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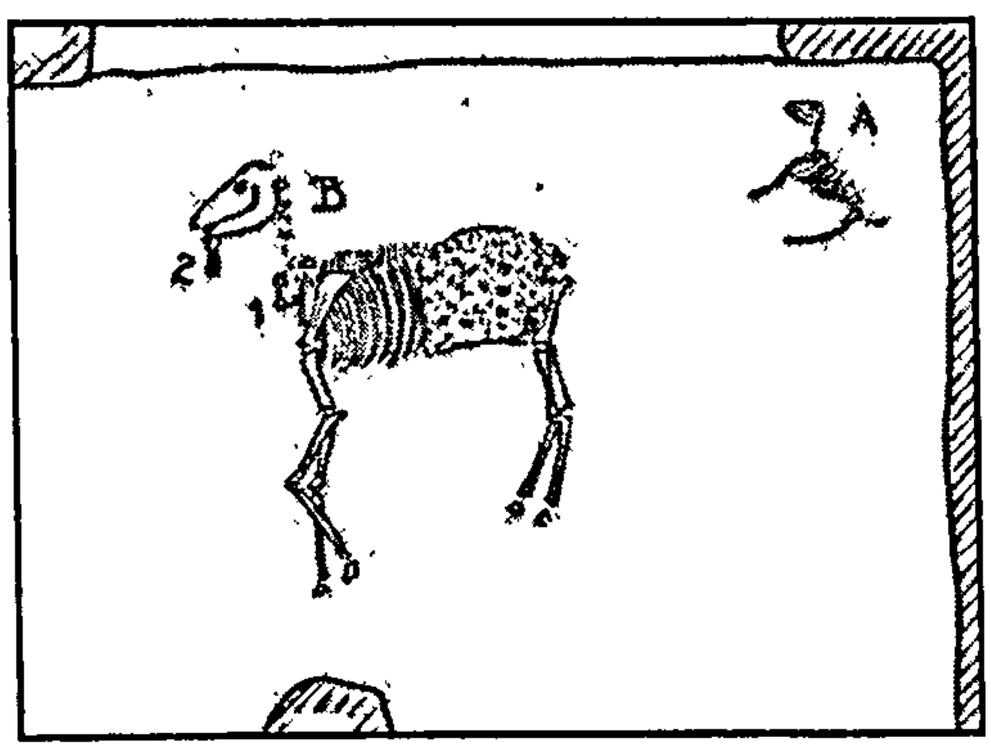
Aesthetics and Identity at Qustul and Ballana, Lower Nubia.

Volume Two



Rachael Jane Dann

Department of Archaeology, University of Durham

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.
May 2006

2 Volumes

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7.10. Discussion of Decoration Methods at Ballana, Phase 3b-7c.

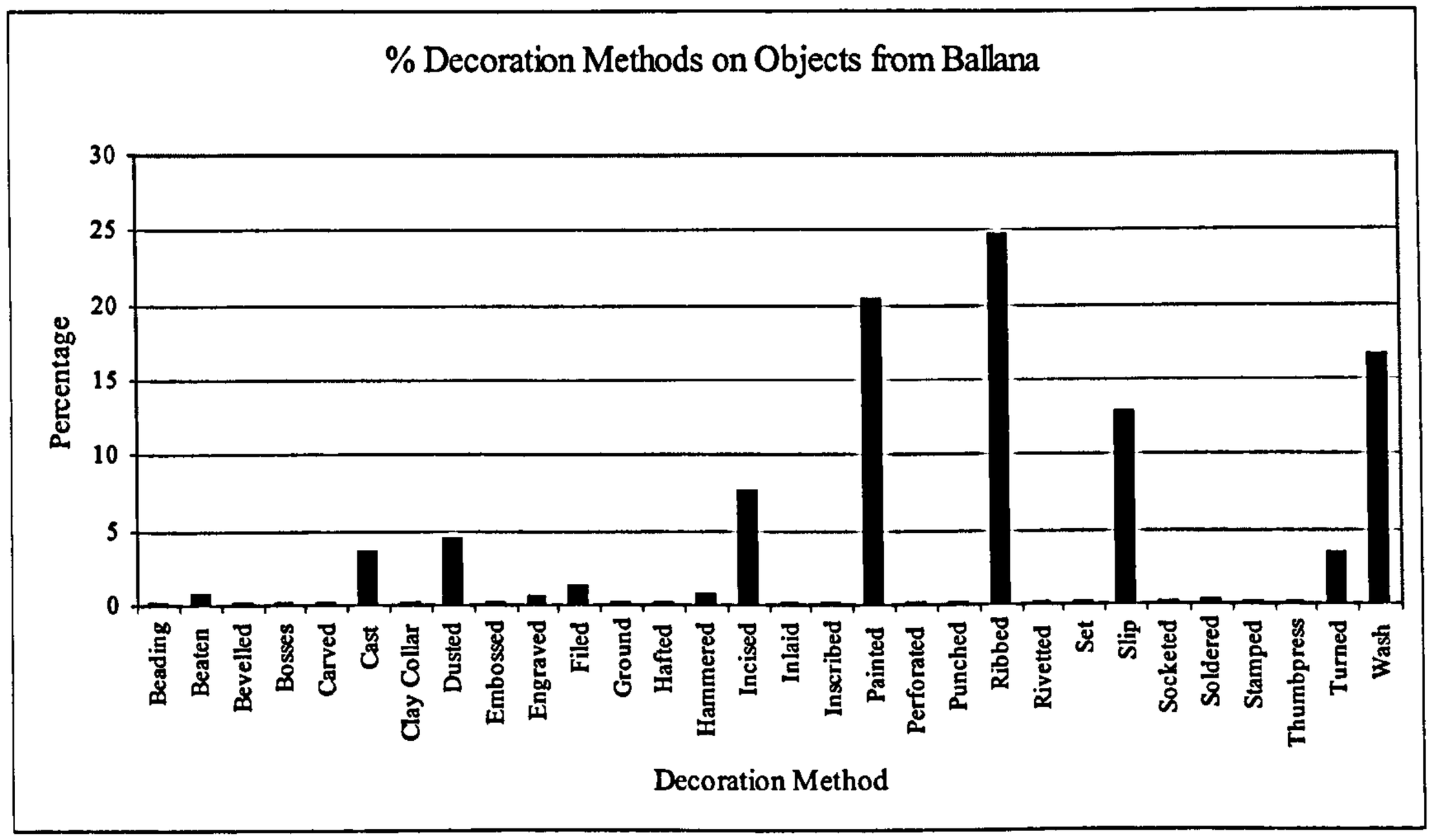
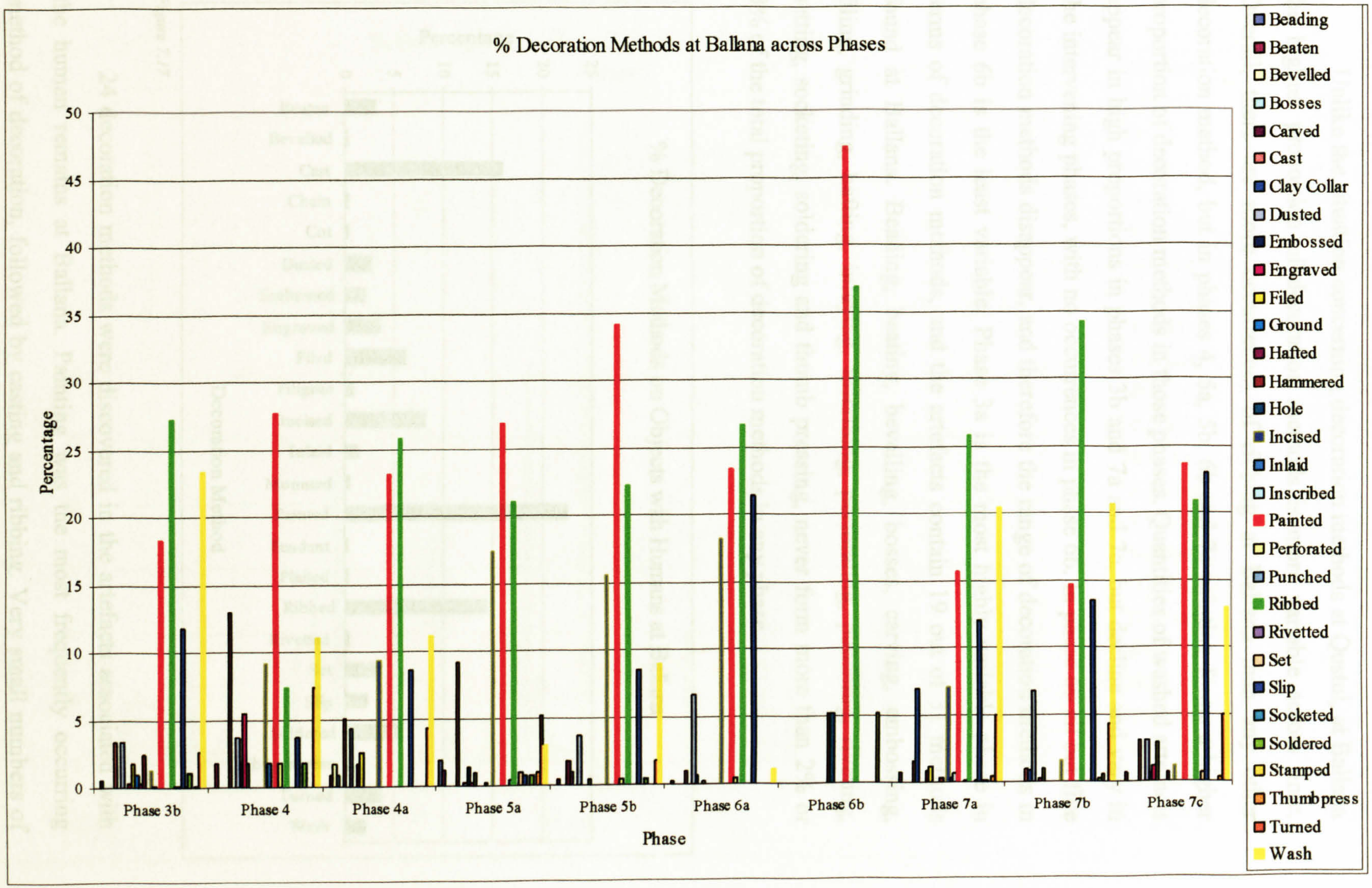


Figure 7.15

30 decoration methods were found in the artefacts existing in space in the tombs at Ballana. Ribbing occurred most frequently, followed by painting or the application of a wash. Small numbers of artefacts had been beaded, bevelled, had been decorated with bosses, had a clay collar, were embossed, ground, hafted, inlaid, inscribed, perforated, punched, riveted, set, socketed, soldered, stamped or decorated with a thumb press.

Figure 7.16


% Decoration Methods at Ballana across Phases
Percentage
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
Phase 3b
Phase 4
Phase 4a
Phase 5a
Phase 5b
Phase 6a
Phase 6b
Phase 7a
Phase 7b
Phase 7c
Phase
Beading
Beaten
Bevelled
Bosses
Carved
Cast
Clay Collar
Dusted
Embossed
Engraved
Filed
Ground
Hafted
Hammered
Hole
Incised
Inlaid
Inscribed
Painted
Perforated
Punched
Ribbed
Rivetted
Set
Slip
Socketed
Soldered
Stamped
Thumbpress
Turned
Wash

Unlike the situation concerning decoration methods at Qustul, at Ballana the highest proportion of decoration methods is more variable across time. Overall, there are more occurrences of ribbing at Ballana than any other decoration method, but in phases 4, 5a, 5b, 6b and 7c painting forms a higher proportion of decoration methods in those phases. Quantities of washed artefacts appear in high proportions in phases 3b and 7a and 7c, but decline and vary in the intervening phases, with no occurrences in phase 6b. In phase 6b all but five decoration methods disappear, and therefore the range of decoration methods in phase 6b is the least variable. Phase 3a is the most highly variable phase in terms of decoration methods, and the artefacts contain 19 out of 31 methods found at Ballana. Beading, beating, bevelling, bosses, carving, embossing, filing, grinding, hafting, inlaying, inscribing, perforating, punching, riveting, setting, socketing, soldering and thumb pressing, never form more than 2% or 3% of the total proportion of decoration methods in any phase.

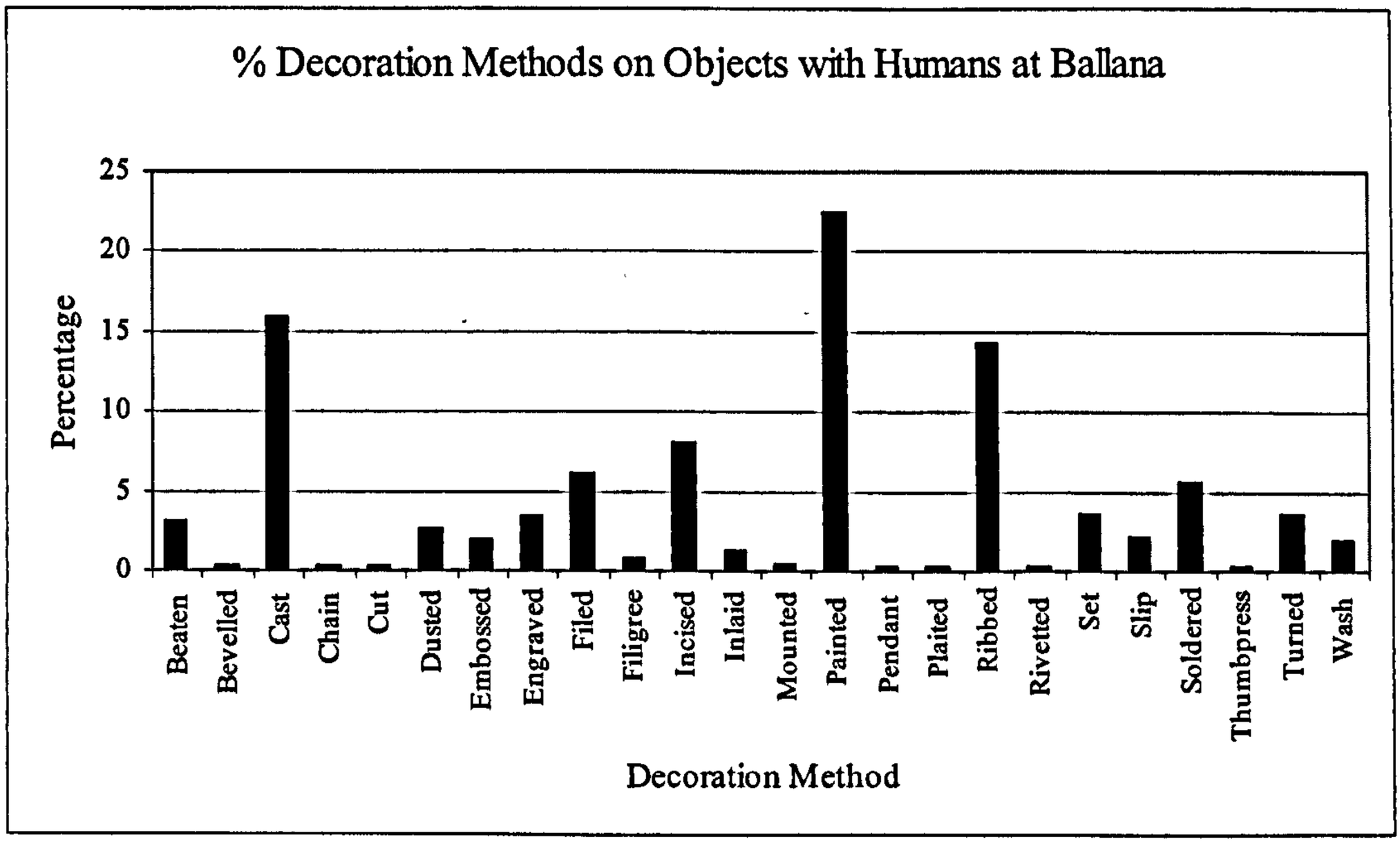


Figure 7.17

24 decoration methods were discovered in the artefacts associated with the human remains at Ballana. Painting was the most frequently occurring method of decoration, followed by casting and ribbing. Very small numbers of

artefacts had been bevelled, decorated with a chain, cut, involved a pendant, were plaited, riveted, or decorated with a thumb press.

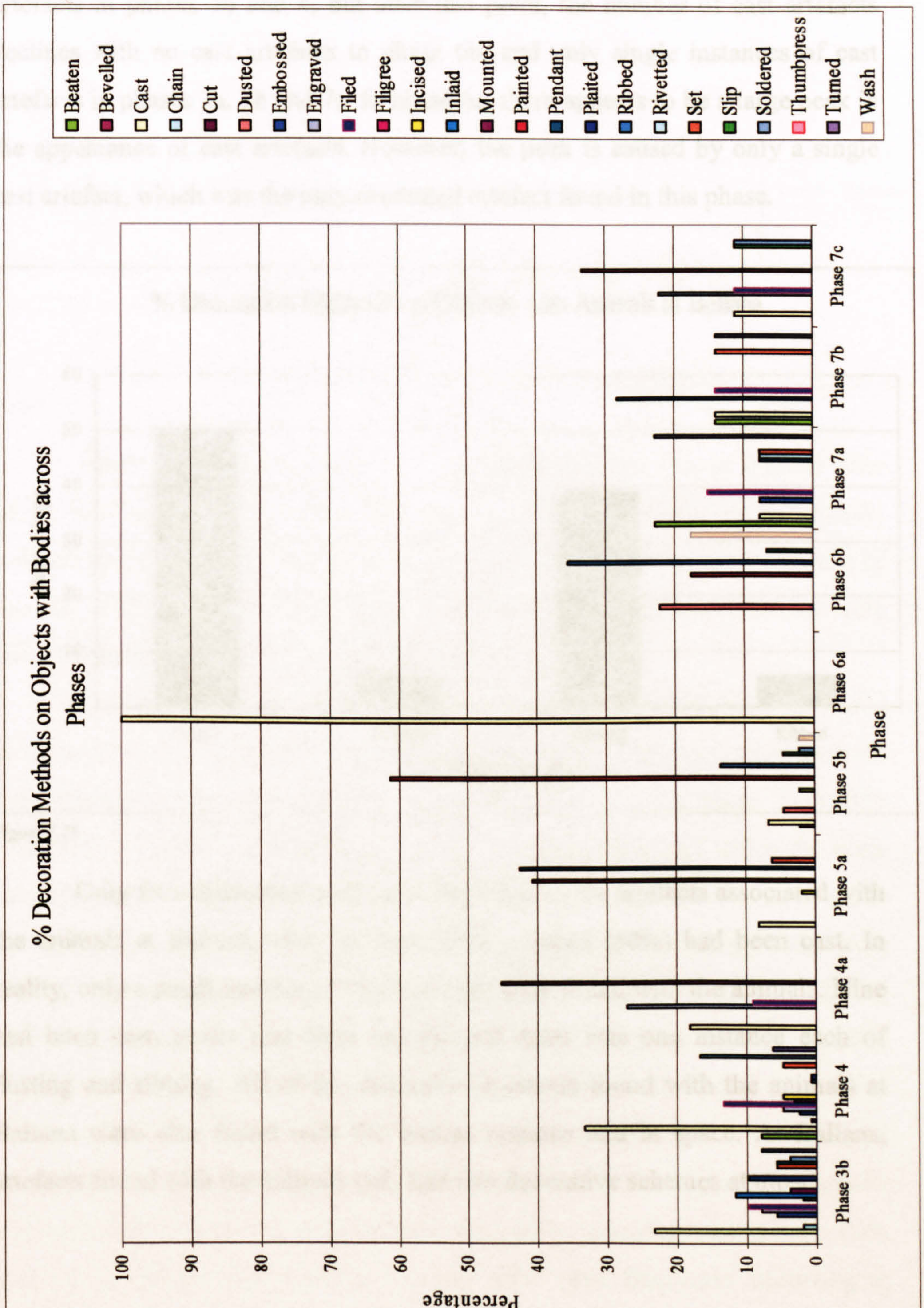


Figure 7.18

Overall at Ballana, most of the artefacts found with humans were cast, followed by artefacts that were painted. There were large proportions of cast artefacts in phases 3b and 4, but after this point, the number of cast artefacts declines with no cast artefacts in phase 6b, and only single instances of cast artefacts in phases 7a, 7b and 7c. In phase 6a, there appears to be a large peak in the appearance of cast artefacts. However, the peak is caused by only a single cast artefact, which was the only decorated artefact found in this phase.

