructure served as a sort of offering place and was covered by a flat stone roof (?) supported by the pillar-like structures.⁸⁵⁹ This assumption is very improbable in view of the fact that the pillars are set in a circle of a dm of c. 4 m.

Finds from the Kalabsha North cemeteries and from Wadi Qitna suggest a late 3rd-early 4th to mid- or late 5th century chronological range. In one of the tombs of Cemetery E (tomb 6) there were four coins dating from the period between 330 and 346 which could be included into the funerary equipment two or three decades after 346, at the latest (cp. Ch. IV. 1.5 § 1). From another Kalabsha North burial came a glass flute with Greek inscription that was produced around 330 A.D. and which came probably not long after the date of its production under the earth. Other glass finds from Kalabsha North⁸⁶⁰ and Wadi Qitna date similarly from the 2nd and perhaps the 3rd quarter of the 4th c.861 A remarkable engraved and cut glass bowl from tumulus 15A of latter cemetery is fairly well datable to the 1st third of the 4th c.862 In tumulus 195 there was a small bronze coin of Constantius II (337-361) with a reverse used between 346 and 361.863 The earlier period of all these cemeteries is signified by the presence of R 37 (Adams) Ware vessels and of early forms of R 1 (Adams) vessels, the middle period by the glass vessels and coins cited above; their final period - the length of which cannot be exactly determined - is dated by the abundance of U 3 Ware (Adams) amphorae (Qustul-Ballana Form 6, see Pl. 25) which do not seem to occur in Nubia before the last decades of the 4th century.⁸⁶⁴ Their upper time limit in the second half of the 5th century is also indicated by the absence of the tall red ware goblets, which are typical for the later half of the post-Meroitic period: they do not occur in Ballana, either.865 The date of the final phase of Wadi Qitna is further indicated by the unusually low number of Form 6 (Ware U 3) amphorae: there were 11 exemplars found in 8 tumuli (one further exemplar is known from Kalabsha South). 866

The unusual grave type is coupled with the appearance of a remarkable pottery ware (PIs 165-168). It consists of hand-made cups and bowls of a fine dark brown to grey or black sandy clay. They have a light brown, or reddish brown, or grey slip both on the outer and inner surface which is highly burnished. However, a number of vessels have black burnished slip on the inner surface. The majority of the vessels has incised, comb-pricked or roulette tooled decoration. The ware is obviously a variant of Adams' Meroitic Fine Black Domestic Ware H 11867 which occurs with grey to black burnished slip and stylistically closely associated decorations at a number of sites from Meroe City⁸⁶⁸ to Maharraga.⁸⁶⁹ In view of the uniformity of fabric and decoration, the ware seems to have been the product of one or two specialized manufactures. The tradition of the hand-made burnished pottery with incised decoration of the late Meroitic period derives from a 3rd-2nd c. B.C. ware which was recently investigated by Fernandez⁸⁷⁰ who also formulated its probable origins in the South. However, between c. the 3rd-2nd c. B.C. and c. the 1st-2nd c. A.D. the characteristic forms were bulbous pots (cp. Pl. 169/3-6) and - more infrequently - special shapes (such as the incense burner (?) PI. 169/7) and open forms appeared only exceptionally (PI, 169/2).⁸⁷¹ Around the 1st c. A.D. there appear in burial complexes in the South (PI. 169/1), as well as in Lower Nubia,⁸⁷² tall cups and shallow bowls. The prototype of the bird (ostrich?⁸⁷³) frieze on one of the Wadi Qitna bowls (PI. 168 fourth row left) occurs on 1st-2nd century bowls from the Karanog cemetery, indicating thus that the manufacturer(s) producing the ware were, at least as to some motifs, rather conservative. Some of the geometrical motifs (PI. 167 bottom right, PI. 168 top left) at Wadi Qitna are similarly conservative, yet the majority of the decorations does not appear to go back to traditional designs. Instead, they seem to be adaptations of designs current on 3rd century A.D. wheel-made painted Meroitic pottery (cp. Adams Style N. IA H⁸⁷⁴).

While Ware H 11 vessels occurred in the period between the 1st and 3rd c. only infrequently in Meroitic tombs, they appear quite abundantly in the 4th century at two places: in the tombs of the Southern and Middle Necropoleis (graves 1-99 and 300-399 of Garstang) at Meroe City⁸⁷⁵ and in the Kalabsha area. The Ware H 1 vessels from Meroe City are in their entirety much less Meroiticized as to vessel forms and decorative motifs than the vessels from the Kalabsha area, and their tombs are subterranean pit-burials covered with earth mounds. Still, it seems rather probable that the burials at Meroe City and in the Kalabsha area cover chronologically more or less the same period: the last 60-70 years of the Meroitic kingdom and the early decades of the post-Meroitic period. Moreover, in spite of the differences in the burial rite, both cemetery complexes may be associated with a non-Meroitic ethnicity, most probably with the Noba who became settled in the last century of Meroitic rule in the Meroitic heartland and whose groups were apparently settled over to the Dodekaschoinos after 298 when the territory was ceded by Rome to Meroe.⁸⁷⁶ From the aspect of material culture, however, there appear considerable differences between the Noba at Meroe City and the supposedly Noba population buried in the Kalabsha area. This latter population also stands apart from the point of view of burial rites and forms from the remotely (?) related Nubian-speaking population of

Meroitic Lower Nubia. The population of the Kalabsha area preserves the un-Meroitic burial types until the 5th century. Their later fate is unknown.

The abundance of Ware H 11 vessels in non-Meroitic type tombs of the late Meroitic and immediately subsequent post-Meroitic periods at Meroe City and in the Kalabsha area would suggest that they can be directly associated with the Noba. The occurrence of the ware in 1st - 3rd c. Lower Nubian tombs of Meroitic type and within funerary equipments composed mainly of Meroitic decorated pottery wares seems, however, to speak against this assumption, although does not entirely refuse it, either. It is nevertheless more probable that the incidental H 11 vessels came alongside with other ceramic products from the southern part of the kingdom and did not have any ethnic significance. Why this Meroitic ware was preferred by the Noba in the south, and then by their groups settled in the Dodekaschoinos, is a different problem. As we shall see in section 13 below, the Noba pottery tradition is rather markedly different.

4. The Sayala cemeteries

Some 10 km south of Maharraqa/Hiera Sycaminos, i.e. the southern border of the Dodekaschoinos, an Austrian team excavated between 1961–1965 five tomb groups on the territory of Sayala. The groups called Gräberfelder C/I–IV in the publication of Fathi Afifi Bedawi⁸⁷⁷ were situated at Nag^C Qolatul; Gräberfeld A was situated c. 800 m further north. The latter consisted of 15 tombs. The burials were mostly in rock crevices; they were covered with dry stone tumuli. The bodies were buried in extended position and orientated E–W or N–S. Some of the tumuli covered multiple burials.⁸⁷⁸ The tombs seem to have been plundered, and the extraordinarily poor find material – some pottery fragments and beads – indicate a late Meroitic date.

C/I–IV were constructed in the same manner, but were of different sizes. They consisted of grave "chambers" built of dry stone and covered with stone blocks. The successive tombs were built closely to their predecessors in such a way that the complexes give the impression of huge mass burials, the more so, in that the shallow tumulus superstructures made of sand and small stones cover, seemingly homogeneously, the entire complex (PI. 170). The growth of the individual complexes is indicated, however, by the differently orientated burial groups. It is probable that the first burials are in the centre of the complexes. C/I contained 67, C/II 164, C/III 136 graves; C/IV was destroyed. The humble find material consisted of amphoras of types usually occurring in a late Meroitic context; late Meroitic variants of the Qustul/ Ballana Form 83 bowl type, and fragments of pitchers similarly of late Meroitic appearance.⁸⁷⁹

According to Fathi Afifi Bedawi⁸⁸⁰ Gräberfeld A was the burial place of Roman soldiers stationed at the Meroitic border before 250 A.D., while the complexes C/I-II he interprets as burials of Roman soldiers defending the frontier against the Blemmyes in the times after the alleged contra-Blemmyan measurements of Probus around 274–276. C/III finally is regarded by him as burial place of Roman soldiers killed by

the Blemmyes who would have increased their activity in the frontier area in the years preceding the frontier withdrawal in 298 A.D.

However, this interpretation is very unlikely not only because of the burial type that hardly could be identified as that of some Roman auxiliary forces, but also because of the geographical position of the cemeteries: Sayala is on the Meroitic side of the frontier. As suggested also in an earlier paper,⁸⁸¹ I prefer to interpret Cemeteries A and C/I–IV as burial places of a population settled in the Dodeka-schoinos, at its former southern border after the Roman frontier withdrawal. (Cp. Ch. I. 3 above.)

5. Cemeteries around Qasr Ibrim

Cemetery 192 located to the north of the hill on which the fortress of Qasr Ibrim is built, and Cemetery 193 immediately to the south of the hill were excavated by W.B. Emery in 1961 and published by A.J. Mills in 1982.⁸⁸² In Cemetery 192 there were 133, and in Cemetery 193, 162 graves, excavated. Four tomb types were observed:

a) a rectangular pit, roofed with a leaning barrel vault built of mud-brick. The bricks rest frequently on ledges cut along the sides of the grave pit. If the vault protrudes much above the surface of the ground, a wall is built at the end of the grave against which the vault is leaning.

b) A rectangular pit with an entrance ramp. Roofing is with stone slabs which often rest upon ledges.

c) A rectangular pit with entrance ramp. A leaning barrel vault of mud-bricks rests on ledges; the entrance is blocked with stones and bricks.

d) A large rectangular pit with entrance ramp. In the pit a double chamber built of mud-brick and roofed with leaning barrel vaults (PI. 155).⁸⁸³

As also indicated by the absence of the pit- and niche grave types occurring in the early phase of the Qustul necropolis, both cemeteries seem to date in their entirety from the period starting c. with Generation 5 of the Ballana rulers. Earlier post-Meroitic burials can perhaps be sought in the cemetery sections classified as late Meroitic: first of all in Cemetery 192A. Here grave 4^{884} contained vessel types associated with Qustul tombs, and in tomb 7^{885} there was found a Type 2 (PI. 33) spear head with early post-Meroitic pottery. Grave 19 contained a bottle belonging to the Form 57, which occurs — in its different variants — in Qustul tombs. As it seems, Cemetery 192D also belongs to the early phase of the post-Meroitic period. The long transitional period between late Meroitic and post-Meroitic is also indicated by the survival of Meroitic motifs (cp. PI. XXX second row middle, bottom row left⁸⁸⁶). This traditionalism, which is far from characteristic for the average post-Meroitic decorated pottery, can perhaps be explained by the unusually long survival of Meroitic culture (e.g. writing) at Qasr Ibrim.⁸⁸⁷

The standard funerary equipment both in Cemetery 192 and 193 consisted of bottles of Form types 28, 30, 35, 36, cups of Form types 61, 62, 80 and table

amphorae of Form 50b. All these forms have a long life span, yet Forms 28a, c and 30b occur in Ballana only in tombs of Generations 5–7. Tombs of the late phase of Cemetery 192 yielded Form 36b, 44b and 81 vessels (e.g. grave 23^{888}) which occurred frequently in late tombs at Ballana.

I illustrate here the two graves of Cemetery 192 which represent a material level comparable to the aristocratic burials at Ballana. Grave 2 (Pls 153, 154) was a double chamber tomb, the northern chamber serving as the burial place of an adult male. The body lay on a wooden bier. The other chamber served as a magazine, where the funerary equipment illustrated partly on PIs 153f. was placed, with the exception of four R 1 Ware (Adams) cups of Form 81 and a silver ring. The glass vessels Nos 14, 16, 23 and 56 represent forms which were in fashion during the 5th c., 889 a mid-5th c, date is, however, suggested by the occurrence of an analogy of No. 16 in Firka tomb A 14 (PI. 147). The analogy of the bronze flagon No. 41 occurs in Ballana tomb 9 (PI. 188 Type 9) belonging to Generation 6. Parallels of the iron pans are known from Firka A 12 (Pl. 140), while Nos 31, 36, 46 and 39, 44, 48, 49 and 54 correspond with Ballana bronze vessel Type 31 characteristic for burial equipments of Generations 5-11. Analogies of the feeder No. 13 occur in B 4 and 5 (Type 21 Pl. 32) of Generation 7. The type of the lamp No. 9 (Pl. 154), in the form of a human head, is known from Q 3 and B 47 (Pls 48, XI, 82). However, while these latter seem to have been cast in the same mould and are more luxurious in execution (eyes inlaid with silver and garnets, details incised with great care), the lamp from Cemetery 192 is larger (the lamps from Q 3 and B 47 measure in length 12 cm, the Qasr Ibrim exemplar 17 cm) and its execution is less careful. The handsome little camel lamp of bronze No. 6 was found hanging from an iron hook embedded into the brick of the vault of the magazine room. An analogy of this remarkable and playfully formed lamp is known from the collection of the Coptic Museum.⁸⁹⁰ The little bronze bowl with beaded flange No. 21 belongs to a form that was in fashion in the first half of the 5th c., and is represented by several exemplars in Ballana tombs dating from the period of Generations 5 and 6 (Form 25 PI. 29, cp. Table 5). No. 28 is a variant of the Types 14 and 15 (PI. 31) occurring in Ballana tombs of Generations 7-11 (cp. Table 5). The ceramic finds of the tomb consisted e.g. a Form 4a amphora (Adams Ware U 16), Form 40b table amphorae, an R 1 ware jar of Form 20b which is attested at Qustul in tombs of Generations 2, 3, and bottles of Form 28a occurring at Ballana apparently only in a Generation 7 burial (PI. 154 Nos 59, 53, 37 and 43).

Tomb 23 of the same cemetery (PI. 155) represents, although typologically it is related to tomb 2, a later period of time, containing pottery vessels associated with tombs of Generations 8–11 at Ballana. Also the glass vessels Nos 31, 33, 37 and 45 suggest a date in the late 5th century.⁸⁹¹ It is worth noticing that a glass chalice of similar type as No. 31 was reported by Emery and Kirwan in 1935 from tomb 14 of Cemetery 193⁸⁹² where it was found in the company of a Form 87b–c cup (associated with Generations 1–11 at Qustul and Ballana) and a Form 47a (?) amphora. The dating of No. 32, a bronze horse-head lamp, poses problems: at the first sight it appears to be of an earlier date than the rest of the equipment and thus arriving here from an earlier Meroitic burial the equipment of which was re-used in post-Meroitic times. Its supposed 2nd (?) c. A.D. date may have influenced Mills' early dating of

the entire post-Meroitic complex.⁸⁹³ However, the shape of the lamp corresponds completely with the late antique type also represented by the Ballana lamps with female bust decoration (cp. Pls XIII-XV). Furthermore, the execution of the horse head is far from classical and the rendering of the mane is identical with the corresponding detail of the lion figurines on silver horse bits, iron folding chairs and silver bracelets discovered at Qustul and Ballana. I am thus inclined to believe that this lamp was manufactured in fact some time in the 5th c. A.D., and not earlier.

One of the tombs of Cemetery 193, no. 30, deserves special attention on account of a cross carefully incised on the east end of the grave pit (the bottom 0.6 m of the pit is cut into bedrock!).⁸⁹⁴ The equipment consists of Form 33 and 36 bottles, 40d and 42b table amphorae, 61c cup and is datable to the 2nd half of the 5th c. There can be no doubt that the burial rite is not Christian, for Christian burials are usually without any pottery equipment. Yet the incised cross indicates that Christian symbols were venerated, perhaps because they were regarded as signs of magic power.

The painted pottery decorations reproduced on PIs XXIX and XXX display designs which are, with some exceptions, unknown from post-Meroitic pottery originating from other sites. I shall return to their discussion in Ch. V. 7.

6. A remark on the post-Meroitic cemetery at Gebel Adda

The important site of Gebel Adda on the east bank opposite Abu Simbel, some 10 km north of Qustul, was investigated by N. B. Millet on behalf of the American Research Centre in Egypt during the UNESCO Campaign. We learn from the short preliminary reports⁸⁹⁵ that the Meroitic and post-Meroitic necropoleis of the settlement were contiguous with each other. The former consisted of vaulted mud brick chamber graves with pyramid superstructure built of mud brick. Remarkably enough, none of the c. 400 tombs contained a Meroitic, i.e. original burial: all tombs turned out to have been systematically plundered, cleaned and reused in the earlier half of the post-Meroitic period. In the plunderers' debris in front of the blocking of one of these tombs Millet found a bronze coin of Theodosius I (379–395). Regrettably, however, he did not give any further information as to the composition of the funerary equipment of this tomb and of its neighhours.

The burials of the later half of the post-Meroitic period are unambiguous in appearance: 130 out of the 170 tombs were covered with earth mounds, and the substructures showed uniformly mud-brick vaults over the body or vaulted mud-brick burial chambers. The funerary equipments contained – as far as one can judge it on the basis of the selection published in the report for 1963 – mainly tall goblets and bowls of the types discussed in sections 5 and 10 (cp. also Pl. 160).

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7. On some graves at Faras and Serra

A single mound grave was excavated by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition at Faras Site 19 (at Faras station).⁸⁹⁶ The body of a male adult was buried in contracted position with head S, face W, in a deep narrow shaft. The burial was covered with a low tumulus of sand and silt of a dm measuring 10 m. The equipment consisted of an amphora of Form 50b, bottles of Form 31a and small bowls of Forms 87b and 80 (tall, late variant), and a remarkable curved knife of iron with incised signs.⁸⁹⁷

At Serra the SJE excavated a large mixed Meroitic-post-Meroitic-Christian cemetery (site 25).⁸⁹⁸ Tomb 76 represents a simple variant of layout types C/1 and Z/1 observed at Qustul and Ballana (Pl. 12), complemented with a small axial niche containing a part of the equipment, which is, unfortunately, not more precisely datable.

8. Gemai

The Meroitic-post-Meroitic mound cemetery of Gemai on the right bank of the Nile in the Second Cataract region was excavated in 1915–16 and published in 1927 by Bates and Dunham.⁸⁹⁹ The Meroitic burials seem to cover the period between the 2nd/1st c. B.C. and the 3rd/4th c. A.D.,⁹⁰⁰ while the datable post-Meroitic tumulus burials can be assigned to the period between the late 4th c. and the 2nd half of the 5th c. A.D. The earlier tombs (mounds L, Z, graves T 1, T 2, mound Y)⁹⁰¹ are of the side-niche type corresponding with layout type A at Qustul (cp. Pl. 11), however, this type is persistent, for grave E 99 is still of the same layout,⁹⁰² although it does not belong to the early group of burials.

In mound Y there was found an iron bit of the particular type encountered at Qustul and Firka.⁹⁰³ The pottery of the grave contained Form 73b, 85a and 87c bowls. In tomb E 99^{904} there were bronze vessels of Types 24 (Pl. 28) associated at Ballana with burials of the 1st and the 7th Generation; 28 (Pl. 30) occurring there in Generations 5–9 graves; and 31 (Pl. 30) equally associated with Ballana burials dating from the middle and second half of the 5th century. A dating of mound Y to the middle of the 5th century is also indicated by a Form 50a jug (cp. Pl. 27).

The most remarkable equipment was found, however, in mound E. The mound itself measured in dm more than 60 m and was situated in a dominating position in the centre of the necropolis.⁹⁰⁵ A ramp descending from the West led to a pit dug into the hard alluvium. It had a W–E main axis and was divided by an E–W running wall into two chambers. The arrangement can be interpreted as a variant of the Qustul-Ballana layout types C and C/5 (Pls 11, 12).

In the earth of the mound the excavators found mace heads of black granite,⁹⁰⁶ fragments of an alabaster dish with the busts of two emperors,⁹⁰⁷ bronze fittings of a box in the form of couchant lions also known from Ballana finds, and small bronze bells⁹⁰⁸ of Qustul/Ballana Type 8 (PI. 35 and cp. Table 8).

In the burial chamber there was an embossed bronze box of the same form as No. 3 from B 47 (PI. 79), it also has an identical decoration of human faces in high

relief.⁹⁰⁹ One of the embossed motifs - the reclining Dionysos sitting on a fourwheeled car drawn by a centaur who is preceded by a satyr playing the pan-flute was apparently made with the help of the same matrix which can also be recognized on a casket in the Cairo Coptic Museum.⁹¹⁰ The casket contained three plain gold rings.⁹¹¹ three rings of gold with uninscribed bezel,⁹¹² and four seal rings bearing the intaglio representation of a) two Horus hawks wearing the Double Crown (two exemplars) and b) of a king or perhaps deity sitting on a throne, holding a Meroitictype sceptre⁹¹³ and wearing hmhm-crown. Behind him is sitting a Horus-hawk. The king's or deity's Trägergewand, bracelets and armlets, and an uraeus at the forehead and belonging to the crown, are indicated by fine incisions (2 exemplars).⁹¹⁴ The box contained furthermore a gold mace head.⁹¹⁵ The dating of the burial to the 2nd half of the 5th century is indicated first of all by the fragmentary alabaster dish with the representation of two emperors - father and son - of the Theodosian period: as shown by a fascinating study of F. W. Deichmann,⁹¹⁶ the dish was made in the decades between the end of the 4th and the middle of the 5th century A.D. This dating is further supported by the bronze casket which is typologically and stylistically associated with caskets found in B 47 and contemporary burials at Ballana. To the implications of the alabaster dish and the gold rings I shall return in Ch. V. 4 (for the dish see also Ch. III. 1.6).

9. The area between Dal and Nilwatti

During the 1970s the Sudan Antiquities Service and the Section Française de Recherches Archéologiques surveyed the area south of the Dal Cataract.⁹¹⁷ The results were published in great detail.⁹¹⁸ I give here only a few examples of the discoveries made by A. Vila and his collaborators.

The survey has discovered 33 cemeteries of different sizes, in which the burials could be identified as "classic" post-Meroitic, and a further 16 cemeteries with late post-Meroitic/Christian burials (PI. 156).⁹¹⁹ The majority of the cemeteries were small, but there were necropoleis with more than 200 graves at Dal, Kosha East, Kosha West, Abri-Missiminia and Tabaj East. The total number of "classic" post-Meroitic burials (dated somewhat aphoristically to c. 450–550) was estimated by Vila⁹²⁰ to have been around 3500 from which he concluded a population density of 20 per bank km. This would be 1/5 of the population density per river km suggested by Trigger.⁹²¹

The cemeteries were, with the exception of Abri-Missiminia, only partly excavated. The cemetery at Dal-Difatti consisted of c. 140 burials.⁹²² Five tumuli "présentant ... une superstructure de pierres blanches arrondies, entourée par un anneau de petits blocs de granite verdatre ou rosé. Diametre moyen: 11 m, hauteur moyen: 1.5 m."⁹²³ One tumulus was opened. The burial was in a shallow pit with a small lateral niche: the contracted body and five pottery vessels were found in the niche. The tall goblet, the jug without base ring and the cups representing a late variant of Form 72b suggest a date around or after 500 A.D.

The cemetery at Dal-Aru consisted of four mound graves and around 200 graves

without superstructure (?).⁹²⁴ The average tumulus dm measured c. 9–10 m. The mounds were shallow and they were surrounded by a circle of dry stone. The opened burials were of the lateral niche type and consisted of similar pottery as the tomb mentioned above.⁹²⁵ The cemetery of Dal-Angureeb was small: five tumuli and 2 graves without superstructure. The opened burial consisted, besides late type goblets, a Form 40b table amphora of Ware W 28 (cp. Pl. 26).

At Dawki in Firka East Vila recorded 25 plundered and c. 30 unplundered burials;⁹²⁶ two graves of lateral niche type were excavated. One of them had a ramp descending from the East.

At Mograkka East-Farkengoon there were 55 tumuli recorded,⁹²⁷ the burial selected for excavation was of the same type as the ones mentioned above, but of larger dimensions. It was the burial of a small girl, but the funerary equipment consisted of seven goblets, an amphoriskos and three wheel-made jars. The shape of the goblets suggests a late 5th c. date.⁹²⁸

At Kosha East-Eri/Mindiq the cemetery consisted of c. 200 tombs. There was, however, only one mound grave.⁹²⁹ Among the tombs without superstructure there were chamber tombs with a ramp descending in the chamber axis from the East, ⁹³⁰ as well as lateral niche graves.⁹³¹

At Ginis East-Shagun Dukki there were c. 130 tumuli recorded.⁹³² All appeared to be plundered. In one tomb Vila found, however, a fine little spouted bowl of Form 79 associated with Generation 5–7 tombs at Ballana (cp. Pl. 21) and two globular bottles of Form 34b (?) (cp. Pl. 26).⁹³³

At Amannag in Ginis West c. 30 tumuli were noticed, ⁹³⁴ at Dambo in Amara East c. 40 graves without (?) superstructure.⁹³⁵ The lateral niche grave excavated in the latter cemetery contained a Form 39b jug (cp. Pl. 18) which is associated at Ballana with tombs of the period between Generations 5 and 8, however, it appears already at Qustul from Generation 2 onwards.

The tumulus investigated at Amara East-Shaboon (a cemetery with c. 50 tumulus graves⁹³⁶) contained, besides three goblets of Form 80, a table amphora of Form 40b and a Form 7b amphora. It was a chamber grave with E-W axis, and the composition of the equipment may hint at the social significance of the chamber tomb, as opposed to the usually poorer pit graves. It must be remarked, however, that we also know "rich" pit graves (above I have quoted exemplars).

At Tabaj East-Serrana there were c. 200 mound graves.⁹³⁷ One of them yielded ten arrow heads of the barbed type known from several post-Meroitic burials⁹³⁸ but not recorded from Qustul or Ballana.

At Morka-Irki Saab Vila observed c. 30 tumuli;⁹³⁹ an investigated lateral niche type tomb contained a Form 85a bowl of the earlier variant. A grave with a small axial niche (grave orientation E–W) at Nobrayin on the island of Nilwatti, where c. 30 mounds with stone encirclement were observed, contained the late variants of the goblet Form 80 and a pilgrim bottle of African Red Slip Ware⁹⁴⁰ of Form 56b which we have found to have been associated with Form 88a and 88b dishes of the same ware in Ballana tombs B 73 and 122 of Generations 8–9 (cp. Pl. 24, and § 30, further Table 4 M).

Although the selection of the burials excavated during the survey of the area

south of Dal cannot be regarded significative, it is perhaps not entirely accidental that the great majority of the pottery unearthed in the course thereof dates from the later half of the post-Meroitic period. The earliest more or less datable wares appear to be contemporaneous with the last four or five Ballana generations, i.e. they date c. from the 2nd half of the 5th c., but the bulk of the pottery quoted in the foregoing shows a late 5th and perhaps early 6th c. range. With little exception, the investigated tombs belong to the social stratum which we may identify as the archaeologically attestable "poorest" level.

10. The cemetery of Abri-Missiminia

The 251 graves excavated on the east bank at Abri dating from the post-Meroitic period constituted a part of a large necropolis extending in time from the Napatan period⁹⁴¹ through the Meroitic period⁹⁴² to Christian times.⁹⁴³ The post-Meroitic burials date apparently from the 2nd half of the 5th and the 1st half of the 6th century, however, it may be supposed that the earlier phase of the post-Meroitic period is also represented, albeit by a smaller number of graves, in the Meroitic part of the cemetery.⁹⁴⁴ Five burial types were observed, a) simple shaft with rounded ends, orientation: N-S, b) lateral niche, orientation N-S, c) lateral niche, where the niche is slightly deeper than the shaft, orientation: N-S, d) lateral niche, orientation: E-W, e) chamber grave built of mud-brick, orientation: N-S. To type a belonged 32 tombs, to types b and c 197 tombs, to type d 9 tombs, and to type e 14 burials. The funerary equipments, which display hardly any intelligible temporary variation - there are differences in the dimensions and proportions of the Form 80 goblets -, do not indicate chronological differences between the individual burial types. It can be observed that as a rule type e burials contained a larger collection of vessels than tombs of other types.

I illustrate here selected objects from graves 16 (PI. 159) and 33 (PIs 161, 162), both of type e.⁹⁴⁵ Their equipments consisted of late type Form 80 goblets and table amphorae of Form 40b. Furthermore, in tomb 33 there was also a spouted bowl of Form 79, an African Red Slip Ware pilgrim bottle of Form 56b and a bottle of Form 28. Forms 28 and 79 are associated at Ballana with Generations 5–7, while Form 56b occurs there in tombs of Generations 8–9. I illustrate furthermore selected objects from the following tombs: an iron sword blade from 519,⁹⁴⁶ an iron sword with bone (?) hilt from 503,⁹⁴⁷ a hoe blade of iron of Qustul/Ballana Type 1 (cp. PI. 34) from 376, a bronze bowl of Qustul/Ballana Type 24 (cp. PI. 28) from tomb 15 and an iron bracelet faintly reminiscent of the late antique beaded bracelet type represented e.g. by No. 39 in Ballana tomb 47 (PI. 76) from tomb 201, in PI. 162. The swords come from lateral niche graves of type c, the bronze bowl from a chamber tomb of type e. The bracelet was found in a lateral niche grave.

11. Firka

The cemetery of Firka lay at the northern end of the territory recently surveyed by the Franco-Sudanase team (cp. section 9 above) on the east bank of the Nile. The post-Meroitic mound cemetery – Cemetery A – was discovered to the Northeast of the village of Firka. It lay inward from the river about 800 m, and was excavated on behalf of the Oxford University by L. P. Kirwan. He also excavated Cemetery B c. one km south of Cemetery A and investigated the cemetery at Kosha (see section 12).

All tombs of Cemetery A had been plundered in antiquity, however, in three of them – A 11, 12 and 14 – only the burial chamber was robbed. The tombs both in Cemetery A and Cemetery B were cut in the hard alluvial mud deposited by the Nile. In most cases the strata of the alluvium had split under the weight of the earth mound built over the grave thus causing the collapse of the roof of the tomb rooms.⁹⁴⁸

I illustrate here three tombs from Firka: A 11, 12 and 14. A 11 (Pls 135–139) was situated in the centre of the cemetery. The mound was, according to Kirwan,⁹⁴⁹ c. 8 m high. Its perimeter "was encircled by a wide, shallow ditch from which soil for the mound had been removed. This soil, light and sandy, constituted the top layer of the mound, while the lower layers consisted of the heavier alluvium which had been removed while excavating the tomb. The stratification of the mound showed that, when the ramp and pit had been filled in, the mound had been built up from the centre outwards." Its dm was c. 35 m.

A stairway led to the burial chambers from the east. On the stairway there were found the skeletons of two camels and a horse. From the latter comes the iron bit No. 7 (PI. 135) the construction of which is well-known from silver and iron exemplars discovered at Qustul. One of the camels (No. 6) and the horse (No. 9) had in their harness bronze bells; further bells were found in the burial chamber (Nos 28, 29, all PI. 135). No. 9 (PI. 135, bottom left) belongs to Qustul Type 1, another bell of the horse equipment (ibid. No. 9 bottom right) to Type 4. No. 28 repeats Type 11 (cp. PI. 35). The camel found lying at the top of the staircase also had a saddle of leather and was adorned with strings of beads on the neck and bound round tail. It also had a necklet of cowrie-shells.

The layout of the tomb is a variant of the Qustul-Ballana layout types C/3, C/4 and C/5, and is orientated E–W like C/3 (i.e. Q 2). The main burial chamber was thoroughly plundered and contained only the skeleton of a cow in the north-west corner and a large pink ware amphora with white wash (No. 14 Pl. 137). In the southwest room there were the skeletons of five adult persons. The room also contained a rich funerary equipment. The amulets illustrated on Pl. 139 belonged to the retainers, like several strings of cornelian, quartz, glass, and green glazed faience and agate beads.⁹⁵⁰ At one of the bodies there was found a bracelet of large cornelian beads of the type known from B 47 (Pl. 76). Two glass vessels (Pl. 136 Nos 31, 32) repeat Karanis types,⁹⁵¹ and may have been made there. A remarkable silver bracelet (Pl. 136 No. 49) belonged perhaps to the tomb owner (?) or one of the retainers and was decorated with red paste inlay (in the projecting knobs). The finely incised bronze

vessel No. 23 (PI. 136) belongs to Ballana Type 23 (PI. 32) attested in B 5 and 121 (Generations 7 and 9, respectively). Ten, slightly differently executed, bronze bowls (e.g. four pieces illustrated on PI. 136) are associated with Type 31 of the Ballana classification (PI. 30), a form common in graves of Generations 5–11. Nos 20, 21 (PI. 136) belong to a shape attested in B 52 (not ill.⁹⁵²). It may be presumed that the remains of at least four spears (cp. PI. 137) and of several swords (ibid.) with silver mounting (spears) or hilts (swords) were possessed by the owner of the tomb. They belong to the Qustul/Ballana Types 2 (No. 34) and 3 (No. 35) (PI. 33), of which Type 3 is attested only in the earliest burial Q 14.

Illustrated pottery finds:

PI. 137

	FI. 137			
	Object No.	Qustul/Ballana Form	Ware according to Adams	6.7
1	14	3	U 2	
	13,98	13a	U 18	
	85	8	U 2	
	84	9	U 2	
	<u>PI. 138</u>			
	92,93	28	R 1	
	95	29	R 1	
	96,97	34	R 1	
	88,89	39b, c	U 2	
	90	17a	H 1	
	Pl. 139	10 M Challen (19		
	94	17a	H 1	
	12, 75, 81, 83	86a-c	R 1	
	77		R 1	
	78	87b	R 1	
	78	74var.	R 1	

Both the layout and the pottery finds (esp. 39b, c) indicate that A 11 dates from the period around the Generations 4–6 of Qustul and Ballana, i.e. from the 1st third of the 5th century. This dating seems also to be supported by the glass finds and the iron bit of the type attested in Qustul tombs but no more occurring at Ballana, and furthermore by the cornelian bead bracelet unknown from burials later than B 47.

A 12 was covered with a mound measuring in dm over 50 m and in height c. 10 m. In the earth of the mound was found No. 1, a bronze lamp in the form of a dove with finely engraved details (PI. XXXII). A lamp similar in type (but with a double burner) and style was found at Qustul in Q 14 (PI. 40, for analogies see § 1). The ramp leading to the burial chamber is orientated E–W as in A 11. At its top there were found parts of the skeleton of a camel disturbed by modern plunderers. The ramp led to an antechamber with a N–S axe. At the northern wall lay the

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skeleton of a cow. The forelegs and hindlegs were touching as if they had been tied together for sacrifice.⁹⁵³ At the skeleton were found a hoe blade (No. 2 Pl. 140) of a type also known from Ballana (Type 2 Pl. 34), an iron adze and a qadus of Qustul/Ballana Form 14.

From the antechamber two rooms opened, both with bricked-up entrance. The smaller, niche-like room was plundered, only a small pottery bowl (No. 43 PI. 142) and some sherds were left. The larger room had a N–S main axis and contained the skeletons of two young girls and of a dog. In Kirwan's opinion the owner of the tomb was buried in the smaller room, where he found the skull of a female adult.⁹⁵⁴ It seems to me, however, that the main burial chamber was the larger room, thus the body of the owner is identical with one of the burials there. The layout is a variant of the Qustul/Ballana layout types B (forecourt part) and C/3 (cp. Pls 11, 12), with an orientation prevalent at Qustul.

The larger room contained personal adornments of the girls buried there, among them a silver torques (No. 19 PI. 141) of the type known from B 47 (PI. 77), a silver ring with a cornelian gem engraved in intaglio with the bust of Commodus (No. 21 PI. 141) and originating from a Meroitic burial; and necklaces of quartz, cornelian, glass and glazed faience beads. The bronze vessels included a patera with beaded flange (No. 12 PI. 141) and another one with open disk handle, both types occurring also at Ballana; a large pan (No. 5 PI. 142) and a handsomely engraved bronze ladle found inside of the pan (No. 6 PI. 141).

Qustul/Ballana Form Object No. Ware according to Adams 7b U 2 36 33 6 U 3 8 U 2 32 34 13a U 18 4 14 U 1 37 39b U 2 47 70 (?) R 1 41 73var. R 1 43 73var. R 1 39 72b R 1 31 1? U 16 17var. 38 H 1 35 51a R 25

Pottery illustrated on Pls 142, 143:

The pottery finds (see esp. No. 37 PI. 132 and No. 35 on PI. 143) indicate a late 4th-early 5th c. dating, which is also suggested by the patera with the large bead decoration and the silver torques.

A 14 had a mound measuring in dm c. 50 m, in height c. 8 m. In its earth there were a string of green glazed faience beads and a table amphora of Qustul/Ballana Form 39c var. The ramp descended from the West (PI. 144). At its bottom was the skeleton of a donkey. To the donkey harness belonged eight bronze bells of Qustul

Type 6 (PI, 35), and an iron bit (No, 4 PI, 146) of the type known from Qustul. As in A 12, the ramp led to an antechamber from which two rooms opened, the doors of which were bricked up. The layout is similar to that of A 12, but not only the dimensions are smaller, also the arrangement seems to be closer to Qustul layout types B (forecourt part) and C/1 (cp. Pls 11, 12). In the antechamber was lying the skeleton of another donkey. The burial chamber was intact and contained the skeletons of an immature person and of a female adult, further the remains of a dog and a rich funerary equipment. The smaller chamber was totally plundered. The female adult was buried wearing eight simple silver wire bracelets, the immature person had on the left ankle a heavy silver anklet with finials in the form of lions' heads (No. 19 PI. 144). It is in form and style analogous to Nos 40 and 41 from B 47 (PI. 76). The equipment contained furthermore two spear heads (No. 24 Pl. 146) of Qustul/Ballana Type 7 (PI. 33), a bronze lamp of the type found in Qasr Ibrim Cemetery 192 tomb 23 (Pl. 155) and interpreted in section 5 above as a late antique piece from the 2nd half of the 5th c. A.D. (No. 10 Pl. 144); two particularly interesting silver vessels (PI. 145) to which I return below; a swinging lamp (No. 7) on column-shaped pedestal; three handsome alabaster vessels (Nos 11-13) of shapes characteristic for the late 4th and the 5th c.; a sickle (No. 23) of iron (all Pl. 146); an iron strainer (No. 26); two bronze feeders (No. 8) of the Ballana Type 21 (pl. 32) and glass vessels (Nos 45, 46) of types known from Karanis (see also PI. 136) and originating probably from there (all PI. 147); and pottery vessels illustrated on PI. 147.

The silver vessels on PI. 145 constitute a "set". Both are decorated with an ankh surmounted by the horned symbol of Isis and two tall plumes also encountered as the superstructure of the crown of the ruling queen buried in Ballana tomb B 47 (Pl. 74, cp. the discussion of its symbolism in section 1.8 above). While the larger bowl belongs to a type that was widely distributed in space and time, the other one has an unparallelled form, the origin of which I have suspected in the Noba tradition, I was, however, unable to find proofs for this assumption.

Ware according to Adams

Object No. Qustul/Ballana Form 50 52var. 48 17var. 49 20a var.

Pottery finds illustrated on Pl. 147:

R 25 H 1 R 1 51 51a R 25 54 79b R 1 2 39c var. U 2 52 82b R 1 56 73var. R 1 55 75var. H 1 Not illustrated: 52 50 R 25 53 72a R 1

A 14 dates from the same general period as A 11 and A 12, but they are ob-

viously not quite contemporary. It seems that A 12 and 14 are more or less contemporary, but A 14 is probably slightly earlier than A 12. A 11 seems to be the youngest burial among the three.

Cemetery B, as mentioned above, was located to the south of Cemetery A. It contained several dozens of mound graves with mound diameters around 10-20 m. Kirwan excavated ten burials, of which I illustrate the intact tomb B 2 (PIs 151, 152). It represents one of the two layout types observed in this cemetery. B 2 was, together with B 1 and B 6, a chamber tomb built of mud-brick with an axial niche. The rest of the excavated tombs showed a pit-grave type without ramp, and with lateral niche. 955 B 1, 2 were orientated N-S, while B 6 E-W. The pit tombs were orientated N-S (B 3, 8) or E-W (B 5, 9, 10). B 2 was the burial of an old woman. The equipment consisted only pottery:

Object No.	Qustul/Ballana Fo	orm	Ware according to Adams
			1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Illustrated on Pl. 152:			
1	40b		U 2
2	26var.		H 1
3	36a-b	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	R 1
5	28c var.		R 1
Not illustrated:			
4	80		R 1
6	80var.		R 1
7	80var.		R 1
8	80var.		R 1
9	80var.		R 1
10	80var.		R 1
11	72b		R 1

All these pottery types are to be dated to a later period than Cemetery A. The vessels found in Cemetery B represent without exception those late forms and late decorative style which we have encountered among the finds from Qasr Ibrim Cemeteries 192 and 193 (cp. section 5 above). Cemetery B can thus be dated to the late 5th and the early 6th century A.D. The two tomb types observed in it are apparently contemporaneous, for there can be no marked chronological differences seen in their respective pottery finds.

12. Kosha

The cemetery of Kosha was lying on the east bank some 8 km to the south from Firka, and was excavated and published by Kirwan.⁹⁵⁶ He investigated the largest mound K 1 (Pls 148–150) and one of the smaller ones, K 2 (Pl. 151). The mound over K 1 was about 11 m high, but its diameter was not recorded. The tomb was approached by a ramp leading down from the east. From the forecourt opened two smaller niches which were, like in layout type B at Qustul (cp. Pl. 11), not blocked. The burial chamber was, by contrast, blocked with a 2 m thick mud-brick

wall, but it was nevertheless plundered through a tunnel dug to its western corner. The part of the equipment left there by the robbers consisted of the following jewellery: silver earrings with and without pendants (cp. B 47, without object No. Pl. 77 top right), two silver rings (No. 18 Pl. 149) of the type attested e.g. in Ballana tomb 47 (Pl. 78), two bronze rings with paste inlay (No. 23 Pl. 149) imitating the type of beaded form also occurring in B 47 (Pl. 78 top left), a bronze chain bracelet with bells imitating presumably the heavy silver chain jewels with bells attested e.g. in B 47 (Pl. 77, necklace). No. 26 (Pl. 150) may also originate from a ring, but it is of Meroitic date. There were found furthermore quartz, faience, glass and cornelian beads from several strings.⁹⁵⁷ An iron spear of Qustul/Ballana Type 6 (Pl. 33) was found – together with four barbed arrow-heads – in the chamber (No. 3 Pl. 148).

The remarkable bronze vessel No. 2 (Pl. 148) is to my knowledge without parallels. The bronze flagon No. 4 (Pl. 149) may have been put secondarily into the funerary equipment, for it seems to be of a 2nd (?) c. date. The elaborately decorated strainer No. 15 (Pl. 150) belongs to a type attested in Ballana tomb B 4 (not illustrated⁹⁵⁸). Both the bronze feeder No. 3 and the legged bowl No 2 (Pl. 150) represent late Meroitic types not attested in the Qustul or Ballana tombs. Also the pottery finds suggest an earlier date than assigned to the earliest Firka tomb:

Object No.	Qustul/Ballana Form	Ware according to Adams
34	55	R 25 (?)
14	39b	U 2
35	53	R 25
10	50a	R 31
11	15	H 1
not illustrated:		
9	55	R 25 (?)

The other grave excavated at Kosha, K 2, is of an identical layout type and is identically orientated as A type tombs at Qustul (PI. 151, cp. PI. 11). It was plundered, only two bowls of Qustul/Ballana Forms 82c (No. 2) and 83/84 (No. 1) were left (PI. 151). These forms are not attested in the earliest Qustul burials, it is thus possible that K 2 is several decades younger than K 1.

The tombs investigated at Firka and Kosha show a particularly close typological relationship with layouts observed at Qustul and in the earliest phases of the Ballana cemetery. In the case of the smaller tombs the relationship is evident, for these types are observed in all middle- and lower stratum cemeteries; but the case of the rich burials has a special significance. I return to this question in Ch. V.

13. The post-Meroitic grave at Tabo

Illustrated on Pl. 149:

In 1968-69 and 1969-70 the Joint Expedition of the Henry M. Blackmer Foundation and the University of Geneva found at Tabo 18 graves of the Tanqasi

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type, of which I illustrate here one characteristic burial (PI. 163).⁹⁵⁹ Two superstructure types were observed: a) saucer-like construction from 10 to 15 m in dm, of mud-brick and earth; b) simple earth tumulus. The shaft leading to the underground tomb chamber was cut through the saucer in type a) tombs. Once the burial was completed, the shaft was filled and offerings and sacrifices (in case of the illustrated tomb a bowl with dom-palm fruit, and one camel, two cats) were placed on the surface of the saucer which was then filled with stones and sand.

The illustrated tomb had a superstructure of type a); its substructure consisted of a shaft (to the east) and a niche (to the west). In the latter the body of a man in contracted position was found. He was buried wearing bronze rings on the second toe of each foot; a granite thumb ring on the right hand and a silver ring engraved with the bust of Isis on the fourth finger of same hand; several strings of beads as bracelets, anklets and necklaces, and finally silver crescent moon earrings. The funerary equipment also included a leather quiver (destroyed) with barbed iron arrowheads and two hand-made globular pots, one with wide mouth, the other with narrow neck and flaring rim.

14. The Tanqasi Culture

The post-Meroitic culture of the steppelands was designated by Trigger as the Tanqasi Culture.⁹⁶⁰ Its territory extends from the upper Dongola Reach to Sennar in the south and is identified with the tumulus graves to be found all over this territory and with their significant pottery. According to Chittick⁹⁶¹ "Mound graves are to be found over very extensive areas of the central and northern Sudan, but they are nowhere so plentiful as on the east bank of the Nile in the Khartoum region, and northwards at least as far as El Metemma. They mostly lie, in groups of varying size, just away from the cultivated land, on the first rise of the gravel desert... their total number must run into many thousands. The surface of the mounds is usually of gravel, presenting much the same appearance as the land round about; but where stone is available close by they are often covered with small boulders." As pointed out by Adams,⁹⁶² the assumption of the cultural uniformity of the Tanqasi horizon is based on the similarity of the appearance of these tumuli, while only very few of them was in fact excavated.

Apart from the tumuli excavated at Meroe City (see next section), Gereif East, 963 EI Kadada, 964 and Gebel Makbor, 965 burials of the culture were investigated at Tanqasi. 966 Shinnie has observed at the site more than 200 mounds in two groups. They are built of alluvial soil and their outside seems to have been covered with a layer of gravel. A number of the tumuli had a rough revetment of stones round their edge. Three main size categories were recorded: a) mounds with a height of 6–10 m (six such mounds were observed); b) medium-size mounds, height 2–4 m; c) small and low mounds, some of them have flat top and present the profile like an inverted plate. The flat-topped tumuli frequently have a large diameter. The substructure of one of the largest tumuli was a large square pit, in the bottom of which there were sunk four rectangular graves. Three of these seemed to be unused, and the fourth was

unfortunately plundered. Under a second, unplundered, tumulus Shinnie has excavated a side-niche grave of the known Meroitic-post-Meroitic type. It contained the body of a female in contracted position, two plain silver rings, insignificant beads and four "Alwa Ware" pots.

Tumuli of even larger diameters were recorded from Shendi,⁹⁶⁷ where the largest mounds measure in dm 30-40 m. The five largest of them are built within elliptical enclosures surrounded by low dry stone walls. The enclosure in each case is N-S orientated and the tumulus is situated in the southern half of the enclosure. According to Adams⁹⁶⁸ the enclosure wall is a feature which has not been observed elsewhere. However, it is not entirely improbable, that the low dry stone enclosure walls around the stone tumuli of the Kalabsha area (cp. Pl. 164 and section 3 above) are related to the Shendi enclosures.

The so-called Alwa Ware pottery associated with the post-Meroitic culture of the South – i.e. with the Tanqasi Culture – was not found in conjunction with Meroitic wheel-made pottery, 969 it was thus suggested that complexes with Alwa Ware postdate the Meroitic period. We shall return to this question in the next section. The Alwa Ware itself seems to conform to the hand-made pottery tradition of the Sudan, however, I doubt that this conformity could be regarded as an indication of close genetic relationship.