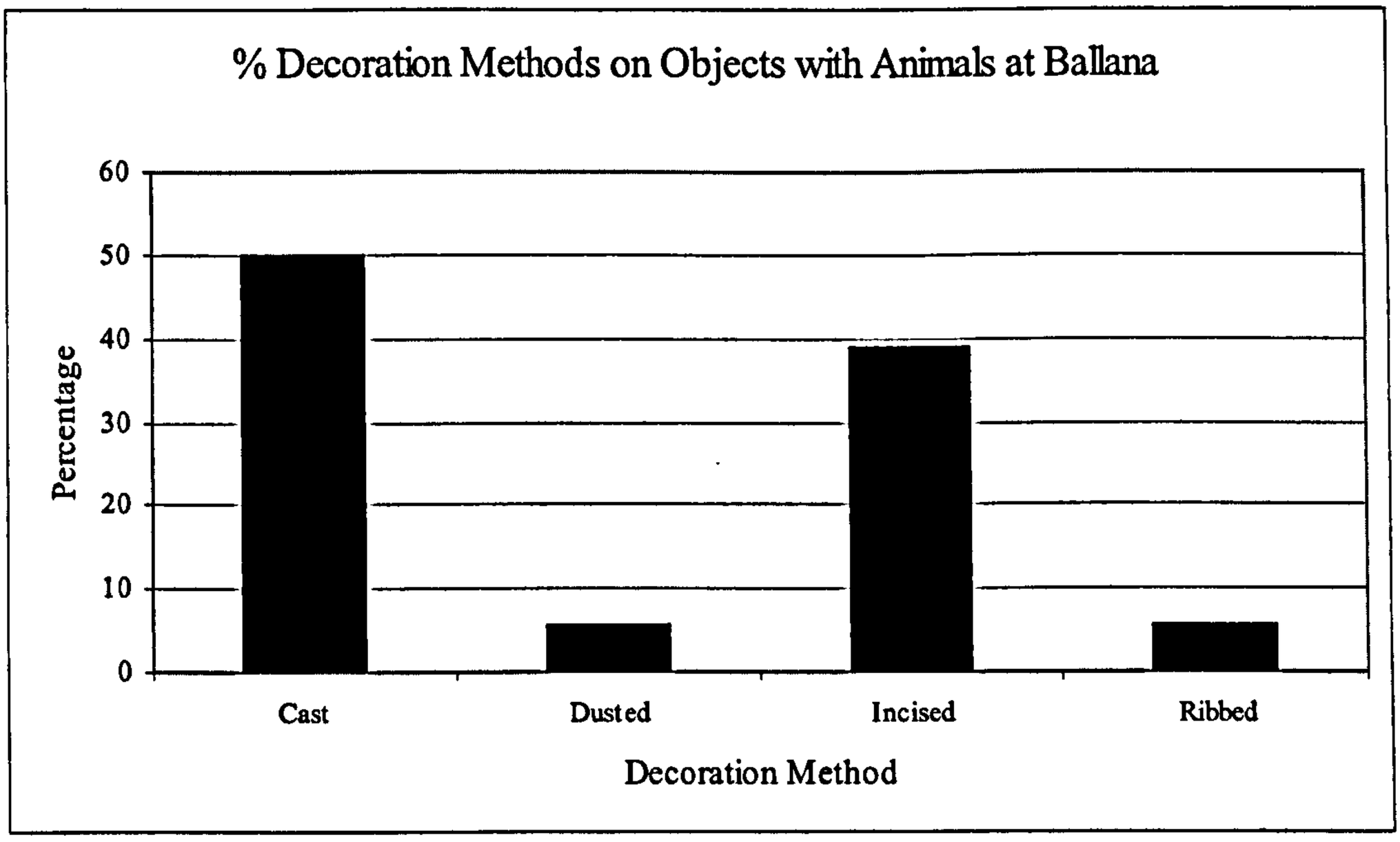


Figure 7.19

Only four decoration methods were found in the artefacts associated with the animals at Ballana. Most of the artefacts found (50%) had been cast. In reality, only a small number of artefacts (18) were found with the animals. Nine had been cast, seven had been incised and there was one instance each of dusting and ribbing. All of the decoration methods found with the animals at Ballana were also found with the human remains and in space. At Ballana, artefacts found with the animals only had two decorative schemes at most.

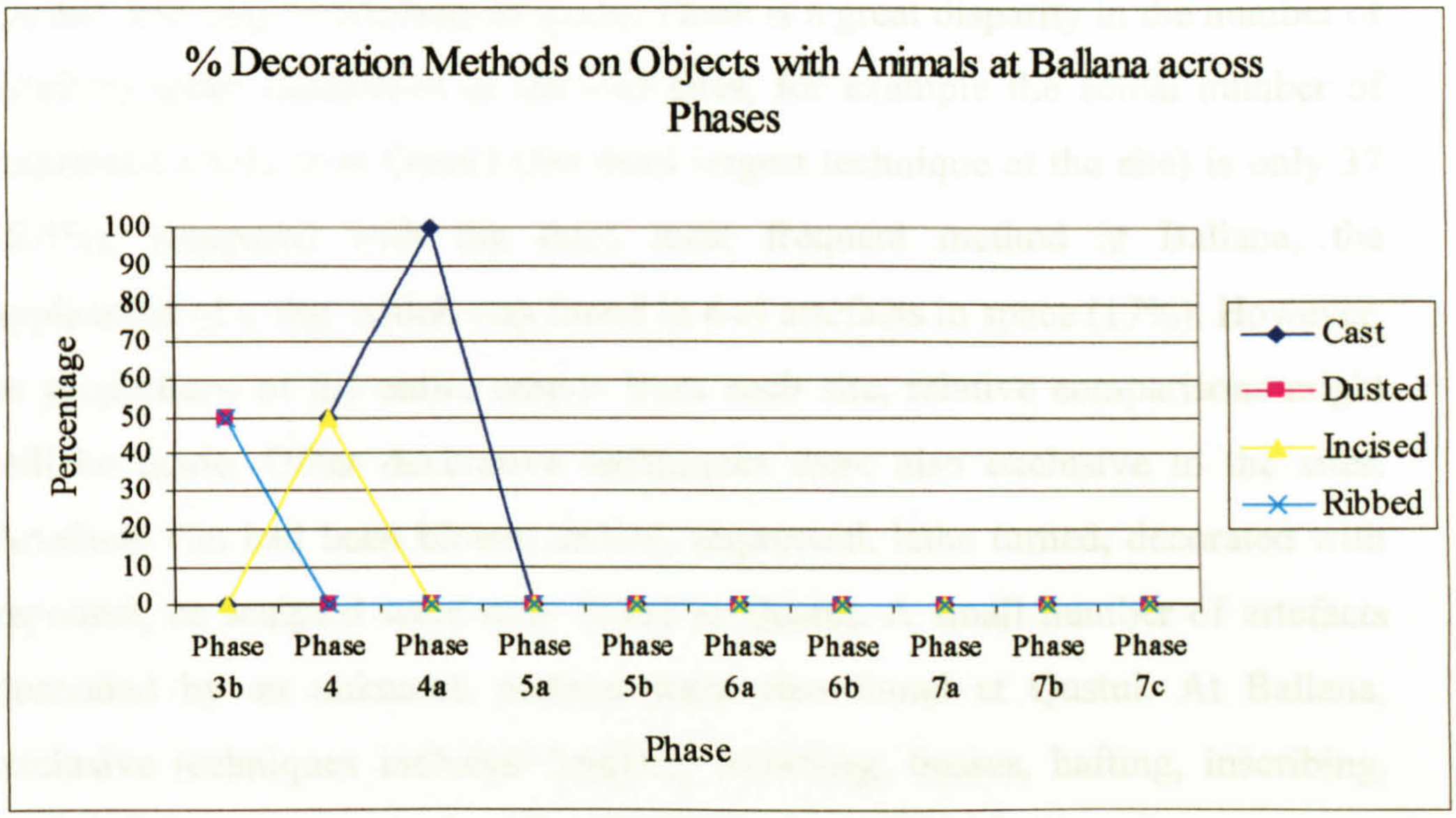


Figure 7.20

Artefacts with decoration were not found with animals at Ballana after phase 4a. Phase 4 was the phase with the most diversity of decoration methods, with seven instances of casting, and seven instances of incising. One instance of dusting, and one of ribbing occurred in phase 3b and two cast artefacts were found in phase 4a.

At both Qustul and Ballana 30 different decorative methods were found in the artefacts that existed in space at each site. Most of the decorative methods are common to both cemeteries, but others are not. The more frequently occurring decoration methods were shared across the sites, but not in the same proportions. At Qustul the majority of the decorated artefacts found in space were painted. Other common methods of decoration, in decreasing order were ribbing, impressing, dusting, slipping, washing and casting. At Ballana, ribbing was most common, followed by painting, washing, slipping, incising, turning, casting and dusting. Therefore overall, the most common decorative methods at the two cemeteries were largely the same, but in differing proportions. However, in this list of the most frequently occurring methods, two types are mutually exclusive. Impressing was the third most frequently occurring type of decoration method at Qustul, and incising was the fifth most frequently occurring at Ballana. The method of impressing an artefact to decorate it was only found at

Qustul, and only in artefacts in space. There is a great disparity in the number of artefacts under discussion at the two sites, for example the actual number of impressed artefacts at Qustul (the third largest technique at the site) is only 37 (6.4%), compared with the third most frequent method at Ballana, the application of a slip, which was found in 644 artefacts in space (17%). However, as proportions of the entire corpus from each site, relative comparisons might still be made. Other decorative techniques were also exclusive to the sites. Artefacts that had been blown, drilled, impressed, lathe turned, decorated with repoussé, or sculpted were only found at Qustul. A small number of artefacts decorated by an unknown method were also found at Qustul. At Ballana, exclusive techniques included beading, bevelling, bosses, hafting, inscribing, perforating, riveting, setting and socketing.

The human remains from Qustul were only accompanied by a very small number of artefacts exhibiting two decorative methods: incising and plaiting. These methods were also found in the artefacts in space at Qustul, and incised artefacts were also found with the animals at the site. At Ballana, in contrast, 24 different techniques were found with the human remains. Most of these artefacts had been painted, with other main methods including casting, ribbing, incising and filing. The frequency with which such techniques occurred in the items found with the humans is perhaps surprising as methods such as painting and ribbing refer to pottery vessels, rather than to items of jewellery or weaponry which one might expect to find on or with the humans. A number of decorative methods were only found at Ballana, and were only found with human bodies, therefore forming a discrete subset. These techniques (of which quite small numbers were found) include the use of a chain, cutting, filigree and pendants. A small number of artefacts showing the technique of mounting were also found with the humans at Ballana (a small number of artefacts decorated using this technique was also found with animals at Qustul). These methods do relate to articles of jewellery or 'objets d'art'.

The animal remains at Qustul were found with artefacts containing 13 methods of decoration, whilst at Ballana, the animals were accompanied by objects containing only four methods. Most of these artefacts from Qustul had

been cast, followed by incising, filing, and inlaying. Casting and incising were also the most numerous decorative methods in the artefacts with the animals at Ballana. The trend at Ballana in which the decorative methods found with the animals also existed in space and with the human remains at the site, reverses the pattern that was in evidence at Qustul. At Qustul, not only were more decorative methods found in the artefacts with the animals than were found in the artefacts with the humans, a number of the methods were only found with animals. In fact at Qustul, the three methods which were found exclusively with the animal remains were also exclusive to the cemetery. These three techniques were decoration that was applied, twisted or woven.

7. 11. Decoration Design (see appendix C).

It is perhaps the decoration designs evident in an artefact that would tend to suggest that particular objects as art objects opposed to others that are utilitarian. Many of the pottery finds at Ballana and Qustul are utilitarian vessels – storage jars or amphorae. Many others are the quite small goblet shaped vessels, with painted decoration on the upper portion of the object in the form of festoons (sometimes a double festoon), or splashes. The pottery has received rather a lot of detailed study (see Rose, 1992), but this has largely been for the purpose of attempting to construct a chronological framework for the X-Group period. In the investigation of decoration, designs found on any artefact type have been included in the analysis, even though the artefact type might usually be construed as a utilitarian object. Such distinctions have not been drawn as this would presume that decoration is a secondary (or perhaps even irrelevant) aspect of the object, and this would presume a strict delineation between objects used for practical, mundane purposes, and objects used for special purposes. As this analysis seeks to understand the nature and peculiarity of the object world at Qustul and Ballana, all variables must be included.

7.12. Discussion of Decoration Design at Qustul, Phase Ia-3a.

The data extracted from the database with regard to decoration designs demonstrates an extremely diverse repertoire of decorative schemes in the artefacts from both Ballana and Qustul. In fact this repertoire is so varied that it becomes very difficult to represent the data graphically (over fifty designs were recorded). This is in part due to adhering wherever possible to the designations of design offered by the excavators of the tombs. It is acknowledged that the difference between designating a blob of paint as a blob, spot, splash or dot is certainly a debateable point! In an attempt to overcome this problem, the different decorative designs have been classified under a larger umbrella of decorative types termed 'figurative', 'freeform', 'geometric', 'integral', 'linear' and 'symbolic. Under these designations, the specific decorative designs have been grouped as follows;

Figurative (designs that are representational of actual things): figural, animal, body part, insect, vegetal, floral, column, altar, house, crown, mask, scroll, rosettes, heart.

Geometric (designs involving 'true' geometric shapes and symmetry): square, oval, circle(s), semi-circle, crescents, rectangle, triangle, crosses, geometric, diamonds, fretwork, arches, chequerboard.

Linear (designs formed from straight lines): zigzag, lines, lines (lateral), bands, stripes, diagonal lines, hatching, criss-cross, notches

Freeform (designs of informal, often curvaceous, configuration): splashes, blobs, spots, dots, festoons (double), festoons, curves, filigree, holes, coil, thumb press, spirals, sunburst.

Symbolic (a design conventionally understood to represent a thing or concept): cross, Maltese cross, *ankh*, cartouche, *chi rho*, Meroitic *ankh*, uraei, hieroglyphic signs.

Integral (designs intrinsically part of the artefacts itself): mica, ribbed, ball, plaited, barbed, tang, spike, bosses, rim, cord, chain, discs, pendants, beading, set, bevelled.

These 'decorative types', each connoting a particular style of design, are introduced in order to understand the general types of decorative scheme that were favoured at the two sites, and whether or not any distinctions my be found in the artefacts that were found in space, with the human remains, or with the animals. The graphs below relate to these questions.

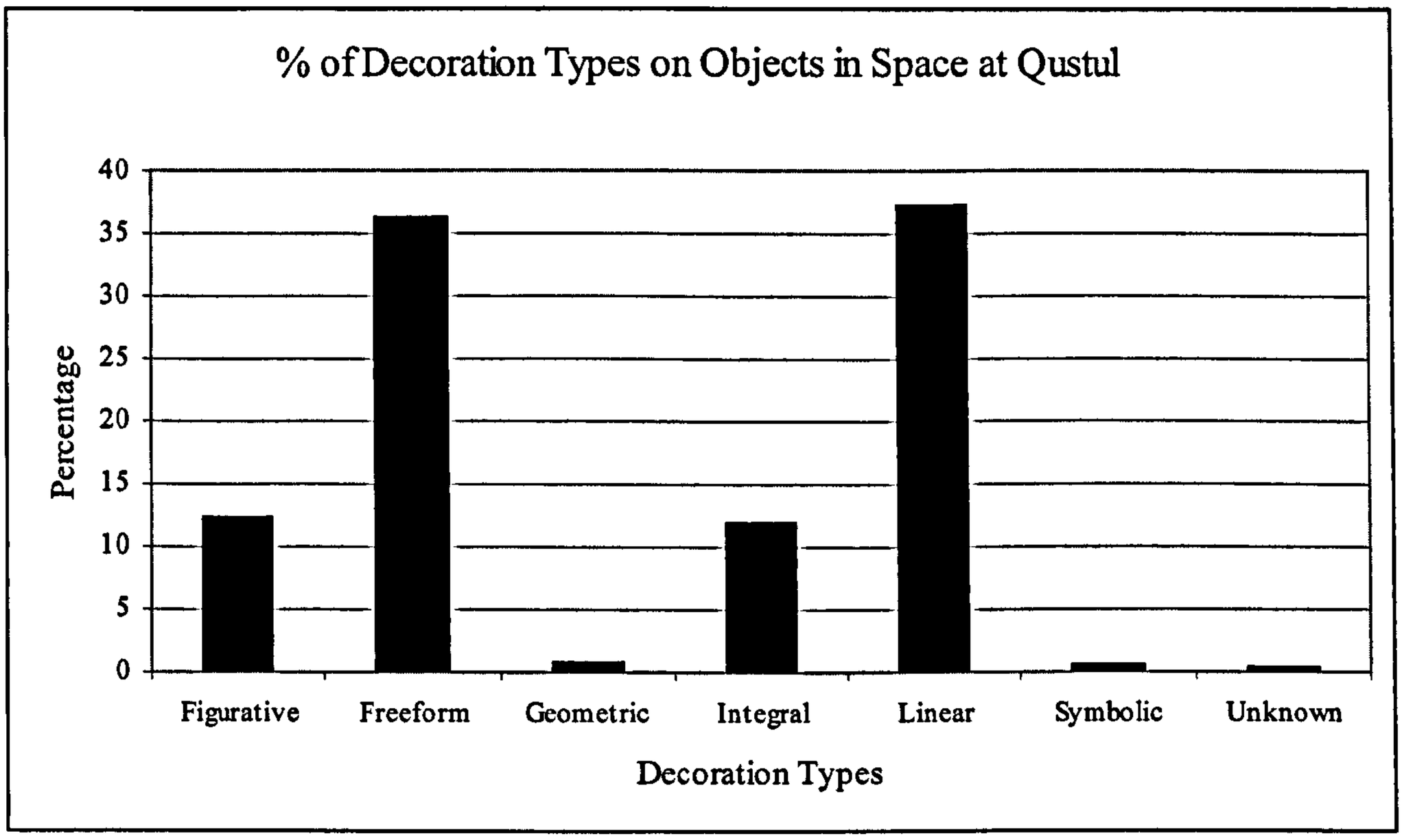


Figure 7.21

It is very striking the extent to which freeform and linear designs account for almost the same percentage of decorative types on the artefacts in space at Qustul. This fact is also true in the percentage values for figurative and integral designs. Only small numbers of geometric, symbolic and unknown designs were found.

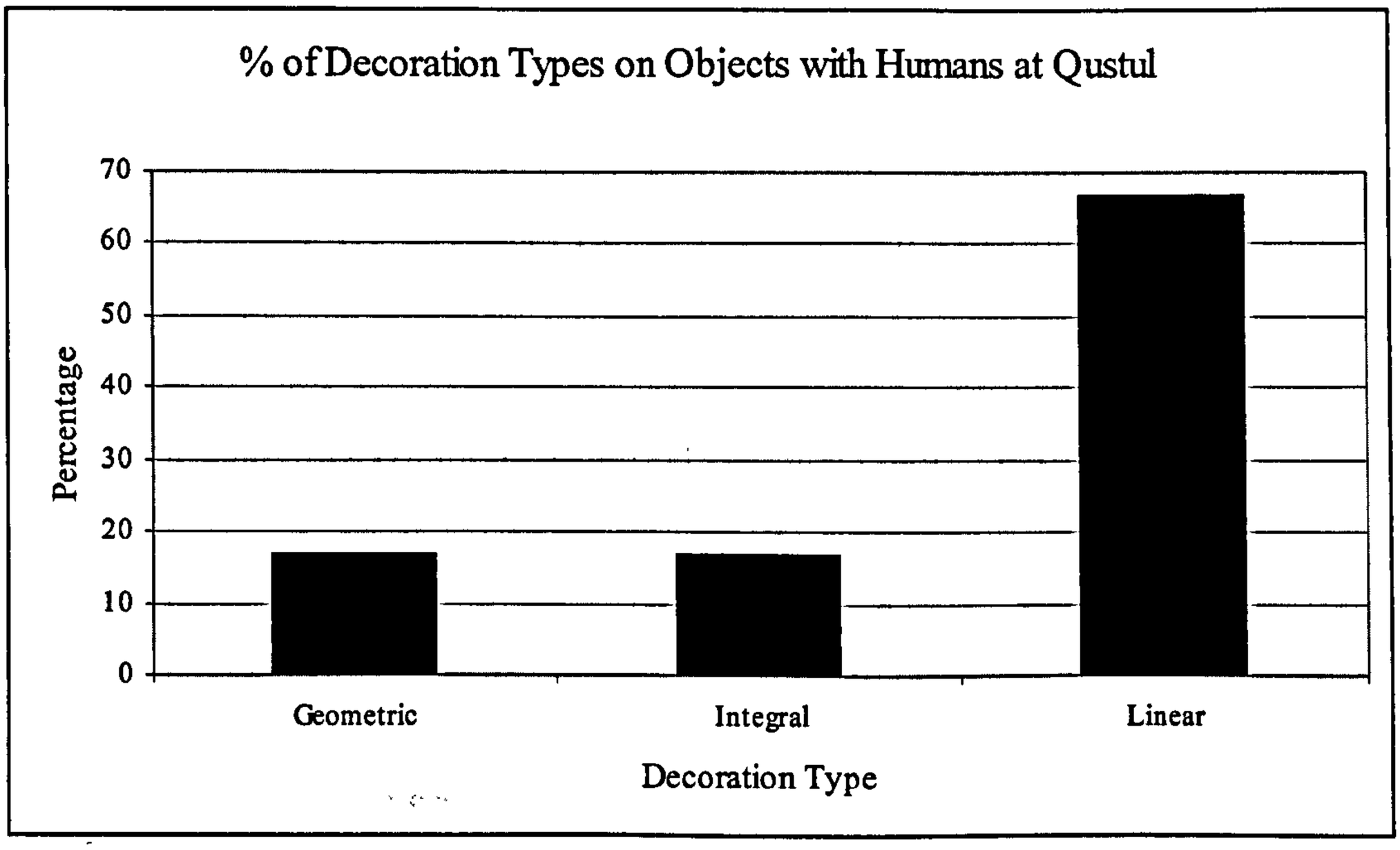


Figure 7.22

Only a very small number of humans at Qustul were found with artefacts that had some kind of design. Most of the designs that were found were linear (four instances). A single example each of a geometric and integral design also occurred in the artefacts.

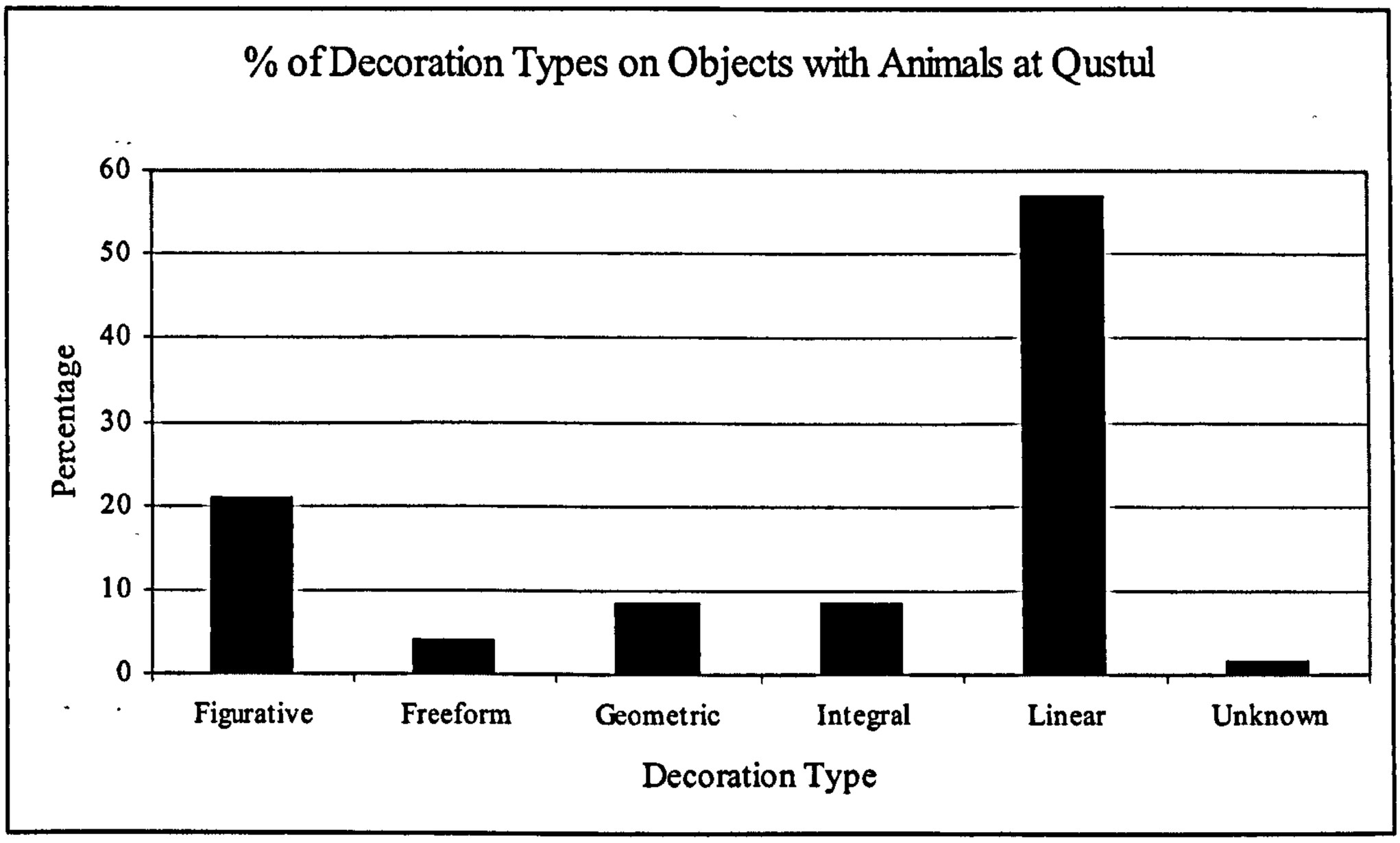


Figure 7.23

The artefacts found with the animals at Qustul demonstrate a greater range of decorative types than those found with the humans. The vast majority of designs (over 50%) were linear. Equal numbers of geometric and integral designs were found (12 instances each). A small number of design types were unknown.

7.13. Discussion of Decoration Designs at Ballana, Phase 3b-7c.

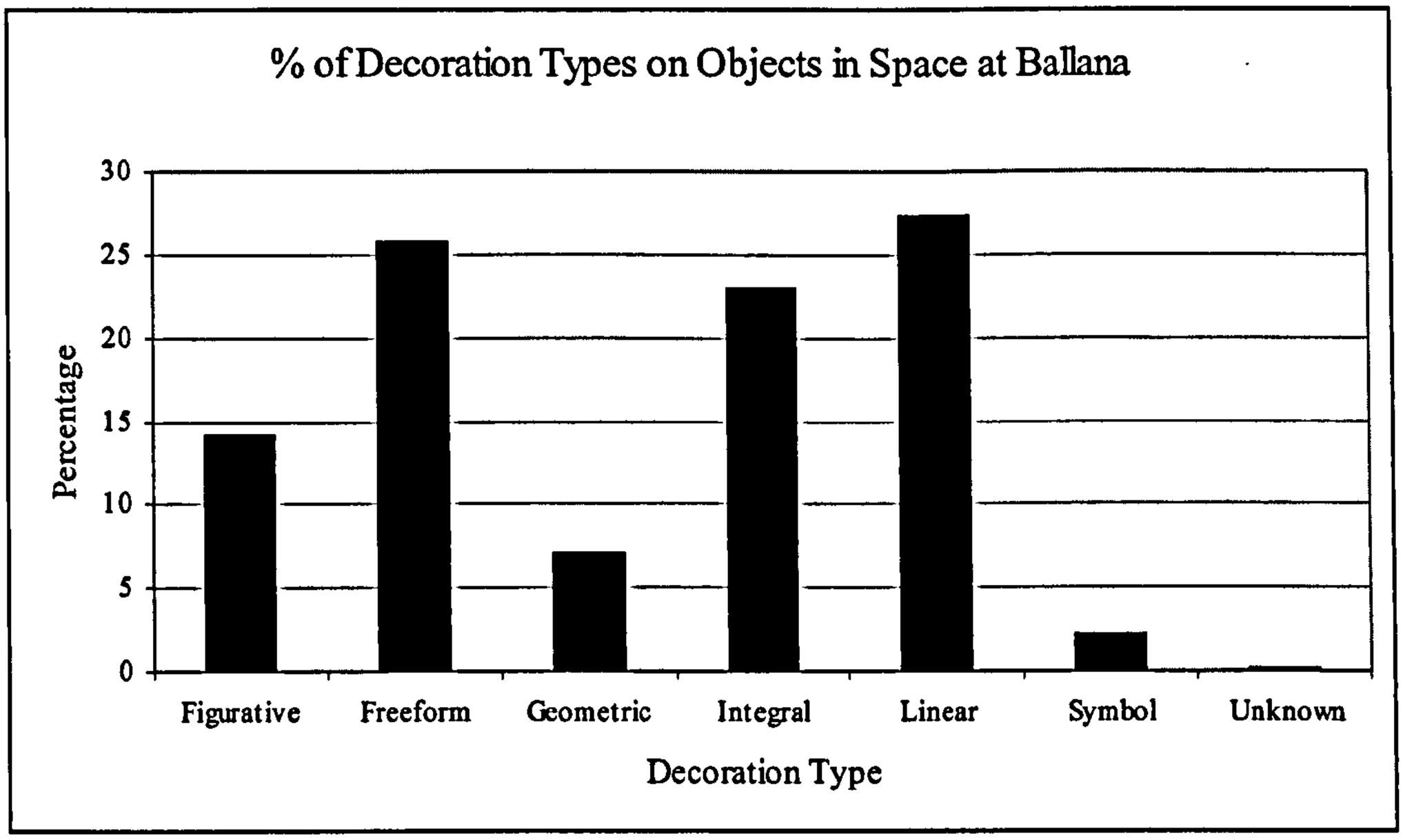


Figure 7.24

At Ballana, linear forms were the most frequent type of decoration on the artefacts in space (27.3%), closely followed by freeform designs (25.8%). Integral designs accounted for 23% of the total number of decorative types. Symbolic designs occurred least frequently (excepting 0.2% of unknown designs), forming just 2.2% of the designs.

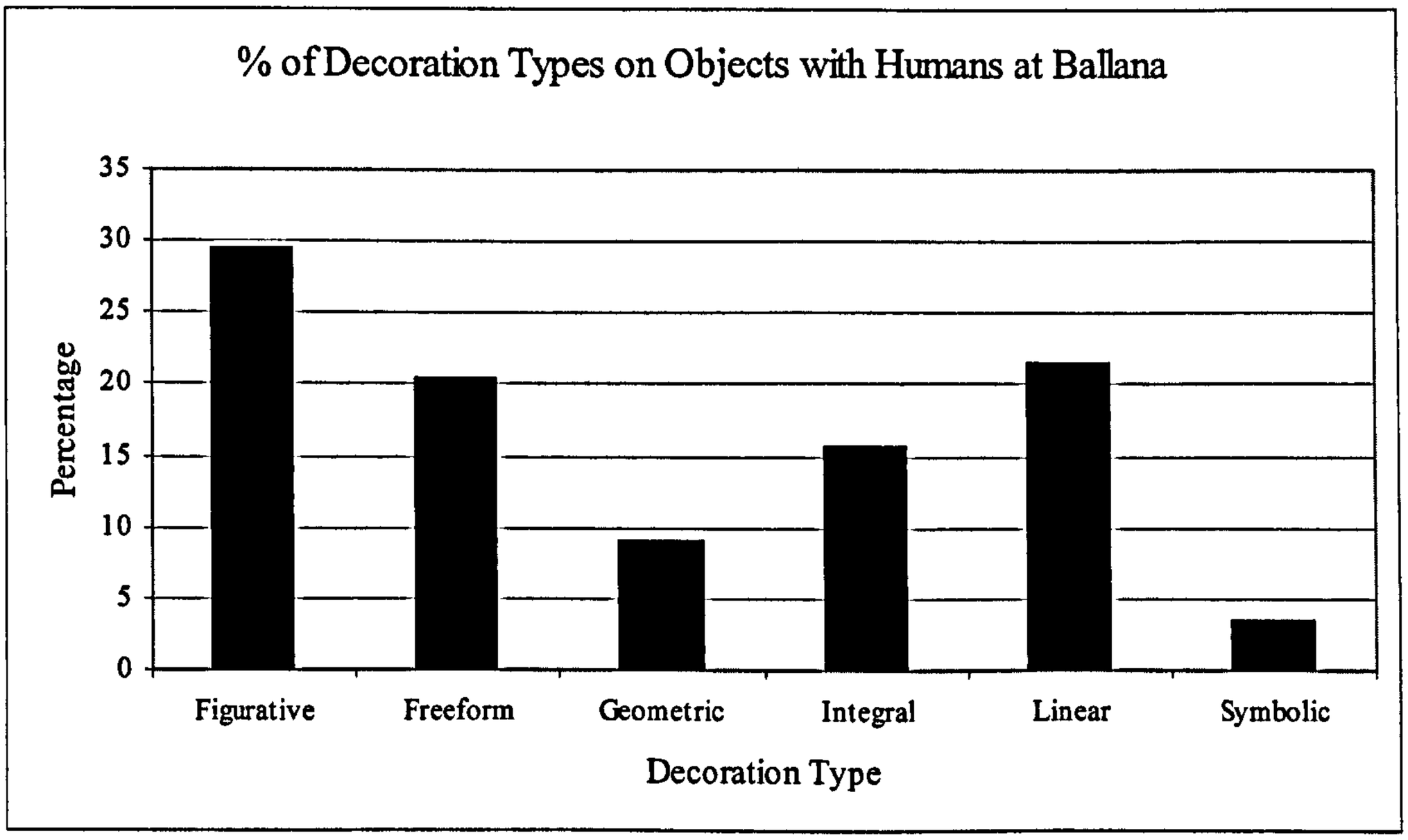


Figure 7.25

Most of the designs in the artefacts that occurred with humans were figurative. Similar percentages of freeform and linear designs (20.5% and 21.5% respectively), were found in these artefacts. Symbolic designs were the least numerous.

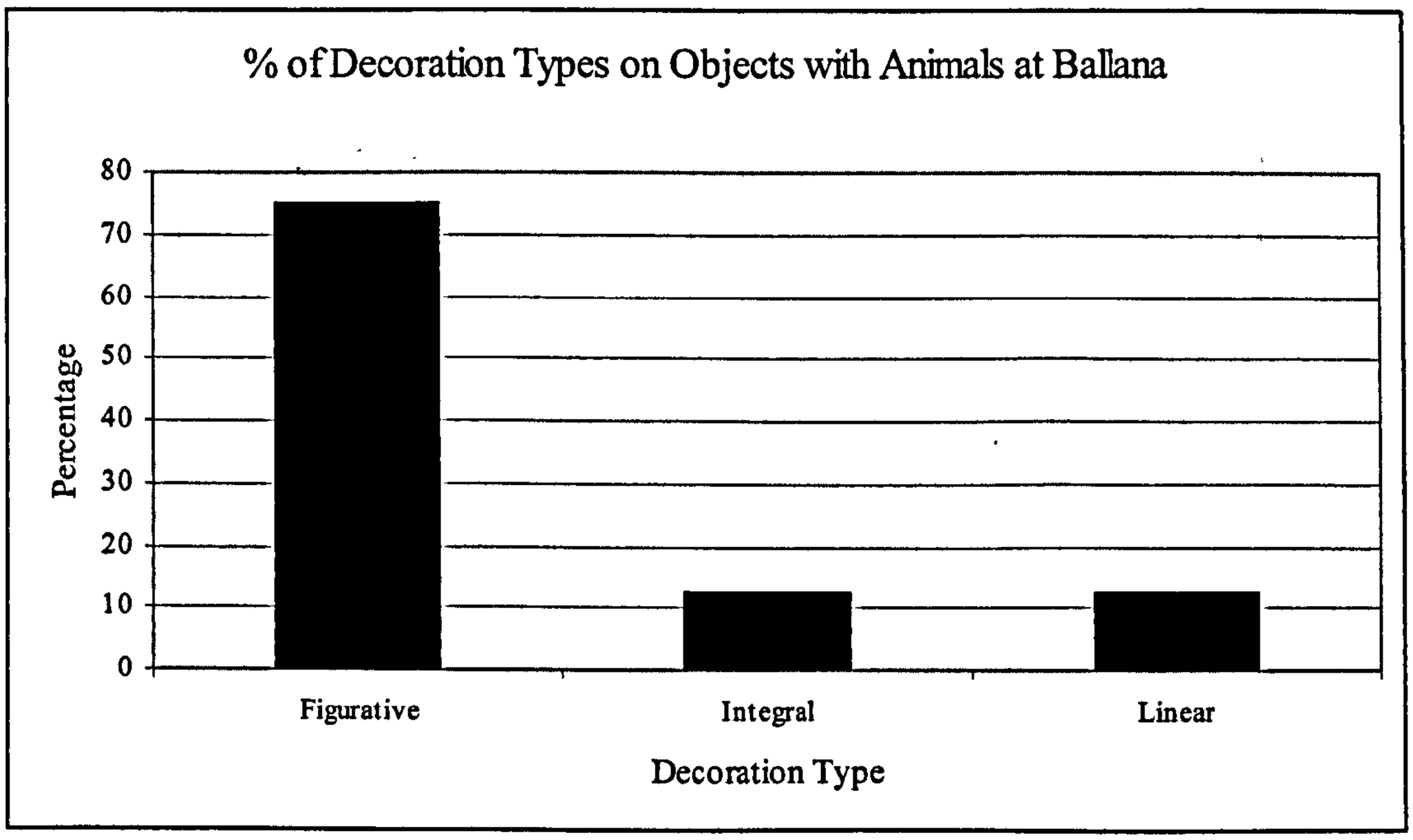


Figure 7.26

Figurative designs form the great majority of the designs in the artefacts found with the animals, accounting for 75% of the total. A single artefact was found with an integral design, and a single artefact with a linear design (12.5% each).