15. The Noba graves of Meroe City

In 1909-10 Garstang excavated a large necropolis between the presumed eastern border of the area of Meroe City and the royal cemeteries.⁹⁷⁰ This necropolis was divided by surface features (depressions formed by the scour of summer rains) into three groups, and Garstang believed that the comparatively modern surface features corresponded with small wadis that may have existed already in antiquity and divided from each other three chronologically distinct cemetery sections. He excavated 99 tombs in the southern section (tombs 1-99), 100 tombs in the middle section (numbered as tombs 300-399) and another 200 burials in the northern part of the cemetery (tombs 400-599). Since no drawings and no sort of detailed records were published, I quote the short description given by Garstang:⁹⁷¹ "The general appearance of the tombs upon the surface of the desert is that of a series of low mounds. In some cases these mounds were composed wholly of sand, whereas in others, perhaps more commonly, they were covered freely with rough stones... The tombs of the middle group were, however, with a few exceptions, of a class quite distinct in this regard, their position in the desert being marked only by a ring of small stones... All the tombs of the southern group... were covered by mounds, whether of sand or stone ... The entrance was usually from the east, down a rough incline two or three metres in depth ... At the bottom was the entrance ... usually filled up with stones. Sometimes this entrance led to two openings or doorways... but in small tombs there was only one opening, and in all cases there was only one burial chamber. This was usually about four metres wide, two metres in depth, and barely high enough to stand upright near the opening: towards the back the roof sloped down gradually to meet the floor. Inside such a chamber the burial lay towards the southern end, but its exact position is not determined... Around the body, particularly at the south end of the chamber, there were ranged the finer objects of the funerary deposits, such as the smaller vases of pottery, or those which were decorated, the baskets, glass or iron objects... The northern half of the chamber was generally completely filled with a great number of the larger class of pottery vessels ... "The central group of tombs differed chiefly in structure: in place of a mound... a ring of stones marked the position of the tomb... Upon clearing out this area to a depth of about two metres there were commonly found two parallel passages, from four to six metres in length, leading westward to a pair of openings which led into the burial chamber, hewn as before in the desert gravel. Sometimes a flight of steps led down from the surface to these passages... In some instances, notably tomb 307, among the stones which closed the opening there were a considerable number of funerary altars, inscribed in Meroitic cursive style. Once inside the chamber, the grouping of objects in relation to the burial showed little distinctive variation from that of the earlier (described) tombs... Wooden bed-frames, chairs, weapons, baskets and glass-work now became common..." After stating that almost all burials were plundered and no body was found in the original position, Garstang remarks: "we may surmise that they (i.e. the bodies) had been placed with their heads to the south. In the southern group of tombs the appearance was generally contracted; while in the central group there was more suggestion of an extended burial, which the long beadsteds upon which the dead had been placed in some instances seemed to corroborate."

In tombs of the northern part Garstang found Meroitic painted pottery.⁹⁷² He believed that the southern group (tombs 1-99) is the oldest part of the cemetery, the middle group (tombs 300-399) is younger, then tombs 500-599 represent a still younger (classic Meroitic) and tombs 400-499 a post-Meroitic phase of the necropolis.⁹⁷³ Kirwan proposed, however, with good reasons that Garstang's chronology should be revised: in his opinion the northern section (tombs 500-599) with the Meroitic wheel-made pottery represents the earliest part of the necropolis, and next in date come the southern and the middle parts.⁹⁷⁴ Both parts are characterized by the distinct "Aloa Ware" pottery, the relationship of which with modern Noba pottery wares was stated by Crowfoot, who also suggested a post-Meroitic date for both cemetery sections.⁹⁷⁵ Kirwan pointed out, however, that in the middle group there were glass vessels dating from the period around 300 A.D., wherefore he concluded that the middle cemetery may have been late Meroitic in date and can be identified as the burial place of Ezana's Black Noba. In the section containing tombs 400-499 he has also identified among the grave pottery Qustul/Ballana Form 6 amphorae, and suggested that this part of the necropolis is post-Meroitic in date. Kirwan has finally pointed out the formal relationship between the post-Meroitic wheel-made globular pots with long, narrow neck and slightly flared rim, or with stepped neck and raised collar at its base, and the typical Aloa Ware hand-made globular pots.⁹⁷⁶

I illustrate on PIs 171 and 172 some of the characteristic pottery found in the southern and middle parts of the necropolis. The great globular pots with long neck have in nearly all cases a rough surface owing to the imprint of textile folded upon

the wet clay, presumably to preserve the form of the vessel while baking.⁹⁷⁷ The colour is dark red, the neck is finished with a deep red slip and is burnished. In addition to simple – mostly geometric – designs executed in white painting on the red surface, there are plastic neck mouldings and incised lines. Another group of the large pots is undecorated, the surface is red, red-brown or brown. The small vessels are a) highly polished and/or burnished, undecorated; b) slipped and decorated with patterns in white paint; c) provided with a black slip and decorated with incised and white-filled patterns.

PI. 171: vessel stand from tomb 309, h 29,4 cm.⁹⁷⁸ Red-brown fabric, burnished red slip, white decoration.

PI. 172, 1: globular pot, red fabric, neck with burnished red slip. From tomb 300.⁹⁷⁹ 2: pot with short neck, red, burnished red neck, textile impression on body. From tomb 15.⁹⁸⁰ 3: pot with long modelled neck, upper part of neck with burnished red slip, base of neck: red pattern on white ground. Body with textile impression. From tomb 307 (?).⁹⁸¹ 4: bowl with dark red burnished surface. From tomb 304.⁹⁸² 5: cup with burnished black surface and incised and white filled decoration. From tomb 335.⁹⁸³ 6: spouted vessel with black burnished surface and white filled incised zigzag pattern at neck. From tomb 15.⁹⁸⁴ 7: vessel stand (?) of highly burnished dark red ware, with white painted decoration. From tomb 307.⁹⁸⁵

It is worth noting that in tomb 3 there were found diorite archer's finger looses, ⁹⁸⁶ an Egyptian glass bottle dated by Harden to around 300-400 A.D.;⁹⁸⁷ in tomb 302 the skeletons of two dogs;⁹⁸⁸ in tomb 15 a Meroitic-type vessel stand (also known e.g. from tomb W 139 of the Meroe West cemetery⁹⁸⁹) in hand-made variant;⁹⁹⁰ in tomb 304 an iron sword of the type known from Ballana and other northern sites, ⁹⁹¹ and a spear head of Qustul/Ballana Type 5 (PI. 33);⁹⁹² the provenance of a Qustul/Ballana Type 6 spear is unknown.⁹⁹³ Amphorae of Qustul/Ballana Form 6 were discovered, as mentioned above, only in the section containing graves 400-499. It can be thus supposed that this section represents the latest part of the cemetery, and, as suggested by Kirwan, graves 1-99 and 300-399 are to be dated to the late Meroitic period and, perhaps only a small part of these sections, to the beginning of the post-Meroitic period, while tombs 400-499 are probably all post-Meroitic in date.

16. El Kadada, Gereif East

In recent years the French Archaeological Research Unit of the Directorate General of Antiquities and National Museums of the Sudan started the investigation of Meroitic and post-Meroitic burials in the Shendi region at EI Kadada⁹⁹⁴ and in the Khartoum area at Gereif East.⁹⁹⁵ At EI Kadada the cave graves were provided with ramp entrances and were covered with mounds. The only grave furniture items were hand-made necked pots with globular body of a red ware which had already appeared in late Meroitic graves of the area,⁹⁹⁶ and small red ware bowls with inverted rim.⁹⁹⁷ The mat (or textile)-impressed pots usually have red burnished necks and are occasionally decorated with incised and comb-pricked friezes of triangles,⁹⁹⁸

while some of the smaller bowls show burnished surface and a somewhat more ambitious incised design.⁹⁹⁹ At El Kadada extended burials were observed, a feature which is absent from the investigated graves of post-Meroitic date at Gereif East.¹⁰⁰⁰ According to Geus¹⁰⁰¹ "most of the pottery wares are hand-made and show more affinities with southern assemblages, as documented by Jebel Moya, than with northern ones, as documented by Meroe and El Kadada. They therefore point to the existence of a large cultural province derived from the influence of the capital, and to specific cultural and funeral regional profiles, a conclusion which seems also to apply for the post-Meroitic period in both areas."

17. Settlements

As opposed to the wealth of data concerning post-Meroitic history and culture presented by the mortuary remains, the information presented by settlement archaeology is rather one-sided. The list of the settlements excavated totally is very short: it contains the name of Meinarti, and will contain that of Qasr Ibrim. However, the first is unpublished as yet,¹⁰⁰² and the investigation of the second is still in course.¹⁰⁰³ Parts of settlements were excavated at Wadi el Arab, Karanog, Arminna, Gebel Adda and Gezira Dabarosa. Of these only Arminna is published to a greater detail; in the case of Wadi el Arab, Karanog and Gezira Dabarosa we have informations concerning building types and the general chronological position of the settlement parts investigated. Gebel Adda is entirely unpublished, apart from dispersed remarks in papers of its excavator e.g. on history of religion in Meroitic and post-Meroitic Nubia.¹⁰⁰⁴ From the territory south of Meinarti we have practically no information that could be evaluated from the point of view of settlement typology, architecture, and history. But also the seemingly more or less sufficient amount of data from Lower Nubia could be used for settlement historical analyses only with the help of the information rendered by the cemeteries, ¹⁰⁰⁵ and also these analyses were seriously limited by the unsatisfactory chronological evidence. However, it was not realized until quite recently that the generalizing picture of post-Meroitic settlement history needs a revision that is carried out on the basis of more precisely dated evidence. 1006

The archaeological surveys of Lower Nubia certainly did not fail to recognize all (or almost all) post-Meroitic habitation and cemetery sites, however, only a very small part of the settlements were investigated and even less published. I do not believe therefore that Trigger's quantitative approach of settlement history could be practised, even in the knowledge of the data that were published after 1965. In the following I shall thus discuss some more significant data concerning settlement archaeology in order to present information on the chronology of some post-Meroitic habitation sites. However, I shall refrain from conclusions on settlement history in the broader sense of the word.

17.1. Sayala

Opposite to the late Meroitic cemeteries discussed in section 4 on the west bank there were recorded in 1910–11 late Meroitic cemeteries¹⁰⁰⁷ and a wine press,¹⁰⁰⁸ and not far from these in 1965 an Austrian team excavated a group of tavern buildings.¹⁰⁰⁹ In an area measuring 45x60 m there were found 19 buildings constructed of medium size (and mostly undressed) stones without mortar. The largest one measured 9x9, the smallest 3x4 m. The individual buildings were arranged along two "streets" meeting at a right-angle. Each consisted of an inner court surrounded by thick walls along which there were running banks constructed of stones in a careful manner, and a small room. There were several tables built of stone in front of the banks found in situ, and carefully executed door frames and sills indicated that the small rooms in which great amounts of amphora stoppers and amphora fragments were found, could be locked. The enormous quantity of amphora fragments and drinking cups found in the buildings confirms the impression made by the banks and stone tables, i.e. that the buildings served as wine taverns.¹⁰¹⁰

The amphora fragments were not quite unambiguously determinable, but it seems that they represent first of all Adams' Middle Egyptian Brown Utility Ware U 4,¹⁰¹¹ and, more precisely, forms which are fairly common in late Meroitic contexts¹⁰¹² but occurred only in a very few Ballana tombs dating c. from the period of Generations 5–6.¹⁰¹³ The drinking vessels¹⁰¹⁴ indicate in a more comprehensible way that the main period of the use of the taverns is to be dated to the late 3rd and the 4th c. A.D., since they belong to wares that are abundantly represented in late Meroitic contexts¹⁰¹⁵ but only later form variants of which are known from Qustul/ Ballana.

It is worth mentioning that wine-presses dating from the last century of the Meroitic period were found also at other sites: at Ikhmindi,¹⁰¹⁶ at Wadi el Arab,¹⁰¹⁷ at Tomas,¹⁰¹⁸ at Tunqala opposite Tomas on the wast bank,¹⁰¹⁹ at Arminna West (three presses),¹⁰²⁰ at Faras East (three presses),¹⁰²¹ at Meinarti,¹⁰²² at Kawa,¹⁰²³ and at Meroe City.¹⁰²⁴ These structures indicate viticulture with locally-grown grapes. I shall return to the question of late Meroitic and early post-Meroitic wine consumption in Ch. V.

17.2. Wadi el Arab

The settlement of Wadi el Arab lay on the west bank and extended for a distance of c. 800 m, however, only a row of houses along a street running parallel with the Nile was investigated.¹⁰²⁵ At the northern end of the street stood a solidly built edifice of mud-brick walls on three layers of sandstone foundation enclosing the above-mentioned wine-press. The other buildings were equally built of mud-brick and the larger ones also had sandstone foundation walls. Houses 9 and 15, belonging to this latter class, had an oblong layout, divided along the main axis into two parts, one of which was occupied by an open courtyard with small rooms on both ends, the other by two vaulted rooms.¹⁰²⁶ The other, less solidly constructed houses seem

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to have consisted rooms arranged around open courtyards, the rooms being covered with a flat roof. The houses were apparently inhabited by family units.

The earliest phase of the settlement is dated to the late Meroitic period – i.e. to the late 3rd – early 4th century A.D. – by Aswan wares attested in grave contexts e.g. in the latest sections of the Karanog and Faras cemeteries and also occurring among the finds of the Sayala taverns.¹⁰²⁷ As also at this last-named site, hand-made burnished red ware cups with incised design of the type attested in the Kalabsha area (cp. Pls 165–168) were found at Wadi el Arab alongside early variants of the Qustul-Ballana Form 83–85 drinking bowls.¹⁰²⁸

To this earliest phase can be dated the building and the use of the wine-press and of the well-built houses 9 and 15. These structures seem to have been destroyed by fire at an undefined date. Their rebuilding and the erection of a number of houses of cheaper execution seems to have occurred some time in the 4th c., for the pottery finds of the second occupational period do not differ in a marked way from those of the first period.¹⁰²⁹ According to the excavators the houses continued to be inhabited in the early Christian period, however, the date and extent of this late occupation is obscure.¹⁰³⁰

17.3. Qasr Ibrim

Qasr Ibrim is the most important post-Meroitic site investigated so far. There can be no doubt that the site continued to play a significant administrative role after the fall of the Meroitic kingdom, even if its defensive walls were allowed to fall into decay in the course of the 5th-6th c.¹⁰³¹ The prosperity displayed by the buildings excavated so far and by the artefact finds is quite unusual and surpasses the average material level encountered in other post-Meroitic settlements. However, since the excavations are still in course, it would be perhaps misleading to elaborate here upon more or less isolated informations rendered by the preliminary reports.¹⁰³² Instead, I quote here Adams' summary statements on the character of post-Meroitic Qasr Ibrim and illustrate them with the ground-plan of a group of houses at the Taharqo Temple (PI. 175):¹⁰³³

"Nearly everywhere where our excavations have penetrated below the Christian deposits, we have encountered the remains of stoutly built stone houses tightly clustered along straight, intersecting streets. Most of the X-Group houses were evidently two storeys in height, and many had deep built-in storage crypts beneath the floors... At least as extraordinary as the houses themselves are the refuse deposits within and around them, both from the standpoint of quantity and of content. Rooms and streets alike are filled with dense accumulations of rubbish, reaching a height in places of nearly two meters. The refuse deposits within and outside the walls necessitated continual architectural modifications, and finally the total blocking of ground-floor doorways. After this the lower rooms apparently became simply internal dumps, while all living was done on the upper storeys... The material content of the X-Group refuse reveals that this was a throwaway age nearly as prodigal as our own.

and even some fine ornamental bronzeware... Various tools and byproducts show incidentally that Qasr Ibrim in X-Group times was the centre of a major manufacturing industry, which included pottery and basket-making, spinning and weaving, fancy joinery and leather work."¹⁰³⁴

The houses of the "Tavern Street" and the "Temple Street" (PI. 175) were built c. in the 2nd half or towards the end of the 4th c. A.D., thus around, and shortly after the fall of the Meroitic kingdom. It seems that the neighboring Tahargo Temple continued to function as a sanctuary throughout the entire post-Meroitic period, as is indicated by early 5th c. Byzantine coins found lying on its floor, and, for the later phases of the period, by the fact that the building was apparently kept free of rubbish until it was dismantled in the early Christian period.¹⁰³⁵ The early history of the houses shown on PI. 175 - among them a tavern (X-4) on the corner of the "Tavern" and "Podium" streets¹⁰³⁶ - is dated by undecorated Egyptian pottery vessels of wares to be encountered e.g. among the finds from Armant and the Bucheum, 1037 or in Lower Nubia from Wadi el Arab on the one hand, and in the early graves at Qustul, on the other (cp. e.g. Form 52 Pl. 17). According to Adams¹⁰³⁸ "... the familiar and distinctive X-Group decorated wares, with their festoon and 'blob' designs, occur at Ibrim only in the uppermost X-Group levels; they are underlain by much deeper deposits yielding almost entirely undecorated pottery which could as legitimately be termed Roman Egyptian as X-Group... the lower X-Group levels have yielded masses of papyri, ostraca, and wooden tablets bearing inscriptions in Meroitic cursive. We have therefore to recognize that what we are calling X-Group levels on ceramic grounds may in fact carry us well back into the last years of Kushite rule in Lower Nubia, the inhabitants for some reason preferring to use Roman Egyptian pottery in place of the more usual and expectable Meroitic decorated wares. An alternative possibility, of course, is the survival of the Meroitic system of writing." The "late" appearance of the festoon and blob designs (and of the tall goblet form which is usually regarded as one of the most characteristic post-Meroitic vessel types) was already noticed above in sections 1-12 of this chapter when I have tried to establish the inner chronology of some Lower Nubian cemeteries. In the light of the chronological distribution of imported and native wares and of certain characteristic forms observed in the pottery finds of these cemeteries the observations made by Adams at Qasr Ibrim do not appear surprizing. It must be added, however, that the alternatives proposed by Adams as possible explanations for the presence of written documents in Meroitic cursive script in the material of levels that are called "X-Group" on ceramic grounds are rather unlikely. It is rather probable that a good part of the ceramics which is usually identified as early post-Meroitic in fact dates from the last phase of the late Meroitic period. As we shall see in Ch. V. 7.1, it is also unlikely that in the last years of Meroitic rule the inhabitants of Qasr Ibrim could theoretically have preferred "more usual and expectable Meroitic decorated wares" to imports from Egypt, for the pottery decoration in the last century of Meroitic ceramic industry seems in fact to have been rather a prelude to post-Meroitic than an epilogue to Meroitic decorative style.

During the second half of the post-Meroitic period the character of Qasr Ibrim was considerably altered. Small and flimsy structures, mostly storage rooms, were

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built against the outside walls of the older houses, the ground-floor rooms of which were converted by now into cellars owing to the accumulation of refuse in the streets. The upper floor rooms of the stone buildings were divided into smaller rooms by new partition walls of mudbrick. Although storage pits deepened into the streets and carefully built storage crypts and storerooms constituted one of the main features of Qasr Ibrim already in the early part of the post-Meroitic period, ¹⁰³⁹ it seems now that the citadel area fulfills first of all a storage function. It is worth noticing that this marked change in the architecture of the houses and in the presumable main function of the settlement is approximately datable by the Phonen letter and the Tantani documents (see Ch. III. 1.11, 1.15) for these were deposited in House X–19 (see PI. 175) apparently in conjunction with its rebuilding in the course of which its subterranean magazines were filled entirely with refuse and its ground-floor rooms were divided into two with partition walls.¹⁰⁴⁰

Recent excavations have demonstrated, however, that besides being a storage centre and a goods depot, and a habitation site which presumably also had some administrative importance, Qasr Ibrim had also a religious significance. The existence of the Taharqo Temple during the early – but perhaps also the later – phases of the post-Meroitic period was mentioned above. In 1986 two further sanctuaries functioning in post-Meroitic times were investigated.¹⁰⁴¹ Temple 1 is situated on the so-called North-east Peninsula, or the northern spur of the fortress. It was built of cut stone and had two pylons, each provided with a flagstaff recess, facing south-west; its interior division is unclear as yet. The most important and unusual feature of the temple is that it was built over three rock-cut graves which contained according to the excavators 1st-3rd c. A.D. pottery, but in the central tomb there were also post-Meroitic vessel fragments found. It is thus not quite unlikely that the building of the temple - whose date is indicated by post-Meroitic sherds discovered below a wall and the floor - was in some way connected with these graves. Temple 4 was a mudbrick structure discovered in the area north of the Cathedral. Although it was built in the late Meroitic period, it functioned as a sanctuary during post-Meroitic times. Some time in the post-Meroitic period its court was converted into an habitation, but the inner and outer halls and the sanctuary continued to serve a religious function until they were ransacked in the terminal phase of the post-Meroitic period or perhaps after the middle of the 6th c., i.e. after the conversion of Lower Nubia. Remarkably enough, the smashed and destroyed temple statuary and furnishings which were found under the pulled-down mud brick walls, were of Meroitic character and presumably also of Meroitic date.

17.4. Arminna West

As also shown by the sumptuous tombs of its prominent 3rd-4th c. A.D. inhabitants and by the inscriptions belonging to these burials,¹⁰⁴² the late Meroitic settlement of $Adomn^{1043}$ situated c. half-way between Qasr Ibrim and Gebel Adda on the west bank was prosperous and played perhaps also some sort of administrative role.¹⁰⁴⁴ In the post-Meroitic period the settlement seems to have lost its importance.

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The majority of the well-built houses were abandoned at the end of the Meroitic period, only one building continuing to be lived in. One excavated house of the post-Meroitic period¹⁰⁴⁵ shows a layout occurring also in the settlement of Wadi el Arab: small rooms built of mud brick in the corners (or in one corner?) of an open courtyard. Graves associated with the post-Meroitic period of the site were very poor. A small cemetery was discovered in the vicinity of the settlement but already in the desert but was, unfortunately enough, not investigated. As recorded by Trigger, ¹⁰⁴⁶ each grave was surrounded by a ring of stones and probably originally surmounted by a mound of small size.

17.5. Abdallah Nirqi

The Christian townsite Abdallah Nirgi¹⁰⁴⁷ lay on the west bank c. 3 km north of the temples of Abu Simbel. A few hundred metres farther south lay the Meroitic settlement Ash-Shaukan¹⁰⁴⁸ which was apparently abandoned at the end of the Meroitic period. Houses of post-Meroitic date were found beneath early Christian buildings in the central and eastern part of Abdallah Nirgi. They were built of dry stone and, partly, mud brick and consisted of clusters of small rooms with rounded corners showing a similar, more or less chaotic layout as the southern half of the village part excavated at Gezira Dabarosa (Pl. 176 top). 1049 Unfortunately enough, the remains of the walls could be excavated only at a few places, so it is obscure whether the room clusters were divided into smaller units consisting of one or two rooms inhabited by nuclear families, or were they, as found, parts of larger units grouped around inner courts and inhabited by extended families. In several rooms the Hungarian expedition found storage vessels sunk in the floor. All these vessels represent the hand-made class; some of them were decorated with hatchwork or guilloche patterns executed in red or white painting. One large storage jar¹⁰⁵⁰ was, as to form and decoration, analogous to a vessel found in 1974 at Qasr Ibrim, 1051 indicating remarkably enough that local domestic ceramic industry was in a way standardised throughout Lower Nubia.

The post-Meroitic houses are dated by the pottery associated with them¹⁰⁵² – so e.g. by an amphora fragment of Qustul/Ballana Form 9,¹⁰⁵³ wheel-made storage vessels of Forms $51-54^{1054}$ and by an Egyptian mould lamp¹⁰⁵⁵ – to the second half of the post-Meroitic period. Yet it cannot be entirely excluded that there were also earlier dwellings in the unexcavated parts of the Christian settlement and under its houses.

It is worth mentioning that one of the hand-made storage jars bore a series of signs incised into its rim before firing: ¹⁰⁵⁶



Fig. 1

The origin and meaning of the signs are obscure. Their pseudo-alphabetic character can be compared to the signs incised into the form bricks of a column found in the early Christian "Public Building" at Arminna West.¹⁰⁵⁷

17.6. Gebel Adda

The pre-Christian remains of Gebel Adda on the east bank some 10 km north of Qustul remained largely unexamined. However, it was assumed that the capital of the post-Meroitic Lower Nubian kingdom, the seat of the rulers buried at Qustul and Ballana, lay here (it was suggested, on the other hand, that the capital was Faras, the other townsite of great antiquity in the vicinity of the royal necropoleis, and a site whose pre-Christian layers were not excavated, either).¹⁰⁵⁸

It can be inferred from the preliminary reports¹⁰⁵⁹ that the Citadel of Gebel Adda was inhabited continuously from the 2nd c. A.D. (or perhaps from the 1st c. B.C., for the approximative dating of the early settlement was obviously based on the current dating of the Meroitic resettlement and of Meroitic wheel-made decorated pottery¹⁰⁶⁰) through the post-Meroitic period until Islamic times. However, as remarked by Millet,¹⁰⁶¹ in spite of habitation continuity, the transition from late Meroitic to early post-Meroitic was signified by the deliberate destruction of several monumental buildings of late Meroitic date, among them of older temple buildings. A gradual deterioration in architectural standards was observed in the course of the post-Meroitic period,¹⁰⁶² and an interesting feature of the late post-Meroitic settlement was described as follows by the excavator: 1063 "...in the floor of the great Meroitic temple platform, and after the temple had been destroyed, several deep pits had been sunk, with a floor size of only a few square meters, and lightly roofed over with palm logs. In one of them a fire had once been lit, but other than these the cultural debris consisted of amphorae, complete or fragmentary, wine cups of the common well-developed X-group type, and lesser rubbish. The pits were certainly too small to hold more than three or four seated men at the most. The plastered walls were pitted with what can only be interpreted as urination marks. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the pits were used as places for wine-drinking bouts of an intense and prolonged type, and the labour that went into the creation of the pits and their marginal position in the settlement – there were no contemporary structures very close to the temple platform, at the north-east corner of the site - suggest that it was of some importance to have special and separate installations for the purpose. Whether the choice of the holy area of the old temple is significant or not can only be further speculation, but it is noteworthy that the pits were dug in the solid mudbrick of the old fortification wall (incorporated in the temple podium) and that there were many other places on the site where such pits could have been made with much less trouble."

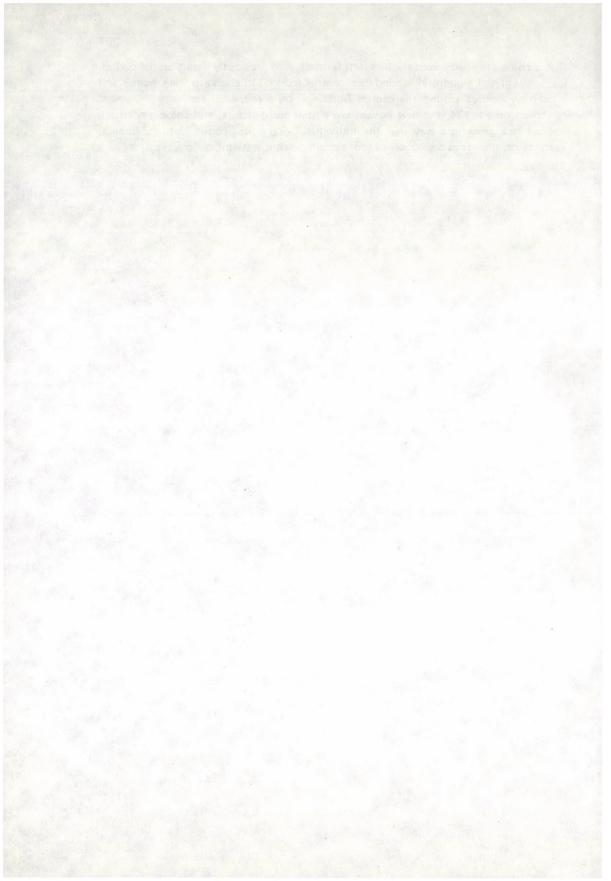
17.7. Gezira Dabarosa

C. 20 km north of the Second Cataract, on the west bank of the Nile, at the modern Gezira Dabarosa, lay the early Meroitic settlement of Tmne (= Tamania of the Juba Itinerary, Tama of the Neronian expedition, Atheniam of the itinerary of the Petronius campaign¹⁰⁶⁴). Since only isolated building groups were excavated, and since the pottery finds are (like the details of the results of the investigation) unpublished, it must remain undecided, whether the assumption of Hewes, according to which life in the settlement was discontinuous between the early and the late Meroitic periods and between the post-Meroitic and the Christian periods, 1065 can be accepted or not. Pl. 176 shows the excavated part of the post-Meroitic and early Christian settlement. The post-Meroitic building cluster (western and central part of the illustrated area) consists of two types of buildings. The first type shows more carefully built rectangular rooms arranged around open courtyards (?); the individual living units seem to consist of two or three rooms and small storage chambers and their arrangement is similar to buildings of late Meroitic and early post-Meroitic date excavated at Karanog, Arminna West and Meinarti. 1066 The second type shows rooms with rounded corners arranged rather chaotically around open spaces; structures of this type occurred e.g. at Abdallah Nirgi.

The main doorway to the room marked A in the plan had a sandstone threshold and perhaps stone jambs and lintel as well; under the threshold there were buried – presumably according to a dedication rite – five red ware goblets. As it seems, the three-roomed building consisting of room A was the nucleus of this part of the settlement to which the rest of the cluster was added at different later times.¹⁰⁶⁷

17.8. Meinarti

The village of Meinarti, situated on an island in the Nile just below the Second Cataract, was excavated by W. Y. Adams.¹⁰⁶⁸ It was occupied from late Meroitic times (i.e. c. from 200 A.D. according to the excavator, but this date may perhaps be altered into a higher date if we accept the earlier dating of the Meroitic resettlement) to the end of the Christian period. The Meroitic village consisted of a nucleus of public buildings, i.e. a temple (?), magazines (market compound), and a winepress, with some well-built "de luxe" houses and flimsier houses surrounding them.¹⁰⁶⁹ Before the end of the Meroitic period the wine-press was filled with refuse and somewhat later the settlement was badly damaged by a flood. After the flood, and perhaps already after the end of the Meroitic period (or in the transitional phase which cannot be determined on the basis of the ambiguous ceramic evidence), it was extensively rebuilt. Houses A and B (PI. 173) were erected in the late Meroitic architectural tradition, but the temple (?) or palace (?) building was deliberately destroyed. In the next building period "the older, heavy-walled buildings were quite abruptly surrounded and virtually engulfed by a tight cluster of jerry-built, thinwalled houses which took up nearly every available space on the mound" (Pl. 173).¹⁰⁷⁰ The explanation of the sudden change of the settlement structure is perhaps that a rising Nile had forced the Meinarti farmers, who previously dwelt on the periodically inundated floodplain around the central mound, to abandon their homes and build new houses around the central buildings, on a restricted territory. However, as shown on PI. 174, the new houses were built along streets, and the big northern house block grow in a way that the individual living units opened from cul-de-sacs, in the same manner as the houses of more recent Islamic settlements in Egypt.¹⁰⁷¹



V. Post-Meroitic society

1. Introduction

After the survey of the evidence concerning the last century of Meroe, the causes and date of the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom, the political history of the post-Meroitic culture and finally the discussion of the data that visualize the main features of the Meroitic culture and allow the reconstruction of its chronology, I shall turn in this chapter to some more general issues. It must have become obvious to the readers of the previous chapters that the data discussed so far are not sufficient for the description of an annalistic post-Meroitic history. They do not allow the analysis of the ethnic and political connections between the Meroitic kingdom and its successors or of the relations of the post-Meroitic states with each other. Nor do they render possible any coherent representation of the life of the post-Meroitic society (or, more precisely, societies, for social formations in the individual post-Meroitic "states" may well have been considerably different) during the two centuries after c. 360, i.e. the end of the Meroitic kingdom, either. They enable us, however, to see rather clearly the nature of the political and cultural "transition" from Meroitic to post-Meroitic, and further to form a picture of the limits within which we are forced to move when trying to make statements concerning such issues as the ethnicity of the post-Meroitic population in Lower Nubia and in the northern Sudan; on post-Meroitic state structure in Lower Nubia: on political contacts with Egypt i.e. the Byzantine Empire; or on post-Meroitic religion. In the following I shall go down on these issues and on some questions which could not be discussed in the previous chapters.¹⁰⁷²

2. The transition from Meroitic to post-Meroitic: continuity and discontinuity

In his essay on the paradigms of Nubian cultural history Trigger describes the revolutionary changes in the appreciation of Nubian cultures since the days of Reisner, duly stressing the fact that we owe our modern Nubia picture first of all to W. Y. Adams.¹⁰⁷³ Although continuity between the Meroitic and "X-Group" periods was already emphasized by H. Junker in 1925,¹⁰⁷⁴ it was only Adams who demonstrated on a broader basis and in greater detail that "radical changes in pottery styles could be understood in terms of economic fluctuations and alterations in burial customs as a result of ideological shifts that did not compel the assumption of ethnic change. He has won growing support for the concept of major ethnic continuity throughout the course of Nubian history, in part by suggesting that most written languages may not have reflected commonly-speaken ones in this region. Shifts in physical anthropological interpretation of Nubian data have removed many of the objections that were previously raised against continuity of population."¹⁰⁷⁵ Trigger warns, however, that "there is the danger that while archaeologists formerly overstressed discontinuities, they may now tend to under-estimate them."¹⁰⁷⁶

Scholars of Nubian history before Junker, and then again before the breakthrough of modern cultural anthropologists as Adams and Trigger, ¹⁰⁷⁷ believed that race, language and culture were interdependent, and, consequently, "any linguistic, cultural, or racial similarities between peoples were interpreted as evidence that the groups involved had constituted a single ethnic group at some time in the past, and differences between them were seen as the result of subsequent modifications. Thus, whenever data of one sort were insufficient to establish an historical relationship between two groups, data of other sorts could be relied on."¹⁰⁷⁸ In turn, evidence for discontinuity in language or culture was interpreted as change of population.

In fact, the data surveyed in Chapters I–IV, and the results of the anthropological investigations 1079 that were not discussed by me but which have led Adams and others to the statement of the major ethnic continuity throughout the course of Nubian history, seem to support the discovery made in the case of better-documented peoples, territories and cultures, viz. that there is no one-to-one correlation between race, language and culture. The point is, however, for modern research no more the identification of the cultural characteristics inherent in a certain race or ethnic unit – for it cannot be forgotten that the ethnic identification of Nubian cultures was at the turn of the 19th c. and in the early decades of the 20th viewed from the aspect of an ideology in which the interconnection race-culture had a broader significance than merely archaeological –, but the explanation of the reasons and consequences of historical changes that reveal themselves in the realm of race and/or language and/or culture.

There is no doubt that this task is more difficult than to point out that a cultural change like the one traditionally supposed between Meroitic and post-Meroitic, was brought about by a large-scale population change. It must be added, moreover, that it cannot be fulfilled in the particular case of the Meroitic-post-Meroitic transition either, for the evidence is, however rich, insufficient for the analysis of either basic issues. We are, therefore, unable to understand on the basis of the data at our disposal, what were the reasons of the decline and disappearance of Meroe as a state and of the Meroitic culture as a complex of social interrelations, forms of behaviour, ideas and instruments of religion, means of self-expression etc. We are also unable to identify all the forces that created the post-Meroitic states and their culture.

A part of the reasons of the Meroitic decline named in Chapter II is attested by more or less reliable written sources, but they were in part conjectural. Yet however hypothetical the cultural process assumed in Ch. II. 2.4 was – i.e. the transformation hypothetically explained by the increasing presence of un-Meroiticized or only superficially Meroiticized Noba in the last period of Meroitic history –, it started from the express statement of the Ezana inscription which also *may* lend a greater importance to earlier mentions of Noba in classical sources as well as to certain archaeological phenomena. The Noba, as a cause of the fall of Meroe and vehicle of post-Meroitic culture in the South, have appeared in modern literature ever since the discovery of the Ezana inscription. Yet the data – both written and archaeological – analysed in Chapters I-IV give a different accent to the old view insofar as they suggest, instead of an invasion and population change at the end of the Meroitic period, a long, although certainly not continuous and in its reasons homogeneous process of Noba settlement on Meroitic territory. The assumption that one of the factors – perhaps the most important one – that brought about the decline of Meroitic culture, caused the collapse of Meroitic state structure and contributed to the genesis of post-Meroitic state and culture, was the settlement of Noba i.e. of Nubian-speaking population groups throughout the late Meroitic period, can obviously be regarded as a return to the old paradigm of ethnic prehistory. I do not propose, however, any comprehensible explanation in its sense. A short review of continuities and discontinuities that can be observed in the archaeological record will more precisely outline the considerations which may lead to such an assumption.

Settlement continuity is generally emphasized, 1080 and in fact the majority of the habitation sites excavated so far - the more important of which were also shortly discussed in Ch. IV above - was continuously inhabited during the Meroitic and post-Meroitic periods. Settlement continuity is, however, not an absolute rule, and if it can be observed, is rather a habitation continuity and not an organic continuity of the settlement's life as a whole. It can be inferred from the sparse communications about old¹⁰⁸¹ and new archaeological excavations¹⁰⁸² at Meroe City that the capital of the kingdom was not abandoned around the time of the fall of Meroe, but we have so far no indications that post-Meroitic occupation represented the continuity of the urban character and urban ways of life. On the contrary, we understand that - at least in the investigated parts of the town - the latest Meroitic houses were disused (?) and squatter occupation "including grindstones, improvised hearths, and sherds of coarse 'Post-Meroitic' pottery"¹⁰⁸³ occurred in the temple buildings which fell out of canonical use. In other, less important settlements the difference is not that striking, first of all because in the early post-Meroitic phase substantial late Meroitic houses remain in use. However, two basic changes can be observed in the great majority of these settlements, too: the first is the process of architectural deterioriation in the course of which the late Meroitic house types 1084 which show, as a rule, a rather high standard of habitation form and of construction, are replaced by the flat-roofed, one-storeyed, in general flimsy and considerably poor house types exemplified e.g. by the habitations at Wadi el Arab, Abdallah Nirqi, Gezira Dabarosa, Meinarti etc. (Chapter IV). For the second I quote Adams: 1085 "...the houses of the Ballana period were filled literally from floor to ceiling with all kinds of occupation debris: dung, straw, food remains, broken and discarded implements and vessels, and even substantial numbers of whole pottery vessels which seem to have been uncaringly cast aside. These conditions do not reflect simply the conversion of the buildings from domiciles to refuse damps, for they were periodically re-floored and occupied on top of the accumulated rubbish. In many cases it was necessary to raise the height of the walls because of the depth of accumulated material within. While a causal relationship cannot of course be demonstrated, it is tempting to see a connection between the slovenly living habits and the heavy drinking of post-Meroitic times, and perhaps to link both to the decay of more inspiring ideologies."

Indeed, a direct connection between the uncivilized way of living and the supposedly heavy drinking cannot be proved and it would be certainly mistaken to see eventually a causal relationship between the two, yet heavy drinking may in fact be interpreted as one of the consequences or usual accompanying phenomena of a general social process of which a much more relevant and important manifestation is the impoverishment of the population and the decomposition of certain realms of civilization as e.g. urban way of living. In other words, the drinking might have been one of the consequences of the general decline, and not its main reason.

At Qasr Ibrim the urban structure of the settlement was nevertheless maintained throughout the post-Meroitic period, even if the houses along the streets were lived in in the way as described above. It was also mentioned above that late Meroitic cult life, at least to a certain extent, continued insofar as a number of temples continued to exist, with an apparently Meroitic-style cult practice. This phenomenon is, however, restricted on Qasr Ibrim among the settlements investigated so far, while in other habitation sites late Meroitic public institutions, e.g. temples first of all, fell into disuse and were demolished.

All changes in the character and life of the settlements summarized above or touched upon in Ch. IV, and, in general, in Nubian literature,¹⁰⁸⁶ are obvious consequences of a major change in the structure of the society.

Analyses of late Meroitic society on the basis of textual sources¹⁰⁸⁷ as well as relying on archaeological data¹⁰⁸⁸ have outlined an intricate stratification. It is especially remarkable that between the two poles of society, the family of the ruler, and the great, considerably homogeneous masses of peasants (and, in the South, of cattlebreaders) there was a numerous professional middle stratum. It was in itself further stratified in an intricate manner¹⁰⁸⁹ and it is this middle class that is, at the time being, our best index when we try to define the character of the Meroitic social and economic system.¹⁰⁹⁰ Although there is no one-to-one relationship between the stratification of this middle class and the stratification of status indices at habitation sites and in the realm of the mortuary remains, the structure of the middle class is rather clearly discernible in the archaeological record, too.

By contrast, the archaeological remains of the post-Meroitic period indicate a much less sophisticated social structure. The necropoleis of Qustul and Ballana are clearly to be attributed to the extended royal clan, whose graves constitute in their richness a highly significant contrast to the vast majority of post-Meroitic burials attributable to the peasant population. A number of graves at Firka, Kosha and Gemai and in the vicinity of Qasr Ibrim seem to occupy an intermediate place as to their material level and to indicate thus the existence of some sort of middle class. It seems, however, that these burials - not only on account of their small number cannot be identified as vestiges of some "professional" middle stratum. To the identity of their owners I shall return presently. We may observe furthermore in a number of village cemeteries graves which contain, as opposed to the average burial, instead of one or two pottery vessels 5-10 goblets, bowls, and occasionally an imported amphora (cp. Pls 159-161). While it would be certainly mistaken, to identify these as proofs for a "middle class", we may perhaps suppose that they indicate the existence of a rudimentary stratification of the village population - which was, however, most likely confined to the presence of village elders.

This basic change of the social structure was perhaps not fully realized in earlier literature, or was regarded as a natural consequence of the invasion of the barbarian

X-Group people. It was hinted at, however, by Trigger who was the first to put forward the idea that the post-Meroitic rulers of Lower Nubia were Nubian-speaking, 1091 and by Adams in the following brilliant hypothesis: 1092 "While the bulk of the Lower Nubian population in Ballana times was almost certainly descended from the population of Meroitic times, the possibility that the rulers themselves represent a fresh wave of migration from the south or south-west cannot be entirely ruled out... They might have arisen from the ranks of the already-settled Nobatian population in the north, but in such case we should have expected to find more ideological and cultural continuity... On the whole, the notion that the Ballana rulers represent a newly arrived barbarian élite ... seems best to account both for the rapid changes in mortuary ritual which they introduced and for the strongly 'negroid' character which has always been attributed to them ... " and about the post-Meroitic social formations: "Noba tribesmen from the west took possession of large parts of the Meroitic steppelands; under them the culture and society of Upper Nubia reverted to the primitive conditions of the Tribal age. The only suggestion of a successor state to Meroe is found at Ballana in Lower Nubia... The Ballana kings evidently regarded themselves in some sense as the heirs of Kush ... yet their state lacked entirely the complex ideology and the differentiated power structure of Napatan and Meroitic times. It was an absolute monarchy more typical of the early Dynastic age."¹⁰⁹³

How far do the mortuary remains discussed in Ch. IV confirm this hypothesis? in order to come closer to an answer, which can however, not be conclusive for lack of adequate written sources as regards Lower Nubia, we must briefly survey the relations between Meroitic and post-Meroitic burial customs.

The most conspicuous and paradigmatic feature of Meroitic burials is the pyramid superstructure. Royal burials were covered from a very early date with stone mastabas¹⁰⁹⁴ and then by built pyramids of stone,¹⁰⁹⁵ and both types of superstructure were adopted by the upper and middle social strata.¹⁰⁹⁶ Although there is some uncertainty as to the possible concurrent use of mastabas besides pyramids, it seems that the pyramid was the standard superstructure form introduced by the settlers of Lower Nubia arriving here from the 2nd-1st c. B.C. onwards. 1097 Besides pyramids, however, mound superstructures were also observed over Meroitic graves in Lower Nubia, and, without considering the problem of the dating of these burials, it was suggested that they represent the mortuary remains of the lower social stratum, while the pyramid superstructures represent the middle and upper strata.¹⁰⁹⁸ This assumption is apparently in accordance with Dunham's earlier suggestion, 1099 according to which the ancient Kushite custom of mound burial might have survived as a folk custom after the pyramid was adopted, an élite custom of foreign origin. After the fall of the Meroitic royal family, the return to the mound superstructure might have been self-evident.

While the persistence of the mound burial during Napatan and Meroitic times was entirely hypothetical as put forward by Dunham, archaeological investigations started recently at el-Kadada, ¹¹⁰⁰ Makbor, ¹¹⁰¹ and other southern sites seem to suggest that a part of the tumulus burials observed in tens of thousands in the South may date from the Meroitic period. The burials excavated so far range in date between the early part of the late Meroitic period and its end, ¹¹⁰² and consisted of poor

funerary equipments. They do not seem thus to contradict the sociological interpretation of Meroitic mound graves. On the other hand, according to a highly impressive essay of Patrice Lenoble,¹¹⁰³ there may be a direct connection between the mound graves and the pastoralists of the South.

How can these two assumptions reconciled with each other?

Evidently enough, the superstructure is only one of the diagnostic features of a burial. The type of the substructure as well as the burial rite, as the body is concerned, are aqually significant.

It is stated that both main types of the Meroitic tomb substructure, the niche tomb type, i.e. the vertical shaft at the bottom of which an offset is dug along one side (lateral niche) or at one end (axial niche); and the cave or chamber tomb type, i.e. tombs with ramp access leading to a cave with or without vault built of mud brick, survived without any considerable alteration in the post-Meroitic period. 1104 While chamber tombs of the Meroitic period represent generally the upper and the middle strata, and the niche tombs the lower stratum, a similar social division according to tomb types cannot be observed in the post-Meroitic period. By contrast, the early generations of the post-Meroitic rulers and their clan were buried at Qustul in lateral niche graves of larger and smaller dimensions (cp. Ch. IV 1, 9, 10). Chamber graves occur at Qustul and then at Ballana only several decades later; the early type in which the chamber is perpendicular to the access repeats a type which is known only in the South in Meroitic times. It is attested in the South and Middle Necropoleis at Meroe City, which were dated by Kirwan to the late Meroitic period and interpreted, on the basis of the mound superstructure, the un-Meroitic substructure type and the distinctly non-Meroitic hand-made "Alwa Ware" pottery found in their graves as burials of Ezana's Black Noba (Ch. IV. 15). But the substructure type with a chamber lying perpendicular to the access ramp discovered in the 3rd-4th (and later) cemeteries of Meroe City is preceded in time by a similar type identified e.g. at el-Kadada¹¹⁰⁵ and is modelled presumably after it. Also the dropping roof of the chambers at Meroe City may be interpreted as an imitation of the drop type chambers that were characteristic for the late royal and aristocratic burials of the neighboring royal necropoleis, ¹¹⁰⁶ although it cannot be excluded, either, that this construction was chosen because it seemed safe under the conditions of the bed-rock of inferior quality or of the alluvium. Thus as certain non-Meroitic features remain the double passage type tomb of the Middle Cemetery, which was, however, very vaguely described by Garstang and on the actual appearance of which I am unable to form a judgement; and further, the non-Meroitic pottery complex and the bed burial that occurred first in the Southern Cemetery, and became common in the Middle Cemetery and in the post-Meroitic tombs 400-499 of the Northern Necropolis. 1107

Disregarding here the Kerma period,¹¹⁰⁸ bed burial is attested in the early period of the Kushite kingdom at Kurru¹¹⁰⁹ and Nuri,¹¹¹⁰ and in Meroitic cemeteries at Gemai,¹¹¹¹ Arminna,¹¹¹² Gebel Adda,¹¹¹³ and in some cemeteries in the northern part of Lower Nubia.¹¹¹⁴ It must be emphasized that a) there is no sign of continuity between the bed burials of the 8th-7th c. B.C. and the Meroitic period, and that b) all Meroitic bed burials date, to my knowledge, from the late 3rd and early 4th c. A.D. It is thus decidedly misleading to speak about a Meroitic custom of bed burial

that has extended in general to the Meroitic or the late Meroitic period,¹¹¹⁵ and which eventually goes back on an ancient Kushite custom.

We may thus conclude that the re-emergence of the bed burial in late Meroitic times coincides with the appearance of the "Alwa Ware" and of unusual substructure types at Meroe City; and that it is not unlikely that the custom of the bed-burial observed in late Meroitic cemeteries in Lower Nubia has a direct connection with the southern occurrences. As it seems, the attribution of graves 1–99, 300–399 and 400–499 to the Noba of Ezana is indeed very probable.

As repeatedly mentioned above, mound superstructures over tombs of Meroitic date are recorded at Meroe City in the Northern Cemetery (tombs 500-599) and at sites of the Butana. I have also mentioned Lenoble's suggestion according to which the tumuli of the South are in direct connection with the nomad pastoralists. Although the ethnic identity of these people groups is not established, 1116 it is highly probable that a part of the pastoralists living within the framework of the Meroitic state from the 2nd-1st c. B.C. onwards were Noba immigrants from the west 1117 who were related to Nubian-speaking peoples living since earlier times (some of them since New Kingdom times) on Kushite territories. It is likely that the nomad pastoralists adopted to a certain extent the Meroitic culture and certainly used Meroitic artefacts, while they also could theoretically have preserved, or developed the manufacture of idiosyncratic pottery types such as e.g. the "Aloa Ware". However, while the groups admitted successively to Meroitic territory may have shared cultural features as the mound burial, their grade of "Meroiticization" might have been different. As a marked contrast in this sense may be interpreted the difference between the mound graves of earlier and of later Meroitic date at the Meroe City necropoleis, or between the mound burials of different dates at el-Kadada¹¹¹⁸ and perhaps also at Sururab;¹¹¹⁹ however, it is difficult to form any judgement on the latter cemetery which is known only from a short description.

The data surveyed so far have shown that there are numerous common features in the Meroitic and post-Meroitic tomb types and burial customs. Certain features, however, are only virtually continuous, while others – like e.g. the mound superstructure – are only virtually new. We may draw already here the conclusion that the main differences between the Meroitic and post-Meroitic tomb types and burial customs are likely to be explained by the abrupt change of the social structure. More precisely, the new rulers introduce new tomb types and burial customs which are connected to their non-Meroitic ethnic backgrounds and religious traditions, which also influence the tomb types and funerary customs of the lower social stratum, however, not fundamentally, because it is the lower stratum whose existence is more or less continuous both ethnically and socially.

The non-Meroitic features are most conspicuous at Qustul and Ballana. Although we have found (cp. Ch. IV. 1.3) that the substructures of the smaller graves at Qustul follow the Meroitic lateral niche type, we also have observed uncommon features, first of all in the appearance of the bigger tombs. Type A/1 (Q 14) appears to be a descendant of the lateral niche type, yet it is such a monumental and extended variant (note the side niches of the burial chamber), that one is bound to doubt the actual genetic relationship. With layout type B (Q 3) the ramp access occurs, thus increasing the number of the features that can be regarded as Meroitic. However, there appears at the same time the multi-chambered substructure type which remains for the following century the basic type of royal burials and which cannot be traced back to any Meroitic tomb type. As pointed out by Trigger, ¹¹²⁰ the main difference between the royal tombs of the Meroitic and post-Meroitic periods lies, as to their architecture, in the fact that the rooms of the former were arranged along a single axis. Although Trigger does not believe that the post-Meroitic tombs would have imitated houses, it seems to me rather likely that the general model of the layout types B, C, D and E is to be sought for in the habitation architecture. However, it does not mean that a) the arrangement of the barrel-vaulted chambers repeats in any type a certain house type; b) the tomb, as such, would have been interpreted in post-Meroitic times as the "house of the dead".

According to Trigger¹¹²¹ the Meroitic and post-Meroitic royal burials are linked with each other by the custom of the interment of large numbers of cattle, horses, donkeys and dogs in the tomb and on the ramp descending to it; and furthermore by the interment of sacrificed retainers in the tomb and on the ramp.

The horse burials found associated with the graves of Piye, ¹¹²² Shabaqo, ¹¹²³ Shebitqo ¹¹²⁴ and Tanutamani ¹¹²⁵ are well-known and attest the specific relationship of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rulers to their horses which is also displayed in a remarkable form by passages of the great Piye inscription ¹¹²⁶ and hinted at by a stela mentioning Taharqo's horsemanship. ¹¹²⁷ No evidence of animal sacrifice in royal tombs is recorded from the subsequent Napatan and early Meroitic periods. The next evidence in time is from Beg. N. 2, burial of King Amanikhabale¹¹²⁸ who ruled in the 1st half of the 1st c. A.D. ¹¹²⁹ Bones of horses and horse trappings were found furthermore in the tombs of Queen Amanitore (Beg. N. 1¹¹³⁰) (2nd half of the 1st c. A.D.)¹¹³¹ and her son Prince Arikankharor (Beg. N. 5)¹¹³² and in the tomb of the 3rd c. A.D. King Teqorideamani (Beg. N. 28).¹¹³³ Other animal burials associated with royal tombs are unknown to me. The generalisation "most of the evidence is of horses or oxen buried on the stairs leading down to the tomb"¹¹³⁴ does not seem justified.

Data relating to human sacrifice in Meroitic royal tombs are equally scarce. Two crania were found in Beg. N. 22, the grave of King Natakamani, the co-regent of Queen Amanitore,¹¹³⁵ but it is unclear, whether or not one of them belonged to the King himself. In Beg. N. 5 the bones of the horse were found next to human bones.¹¹³⁶ Finally in Beg. N. 28 human bones were found in the antechamber. Reisner maintained¹¹³⁷ that most of the multiple burials observed in the late Meroitic section of the Meroe West Cemetery were retainer burials. There is, however, only one more or less clear case where the death from asphyxiation after the sealing of the tomb seems imaginable (W. 118).¹¹³⁸ In fact, we must conclude that neither the interment of animals, nor the custom of human retainers is characteristic for the royal burials of the Meroitic period. We have found a few cases only and it must be stated that animal and human sacrifices seem to coincide in a group of tombs (N. 2, 1, 5, 22) dating from two subsequent reigns in the 1st c. A.D. and two centuries later in the burial of King Teqoridemani (N. 28). It would thus seem that, while they were correlated, animal and human sacrifices were incidental in Meroitic times and may perhaps

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be explained by some idiosyncratic feature in the backgrounds of the family of Amanikhabale, of Natakamani and of Teqorideamani. We may agree with Trigger's statement¹¹³⁹ that the post-Meroitic animal and human sacrifices cannot be compared with the hundreds of sacrificed retainers and animals observed in Kerma tombs, but, on the other hand, I disagree with his suggestion that the post-Meroitic custom goes back to a Meroitic custom. On the contrary, it seems to me that human and animal sacrifices in post-Meroitic royal and princely tombs belong to the basically non-Meroitic and not Meroiticized customs of the post-Meroitic ruling family of Lower Nubia.

As shown in Ch. IV. 1.6, Table 2, human and animal sacrifices were found in greater numbers only at Qustul (max. 18 human sacrifices, Q 2, and max. 67 sacrificed animals, Q 3), while in the subsequent Ballana burials the number of the human sacrifices is max. 9 (B. 114) and that of the sacrificed animals max. 5 (B. 10). Both features, however, can be regarded as constant in the cases of royal and princely burials, and principally absent, as to human sacrifice, in burials of the rest of the members of the royal clan. As discussed in Ch. IV. 1, the sacrificed ox has a particular role. It was also mentioned that the bucrania represented between spears on the silver cascet mounts from Q 17 (PI. 51, cp. § 5) may have belonged to the royal symbols. It is difficult to resist the assumption that the casket mount as well as the burial of oxen (or cows, or calfs) next to the owner's body in royal and princely tombs may be related to the nomad pastoralist origin of the Ballana rulers.

Entirely non-Meroitic is also the custom of the sacrifice of the queen which seems to occur first in B 80 (however, earlier occurrences may have remained unrecorded on account of the bad condition of the burials). The custom seems to have undergone significant changes during the times, for first the queen, although wearing a crown, was first buried outside of the king's burial chamber (B 80), while later – after a lacuna in the evidence – her body is buried in the king's burial chamber (B 95) and in the next generation (B 114) lying on the king's angareeb at his side.

As frequently mentioned above, in Lower Nubia the Meroitic settlements were in their majority continuously occupied also in the post-Meroitic period. A similar continuity was also observed in the cemeteries.¹¹⁴⁰ We also have seen that, while replacing the mud brick pyramid superstructure by earth mound superstructure, the peasant population of Lower Nubia continues the custom of both Meroitic substructure types, the niche and the chamber grave. It seems that both types were used concurrently. However, it may be surmised, at least in some cemeteries, that the latter type was somewhat more costly.

A strange case of continuity was observed at Gebel Adda where the population of the settlement during the early phase of the post-Meroitic period did not build new tombs, but instead re-used a large section (400 tombs) of the late Meroitic necropolis. However, the old tombs were carefully cleaned and it is impossible to decide, whether this secondary occupation of the tombs can be interpreted as conscious continuity of the population where one occupied the burial place of the "ancestors", or just the contrary, as an evidence of discontinuity? It is nevertheless worth noticing that in the later post-Meroitic continuation of this cemetery only chamber tombs were found, indicating, that niche graves may, in spite of the rather contradictory general picture, be regarded as the earlier type, in contrast to the chamber tomb type. Since they were repeatedly mentioned in earlier chapters of this book, I discuss here only shortly the cemeteries of the Kalabsha area. It is obvious at the first sight that they represent a tradition which is not related to the Meroitic. Their population seems to have been settled here during the last century of the Meroitic kingdom from further upstream. I have suggested that they may be identified as largely un-Meroiticized Nubian-speakers, however, this identification is purely hypothetical. Their graves - both the individual and the clustered dry stone tumuli over chambers built on the surface - are, however perhaps only virtually unrelated to any other known type, for it may have been the rocky surface of the Kalabsha area which prohibited the building of subterranean burial pits or chambers, and of earth mounds. The stone enclosure walls observed in most cases may perhaps be interpreted as related to the stone enclosures recorded in cemeteries of the Tanqasi Culture (cp. Ch. IV. 14). It must also be noticed here that the stone rings marking the tumulus may also be interpreted as a feature of southern origin, for it can be observed in the late Meroitic cemeteries of Shendi (Ch. IV. 14) and Meroe City (IV. 15) as well as in the late Meroitic cemetery at Arminna West (IV. 17.4) and in post-Meroitic cemeteries of the Dal region (Ch. IV. 9).

To sum up the above, the survey of the archaeological evidence suggests following statements:

1. the tumulus superstructure already existed in the South during the Napatan (?) and Meroitic times;

2. it was also adopted by the nomad pastoralists, a part of whom belonged to immigrating Noba tribes;

3. the successively immigrated nomad pastoralists have preserved some original cultural traits (pottery traditions, burial customs) and Noba groups settled on the Island of Meroe and north of the Nile-Atbara junction during the 4th c. A.D. were only very superficially Meroiticized;

4. with the fall of the Meroitic kingdom the Meroitic upper and middle strata disappeared both in the South and in Lower Nubia, while the lower stratum remained in the Meroitic settlements and maintained certain basic features of its culture. However, in the South the Noba element was dominant at this time, while in Lower Nubia the Population of Nubian-speaking origins was Meroiticized, we find a non-Meroiticized population concentrated in the Kalabsha region.

5. As opposed to the general opinion, bed burial, animal sacrifice and retainer burial are not of a Meroitic origin. These customs were more probably introduced by the new ruling family to Lower Nubia and can perhaps be explained as features of the Noba traditions (?).

Our survey has demonstrated that Adams' hypothesis about the ethnic origins of the post-Meroitic rulers is highly probable. It must be emphasized, however, that

6. the question of the Meroitic-post-Meroitic continuity/discontinuity is only virtually of an ethnic nature. The actual question is rather that when the Meroitic royal family was replaced by Nubian-speaking chiefs in the South and in Lower Nubia, the Meroitic social structure was replaced by a much simpler and in its structure basically different 'tribal' society consisting of a royal clan and of an agricultural (and cattle-breading) lower stratum. While the importance of the fact that the subjects (especially in Lower Nubia) were Meroitic in their culture (even if ethnically their majority was probably Nubian-speaking), cannot be underestimated, it must be realized that the main cultural differences between the Meroitic and post-Meroitic periods follow from the disappearance of the intricate class society with its state and religious institutions and economic machinery and the emergence of a much simpler and apparently more primitive social formation.

3. Archaeology and history

Beyond the historical lessons summarized at the end of the previous section, the archaeological evidence also suggests further historical conclusions. At the present state of the archaeological information, however, I prefer to refrain from generalisations, therefore I restrict my comments to the discussion of the following issues.

It is maintained in literature¹¹⁴¹ that the material cultures of the post-Meroitic South and Lower Nubia were different. Kirwan suggested¹¹⁴² that the territory as far north as the Third Cataract was occupied by the "Black Noba" of the Ezana inscription, while Lower Nubia was occupied by the Red Noba of the Ezana text, these latter being identical with the Noubades of later Greek texts and, in general, with the bearers of the Ballana or X-Group Culture.

The archaeological evidence shows three distinct cultural complexes which are, however, at the same time interconnected with each other as well as with the culture of Egypt through Byzantine Egyptian imports. The first complex can be identified with the material of the late- and post-Meroitic necropoleis of Meroe City and with the post-Meroitic Tanqasi culture graves. This complex is only superficially related with the late Meroitic culture, although it must be stressed that burial types characteristic for it also existed during the Meroitic period. However, it may perhaps be identified as the cultural complex of the Noba. The burials of the original Meroitic population may be suspected among the late Meroitic and post-Meroitic burials discovered e.g. at el-Kadada, Gereif etc., but for the time being I see only one means to distinguish them from graves of the contemporary non-Meroitic settlers, and this is the presence or absence of Alwa Ware pottery. However, it is very likely that after the fall of the Meroitic kingdom the Meroitic pottery tradition disappears much more abruptly than in Lower Nubia and pottery ceases to be an ethnic marker. Unfortunately enough, we know hardly anything about the developments in the South during the 4th and 5th c. and later.

The material culture complexes of the South and Lower Nubia shared according to Jacquet-Gordon and Bonnet the following traits:

- 1. lateral niche tomb substructures,
- 2. mound superstructures,
- 3. contracted burials oriented N-S,
- thumb-rings (i.e. archer's finger looses),
- 5. jewelry, including the drop-bead,
- 6. iron weapons and tools,
- 7. hand-made, burnished, "beer-jar" type pottery,

8. animal sacrifice. 1143

It is worth noticing that 1–6 are of Meroitic origin, while 7 occurs only exceptionally in the Lower Nubian archaeological context and it is in fact only 8 that points to a close relationship between the two complexes. Further common traits or features that are presumably of southern origins were discussed in the previous section. From among these latter first of all the bed burial deserves mention here. Due nevertheless to the particular substructure types observed in the royal necropoleis at Qustul and Ballana and at Firka and Gemai on the one hand, and to the domineering presence of import artefacts (first of all pottery) on the other, the second great cultural complex between the Third and First Cataracts considerably differs from the Tanqasi complex. But if we regard the material of the village sites and of the cemeteries of the lower stratum, we find that there is also a third basically important difference: in the Tanqasi complex there seems to be no wheel-turned pottery, while in the Ballana complex hand-made pottery is second in importance to the massproduced wheel-made native goblets and bowls.

The border between the Tanqasi and Ballana complexes is only guessed to be at the Third Cataract. Indeed, the southernmost site from where typical Lower Nubian post-Meroitic goblets and bowls are recorded,¹¹⁴⁴ is Sesebi in the vicinity of the Third Cataract. Although Adams warns that artefacts could be traded over borders in this period,¹¹⁴⁵ the absence of the Alwa Ware north and of the typical Ballana wares south of the Third Cataract, and furthermore the differences between the burial types suggest that there was a political and, to an extent, an ethnic border between the two complexes. The ethnic border should be understood perhaps so that – as frequently mentioned above –, albeit similarly Nubian-speaking as the bearers of the southern complex and related to them, the Lower Nubian peasants had lived there since several centuries and were considerably Meroiticized.

The third cultural complex is to be found in the Kalabsha area. It belongs to an only superficially Meroiticized population of southern – presumably Noba – origins, and its most characteristic feature is a hand-made burnished pottery complex representing a specific development of a southern pottery type and of an idiosyncratic Meroitic pottery decoration style. It existed there since the late 3rd-early 4th c. and can be connected to the late Meroitic resettlement of the Dodekaschoinos after 298 A.D.

The geographical and temporary distribution of the Tanqasi complex is rather obscure; as indicated above, its known remains are distributed from the Khartoum area (?) to the Third Cataract. Its earliest appearances – disregarding here the appearance of individual features – can be dated at Meroe City to the early 4th c. A.D., but its later development is entirely obscure. The Ballana complex is apparent from Sesebi to the First Cataract, ¹¹⁴⁶ its earliest datable remains are from the last third of the 4th c. A.D., i.e. from the period immediately after the fall of the Meroitic kingdom (Qustul), and its development can be well observed in datable finds until the end of the 5th c. at Ballana. For the time being the last phase of the Ballana complex, i.e. the first half of the 6th c., and the transition to the Christian Nubian complex is rather obscure, but a detailed knowledge of the temporary variation can be expected from the Qasr Ibrim excavations.

The unity of the Lower Nubian post-Meroitic kingdom from Ballana to Kosha (and perhaps to the Third Cataract) can be assumed on the basis of the appearance of variants of idiosyncratic Qustul/Ballana tomb substructure types at Gemai and at Firka (see Ch. IV.8, 11). Gemai seems to have already been the seat of a late Meroitic dignitary in the 1st c. A.D., as is indicated by pottery finds.¹¹⁴⁷ An important post-Meroitic personality was here buried already towards the end of the 4th c. A.D. and a number of his successors were buried in the necropolis until the 2nd half of the 5th c. Approximately to same general period – between the early and the mid-5th c. – can be dated the burials found at Firka. Kirwan found, however, only three graves of considerable size and rich furniture, and only one of these belonged to a man (A 11). The Kosha tumuli (Ch. IV. 12) are partly earlier than the Firka burials, Kosha K 1 dates from the late 4th c. and proves connections between Qustul and the Kosha area at this time.

The chronology of the cemeteries investigated between the Dal cataract and Nilwatti suggests the conclusion that during the early phase of the post-Meroitic period this area was not densely inhabited; the existence of a bigger community is attested only in the vicinity of Abri-Missiminia, the dead of which is buried in the "late Meroitic" section of the cemetery excavated by Vila at this latter place.¹¹⁴⁸ In the later phase of the post-Meroitic period – c. from the mid-5th c. onwards – a population growth and the extension of the cultivated area is attested by the cemeteries discussed in Ch. IV. 9.

The nature of the processes and events hinted at by certain archaeological phenomena observed at Qustul and Ballana is rather obscure. We can date the change of the royal burial place from Qustul to Ballana around 420–430 A.D., and the contemporary appearance of the bed burial and the sacrifice of the queen; and we may bring these phenomena into connection with a number of remarkably rich princely burials that are roughly contemporary with the first royal burials at Ballana and which display a strange pit burial form which will then be adopted by the ruler of Generation 7 (B 37, the princely burials in question: B 2, 6, 90, 9). Yet we are unable to explain the reasons of these changes: it can be assumed only hypothetically that they were induced by dynastic changes. The customs of bed burial and sacrificing of the queen were apparently abandoned for two or three ruler generations and reappeared only with Generation 9 around c. 470–480. Unfortunately enough, the return to the old rite is not understandable,either.

4. Post-Meroitic kingship

Like the issues discussed in the above sections, that of the post-Meroitic political system(s) is similarly connected to the problem of the Meroitic—post-Meroitic continuity/discontinuity. As in all aspects of post-Meroitic history and culture, the political structure of the South is almost totally obscure, while written and archaeological sources allow the investigation of the situation in Lower Nubia.

As mentioned already in Ch. II, the end of the Meroitic ruling dynasty is indicated by the abandonment of the royal necropolis at Begarawiyah around 360 A.D., and although the Ezana inscription allows the statement that at the time of the Axumite invasion there existed a Meroitic kingdom on the Island of Meroe, it seems certain that after Ezana's campaign no Meroitic king was buried according to Meroitic traditions. We may perhaps assume that shortly after the Axumites left the Island of Meroe, the rest of the Meroitic kingdom also came under Noba control and the throne was occupied by a Noba prince. Although only purely hypothetically, it can be supposed that if anything, solely some more or less unimportant features of the Meroitic kingship were adopted by the new overlords. It seems that the urban settlements were deserted and the change in the social structure which I have pointed out above in Lower Nubia, occurred in the South in an even more abrupt form.

While the settlements and graves of the immediate successors of the last Meroitic ruler in the South are unknown to us, in Lower Nubia the graves at Kosha/Firka, Gemai and Qustul give a very useful picture of the take-over and of the new rulers. As demonstrated above in Ch. IV. 1, 8, and 12, the cemetery of Qustul is started not long after the fall of Meroe around the 380s, while both Kosha and Gemai are later, as to the date of their earliest burials. The princely character of the early burials in all three cemeteries is obvious, it is obscure, however, what actual kind of power was held by these princes.

Although all burials at Qustul were plundered, the assumption can be risked with some certainty, that no prince buried at Qustul possessed a crown. As shown in Table 2, their symbols of authority included animal and human sacrifices, ox/cow burials, spears, swords, archer's finger looses and (in one case) folding chair. To these symbols the crown is added only in the burials at Ballana, i.e. after c. 420/30. The Kosha graves contained as rank symbols sacrificed animals, retainers, and weaponry. Mound E at Gemai consisted of weaponry (?) and, besides a collection of Meroitic gold rings of royal character, 1149 mace heads made of black granite and of gold (the latter was found together with the Meroitic rings in a casket). It is very doubtful, whether the mace heads can be regarded as actual post-Meroitic rank symbols, for their form is Meroitic, ¹¹⁵⁰ moreover, the golden exemplar may in fact be of Meroitic date. In another study¹¹⁵¹ I have supposed that the post-Meroitic dignitary buried in Mound E possessed the Meroitic symbols of authority either as a family, or as an official heirloom. Yet this suggestion cannot be proved. It is more important to note that the Kosha tumuli are only one or two decades later than the earliest Qustul tomb of a prince, while Mound E at Gemai dates in all probability from not earlier than the middle of the 5th century A.D.

The lack of the crown at Qustul and the relationship of the personalities buried at Qustul, Kosha and Firka can be explained only by hypotheses. The following seems rather likely to me.

The fall of the Meroitic kingship does not necessarily mean the political desintegration of the kingdom into small independent chiefdoms. Although the ethnic differences surveyed above between the South (Black Noba of the Ezana inscription) and Lower Nubia (Red Noba of same text) cannot be denied, just as well as the basic difference of the material culture (epitomized by the Alwa Ware in the South) around 360–370 cannot be minimized, it can be imagined that the first Qustul princes arriving from the South were not independent, but deputies of the Black Noba kings. This

hypothesis is apparently supported by the absence of the crown at Qustul and by the southern features of the burials. Lower Nubia became, however, independent around 420/430, and this political change would be marked by the appearance of the crown and by the change of the burial place from Qustul to Ballana and by some alterations and changes in the burial rite. The rich burials at Firka and Mound E at Gemai date from the period of the supposed secession of Lower Nubia and from the subsequent decades and can be interpreted as burials of high dignitaries under the authority of the kings buried at Ballana. This possibility is suggested not only by the lack of royal symbols, i.e. crowns and folding chairs, at Firka and Gemai, but also by the close ties between the layout types of the tombs in these cemeteries and in Qustul/Ballana and by correspondences in the funerary equipments. The alabaster largitio dish found in Mound E at Gemai could nevertheless have been presented by the Emperor or by his Egyptian praefect directly to the deputy of the Ballana king residing at Gemai, as also the alabaster vessels found at Firka may have arrived there without the intermediation of the king at Ballana. Direct contacts between the Byzantine court or Byzantine officials and lesser barbarian chiefs were not rare; such contacts were not necessarily motivated by cunning intrigue. In the case of Nubia such contacts are attested e.g. by the Tantani letters (see Ch. III. 1.15).

The crowns found at Ballana derived from Meroitic models (see Ch. IV. 1.8). This fact can be best explained if we suppose that the successors to the Meroitic kings in the South usurped the insignia of their predecessors. The appearance of these crowns in Lower Nubia around 420–430 followed perhaps from family ties between the Noba rulers in the South and the secessionist Lower Nubian princes. The significance of the individual details of the crowns was rather clearly understood by the post-Meroitic rulers of Lower Nubia, however, as pointed out in Ch. IV. 1.8–9, the finesses of Meroitic iconography were forgotten.

King Silko is represented at Kalabsha wearing two kinds of crowns: an Egyptian Double Crown with Kushite accessories and, in another graffito, a Meroitic skullcap-diadem combination with hmhm superstructure and Kushite streamers (see in more detail Ch. III. 1.12). It is rather likely that neither crown form was actually worn by Silko, however, the representations unambiguously attest that around the middle of the 5th c. A.D. the symbolic significance of both types of Meroitic royal insignium was clearly understood. The same can be said about the use of the Greek rank termini in the Silko inscription, and, in general, in the written documents of the post-Meroitic period.

As we have seen in Ch. III. 1.10, Silko calls himself basiliskos, but we also read that "when I had become king (basiliskos), I did not by any means proceed behind the other kings (basileis)." Earlier literature explained the titles and the apparently illogical use of them in different manners. Several scholars¹¹⁵² believed that the title basiliskos, kinglet, was used in late antique Nubian texts in a changed meaning. According to Skeat¹¹⁵³ Silko was a "Chief King" (basiliskos), to whom a number of local "Kings" (basileis) owed allegiance. As opposed to this explanation, which goes back on an idea of Lepsius, ¹¹⁵⁴ other experts maintain that the strange-looking use of the titles is due to ignorance.¹¹⁵⁵ Another view is represented e.g. by E. K. Chrysos who maintains that Silko meant that he has surpassed the great kings (basileis) of his

time: the Roman emperor, the Axumite king, and perhaps the Persian ruler, although he was only a kinglet.

The title basiliskos appears in the post-Meroitic material besides the Silko inscription only in the Gebelen letters of the Blemmyan kinglets (Ch. III. 2). In the Phonen letter (Ch. III. 1.11) both the king of the Noubades and the king of the Blemmyes are called basileus; in the Tantani correspondence (Ch. III, 1.15) the Nubian ruler is referred to with the Coptic word ppo, king, which is an equivalent of Greek basileüs. This seeming confusion in documents written within a short period of time and referring to the same persons or kingdoms is brilliantly resolved in a recent paper of Tomas Hägg.¹¹⁵⁶ According to him there were not two categories of kings in post-Meroitic Nubia; the titles basileüs/basiliskos were interchangeable and their use depended on the actual context in which they appear. Thus the Beja basiliskoi mentioned in one of the inscriptions of Ezana were kinglets from the point of the view of the Axumite basileüs, ¹¹⁵⁷ The basiliskoi of the Gebelen documents receive this designation from an Egyptian scribe who applies Byzantine terminology in which there is only one basileüs; the barbarian foederates of the Emperor can only be called basiliskoi (cp. also Ch. V. 5). Interestingly enough, in the Barakhia document (Ch. III. 2.2. No. 9) the Blemmyan kings Characen and Barakhia are called in the Greek part basiliskos, and in the Coptic ppo, indicating that basiliskos and basileus have the same Coptic counterpart.¹¹⁵⁸ Finally, suggests Hägg, Silko appears as basiliskos in his Kalabsha inscription in his quality as Roman foederate, who feels nevertheless free to boast with his superiority over the great basile of his day. Thus both the Nobadian and the Blemmyan kings of the post-Meroitic period designed themselves basileis, kings, in their documents made for home use, and used the title basiliskos, kinglet, only in documents which for some reason were bound to accentuate their legal position in relation to the Roman emperor.

Isolated features of the post-Meroitic government structure can be inferred from the archaeological material and from the written evidence. As emphasized in the 2nd section of this chapter, the post-Meroitic society was, as far as the archaeological evidence is concerned, extremely polarised in the manner of certain tribal societies, consisting a rather poor peasant and cattle-breading lower stratum and a numerous royal clan, but no "professional" middle class. However, the notion tribal stands here only faute de mieux, for the form of subdivision of the population, apart now from the basic division into "people" and royal clan, is totally obscure. As to Lower Nubia, in view of the apparent settlement continuity we are bound to suppose that there was no tribal organisation in the true sense of the word, even if such a subdivision can be very well imagined in the South i.e. in the territories that were occupied by recently immigrated "Black" Noba. Thus the administration of the Lower Nubian settlements was perhaps organised according to village units, yet, as it seems, the Meroitic system of local administration was not maintained. On the other hand, however, with the elimination of the Meroitic middle class i.e. of the administrators and priests of different ranks, the government could have been organised in a strictly centralised manner with members of the royal clan as "chiefs" of territorial units. This "tribal" model is strongly suggested by the general picture rendered by the cemeteries: by the royal necropoleis with the tombs of the male and

female members of the clan and by the few provincial necropoleis (Kosha, Firka, Gemai) with chieftains' burials the funerary equipments of which stand, as to their richness, close to the material level of the burials of the more important non-ruling princes at Ballana. Dramatically different is the material level of the burials of the inhabitants of the villages between the First and Third Cataracts and from the end of the Meroitic period till the mid-6th c. A.D. These burials display a considerable poverty, a standardized form of life and very little change through the two centuries of the post-Meroitic period. However, we find in the majority of the cemeteries a number of slightly "richer" tombs, which seem to indicate the existence of some local authority, yet the material level of these "village elders" did not differ markedly from the poor general standard. A more conspicuous richness is revealed by the tombs of Cemeteries 192 and 193 at Qasr Ibrim. The discoveries made so far at this site indicate, however, that its social structure may have been different. A more sophisticated social stratification, a higher material level, the maintenance of the traditions of certain late Meroitic industries (e.g. pottery painting, cp. Ch. V. 7) at Qasr Ibrim may perhaps be explained by specific urban traditions which were for some reasons not entirely destroyed in the post-Meroitic period (as is indicated e.g. rather clearly by the continuity of some smaller temples, cp. Ch. IV. 17.3) and/or by some specific role that was assigned to this place by the post-Meroitic rulers of Lower Nubia (capital? province capital?).

"Tribal" aspects are also hinted at in the Phonen letter (Ch. III. 1.11), however, these must be evaluated very carefully since the text reflects first of all the Blemmyan perspective of things. Phonen quotes Aburni's words: "Great is the man who is great in his tribe" (genos), and answers on this boast of Aburni by a similar boast: "just like you, I too have a son. I have my son Ereeitec and the brothers of Eienei and (many?) other kinsfolk". Although the boasts are of a general character and emphasize the greatness of the respective folks, the tribal notion is apparent. Other mentions of officials in Nobadia are less clear, therefore I refrain from their discussion. The Tantani letters (cp. Ch. III. 1.15) are more relevant from this point of view. Before their publication I can only emphasize the fact that Tantani was "phylarch of the nation of the Anouba" (Re\$PALPICE ARZEENCE RELEVANCE), whereas phylarchos, tribal chief, seems to have the same significance as in the Blemmyan documents. (For the title phylarchos see below V. 5.)

The written sources do not reveal further features of the post-Meroitic kingship. Before concluding this section, I briefly touch upon the question of the legitimacy of the Lower Nubian kingdom as expressed by the crowns.

The Meroitic royal insignia – state robe, sandals, sceptres, specific jewelry¹¹⁵⁹ do not seem to have survived after the fall of the kingdom. It is only a limited number of diadem types that were taken over by the post-Meroitic successors, however, without the Kushite skullcap. The abandonment of the latter is for the time being incomprehensible, and is the more remarkable that its significance was known still in the 5th century A.D., as is shown by the Silko representation in Kalabsha (Pl. I). While the other post-Meroitic regalia – spears, sword, archer's thumb guards – emphasize by means of weapons instead of more intricate iconographic notions the warrior aspect of the king and are thus of a distinctly non-Meroitic appearance, the crowns

obviously stress a close connection with the Meroitic predecessors. There can be no doubt that they were adopted in order to suggest the legitimate inheritance of power from the kings of Kush. Through the Meroitic crowns the Nubian-speaking cheiftains apparently stressed the continuity both towards their subjects and the world. It is obscure whether were they entitled to do so in any way or not. Mention was already made in Ch. II. 2.3 of Burstein's interesting hypothesis¹¹⁶⁰ according to which the Meroitic kingdom was at the time of Ezana's campaign the vassal of Axum. It can be supposed, equally hypothetically, that the origin of the post-Meroitic kingdom in the South was a foedus between the king of Meroe and a powerful Noba chief whose people were admitted in the 4th c. A.D. to Meroitic territory and whose chiefdom received a sort of legal confirmation which could later be interpreted as endowment of royal rank and basis of legal claim to the Meroitic throne. It may also be imagined that there were marriage contracts concluded between female members of the Meroitic royal family and male members of a Noba chieftain's family (as I have earlier supposed ¹¹⁶¹ that the Qustul princes legitimized their rule through a marriage with a female member of the Meroitic viceroy's family). For the time being, however, these questions must remain undecided.

5. The kingdom of the Blemmyes

This is not the place to discuss all data relating to the social structure of the Beja tribes of antiquity; they were analysed in great detail by Updegraff.¹¹⁶² Here I survey only the evidence concerning the two periods of the settlement of Blemmyans in the Nubian Nile Valley: the Blemmyan settlement in the Dodekaschoinos between the end of the 4th and the middle of the 5th c., and on the Island of Tanare/Temsir (Gebelen?) in the early 6th c.

The social structure of the Blemmyes in general, and also of the communities mentioned above in particular, was discussed by Monneret de Villard, ¹¹⁶³ Papadopoullos, ¹¹⁶⁴ and Updegraff. ¹¹⁶⁵ The first and the last were of the opinion that by the late Meroitic period the Blemmyans of the Eastern Desert have developed a kingdom with a state machinery that can be compared to the state organisation of a settled (i.e. not nomadic) people, and that can be designated as an "historical nation". By contrast, Papadopoullos maintained, in my opinion entirely correctly, that "the Blemmyes had never constituted a compact political entity, but only tribes or tribal groups of greater or lesser importance". ¹¹⁶⁶ It must be added, nevertheless, that by the end of the 4th c. A.D. a number of Blemmyan tribes were united closely enough in the organisation of a tribal kingdom to be able to occupy the Dodekaschoinos. The Gebelen documents from the 6th c. refer again to a Blemmyan king residing outside of the island concerned by the texts and thus to a Blemmyan kingdom on a higher degree of organisation.

During the 4th c. A.D. Blemmyans appear in the sources (cp. Ch. I. 3.3) both in the quality of foederates of Meroe and foederates of Rome. Since the designation "Blemmy" is used in ancient sources and documents in a generic sense, ¹¹⁶⁷ it cannot be decided, whether an actual Blemmyan group referred to in a source belonged to a

greater organized unit or was an individual small tribe. The Blemmyan envoys who have appeared in Constantinople in 336 in the company of Meroitic ambassadors may have represented secessionist tribes who were allied with Meroe, like those tribes to which FI. Abinnaeus was sent in c. 337–340 as a Roman praefect, asked for a foedus with Rome in order to get defence against other, anti-Meroitic and/or anti-Roman tribes.

The intense attacks against Upper Egypt during the second half of the 4th c. A.D. indicate an increasing concentration of Blemmyan tribes. The occupation of the Dodekaschoinos and of strategic points of the desert roads to the Red Sea which were so far under Roman control likely marks the beginning of a new era in Blemmyan history. This success was probably made possible by the unification of a great number of tribes under the authority of a king. The data concerning the Blemmyan kingdom occupying a part of Lower Nubia until the Silko campaign refer to a tribal state, however, they also indicate that certain late Meroitic institutions that were still existing around 395 connected to the temples of Kalabsha and Tafa (Talmis and Taphis) were maintained, as also was the cult life of the said temples, and that - obviously by means of the employment of Egyptian scribes - the court of the Blemmyan king adopted Greek as the diplomatic language. Around 421 A.D. Olympiodorus of Thebes was invited to the land of the Blemmyans in the Dodekaschoinos by the phylarchoi and prophets of the barbarians around Talmis (Ch. III. 1.4). The title phylarchos is used in the account of Olympiodorus as well as in other texts concerning the Blemmyans in its basic etymological sense, i.e. it means tribal chief and not - as it would in an Egyptian context¹¹⁶⁸ – a liturgical official responsible for tax collection. As pointed out also by Hägg, ¹¹⁶⁹ in contemporary texts referring to peoples beyond the Roman frontiers as well as to barbarian foederates of the Empire, the title phylarchos appears as a rule in the meaning tribal chief, and the title phylarchos in the sense of tax collector, or village Bürgermeister¹¹⁷⁰ is restricted to references to Egypt. It is highly characteristic for the tribal character of the Blemmy kingdom that the son of King Phonen is a phylarchos, moreover, it appears that the king himself was at an earlier stage of his career phylarchos (see below). The phylarchs appear unspecified in the account of Olympiodorus, but we have the impression from the letter of Phonen (Ch. III. 1.11) that they were of different ranks and e.g. one of them, Eienei, was responsible for the entire dominions in the Valley and was entitled to negotiate with Silko.

Besides the mentions of phylarchs we find in the account of Priscos about the peace negotiations in 452 A.D. (Ch. III. 1.7) and in the Phonen letter mentions of another, lower, rank, the hypotyrannos. This title, meaning "sub-despot", was formed after the title tyrannos, which, however, is not attested in the sources, and its occurrence in Priscos' narrative does not mean that it was actually used by the Blemmyans: on the contrary, it seems, that it was formed by Priscos on the analogy of the lower rank.¹¹⁷¹ Tyrannos was used in Late Greek terminology in general for "ruler";¹¹⁷² it occurred in connection with barbarian kings and chiefs and it is rather likely that the title hypotyrannos was created in the Blemmyan court by Greek-speaking scribes or officials in order to designate a tribal "chief" of lower rank and subordinate to the phylarch. As noted by Chrysos,¹¹⁷³ the titles phylarchos and tyrannos may have

been interchangeable. However, the notion phylarch must have been clear, for this title was widely used in contemporary Greek official and literary language and in this way it may have looked more concrete than the title tyrannos which was much less closely connected to tribal aspects. Thus when a tribal dignitary of a lower degree than the phylarchos had to be designated in Greek, it could appear feasible to create a title on the basis of the tyrannos.

The administrative system mirrored by the Gebelen documents is somewhat more intricate. In No. 1 (Ch. III. 2.2) we encounter Khaias phylarchos, Osien hypotyrannos, and Kuta capitularius. In No. 6 King Kharakhen instructs a phylarchos and a hypotyrannos to take certain measurements and the document is signed by Laize domesticus and Tiutikna domesticus as witnesses. No. 9 is signed by the phylarchs Tata and Noupika and by the hypotyrannos Eisoeit as witnesses. No. 11 mentions a phylarchos by the name Ose, who also appears in No. 13. The domesticus is in early Byzantine texts a palace official; the title frequently designates officials subordinate to ministers, or governors, and generals.¹¹⁷⁴ Its meaning in the context of the Gebelen documents is entirely obscure. The meaning of the capitularius is equally obscure.¹¹⁷⁵ More comprehensible is a part of the legal transactions referred to in the documents. It seems that the majority of the dealings corresponded with contemporary Egyptian law.

No. 1 contains elements which derived probably from the tabellio-instrument or the manumissio per epistolam, 1176 however, it also may contain references to some Blemmyan customs. No. 2 is an antichretic loan;¹¹⁷⁷ like No. 3, and both reflect Egyptian usage. The general legal situation of the island is outlined by Nos 4 and 6. In the first King Pokatimne entrusts the administration of the island Temsir (=Tanare) to the priest Poae; in No. 6 King Kharakhen entrusts the administration of the same island to his sons. He orders that the Romans (i.e. the non-Blemmyan inhabitants of the island) be imprisoned by the phylarchos and the hypotyrannos if they make difficulties and do not hand over the customary dues. As pointed out in Ch. III. 2.3, these dues - synetheia - were a specific sort of gratuities in the taxation system of Byzantine Egypt. The fact that in this case the synetheia were to be paid by the Egyptian inhabitants of an island in Egypt to a Blemmyan king, who also was entitled to take measurements in case of non-paying and who had his officials to carry out these measurements, too, is quite remarkable. How can it be explained that there exists a mixed Blemmyan-Egyptian community within Egypt, which is governed, at least as taxation matters are concerned (but also, as indicated by the other documents, in other respects), by Blemmyan officials? The form of tax collecting referred to in the text appears similar to the autopragia of Byzantine Egyptian great landowners.¹¹⁷⁸ It is thus highly probable that the king of the Blemmyans was granted the island of Tanare/Temsir and of the privilege of autopragia within the framework of a foedus with the Empire. According to the foedus, a group of Blemmyes was admitted to Egyptian territory and was allowed to settle on the Island of Tanare/Temsir, where also an Egyptian community continued to live. The mixed Blemmyan-Egyptian community seems to have been put entirely under the authority of the Blemmyan king who resided apparently in the desert¹¹⁷⁹ and exerted his authority through a number of officials. The tribal character of the Blemmyan king-

dom is revealed again by No. 6 in which the king entrusts his sons with the administration of the island. The circumstance, however, that legal transactions were carried out according to Byzantine Egyptian legal practice, warns that the administration of the island and the life of its inhabitants was not exempted from Byzantine control, either. The situation on the whole does not seem to differ from other cases recorded from the practice of Byzantine foederate policy during the 1st half of the 5th c., in which barbarian groups were admitted to the Empire and which did not prevent these barbarian foederates from maintaining their links with their barbarian hinterland.¹¹⁸⁰ If this explanation is right, the Gebelen dossier must be regarded with more caution, for the circumstances reflected by it are first of all characteristic for a foederate community and it would be certainly mistaken to conclude that the Blemmyans in general had adopted Byzantine Egyptian law by the 6th century A.D.

The Gebelen documents make it probable that the Blemmyans on Tanare/ Temsir were engaged in activities that were also practised by the Egyptians, i.e. they participated in the cultivation of the land, too. It can be supposed, that already the earlier Blemmyan overlords of the Dodekaschoinos between the end of the 4th and the middle of the 5th century settled in the valley and became agriculturalists. Their number was, however, apparently very small. The Dodekaschoinos did not provide great opportunities for agricultural production and it was certainly not the perspective of land cultivation that motivated the occupation of this territory.

After their expulsion from the Dodekaschoinos around the middle of the 5th c. the Blemmyes continued their life as nomad herdsmen in the Eastern Desert. However, Blemmyan groups appear both in the quality of raiders in Upper Egypt¹¹⁸¹ and as Roman foederates in the 6th century (see Ch. III. 3.1). Furthermore we understand from the account of John of Ephesus (Ch. III. 3.1) that there was a kingdom of the Blemmyans in the Eastern Desert around the middle of the 6th c. that maintained friendly relations with Nobadia. The territory controlled by the king of this Blemmyan kingdom must have been large: for we understand from the narrative of John of Ephesus that it extended from the height of Nobadia to the height of Alodia. It seems thus that at times the Blemmy tribes were united into kingdoms of considerable geographical extent, even after they had given up their ambition to get a foothold in the Lower Nubian Nile Valley.¹¹⁸²

6. Post-Meroitic religion

For lack of adequately detailed written evidence the religion of the post-Meroitic period can be sketched only on the basis of the archaeological finds. However, the first cult temples of post-Meroitic date discovered recently at Qasr Ibrim (see Ch. IV. 17.3) are still unpublished and the rich find material – above all from the funerary realm – related to the different aspects of personal religiosity is not properly investigated as yet. The desired investigation being beyond my competence, I give here only a short survey of the more important data.

Before the discovery of the post-Meroitic use of the Taharqo temple at Qasr Ibrim¹¹⁸³ and of two further cult temples of the post-Meroitic period at the same

site it was generally maintained that Meroitic cults were abandoned at the beginning of the post-Meroitic era. The temples at Qasr Ibrim seem to have been cult temples where Meroitic or Meroiticized deities were worshipped; it may be presumed that in the Taharqo temple Amun (?), while in the so-called Temple 4 (north of the Cathedral) the numerous painted wooden votive tablets attest the cult of an Egyptian-type popular healing (?) and aiding deity.¹¹⁸⁴ It is obscure, however, what kind of priesthood existed in these sanctuaries. Although important settlements such as Faras are unknown in the post-Meroitic period, the majority of the investigated sites failed to attest the existence of similar temple buildings and cult relics dating from the post-Meroitic period. We may thus conclude, until new and contradictory evidence comes to light, that the situation at Qasr Ibrim was exceptional and can perhaps be explained by the survival of an exceptionally large and influential Meroitic population that was able to keep alive some religious institutions during the first half of the post-Meroitic period.

Another cult of the Meroitic period that was maintained throughout the post-Meroitic period is the cult of the Isis of Philae. It seems that the well-known Nobadian (and Blemmyan) veneration of the great goddess was bound to the Philae sanctuary. According to the narrative of Procopius (Ch. I. 3.2) one of the conditions under which Diocletian tried to secure the peaceful behaviour of the Nobadians and Blemmyans to whom he ceded the Dodekaschoinos was the free access of the barbarians to the Philae sanctuary, where "priests of both peoples" served and participated in the rites. Procopius' account was written after the closing of the temple in the 530s and contains, as we have seen, anachronistic elements. It seems that one of these is the mention of Nobadian and Blemmyan priests after 298 A.D. in the Isis temple. Yet the remark is not entirely false, for Meroitic priests and temple officials were active there already from the late 2nd c. A.D., and continued to play an important role in the administration of the sanctuary during the 3rd and 4th centuries.¹¹⁸⁵ It was repeatedly mentioned above, that the Nobadians admitted to Lower Nubia in Procopius' account are in fact in all probability the original settled Nubian-speaking population of the territory. In this sense the appearance of the Nobadian priests is, after all, quite logical. As to the Blemmyan priests, it is more likely that, if at all, priests of this origin were not active in the Isis cult at Philae before the 4th c. A.D. 1186

We know only one detail of the actual form of the Nobadian worship of the Isis of Philae, recorded in Priscus' narrative of the peace negotiations in 452 A.D. (Ch. III. 1.7). One of the conditions under which the Nobadians and Blemmyes agreed to conclude a peace treaty with Rome was that "their crossing to the temple of Isis be unhindered in accordance with the ancient law, Egyptians having charge of the river boat in which the statue of the goddess is placed and ferried across the river. For at a stated time the barbarians bring the statue to their own country and, after having consulted it, return it safely to the island". It is perhaps this boat which could not return to Philae for two years before 373 A.D. on account of Blemmyam attacks against the Lower Nubian Nobadians (cp. Ch. II. 2.5). The exact purpose of the travel of Isis to Lower Nubia is unknown to us. The expression "consulted" sounds as if the statue of the goddess would have been regarded as an oracle, but this is of course only a guess. It is nevertheless not less hypothetical to suppose that the appearance of the goddess was necessary in order to secure fertility of the land.

The cult of Isis in post-Meroitic Nubia is thus attested by textual sources for the period between 298 and c. 535 A.D. Relics of the cult in the sphere of personal piety are, however, lacking (the proskynema of Meroitic dignities made at Philae before c. 360 A.D. are irrelevant from this point of view). It was supposed that female pottery dolls found allegedly in Ballana house-sites but never published 1187 may have been associated with Isis-worship. According to Adams¹¹⁸⁸ they are c. 12-13 cm high and "the rigid standardization of the figure, with its elaborate head-dress, upraised arms, medaillon on the forehead, and pendant meaillon on the breast, suggest some sort of canonical representation, although it is not immediately recognizable as any known deity ... Some of the figures are made of hard, bright-pink clay which marks them unmistakeably as products of Aswan; others seem to be Nubian made." If the unpublished exemplars belong to same general type as the one statuette illustrated from the Meroitic cemetery of Karanog¹¹⁸⁹ and mentioned by Adams, then we must indeed refuse any association with the Isis-worship, for these statuettes would in this case belong to the so-called Totenbraute. Statuettes of this type were usual mortuary offerings or items of funerary equipment in Egypt from the Ptolemaic period until the 5th-6th c. A.D.¹¹⁹⁰ Their exact meaning is, however, not satisfyingly established, 1191

According to Adams¹¹⁹² "private religion in Nubia seems to have been little affected by the ideological changes of the post-Meroitic period. As always, mortuary ritual remained a main focus of religious activity. The changes in burial practice ... were not of a major order, and they affected chiefly the above-ground and external features of the tomb... The disappearance of offering tables, of *ba* statuettes, and of funerary stelae were all, of course, connected with the disappearance of priest-craft." It must be added, however, that the disappearance of the inscribed funerary stelae and offering tables and of the ba figures may, by contrast, rather clearly indicate major changes in the mortuary religion. For the inscribed Meroitic stelae and tables expressed a concretely outlined funerary religion centered around Isis, Osiris, Anubis and Neith, ¹¹⁹³ and demanding various rites. It is now well imaginable that the absence of the Meroitic texts also means the absence of the cults and cult practices that were formerly connected to them.

While it is impossible for the time being to decide, whether the dogmatic aspect of the Meroitic funerary religion was abandoned after the 360s, the persistence of the custom of the libation at the grave and perhaps of other connected rites is attested at Qustul. Unfortunately the archaeological evidence is known once again from a preliminary excavation report, which will hardly be followed by a final publication. Therefore I quote the entire text concerning the find from the report of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition of 1962–1963:¹¹⁹⁴ in the Qustul cemetery "we discovered several large rectangular pits... each filled with two distinct layers of disarticulated animal bones: horses, donkeys, and camels... We theorized without proof that their proximity to Emery's Tumuli 2 and 3 pointed to their being the remains of great funerary feasts connected with royal burials... North of [Q 31]... we came upon a long row of mudbrick enclosures – rectangular structures one to four bricks in height, set closely side by side, at times with a single wall between a pair of them, each with an entrance at the south end, some with stone door pivots at either side of the entrance. These structures (fifty-six in all) and our area B were arranged in a broken line, from east to west, ... and ending at the west in a final structure narrower than the average and built upon the sand filling around Emery's Tumulus 44... In front of fourteen structures toward the west end of the row were mudbrick podia, each about 40 cm square and 20 cm in height, plastered with mud, on some of which had been placed stone offering tables of Xgroup type,¹¹⁹⁵ with spouts towards the north, that is, facing the entrances of the structures. A few of the structures which lacked the podia had offering tables within their walls; others contained typical X-group pottery. None of the structures in the east half of the row possessed an offering table... this row of structures was later than tumuli 31 and 44... In the same relative position to Emery's Tumulus 48... we uncovered the ... second row of mudbrick which we called Area C. This time there was an unbroken line of fifty-four structures... Area C structures had stone door pivots and even wooden sills and door frames... The Area C structures had no podia with offering tables... none of the structures was associated with a definite X-group grave, but most of the structures were built over an earlier Meroitic cemetery." A third row of fourteen structures - one with a podium - ("Area F") was discovered stretching in a broken line from west to east in the vicinity of Q 36. According to Seele "the parallelism between the three cases was perfect: Area B adjacent to Tumulus 31, Area C to Tumulus 48, Area F to Tumulus 36... Nevertheless, when we tested the suggested relationship by excavating areas similarly adjacent to the great tumuli... Emery's nos 2, 3, 14, and 17, we failed to find counterparts... Either a change of custom was indicated, ... or a different explanation must be sought for the seeming connection of the structures with the adjacent tumuli... Is it not possible, therefore, that each structure in Areas B, C, and F was laid out to serve the mortuary cult of a person who had died and been buried elsewhere in the vast cemetery?"