7.14. Decoration Types on Object Types at Qustul and Ballana: A Comparison.

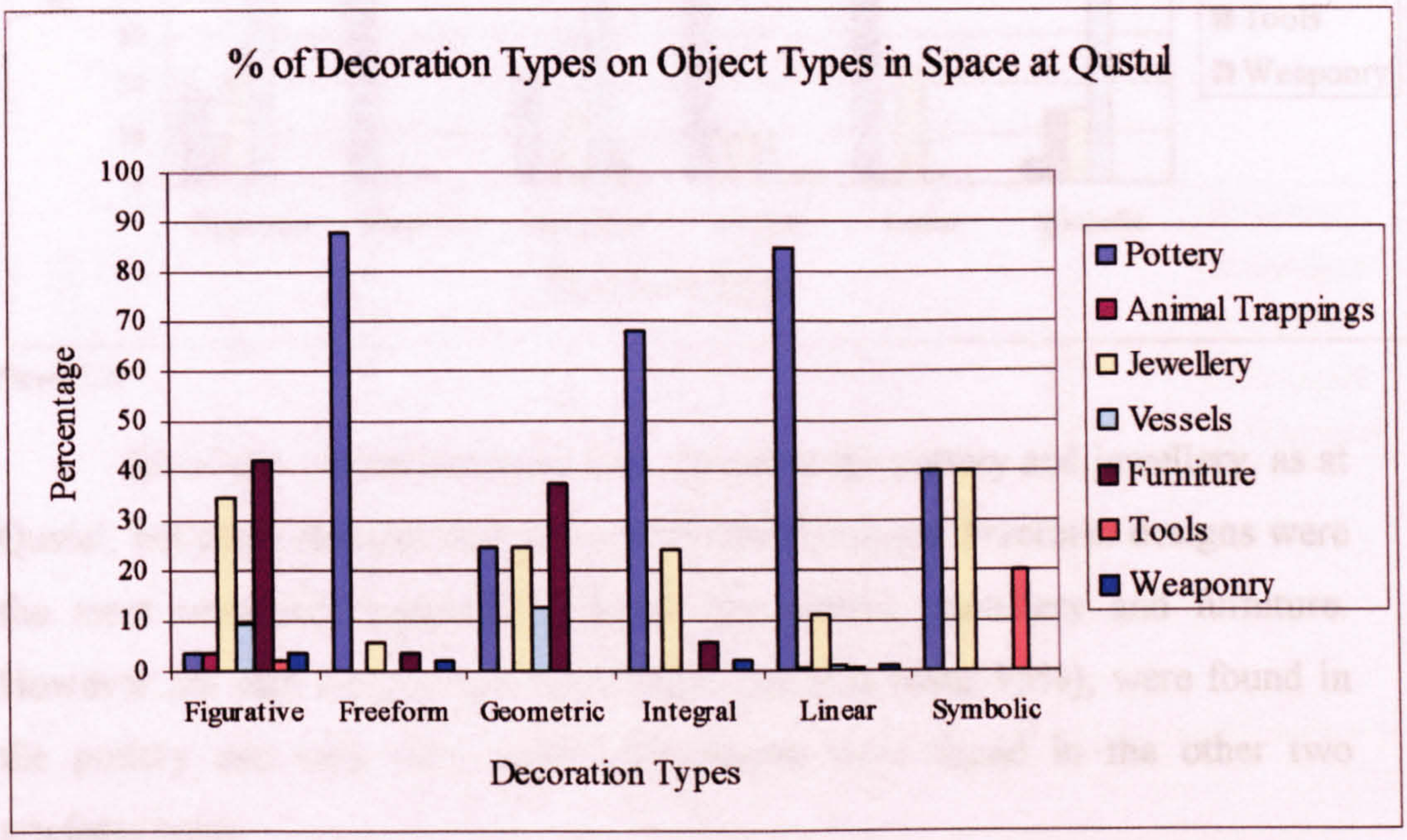


Figure 7.27

All of the decorative types appear in the pottery vessels and the jewellery. Symbolic designs appear in the most restricted range of artefact types (equal numbers in pottery, jewellery and tools).

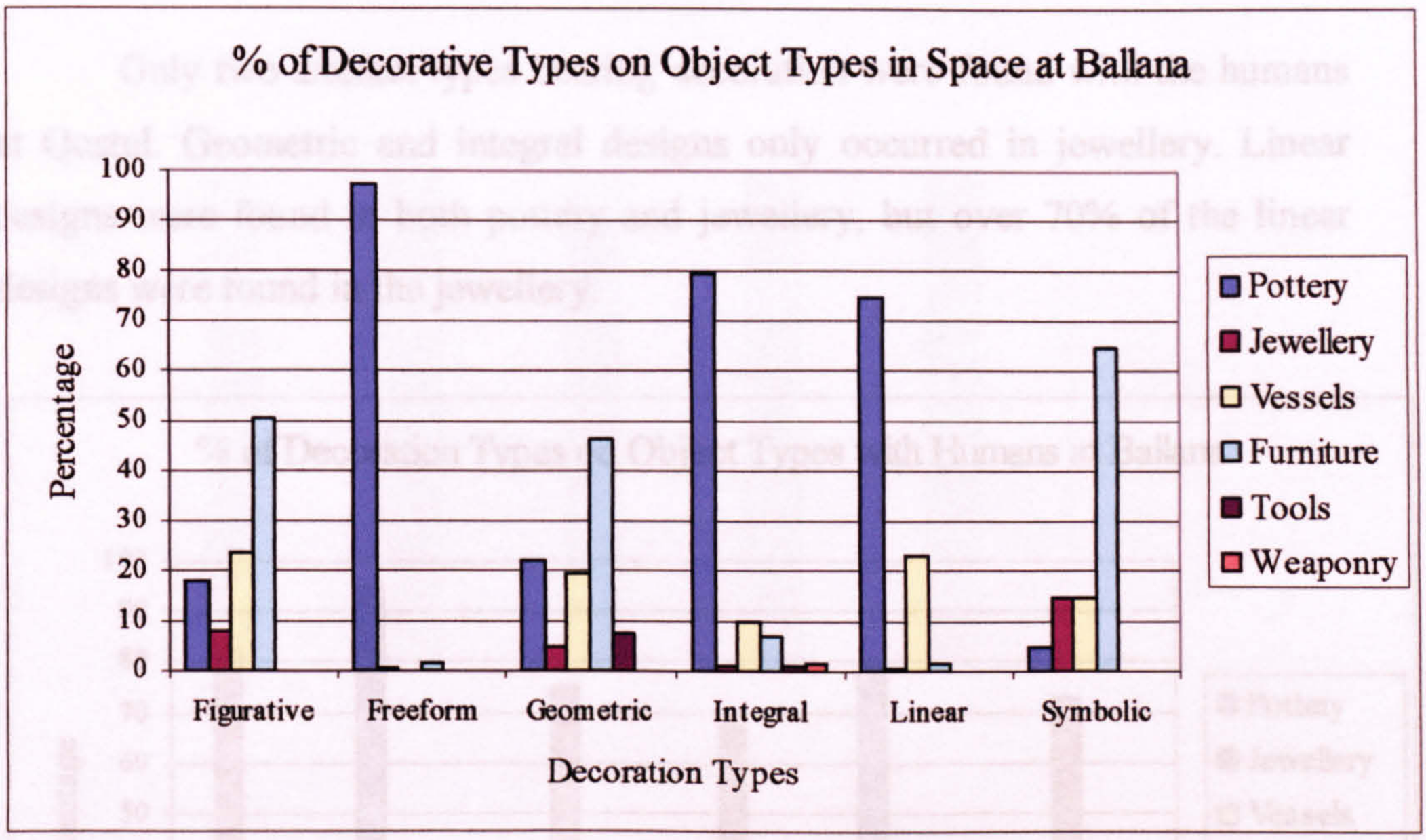


Figure 7.28

All of the decorative types were found in the pottery and jewellery, as at Qustul, but these designs also occurred in the furniture. Freeform designs were the most restricted, appearing only in the pottery, jewellery and furniture. However the vast majority of the freeform designs (over 95%), were found in the pottery and only very small percentages were found in the other two artefacts types.

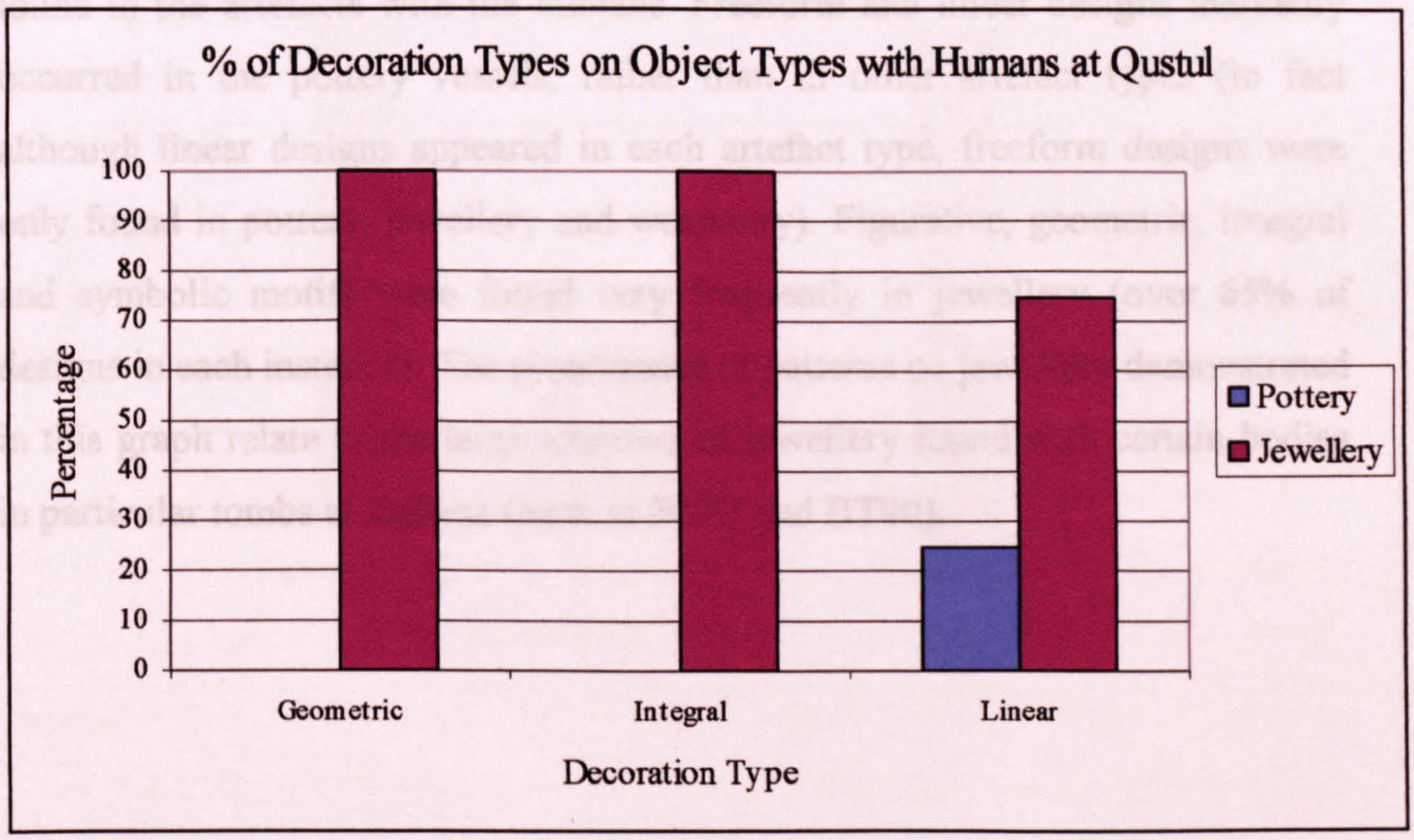


Figure 7.29

Only two artefact types bearing decoration were found with the humans at Qustul. Geometric and integral designs only occurred in jewellery. Linear designs were found in both pottery and jewellery, but over 70% of the linear designs were found in the jewellery.

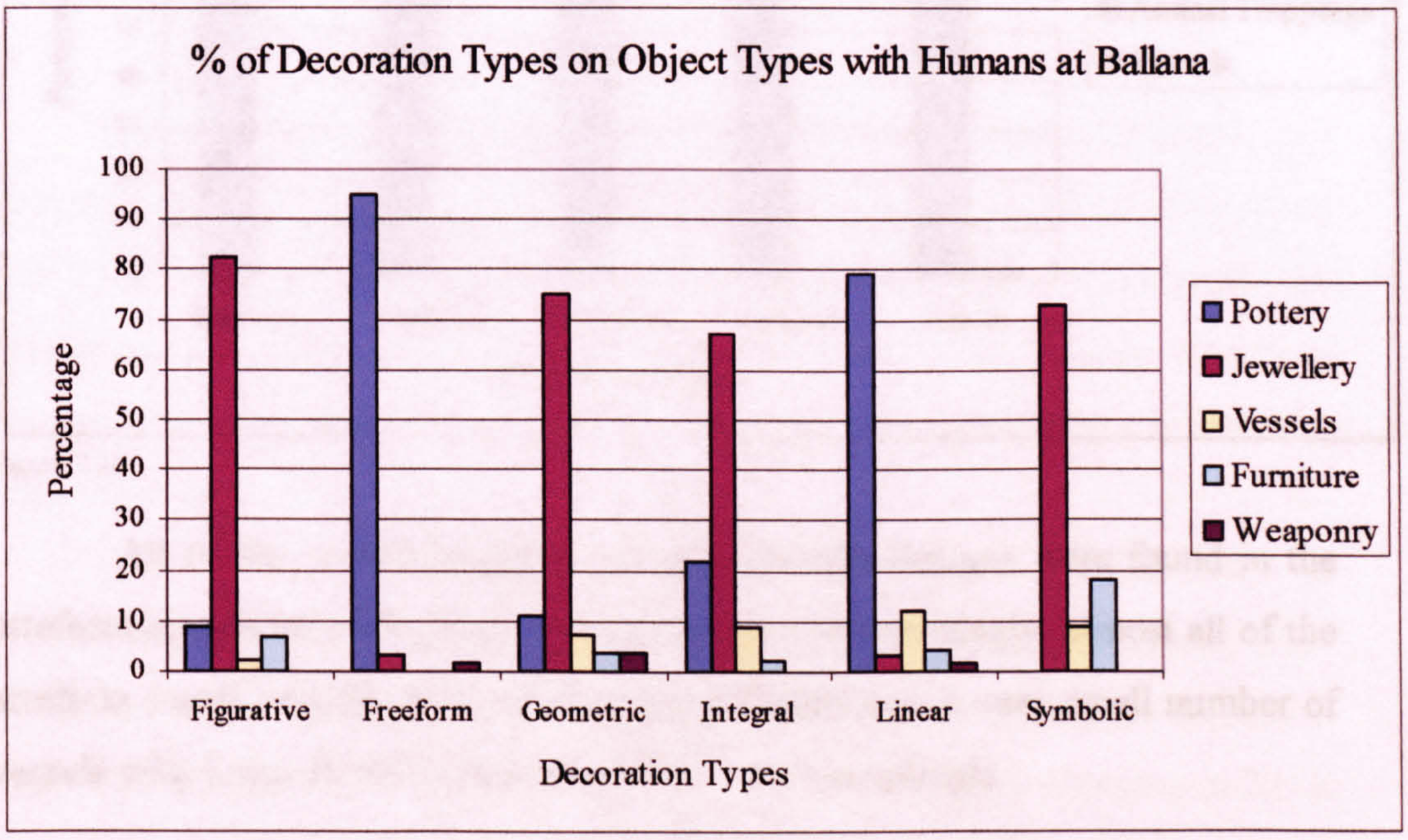


Figure 7.30

Unlike the pattern at Qustul, at Ballana all of the decorative types were found in the artefacts with the humans. Freeform and linear designs markedly occurred in the pottery vessels, rather than in other artefact types (in fact although linear designs appeared in each artefact type, freeform designs were only found in pottery, jewellery and weaponry). Figurative, geometric, integral and symbolic motifs were found very frequently in jewellery (over 65% of designs in each instance). The prominence of patterns on jewellery demonstrated in this graph relate to the large amounts of jewellery found with certain bodies in particular tombs at Ballana (such as BT47 and BT80).