Unfortunately, Seele's description is not accompanied by adequate documentation. It is thus impossible to form a more exact picture of the remarkable structures. It is fairly certain, however, that they were chapels erected for the mortuary cult of individual dead. While the doors of the chapels indicate the existence of cult statues (?), the uninscribed libation tables remind us of a rather frequent late Meroitic find type, occurring in such Lower Nubian cemeteries as e.g. at Missiminia.¹¹⁹⁶ It seems that the uninscribed Meroitic exemplars are associated with tombs the average material level of which is not significantly lower than that of the equipments of lower middle class graves with tables/stelae inscribed in Meroitic cursive. I have suggested therefore in another paper¹¹⁹⁷ that the uninscribed Meroitic offering tables indicate the graves of Nubian-speaking subjects of the king of Meroe. This hypothesis could, however, be controlled only on the basis of an extensive statistical investigation of all tombs with an uninscribed offering table, in comparison to the average contemporary grave with Meroitic texts. It is thus uncertain for the time being, whether the offering tables discovered at Qustul can be regarded as the survival of the ethnically non-Meroitic rendering of the Meroitic funerary libation rite. It is worth emphasizing, that similar structures were apparently not built in the Ballana cemetery.

Individual finds such as the silver casket mounts from Q 17 (PI. 51) with the representation of a hawk-headed deity with a crocodile's body, perhaps Ptiris, ¹¹⁹⁸ seemingly attest the survival of Meroitic cults, since the representation of the same deity can also be found in the 1st c. A.D. Apedemak Temple at Naqa.¹¹⁹⁹ However, proskynema accompanying the representation of the same deity on the outside wall of the Second East Collonade at Philae¹²⁰⁰ dating from the 5th c. A.D. strongly suggest that the Qustul find is associated with the cult of the deity at Philae and is copied after an Egyptian representation, or imported from there.

The religion of the Noba in the South is hinted at by a passage of the Ezana inscription (Ch. II. 1.1) where we read about the images in their temples destroyed by the army of the Axumite ruler. However, it is not entirely unambiguous whether the statues in question were, in fact, Meroitic cult statues that were standing in sanctuaries of settlements occupied by the Black Noba. The hints at the statues (eidola) of the Blemmyes by the Silko inscription are no more concrete, either. However, we have also other evidence of the religion of the Blemmyes.

It is generally believed that Mandulis was a Blemmyan deity.¹²⁰¹ His earliest known sanctuary was erected at Kalabsha by King Argamani of Meroe between 207/6 and 186 B.C. during the Meroitic occupation of the Dodekaschoinos. 1202 A temple of Mandulis is attested at Philae around the middle of the 2nd c. B.C. and we know that the Meroitic inhabitants of the Egyptian Dodekaschoinos were obliged to pay taxes in kind to the Mandulis of Philae.¹²⁰³ The deity was decidedly non-Egyptian, but since he appears both as God of the West (hntj t3 jmntt) and God of the East (jwj m t3 ntr) in the Kalabsha texts, 1204 his association with the Blemmyes seems forced. In the course of the Augustan extension of the Kalabsha sanctuary the deity was considerably re-interpreted: he was identified with Apollon, ¹²⁰⁵ and was genealogically connected in the first generation to Horus and in the second to Isis and Osiris.¹²⁰⁶ Thus his cult became affiliated to the great cults of Philae, and was re-shaped in order to satisfy both the religious demands of the Egyptians settled in the Dodekaschoinos and of the Roman military stationed there.¹²⁰⁷ After the occupation of the Dodekaschoinos around c. 395 A.D. the Blemmyes seem nevertheless to have been especially attracted by Mandulis, even if we have no special reasons to believe that the deity had any Blemmyan origins. Their Mandulis-worship is attested by three inscriptions of King Tamalas, ¹²⁰⁸ by an inscription of King Isemne, ¹²⁰⁹ and by the much discussed¹²¹⁰ klinarchoi inscription of the phylarch Phonoin - who may be identified with the later King Phonen of the Blemmyans - in the Kalabsha temple.¹²¹¹ The latter inscription, together with a late 4th, or rather early 5th c. inscription in the temple at Taphis/Tafa, 1212 was interpreted as a document of a local association of Isis-worshippers¹²¹³ or of Mandulis-worshippers.¹²¹⁴ On the basis of a new reading Tomas Hägg recently demonstrated ¹²¹⁵ that the Phonoin inscription records the existence of the synodoi i.e. associations of the worshippers of the deities Abene, Hopan, and Mander. While the first two names are probably those of Blemmyan deities, Mander is identical with Mandulis.¹²¹⁶ According to Hägg's new reading, the Tafa inscription relates the foundation of a stoa by the prefect of the society of the Amati-worshippers. This deity, like Abene and Hopan, is unknown from any other source. Amati appears, however, as personal name in two ostracon texts of

3rd-4th c. date from Dakka,¹²¹⁷ in a proskynema at Kalabsha,¹²¹⁸ and a priest by the name Amatisis is the author of a proskynema in Abu Hor.¹²¹⁹

The inscriptions in Kalabsha and Tafa attest the existence of synodoi of the Egyptian model of the Roman period, ¹²²⁰ with Blemmyan klinarchoi i.e. prefects; furthermore, the Tafa inscription also records the erection of a stoa for the god Amati, financed by the association of the worshippers of the deity. If the dating of these texts to the period between c. 395 and 452, i.e. the Blemmyan domination of the Dodekaschoinos, is right, they can doubtlessly be interpreted as proofs for the organic continuation of Romano-Meroitic urban cult life by the Blemmyans. This supposition is, however, largely dependent on the interpretation of the following passage of the Phonoin inscription: $\Gamma \rho \dot{\alpha} \phi \omega \mu e \nu \delta \dot{\alpha} \tau \dot{\sigma} \pi \iota \tau \dot{\alpha} \kappa \omega \tau \tilde{\omega} \delta \eta \mu \sigma T \dot{\alpha} \lambda \mu e \omega \varsigma \pi \alpha \rho \dot{\alpha} \tau \sigma \tilde{\nu} \kappa \delta \mu \iota \tau \sigma \varsigma$, i.e. "we (the above-named) write because of the letter, which the town of Talmis has received from the comes".

The comes is, as is well-known,¹²²¹ a Roman official and military title the exact meaning of which cannot be established without the knowledge of the date of the text in question and of the context of the occurrence. It is very improbable that the title would have been adopted by the Blemmyans to designate an official of their administration, thus the comes of the Phonoin inscription seems indeed to have been an Egyptian dignitary. His appearance can be explained only either as an indication that the inscription is earlier than 298 A.D., or that at the time of the writing the Blemmyans were Roman foederates and thus the inner affairs of the incomes of the town of Talmis were supervised by a comes. In the latter case the text could have been written between 395 and 452. We may perhaps identify it as an indication that some time after Olympiodorus' visit and before their expulsion from the Valley, the Blemmyans were allied with Rome. But even if it was really so, the alliance did not last long, considering the Appion letter (Ch. III. 1.5) and the fact that in the conflicts between the Nobadian kingdom and the Blemmyes it was the Nobadians who enjoyed Byzantine support (cp. Ch. III. 1.13).

7. Post-Meroitic art

7.1. The transition from Meroitic art

Literature on post-Meroitic culture¹²²² emphasizes that with the beginning of the post-Meroitic period "Meroitic art forms died out as the result of a change in the political structure" (Wenig).¹²²³ Apart from houses and small sanctuaries repeating simple Meroitic layout types and structural traditions built during the early post-Meroitic period at Qasr Ibrim and from more substantial houses at other Lower Nubian settlements, we do not know of the survival of Meroitic period does not seem to have created buildings that could be compared to the achievments of the 1st c. A.D., late buildings at Meroe City¹²²⁴ or sculptured window grilles and a lion figure from Qasr Ibrim¹²²⁵ indicate the existence of stonemasons' and sculptors' workshops in the late 3rd and early 4th c. A.D. With the fall of the kingdom, however, these workshops seem to have ceased to exist and the nomad backgrounds of the new rulers may have been responsible for the apparent lack of monumental palace buildings. The lack of post-Meroitic temples – apart now from the chapels built for the Meroitic survivors at Qasr Ibrim – can doubtlessly be explained by the ceasing of the existence base of the Meroitic official cults and temple organisation on account of royal desinterest (evidently enough, temple estates must also have been taken into royal possession), and by the apparently different nature of post-Meroitic religiosity.

There is more continuity in the realm of minor arts. Not independently from the notion of ethnic continuity, Trigger has stated already in 1967 that "Early Ballana Culture either grew out of the Meroitic one or gradually replaced it; in either case there was no clear-cut break between the two".¹²²⁶ Stressing that the problem is relevant for Lower Nubia, but does not fit to the South where we see the rather abrupt emergence of Alwa Ware, we may quote first of all the evidence of pottery in order to decide between Trigger's alternatives, or to find a third alternative.

Since the problem of the transformation of the Meroitic pottery tradition during the 3rd and 4th centuries is discussed in great detail in Adams' monumental work on Nubian pottery wares, ¹²²⁷ I make here only an additional remark that may be relevant from the aspect of the transition. Remarks made on the discontinuity of Meroitic pottery painting tradition in the literature generally give the impression that the Meroitic figural, floral and geometric pottery painting styles survived on an unchanged high artistic level until the fall of the kingdom. This impression, and the considerable uncertainty as to the interconnections between the individual styles on the one hand, and Egyptian and Meroitic pottery painting, on the other, are due to the lack of chronological investigations. Partly on the basis of Adams' ware definitions and of Wenig's attempts to identify painting schools, I have tried recently in a series of studies¹²²⁸ to establish a chronology of Meroitic pottery painting, whereas I was greatly aided by recent discoveries made on the one hand about 2nd-1st c. B.C. Meroitic pottery by Fernandez, 1229 and on the chronology and origins of late Hellenistic pottery styles in Egypt, on the other.¹²³⁰ What is relevant for the present issue, the investigation led to the conclusion that apart from the activity of a few exceptional ceramic painters around the middle of the 3rd c. A.D., the artistically outstanding production, as to painting (for the technical quality of the ware and the artistic quality of its decoration are not interconnected), is concentrated on the period between the late 1st c. B.C. and the first half of the 2nd c. A.D. By the early 3rd century A.D. the paintings are of a generally low level and the motifs are restricted to a few stereotypes. However, a routine graphical skill cannot be denied the painters of simplified floral designs. On PI. XXXI the reader finds examples of the typical production of the late 3rd-early 4th century.¹²³¹ The stereotype geometric decoration of the finer early post-Meroitic pottery¹²³² and the unskilled floral and animal representations characteristic for hand-made storage jars of the entire post-Meroitic period¹²³³ are thus chronologically preceded and stylistically prepared by a more than one century long period in Meroitic pottery painting. Not less significant than the simplification of late Meroitic ceramic decoration and the decline of its standard is the development of the decoration style of the hand-made burnished pottery characteristic first of all for the Noba communities of the Kalabsha region. Its origins

are in the Meroitic pottery painting, and the style in its flourishing period in the late 4th and early 5th c. represents a vigorous plebeian variant of it. The process can perhaps be regarded as a Nubian version of developments that can be observed from the late 3rd c. onwards in Roman art.¹²³⁴

Oasr Ibrim is, nevertheless, as also in quite a few other aspects, an exception as to post-Meroitic pottery painting, too. On PIs XXIX and XXX I illustrate the decoration of bottles found in Cemeteries 192 and 193 and dating from the 2nd and 3rd (?) thirds of the 5th c. A.D. With the exception of PI. XXX/4-6, all motifs are imitations of contemporary Egyptian pottery decorations. Especially remarkable are PI. XXX/1 and 2, with the imitation of motifs that are current in the stamped decoration of Late Roman A-C wares (Egyptian sigillatae)¹²³⁵ and which also occur in 4th-5th c. Egyptian pottery painting.¹²³⁶

With the exception perhaps of iron-working (see the spears), post-Meroitic crafts that cannot be ragarded as domestic industries (like first of all basketry, and perhaps also weaving) do not seem to have been established within the framework of surviving late Meroitic workshops. The best example for discontinuity is presented by the products of the silversmiths working for the post-Meroitic court and to whom we can attribute silver crowns, decorations of saddle pommels, casket mounts, sword scabbards and perhaps also some simpler pieces of jewelry. As shown in Ch. IV. 1.9, their techniques derived from the traditions of Egyptian workshops satisfying demands of a quite simple sort and on a rather mediocre level of craftmanship.

7.2. The later phase of post-Meroitic art

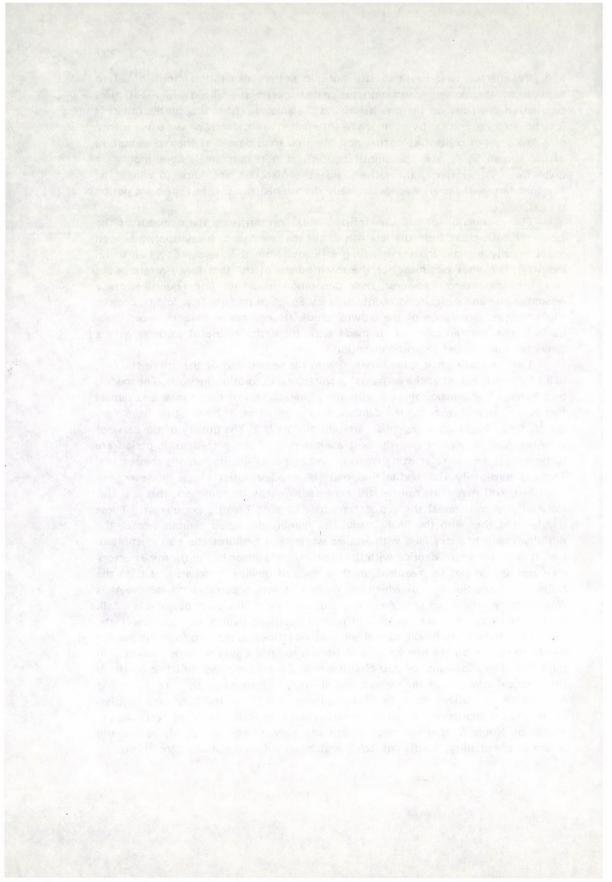
General opinion on post-Meroitic art is handicapped by the uncertainty over what is native and what is imported in the archaeological material.¹²³⁷ Although Bissing's studies already stressed the high proportion of imported objects in the find material from Firka, Gemai, Qustul, and Ballana, in his recent art historical survey Wenig¹²³⁸ regarded the bronze vessels, the ivory inlaid caskets and chests and the majority of the jewelry as native products. In the detailed discussion of the material in Ch. IV I have also enumerated the arguments for the attribution of a good part of the jewelry, of the bronze vessels, the caskets, lamps, censers, and of other luxury objects to Byzantine Egyptian workshops; the more outstanding silver plate was attributed to Constantinopolitan and to Alexandrine (?) workshops.

Artistic activity, in the broader sense of the word, is restricted in the advanced post-Meroitic period to a few fields. First of all is to be mentioned the pottery industry. The native production – similarly to the Egyptian imports of the period – stands on a high technical level, but does not show any remarkable features from the artistic aspect. The decorative repertoire was classified, discussed and illustrated in Adams' monumental work on Nubian pottery.¹²³⁹ The most frequently employed painted motifs: plain body stripes, spot rows, friezes with cross-hatching, simple festoons, blobs, vertical spot rows are typical decorations employed in mass-production work-shops. They are simplified versions of contemporary Egyptian motifs, just as the somewhat more complicated and demanding arched body friezes¹²⁴⁰ which repeat

a highly characteristic Egyptian late antique pottery decoration motif.¹²⁴¹ Two features of the pottery decoration are paradigmatic: the already hinted-at mass production character on the one hand, and the aniconic repertoire, on the other. It is rather striking, and can by no means be interpreted as accidental or as a consequence of a low level of craftmanship, that post-Meroitic art is devoid of the representation of the human figure, and also animal figures and more naturalistic floral motifs are quite rare.¹²⁴² However, the rather evident explanation according to which the aniconic nature of the art was ideologically determined, can for the time being not be proved.

The production of the silversmiths' workshop satisfying the demands of the Lower Nubian court from the late 4th c. till the late 5th c. is stylistically as well as technically eclectic and under strong influence from the average Egyptian metal industry. The silver bits made for the royal burials of the first few generations are very handsome pieces, however, their decoration (couchant lion figures) strongly resembles the animal figures on contemporary Egyptian imports (e.g. folding chairs). The embossed decoration of the crowns, saddle fittings, casket mounts, sword scabbards is not uninteresting, but is made with the exclusive use of matrices with a rather humble demand of artistic invention.

Two or three small stone carvings from the second half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th c. hint at the revival of architectural decoration in stone. The models of a block of enigmatic function with the representation of naked male and female figures¹²⁴³ and of two column capitals, one from Faras, ¹²⁴⁴ the other from Sahaba, ¹²⁴⁵ can be found in Egyptian late antique art. ¹²⁴⁶ The quality of the carvings is rather low. It appears that the best achievments of the post-Meroitic period are to be sought for, as to artistic invention and technical quality, among the textiles. The extraordinarily rich textile find material of Qasr Ibrim¹²⁴⁷ is, however, unpublished, and new finds can be still expected. We may be confident, that it is this material that will reveal the actual capacities of post-Meroitic popular art. These textiles, together with the finely made, but humbly decorated ceramic vessels, the skilfully made basketry, and with leather works, will demonstrate, that post-Meroitic art is by no means identical with the luxury objects unearthed in the royal necropoleis and should not be measured on their level of quality. It seems that both the Noba art of the South - of which we know in a very superficial manner the Alwa Ware pottery – and the post-Meroitic art of the Lower Nubian population is a folk art that has developed on the basis of nomad traditions (which we know the least), and on the basis of technical, formal and motivic influences received from the average late Meroitic art on the one hand, and from Byzantine Egyptian mass products, on the other. The appearance of post-Meroitic folk art is determined thus first of all by the practical function of the objects, and strongly influenced by the fact that it did not receive inspirations from the higher spheres of art. Yet the handsome textiles, or the incised motifs of the burnished bowls from the Kalabsha area reveal that the people of Nubia lived under poor conditions between the end of Meroe and the advent of Christianity, but did not lack a healthy sense for economical decoration.



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Notes

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- 6 Vila 1975,1,2,3, 1976, 1977,1-4, 1978,1,2, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1984.
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- 11 *Kirwan* 1937, 1939, 1953, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1972,1, 1972,2, 1981, 1982, 1984. *Kirwan* 1982 is as pre-publication since 1977 available.
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- 59 For the evidence see ibid.
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- 66 Bernand 1969 I 12bis, Lenger 1980 no. 59, cp. Török 1986,2 No. 52.
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- 99 Kawa VIII, Macadam 1949 46ff.
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- 103 Cp. Updegraff 1978 28f.
- 104 Ibid. 106ff.
- 105 Cp. Adams 1979; cp. further the highly interesting but from the point of view of the interpretation of ancient sources rather controversial study of Kendall 1984.
- 106 Török 1979* 91ff., contra: I. Hofmann: Bemerkungen zum Ende des meroitischen Reiches. Meroitica 6 (1982) 232–234, Burkhardt 1985 87f.

⁸⁵ Priese 1978 76.

- 107 Chronicon Paschale, CSHB I, 1832, 504f., Updegraff 1978 75 note 9.
- 108 SHA, Gallieni duo, 4, 1-2.
- 109 SHA, Aurel., 33,4, 41,10, Quadr. tyr., 3,3, Griffith 1937 83.
- 110 On the alleged revolt see Bowman op. cit. (note 82) 158.
- 111 Updegraff 1978 62f. does not discuss the issue of the alleged revolt. In the explanation of Dd-hr's visit he follows Haycock 1967 115 note 6.
- 112 See note 111.
- 113 J. Schwartz: L'Égypte à la fin du III^e siècle p.C. et son historiographie. Bull. Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg 46 (1967) 300ff.
- 114 Paneg. lat., iii (11), 17,4 (Galletier) 65ff.
- 115 Paneg. lat., iv (8), 5,2 (Galletier) 85.
- 116 Castiglione 1970 fig. 1. (Berlin East Inv. No. 22737.)
- 117 No. 12830. In 1970 Castiglione did not know of any analogy of the lost Berlin statuette. Recently *I. Hofmann:* Der bärtige Triumphator. Fs Wolfgang Helck. Hamburg 1984 (=SÄK 11 (1984)) 585-591 identified, on the basis of erroneous stylistic observations, the Berlin statuette as Hadrian.
- 118 Procopius, De bello persico, ed. Eide Hägg Pierce 1980.
- 119 Noticed already by *E. Revillout:* Mémoire sur les Blemmyes à propos d'une inscription copte trouvée à Dendur. Paris 1874 17.
- 120 Cp. U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten. Archiv für Papyrusforschung 1 (1901) 396-419 396 note 2.
- 121 In more detail see Török 1980.
- 122 In more detail Török 1986,1 26ff., mainly on the basis of Adams 1976.
- 123 P. Vindobon. 25838 = SB I 4223.
- 124 Hoffmann 1970 (see note 229) 132, note 44.
- 125 Eusebius, V. C., IV, 7 (Heikel).
- 126 It must be noticed here that the remark of *Christides* 1982 16, according to which ,the Blemmyan ambassadors who visited Constantinople offered Emperor Constantine such crowns (as those found at Ballana) made of precious metal" is erroneous. Eusebius speaks about crowns presented to the emperor in connection with other ambassadors.
- 127 Bell et al. 1962 5f. No. 1.
- 128 Cp. e.g. *R. Grosse:* Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung. Berlin 1920 80ff., *Jones* 1966 214f.
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- 130 Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae (Festugière) 203; (Halkin) 57f.
- 131 E. Amélineau: Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au IV^e siècle. Ann. Mus. Guimet 17 (1889) 436.
- 132 Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV, 4,3.
- 133 Cp. O. Seeck: Ammianus Marcellinus. in: PWRE I/2 1845ff.
- 134 G. Zoega: Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum... Roma 1810, repr. ed. New York 1973 36f.
- 135 Hintze 1959 31, Wenig 1967 44, Wenig 1978 17, based on speculations.
- 136 G. A. Reisner: The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline. JEA 9 (1923) 34-79 and 157-160 76; D. Dunham: Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal. Royal Cemeteries of Kush IV. Boston 1957 7; Hofmann 1978 186 (based similarly more or less on speculations).
- 137 U. Monneret de Villard: Storia della Nubia Cristiana. Roma 1938 37ff.
- 138 Haycock 1967 114.
- 139 Hintze 1967 passim.
- 140 Cp. op. cit. note 136, in more detail on the dating method of Reisner see *Hofmann* 1978; *Török* n.d. 2 Ch. III. 2.
- 141 Ph. 416, Griffith 1937 114ff., Burkhardt 1985 114ff.
- 142 Offering table with the name of the king found in the chapel of Beg. N. 28: REM 0829. Wenig 1967 27ff. - following a suggestion of A. Arkell: A History of the Sudan. London

1955 — supposed two kings with the name Teqorideamani and dated Teqorideamani I to the turn of the 1st and 2nd c. A.D., ascribing Beg. N. 28 to this earlier owner of the name. It was shown, however, by *J. Desanges:* L'amphore de Tubusuctu (Mauretanie) et la datation de Teqerideamani. MNL 11 (1972) 17–21 that Beg. N. 28 is to be dated on the basis of items in its itinerary to the mid-3rd c. A.D. – *Wenig* 1978 17 repeats nevertheless, albeit without any argumentation, his 1967 chronology with two Teqorideamanis.

- 143 E.g. Hintze 1959 31, Wenig 1967 44, 1978 17.
- 144 Török n.d. 2 Ch. III. 3; Hofmann 1978 192 (her sequence is, however, slightly different). Dunham 1957 lists after Beg. N. 28, Teqorideamani: Beg. N. 35, 51, 24, 27, 26 and 25.
- 145 Original edition and German translation Littmann 1913 32ff., revised German translation: E. Littmann: Äthiopische Inschriften. Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia II. 2. Berlin 1950 97–127. English translation on the basis of the latter: Kirwan 1960 163ff.
- 146 Kirwan 1960, 1972, 2.
- 147 Hintze 1967.
- 148 O. G. S. Crawford: The Fung Kingdom of Sennar. Gloucester 1951 18, Kirwan 1960 167f.
- 149 Priese 1984 496.
- 150 L. P. Kirwan: Tanqasi and the Noba. Kush 5 (1957) 37-41, Kirwan 1960 169f.
- 151 Kirwan 1960 169, cp. M. F. L. Macadam: The Temples of Kawa II. Oxford 1955 235.
- 152 See note 1151.
- 153 See note 150.
- 154 Cp. Littmann 1913 35.
- 155 F. Altheim R. Stiehl: Die Datierung des Königs ^CEzana von Aksum. Klio 39 (1961) 234– 248; id.: Die Araber in der Alten Welt IV. Berlin 1967 503ff.; V. 2. Berlin 1969 539ff.; id.: Christentum am Roten Meer I. Berlin 1971 412ff.; id.: Die neue griechische Inschrift ^CEzanas von Aksum. Klio 58 (1976) 471–479.
- 156 Dihle 1965 36-64.
- 157 Ed. J. M. Szymusiak: Sources chrétiennes. Vol. 56 121 = Migne, PG 31 25, 636f.
- 158 J. Maspero: Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie. Paris 1923; cp. J. Lecuyer: La succession des évêques d'Alexandrie aux premiers siècles. Bull. Litt. Ecclésiastique 70 (1969) 81-99.
- 159 On the use of the title tyrannos in the official language of the period see *Dihle* 1965 52f; cp. also *E. K. Chrysos:* The Title $\beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda \epsilon \sigma_{s}$ in Early Byzantine International Relations. DOP 32 (1978) 29-75 45. *Helm* 1979 365f. note 65 emphasizes that the *Adelphoi timiotatoi* does not mean that the Axumite tyrants were borthers, for it is an usual formula used by the emperor in diplomatic correspondence with more important foreign rulers.
- 160 Cp. Dihle 1965 52f.; the problem is also touched upon in the forthcoming work of T. Hägg: Titles and Honorific Epithets in Nubian Greek Texts, the manuscript of which I know through the kindness of the author.
- 161 Bernand 1982 106f. The Semitic and Ge^Cez inscriptions found at same site are, to my knowledge, still unpublished.
- 162 D. Dunham: The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe. Royal Cemeteries of Kush V. Boston 1963 171ff., figs 126f.
- 163 In more detail see C. Lepage: Les bracelets de luxe Romains et Byzantins du II^e au VI^e siècle. Cah. Arch. 21 (1971) 1–23.
- 164 On stylistic grounds the paintings of the Trebius Justus hypogeum date from the first half of the 4th century; however, I did not find attempts at a more precise dating in the literature. For the representation with jewelry presented to the deceased by his parents see *P. du Bourguet:* Die frühchristliche Malerei. Gütersloh 1965 fig. 56; *A. Grabar:* Die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters. München 1967 fig. 244.
- 165 Cp. note 163, and e.g. Cairo Museum No. 52102.
- 166 F. Anfray A. Caquot P. Nautin: Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Ezana, roi d'Axoum. Journal des Savants 1970 260–274. Its text with a German translation was also published by E. Dinkler: König Ezana von Aksum und das Christentum. Ein Randproblem der Geschichte Nubiens. in: Ägypten und Kusch. Schr. zur Gesch. u. Kultur d. Alten Orients 13 (Fs Fritz Hintze). Berlin 1977 121–132 126f.

- 167 For the titles see Anfray et al. op. cit. (note 166).
- 168 R. Schneider: Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum. Studi Etiopici. Atti del Quattro Congresso Internazionale... Roma 1972. in: Acc. Nazionale dei Lincei No. 191 Quaderno I (1974) 767-786 767ff.
- 169 Op. cit. (note 166) 260ff.
- 170 Personal communication mediated by Dr. I. Ormos.
- 171 The problematic reading of the editio princeps was first noticed by Tomas Hagg who kindly allowed me to refer to his observation.
- 172 E.g. DAE 4.
- 173 Athanasios, Apo., 29.
- 174 On his coins, for these see Dinkler op. cit. (note 166) 129ff.
- 175 DAE 10, 11.
- 176 Op. cit. (note 166) 266.
- 177 See DAE 10 and 11 (the part containing the affiliation in DAE 8 and 9 is reconstructed by Littmann).
- 178 DAE 4, 6, 7.
- 179 DAE 34.
- 180 On the dating see Littmann 1913 61f.
- 181 The summary of the views see in Adams 1977 383ff.
- 182 List according to Török n.d. 2 Ch. III. 3.
- 183 R. J. Bradley: Meroitic Chronology. Meroitica 7 (1984) 195-211 196.
- 184 Ibid. 210f.
- 185 Cp. Ch. IV. 17 below.
- 186 Adams 1977 383f.
- 187 Kortenbeutel 1931 59f.
- 188 Geogr. gr. min. I (Müller).
- 189 Periplus maris Erythræi (Müller) para. 4.
- 190 W. Wolska-Conus: Cosmas Indicopleustés, Topographie Chrétienne. Sources Chrétiennes 141, 159. Paris 1968, 1970.
- 191 Wolska-Conus op. cit. (note 190) I 377ff.
- 192 Ibid.
- 193 Ibid., cp. Kirwan 1972,1.
- 194 Cp. Monneret de Villard 1938 26ff.; A. J. Drewes: Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique. Leiden 1962 103ff.
- 195 A. H. Sayce: A Greek Inscription of a King (?) of Axum Found at Merce. PSBA 31 (1909) 189-190.
- 196 Klio 39 (1961) and 58 (1976), see note 155 above.
- 197 J. Bingen in: Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 24 (1969) No. 1246.
- 198 Hägg 1984,2 436f.
- 199 Sudan National Museum 24841, Hägg 1984,2 436.
- 200 Ibid.
- 201 Ibid.
- 202 Adulitana II: "After mustering my armies and uniting them, I sat down in this place and deposited this throne to Ares in the 27th year of my reign". *Wolska-Conus* op. cit. (note 190) 1 379.
- 203 S. Ya. Bersina: An Inscription of a King of Axumites and Himyarites from Meroe. MNL 23 (1984) 1-9.
- 204 The titulatures are compared in Anfray et al. op. cit. (note 166).
- 205 P. L. Shinnie R. J. Bradley: The Capital of Kush 1. Meroitica Vol. 4. Berlin 1980 185, fig. 76.
- 206 For the coin from Merce City see *A. Anzani:* Corpus delle monete axumite. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini 39 (1926) 49–110 Nos 44–79.
- 207 Cp. G. Bruck in: Atti del VI. Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana Ravenna 1962. Roma 1965 521–526.

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- 208 Burstein 1984.
- 209 Burstein 1984 221.
- 210 See Ch. IV. 15 below.
- 211 Cp. Kirwan 1939 42, for later literature see Adams 1977 424ff.
- 212 Adams 1977 424ff.
- 213 Cp. e.g. Jones 1966 362ff.
- 214 Török 1986,1 85f.
- 215 See Ch. IV. 3 below.
- 216 Cp. Adams 1977 388ff.
- 217 Cp. *Török* 1986,2 No. 129. For the use of the geographical name "Meroe" around 404 A.D. see Claudianus, carm. min., XXVIII.
- 218 Desanges 1972 32ff.
- 219 Ph. 371, Griffith 1937 105.
- 220 In her Graffiti démotiques du Dodekaschène. Le Caire 1969 *E. Bresciani* reads here '*Hbe.w*, i.e. El Hibe in the Great Oasis. It seems to me that the reading is untenable, also because it is unlikely that a Blemmyan raid could have reached the Oasis in a period when the Blemmyes did not yet possessed a foothold in the Valley.
- 221 With earlier literature: Adams 1977 383ff.
- 222 Ibid. 391f., 394.
- 223 E.g. Ash-Shaukan, cp. Ch. IV. 17.5.
- 224 For beginning of insight into processes in the South cp. Geus 1984.
- 225 Epiphanios, De XII gemmis rat., PG XLIII, for the versions of the Latin treatise see R. P. Blake – H. de Vis: Epiphanius De Gemmis. The Old Georgian Version and the Fragments of the Armenian Version. The Coptic-Sahidic Fragments. London 1934; Eide – Hägg – Pierce 1980 8–15.
- 226 Para. 244, PG X LIII 337, Eide Hägg Pierce 1980 10.
- 227 Agatharchides in Photius, Bibl., 250,82; Diodorus, III, 39,4.
- 228 ND or., 31,35; 65.
- 229 For the dating see recently D. Hoffmann: Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum I. Düsseldorf 1969 52f., 519 (Vol. II: Düsseldorf 1970); cp. also J. H. Ward's review in Latomus 33 (1974) 397ff.
- 230 Desanges 1978 365 note 343.
- 231 Kirwan 1982 198.
- 232 ND or., XXVIII, 19; cp. E. Ritterling: Legio. in: PWRE VI/2 1489f.: the toponym Parembole is identical with Nicopolis, where the Legio II Traiana was stationed between the 2nd and 5th c. A.D. On the other hand, however, ostraca found at Dabod clearly attest the identification Dabod-Parembole as well, which led *H. Kees:* Parembole. in: PWRE XVIII/4 1455f. to the statement that it was this place where the garrison listed in ND or., XXVIII, 19 was stationed. He had nevertheless to add, that also the Luxor garrison and a number of other places in the Aphroditopolite nome and in the Fayoum were called Parembole. Decisive for the identification of the Parembole under discussion is the fact that it is listed in ND or., XXVIII as a garrison under the command of the *comes limitis Aegypti* and among units stationed along the north-western border. If Dabod would have been meant, it should have been listed in ND or., XXXI among units that were under the command of the *dux Thebaidos* who was responsible for the forces in the Theban region i.e. at the Egyptian southern border.
- 233 Claudianus, carm. min., XXVIII (Platnauer II. 232f.).
- 234 M. Fuhrmann: Claudianus. in: Der kleine Pauly I. 1202ff. (cp. also Vollmer: Claudius Claudianus. in: PWRE III/2 2652-2660 2653).
- 235 Vollmer op. cit. (note 233) 2653.
- 236 In carm. min., XXV (Platnauer I 210) he mentions Celerinus who was ,,appointed to the defence of the Nile at Meroe's border'' some time before 283 A.D.; in same *epithalamium* he characterizes Ethiopia i.e. the Meroitic territory as a land ,,far withdrawn from human intercourse'' i.e. being on the end of the world. Carm. min. XXV was written c. 399 A.D. in

honour of Palladius whose father was *praefectus Aegypti* in 382 A.D. – Cp. *Török* 1986,2 Nos 118 and 133.

- 237. Historia Monachorum (Festugière) 9f., cp. Rufinus, PL XXI 392; Historia Monachorum (Budge), quoted by *Kirwan* 1937 79.
- 238 Kirwan 1937 79.
- 239 Ibid., cp. H. Munier: Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église Copte. Le Caire 1943.
- 240 Kirwan 1937 76 has erroneously Ph. 412 instead of Ph. 436; the inscription (demotic part) speaks about the execution of the Mandulis figure in relief besides the text and not about the erection of a shrine. See Griffith 1937 126f.; Burkhardt 1985 22.
- 241 On the cult of Mandulis see E. Henfling: Mandulis. in: LdÄ III 1177-1179, with earlier literature. A more detailed analysis of the monuments of the cult is, however, still lacking. It is generally maintained that Mandulis was originally a Blemmyan deity. Yet it is forgotten that the first Mandulis chapel was built between c. 206 and 186 B.C. at Kalabsha by the Meroitic king Arqamani (see D. Arnold: Die Tempel von Kalabsha. Kairo 1975 6; M. Dewachter: La chapelle ptolémaique de Kalabcha 2. Le Caire 1970 2f.) further that the deity was regarded both as hntj t3 jmntt, god of the west, and jwj m t3 ntr, god of the east. On this question see also Török n.d. 5.
- 242 Bernand 1969 I 126f.: Ph. Greek inscr. No. 12bis, 149/8 B.C., on taxes in kind to be paid by the Ethiopians (i.e. Meroites) of the Dodekaschoinos to the Mandulis of Philae. Cp. *Török* 1986,2 No. 52.
- 243 Pap. Maspéro 67004, mid-6th c. A.D., cp. Updegraff 1978 150f.
- 244 Photius, Bibl., 62a,9-26, fragment 1,37.
- 245 Eide Hägg Pierce 1979 6-8, cp. Blockley 1981 27ff., 107ff.
- 246 Priese 1984 488.
- 247 The sources on the situation of the border between Egypt and Nubia (Meroe and the successor states) are reviewed by *Desanges* 1969, *Török* 1986,2 No. 69; cp. also *W. Y. Adams:* Primis and the "Aethiopian" Frontier. JARCE 20 (1983) 93–104 and *contra Török* 1986,1 32ff.
- 248 Photius, Bibl., 214.
- 249 Desanges 1978 340f.
- 250 Priese 1984 487.
- 251 Blockley 1981 27.
- 252 Ibid.
- 253 Kirwan 1982 197.
- 254 Palladius, Historia Lausiaca, 2,95 (Butler).
- 255 B. Faas: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserurkunde. Archiv für Urkundenforsch. 1 (1908) 185–272 188ff.; F. Dölger: Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565 bis 1453 I. München-Berlin 1924 xi; id.: Facsimile byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden. München 1931 No. 1; F. Dölger – J. Karayannopoulos: Byzantinische Urkundenlehre I. Die Kaiserurkunden. Hdb. d. Altertumswiss. XIII 3.1.1. München 1968 31f., 147. For the editio princeps of Pap. Leiden Z see U. Wilcken: Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde I.1. repr. ed. Hildesheim 1963 74f. French translation in: A. Chastagnol: La fin du monde antique. Paris 1976 No. 123.
- 256 ND or., XXXI, 64ff. (Seeck).
- 257 Cp. Updegraff 1978 107ff.
- 258 Hunger Karayannopoulos op. cit. (note 255) 147, Pl. 1.
- 259 P. Grossmann: Elephantine II. Kirche und spätantike Hausanlagen im Chnumtempelhof. Mainz 1980 26ff.
- 260 Cp. Deichmann 1966.
- 261 Deichmann 1966.
- 262 See Ch. IV. 8 below.
- 263 H. Junker: Ermenne. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen der Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien 1911/12. Denkschr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist. KI. 67. Wien 1926 Pl. XII/143. For the vessel

type cp. V. von Gonzenbach: Genius Augusti – Theos Sebastos. Opuscula C. Kerényi dedicata. Stockholm 1968 81–117.

- 264 Cp. Ch. IV. 17.4 below.
- 265 J. Leipoldt: Berichte Schenutes über Einfälle der Nubier in Ägypten. ZÄS 49 (1902–1903) 126–140 129ff.; cp. J. W. B. Barns: Shenute as an Historical Source. Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Papyrologists. Oxford 1964 153–162.
- 266 A. Guillaumont: La conception du désert chez les moines d'Égypte. Rev. Hist. Rel. 188 (1975) 3-21, esp. 11; Updegraff 1978 107.
- 267 Evagrius, Ecclesiastic History, ed. by *J. Bidez* and *L. Parmentier*, repr. ed Amsterdam 1964 I, 7.
- 268 However, the identification of Nestorius' captors with the Blemmyes is problematic and is refuted by Kirwan 1937 80 and doubted by Updegraff 1978 109f.
- 269 Jordanes, Romana, 333 (Mommsen).
- 270 Cp. W. Ensslin: Priscus 35. in: PWRE XXIII/1 9f.; H. Hunger: Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner I. Handbuch d. Altertumswiss. XII. 5.1. München 1978 282ff.
- 271 Eide Hägg Pierce 1979 11.
- 272 Cp. Fragment 21; Priscus in Alexandria: Evagrius, Eccl. Hist., 2,5 = Priscus fragment 22. On the relation between Priscus and Evagrius see *Blockley* 1981 114f.
- 273 Kirwan 1937 82f. writes about a treaty concluded with Maximinus in A.D. 451 and another one concluded with Florus in 453.
- 274 Blockley 1981 114, 165 note 9.
- 275 O. Seeck: Florus 6. in: PWRE VI/2 2761.
- 276 Blockley 1981 48.
- 277 Joh. Antioch., fragm., 199,1; E. A. Thompson: A History of Attila and the Huns. Oxford 1948 221.
- 278 Ibid.
- 279 Leo, Ep., 75.
- 280 Blockley 1981 48.
- 281 Excerpta de legationibus, fragm. 21 (de Boor 583ff.).
- 282 Jordanes, Rom., para. 333 = Evagrius, H. E., 2,5 = Priscus, fragm., 22 = Nicephorus Callistus, H. E., 15,8.
- 283 For the power of the dux in diplomatic matters see Helm 1979 338f. For Maximinus see furthermore W. Ensslin: Maximinus und sein Begleiter der Historiker Priskos. BnJ 5 (1926– 1927) 1-9; id.: Priscus 35. in: PWRE XXIII/1 9f.
- 284 Berliner Klassikertexte V, 1, 11,1 = Pap. Berol. 5003. L. Stern: Fragmente eines griechischägyptischen Epos. ZÄS 19 (1881) 70–75; Kirwan 1937 80f. connected the text with the war in 452. E. Livrea: Chi è l'autore della Blemyomachia? Prometheus 2 (1976) 97–123, and Anonymi, fortasse Olympiodori Thebani, Blemyomachia (P. Berol. 5003). Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 101. Meisenheim/Glan 1978 believes, probably erroneously, that it was written by Olympiodorus of Thebes.
- 285 Dittenberger, OGIS I, No. 201; Eide Hägg Pierce n.d. 1.
- 286 R. Lepsius: Die griechische Inschrift des nubischen Königs Silko. Hermes 10 (1876) 129-144.
- 287 The views of Krall and others will be discussed in great detail by T. Hägg in his forthcoming monograph Greek in Nubia, A.D. 300–1400.
- 288 U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und christliches aus Ägypten. AfP 1 (1901) 396-419 419.
- 289 Cp. note 287.
- 290 Eide Hägg Pierce n.d. 1.
- 291 In House X-19, see Pl. 175 and Ch. IV. 17.3 below.
- 292 T. C. Skeat E. G. Turner C. H. Roberts: A Letter from the King of the Blemmyes to the king of the Nubians. JEA 63 (1977) 159–170; Rea 1979.
- 293 Hägg 1986 284.
- 294 Rea 1979 156f.
- 295 Rea 1979 156: forces (?).
- 296 For the identification see Castiglione 1970 90ff.

- 297 In more detail on the Kushite headdress: *E. Russmann:* The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty. Bruxelles 1974 29ff., *Török* n.d. 3 Chapters I. 1, VII.
- 298 Török n.d. 3 60f. and fig. g.
- 299 Kirwan 1982 199.
- 300 On the Winged Victory in Roman iconography see *T. Hölscher:* Victoria Romana. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der röm. Siegesgöttin... Mainz 1967.
- 301 Cp. e.g. Abd el Monem Joussef Abubakr: Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen. Diss. Berlin 1937 s.v.; on the Meroitic hmhm-crown see I. Gamer-Wallert: Der Löwentempel von Nag^Ca in der Butana (Sudan). Wiesbaden 1983 112ff.; Török n.d. 3 15f.
- 302 See e.g. Monneret de Villard 1938 56; this view follows from the late dating of the Silko inscription.
- 303 Kirwan 1982 199.
- 304 Updegraff 1978 140ff.
- 305 See Hägg 1984,1 101ff.
- 306 SB V 8697; cp. Hägg 1984,1 101ff.
- 307 See Ch. IV. 17.3 below.
- 308 Plumley 1982 219.
- 309 Ibid. 220.
- 310 Ibid.
- 311 See e.g. *S. Jakobielski:* Faras III: A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions. Warszawa 1972 40; *Monneret de Villard* 1938 172.
- 312 See the Gebelen document No. 9 in section 2.2 below.
- 313 Plumley 1982 219f.
- 314 Ibid. 220.
- 315 Ibid. 220f.
- 316 I have formed my opinion on the letters on the basis of the study of the photographs and translations put at my disposal by Professor Plumley in a most obliging manner.
- 317 On the provenance see J. Baillet: Sur plusieurs textes grecs récemment. découverts, relatifs à l'histoire des Blémyes. CRAIBL 16 (1888) 326–336 326; Eide – Hägg – Pierce 1984 2.
- 318 Hägg 1984,1 105f.
- 319 Eide Hägg Pierce 1984.
- 320 Cp. also Satzinger 1968 131; Weber 1980 118. For the legal character of the document cp. the review of H. J. Wolff on Kölner Papyri Bd. 3 in: Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung Rom. Abt. 98 (1981) 389f.
- 321 Cp. R. Taubenschlag: The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. 640 A.D. Warszawa 1955² 286–291; Eide – Hägg – Pierce 1984 7.
- 322 Cp. also Baillet op. cit. (note 317) 328f.; J. Krall: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemmyer und Nubier. Wien, Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Denkschr. Phil.-hist. Cl. 46/4. Wien 1898 No. 2.
- 323 Cp. Satzinger 1968 131; SB X 10554.
- 324 Eide Hägg Pierce 1984 11f.
- 325 Baillet op. cit. (note 317); Krall op. cit. (note 322) No. 1.
- 326 Satzinger 1968 128ff.
- 327 L. Török: Money, Economy and Administration in Christian Nubia. in: Études Nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly 1975. IFAO Bibl. d'Étude 77. Le Caire 1978 287–311.
- 328 Krall op. cit. (note 322) No. 3.
- 329 On its character see *H. Quecke:* Review of *Weber* 1980 in: Studia Papyrologica 21 (1982) 51–53 52; *G. Vittmann:* Review of *Weber* 1980 in: Enchoria 11 (1982) 119–133 127.
- 330 Weber 1980 116.
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- 332 Ibid.
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- 334 C. Wessely: Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde III. Leipzig 1904 No. 130.
- 335 Wessely op. cit. (note 334) No. 129.
- 336 Ibid. No. 131.

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- 337 Wessely in Krall op. cit. (note 322) 25.
- 338 Wilcken op. cit. (mote 288) 418.
- 339 Satzinger 1968 127.
- 340 Weber 1980 115.
- 341 In: H. Satzinger: Anmerkungen zu einigen Blemmyer-Texten. in: Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft. Fs Hermann Vetters. Wien 1985 327-332 330f. (Bemerkungen zur Paläographie der Blemmyer-Urkunden).
- 342 Cp. Eide Hägg Pierce 1984. 2.
- 343 A. Ch. Johnson L. C. West: Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies. Princeton 1949 289ff.
- 344 Ibid.
- 345 Cp. M. Gelzer in: AfP 5 (1905) 353ff.
- 346 P. Nautin: La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne. Cah. Arch. 17 (1967) 1–43.
- 347 Acta Arethae et Sociorum, ed. Carpentier, Antwerp 1643 X 743; Greek version: J. F. Boissonade: Anecdota Graeca e Codicibus Regiis V. Paris 1833 42f.; see also Kirwan 1937 87; Monneret de Villard 1938 57, but both writers dated the story to the reign of Justinian. It is dated to the reign of Justin by V. Christides: Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (circa 520). Annales d'Éthiopie 9 (1972) 115–146; Christides 1980 136, and by Updegraff 1978 146. This dating is also supported by G. L. Huxley: On the Greek Martyrium of the Negranites. Proceedings of the Royal Academy 80 (1980) 3–55.
- 348 Christides 1980 136.
- 349 *L. P. Kirwan:* Some Thoughts on the Conversion of Nubia to Christianity. in: Nubian Studies, ed. M. J. Plumley. Warminster 1982 142–145, with earlier literature.
- 350 Cp. L. P. Kirwan: Prelude to Nubian Christianity. in: Mélanges Michałowski. Warszawa 1966 121-128 126ff. (finds from the graves at Ballana, cp. Ch. IV below). On finds from settlements sceptically: Adams 1977 417f.
- 351 Cp. Adams 1977 418.
- 352 K. Michałowski: Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand. Zürich-Köln 1967 49.
- 353 P. Grossmann: Zur Datierung der frühen Kirchenanlagen aus Faras. BZ 64 (1971) 330-350.
- 354 *M. Krause:* Zur Kirchengeschichte Nubiens. Sixth International Conference for Nubian Studies Uppsala 1986. Pre-Publication of Main Papers. Bergen 1986 3f.
- 355 W. Y. Adams: Architectural Evolution of the Nubian Church, 500-1400 A.D. JARCE 4 (1965) 87-139 101; Adams 1977 477.
- 356 W. Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim: An Archaeological Conspectus. in: Nubian Studies, ed. J. M. Plumley. Warminster 1982 25-33 28; P. M. Gartkiewicz: Remarks on the Cathedral at Qasr Ibrim. Ibid. 30-59.
- 357 M. Krause: Zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte Nubiens. Neue Quellen und Funde. in: Kunst und Gesch. Nubiens in christlicher Zeit, ed. E. Dinkler. Recklinghausen 1970 71-86 75.
- 358 Krause op. cit. (note 354), speaking, however, erroneously about a King Mouses as author of one of the letters addressed to Tantani. Mouses seems in fact to have been an Egyptian monk.
- 359 Plumley 1982.
- 360 Krause op. cit. (note 354) 4.
- 361 See first of all J. Kraus: Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien. Wien 1931; for further literature see C. D. G. Müller: Geschichte der orientalischen Nationalkirchen. in: Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, ed. B. Moeller. Göttingen 1981 269-361 330ff.
- 362 Cp. Krause op. cit. (note 354), with literature.
- 363 Cp. Nautin op. cit. (note 346).
- 364 Procopius, De Bello Persico, 1, 19,35.
- 365 Joh. Ephes., 4, 6-9, 48-53.
- 366 Cp. G. Roeder: Die christliche Zeit Nubiens und des Sudans. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 33 (1912) 364–398 379ff.
- 367 Monneret de Villard 1938; K. Michałowski: Die Wandbilder aus Faras in den Sammlungen des Nationalmuseums zu Warschau. Warschau-Dresden 1974 42 note 127.

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- 368 Cp. Krause op. cit. (note 357) 76ff.
- 369 Joh. Biclar., in Monumenta Hist. Germ. Auctores Antiquissimi XI (Mommsen) 207-220.
- 370 Cp. Krause op. cit. (note 357) 76.
- 371 Cp. Monneret de Villard 1938 158ff., Jakobielski op. cit. (note 311); S. Jakobielski: Portraits of the Bishops of Faras. in: Nubian Studies, ed. J. M. Plumley. Warminster 1982 127–133; see further T. Hägg: Two Christian Epitaphs in Greek of the "Euchologion Mega". in: Säve-Söderbergh et al. 1981 55–62, with literature.
- 372 Op. cit. (note 352) 92.
- 373 See note 365. For the criticism of Eutychios' narrative see Krause op. cit. (note 357) 76.
- 374 Cp. *H. Munier:* Le christianisme à Philae. BSAC 4 (1938) 44f.; for the Dendur inscription see *Kraus* op. cit. (note 361) 64.
- 375 Joh. Ephes., HE, IV, 53 (Payne-Smith).
- 376 Cp. first of all L. P. Kirwan: Notes on the Topography of the Christian Nubian Kingdoms. JEA 21 (1935) 57-62.
- 377 Ibid., cp. Adams 1977 462ff.
- 378 Cp. CIG 8646-8649.
- 379 Joh. Ephes., HE, IV, 7 (Payne-Smith).
- 380 See Ch. IV below.
- 381 Roeder op. cit. (note 366) 380ff.
- 382 A. M. Blackman: The Temple of Dendur. Cairo 1911 36f.
- 383 For these titles see Török op. cit. (note 327) 307.
- 384 Cp. Roeder op. cit. (note 366) 379ff. Interestingly enough, the problem of the hiatus in Nubian church architecture between the conversion and the earliest archaeologically attested church buildings (2nd half of the 7th c. ?) is not discussed by Adams in his recent survey of Nubian medieval architecture, Adams 1977 474ff.
- 385 Cp. also Krause op. cit. (note 354) 4.
- 386 Claud. Ptol., Geogr., IV, 2, 19.
- 387 For preliminary reports of the Polish excavations see Ét. Trav. 7 (1973) ff.
- 388 Adams 1977 442.
- 389 Cp. Kirwan op. cit. (note 376) 58.
- 390 Ibid.
- 391 Cp. Adams 1986 | 66.
- 392 Cp. Kirwan op. cit. (note 376) 58.
- 393 Priese 1984 496.
- 394 See Adams 1977 460ff.
- 395 Excavations of the British Institute in Eastern Africa conducted by D. Welsby.
- 396 Pap. Maspero 67004.
- 397 Updegraff 1978 150ff.
- 398 Joh. Ephes., HE, 241 (Brooks), cp. Updegraff 1978 154.
- 399 Kirwan 1937 90.
- 400 Updegraff 1978 154f.
- 401 Adams 1977 393.
- 402 In more detail see Török 1986,2; Török n.d. 1.
- 403 Meinarti; see section 17.8 below.
- 404 Gebel Adda, see section 17.6 below.
- 405 Coin finds mentioned in preliminary communications from different sites (e.g. Qasr Ibrim) and cemeteries (e.g. Gebel Adda) are as yet unpublished.
- 406 Cp. Emery Kirwan 1938 1ff., Emery 1948.
- 407 Emery Kirwan 1938 18ff.
- 408 Bissing 1939; Bissing 1941. Cp. further F. W. von Bissing: Alexandrinische Kunst in nubischen Tumulusgräbern um 400 n. Chr. Forschungen und Fortschritte 15 (1939) 350-352; id.: Review of Emery - Kirwan 1938 in: OL 42 (1939) 506-512; id.: ,,Lieber Freund!". in: Fs F. Ballod (F. Baloža Skolotaja Velte). 1939-1941 21-32 (non vidi).
- 409 Bissing 1941 passim and esp. 28.

- 410 Kirwan 1982 200ff.
- 411 Trigger 1969 125.
- 412 Kirwan 1982 201.
- 413 Trigger 1969 121 note 4.
- 414 Emery 1948.
- 415 Hayes 1972 African Red Slip Forms 82, 89.
- 416 See below in the discussion of these tombs.
- 417 Török 1974.
- 418 Török 1979.
- 419 Wenig 1978 193ff. and Nos 268, 271, 275.
- 420 Wenig 1978 104.
- 421 E.g. Wenig 1978 Nos 268, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284.
- 422 Török 1986,4. A preliminary version of present chronology was presented by me at the Fifth International Conference for Nubian Studies at Heidelberg in 1982, see Török 1986,3.
 423 Emery Kirwan 1938, Emery 1948.
- 424 Strong 1966 199.
- 425 Carandini 1963-1964.
- 426 Ross 1962 30ff.
- 427 E.g. Age of Spirituality Nos 318f., 541.
- 428 W. B. Emery: Egypt in Nubia. London 1965 Pl. XII.
- 429 Age of Spirituality No. 168.
- 430 Trigger 1969 122.
- 431 It must be emphasized that ,,generations'' do not mean here biological generations of c. 30 year intervals. Owing probably to the specific Ballana order of succession, the tombs of the individual royal generations seem to have been divided from each other by c. ten years on the average. Cp. *Trigger* 1969 125: ,,if inheritance was from brother to brother instead of father to son, the length of a reign was probably short''.
- 432 Adams 1977 409.
- 433 Cp. Emery Kirwan 1938 18ff., Adams 1977 396; for earlier literature see Hofmann 1967 317ff.
- 434 Trigger 1969 121f.
- 435 Emery Kirwan 1938 Pl. 27/B, D.
- 436 Cp. Adams 1977 409.
- 437 Mills 1982 9ff.
- 438 Säve-Söderbergh et al. 1981.
- 439 Vila 1984 8ff.
- 440 See e.g. Hofmann 1967 371ff., Adams 1977 396.
- 441 Kirwan 1982 201.
- 442 Cp. Török op. cit. (note 327).
- 443 Cp. A. H. M. Jones: The Roman Economy. Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History, ed. by P. A. Brunt. Oxford 1974 187–227, esp. 211ff., 214f.
- 444 Cod. Theod., IX, xxiii,1; IX, xxiii,2, cp. Jones op. cit. (note 443) 215.
- 445 Ibid.
- 446 Finds of coins from the period preceding the end of the Meroitic kingdom are listed in *Hofmann* 1978 193ff.
- 447 Ricke et al. 1967 39 and fig. 57.
- 448 For speculations on the causes of her death see Emery 1965 74f.
- 449 For the date of the reliefs see I. Hofmann: Notizen zu den Kampfszenen am sogenannten Sonnentempel von Meroe. Anthropos 70 (1975) 513-536; L. Török: Meroitic Architecture: Contributions to Problems of Chronology and Style. Meroitica 7 (1984) 351-366 356ff. Our dating seems to be confirmed by recent survey and documentation work carried out by F. W. Hinkel, see F. W. Hinkel: Untersuchungen zur Bausubstanz, Architektur und Funktion des Gebäudes Meroe 245. Altorientalische Forschungen 12 (1985) 216-232 218.
- 450 Repertoire d'Epigraphie Méroitiqe (computer outprint, Paris) (=REM) 1027.

- 260
- 451 Oral communication quoted by Kirwan 1965 72.
- 452 Recklinghausen Ikonenmuseum 515: Wessel 1963 29 and Pl. I; Cairo Coptic Museum 9139-9141: Strzygowski 1904 291 f.
- 453 For the type cp. *G. Grimm:* Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im römischen Deutschland. Leiden 1969 52f.; for the exemplar from Altrip Citadel at Speyer see *Bissing* 1941 11 and fig. 4.
- 454 Heurgeon 1958 Pl. XXIV/4.

- 456 Cp. S. Reinach: Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien. St. Pétersbourg 1895 I 93, III PI. XIV/4.
- 457 J. Marshall: Taxila II. Cambridge 1951 635 Nos 140f.
- 458 Volbach 1976 50 No. 52.
- 459 Cp. Chr. Belting-Ihm: Spätrömische Buckelarmringe mit Reliefdekor. JbRGZM 10 (1963) 97-117 esp. 104.
- 460 A. Greifenhagen: Antiker Goldschmuck in amerikanischem Privatbesitz. Pantheon 27/2 März/April 1967 81–90 figs 9, 14.
- 461 Greifenhagen op. cit. (note 460) fig. 15.
- 462 Cp. H. Schlunk: Kunst der Spätantike im Mittelmeerraum (Catalogue of Exhibition). Kaiser Friedrich Museum Berlin 1939 Nos 73, 89.
- 463 Parlasca 1966 PI. 52/5, Marseille, Musée Borély 1274. For the mummy portraits from Deir el Bahari see W. Godlewski: The Late Roman Necropolis in Deir el Bahari. in: Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten, ed. P. Nagel. Martin-Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittenberg Wiss. Beitr. 48 (1 29) (1984) 111–119.
- 464 Cod. Theod., XVI, x,12, cp. Parlasca 1966 201, 212.
- 465 Parlasca 1966 PI. 31/4 (Baltimore 32.4), PI. 47/1 (Vatican 17953), PI. 49/1 (Louvre AF 6487) etc.
- 466 Parlasca 1966 189 and PI. 61/3 (Berlin 11659).
- 467 Kirwan 1939 Pl. XIX K 1-16.
- 468 Wenig 1978 104ff. and fig. 80.
- 469 E.g. C. L. Woolley D. Randall-Maciver: Karanòg, the Romano-Nubian Cemetery. Philadelphia 1910 Pls 21, 22, 24, 25.
- 470 Millet 1964 Pl. IV/9, 10.
- 471 Ibid. 7.
- 472 For inlaid cascets of Egyptian provenance cp. *Strzygowski* 1904 Nos 7060-7065, for their dating cp. *M. Guarducci* in: Mem. Acc. Linc. 16 (1972) 279f.
- 473 Leningrad, Ermitage 1820/158. Effenberger et al. 1978 No. 2.
- 474 Harden 1936 Nos 455-463.
- 475 Egloff 1977 Depot A PI. 91/2.
- 476 Adams 1986.
- 477 Cp. R. Mond O. H. Myers: The Buchaeum III. London 1934.
- 478 Johns Potter 1983.
- 479 Johns Potter 1983 85 No. 8.
- 480 According to Kirwan 1982 200 there is an iron bit of this type in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, under the label "Iran".
- 481 Emery Kirwan 1938 254.
- 482 Kirwan 1982 201.
- 483 Ross 1962 Nos 22-24.
- 484 Heurgeon 1958 Pl. I.
- 485 Cp. Heurgeon 1958.
- 486 Johns Potter 1983 72.
- 487 E. Coche de la Ferté: Antiker Schmuck vom 2. bis 8. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart 1980 Pl. III.
- 488 Heurgeon 1958 Pl. XV/3.
- 489 Ibid. Pl. XXV.
- 490 Lepage 1971 fig. 28.

⁴⁵⁵ Török 1974.

- 491 G. Eisen: An Antique Gold Bracelet in Opus Interrasile. Bull. City Art Mus. of St. Louis 10 (1925) 53–58; Schlunk op. cit. (note 462) No. 42 Pl. 7.
- 492 Cp. for the earlier dating and its criticism: *E. Dinkler-von Schubert:* Review of H. Buschhausen: Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia etc. in: JbAntChr 20 (1977) 215–223 218.

- 494 Shelton 1981.
- 495 Emery Kirwan 1938 259.
- 496 Die Römer an der Donau. Catalogue of the Exhibition Noricum und Pannonien in the Schloss Traun, Petronell 1973. Wien 1973 No. 730 = *A. Radnóti:* Die römischen Bronzegefässe von Pannonien. Diss. Pann. II,6. Budapest 1938 Pl. XLV/2.
- 497 Cp. Wealth 54.
- 498 K. S. Painter: The Water Newton Early Christian Silver. British Museum Publications London 1977 20f. No. 5.
- 499 Volbach 1958 No. 174.
- 500 J. Beckwith: Coptic Sculpture 300-1300. London 1963 No. 1; cp. also the Constantia sarcophagus (c. 354-360 A.D.) which appears to have been a replica of the Constantinus sarcophagus.
- 501 Wealth No. 147; Age of Spirituality No. 542.
- 502 M. English Frazer in Age of Spirituality 608 compares the figural style of the chalice to the 6th c. A.D. Maximianus cathedra at Ravenna. The comparison is in my opinion unconvincing.
 503 Emergin Visuan 1028 246
- 503 Emery Kirwan 1938 346.
- 504 H. Stern: Le Calendrier de 354. Etude sur le texte et ses illustrations. Paris 1953.
- 505 Edgar 1904 Nos 27783-27787, 27933.
- 506 From Alexandria. Exp. E. Sieglin II. J. Vogt: Terrakotten. Leipzig 1924 Pl. 39/4, 6, H. Menzel: Antike Lampen im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz. Mainz 1954 Nos 587, 747. From Karanis: L. A. Shier: Terracotta Lamps from Karanis, Egypt. Ann Arbor 1978 Pl. 6. From Hermopolis: G. Roeder: Hermopolis 1929–1939. Hildesheim 1959 Pl. 77/v. From unknown sites: Menzel op. cit. Nos 495, 498, 499, 500–502, 509, 512, 513, 746. On the type see Menzel op. cit. 77.
- 507 Vogt op. cit. (note 506) loc. cit.
- 508 Oral communication quoted by Wenig 1978 No. 278.
- 509 R. Delbrueck: Antike Porphyrwerke. Berlin-Leipzig 1932 84ff. Pls 31-34.
- 510 See note 508.
- 511 On the Ahnas sculpture see U. Monneret de Villard: La scultura ad Ahnas. Milano 1923; E. Kitzinger: Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture. Archaeologia 87 (1938) 181–215; H.-G. Severin: Frühchristliche Skulptur und Malerei in Ägypten. in: Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Suppl. 1, ed. B. Brenk. Berlin 1977 243–253; L. Török: On the Chronology of the Ahnas Sculpture. Acta Arch. Hung. 22 (1970) 163–182; id.: Notes on Prae-Coptic and Coptic Art. Acta Arch. Hung. 29 (1977) 125–153; id.: Notes on the Chronology of Late Antique Stone Sculpture in Egypt. Acts of the 3rd Int. Congr. for Coptic Studies Warsaw 1984 (in print); id.: Ahnas. in: Coptic Encyclopaedia (in print). For the style of the head cp. e.g. Monneret de Villard op. cit. figs 24, 29, 30, 33, 39, 43, 45, 61–63, all sculptures predating the Theodosian period.
- 512 Gamer-Wallert op. cit. (note 301) 211f. and Pl. 10.
- 513 *W. de Grüneisen:* Art chrétien primitif du Haut et du Bas Moyen-Age. Introduction et catalogue raisonné. n.d., n.p. No. 182.
- 514 Menzel op. cit. (note 506) 89.
- 515 Emery Kirwan 1938 287 Cat. 456.
- 516 Wealth No. 103.
- 517 A. O. Curle: The Treasure of Traprain. Glasgow 1923 59 and figs 19, 38.
- 518 Cp. Emery Kirwan 1938 164.
- 519 J. W. Brailsford: The Mildenhall Treasure: a Provisional Handbook. London 1955 Nos 13-15; Wealth Nos 66/67.
- 520 Wealth 33.
- 521 Wealth 123.

⁴⁹³ Cp. Wealth 44ff.

- 522 Isings 1957 152.
- 523 F. Hintze: Preliminary Report on the Butana Expedition. Kush 7 (1959) 171-196 fig. 2.
- 524 Cp. e.g. Wenig 1978 No. 120.
- 525 Volbach 1958 No. 121.
- 526 Wealth No. 104.
- 527 Effenberger et al. 1978 No. 3.
- 528 Emery Kirwan 1938 124 speak about the tomb as plundered, but according to Emery 1965 79 it was ,,a royal burial completely undisturbed''.
- 529 Emery Kirwan 1938 127.
- 530 Ross 1962 No. 72; Marshall 1968 No. 558; cp. furthermore Coche de la Ferté op. cit. (note 487) Pl. IX (from Kertch, late 4th c. A.D., now in the Louvre).
- 531 Ancient Collection de Clercq, Coche de la Ferté op. cit (note 487) Pl. IV left.
- 532 Wulff 1909 No. 763.
- 533 Cp. e.g. the exemplars quoted by G. Erdélyi: A polgárdi ezüst tripos. Der silberne Tripos aus Polgárdi. Arch. Ért. 65 (1931) 1–28, 291–299; for the 4th c. A.D. silver tripod from Polgárdi (Hungary) see the good illustrations in E. B. Thomas: Spätantike Metallfunde in Pannonien. in: Metallkunst von der Spätantike bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter, ed. A. Effenberger. Berlin 1982 56–75 figs 10–13.
- 534 Bissing 1941 14 note 20.
- 535 Kirwan 1963 76.
- 536 Inv. X 5247 Paris Copte No. 130, dated, however, by P. du Bourguet to the 13th c. A.D.
- 537 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Inv. 54.1674, Badawy 1978 fig. 5.20.
- 538 Without Inv. No., unpublished.
- 539 E.g. Badawy 1978 fig. 3.142.
- 540 Pillar capital from Antinoupolis, Montreal Mus. of Art 59.13.3; frieze from the Fayoum (Ahnas), Berlin-East 4456, Badawy 1978 figs 3.70, 3.129.
- 541 Emery Kirwan 1938 128.
- 542 Volbach 1976 No. 107.
- 543 Hayes 1972 131.
- 544 Adams 1986 II 581ff.
- 545 Emery Kirwan 1938 357.
- 546 Cp. A. Mutz: Eine kleine römische Anthepsa. JbRGZM 14 (1967) 167–175; P. Gercke A. Krug – R. Lullies: Zu einer römischen Anthepsa in Kassel. JbRGZM 14 (1967) 175–178.
- 547 Cp. W. Y. Adams: The Vintage of Nubia. Kush 14 (1966) 262-283; Adams 1986 II passim.
- 548 Bissing 1941 16.
- 549 Oral communication quoted by Wenig 1978 No. 279.
- 550 For the problems connected with the provenance data current in art commerce see *Parlasca* 1966 204f.
- 551 See note 549.
- 552 Cp. Parlasca 1966 204f.; K. Parlasca: Der Übergang von der spätrömischen zur frühchristlichen Kunst im Lichte der Grabreliefs von Oxyrhynchos. Enchoria 8 (1978) (Sonderband) 115–120. In latter study Parlasca also discusses pieces which are in my opinion of a somewhat doubtful authenticity.
- 553 Parlasca 1966 204f.
- 554 Paris Copte No. 45.
- 555 H. Wrede: Die spätantike Hermengalerie von Welschbillig. Berlin 1972 90ff., esp. 96f.
- 556 Edgar 1904 No. 27846 Pl. XVII.
- 557 It is worth noticing that the characteristic rendering of the leaf decking of the column shafts also occurs on the acanthus scrolls of the Constantia sarcophagus, see note 509 above.
- 558 Wulff 1909 Nos 908–917; Strzygowski 1904 Nos 7148–7153; Ross 1962 Nos 75–84; cp. also G. M. M. Houben: Bronze Byzantine Weights. Oudheidkundige Mededelingen 63 (1982) 133– 143.
- 559 Jones op. cit. (note 443) 219ff.
- 560 Ross 1965 No. 48.

- 561 In: Emery Kirwan 1938 407.
- 562 Farid 1963 tomb No. 16: 61ff., the silver vessel: fig. 65/6.
- 563 Shelton 1981 Pl. 17.
- 564 Wealth No. 101.
- 565 Edgar 1904 No. 27778 Pl. XI; cp. No. 27931 Pl. XII.
- 566 Emery Kirwan 1938 370.
- 567 For the long spout cp. *Menzel* 1954 Nos 690f., 701 (bronze), *Edgar* 1904 Nos 27777f. Pl. XI, 27782, 27931 Pl. XII.
- 568 Dodd 1961 230 No. 81.
- 569 Dodd 1961 232f. No. 82.
- 570 Dodd 1961 238f. No. 85.
- 571 Historical Museum 42421, from Roumania.
- 572 Dodd 1961 234f. No. 83.
- 573 Effenberger et al. 1978 No. 3, Dok. No. 2.
- 574 Wealth 50 No. 99.
- 575 Emery Kirwan 1938 367.
- 576 Ross 1962 No. 33 Pl. XXVII.
- 577 Ross op. cit. (note 576) loc. cit.; cp. A. Ch. Johnson L. C. West: Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies. Princeton 1949 116ff.
- 578 Török 1974 364ff.; Török 1979 92f.
- 579 Wenig 1978 104 and No. 275.
- 580 For fly ornaments see e.g. F. Ll. Griffith: Oxford Excavations in Nubia. LAAA 11 (1924) Pl. LVIII/7.
- 581 Török 1974.
- 582 D. Dunham: The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe. Royal Cemeteries of Kush V. Boston 1963 171ff.
- 583 A. Grabar: Die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters. München 1967 fig. 244.
- 584 Marshall 1968 Nos 818, 819, cp. also No. 843.
- 585 Marshall 1968 No. 819.
- 586 Marshall 1968 No. 853.
- 587 Ross 1965 No. 166.
- 588 Johns Potter 1983 Nos 5, 8, 14.
- 589 Johns Potter 1983 68ff.
- 590 Without Inv. No., unpublished.
- 591 Strzygowski 1904 No. 7043.
- 592 Parlasca 1966 Pls 31/4, 49/1.
- 593 Wealth No. 502, Constantinople.
- 594 Wealth No. 565, Constantinople.
- 595 Farid 1963 tomb No. 6, p. 25 fig. 57/2.
- 596 Painter 1977 Nos 1-10, 13, 14.
- 597 B. Overbeck: Argentum Romanum: ein Schatzfund von spätrömischem Prunkgeschirr. München 1973 39f. No. 8.
- 598 Wealth 20.
- 599 Emery Kirwan 1938 163f.
- 600 H. B. Walters: Catalogue of the Silver Plate (Greek, Etruscan, and Roman) in the British Museum. London 1921 No. 87; Wealth No. 103.
- 601 Shelton 1981 No. 4.
- 602 Ibid. Pl. 23.

603 Shelton 1981 59f.

- 604 Strzygowski 1904 No. 9103.
- 605 K. Weidmann: Untersuchungen zur Kunst und Chronologie der Parther und Kuschan vom 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 3. Jh. n. Chr. JbRGZM 18 (1971) 146–178 Pl. 41.
- 606 For exemplars see *R. Kautzsch:* Kapitellstudien. Berlin-Leipzig 1936 Nos 1ff. and *Török:* Notes on the Chronology... (note 511).

607 Strong 1966 198 Pl. 61, with literature.

608 Painter 1977 Nos 5-8, 11/12 (bowl with cover).

609 Painter 1977 No. 6.

610 Wulff 1909 No. 56.

611 Cp. with the literature quoted in note 511.

612 Strzygowski 1904 No. 9101, 9102, Chr. am Nil No. 173 etc.

613 Wenig 1978 No. 275.

614 Wulff 1909 No. 979, height: 0,23 m, from the Fayoum (?).

615 Cp. for the style Strzygowski 1904 No. 9037.

616 Emery - Kirwan 1938 280 and fig. 98 (reconstruction).

617 Farid 1963 59 tomb No. 15 and Pls X Lf.

618 Bates - Dunham 1927 Pl. XXXIII/2-5.

- 619 Török n.d. 3 Ch. III.
- 620 Farid 1963 Pl. XXVI.

621 Cp. Wealth 57 and No. 114.

- 622 Farid 1963 Pl. XXXVIII.
- 623 Provenance unknown.
- 624 Strong 1966 Pl. 61.

625 Emery - Kirwan 1938 276 Cat. No. 416 (= 47-65).

626 Farid 1963 PI. XXXVII/B.

627 Farid 1963 113 Cat. No. 246.

- 628 Unpublished analogies in the Coptic Museum, Cairo.
- 629 Mills 1982 Pl. VIII.
- 630 Farid 1963 Pl. XXXV/A.
- 631 Farid 1963 Pl. XXXVII/B and fig 64.
- 632 Farid 1963 Pl. XXXVIII/E.
- 633 Farid 1963 146 Reg. No. 275 fig. 74/3.
- 634 Farid 1963 143, 146 Pls X Lf.
- 635 Emery Kirwan 1938 325 Cat. No. 673 (not ill.).
- 636 Wulff 1909 No. 1027.
- 637 Cp. Strong 1966 158, 170.
- 638 See note 629.
- 639 See note 628.
- 640 Ch. Picard: Propos et documents concernant la toréutique alexandrine. Rev. Arch. 1961 123; id.: La lampe alexandrine de P'ong Tuk (Siam). Artibus Asiae 18 (1955) 137ff.; F. Coarelli: "Romana, arte" in: EAA VI 1020 fig. 1124.
- 641 Painter 1977 Nos 9, 10.
- 642 Wulff 1909 No. 1679.
- 643 Farid 1963 Pl. X LII.
- 644 F 5 = Farid 1963 tomb No. 5, this tumulus was not discovered and numbered by Emery Kirwan 1938.
- 645 Farid 1963 119 Reg. No. 418 Pl. XXXVI/C.
- 646 Farid 1963 119 Reg. No. 417 Pl. XXXVI/A.
- 647 Farid 1963 119 Reg. Nos 472f. fig. 62/4.
- 648 Note 643.
- 649 Farid 1963 19ff.
- 650 Farid 1963 Pl. XXXIII/C.
- 651 For exemplars see Strong 1966 202ff.
- 652 Farid 1963 107 Reg. Nos 175f. Pls XXXIX/B, XXX/B; 113 Reg. No. 174 (not ill.).
- 653 For exemplars see Strong 1966 188ff.; Effenberger et al. 1978 56f.
- 654 Ibid. 30f., 135.
- 655 Strzygowski 1904 No. 9102.
- 656 Wealth No. 107.
- 657 Emery Kirwan 1938 323 Cat. No. 666 Pl. 82/E.

- 658 Emery Kirwan 1938 324 Cat. No. 669 Pl. 82/D.
- 659 Emery Kirwan 1938 325 Cat. No. 673 (not ill.).
- 660 Emery Kirwan 1938 275 Cat. No. 413.
- 661 Emery Kirwan 1938 280 Cat. No. 427 fig. 98.
- 662 Emery Kirwan 1938 94, 184 PI. 35/B (the crown); 93, 359 Cat. No. 795 (for the folding chair).
- 663 Emery Kirwan 1938 Pl. 104/C.
- 664 Ibid. Pl. 104/B.
- 665 Wealth No. 151.
- 666 Farid 1963 33.
- 667 Emery Kirwan 1938 Pl. 76/A, C.
- 668 Emery Kirwan 1938 175ff.: Hermes; Bissing 1941 17 note 42: Apollon Alexikakos or a local (!) deity; Strong 1966 199: Apollo(n) Alexikakos; Age of Spirituality (K. J. Shelton) No. 168: synchretistic deity with attributes of Hermes, Sarapis, Apollo, Ares, Hephaestus, Heracles.
- 669 Age of Spirituality No. 168.
- 670 Strong 1966 199; for the Artemis dish see Volbach 1958 No. 106.
- 671 Strong 1966 Pl. 61.
- 672 Cp. Strong 1966 198.
- 673 Shelton 1981 59f.
- 674 See note 670.
- 675 A. Levi: La patera d'argento di Parabiago. Roma 1935/44 (Opera d'arte vol. V); Shelton 1981 Pl. 19.
- 676 Cp. note 672.
- 677 Cp. note 673.
- 678 Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia. Age of Spirituality No. 64.
- 679 Firenze, Museo Archeologico. Volbach 1958 No. 109.
- 680 Shelton 1981 Pls 12-15.
- 681 Volbach 1958 Nos 2, 3.
- 682 Cp. Strong 1966 202ff.
- 683 Emery Kirwan 1938 274f. Cat. Nos 410f.
- 684 Emery Kirwan 1938 382: Ares-Mars or Heracles; Bissing 1941 20 note 55 Dionysos.
- 685 L. Marangou: Bone Carvings from Egypt. I. Graeco-Roman Period. Benaki Museum Athens. Tübingen 1976 Nos 3, Pl. 4/a (Louvre), 9, 14, 16 with further literature on analogies.
- 686 A. Carandini: La secchia Doria: una 'storia di Achille' tardo-antica. Studi Miscellanei 9. Roma 1963–1964 15f. Pl. III/7; Age of Spirituality No. 197.
- 687 Painter 1977 Pl. 15.
- 688 See Section 8 below.
- 689 Age of Spirituality No. 569, found at Zanavartepe near Varna, Bulgaria; for further exemplars see: *H. Buschhausen:* Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare. Wien 971 Nos C/15, 21, 22, 40.
- 690 Baltimore Walters Art Gallery 42.208, Age of Spirituality No. 138.
- 691 A. Gayet: Fantomes d'Antinoe. Les sepultures de Leukyoné et Myrithis. Paris 1904 36 fig. p. 43.
- 692 Cp. *G. Erdélyi:* A polgárdi ezüst tripos. Der silberne Tripos aus Polgárdi. Arch. Ért. 65 (1931) 291–299 with literature.
- 693 Cp. Ross 1962 No. 39; Age of Spirituality No. 556.
- 694 Volbach 1958 Pl. 124.
- 695 Cp. Age of Spirituality Nos 560f.
- 696 Johns Potter 1983 34ff., 37.
- 697 Cp. the exemplars quoted above.
- 698 See note 696.
- 699 Cp. e.g. Wulff 1909 No. 765; Strzygowski 1904 No. 9144.
- 700 Emery Kirwan 1938 366 Cat. No. 814.

- 266
- 701 For the iconography of the Roman Victory see the literature quoted in note 300. For the figure of the lamps see the candelabre figure *Boucher* 1973 No. 190.
- 702 Wealth No. 106.
- 703 E.g. Strzygowski 1904 Nos 9104-9107.
- 704 Cp. Age of Spirituality No. 294.
- 705 Emery Kirwan 1938 172ff.
- 706 Strong 1966 187.
- 707 Emery Kirwan 1938 279f.
- 708 Ibid.
- 709 Emery Kirwan 1938 Pl. 16/D, middle (below the cascet).
- 710 Good photographs in Buschhausen op. cit. (note 689) PI. 58 and in J. Kollwitz: "Reliquari" in: EAA VI fig. 756.
- 711 Cp. the description quoted in note 707.
- 712 Ross 1962 No. 10.
- 713 Age of Spirituality No. 552.
- 714 Age of Spirituality No. 564.
- 715 Wealth No. 147; Age of Spirituality No. 542.
- 716 G. Cuscito: I reliquari paleocristiani di Pola. Atti Mem. Soc. Istriana 20-21 (1972-1973) 91-106; Buschhausen op. cit. (note 689) No. B 20. The sides of the reliquary measure 3x8 cm.
- 717 B. Ilakovac: Unbekannte Funde aus Novalja (Jugoslawien). Atti Arch. Crist. Roma (1975) II 330-340; Török 1986,4 fig. 16/3.
- 718 Ilakovac op. cit. (note 717) 333ff.
- 719 A. Šonje: Altchristliche Basiliken in Novaglia auf der Insel Pag. Akten Christl. Arch. Trier I 701.
- 720 M. Mirabella Roberti: Il duomo di Pola. Pola 1943 6f.; G. Cuscito: Questioni agiografiche di Aquileia e dell'Istria. Contributo alla conoscienza del cristianesimo precostantiano. Atti Arch. Crist. Roma (1975) Il 167–198 195f.
- 721 F. Gerke: Christus in der spätantiken Plastik.² Berlin 1941 66f.; Chr. Ihm: Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts. Wiesbaden 1960 11ff., 21ff.
- 722 Gerke op. cit. (note 721) 53ff., 67ff.
- 723 Ihm op. cit. (note 721) 128.
- 724 M. Panayotidi A. Grabar: Un reliquaire paléochrétien récemment découvert près de Thessalonique. Cah. Arch. 24 (1975) 33–48.
- 725 Now Milano, Duomo. J. Kollwitz: Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit. Berlin 1941 141, 164f., 182; good photographs: Volbach 1958 No. 110. For style and dating cp. H.-G. Severin: Oströmische Plastik unter Valens und Theodosius I. Jb. Berl. Mus. 12 (1970) 211– 252 237ff.; E. Dinkler-von Schubert op. cit. (note 492) 218f.
- 726 Severin op. cit. (note 725).
- 727 For posture and head type cp. also Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage I. Hrsg. F. W. Deichmann, bearb. von G. Bovini – H. Brandenburg. Wiesbaden 1967 No. 320 (Rome, Cimitero di S. Sebastiano).
- 728 Severin op. cit. (note 725).
- 729 Ferrara, Certosa-sarcophagus: G. de Francovich in: Felix Ravenna ser. 3 26–27 (1958) fig. 73.
 Roma, S. Sebastiano: Ihm op. cit. (note 721) Pl. XI/1. Ravenna, ex S. Severo, now S. Francesco: Volbach 1958 No. 174. Roma, Cimitero di S. Sebastiano: Repertorium (note 727) No. 217. Vatican Grottoes, traditio legis-sarcophagus: Repertorium No. 675. Roma, S. Lorenzo f. 1. m. column sarcophagus: Repertorium No. 700. Roma, Palazzo del duca di Ceri in Borgo Vecchio, lost sarcophagus: Repertorium No. 933, etc.
- 730 H. Brandenburg: Ein frühchristliches Relief in Berlin. RM 79 (1972) 123-154 134f. Pls 79f.
- 731 Istanbul Arch. Mus. Nos 5422, 5423, *N. Firatli:* Deux nouveaux reliefs funéraires d'Istanbul et les reliefs similaires. Cah. Arch. 11 (1960) 73–92 73ff.
- 732 Volbach 1958 No. 121b.

- 733 Török 1986,4.
- 734 E. Kitzinger: A Marble Relief of the Theodosian Period. DOP 14 (1960) 17ff.; id.: Byzantine Art in the Making. London 1977 39 Pl. 72.
- 735 Kind oral communication of Frau Erika Dinkler-von Schubert, Heidelberg 1982.
- 736 Cp. Arles: G. Wilpert: I sarcofagi cristiani antichi I. Roma 1929 Pl. 41/3. Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe, 12-Apostles-sarcophagus: M. Lawrence: The sarcophagi of Ravenna. New York 1945 fig. 2/9.
- 737 The monuments that presumably originate from this period are diversely dated and are so far not discussed as elements of a context. For the outstanding dish fragment with pastoral scene see *J. Beckwith:* Coptic Sculpture 300–1300. London 1963 No. 16.
- 738 Cp. J. Kollwitz: Religuari in: EAA VI 648; Dinkler-von Schubert op. cit. (note 492) 218.
- 739 Dodd 1961 No. 84.
- 740 J. Braun: Der christliche Altar I-II. München 1924 I 525ff.
- 741 Braun op. cit. (note 740) 11 554.
- 742 Braun op. cit. (note 740) | 258, || 554ff.
- 743 Braun op. cit. (note 740) | 525ff., 608ff.
- 744 A. J. Butler: The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt II. Oxford 1884 5; Braun op. cit. (note 740) I 646f.
- 745 Braun op. cit. (note 740) I 646f.
- 746 Cp. H. Delahaye: Les martyrs d'Égypte. Anal. Bolland. 40 (1922) 33ff., 36ff.; Abu Salih: The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, ed. B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler. Oxford 1895 (= Abu 'l-Makarim, The Churches... attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian) 195, 237, 258.
- 747 Braun op. cit. (note 740) I 749f.
- 748 Epist., 60 (=CSEL LIV 548ff.), cp. Braun op. cit. (note 740) I 70.
- 749 Strzygowski 1904 340ff. and No. 7205. On the find place cp. recently P. Grossmann: Eine vergessene frühchristliche Kirche beim Luxor-Tempel. MDAIK 29 (1973) 167–181.
- 750 Strzygowski 1904 Pl. XL, left.
- 751 Strzygowski 1904 Nos 7201–7204, 7206–7210; the pieces were dated to the 7–8th c. by J. Maspero in: ASAE 10 (1910) 173ff.; the bishop Abraham occurring in the inscription on No. 7202 (silver book cover) was dated by M. Krause: Zur Lokalisierung und Datierung koptischer Denkmäler. ZÄS 97 (1971) 106–111 110 between c. 590 and 620. However, it is uncertain, whether are all objects found in the Luxor church contemporary or not.
- 752 Ross 1962 No. 45.
- 753 This is indicated also by the stylistic relationship between the chalice and the Water Newton jug, for the latter see K. S. Painter: The Water Newton Early Christian Silver. London 1977; Wealth No. 26.
- 754 For the treasure see Wealth 102 (with the earlier literature).
- 755 Dodd 1961 No. 35; Wealth No. 176.
- 756 Berlin Staatl. Mus. Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ant. Abt. 39244; Age of Spirituality No. 76.
- 757 Age of Spirituality No. 244.
- 758 Painter 1977 Nos 27, 29-31.
- 759 Shelton 1981 Nos 21-25.
- 760 Johns Potter 1983 Nos 66, 67, 76, 77-80, 82.
- 761 V. Milojčič: Zu den spätkaiserzeitlichen und merowingischen Silberlöffeln. Ber. RGK 49 (1968) 111-152.
- 762 In: Johns Potter 1983 34-45.
- 763 See Hayes 1972 sub type 82A.
- 764 A comprehensive analysis of the Egyptian late antique bone carvings is still wanting. For the style of the period cp. *Strzygowski* 1904 7063–703; *Badawy* 1978 figs 5.40, 5.41.
- 765 Farid 1963 11ff.
- 766 Hayes 1972 sub type 82B.
- 767 Emery Kirwan 1938 212 Cat. Nos 157f.
- 768 Age of Spirituality Nos 560f., but see also the cheap variant Strzygowski 1904 No. 9144. Latter lamp is at present under Inv. No. 5716 (1940).

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- 769 K. S. Painter: The Water Newton Early Christian Silver. London 1977 No. 7 and 22ff.
- 770 A. O. Curle: The Treasure of Traprain. Glasgow 1923 No. 111.
- 771 Strzygowski 1904 Nos 9084-9089, 9091-9093.
- 772 Cp. ibid. No. 7169.
- 773 F. Anfray: Matara. Annales d'Ethiopie 7 (1967) 33–53 46f. with fig.; S. Hable Selassie: Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270. Addis Ababa 1972 Pl. between pp. 124 and 125.
- 774 Age of Spirituality No. 559.
- 775 Age of Spirituality No. 315; see furthermore ibid. No. 317: bronze lamp in the shape of a foot with a towerlike cover with arcaded floors.
- 776 Painter 1977 Nos 18-25.
- 777 Curle op. cit. (note 770) No. 106.
- 778 Strzygowski 1904 No. 9047.
- 779 Age of Spirituality No. 314.
- 780 Wulff 1909 No. 1672.
- 781 Ross 1962 No. 45.
- 782 Cp. R. Krautheimer S. Corbett W. Frankl: Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae IV. Città del Vaticano 1970 165ff.
- 783 Wulff 1909 No. 909; Ross 1962 No. 74.
- 784 For the necklaces see Emery Kirwan 1938 PI. 48B; for the finger looses ibid. 247.
- 785 Hayes 1972 sub type 89B.
- 786 Adams 1986 543f.
- 787 Emery Kirwan 1938 185 Cat. No. 6, for the description see ibid. 148.
- 788 Cp. H. von Heintze: Römische Porträt-Plastik aus sieben Jahrhunderten. Stuttgart 1961 passim.
- 789 K. Gschwandtler (ed.): Guss und Form. Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung. Katalog der Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien. Wien 1986 No. 156.
- 790 Boucher 1973 No. 206; cp. furthermore A. de Ridder: Bronzes antiques du Louvre II. Paris 1915 Nos 3159–3161.
- 791 Age of Spirituality No. 541.
- 792 Ross 1962 Nos 33f.
- 793 Ross 1962 No. 46, from Syria (?). Cp. Wulff 1909 No. 977.
- 794 Wulff 1909 No. 977.
- 795 Strzygowski 1909 No. 9108.
- 796 Hayes 1972 sub type 89B.
- 797 Hayes 1972 275 Type 300.
- 798 E.g. Wulff 1909 Nos 353f.
- 799 Emery Kirwan 1938 153 object No. 10.
- 800 No. 38721.
- 801 Strzygowski 1904 No. 9085.
- 802 Cp. Age of Spirituality Nos 324-326.; Houben op. cit. (note 558 above) Pl. 4/42, 43.
- 803 Emery Kirwan 1938 247f. (archer's looses); 213 Cat. Nos 167f. (necklaces).
- 804 Emery Kirwan 1938 279 Cat. No. 425: ,,circular ivory cascet destroyed by moisture. Only the barest traces remain. Size: approx. 13 cms in diameter."
- 805 Emery Kirwan 1938 375 Cat. No. 844: ,,shallow bowl of alabaster with heavy foot ring and exterior rim with a grooved top." Diameter 24,5 cm, height 5,5 cm.
- 806 Ibid. 376 Cat. No. 848: ,,shallow bowl with low foot ring and exterior rim". Dm 24 cm, h 4 cm.
- 807 Ibid. 375 Cat. No. 847: ,,small circular mortar of alabaster with four rectangular projections on the exterior of the rim. Probably used for the toilet." Dm 6 cm, h 2,5 cm.
- 808 Farid 1963 146 Reg. No. 275: ,,shallow bowl with low foot ring and exterior rim with a grooved top". Dm 36 cm, h 6,5 cm.
- 809 Emery Kirwan 1938 375 Cat. No. 846: ,,shallow bowl with heavy foot ring and exterior rim." Dm 35 cm, h 8 cm.

- 810 Farid 1963 125 Reg. No. 237 Pl. XXXIII/C.
- 811 Ibid. 115 Reg. No. 284 (Type 4 of Farid).
- 812 Adams 1986 440.
- 813 Ibid 469f.
- 814 Ibid. 468f.
- 815 Ibid. 472f.
- 816 Ibid. 515-522.
- 817 Ibid. 534ff.
- 818 Ibid. 536f. 819 Ibid. 537f.
- 820 Ibid. 545.
- 821 Ibid. 559f.
- 822 Ibid. 566f.
- 823 Ibid. 567f.
- 824 Ibid. 575.
- 825 Ibid. 580.
- 826 Ibid. 581-583.
- 827 Adams 1986 575.
- 828 On the basis of *Török* n.d. 3.
- 829 Farid 1963 Pl. XXVI, Török n.d. 3 No. 140.
- 830 F. Hintze: Butana Expedition 1958. Kush 8 (1959) 171–196 fig. opposite p. 190; Török n.d. 3 No. 22.
- 831 Sandstone block found at Beg. N. 36, see S. Wenig: Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten an den Pyramidenkapellen des Nordfriedhofes von Begrawiya (Meroe). WZHU Ges.-sprachwiss. R. 20 (1971) 267–273 fig. 8; Török n.d. 3 No. 24.
- 832 S. Chapman D. Dunham: Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroe and Barkal. Royal Cemeteries of Kush III. Boston 1952 Pl. 22; Török n.d. 3 No. 26.
- 833 Chapman Dunham op. cit. (note 832) Pl. 12/B; Török n.d. 3 No. 32 (Beg. N. 20); Gamer-Wallert 1983 Blatt 9b; Török n.d. 3 Nos 30f. (Natakamani).
- 834 LD V 40; Török n.d. 3 No. 125.
- 835 Wenig 1978 No. 118; Török n.d. 3 No. 145.
- 836 E.g. Gamer-Wallert 1983 Blatt 5a; Török n.d. 3 Nos 148-150, 152.
- 837 In more detail see Török n.d. 3 Ch. III.
- 838 Chapman Dunham op. cit. (note 832) Pl. 10; Török n.d. 3 No. 135.

839 Török 1979 93.

- 840 Strong 1966 10, cp. Digesta, VI, 123; XXXIV, 2,32,1.
- 841 Emery Kirwan 1938 348f. Cat. No. 751.
- 842 Cp. Gschwandtler op. cit. (note 789) s.v. Vergoldung.
- 843 Unpublished material in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum. I am obliged to Mr. T. G. H. James, Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities, for his kind permission to study the material. It will be published by Mr. Robert Morkot.
- 844 M. Pellicer Catalan A. Llongueras: Las necropolis meroiticas del Grupo X y cristianas de Nag-el Arab. Madrid 1965.

- 846 Adams 1977 393f.
- 847 Ibid. 395.
- 848 Cp. Trigger 1969 120.
- 849 Adams 1977 396.
- 850 Säve-Söderbergh et al. 1981 7-24.
- 851 Ibid. 7ff.
- 852 Ibid. 15f.
- 853 Ibid. Table 6.
- 854 Ibid. Tables 9 and 10.
- 855 Ricke et al. 1967.

⁸⁴⁵ Adams 1977 393.

- 856 Strouhal 1984.
- 857 Strouhal 1984 85ff.
- 858 Ibid. 21ff. and figs 1, 4.
- 859 Ibid. 23 and figs 2, 3.
- 860 Ricke et al. 1967 figs 64 (top), 65 (flute); 64 (bottom) (other glass finds); for the dating cp. also Török n.d. 1 Nos 233–242.
- 861 Strouhal 1984 205-213.
- 862 L. Vidman in Strouhal 1984 215f.
- 863 Strouhal 1984 230.
- 864 A somewhat later date is suggested in my opinion unfoundedly by J. Hayes in the discussion of *Kirwan* 1982 at the Third Meroitic Conference in Toronto 1977, see Meroitica 6 (1982) 207f.
- 865 See Pls 15-27.
- 866 Strouhal 1984 193f.
- 867 Adams 1986 419f.
- 868 See section 15 below.
- 869 Emery Kirwan 1935 117ff. For examples see the material discussed by Strouhal 1984 168ff.
- 870 Fernandez 1983, 1984.
- 871 Dunham 1963 fig. C (Pl. 169/1, 2); fig. L (Pl. 169/3, 4, 5, 6, 7).
- 872 E.g. Wenig 1978 No. 260 (Faras).
- 873 Cp. Strouhal 1984 168.
- 874 Adams 1986 figs 125ff., esp. 125f.
- 875 See section 15 below.
- 876 See Chapter I. 3 above.
- 877 Fathi Afifi Bedawi 1976.
- 878 Ibid. 9, 53ff., fig. 26.
- 879 Ibid. figs. 7-12, 17-20.
- 880 Ibid. 47f.
- 881 Török 1978,1.
- 882 Mills 1982.
- 883 Ibid. 6.
- 884 Ibid. 37 and PI. XXXIX.
- 885 Ibid. Pl. XL/7.1.
- 886 Cemetery 193 surface; Cemetery 192 tomb 14.
- 887 Cp. Adams 1982.
- 888 Mills 1982 Pls X X II f.
- 889 Cp. Isings 1957 forms 111, 115, 118, 126.
- 890 Strzygowski 1904 No. 9143; analogous exemplar in the Louvre: Inv. No. X 5248, Paris Copte No. 119.
- 891 Cp. Isings 1957 forms 111, 126, 133.
- 892 Emery Kirwan 1935 273 fig. (object No. 8).
- 893 Mills 1982 9.
- 894 Ibid. 48 and PI. LXXXV/5.
- 895 Millet 1963, 1964, 1967.
- 896 Säve-Söderbergh et al. 1981 68.
- 897 Ibid. Pl. 90 (knife), Pls 6, 8, 13f., 89, 92 (other finds).
- 898 Ibid. 70-127; tomb 76: 86 and Pl. 29.
- 899 Bates Dunham 1927.
- 900 Ibid. 110ff.
- 901 Ibid. 89ff., Pls LIIIff.
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- 903 Ibid. 89f. and Pl. LXVII/38.
- 904 Ibid. Pls XXXII/5A, 5B, LXV/7, 12, LXVI/6.