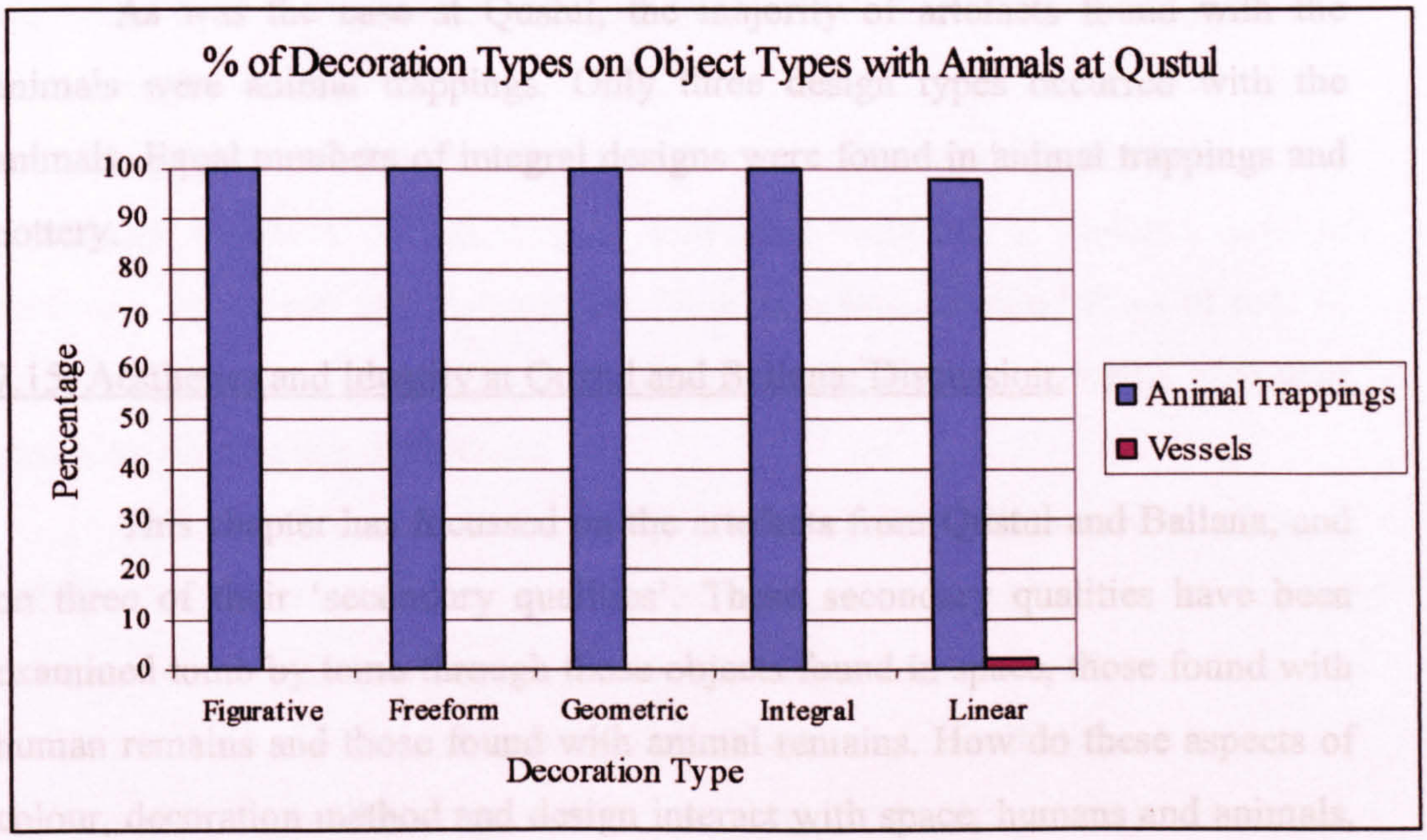


Figure 7.31

All of the decorative types, except symbolic designs were found in the artefacts associated with the animals at Qustul. Unsurprisingly, almost all of the artefacts found with the animals were animal trappings. A very small number of vessels with linear designs were also found with the animals.

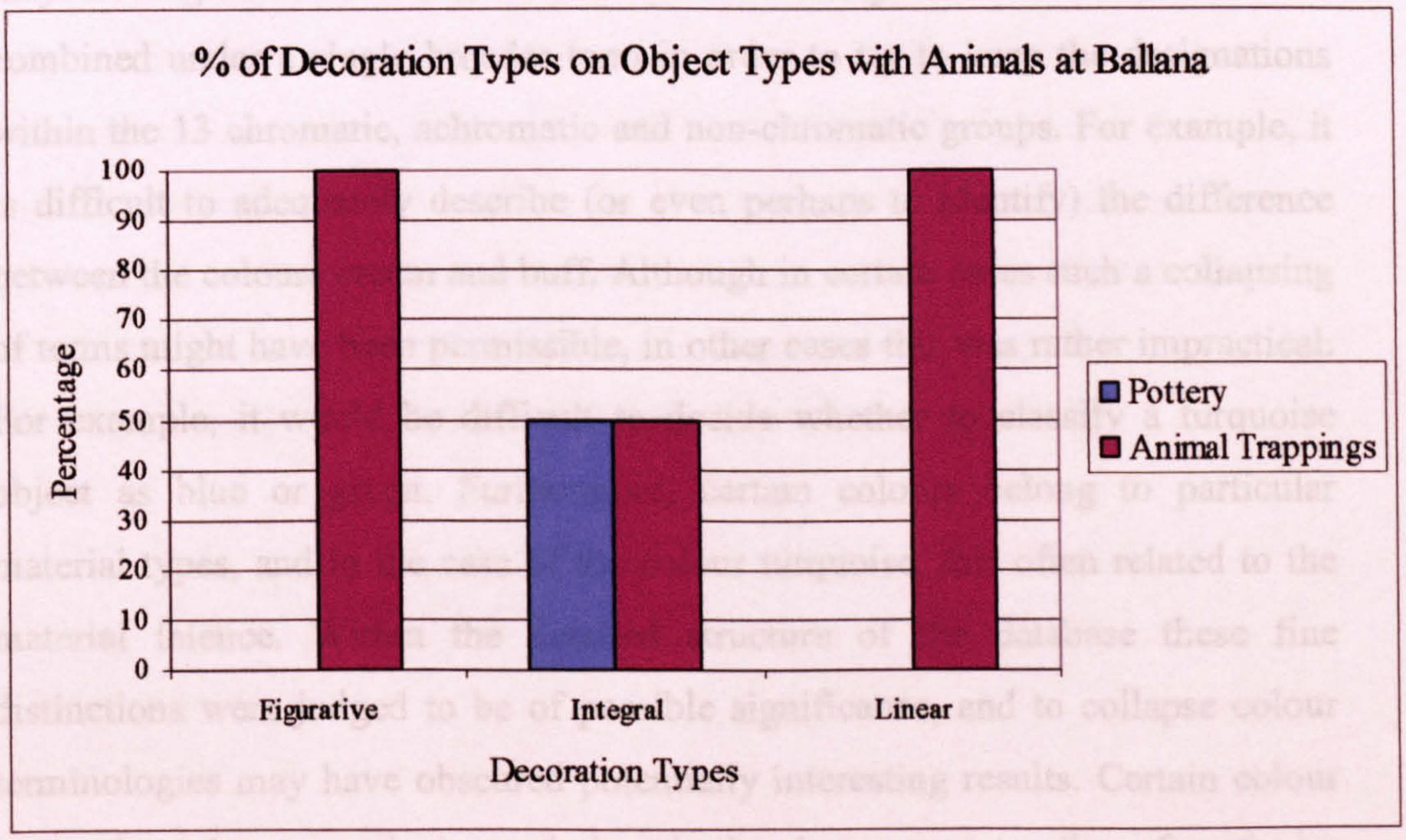


Figure 7.32

As was the case at Qustul, the majority of artefacts found with the animals were animal trappings. Only three design types occurred with the animals. Equal numbers of integral designs were found in animal trappings and pottery.

7.15. Aesthetics and Identity at Qustul and Ballana: Discussion.

This chapter has focussed on the artefacts from Qustul and Ballana, and on three of their 'secondary qualities'. These secondary qualities have been examined tomb by tomb through those objects found in space, those found with human remains and those found with animal remains. How do these aspects of colour, decoration method and design interact with space, humans and animals, and what might be the consequences of this?

The artefacts from the two cemeteries exhibit a very wide range of colours (or hues) that go beyond the basic descriptions of chromatic, non-chromatic and achromatic colours, the description of which covers 13 colours in total. The total number of colours recorded in the artefacts at the sites is 22. It may be argued that some of these colour designations could have been combined under a single broader term in order to try to keep the designations within the 13 chromatic, achromatic and non-chromatic groups. For example, it is difficult to adequately describe (or even perhaps to identify) the difference between the colours cream and buff. Although in certain cases such a collapsing of terms might have been permissible, in other cases this was rather impractical. For example, it would be difficult to decide whether to classify a turquoise object as blue or green. Furthermore, certain colours belong to particular material types, and in the case of the colour turquoise, this often related to the material faience. Within the detailed structure of the database these fine distinctions were judged to be of possible significance, and to collapse colour terminologies may have obscured potentially interesting results. Certain colour terms also relate to particular variations in the chroma or saturation of particular chromatic, achromatic or non-chromatic colours, and were therefore also deemed to be possibly meaningful. It must also be emphasised that the colours

identified by the excavators and presented in this thesis are not necessarily colours that were identified or given separate linguistic terms by the individuals using the objects and the sites. One might in particular raise speculation over the significant numbers of red, bronze and pink artefacts at Ballana, and in particular in the red and pink objects (pink as a less saturated form of red) as these were mainly constructed from pottery, and the shared material type may also have blurred this distinction.

At both sites red is the colour that appears most frequently. At Qustul, red is followed in decreasing numbers by black, white and bronze, whereas at Ballana, red is followed by pink, cream and black. Even when the artefacts are divided into the achromatic, non-chromatic and chromatic divisions, it remains obvious that chromatic colours are most frequent in the artefacts. However, large percentages of artefacts containing red are responsible for this leaning, and we can therefore conclude that chromatic colours were not favoured *per se*, but that red, as a colour in itself, was. At Qustul, the percentage of chromatic colours and achromatic colours were quite similar (34.5% and 30.4% respectively) and stand in marked contrast to the percentage of non-chromatic colours (8.8%). At Ballana, a different situation existed. In total, chromatic colours accounted for 46.2% of the colour occurrences, whilst non-chromatic and achromatic colours made up 14.4% and 16.6%. Therefore at Qustul, the colours used in objects tended to be chromatic (mostly red) and achromatic (60% plus), with less than 10% being non-chromatic. In contrast at Ballana, almost half of the colours are chromatic (again, mostly red), with lesser, but similar percentages of non-chromatic and achromatic colours.

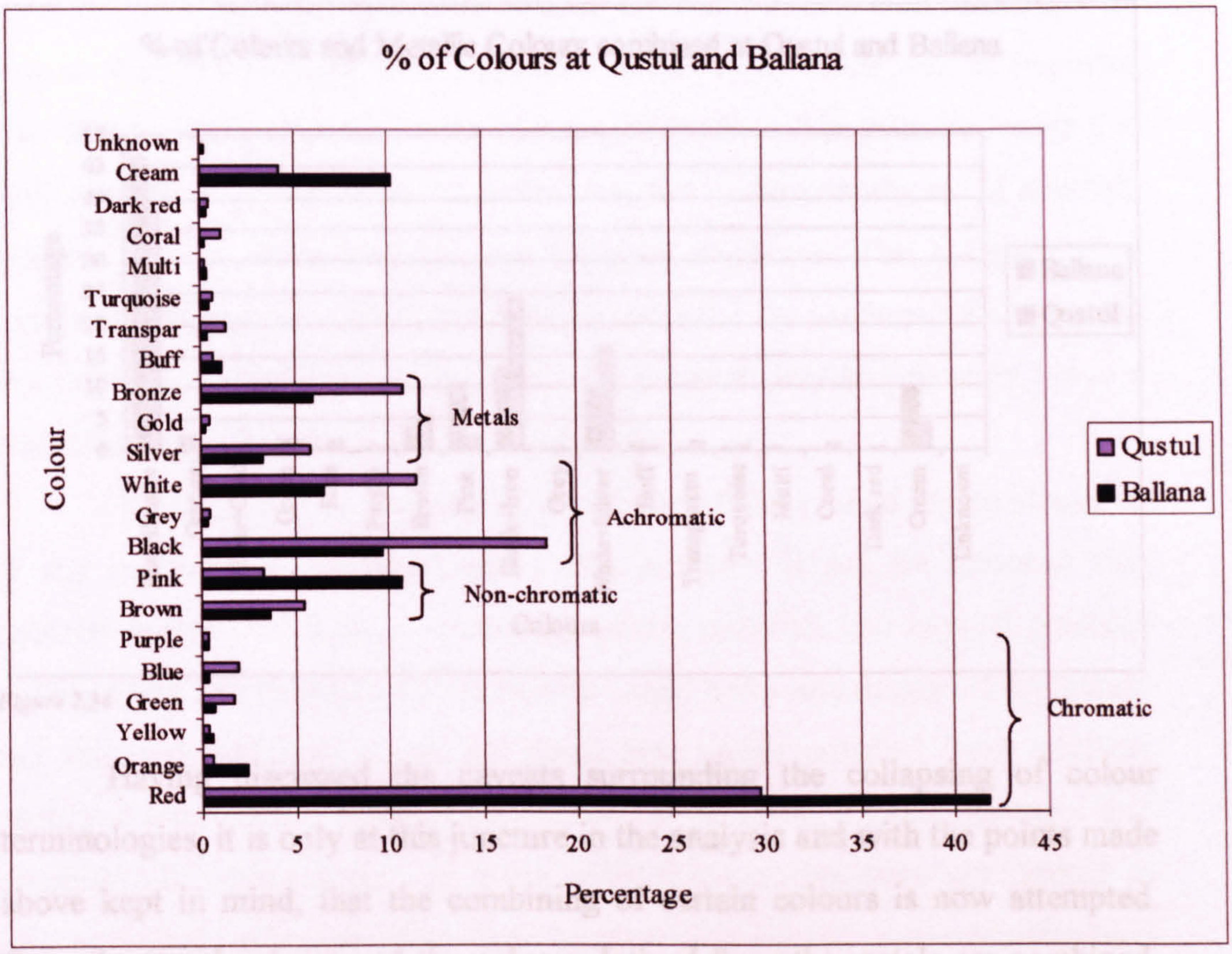


Figure 7.33

The percentages of colours relating to metallic objects at the sites are also significant. Three colours/materials are listed in the graph above as bronze, gold and silver. Part of the percentage accounting for black objects relates to artefacts made from lead or iron, which were classified within the database as black metals. At Qustul these colours make up just over 17% of the total percentage of colours from the site, and at Ballana, 9.5%. I suggest that we may identify bronze as a red metal, silver as a white metal and iron and lead as black metals. In terms of colour classification and material classification, at both sites red pottery and red metal (bronze) occurred more often than other colours or types of metal. At both sites the metals occur in remarkably similar frequencies (see chapter six) with bronze appearing most frequently, followed by iron and then silver (or red, black, white).

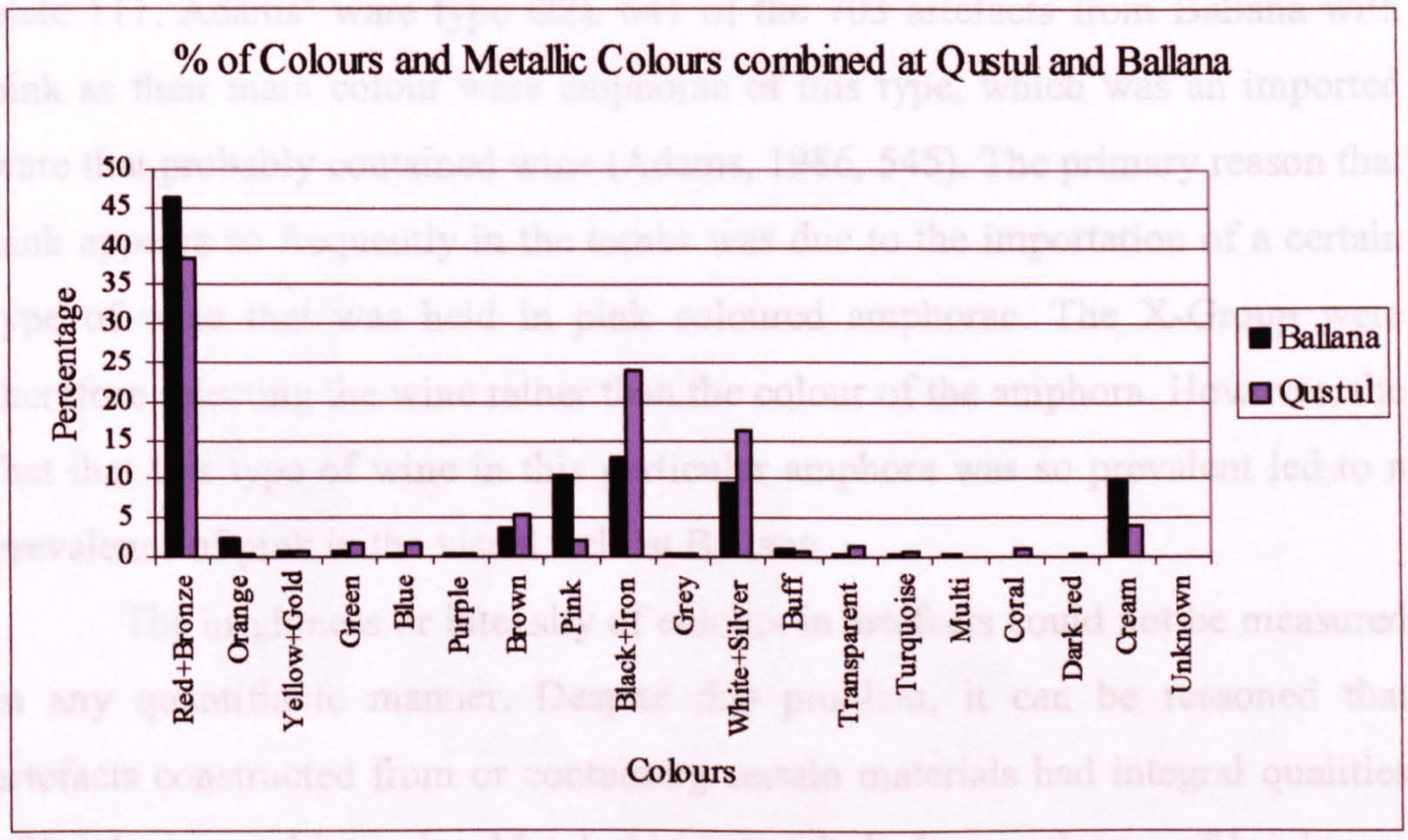


Figure 7.34

Having discussed the caveats surrounding the collapsing of colour terminologies, it is only at this juncture in the analysis and with the points made above kept in mind, that the combining of certain colours is now attempted. Once the 'true' colours and the colours derived from the metals are combined, the red (plus bronze), black (plus iron), white (plus silver), the trend that already existed is augmented for the finds from Qustul. At Qustul, a chromatic colour is most frequent, with two achromatic colours being the next most common. However, at Ballana, the more frequent colours are red (plus bronze), black (plus iron) and pink. At Ballana, a chromatic colour is also most frequent, followed by an achromatic colour and a non-chromatic colour. White (plus silver) forms the fourth most frequently occurring colour at Ballana, with numbers just lower than pink. These red, bronze and pink artefacts all exist at the red end of the colour spectrum, and in fact pink can be understood as a less chromatically saturated form of red. The appearance of such large quantities of pink at Ballana seems rather surprising, as the generally perceived X-Group colour repertoire is that of black, red and white. It is also striking that the occurrence of pink is so frequent when the numbers at Ballana are compared with those at Qustul. The vast majority of the pink artefacts from Ballana are pink ware amphora (Emery and Kirwan type 7b see Emery and Kirwan, 1938b,

plate 111, Adams' ware type U2). 641 of the 703 artefacts from Ballana with pink as their main colour were amphorae of this type, which was an imported ware that probably contained wine (Adams, 1986, 545). The primary reason that pink appears so frequently in the tombs was due to the importation of a certain type of wine that was held in pink coloured amphorae. The X-Group were therefore selecting the wine rather than the colour of the amphora. However, the fact that this type of wine in this particular amphora was so prevalent led to a prevalence of pink in the visual field at Ballana.