905 Ibid. 79f. 906 Ibid. Pl. LXXI/44, 46. 907 Ibid PI, XXXVII/1, Deichmann 1966. 908 Ibid. Pl. LXVI. 909 Bates - Dunham 1927 77f., Pl. XXXIII/2-5, cp. Pl. LXVI/16. 910 Strzygowski 1904 No. 9037 Pl. XXIV/4. 911 Bates - Dunham 1927 Pl. XXXIII/C. F. G. 912 Ibid. PI. XXXIII/A, D, E. H. 913 Ibid. PI. XXXIII/1B and D; for the scepter see J. Dittmar in Gamer-Wallert 1983 170ff. figs 91ff. 914 Cp. Bates - Dunham 1927 78f. 915 Ibid. Pl. XXXIII/6 L; Wenig 1978 No. 202 (material identified as electrum; object as ornamental ring from a staff). 916 Deichmann 1966 66-69. 917 For the survey in general see Vila 1979. 918 For the bibliography see following notes. 919 Vila 1979 39ff, and fig. 14. 920 Ibid. 41. 921 Trigger 1965 160. 922 Vila 1975 40. 923 Ibid. 924 Ibid. 92. 925 Ibid. figs 101, 117. 926 Vila 1976,1 63. 927 Vila 1976,2 48. 928 Ibid. fig. 18/1-6, 11. 929 Ibid. 74. 930 Ibid. fig. 29. 931 Ibid. fig. 30. 932 Vila 1977,1 32. 933 Ibid. fig. 8. 934 Ibid. 136. 935 Vila 1977.2 74. 936 Ibid. 89. 937 Vila 1978,1 95. 938 Ibid. fig. 52, cp. e.g. Säve-Söderbergh et al. 1981 Pl. 91/1. 939 Vila 1978,2 62. 940 Ibid. 108 and fig. 109. 941 A. Vila: La nécropole de Missiminia I. Les sépultures napatéennes. Paris 1980. 942 A. Vila: La nécropole de Missiminia II. Les sépultures mérotiques. Paris 1982. 943 Vila 1984. 944 Ibid. 193f. 945 Ibid. 22ff. and figs 14f.; 25ff. and figs 18-21. 946 Ibid. figs 185 and 220/1. 947 Ibid. figs 183 and 220/2. 948 Kirwan 1939 xii. 949 Ibid. 3. 950 Ibid. 6 No. 67. 951 Harden 1936 129, Pls. IV, XIV. 952 Farid 1963 114 Reg. No. 252 Pl. XXXII/B. 953 Kirwan 1939 7. 954 Ibid. 9. 955 Ibid. 12ff. 956 Ibid, 24ff.

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- 958 Emery Kirwan 1938 358 Cat. Nos 791f. and Pl. 94/C, D.
- 959 Jacquet-Gordon Bonnet 1971-1972 79ff. and Diagram 1.
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- 961 H. N. Chittick: A New Type of Mound Grave. Kush 5 (1957) 73-77 73.
- 962 Adams 1977 424ff.
- 963 F. Geus P. Lenoble: Fouille à Gereif Est près de Khartoum (ND-36-B/11-Q-4). MNL 22 (1983) 9-20; Geus 1984 39, 79.
- 964 F. Geus P. Lenoble: Evolution du cimetière méroitique d'El Kadada, la transition vers le postméroitique en milieu rural méridional. in: Mélanges Vercoutter. Paris 1985 67–92.
- 965 *P. Lenoble:* Quatre tumulus sur mille du Djebel Makbor. ANM (=Archéologie du Nil Moyen) 2 (in print).
- 966 Shinnie 1954.
- 967 Chittick 1957 73ff.
- 968 Adams 1977 426.
- 969 Cp. Jacquet-Gordon Bonnet 1971-1972 82f.
- 970 Garstang et al. 1911 29-36.
- 971 Ibid. 29f.
- 972 Ibid. Pls XLVII-LI.
- 973 Ibid. 32f.
- 974 Kirwan 1939 41ff.
- 975 J. Crowfoot: Nuba Pots in the Gordon College. SNR 7 (1924) 18–28 (with O. Bentley); J. Crowfoot: Christian Nubia. JEA 13 (1927) 141–150.
- 976 Kirwan 1939 43.
- 977 This technique is not discussed by Adams 1986.
- 978 Garstang et al. 1911 42, PI. XLII/3 left, XLV/23. Tomb identification according to Wenig 1978 No. 288; according to the original publication the object originates either from tomb 8, or 5, or 307.
- 979 Garstang et al. 1911 Pl. X LIII/1.
- 980 Ibid. Pl. XLIII/6.
- 981 Ibid. Pl. XLIII/8.
- 982 Ibid. Pl. XLIV/18.
- 983 Ibid. Pl. XLII/45.
- 984 Ibid. Pl. X L11/42.
- 985 Ibid. Pl. XLV.
- 986 Ibid. 33 and PI. XXXVI/ii.
- 987 Ibid. Pl. XXXVII/3, cp. Kirwan 1939 42.
- 988 Garstang et al. 1911 32.
- 989 Dunham 1963 fig. I/3.
- 990 Garstang et al. 1911 PI. X LI/6 extreme left.
- 991 Ibid. Pl. LIV/20.
- 992 Ibid. Pl. LIV/4.
- 993 Ibid. Pl. LIV/14.
- 994 See note 964 above.
- 995 See note 963 above.
- 996 Geus 1984 79.
- 997 Ibid. 79 fig. 5.
- 998 Ibid. 79 fig. 3.
- 999 Ibid. 79 fig. 5.
- 1000 Ibid. 39.
- 1001 Ibid.
- 1002 For preliminary reports see Adams 1965 and W. Y. Adams: Settlement Patterns in Microcosm: The Changing Aspect of a Nubian Village during Twelve Centuries. in: K. Chang (ed.): Settlement Archaeology. Palo Alto 1968 174–207; cp. further Adams 1977 360, 397ff.

1003 Preliminary reports on the excavations at Qasr Ibrim: J. M. Plumley: Qasr Ibrim 1963– 1964. JEA 50 (1964) 3-5; id.: Qasr Ibrim 1966. JEA 52 (1966) 9-12; id.: Qasr Ibrim December 1966. JEA 53 (1967) 3-5; id.: Qasr Ibrim 1969. JEA 56 (1970) 12-18; id.: Pre-Christian Nubia (23 B.C. - 535 A.D.) Ét. Trav. 11 (1971) 7-24; J. M. Plumley - W. Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim 1972. JEA 60 (1974) 212-238; J. M. Plumley: Qasr Ibrim 1974. JEA 61 (1975) 5-27; id. - W. Y. Adams - E. Crowfoot: Qasr Ibrim 1976. JEA 63 (1977) 29-47; R. D. Anderson - W. Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim 1978. JEA 65 (1979) 30-41; W. Y. Adams -J. A. Alexander: Qasr Ibrim 1980 and 1982. JEA 69 (1983) 43-60; cp. further W. Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim: An Archaeological Conspectus. in: J. M. Plumley (ed.): Nubian Studies. Warminster 1982 25-33.

1004 See note 895 above and N. B. Millet: Meroitic Religion. Meroitica 7 (1984) 111-121.

- 1006 Cp. Trigger 1965.
- 1006 B. G. Trigger: History and Settlement in Lower Nubia in the Perspective of Fifteen Years. Meroitica 7 (1984) 367-380 372 f.
- 1007 Cp. Kromer 1967 12.
- 1008 C. M. Firth: The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1910–11. Cairo 1927 212.
- 1009 Kromer 1967.
- 1010 Kromer 1967 72ff.
- 1011 Kromer 1967 fig. 17.
- 1012 Adams 1986 567f. and fig. 315.
- 1013 Cp. Pl. 19.
- 1014 Kromer 1967 figs 27-29.
- 1015 Cp. Adams 1986 figs 22f. with ware indications.
- 1016 C. M. Firth: Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bull. 7 12f.; Adams 1966 264.
- 1017 Emery Kirwan 1935 108f.; Adams 1966 264.
- 1018 Emery Kirwan 1935 108f.
- 1019 Ibid.
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- 1022 Adams 1965 163f.
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- 1024 Bradley 1984 206 (only mentioned, no details given).
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- 1026 Ibid. 114.
- 1027 Cp. ibid. figs 90-107.
- 1028 Ibid. figs 94, 99, 103.
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- 1030 Ibid. 111.
- 1031 Adams in: Nubian Studies (see note 1003) 26.
- 1032 See note 1003.
- 1033 Op. cit. (see note 1031) 27f.; source of the groundplan: Plumley Adams Crowfoot op. cit. (note 1003) fig. A.
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- 1035 JEA 61 (1975) 16f., JEA 63 (1977) 43, JEA 65 (1979) 31f. (cp. note 1003).
- 1036 JEA 60 (1964) 228-236, Adams 1977 363f.
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- 1068 See note 1002.
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- 1085 Adams 1977 418.
- 1086 Cp. Adams 1977 393ff. with literature.
- 1087 For a comprehensive discussion of the issue see *Török* n.d. 2 Ch. V. 2–3 (with literature); for the spectrum of interpretation cp. *I. Hofmann:* Zur Sozialstruktur einer spätrömischen Stadt in Unter-Nubien. Anthropos 72 (1977) 193–224; *F. Hintze:* The Meroitic Period. in: Africa in Antiquity I. The Essays. Brooklyn 1978 89–105; *L. Török:* Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia. A Study in Territorial Administration of the Late Meroitic Kingdom. Budapest 1979; *E. Endesfelder:* Über die ökonomischen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Reiche von Napata und Meroe. in: Ägypten und Kusch. Berlin 1977 143–164; *Abdelgadir M. Abdalla:* Meroitic Social Stratification. Meroitica 7 (1984) 23–84; this latter cp. with the comments made by *E. Endesfelder* in: Meroitica 7 (1984) 85–91.
- 1088 Cp. Abdalla op. cit., Endesfelder op. cit. (note 1087); Adams 1977 328ff., 345ff. with earlier literature.
- 1089 Cp. Török op. cit. (note 1087), Török n.d. 2 Ch. V. 3; for the priesthood see Török 1977,1.
- 1090 See the literature quoted in note 1087; cp. further with W. Y. Adams: Ecology and Economy in the Empire of Kush. ZÄS 108 (1981) 1-11; L. Török: The Economy of Kush: A Survey of the Written Evidence. ZÄS 111 (1984) 45-69.
- 1091 Trigger 1965 45ff.
- 1092 Adams 1977 421f.
- 1093 Cp. note 1076 and Adams 1976; 1979.
- 1094 Nuri, Generations C, D, E, 1, 2, 3-6 (?).
- 1095 Nuri, from Generation 2 onward. See Dunham 1955 Chart I.
- 1096 For the description of the grave types and literature see *Hofmann* 1967 371ff., *Abdalla* op. cit. (note 1087) 33ff.
- 1097 For the date cp. Griffith 1924; Fernandez 1983, 1984; Török 1986,1.
- 1098 Cp. Adams 1977 374.
- 1099 D. Dunham: From Tumulus to Pyramid and Back. Archaeology 6 (1953) 87–94.
- 1100 See note 964.
- 1101 See note 965.
- 1102 Cp. Geus 1984 on El-Kadada and Gereif East.

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1103 See note 965.

1104 Adams 1977 395f.

1105 Geus 1984 38 and fig. 81.

1106 Characteristic for the tombs of the last c. 15 generations, cp. Dunham 1957 Chart II.

1107 Garstang et al. 1911 30f.

- 1108 Cp. B. Gratien: Les cultures Kerma. Lille 1978.
- 1109 Generations B, C, D, 2-5, cp. Dunham 1950 131.
- 1110 Nuri 35 (Generation 5), Dunham 1955 18.
- 1111 Bates Dunham 1927 27, 37, Pl. XIV/3.
- 1112 Trigger 1965 127.
- 1113 Millet 1963 163.
- 1114 For literature see Hofmann 1967 379.
- 1115 Hofmann 1967 379, Adams 1977 376.
- 1116 Cp. Adams 1979.
- 1117 Cp. Priese 1978 76.
- 1118 Geus 1984 38.
- 1119 Ali Hakem 1979 152f.
- 1120 Trigger 1969 121.
- 1121 Ibid. 122.
- 1122 Kurru 17, see Dunham 1950 116f.
- 1123 Ibid. 112.
- 1124 Ibid. 113f.
- 1125 Ibid. 115f.
- 1126 Cairo Museum JE 48862, see N.-C. Grimal: La stèle triomphale de Pi^Cankh) yau Musée du Caire. Le Caire 1981 68 para. 13.
- 1127 A. M. Moussa: A Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur. MDAIK 37 (1981) 331-337 336.
- 1128 Dunham 1957 105.
- 1129 For the dating see Török n.d. 1 Appendix No. 130.
- 1130 Dunham 1957 121.
- 1131 For the dating cp. Hofmann 1978 125ff.
- 1132 Dunham 1957 125.
- 1133 Ibid. 186.
- 1134 Trigger 1969 122 note 2.
- 1135 Dunham 1957 117. For the status of the queen see Török n.d. 3 49ff.
- 1136 See note 1132.
- 1137 G. A. Reisner: The Pyramids of Merce and the Candaces of Ethiopia. SNR 5 (1922) 173-196 181.
- 1138 Dunham 1963 159.
- 1139 Trigger 1969 123.
- 1140 See Ch. IV. 2 above.
- 1141 Cp. Adams 1977 424ff.
- 1142 Kirwan 1982 195.
- 1143 Jacquet-Gordon Bonnet (1971-1972) 82.
- 1144 Unpublished finds in the Egyptian Collection of the British Museum.
- 1145 Adams 1977 412.
- 1146 Ibid. 393ff.
- 1147 Cp. Török 1986,1.
- 1148 Cp. Vila 1982.
- 1149 Cp. Ch. IV. 8 above.
- 1150 Cp. Wenig 1978 No. 202.
- 1151 Török (1982–1983) 199.
- 1152 Literature on the question is discussed in great detail by T. Hagg: Titles and Honorific

Epithets in Nubian Greek Texts. Acts of the Second International Conference on Greek and Arabic Studies in Delphi 1985 (in print).

- 1153 Skeat 1977 164.
- 1154 R. Lepsius: Die griechische Inschrift des nubischen Königs Silko. Hermes 10 (1876) 129-144 135.
- 1155 E.g. J. Bury: History of the Later Roman Empire II. London 1923 330 note 1.
- 1156 See note 1152.
- 1157 DAE 4; for the Greek version see Bernand 1982.
- 1158 Hägg op. cit. (note 1152) note 30 remarks that the Blemmyan king appears as real also in the Coptic Life of Shenute, cp. G. Zoega: Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum. Romae 1810 (repr. Leipzig 1903) 36.
- 1159 For the Meroitic royal ornate and insignia cp. S. Wenig: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie der Darstellungen der meroitischen Königsfamilie. Ph. D. Thesis Berlin 1964 (unpublished); Gamer-Wallert 1983; S. Wenig in: Der Löwentempel von Musawwarates Sufra I. Textband (in print); Török n.d. 2 Ch. V. 1.h; Török n.d. 3.
- 1160 Burstein 1984.
- 1161 Török 1974.
- 1162 Updegraff 1978 177ff.
- 1163 Monneret de Villard 1938 29ff.
- 1164 Papadopoullos 1966 9-40.
- 1165 See note 1162.
- 1166 Papadopoullos 1966 20.
- 1167 Updegraff 1978 178f.
- 1168 Cp. E. Kiessling: Phylarches. in: PWRE XX/1 990.
- 1169 Op. cit. (note 1152).
- 1170 Török 1985 38.
- 1171 Hagg op. cit. (note 1152).
- 1172 For tyrannos see Dihle 1965 52f.
- 1173 E. K. Chrysos: The Title $\beta \propto \sigma i \lambda \in i s$ in Early Byzantine International Relations. DOP 32 (1978) 29-75 45.
- 1174 R. Guilland: Recherches sur les institutions byzantines I. Berlin 1967 427; L. Török: Money, Economy and Administration in Christian Nubia. in: Études Nubiennes IFAO BdE 77 (1978) 287-311 305.
- 1175 Eide Hägg Pierce 1984 do not give any explanation. The title needs further investigation.
- 1176 Cp. ibid. 4f.
- 1177 Ibid. 7.
- 1178 Cp. E. R. Hardy: The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt. New York 1931.
- 1179 Cp. Ch. III. 1.2-1.4 above.
- 1180 See in general Jones 1966 95ff., 118, 215 etc.
- 1181 Updegraff 1978 150ff.
- 1182 Ibid.
- 1183 Cp. Ch. IV. 17.3 above.
- 1184 Unpublished, cp. Alexander Driskell 1986.
- 1185 For the inscriptional evidence see Griffith 1937 and Burkhardt 1985.
- 1186 For the ethnically rather ambiguous Is-mt^C3 family see Burkhardt 1985 37ff.
- 1187 Adams 1977 417; see, however, Trigger 1967 PI. XXXIII/1-8: figurine fragments from the late (?) post-Meroitic Level III of Arminna West.
- 1188 Adams 1977 417.
- 1189 Woolley Randall-Maciver 1910 Pl. 109/7465, from tomb 286 in the late 3rd and 4th c. section of the cemetery. For the type see W. Weber: Die agyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten. Berlin 1914 Nos 233ff.
- 1190 Cp. H. Philipp: Terrakotten aus Ägypten. Staatl. Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ägyptisches Museum. Berlin 1972 Nos 12, 18, 21, 37 (?), 47.

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- 1191 Philipp op. cit. (note 1189) 9.
- 1192 Adams 1977 416.
- 1193 Cp. J. Yellin: The role and iconography of Anubis in Meroitic Religion. Ph. D. Thesis Brandeis Univ. 1978; id.: Abaton-Style Milk Libation at Meroe. Meroitica 6 (1982) 151– 155; N. B. Millet: Meroitic Religion. Meroitica 7 (1984) 111–121; cp. also E. E. Kormisheva: Religiya Kusha. Moscow 1984 (in Russian).
- 1194 Cp. Abdelgadir M. Abdalla: Meroitic Funerary Customs and Beliefs: From Texts and Scenes. Meroitica 6 (1982) 61–104, with literature.
- 1195 Seele 1974 3-6.
- 1196 Vila 1982 figs 37/2 (with representation of funerary offerings!), 41/2, 118, 167/2.
- 1197 Török 1986,1 54f.
- 1198 Cp. Gamer-Wallert 1983 212, 234. For the representations of the deity see also I. Hofmann: Miszellen zu einigen meroitischen Götterdarstellungen. GM 24 (1977) 41-49 41ff.
- 1199 Gamer-Wallert 1983 Blatt 9b.
- 1200 Bernand 1969 II Pl. 40, L. V. Žabkar: Apedemak Lion God of Meroe. A Study in Egyptian-Meroitic Syncretism. Warminster 1975 107f.; for the proscynema texts see Bernand 1969 II Nos 190-192.
- 1201 Cp. E. Henfling: Mandulis. in: LdÄ III 1177-1179.
- 1202 *M. Dewachter:* La chapelle ptolémaique de Kalabcha 2. Le Caire 1970 2f.; *D. Arnold:* Die Tempel von Kalabscha. Kairo 1975 6.
- 1203 Bernand 1969 | No. 12bis.
- 1204 See note 1201.
- 1205 H. Gauthier: Le temple de Kalabchah I. Le Caire 1914 241 No. 4a.
- 1206 Henfling op. cit. (note 1201) 1178f.
- 1207 Cp. Török n.d. 5.
- 1208 SB I 1521-1523.
- 1209 SB | 1524.
- 1210 For the discussion see Hägg 1984,1 101ff.
- 1211 SB V 8697, for the improved reading see Hägg 1984,1.
- 1212 SB I 5099, Hägg 1984,1 104.
- 1213 Monneret de Villard 1938 33; Demicheli 1976 173.
- 1214 See note 1213.
- 1215 Lines 1-5 in the reading of Hägg 1984,1:
 - 'Επί Φονοίν φυλάρχο, Γαματιφάντ Ψευθαήσι[ς]

Προφήταις, Μευρουχήμ Πλωχαρουρ δημ[0]-

κλι(νάρχου), ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίησεν αντο (?) κλι(νάρχους) καὶ επισ(τάτας) (?)

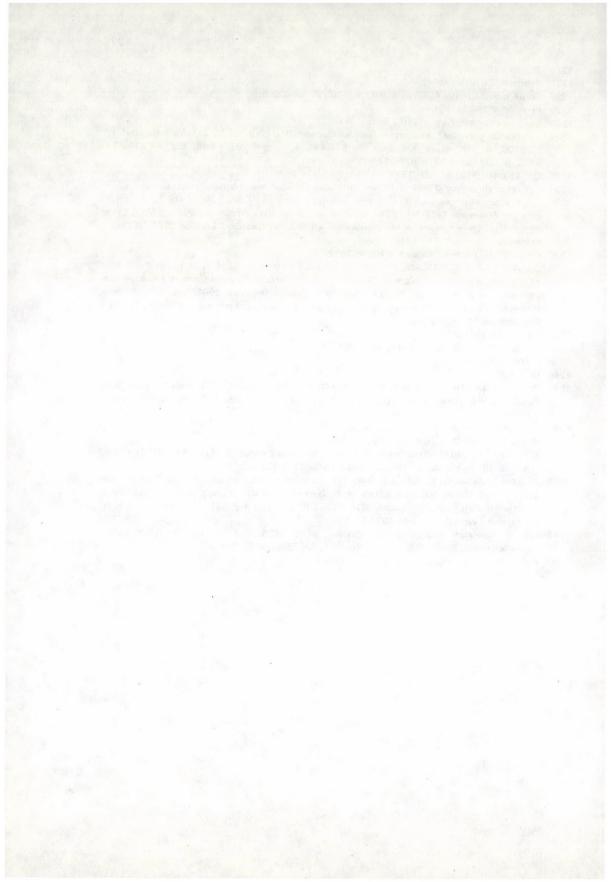
Πίσον κλί(ναρχ(ον) συν(όδου) 'Αβενε καὶ Πισἄι Πλοὺ κλί(ναρχον) συν(όδου)

Χοπαν

καί Ψενδαησε Λουκάνι κλί(ναρχον) συν(όδου) Μανδήρ.

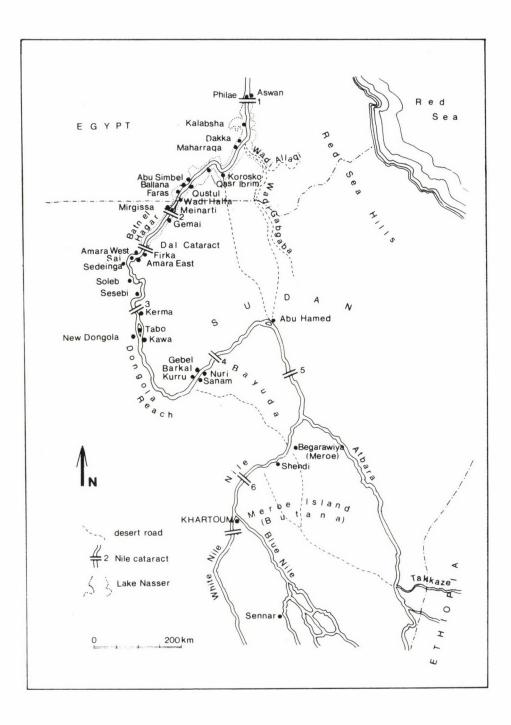
- 1216 U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten. AfP 1 (1901) 396-419 412ff.
- 1217 Hägg 1984,1 104.
- 1218 SB | 4574, Hägg 1984,1 104.
- 1219 SB | 3921, Hägg 1984,1 104.
- 1220 For the synodoi see *M. San Nicolo:* Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer II². München 1972.
- 1221 Cp. Jones 1966 271, cp. 379f.
- 1222 Adams 1977 390ff.; Trigger 1978; Wenig 1978 103-107, all with further literature.
- 1223 Wenig 1978 103.
- 1224 Cp. Török n.d. 2 Ch. IV. 3. No. 65.
- 1225 J. M. Plumley: Qasr Ibrim 1969. JEA 56 (1970) 16 and PI. XXIII; Török 1971 170 and fig.
 3 (window grilles); J. M. Plumley: Qasr Ibrim 1965. JEA 52 (1966) 12 and PI. IV/3, with the cartouche of the late 3rd-early 4th c. A.D. ruler Yesbokheamani (lion statue).

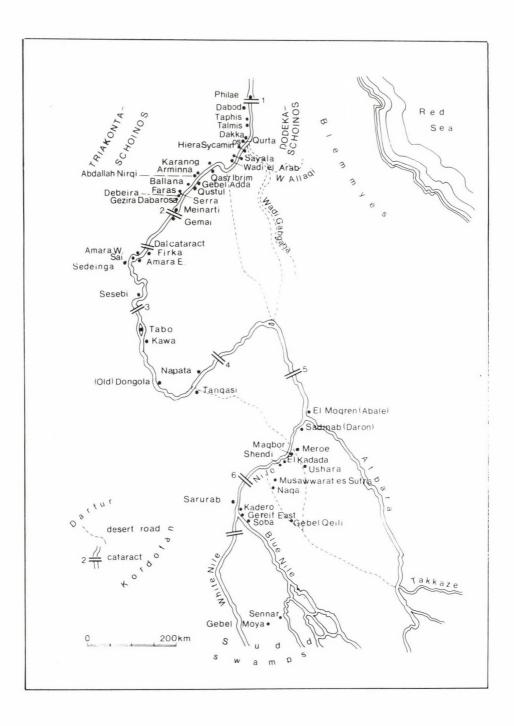
- 1226 Trigger 1967 80.
- 1227 Adams 1986 50ff., 458ff.
- 1228 Török n.d. 2 Ch. IV. 4; Török 1986,1 63-86; Török n.d. 6.
- 1229 Fernandez 1983, 1984.
- 1230 For literature see Török 1986,1 63ff.
- 1231 1: Karanog grave 297, Woolley Randall-Maciver 1910 Pl. 87/8670; 2: same grave, ibid. Pl. 91/8706; 3: ibid. grave 604, ibid. Pl. 81/8449; 4, 5: ibid. grave 384, ibid. Pl. 51/8477, 8468; 6: ibid. grave 59, ibid. Pl. 64/8229.
- 1232 Cp. Adams 1986 figs 153-157.
- 1233 For the style see e.g. Török 1975 Nos 301, 303; the issue needs further investigation.
- 1234 On the problem see e.g. *H. P. L'Orange:* Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire. Princeton 1972 3ff., 69ff.; *E. Kitzinger:* Byzantine Art in the Making. Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century. London 1977 7ff., with literature.
- 1235 Cp. with the stamps discussed in Hayes 1972.
- 1236 Cp. Wulff 1909 Nos 1508ff.; M. Egloff: Kellia. La poterie copte. Quatre siècles d'artisanat et d'échanges en Basse-Égypte II. Genève 1977 Pls 65ff.; H. Jacquet-Gordon: Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna III. Le Caire 1972 passim; Bourriau 1981 Nos 180-183 etc. However, a comprehensive investigation of Egyptian Late Antique painted pottery is still a desideratum of pottery research.
- 1237 Cp. Török 1986,3.
- 1238 Wenig 1978 103ff. and Nos 268, 275-281, 284.
- 1239 Adams 1986.
- 1240 Ibid. fig. 149.
- 1241 Cp. e.g. J. W. Hayes: Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum. Toronto 1976 No. 203; Egloff op. cit. (note 1236) Pls 3, 27/1-3, 31/2, 7, 33/2, 45/6, 8-10, 62/11, 63/1, 70/3, 73/1, 74/5.
- 1242 Cp. Török 1979 95ff.
- 1243 Wenig 1978 No. 283, from Qasr Ibrim House X-1.
- 1244 I. Ryl-Preibisz: Un chapiteau de la periode des Nobades à Faras. Ét. Trav. 3 (1969) 184–190 figs 1–3; for interpretation and dating see Török 1979 88f.
- 1245 T. Säve-Söderbergh: Christian Nubia. The Excavations Carried Out by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia. in: E. Dinkler (ed.): Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit. Recklinghausen 1970 219-240 227 and fig. 197; for date and style of the recarved capital see Török 1979 89.
- 1246 Cp. R. Kautzsch: Kapitellstudien. Berlin-Leipzig 1936 16ff.; E. von Mercklin: Antike Figuralkapitelle. Berlin 1962 16 and Nos 46f., 70; Török 1979 88f.
- 1247 For preliminary remarks see lit. in note 1003.

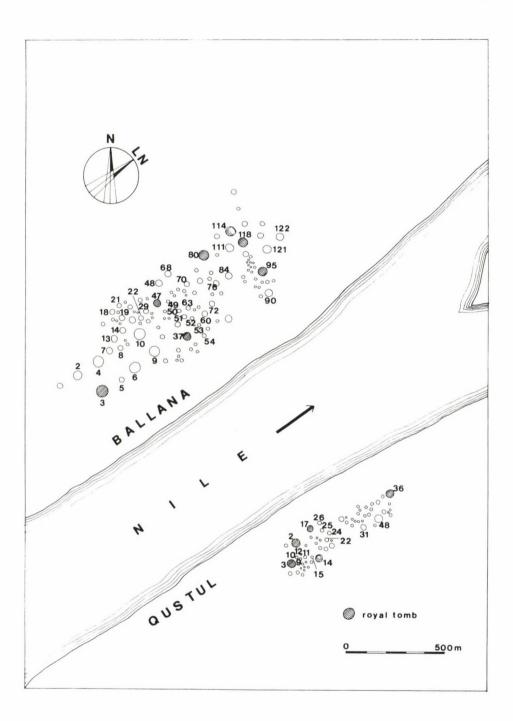


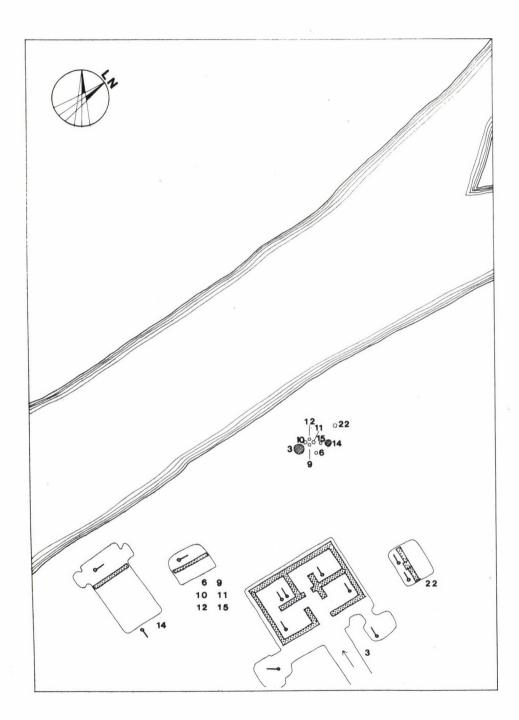
Plates

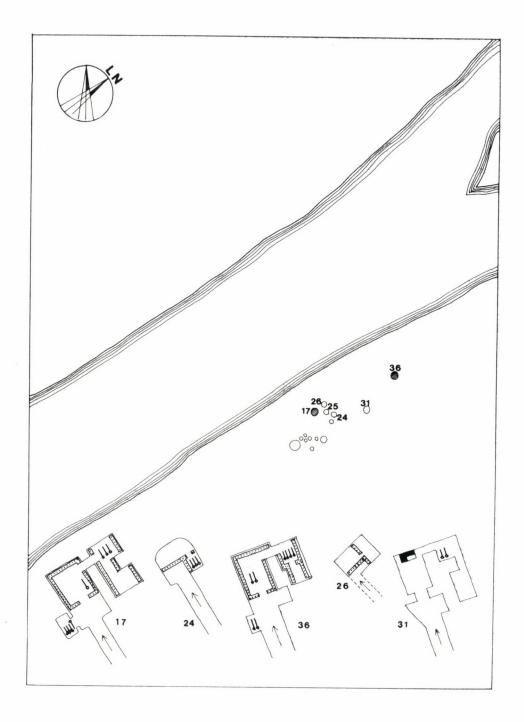


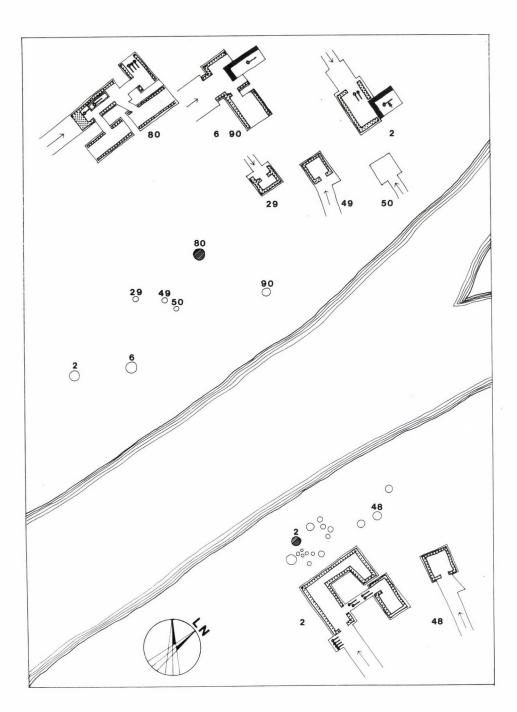


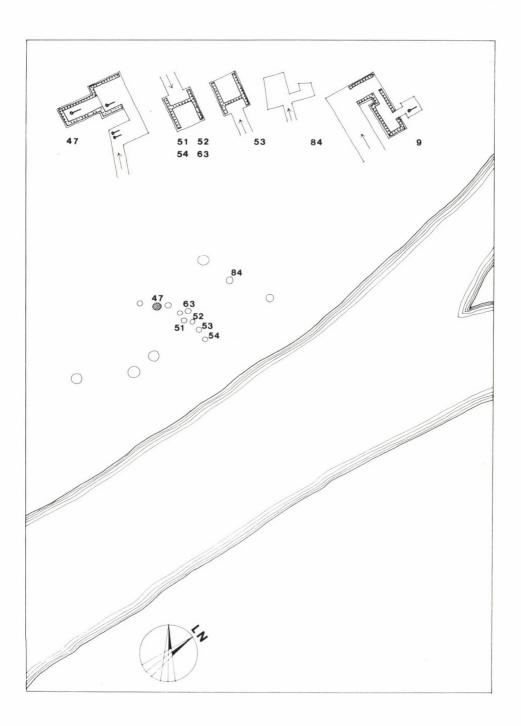


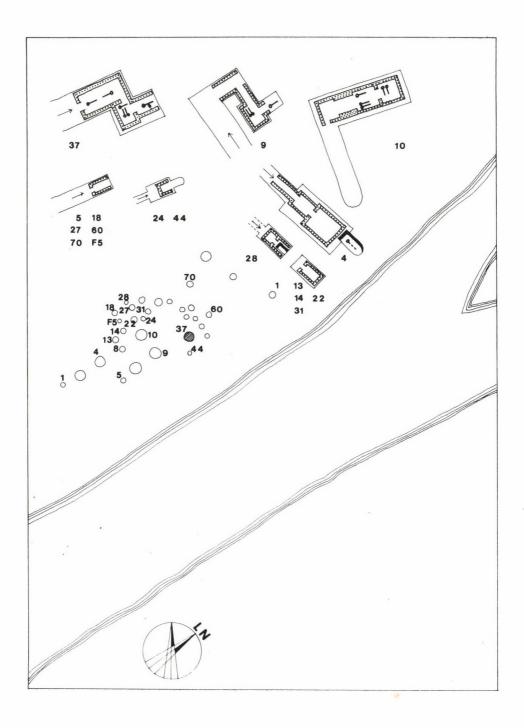


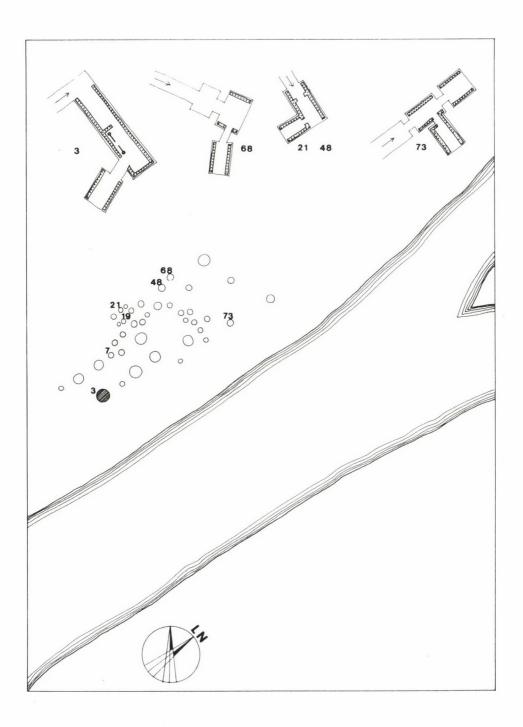


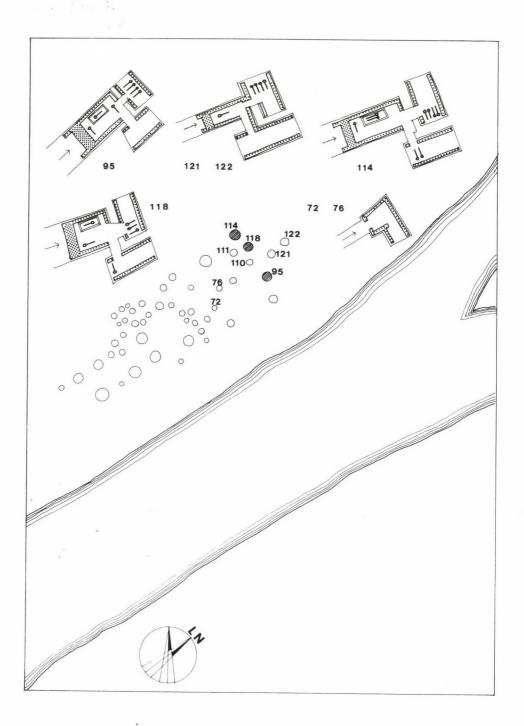


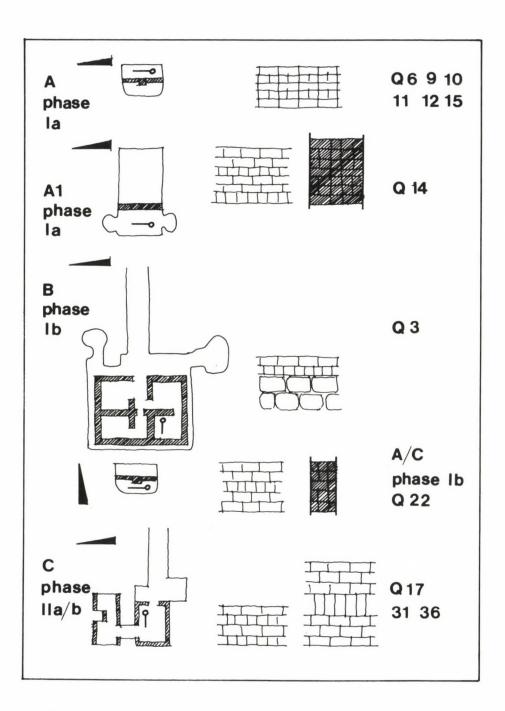


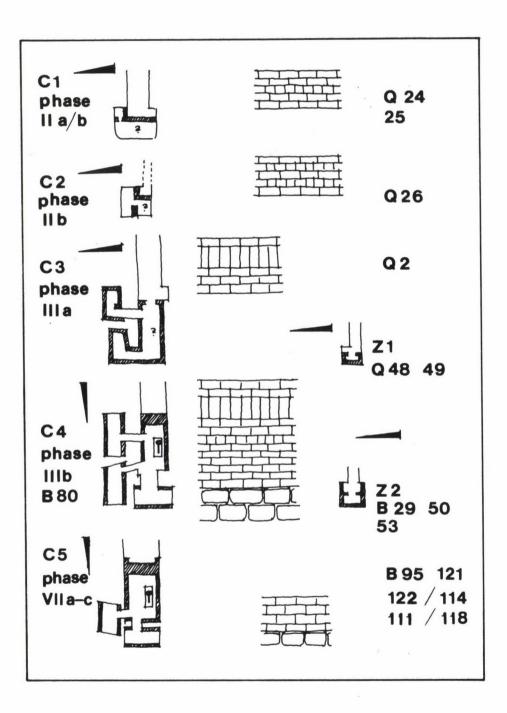


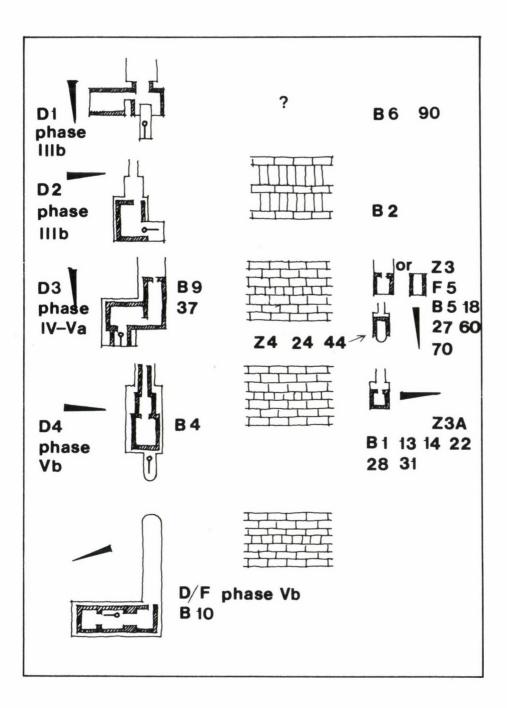


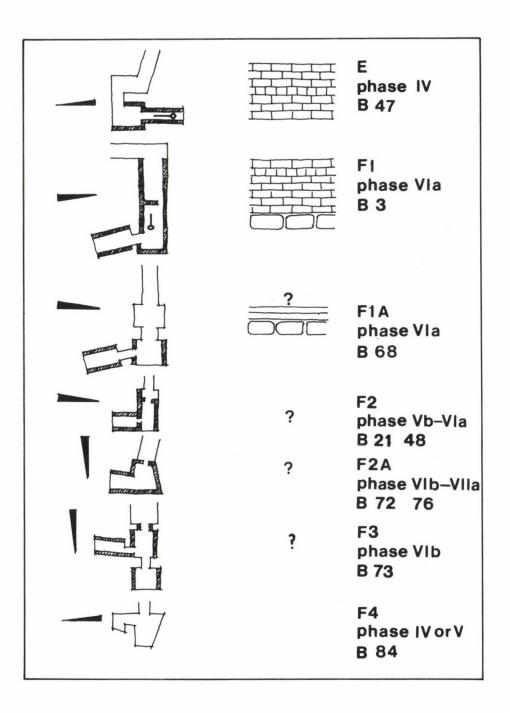


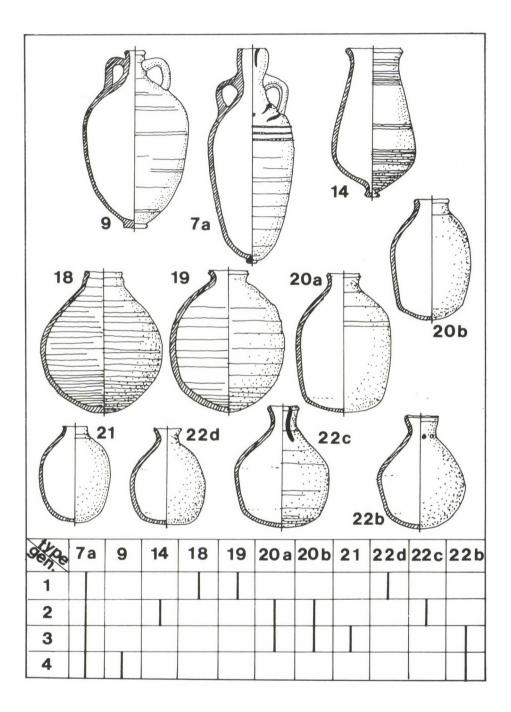


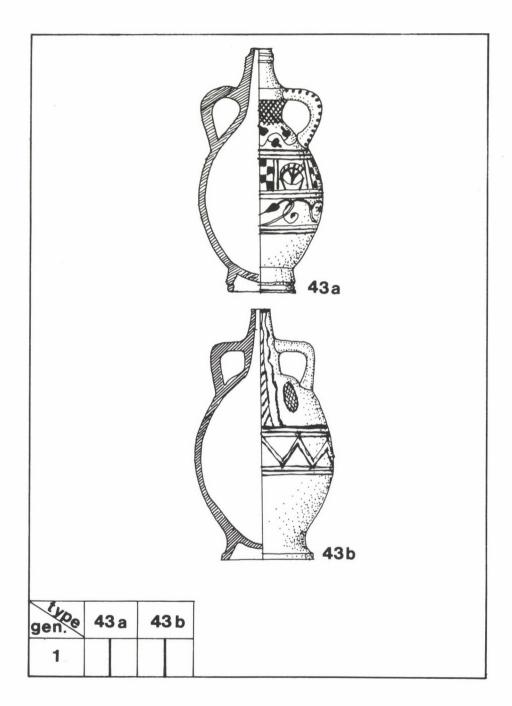


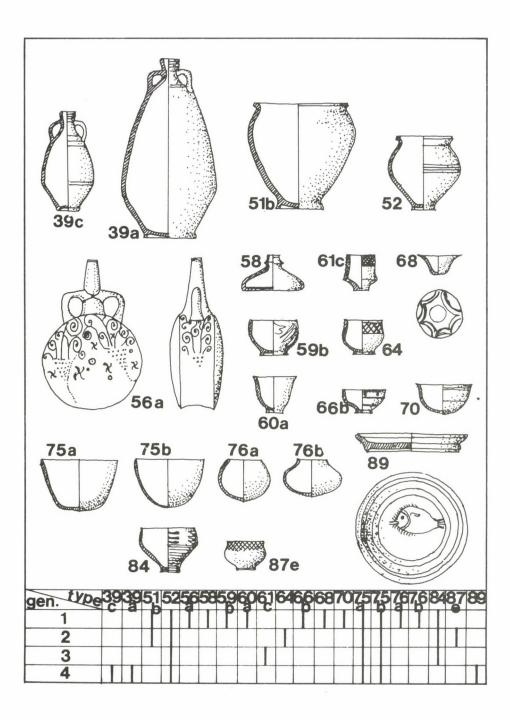


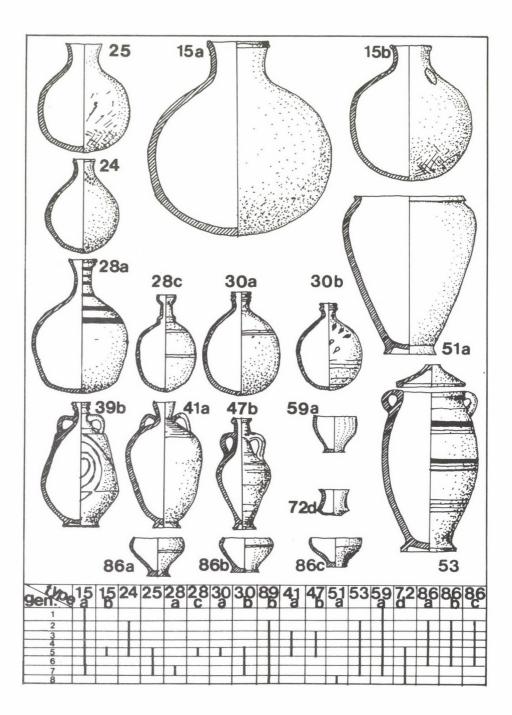


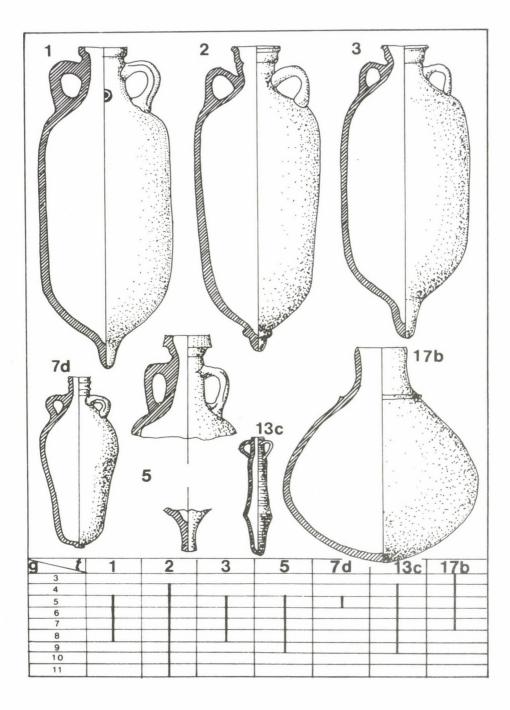


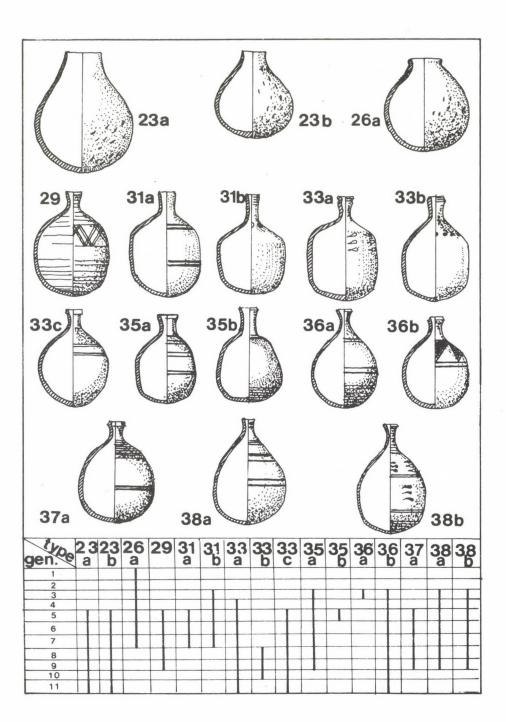


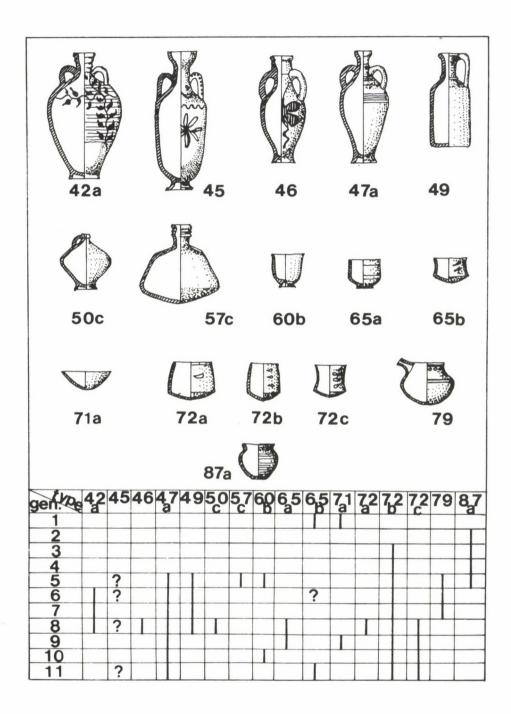


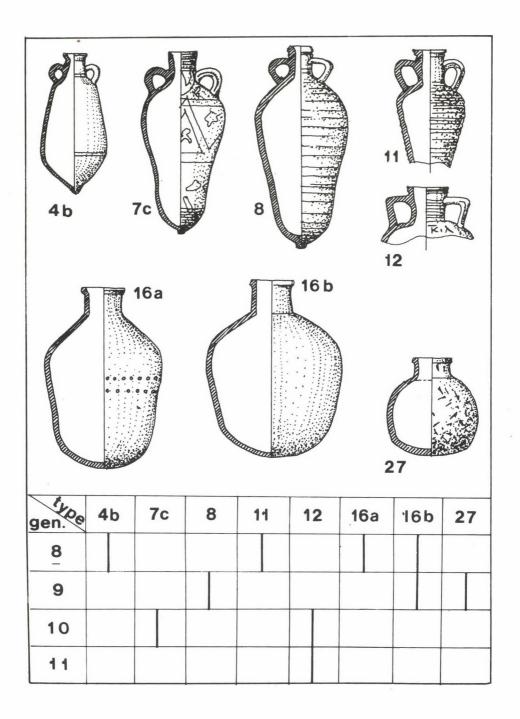


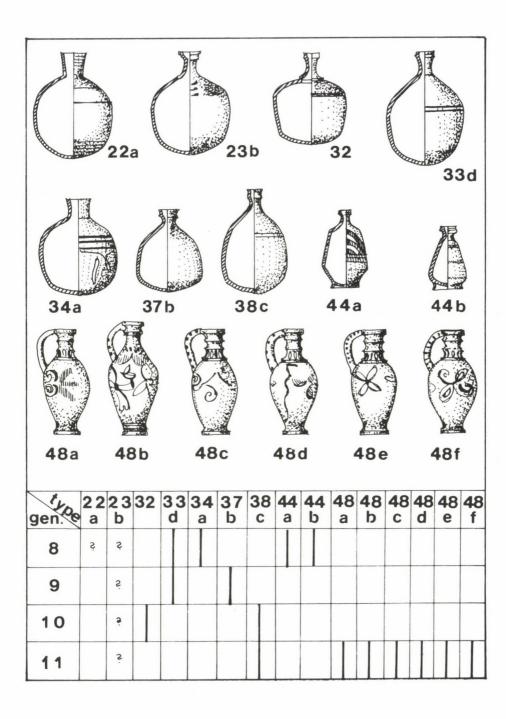


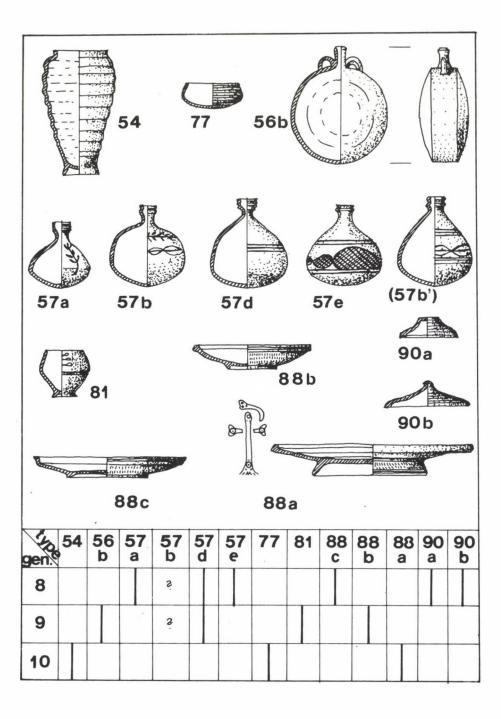


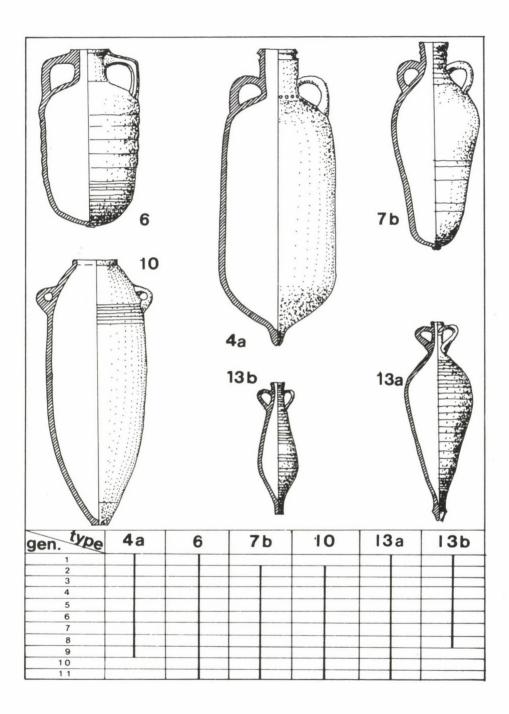


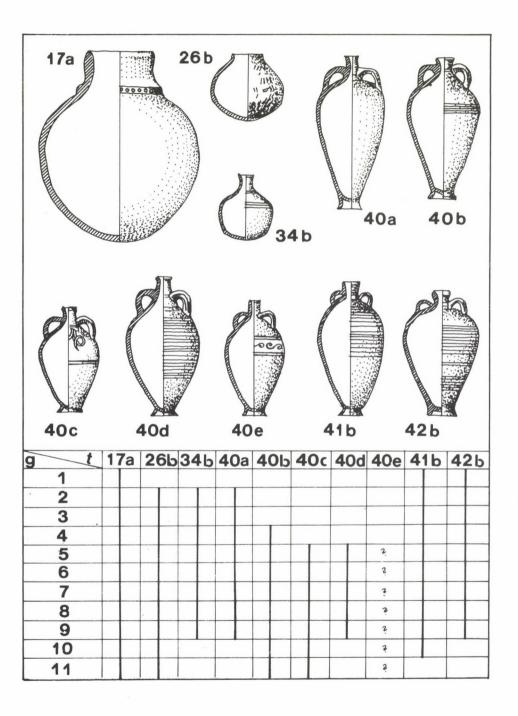


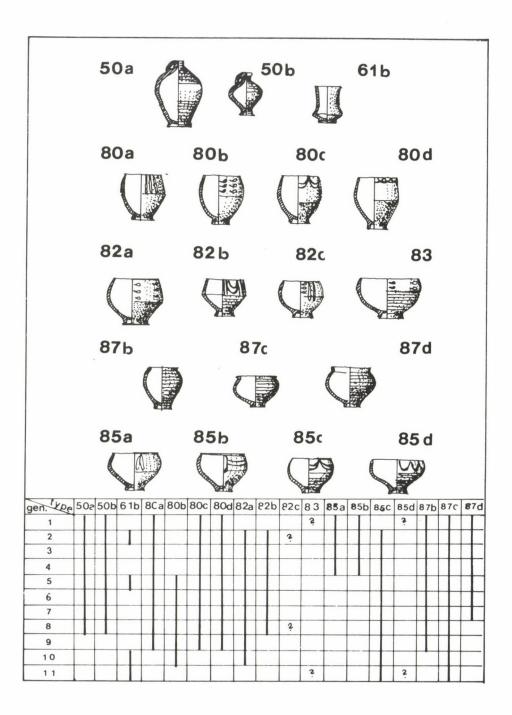


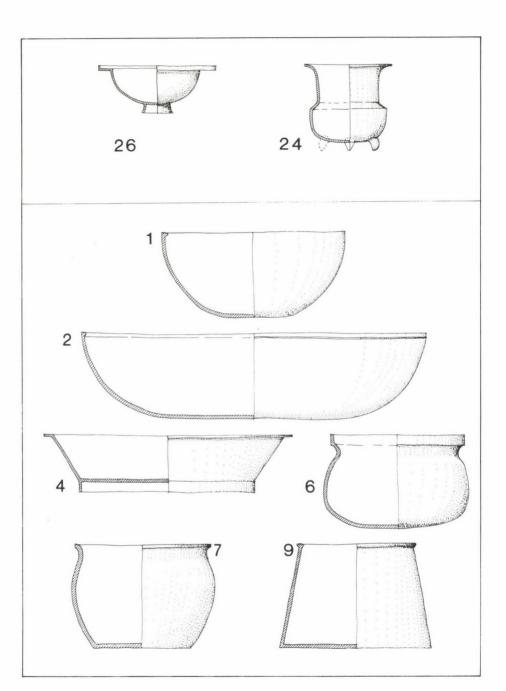


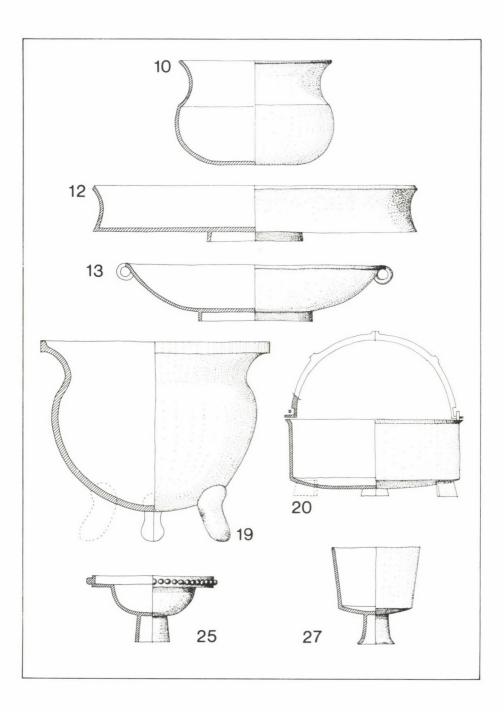


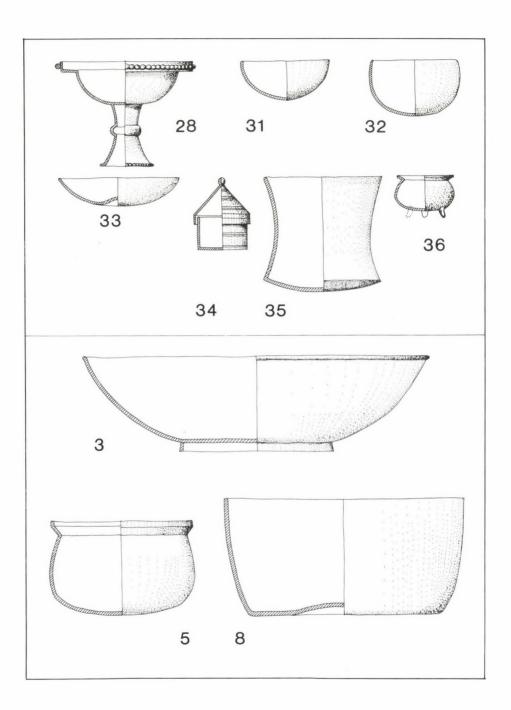


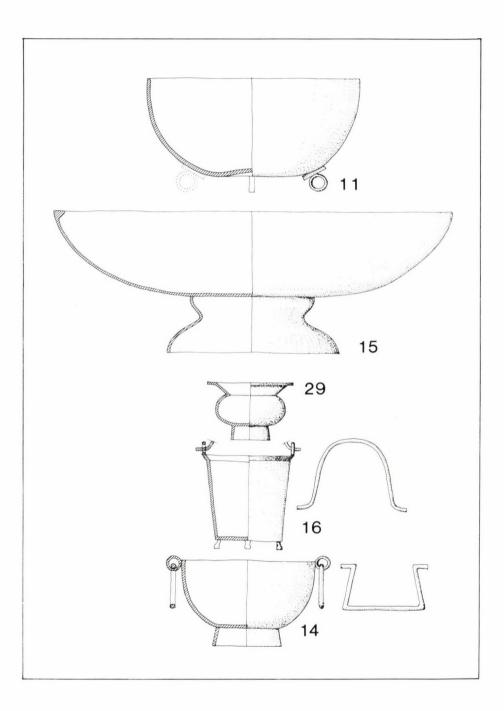


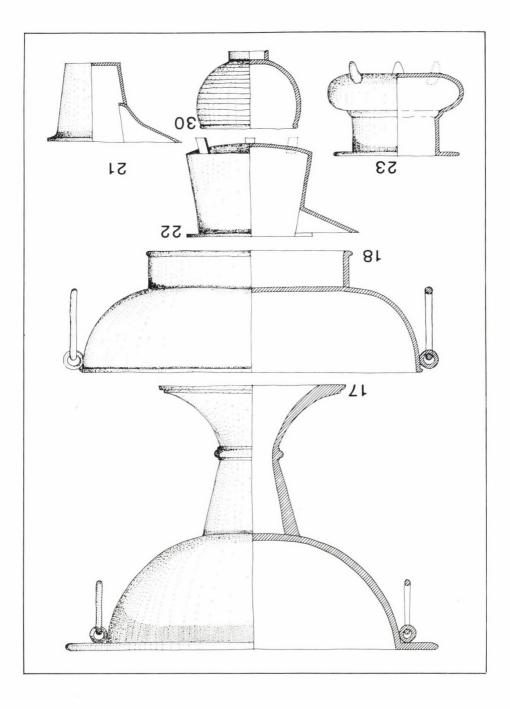


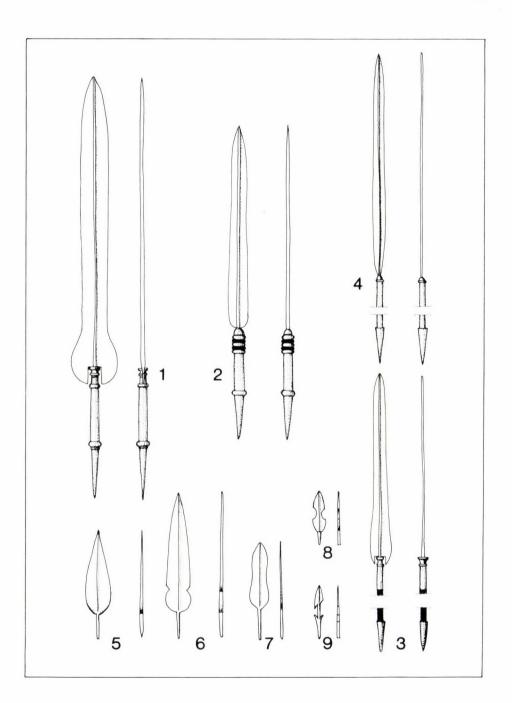


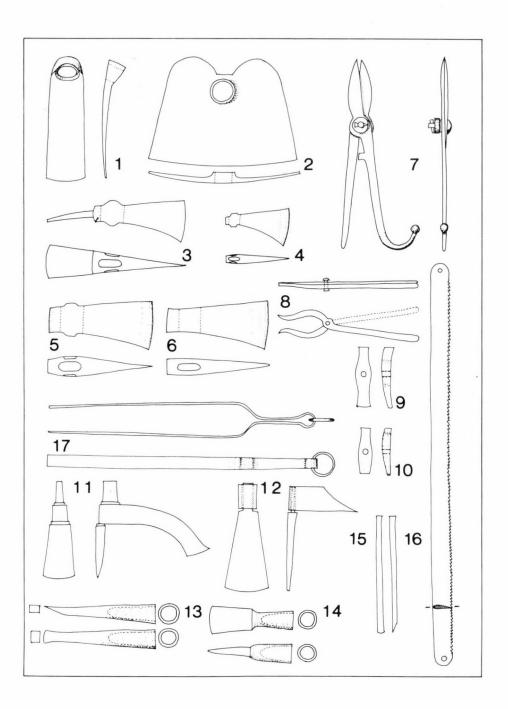


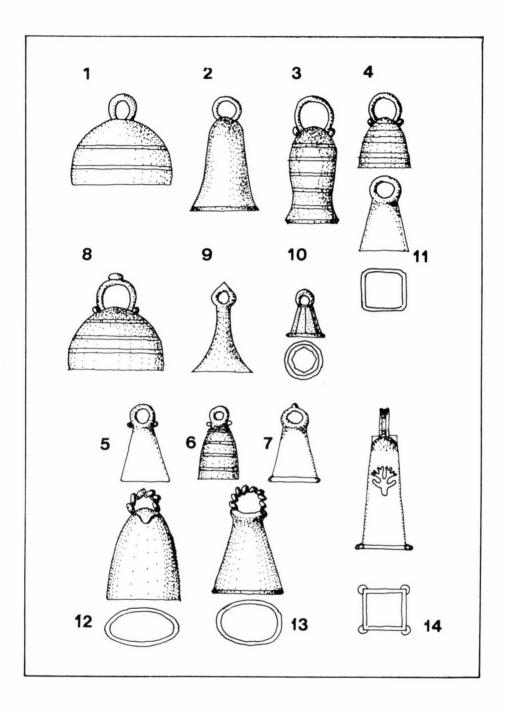


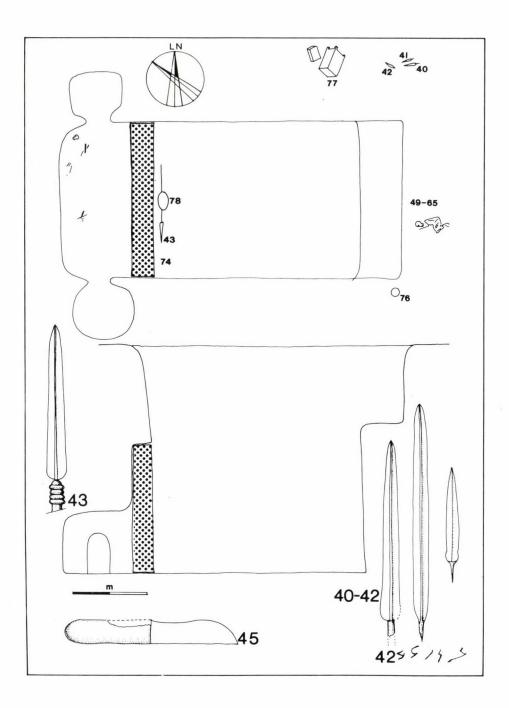


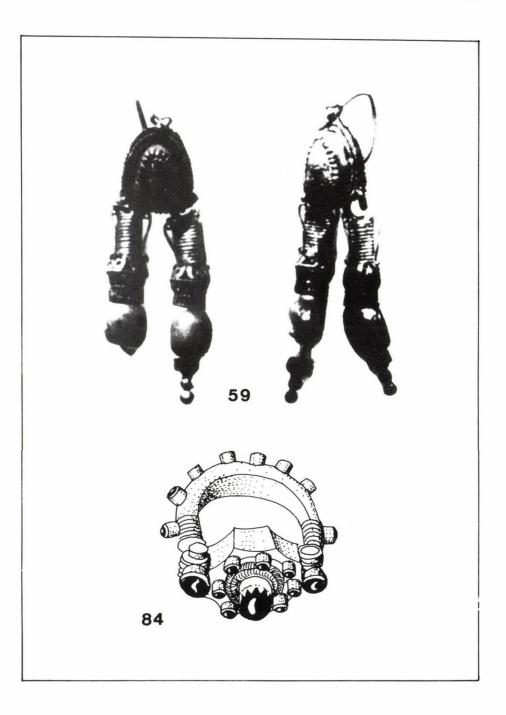


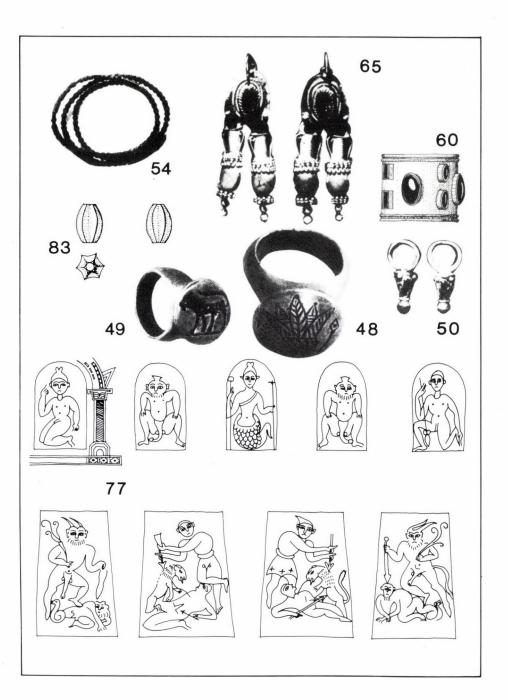


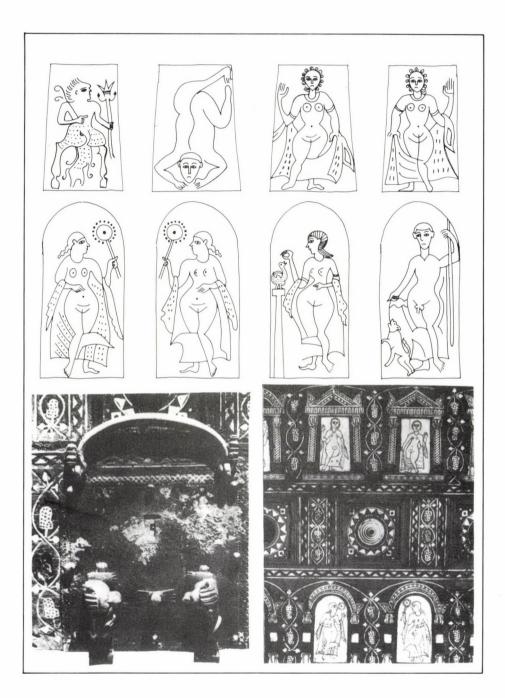


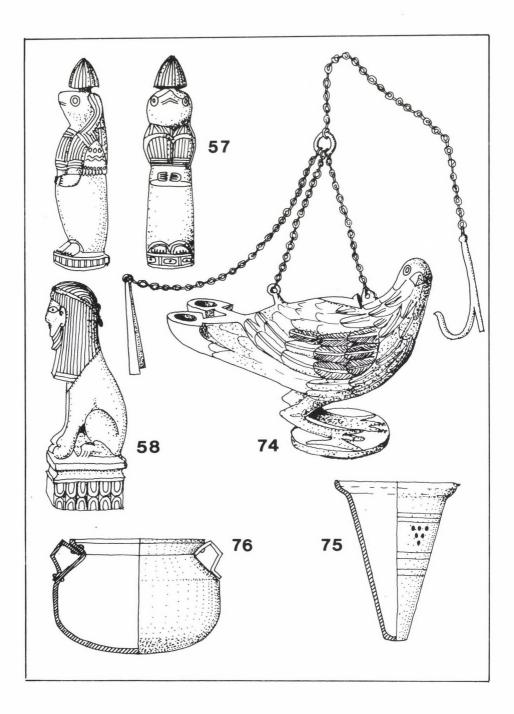


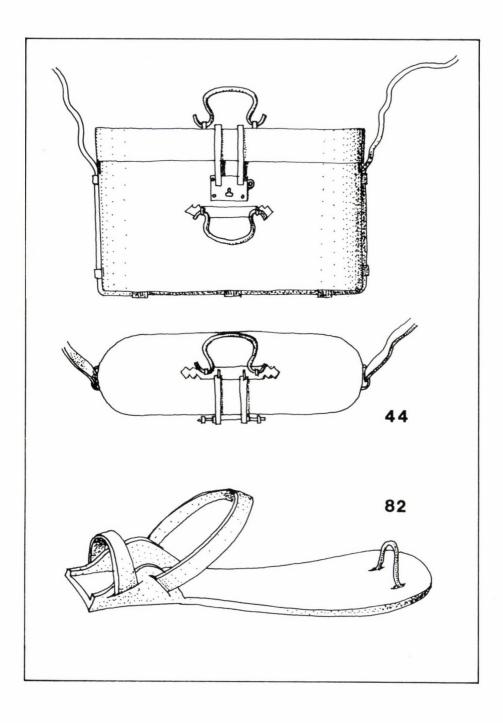


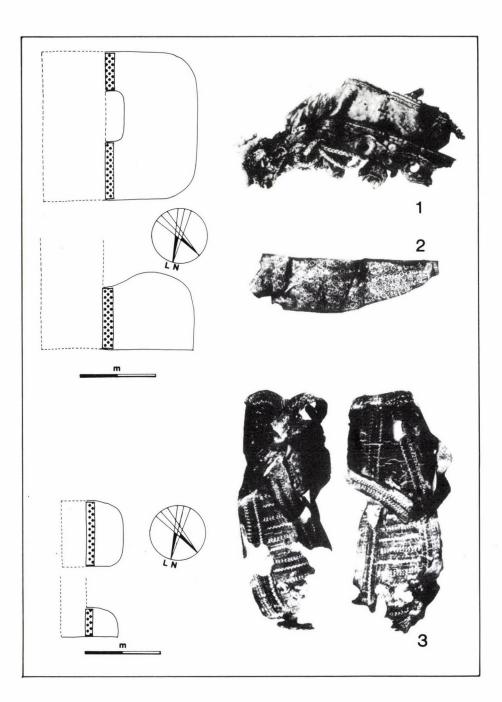


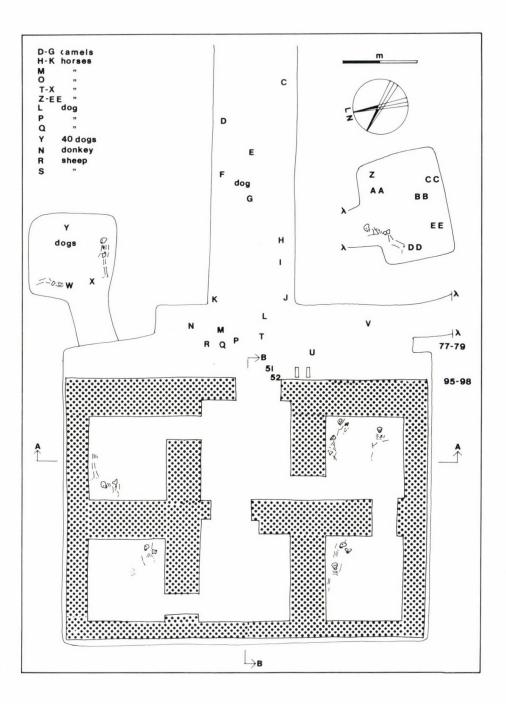


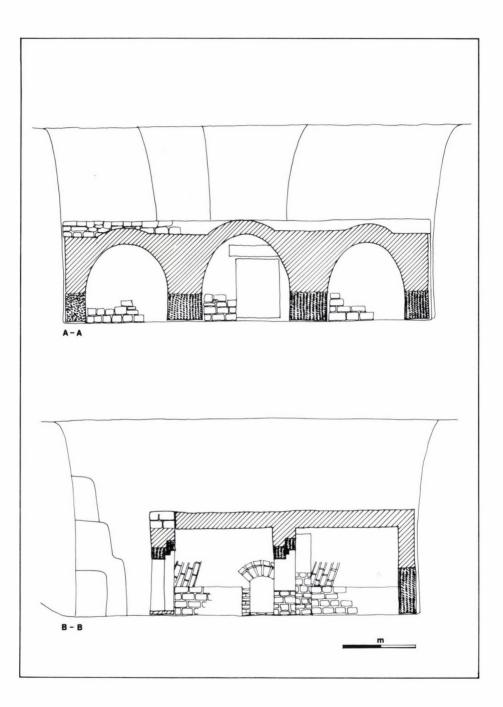




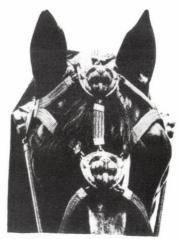








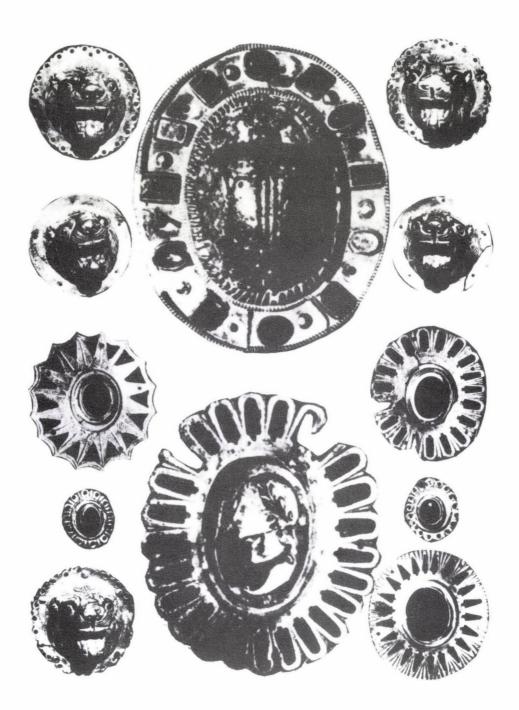


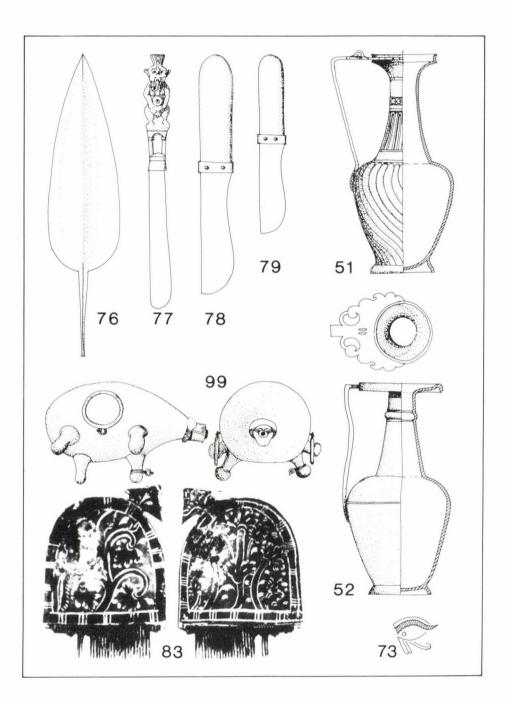


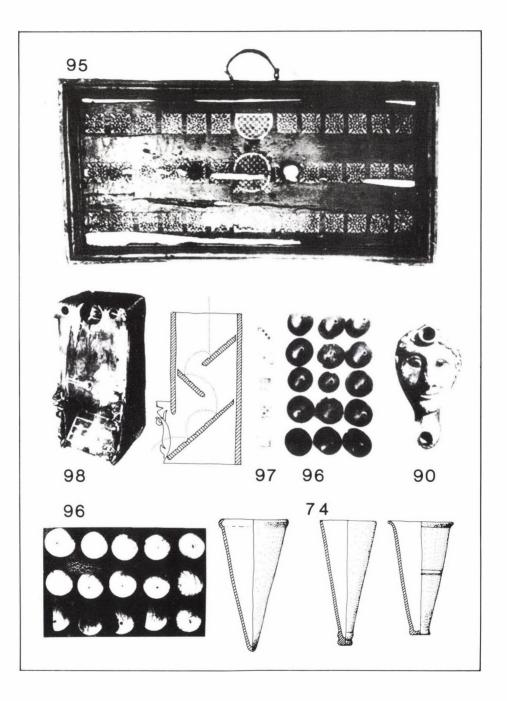
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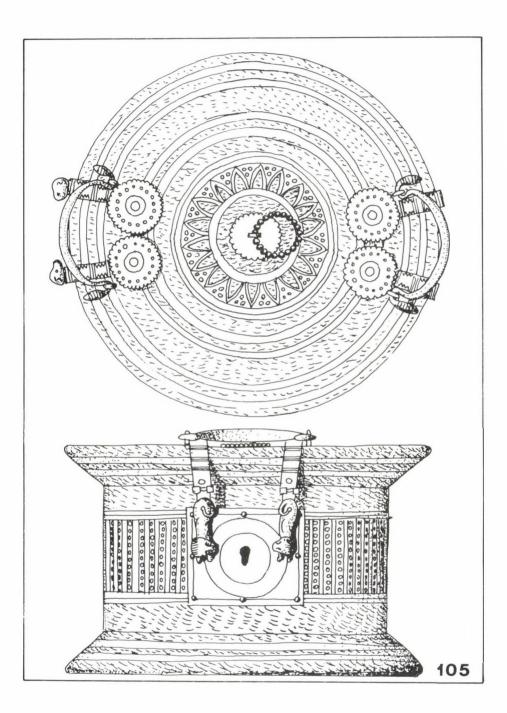