The brightness or intensity of colours in artefacts could not be measured in any quantifiable manner. Despite this problem, it can be reasoned that artefacts constructed from or containing certain materials had integral qualities of brightness and intensity. Metal objects surely had some degree of brightness and shininess, although we do not know how highly polished these artefacts were. Precious or semi-precious stones (such as carnelian, marble, amethyst, and sapphire) all exhibit a kind of lustre, even if the stones were not faceted to encourage their reflective properties. Artefacts constructed from materials such as bone or ivory were classified as luminous. Other artefacts constructed from stone, wood or pottery were generally described as dull. The pottery type 13a, a type of amphora, was dusted with mica, and so these artefacts had a sparkly appearance.

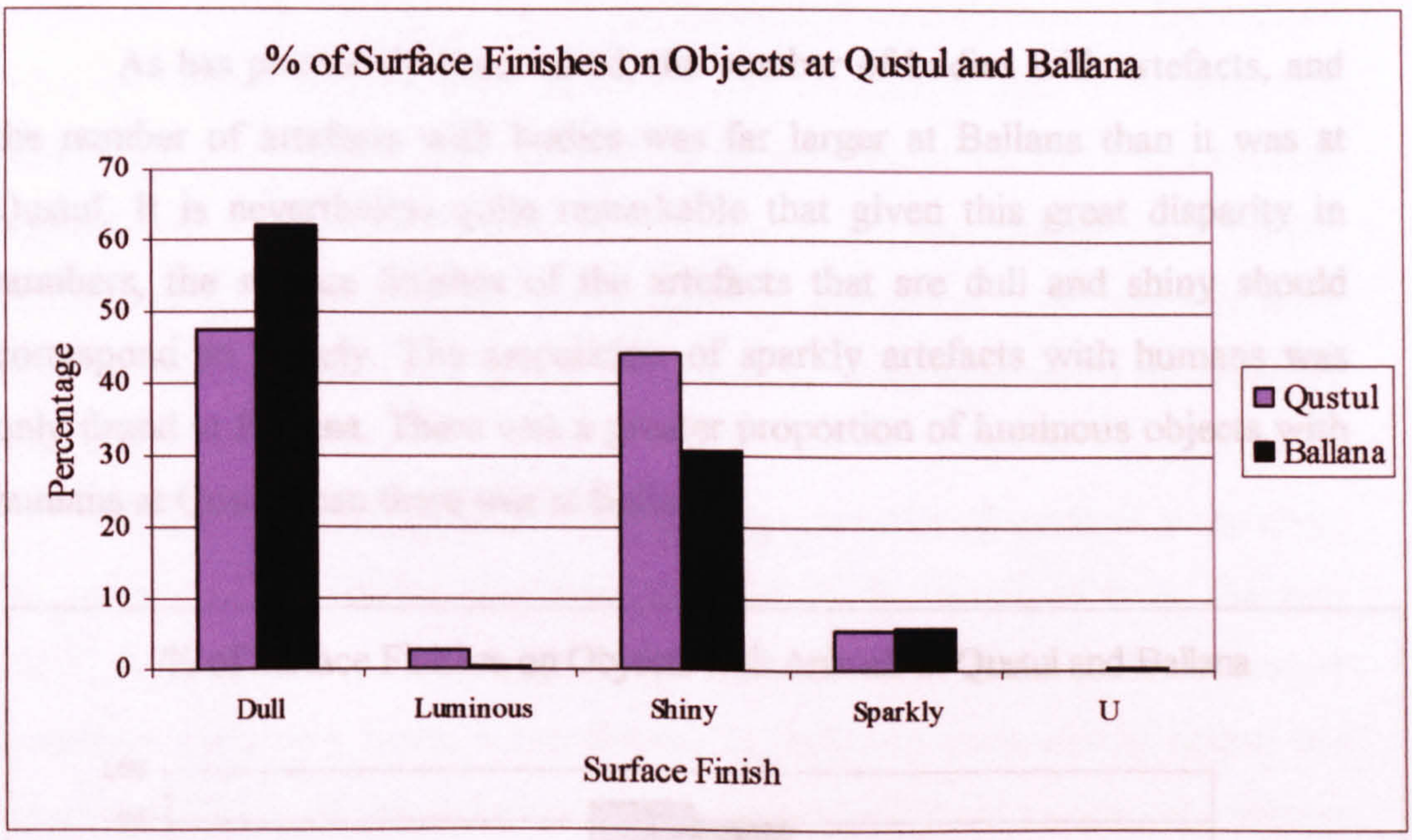


Figure 7.35

The surface finishes on the artefacts at both sites were mostly classified as dull or shiny. At Qustul there were almost equal proportions of dull and shiny objects, but at Ballana the dull artefacts are more than double the proportion of shiny artefacts. Sparkly objects appear in very similar quantities at both sites, but the proportion of luminous artefacts was greater at Qustul. There were a small number of objects with unknown finishes at Ballana.

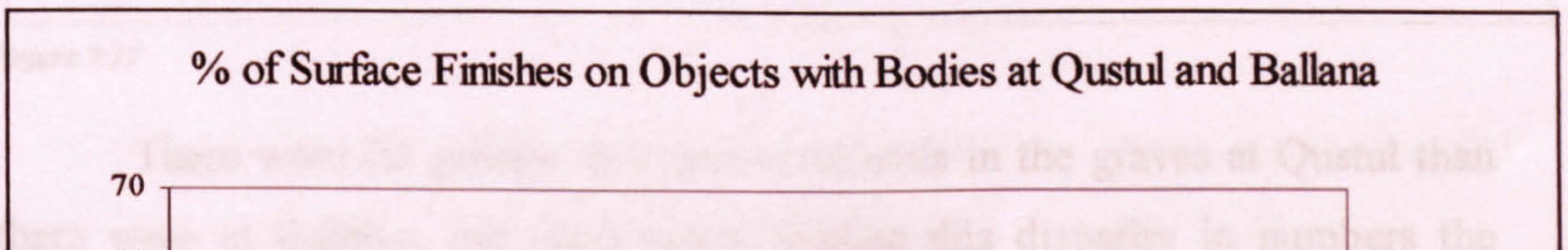


Figure 7.36

As has previously been noted, the number of bodies with artefacts, and the number of artefacts with bodies was far larger at Ballana than it was at Qustul. It is nevertheless quite remarkable that given this great disparity in numbers, the surface finishes of the artefacts that are dull and shiny should correspond so closely. The association of sparkly artefacts with humans was only found at Ballana. There was a greater proportion of luminous objects with humans at Qustul than there was at Ballana.

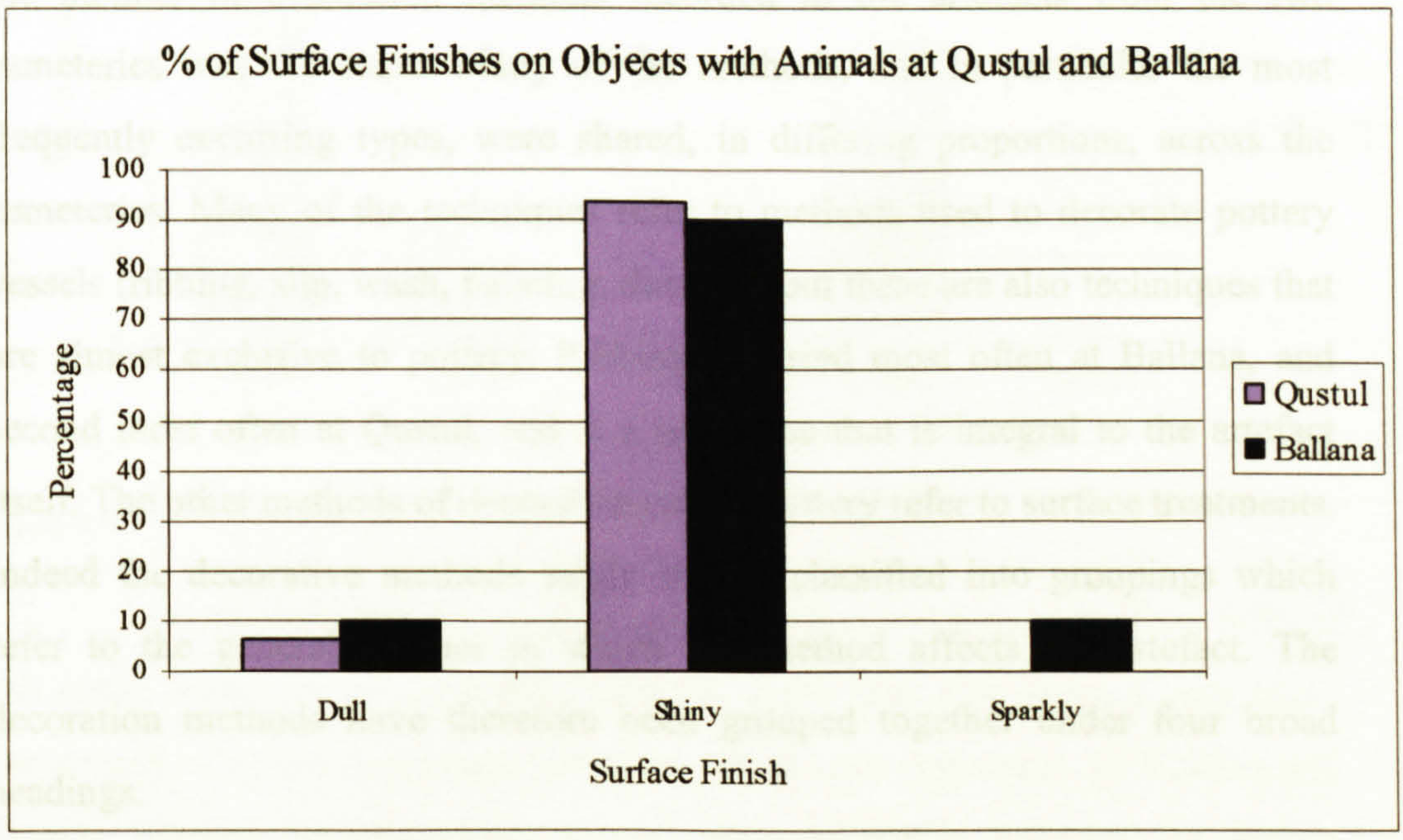


Figure 7.37

There were far greater numbers of animals in the graves at Qustul than there were at Ballana, but once again, despite this disparity in numbers the similar percentages of dull and shiny artefacts found with the animals at both sites is surprising. Furthermore, as was the case with the human remains, remains with sparkly objects only occurred at Ballana.

The trend in the occurrence of surface finishes with the artefacts in space shows that most artefacts were dull. This is particularly notable at Ballana where dullness forms 62.4% of finishes, whilst shininess forms less than half this amount (30.4%). At Qustul, dullness and shininess appear in more equal proportions (47.5% and 44.3% respectively). This is in contrast to the surface

finishes on artefacts found with both the human and animal remains. The surface finish on objects with humans at Qustul and Ballana is over 60%, and with animals at Qustul and Ballana is 90% or above. Therefore, there is a definite preponderance for shiny artefacts to be worn by humans and animals. To put this another way, shiny materials were actively selected to make artefacts to be worn by humans and animals, or shiny objects were selected to be worn by humans and animals.

Rather surprisingly, given the differing quantities of artefacts at the sites, the number of decoration methods recorded in the artefacts from the two cemeteries was the same. Many of the methods, and in particular the most frequently occurring types, were shared, in differing proportions, across the cemeteries. Many of the techniques refer to methods used to decorate pottery vessels (ribbing, slip, wash, painting, dusting), but these are also techniques that are almost exclusive to pottery. Ribbing occurred most often at Ballana, and second most often at Qustul, and is a technique that is integral to the artefact itself. The other methods of decoration on the pottery refer to surface treatments. Indeed the decorative methods might be sub-classified into groupings which refer to the general manner in which the method affects the artefact. The decoration methods have therefore been grouped together under four broad headings.

Layered (usually found on pottery, and refers to techniques that might by applied one over another): slip, wash, dusted, painting, mounted, filed.

Sunken (decoration methods that make a depression in the artefact): inscribed, incised, stamped, engraved, bevelled, perforated, drilled, embossed, impressed, inlaid, punched, thumb press, cut.

Raised (decoration methods that stand proud on the artefact's surface): bosses, beading, repoussé, applied, plated, set.

Integral (methods of decoration integral to the artefact's form): ribbed, hafted, socketed, blown, beaten, cast, bound, carved, clay collar, ground, hammered, plaited, sculpted, soldered, turned, woven, twisted, chain, riveted.

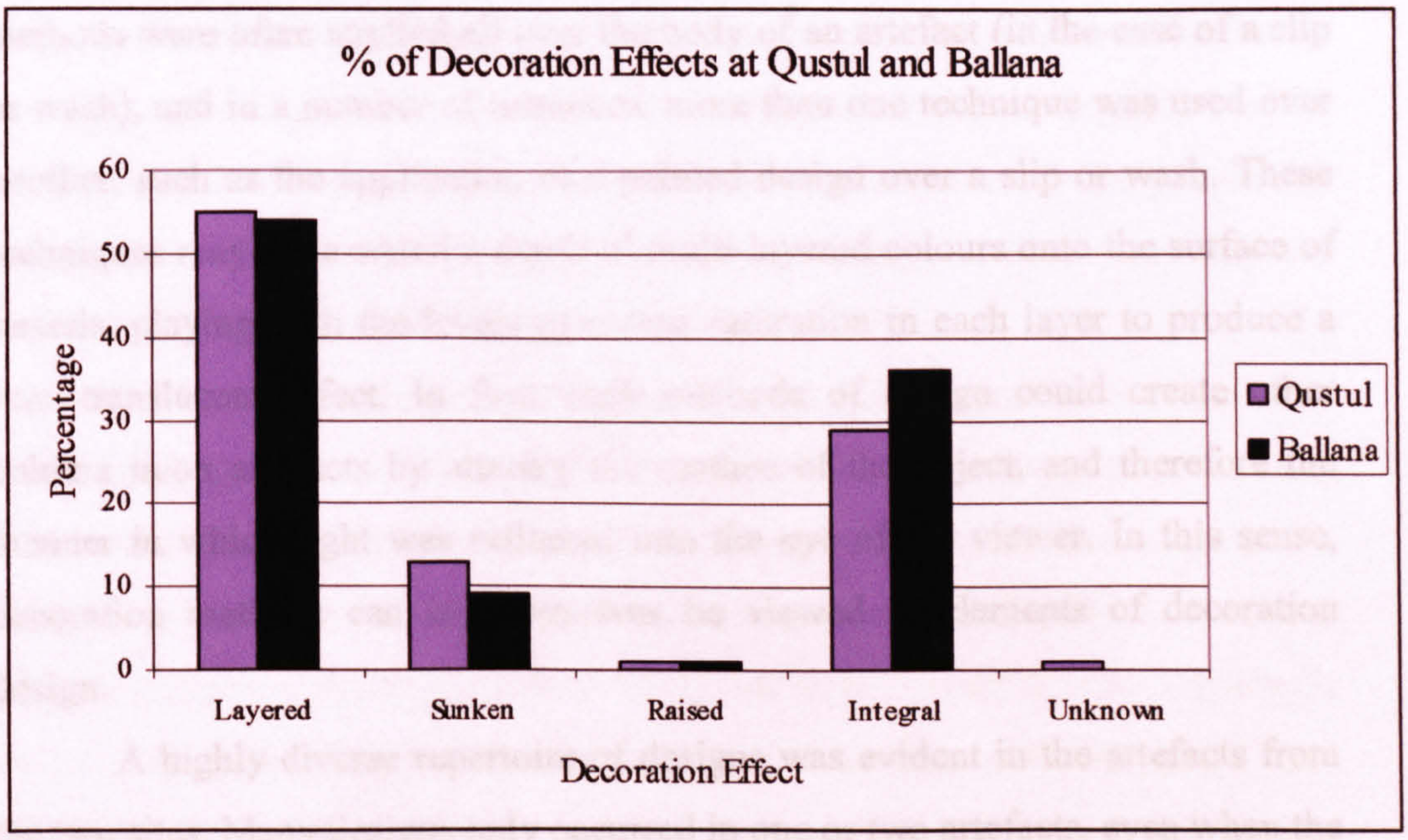


Figure 7.38

At both sites, layered methods of decoration make up more than 50% of the entire repertoire of decorative methods. Both sites also share a very small percentage of raised decoration (less than 1% at each cemetery). At Ballana and Qustul, integral designs appear second most frequently followed by sunken motifs. At Qustul, four artefacts were decorated by an unknown method. The patterns at the two sites are essentially the same, and in particular, the almost identical percentage of layered decoration methods at the sites is very striking (54.5% at Ballana and 55% at Qustul). The classification of these decoration effects is interesting in a number of ways. Different results were produced by the application of a design onto artefacts using different types of methods. In particular, those methods which produced a sunken or raised effect would have created an element of interest when touching or viewing the artefact in question. Such effects were formed by sunken or raised methods of design creating a sensory contrast to the body of an artefact, for example the contrast between the feel of the smooth shininess of a bronze bell interrupted by the furrow of an

incised line. Visually, sunken designs produced a darker, shadowy effect on artefacts by their recessed nature, whilst raised designs may have encouraged the apprehension of sparkliness or shininess on an artefact by the play of light on the rounded or angular surfaces of an elevated design. Layered decorative methods were often applied all over the body of an artefact (in the case of a slip or wash), and in a number of instances, more than one technique was used over another, such as the application of a painted design over a slip or wash. These techniques may have added a depth of multi-layered colours onto the surface of vessels, playing with the levels of colour saturation in each layer to produce a semi-translucent effect. In fact, such methods of design could create other colours in/on artefacts by altering the surface of the object, and therefore the manner in which light was reflected into the eye of the viewer. In this sense, decoration methods can in themselves be viewed as elements of decoration design.

A highly diverse repertoire of designs was evident in the artefacts from the two sites. Many designs only occurred in one or two artefacts, even when the designs are added together across the two sites. At Qustul, lateral lines are the most numerous decoration designs, whilst at Ballana, splashes occur most often. These types of design have been classified more broadly as linear and freeform respectively. In the objects found in space at the sites, freeform and linear designs formed the greatest percentage of designs. The percentages of these designs are very similar at each site. At Qustul, 36.3% of designs were freeform and 37.3% were linear. At Ballana, 25.8% of designs were freeform and 27.3% were linear. At Ballana, the trend of similar percentages of freeform and linear designs (20.5% and 21.5%) was also found in the artefacts associated with the human remains. However, a contrast exists between the types of designs found with the humans and animals. At Qustul, linear designs made up 65% of the designs with humans, and 50% of the designs with animals, whereas at Ballana, figurative designs formed 30% of designs found in artefacts with humans, and 75% of designs found with the animals. Symbolic designs appeared least frequently at both sites, and as a percentage of the total design repertoire, only account for 0.5% of designs at Qustul and 2.5% of designs at Ballana. From

these patterns we can see that at both sites freeform and linear designs formed the most significant types of designs in objects unassociated with remains. Linear designs were most significant in artefacts found with humans and animals at Qustul, but figurative designs were most significant in artefacts found with humans and animals at Ballana. Across space at the two sites, decorative schemes were highly similar (as is demonstrated in the closely comparable percentages) but decorative schemes were totally dissimilar for the people and animals at each cemetery. Intriguingly, this would suggest both continuity and change in the design repertoire at the sites.