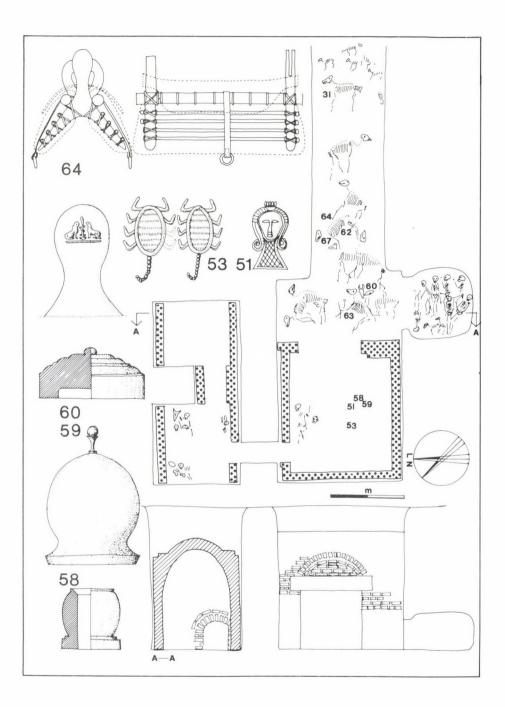


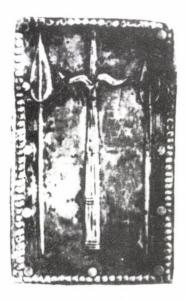






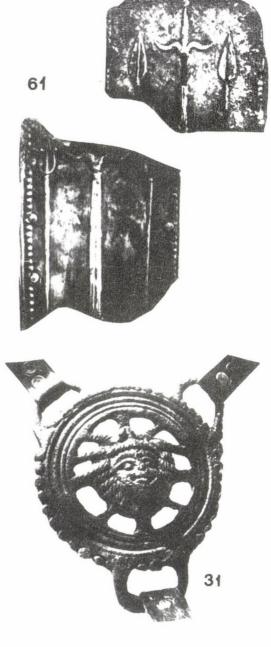


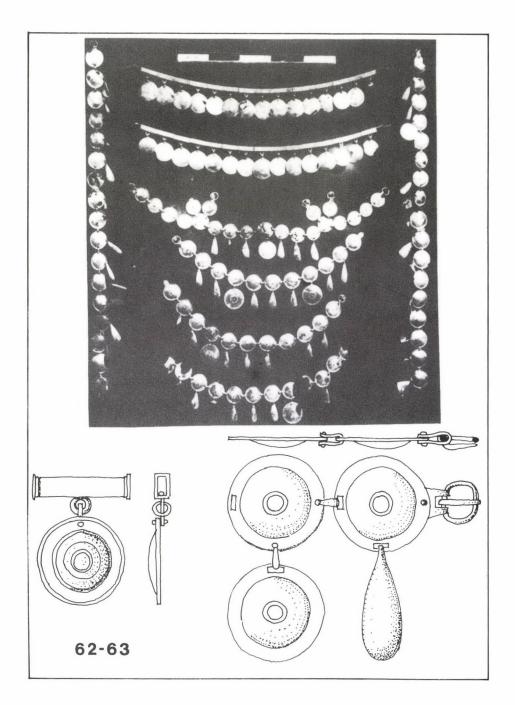


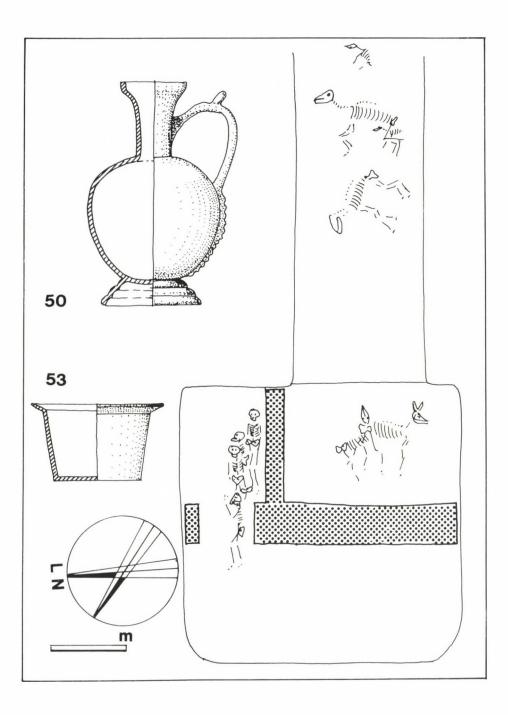


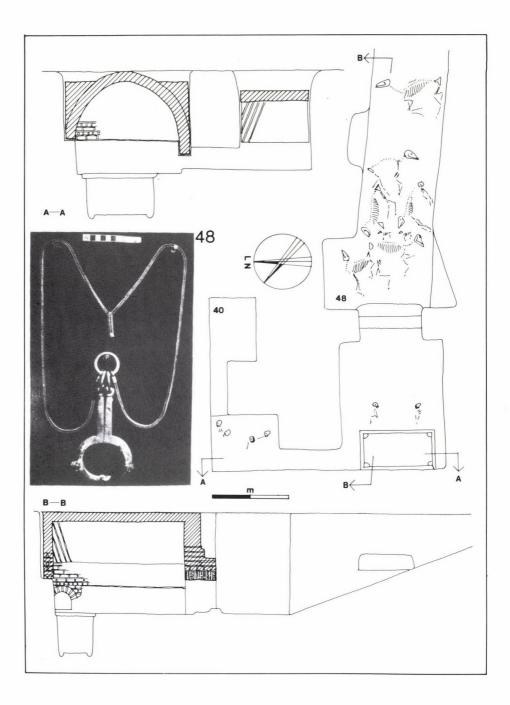


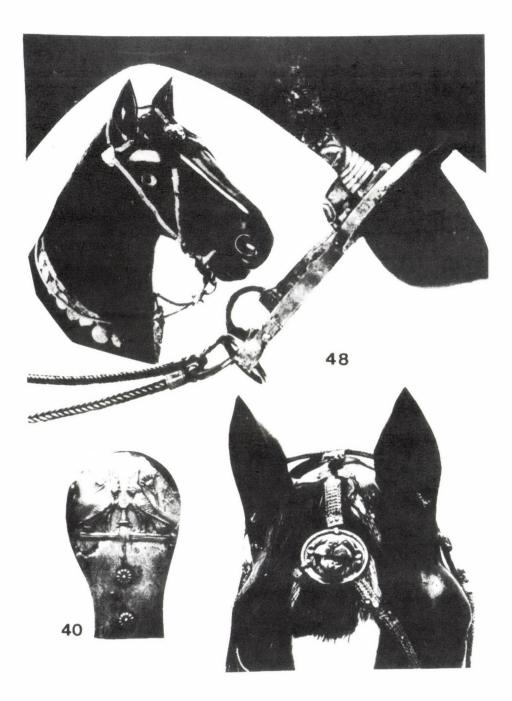


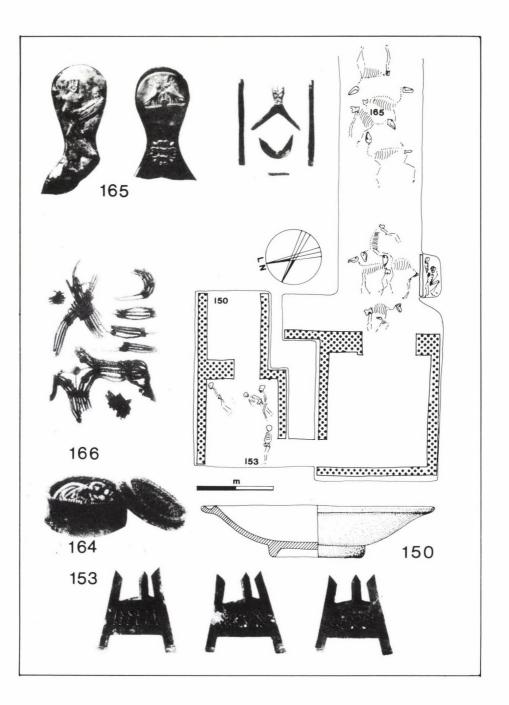


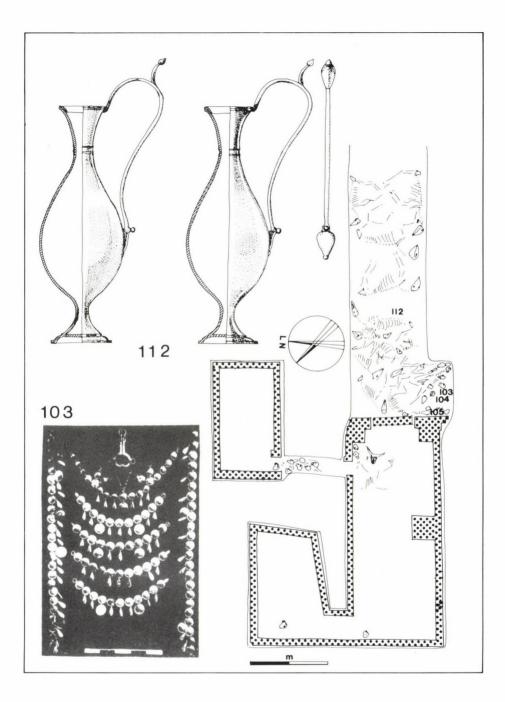


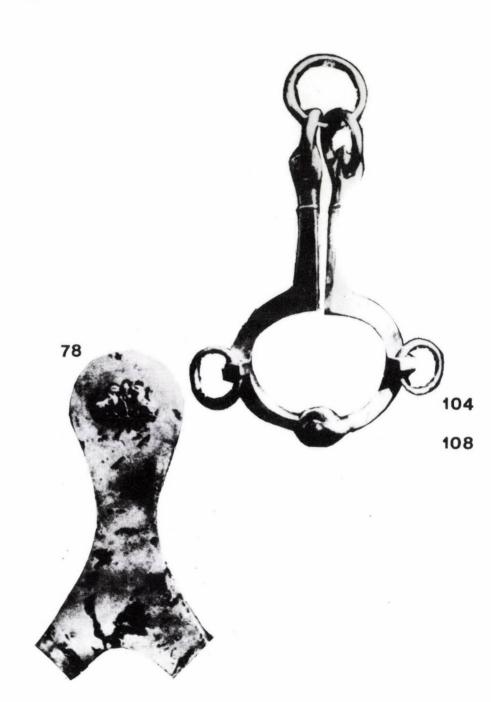


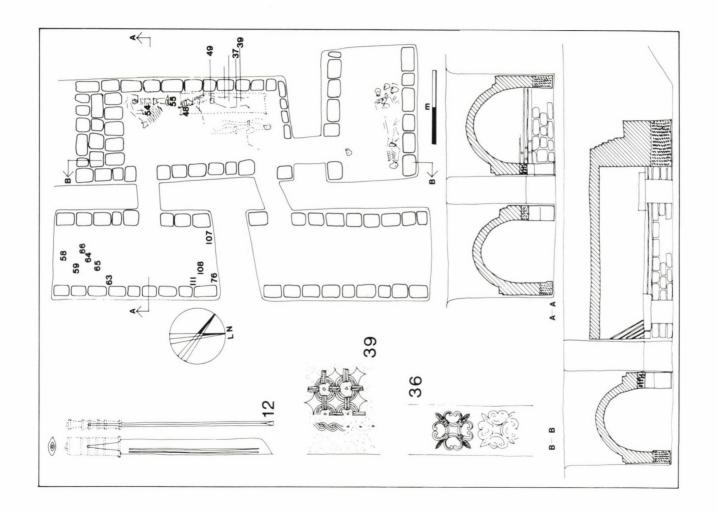


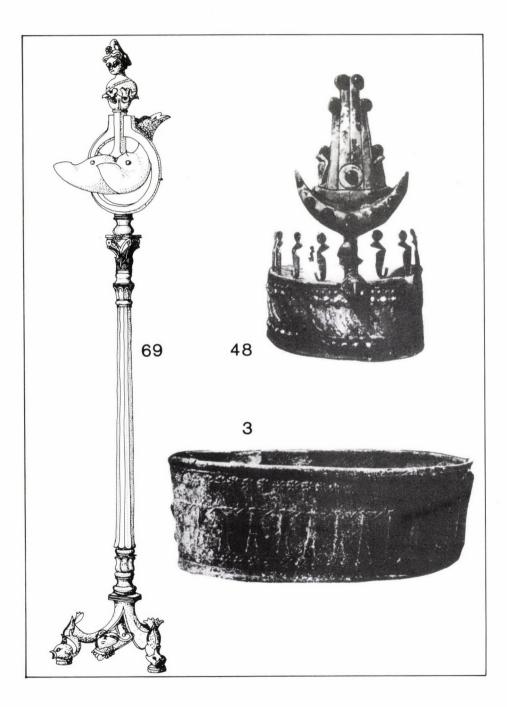


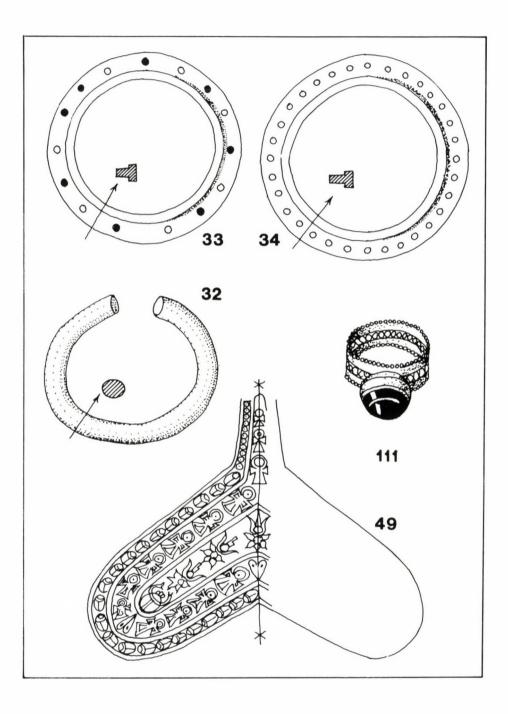


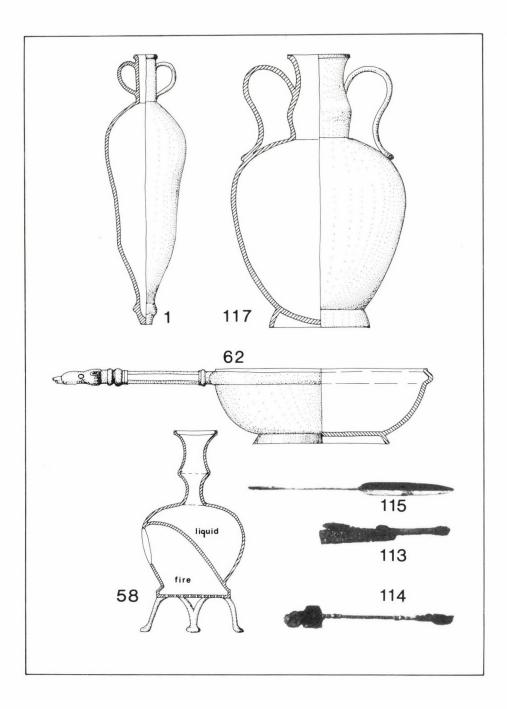




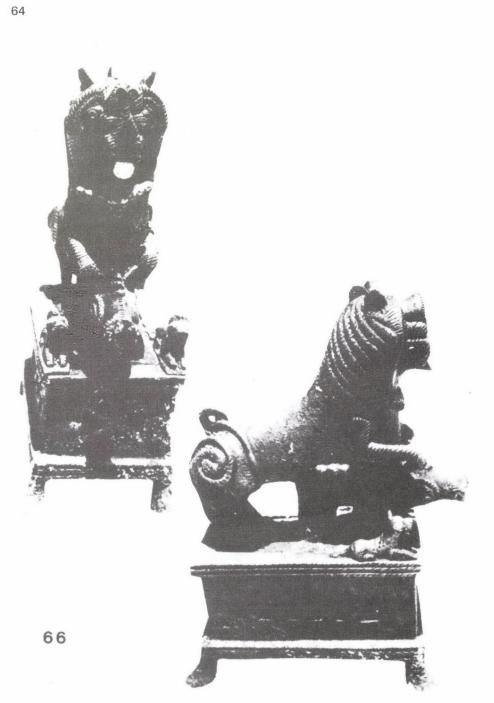


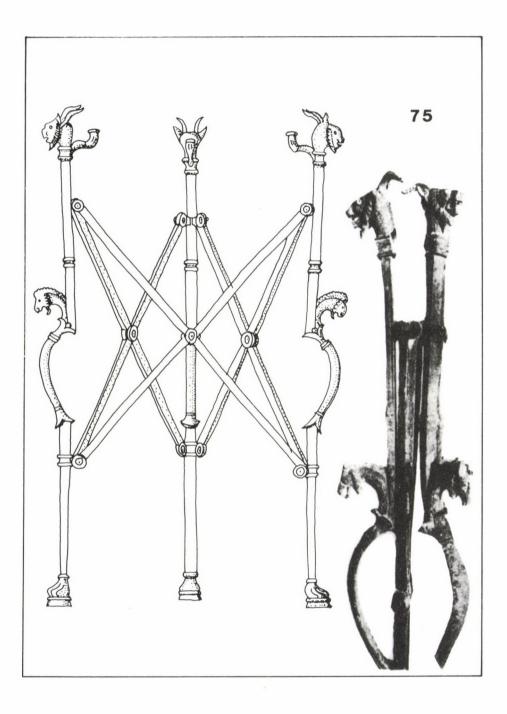


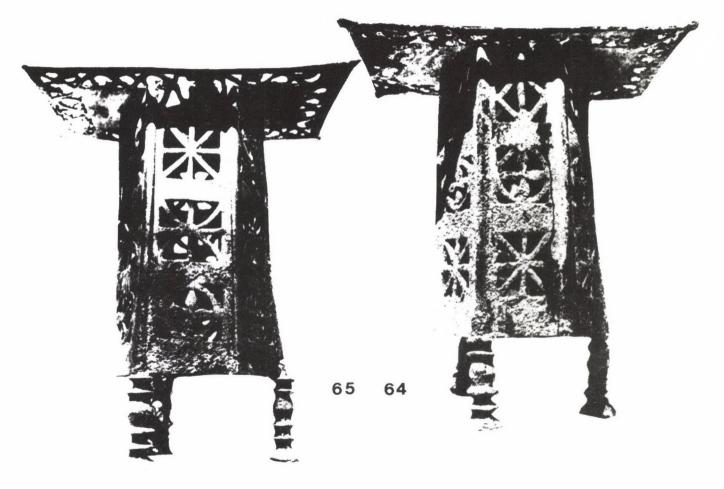


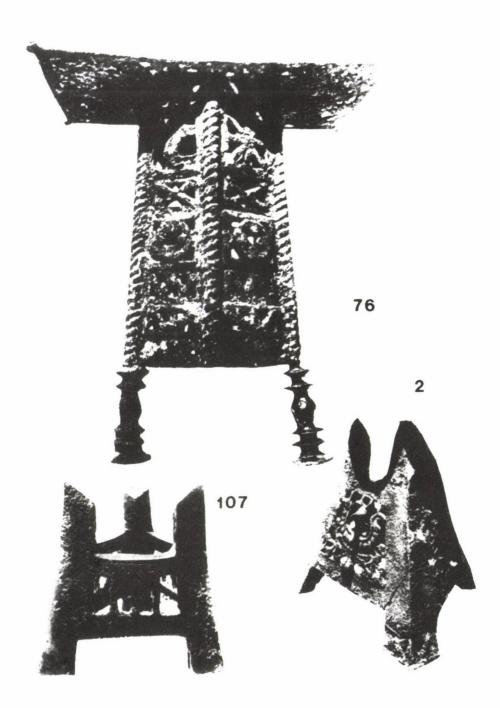


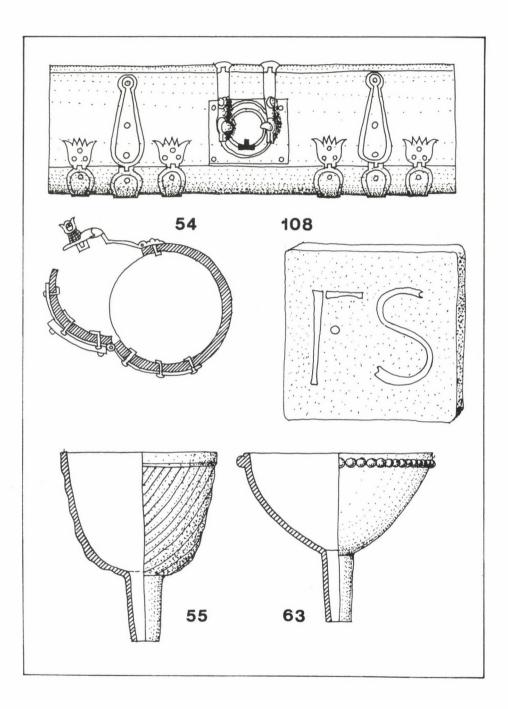


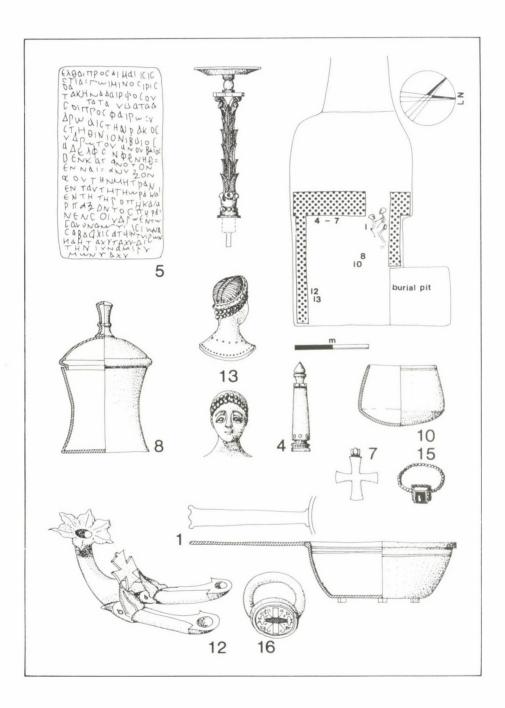


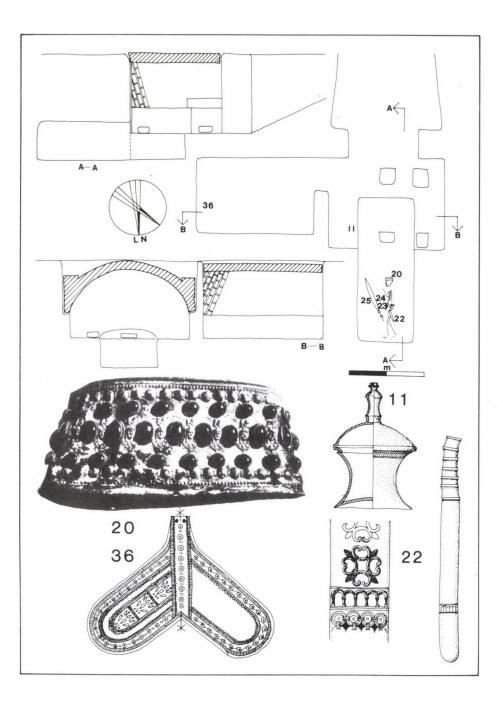


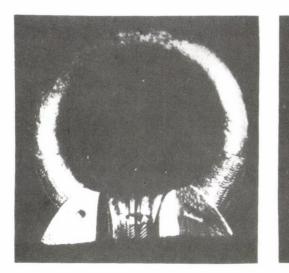








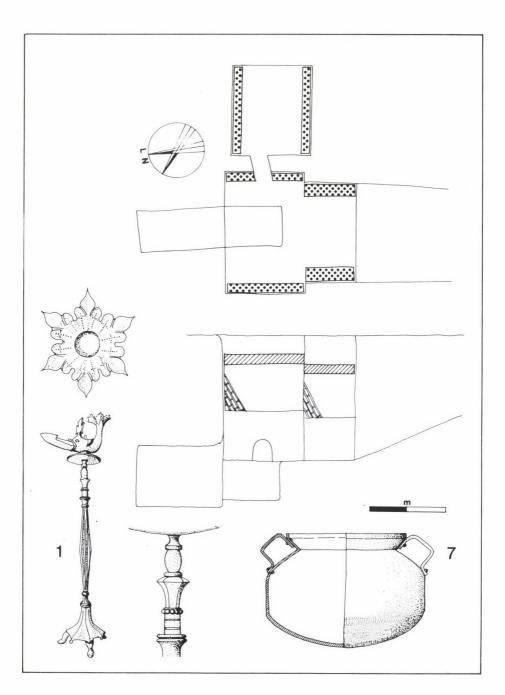


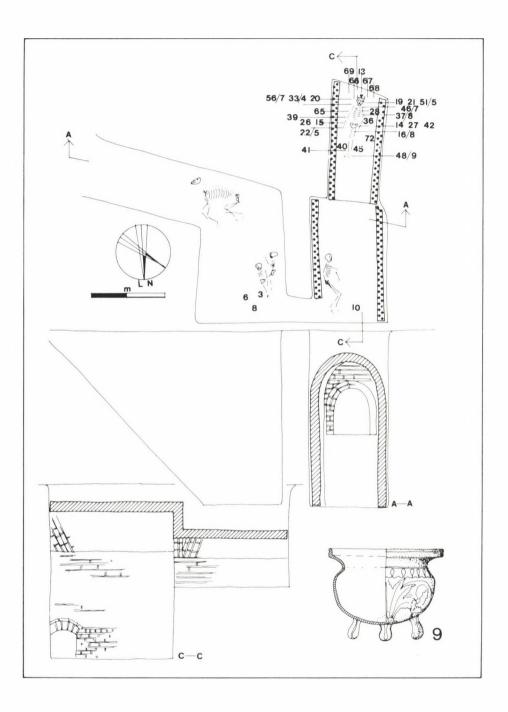


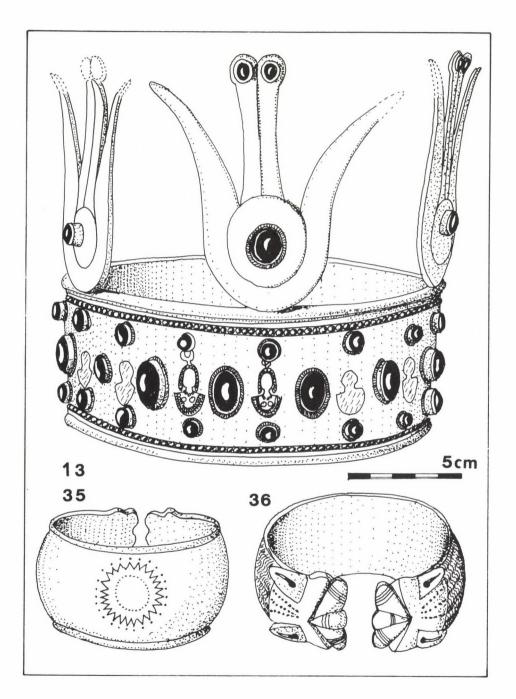


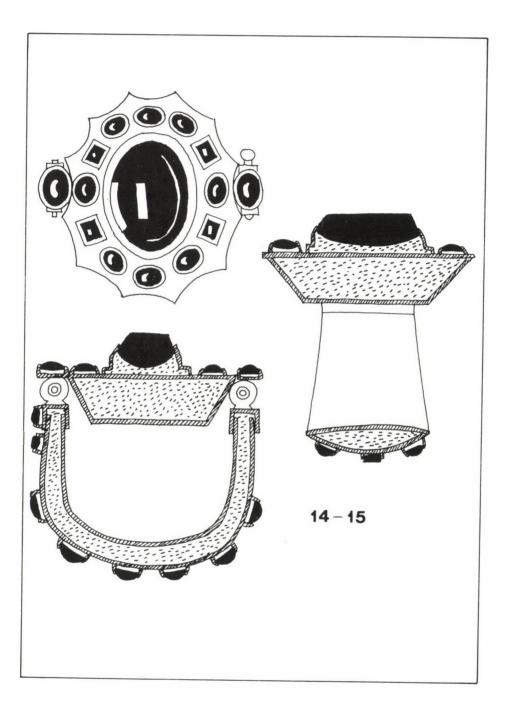




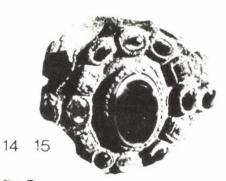






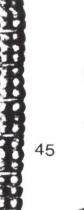














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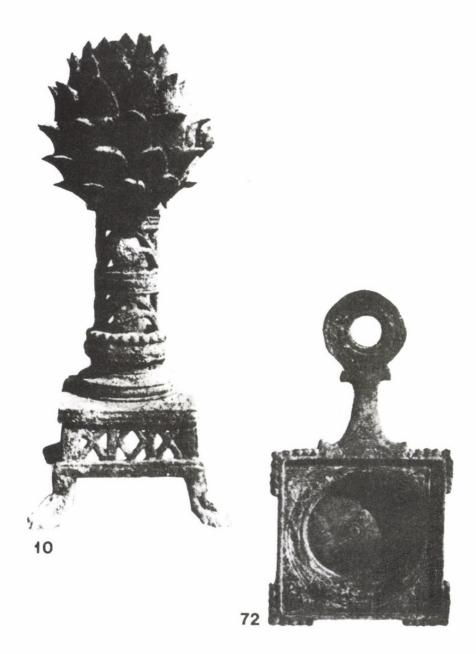




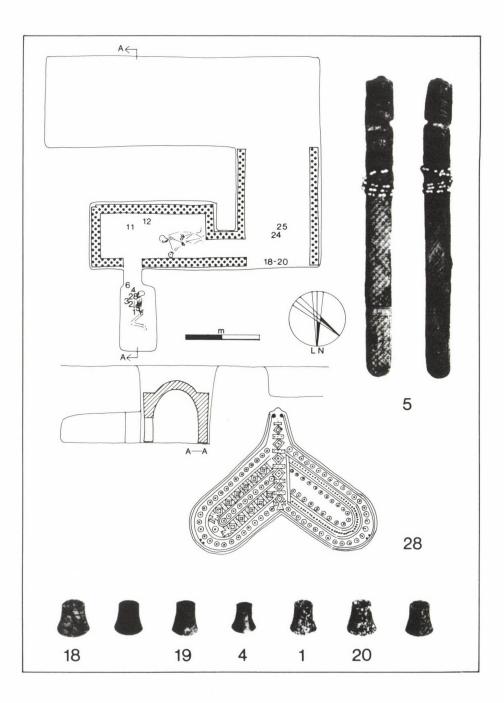


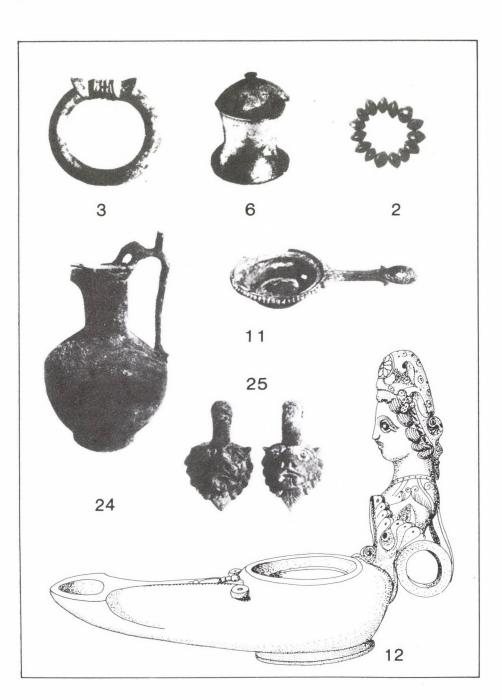


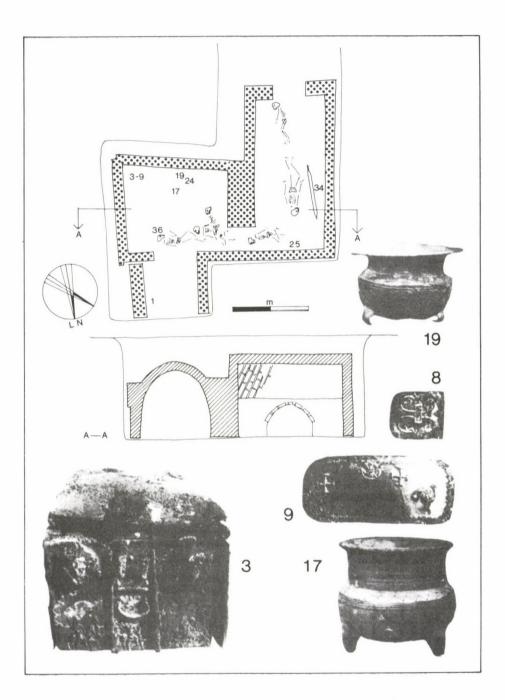




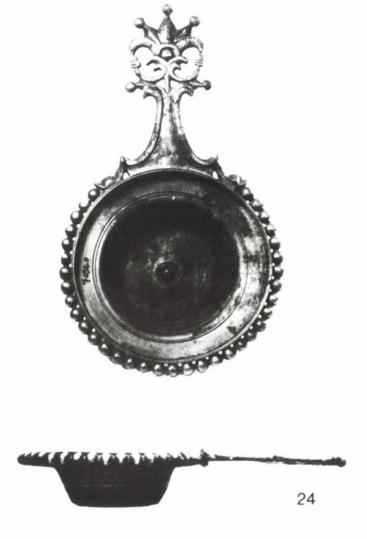




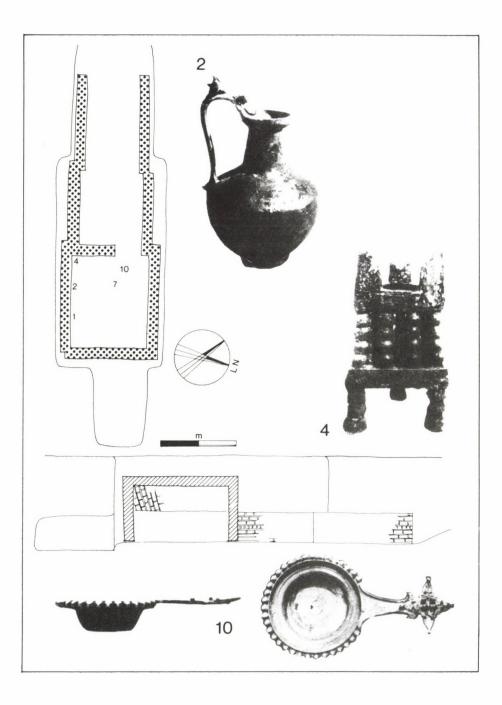




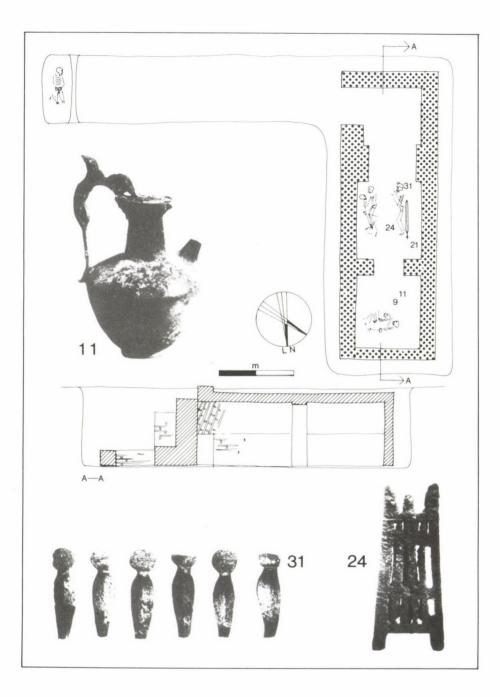




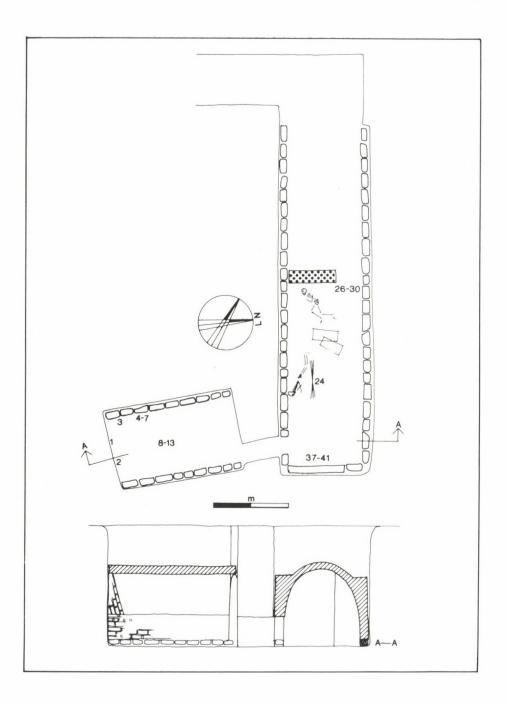


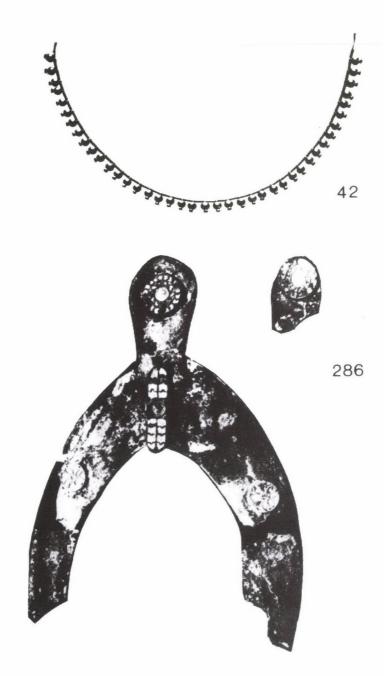






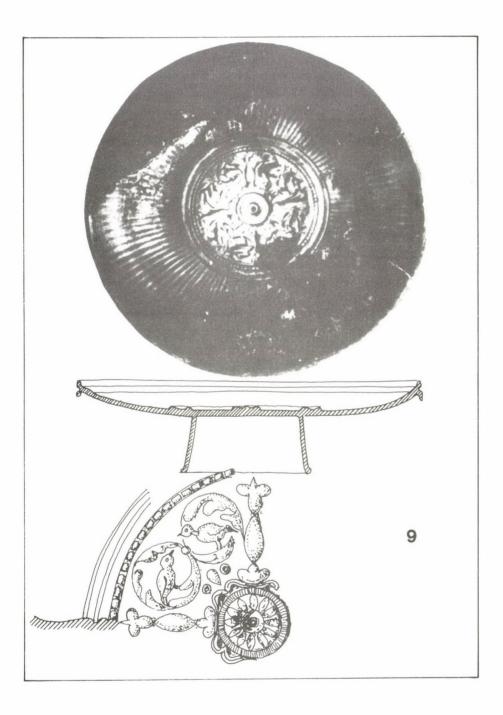


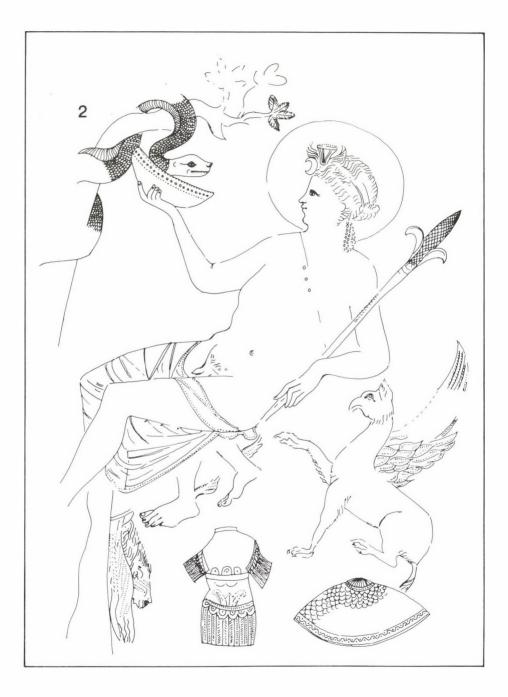


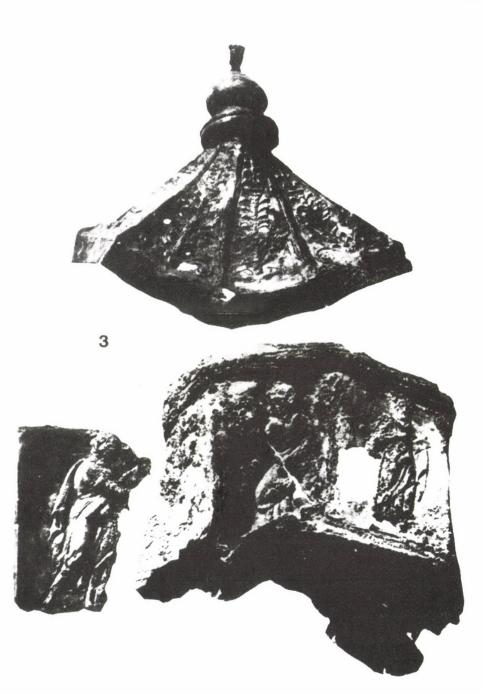


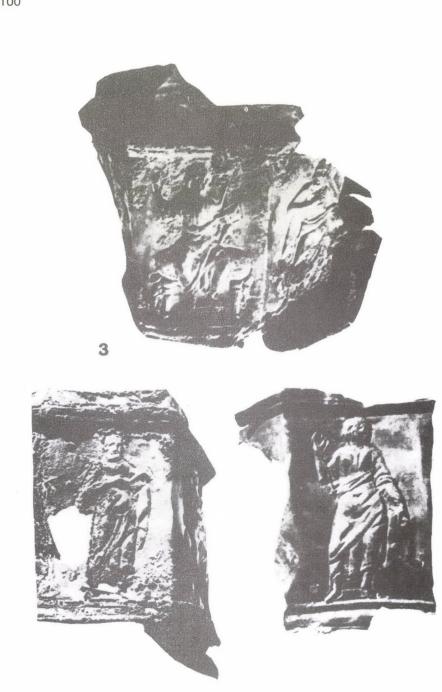


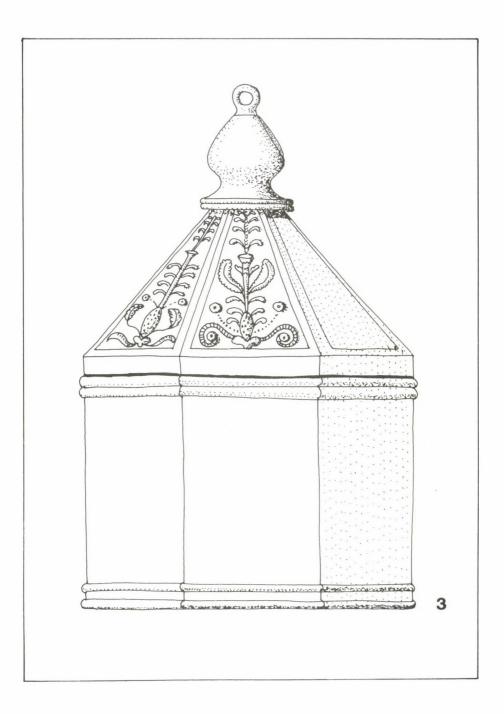


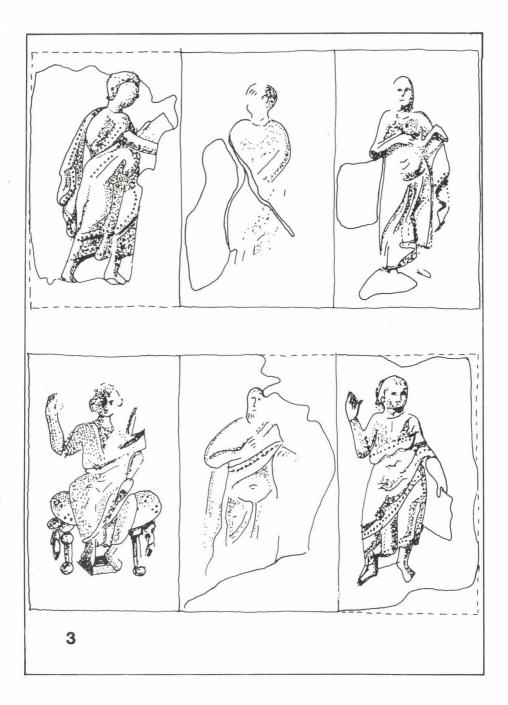


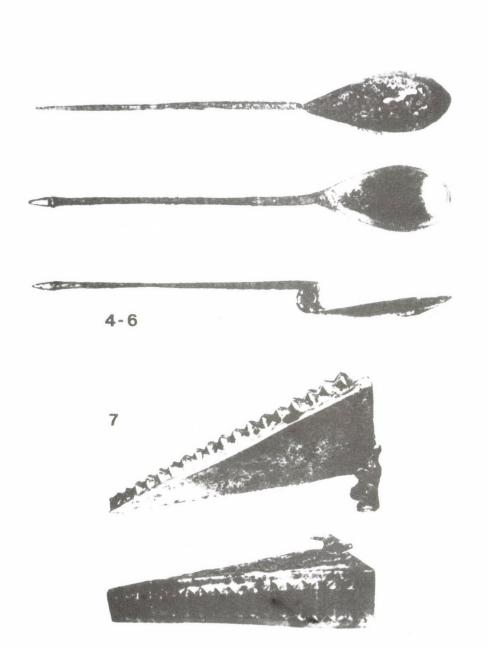




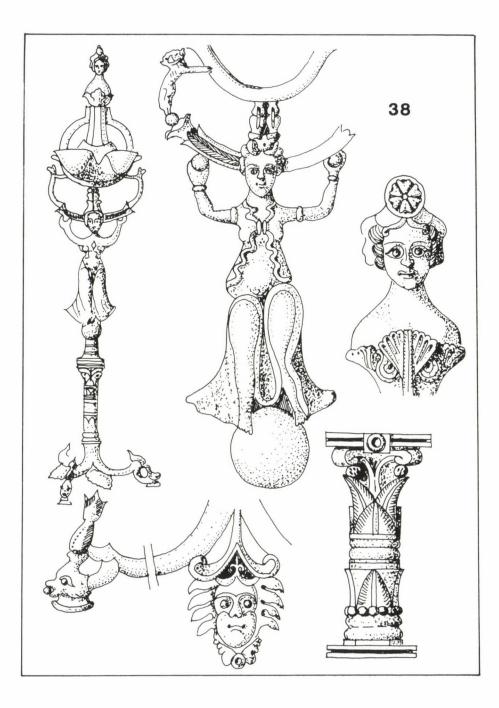


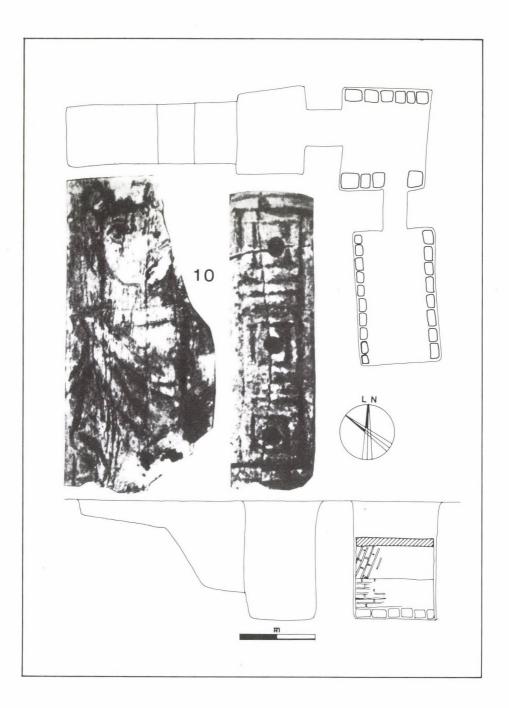


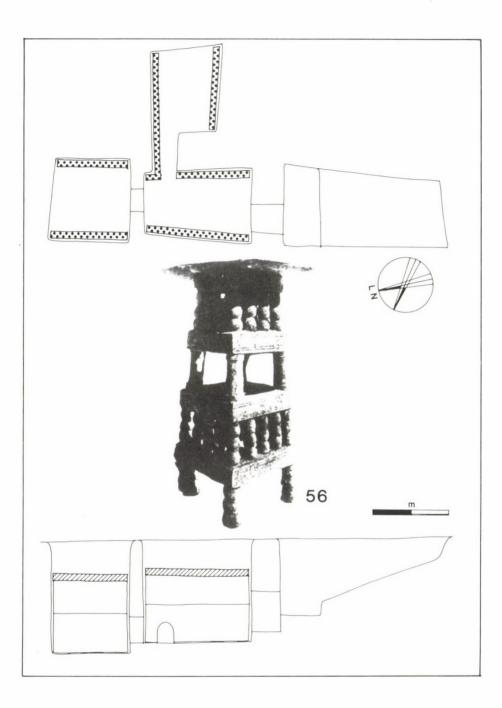


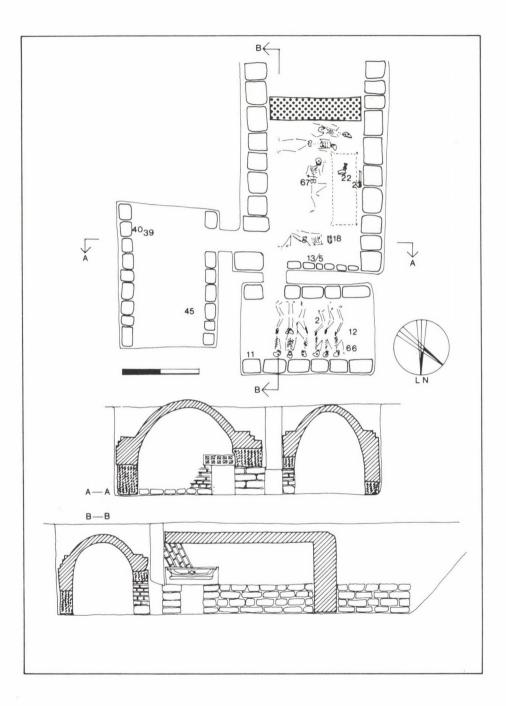


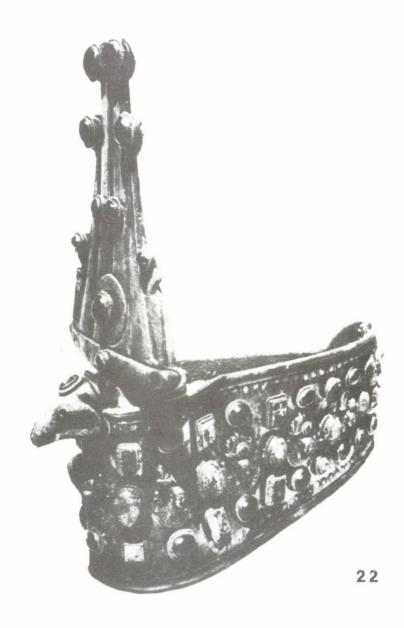


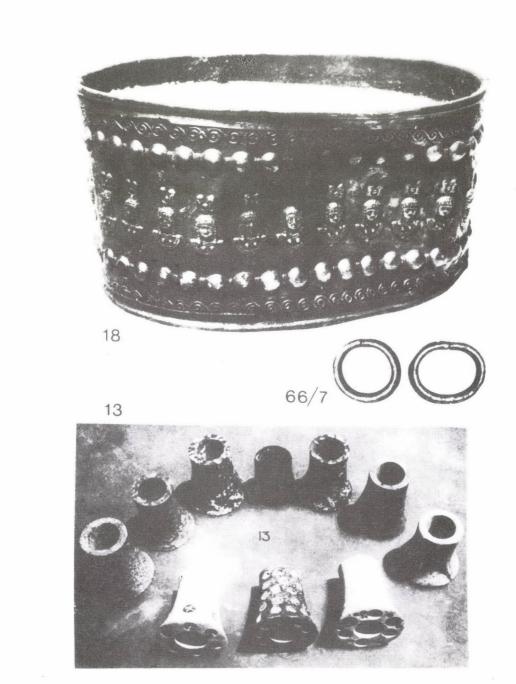


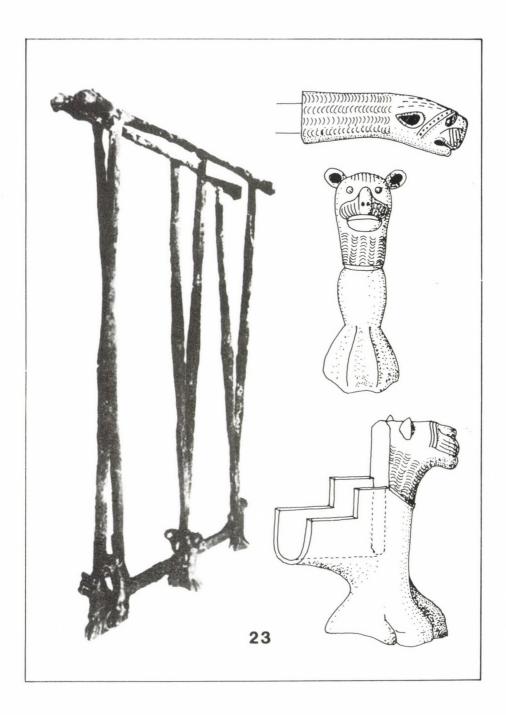


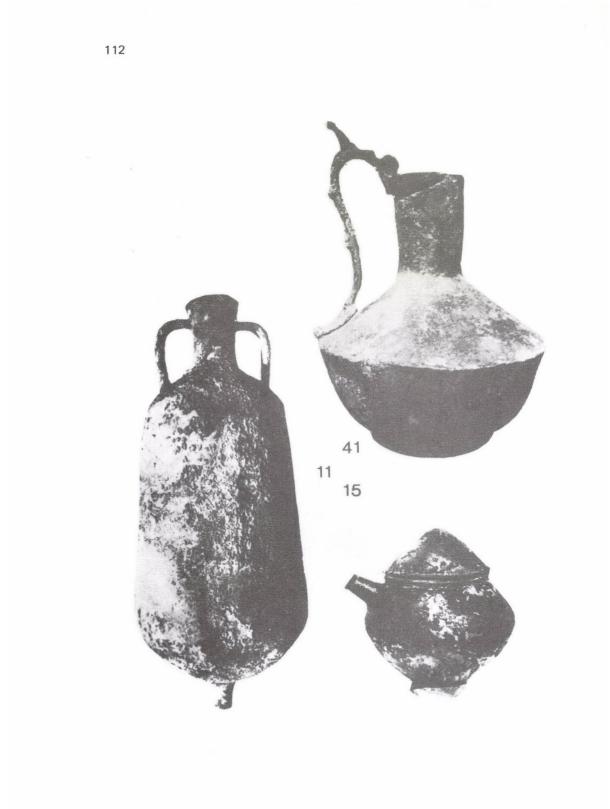


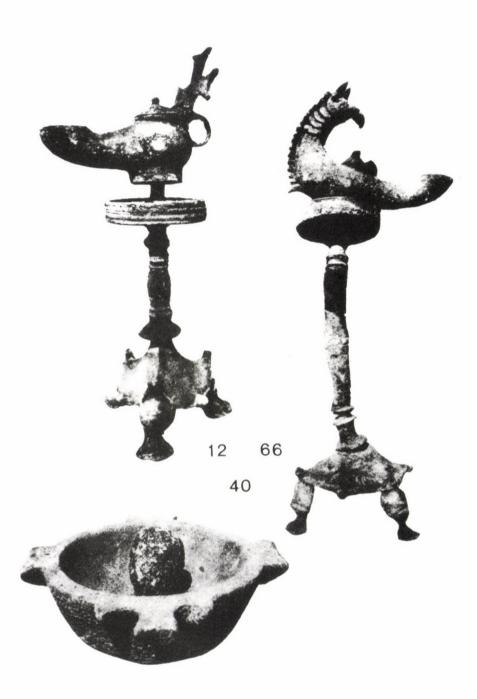


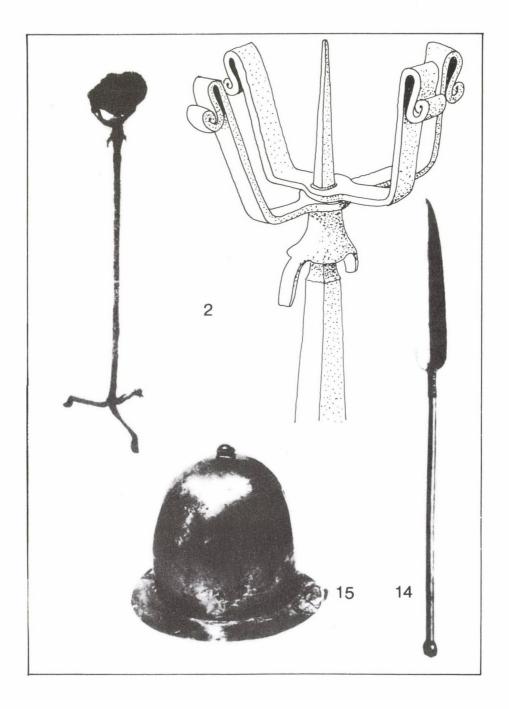


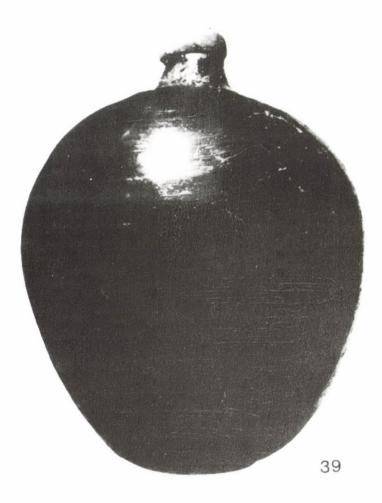


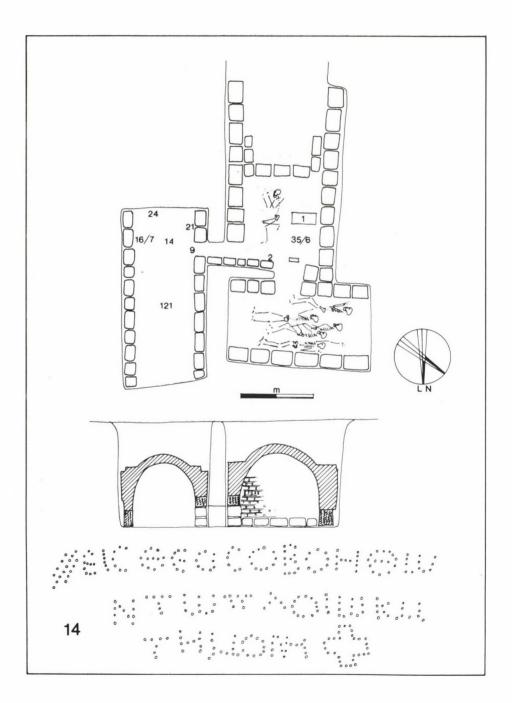


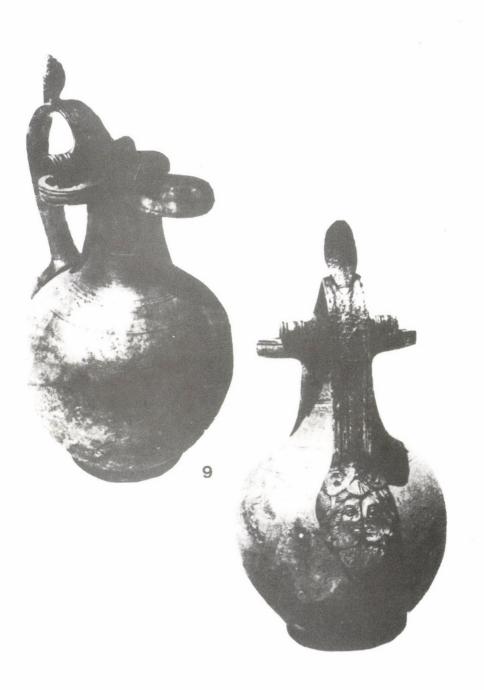




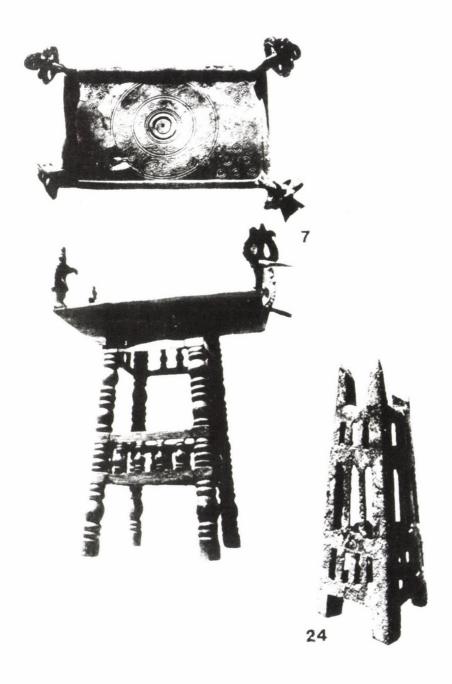




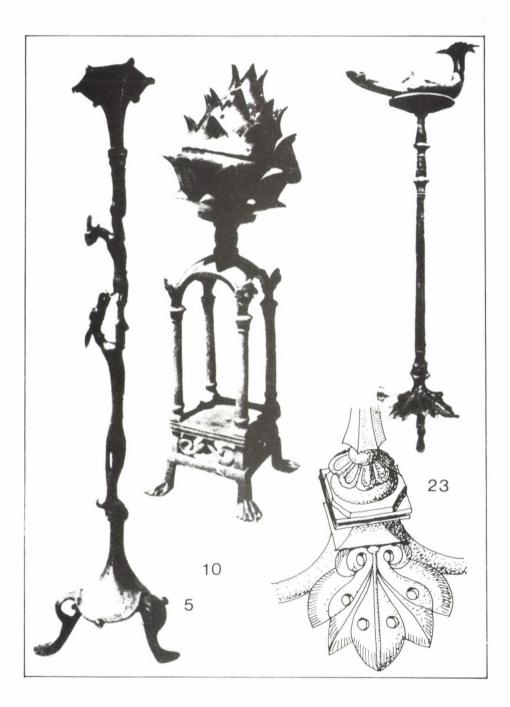


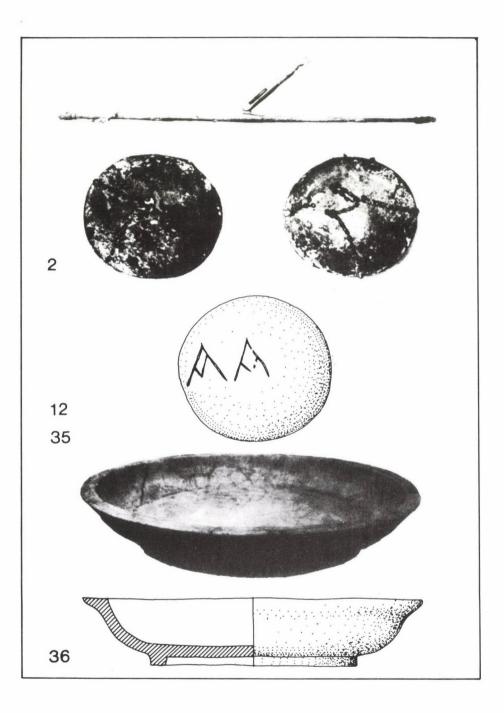












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