As has been exemplified, many of the design schemes at the sites were relatively straightforward designs, and may be so prevalent due to their ease and speed of application. Symbolic designs made up a very small percentage of the total design repertoire and indeed at Qustul, there were more artefacts decorated with an unknown design than there were that were decorated with a symbolic design. Figurative designs constituted 14% of all designs at Qustul, and 17.9% of those at Ballana. Representational designs were therefore of limited significance in terms of number of occurrences. However, artefacts exhibiting such representational designs (particularly those recognisable as Egyptian, Kushitic or Classical) are those that have been considered to be of greater significance in particular ways. Much of the material with representational designs has been considered to be the result of looting by the X-Group, or of bribes given to them by powers in Egypt (see discussions in chapters two and four). The possibility of their importation has been barely considered. This position has effectively curtailed the power of X-Group agency, from the point of view of the individual, or the collective. X-Group identity has only been considered in the most limited of terms, and the style of their indigenous material culture, in contrast to that which is believed to be Egypto-Roman, or Kushitic, has been construed as the product of a backwards, lethargic, barbarous group. This has been the case even if numerically, such representational schemes were less numerous (and therefore less visible) than other designs.

7.16. Conclusion.

Chapter six was concerned with the unresolved question relating to the origins of the artefacts from Qustul and Ballana. The artefacts were approached from the perspective of the materials and technologies involved in the production of artefacts however they were ultimately acquired by the X-Group. Following the theoretical discussions laid out in chapter four concerning the imbricated relationships between animals, humans and objects, and the potentially varied conceptions of individuality and bodily boundaries, this chapter has approached the evidence from the sites in relation to the artefacts, the humans and the animals, and has considered them each as equally important fields of investigation. In a similar vein, the data concerning the constituent parts of the artefacts – their colour, decoration methods and decoration designs – has been interrogated in relation to every artefact at the site, however commonplace and mundane it might at first glance appear to be. In the same manner that the investigation of remains in space, with humans or with animals has not seen one line of enquiry privileged over another, none of the artefacts have been considered to be more important or more 'art-like' than others in the data analysis concerning their secondary qualities.

This chapter has started to consider the psychological matrix within which people, animals and artefacts existed, and it has also considered the subjective experience of viewing and touching different artefacts from the sites. In investigating the visual and haptic senses, aspects of the embodied experience of the people at Qustul and Ballana – the concept of embodiment having been identified in chapter four (section 4. 6) as key to this research - have been suggested. In the reinterpretation that follows, this theme will be further explored alongside a more comprehensive interpretation of the relations between animals, artefacts and people. Furthermore, these themes will tie in to a consideration of what may have constituted X-Group identity at Qustul and Ballana.

Chapter Eight

Qustul and Ballana: A Reinterpretation.

'It is only shallow people who do not judge by appearances. The true mystery of the world is in the visible, not the invisible' (Oscar Wilde).

8.1. Introduction.

The central aim of this thesis was to move towards a reinterpretation of the X-Group cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana. To this end, the remains from the sites have been analysed and discussed in a comprehensive manner. Central to the thesis was the consideration of X-Group activity at the cemeteries as constructive aspects of X-Group identity. This required the detailed analysis of the human, animal and artefactual remains as the loci of culturally specific practices that created X-Group identity. What follows is a synthesis and interpretation of the material from the cemeteries informed by a consideration of the traditional historical, cultural and chronological framework (chapter two), the theoretical perspectives outlined in chapter four, and the quantitative analyses that were undertaken in chapters five, six and seven.

8.2. The Broken Body.

The human and animal remains from the two cemeteries have been treated as equally important in this research. The manner in which the remains were interred, and the objects with which they were associated present an interesting picture. The majority of the human and animal remains in the tombs are likely to be the remains of people and animals that were specially chosen and killed for inclusion in the burial (see below for a further discussion of the modes of death). It is impossible to be sure why certain people were chosen for the burial, and likewise whether they were chosen by the deceased prior to death or by the successor. Procopius (see section 2.4 of chapter two) stated that the Blemmye sacrificed humans to the sun, and if we were to accept that the burials

at Qustul and/or Ballana represent the Blemmye, then Procopius' assertion may explain the presence of some of the human remains in the tombs. Lenoble argues (1996) that the retainers represent the triumphal execution of prisoners that extends back to Meroe (and beyond), but other suggestions can be made. People may have been automatically deemed appropriate to follow the dead ruler to death as they were the type or 'class' of person who were traditionally included in the burial. These may have been particularly close family or kin group members, or servants and advisors who could aid the deceased in an afterlife (*cf* the quantity of iron ingots and tools in Room 4 of BT80). If the successor chose those for inclusion in the burial, it might provide an opportune political moment to dispense with potential rivals or disruptive elements in society. This may be linked with the age profiles of those individuals who were examined by el-Batrawi (but see the caveats in section 3.7 of chapter three, and also figures 5.29 to 5.31 in chapter five). At Qustul 58.8% of the burials were of young people (aged 20 and under), but at Ballana most of the burials, 62.9%, were of adults (aged 21 and over, up to middle age). These figures are based on a broad designation of age, but nevertheless, the age profile certainly changes from Qustul to Ballana. If the people buried in the tombs were those with the highest status, and the most power, it can be suggested that at Qustul power rested with the youngest age group, and at Ballana it rested with the higher age group. Alternatively, it can be suggested that the burials represent those who were most likely to cause problems for the new leader, and at Qustul this was young people, but at Ballana it was adults.

In any case we should not assume that selection for death and inclusion in the graves was necessarily a bad thing. This may have been one of the highest accolades that a person and their associated kin could receive, and may have raised both their status and that of their kin. The process of selection of the animals my have been similar in that the fittest, strongest, most faithful or most attractive animals may have been selected.

The animals (camels, donkeys and horses) that were discovered in the pits outside certain tombs at Qustul present a rather puzzling picture (see the evidence in Williams, 1991c). Some animals were complete, but other animals

were broken down into constituent parts and then partially put back together again. Yet often, the body parts could not be re-assembled to form complete bodies. Parts were missing. This breaking down of the bodies was a deliberate act, and is unlikely to be due to taphonomic processes as the other parts of the animals in the same burial environment survived. Whether certain parts of the bodies were missing as they were used for food or as ritual offerings is unclear, and work on the faunal remains could have supported, for example, the butchery hypothesis. The deliberate dismembering and the deliberate selection of body parts for inclusion shows some broad patterning, as the body parts present were mostly either skulls or hooves. This pattern could support the hypothesis that the missing parts of the animals were consumed, as the parts that were not included in the pits were the meatier parts of the animals. In the incorporation of body parts from different species these animals became hybrid animals. These were perhaps animals that could represent other things. There may have been a magical power in assembling particular body parts of particular species and in perhaps mystically creating a new animal with the forbearance of the donkey (present in hooves), and the speed and stamina of the camel (present in the skull). These are modern attributes that are often applied to these animals, and the attributes given to such animals may have been different in the past, but the principle of creating a 'hyper-animal' is still plausible.

The animals in the pits were treated in a different manner to those animals in the tombs, which were in turn treated in a different manner to the human remains in terms of their mode of death and the treatment of their bodies. Whilst animals in the pits were broken into pieces, this was never the case for the animals within the tombs, and it was never the case for the humans. Yet the animals and humans in the tombs, whilst not actually dismembered, were broken in other ways. Many of the animals had been pole-axed, as evidenced by the large cracks and holes in their skulls. The cause of death for the humans is more difficult to establish firmly, but it is thought that the tombs with multiple occupants represent a number of individuals sacrificed to accompany the dead 'royal' personage (for a fuller discussion of the evidence see chapter two section 2.8). In the majority of cases there is no evidence from the remains concerning

how the people died, perhaps indicating some sort of soft tissue injury or possibly death by poison. Two bodies from QT02 were found with traces of woollen ropes around their necks (el-Batrawi, 1935, 139). It is however unclear whether this was some form of necklace, or whether the ropes may relate to the manner of death – i.e. strangulation or hanging. The best evidence for the mode of death comes from the dessicated female body from QT14 whose throat had been slit. On this evidence it can be suggested that the other humans, who survive only as skeletal remains, may also have met this fate. Again, this is a kind of breaking into and opening up of the body, but of a different kind than that which was performed on the animals.

8.3. The Cultivated Body.

In contrast with the broken bodies found at Qustul, the evidence from Ballana indicates a growing concern with cultivating the body.

The animals from Qustul were markedly well-equipped in comparison with the humans, and therefore the focus at Qustul was on the adornment of the animal body rather than the human body (a pictorial parallel may be found in the image of Silko(?) and his horse at Kalabsha). Numerically speaking, more animals were found with artefacts (44) than were found with humans (15). It is probable that certain animals were selected from the wider group as animals suitable for inclusion in the graves. The criteria for this is not known (initial faunal analysis may have provided an insight into selection), but a number of suggestions can be made. Certain animals may have been the personal steeds of individuals placed in the tomb for use in the afterlife, or as personal belongings. Other qualities that the animals had may have made them particularly suitable, and others unsuitable, for inclusion such as the particular markings on the animals. Certain Nilotic tribes hold their cattle in very high esteem from an aesthetic perspective, and have elaborate means of classifying them (Coote, 1992).

Alongside the possibility that such qualities inherent in the animals were of importance, we can consider those aspects of animal appearance for which

there is archaeological evidence. The materials used in the adornment of humans and animals can be contrasted, as none of the humans at Qustul wore metallic artefacts whereas animals almost always wore metallic artefacts. There appears to have been a broadly species based distinction concerning the animals and the metals with which they were found. Silver artefacts found with animals showed a strong tendency to occur with horses, and this pattern was only altered in tomb QT31 where a camel in the Ramp, and a camel and a horse in the Forecourt wore silver. In general, if artefacts were associated with animals, they tended to be bronze bells that were probably attached to the bridle or other horse trappings. The animals, which may have already had special physical characteristics, were made to appear more unusual by being dressed in materials (metals) and artefact types (bells) that were exclusive to them as animals. The bronze bells and other metalwork involved in the horse trappings would have made a bright and shiny physical display on the bodies of the animals. The bells, and other aspects of the trappings such as the medallions, were attached to the bridle work in such a way that they would have freely moved about against the animal's body. This action would have caused the metalwork to catch the light and to create a moving, changing silhouette around the animal. Furthermore this visual display was made even more significant by the accompanying aural sensation caused by the jingling of the bells when the animal moved. This gave a complete sense of 'presence'.

Many of the animals that were adorned were camels or horses and to a lesser extent, donkeys. These were animals that may have been used as draught animals, but that were undoubtedly also ridden, and this is proved by the appearance of a small number of saddles in certain tombs at Qustul. The animal trappings were therefore a very public form of display as the animals, fully dressed up in their metallic jewellery (and their colourful blankets - see QT25 Donkey B), could be ridden around the area in a colourful, shiny, noisy display. The manner in which the animals were ridden, and the prowess of the riders may have been a further source of awe. The mobility of the animals ensured that potentially, many people could witness the striking spectacle. The rulers at Qustul were enacting an impressive form of display that was intrinsically

mobile. Such a display was based on the unusual and memorable appearance of the animals, but also on the potential danger of a skilled rider (possibly armed) on a powerful animal. The bravura and dexterity of the rider perhaps augmented this. The nature of this display as public, mobile and sensorily astonishing could suggest that for most of the duration of the cemetery at Qustul, it may not have been a particularly stable political environment. It was necessary to enact flamboyant reminders of who held power to the wider group, and to other peoples in the area. Such displays were perhaps also concerned with reiterating (or attempting to alter) territorial rights in the area. This was a performance that was enacted during life, and the central importance of such acts finds expression in the inclusion of well-dressed animals in the graves.

The importance of animals in the funerary context seems to decline at Ballana (although there are problems regarding the recording of the excavation of the ramps at Ballana), as far fewer animals were found at the site. This is suggestive of a major change at Ballana in terms of how power and authority were maintained, in terms of the relationships and the relative status of animals and humans, and a change of focus in the use of certain materials.

The move from Qustul to Ballana saw a striking change in the artefactual repertoire of the bronzes. The use of bronze for bells almost entirely disappeared, with bronze bells only being found in a single grave, BT47, at Ballana. BT47 was created during phase 4, and is therefore one the earlier burials at Ballana. Instead at Ballana, bronze was overwhelmingly used for vessels of various types (73.2% of bronze work at Ballana was a vessel of some kind). This is one of the most striking changes between the two sites (see figures 21 and 22 in chapter six). This change in the use of bronzes points to a corresponding change in the adornment of animals, and perhaps their complete loss of decoration. It also points to a change in the function of bronze. It is possible that this also reflects a change in technology.

A funeral feast is a common facet of many mourning rites throughout the world, and feasts are often central to life-crisis rituals (Dietler and Hayden, 2001, 9). Indeed, a feasting function has been suggested for the Sayala *Weinstuben* and structure X 5 at Qasr Ibrim (Rose, 1992, 150 see section 2.5 of

chapter two). Feasting can be understood as a social gathering during which quantities of food and drink are consumed. Such occasions represent the enjoyment of foodstuffs that are non-essential to physical well-being (van der Veen, 2003, 406). However, it is difficult to surely identify the occurrence of feasting in the archaeological record (see Hayden, 2001, 40-41 table 2.1 for a list of possible archaeological signatures). At Qustul and Ballana there is evidence of large amounts of vessels of either pottery or metal. The vessels may have been included in the burials as general goods, or as provisions for the afterlife. If so, it can be argued that this practice represents a continuity with elements of Kushite funerary practice such as is seen, for example, at el-Kurru (Welsby, 1996, 87). However, another interpretation may be suggested.

The use of precious metals for vessels such as cauldrons, strainers, cups, platters and dishes suggests the increased importance of, perhaps the increased availability of, and increased investment in, forms of dining. Certain Classical authors mention the abundance of food to which the Blemmye and Nobadae had access (see section 2.4 of chapter two), but the evidence from the cemeteries is largely evidence concerning the serving of food. Certain vessels did contain remains, but these were very few. A number of bowls in QT36 contained dough, and the bowl found with Body C in BT06 contained sheep bones (el-Batrawi, 1935, 133). Therefore, the foodstuffs served on special dining occasions can only be suggested but may have included unusual foodstuffs, or dishes involving elaborate methods of preparation, cooking, and arrangement. The food may have been cooked using ingredients that made the food particularly sweet, salty, hot, or particularly rich in fat. The high fat content of foods makes them very satisfying, whilst giving them a pleasant texture (van der Veen, 2003, 414). The qualities of taste and texture could therefore be exploited and manipulated, and made generally more memorable. There may also have been an abundance of food in terms of quantity and choice that would not (and probably could not) normally be presented at everyday meals. Alcoholic drinks were probably also an integral part of festal occasions. The fondness of the X-Group for alcohol has been remarked on (see for example Millet, 1967, 58). Edwards suggests a revival in the production of long-necked globular beer jars between 300AD and

550AD, following the preponderance of large liquid containers in the Meroitic period (1996b, 71). This may represent a departure from always serving beer from large communal vessels towards individuated private consumption. However, the large number of amphorae of various types in many of the graves suggests an abundance of imported wine at the sites.

The festal dining occasions outlined above, whether large scale and public, or small scale and private, were occasions on which various forms of cultural belonging were demonstrated. This may have related to the production of particular dishes that were considered to be appropriate for the event (in a similar manner to the way in which the eating of a turkey is deemed to be particularly appropriate on December 25th in many British households), or in the etiquette surrounding serving and consuming food and drink. By its very nature, humans ingest culture each time they eat or drink. This is a very literal form of the embodiment of culture, in which cultural material is incorporated into the body.

The elaboration of dining techniques suggests a more gently coercive form of rule at Ballana than that which may have operated at Qustul. This possibility is perhaps given further credence given the description of sacred meals when Nubians visited Philae to collect and return the Isis statue from the site (Trombley, 1995, 225). Large scale provision for feasting by the ruler, or the provision of unusual foodstuffs as suggested above may have been a source of power at Ballana. People were encouraged to be involved in a sociable gathering with pleasant food and drink that was a subtle form of power play in which the ruler positioned him/herself as a great benefactor and provider for the people (*cf* Barnes, 1999, 125 for a similar development in bronze vessel usage in the Shang period in China). This may have had the effect that the group was reminded that the ruler could protect and provide for them, and that current social conditions were favourable. This was the giving of hospitality in a dazzling manner where not just the foods were gastronomically significant, but the mode via which they were presented and served was significant too. Both the foods and the impressive bronze dishes and platters were a means of display. It was particularly significant that a material that had been a common part of the visual

and aural experience in a particular restricted form (as bells) at Qustul was extricated from its previous context and was reinvented in a new context at Ballana. The audacious novelty of seeing a familiar material in an unfamiliar form and context should not be underestimated as a way of creating cultural capital. In fact, this may have been a once only novelty usage that then became more usual, and was subject to ritualised behaviour. Furthermore, the use of bronze at Qustul had been very distinctly associated with animals. At Ballana, bronze was extracted from its previous association and was 're-made' as a material for human use.

There are other ways in which dining may have created and maintained a new approach to rule and the way in which power was exercised. Dietler and Hayden have suggested a number of ways in which social distinctions may be marked out during feasting. Spatial segregation and temporal segregation in terms of the order in which people are served may have reinforced gender, age, or class distinctions. There may also have been differences in the quantity and quality of the food that was served to and eaten by those groups. There may also have existed particular expectations concerning who was allowed to talk, or leave the meal, or to get drunk (Dietler and Hayden, 2001, 10).

Feasting did not necessarily take place on a grand scale at Ballana in terms of the number of people involved in significant dining experiences. Indeed it is possible that such an even took place at a nearby settlement such as Faras or Gebel Adda, or that it occurred elsewhere in X-Group territory. The invitation to dine may have been a very selective process, with individuals being specially picked out for inclusion. Within such a scenario, although the points made above concerning foodstuffs and the marking of social distinctions are still relevant, the entire process could have been played out on a much smaller, more personal scale. For those individuals included in such an intimate gathering pressure to conform and behave correctly was perhaps much more crucial than it might be in a public or large-scale feast, as any slip in correct etiquette might be more noticeable and therefore more likely to be punished. For the leader, such dining may have provided the opportunity to measure the loyalty or social power of others in the group, it may have provided a means of rewarding

individuals, or of courting those with potential influence. The ostensibly convivial experience of the social gathering could easily belie the manifold acts of socio-political manoeuvring that were played out. For those not involved in the act of dining, the fact that the invitation was exclusively extended to a small number of individuals would have reinforced ideas about the significance of what occurred. This was perhaps augmented by knowledge of the splendour of the feast itself. In this scenario bronze would have been a material that whilst previously a material that was often viewed on the animals at Qustul, was no longer seen by the wider group and that became a restricted sight. Such a restriction would have made bronze a special material, and its use was likely to reinforce the solemnity or extravagance of the dining experience.

Such models are suggestive of a social system in which the flamboyant public displays that were evident at Qustul had declined, and although martial displays may have occurred as there are finger looses, spears and arrowheads found at Ballana, less intrinsically aggressive forms of domination emerged. These are key sets of cultural traits, and ones that differentiate Qustul and Ballana. Whether feasting was a large scale event involving many people, or a smaller more selective activity, it enacted a process in which power, wealth, influence and generosity were demonstrated as qualities of the ruler. Feasting provided a means through which power in the form of beneficence and the image of prosperity and congeniality could be exercised and reinforced in a manner that reached many people and bolstered their good-will towards the upper echelons of society. Bound up with such an image is the knowledge or belief that the ruler also has the power to withdraw good-will and the ability to use the power which has been turned towards provision and care as a power turned towards punishment and retribution. Such a juxtaposition is always implied in a relationship in which something is repetitively given – the giver always has the power to stop giving, or perhaps to give something less pleasant.

It has already been mentioned that the humans at Qustul were less elaborately adorned than the animals at Qustul. It was also the case that humans at Qustul were less elaborately adorned than the humans at Ballana. At Ballana, despite the abundance of bronze as a material, and despite the quantity of items

and range of materials worn by certain individuals at Ballana, bronze was never worn by humans. This indicates a disdain for bronze as a material for human adornment, perhaps due to its previous association with animals (see section 6.3 of chapter six for a further discussion concerning the appropriate usage of materials) and the decline in animal status. At Ballana, effort was concentrated on the intricate adornment of a small number of individuals. Török has identified such individuals at Ballana as Kings, Queens, Retainer Queens, a Lesser Queen and Princes (1987a, 171, see also chapter two, figure 2). The basis of these designations is the presence of crowns in the graves. Some individuals were dressed with particularly large quantities of jewellery such as Bodies G and K in Room 3 of BT80, and Body C in Room 3 of BT47. In fact, the assemblage associated with Body C in BT47 causes a very sharp rise in the presence of jewellery in phase 4 and a correspondingly sharp decline in the quantity of pottery in the phase. In phase 4, investment was in personal appearance (see figure 19 in section 6.8 of chapter six). These examples of well-equipped individuals indicate the development of complex personal displays at Ballana that were concentrated on particular individuals. Personal adornment was another form of public display, and again demonstrates a change from the form of display at Qustul. The diversification and complication of personal ornamentation indicates the rise of individual power and prestige, and correspondingly an increasingly stratified society that marked social divisions in/on the human body. The restriction of elaborate adornment to one or occasionally two individuals in a tomb suggests that personal adornment was under strict control. The ruler had the right to make such displays and perhaps had royal prerogative over some of the types of jewellery or materials that could only be worn by them alone. It may have been the case that the items of jewellery and insignia that they wore were so deeply emblematic of these people that to separate the person and their clothing was unthinkable. To touch or to harm these artefacts may have been akin to performing the same action towards the person, and was therefore taboo.

At Qustul, power had been based on the ability to control the wider group – both animal and human – via exercising that power over the bodies of

others. Humans and animals were killed on the occasion of the funeral, perhaps having been chosen by the ruler before their death, or having been chosen by the successor. Whilst this also occurred at Ballana, it did not take place on such a grand scale. At Qustul, tomb QT03 contains 83 bodies and has the largest number of remains. The largest number of remains at Ballana was in BT24, in which 22 bodies were found. Overall, more remains were found at Qustul (221) than at Ballana (158), and although the preservation conditions were less favourable at Ballana, the burials at the cemetery cover a period of c.80 years compared to c.40 years at Qustul (although chronological resolution at the sites is not very precise), and therefore it could be reasonably expected that more bodies would have been buried at Ballana if the funerary rituals remained the same. Power at Ballana was based on the elaboration of bodily technologies concerning dining and dress, and these techniques were focussed on and driven by only one or two people (the ruler(s)) in a given period. This represents an increased concern with the singular individuated body. Effectively, power relations at both sites were intimately concerned with bodies, but in very different ways.

8.4. Embodiment.

In section 4.5 of chapter four the concept of embodiment was introduced as a crucial concept that could inform discussions concerning the body and identity at Qustul and Ballana. In particular, embodiment can be viewed as a means by which to elide the mind/body split (more details of which can be found in sections 4.3 and 4.4 of chapter four) as it is a concept concerned with subjective experience in a specific historical and cultural context. It is my contention that the body and identity are bound up in complex relationships at the sites. I have already suggested some interpretations concerning the use of bodies at Qustul and Ballana, and it is in this section that the suggestions outlined above will be elaborated upon in terms of the construction of identities via embodiment.

The use of bodily adornment can also be viewed as an aspect of embodiment. Some of the animals at Qustul came to embody aggressive authority by their adornment with bells, medallions, saddles, bridlework and reins. The wearing of such items was a means by which to mark out certain animals as different from the wider herd or pack. The alteration in the appearance of the animals once they were dressed in their attire made them visually distinctive from other animals. It also made them sonorously distinctive due to the sound of the ringing bells or clinking metalwork. Therefore, it was the combination of 'aggressive' visual and aural cues that combined to create a different identity. In fact, the aural cues may have been particularly important as the sound of the animals may have been heard at a distance, before they came into view.

There is little evidence concerning the adornment of humans in the royal graves at Qustul in terms of jewellery or weaponry accompanying the bodies. There is also a lack of textile evidence from these graves, which stands in marked contrast to the abundance of textile remains recovered by the OINE (see Mayer Thurman and Williams, 1979), and perhaps their inclusion in the lower status graves is reason enough to suggest their likely original presence in the royal graves. The reason for this is unclear, as the burial environments do not appear to have been very different. It may imply that the bodies in the royal graves were buried naked, apart from the occasional individual with an artefact. However, el-Batrawi sometimes mentions small pieces of 'linen' adhering to certain bones from Qustul (1935, 149; 158). Nevertheless, variation can occur within a single site, and a poor burial environment in the royal tombs that was detrimental to textile survival should not be ruled out. Yet other aspects of personal adornment that have not survived to us should be considered, as they may have been used at the sites (see also my comments in chapter four section 4.5). Techniques of decoration that have not survived archaeologically may have included scarification, cicatrisation, make-up, body painting, body oiling, hairstyling, and the use of perishable materials in/on the body such as colourful feathers or mud. For example, the Pokot and Turkana of Kenya wear ostrich

feathers in their hair – the latter inserting the feather into the hair using a holder made from cow guts (Fisher, 1987, 39; 33; 42).

These are the kinds of adornment that are unlikely to survive archaeologically, but that may have been important aspects of appearance and identity at Qustul. The only suggestion of such bodily practices at either cemetery was found in the dessicated body of the female who had had her throat slit, and who was found at the entrance to QT14. The right foot of the woman was well preserved and the skin was stained red, perhaps with henna (el-Batrawi, 1935, 149). Another female individual from QT02 had grooves on the parietal bones of the skull, and whilst el-Batrawi states that this may be the result of a deformity, it may also be the result of wearing a tight headdress from an early age (ibid, 141). Such examples are semi-permanent or permanent alterations of the body. Kendall has put forward other evidence from human remains that may be the result of permanent body modification. He suggests that skulls with incised lines on them may be evidence for deep facial scarification or tattooing in a similar manner to that practiced by the Shilluk and Dinka of the Sudan, as the lines on the skulls are in the same position (1989, 680).

Appearance, or to use Sørensen's term (see section 4.7 of chapter four), costume, can carry meaning as a whole; it is metonymic and is the signifier of positions, traditions, and social contexts. The importance of clothing and its associated accoutrements (that it, the whole appearance of the person, and all types of clothing not just textiles) as a vehicle for the expression of a range of social and personal messages lies in the visibility and immediacy of clothing. Dress is a public spectacle. If clothing is to express symbolic meaning, it must necessarily operate within a wider system of signification in order to be understood. As Sørensen has commented 'Dress, like other conceptual entities, constitutes itself in a context which constructs meaning, and through which meaning is negotiated (1991, 124). Clothing can indicate an individual or a group identity, ethnicity, gender, occupation, status or rank, or the acceptance of an alternate identity. Clothing is a non-verbal means of expressing particular ideas pertaining to the self, the group, or both - it at once defines the individual and links him or her to the collective.

A phenomenological approach has been attempted with archaeological material, perhaps with a slightly biased emphasis on landscape studies (see Tilley, 1994. Barrett, 1994). Within Egyptology, Montserrat (1998) and Meskell (1996, 1998) have connected a phenomenological approach with embodiment in their uses of Egyptian sources, but such approaches are entirely lacking within Nubian studies. The use of a phenomenological approach, using the concept of embodiment is very fitting when applied to bodies and clothing due to the constant dialogue between the two (see section 4.9 of chapter four). The act of clothing the body requires an intimate apprehension of both the body and the clothing itself. Entwistle refers to the process of dressing as 'a subjective act of attending *to* one's body' (2000, 30). As we have seen, at Ballana this occurred in the form of a proliferation of decoration on the bodies of certain individuals. This entailed the experience of the texture of the items in direct contact with the skin. Throughout the day the wearer may be made aware of the experience of being clothed due to it chaffing, dragging, or causing the wearer to feel particularly hot or cold. Clothing can also put the individual in a position of bodily stress. Certain items, such as the five silver bracelets worn on the upper left arm of Body C in Room 3 of BT47, may have caused constriction of the body at particular points. Equally, the three silver anklets and four glass anklets worn by the same person may have caused them to move differently due to the weight of the anklets. The sheer quantity of adornment may also have caused discomfort due to the weight of the items worn. In this manner the form and material of items may have interacted to enforce particular bodily sensations. Body C in BT47 wore 99 items of jewellery. 72 items were found on and around Body G in BT80, and in the same tomb, Body K had 62 items. 73 of the 99 items (i.e. 73.7%) worn by Body C were made from silver, which was perhaps a heavy load to carry on the body. It would seem therefore, that at Ballana there is an increased emphasis not only on adornment, but on adornment that was particularly elaborate, and perhaps particularly cumbersome.

These examples make it clear that the demarcation between the body and clothing or decoration is not easily definable. Clothing, in its widest sense, is the artefactual category in which there is a reflexive process between the biological

and cultural (if it is possible to split the two so wholly). Clothing is a cultural artefact via its technical construction, materials and as a repository of socio-cultural meaning that takes on elements of the body's make-up. The body, whilst a biological entity is also a cultural construction. Clothing is therefore a unique and intimate form of material culture in which the biological and cultural are intimately united.

Dress is not only a personally embodied experience, it is a public spectacle. Davis argues for the importance of human agency in driving the fashion system, alongside (amongst other things), 'a critically responsive consuming public, is necessary in order to bring [changes in dress and fashion] to pass' (1992, 26). I would question the assumption of certain writers (ibid. Entwistle, 2000), that a critically responsive public is a modern invention associated with commercialisation and the emergence of an affluent middle class. In smaller scale societies, it can be cogently argued that, given the number of individuals within the group, the 'viewing public' is all around. Furthermore, societies often develop complex rules and interdicts concerning styles of dress. For example, Maasai women wear multi-coloured beaded earflaps, which proclaim that a woman is married. A social rule maintains that a married woman must never be seen without these pieces of jewellery, even by her husband (Fisher, 1987, 27). The widely provenanced and diversely decorated material at Qustul and Ballana demonstrates a society (or a strata of society) that had access to a plethora of material culture fashions. This could be construed as evidence of commercial trade, that may be particularly characteristic of sub-Saharan African trade, as evidenced at Meroe (Morton Williams, 1972, 883 and Edwards, 1996a, 21), and that may well relate to X-Group production as well (see in particular the arguments in sections 6.3 and 6.4 chapter six). Access to a wide range of goods, from a wide range of areas, in a wide range of materials and decorative styles at Qustul and Ballana, I contend, gave rise to a critically viewing, critically acquiring group of people, who were discerning in their choices for a variety of reasons. This may relate not only to social or economic access concerning for example status or age, but may also indicate concepts of aesthetic taste or exoticism. The use of personal appearance in the ritual context will be

discussed below. These factors may be influential not only in choices involving items of clothing, but in choices of domestic or ritual artefacts too.

There are many possible aspects of funeral performance which leave no trace in the archaeological record, but that should nevertheless be suggested as plausible parts of the event. Singing, chanting, and the recitation of sacred utterances may have been performed. Crying and wailing, or perhaps complete silence would have added drama and perhaps cathartic emotional expression (either real or performative) to the funeral, or perhaps constituted a necessary part of correct funerary etiquette. Perhaps parts of the ceremonies involved contrasting elements of noise and quiet. Dancing may have also have accompanied acts of singing, or may have been performed separately. These physical acts may not have been performed by the ruler in their heavy adornment, or if they were, this would have provided a display of the bodily attitudes and gestures that were specific to the physically constrained ruler. Any of these physical or verbal actions may have been conducted at specific moments in the rites, and could have been performed as collective acts, or as performances by especially significant (or socially appropriate) individuals or groups. Certain rituals were perhaps enacted at particularly significant times of the day and night such as dusk, dawn, midday, midnight, or perhaps at other points of the day and night that were contextually understood as important, or as periods that marked transition through time. The performance of acts would have looked different (light), and felt different (heat) according to the time of day or night at which they were performed. All of these aspects, being physically and sensorily experienced, would have punctuated the events at the cemeteries with various specific bodily experiences.

8.5. The Nature of Ritual Performance.

The funerary rituals at Qustul and Ballana undoubtedly involved a significant number of people, considering the elaborate forms of many of the tombs themselves, and the effort of constructing both a sub-structure and superstructure. The size of the tumuli varies considerably. The tumulus mound

of BT12 and QT12 contain 10.21m^3 of earth. Tomb BT122 at Ballana, and tomb QT03 at Qustul have the largest mounds, measuring 6214.85m^3 and 2585.53m^3 respectively. The construction of these largest mounds must have taken several weeks or months and involved many people. The provisioning of the tombs also suggests the involvement of a large number of people. The different articles that were placed in the tomb may ultimately have had a number of different origins. The grave goods in the tombs may have belonged to the deceased, or perhaps to the deceased's family or kin group who provided offerings for the tomb. Alternatively, much of the contents of the tombs may represent offerings or tribute brought for the deceased from each person, or family, or group, present during the funerary rituals. Perhaps the grave goods even represent the belongings of those sacrificed to accompany the dead in the tomb: a destruction and disposal not only of their lives and bodies, but also of their 'estate'.

Ultimately, people gathered together at the sites to prepare the tomb and conduct the interment of the deceased.

The jewellery and insignia in which the deceased were buried were ultimately removed from circulation in a visual and haptic sense. This is not to say that the dead under the tumuli were completely inaccessible. The building of rows of chapels at Qustul, and the kidney shaped enclosure at Ballana (see section 2.6 of chapter two for more details) suggest a continued access to the dead via prayer, libating, offerings or simply physical proximity (or visiting). Although removed from sight, the memory of the fabulously dressed bodies, perhaps augmented by the other bodily techniques including the staging of appearances, gesture, dance and voice work all worked to strengthen a mythical memory of the ancestors, whether positive or negative. Therefore although the individual body and its accoutrements were removed from immediate view, they may still have been circulated through story-telling and myth-making.

It is tempting to see the kidney-shaped arena at Ballana as a stage for ceremonies (see details in section 2.6 of chapter two). The lack of archaeological finds and the delineation of a different type of space within the cemetery, suggest a special use for this large enclosure. The cleanliness of the area seems to be in marked, in contrast to the kind of evidence from

occupational sites such as Qasr Ibrim where levels of rubbish are high and do not seem to be separated from the living space (see section 2.5 of chapter two). Cleanliness perhaps already defined the location as unusual and sacred because of this juxtaposition with depositional practices at settlement sites. The cleansing of the enclosure area both literally, (of debris) and symbolically, (of bad spirits), may have been preliminary aspects of ceremonial practice.

Perhaps the ceremonies surrounding death and burial at Qustul and Ballana were also the point at which the successor to the deceased ruler was chosen or announced and subsequently crowned. At Ballana, the disposal of the deceased's body in full regalia meant the disposal of at least some of the artefactual insignia of rulership, if we accept that the appearance of the ruler was a crucial aspect in the legitimisation and exercising of rule. Once again, this is a change in practice from Qustul to Ballana. The animal trappings (and indeed the animals themselves) from Qustul should certainly be counted as insignia of rule, but items such as crowns, fingerlooses, other types of jewellery and standards do not appear at Qustul, only at Ballana. This suggests that at each new enthronement ceremony, the ruler's power was made anew, with a different set of material culture as the previous set had been buried with the dead. The basis on which the selection of the ruler was made is unknown, but it may have been due to a familial or kin based relationship to the previous ruler or a ruling family. Alternatively, selection may have been through divine intervention via divination of some sort.

The very nature of being a figure of authority must, to some degree, be about power. However, the nature of that power could be founded on different premises, and could be very differently constructed. I have already outlined above different aspects of royal power, such as forcible control, and the image of the ruler as a benevolent provider. Authority may also have been based to some extent on sacred or divine power. This is a particularly difficult aspect of X-Group life to pin down, as little is known about what kind of religious, ritual or magical basis there may have been for social organisation in Lower Nubia during this period. I suggest that the nature of power was in part based on magico-religious powers mediated by the ruler. This may have involved the

channelling of spiritual forces based in nature, with the ancestors, or in a parallel world, but it also necessitated the exploitation of material resources (silver, and exotica such as emeralds and amethysts) and the qualities of such materials (sparkliness, luminosity, shininess) as a means to express, interrogate, call upon, or make manifest sacred powers.

Indeed, it may be very difficult to fully separate aspects of religious or ritual identity from other manifestations of identity, and this can be particularly difficult in non-literate societies (Edwards, 2005, 112; 121). This is because many aspects of lifestyle and practice (the foods eaten or avoided, the clothes worn, the arrangement of labour) may be intrinsic to religious/ritual practice. In their study of South African Tswana peoples Comaroff and Comaroff stated that religious/ritual practice 'saturated the ground of everyday activity, breathing life into habitual forms of social existence. It was on this terrain that the missions had to battle for control over the salient signs of the world they wanted to conquer...a battle not for sacred sites but, for mastery of the mundane' (1989, 272). This position finds resonance with that pertaining to the presentation and use of artefacts (such as pottery) in occasional ritualised practice, and then the use of the same or very similar objects in domestic contexts (see below).

As previous regalia had disappeared from circulation, and could not be utilised as legitimating symbols of authority, at each new enthronement ceremony new symbols had to be created. The ceremony itself therefore offered an unrivalled opportunity for the (re)presentation of the self in an ideal manner. The enthronement ritual may have entailed the ritualized dressing of the new ruler in their numerous and varied types of jewellery, perhaps as a publicly staged ceremony. As the ruler was dressed with the accoutrements of rule, s/he literally took on the mantle of rule, and came to visually embody the values, roles and responsibilities of that rule. The body of the ruler, came to be visually differentiated from the wider group that observed the ceremony: it was transformed before the eyes of the viewers, and thereby became a different person. The appearance of the ruler communicated embodied symbols of authority and difference.

The silver crowns are a notable recurrence in the regalia of the ruler at Ballana. The reason for their discovery in burials across different phases at Ballana may be interpreted as evidence for both tradition and agency. Silver crowns may have been created anew by/for the next generation, but the formal qualities of the artefacts such as silver, cabochon jewels, exotic motifs and the very 'crown-ness' of the objects continued a tradition of adornment using appropriate materials, colours and motifs, but in varying forms. The crowns were therefore creative of both continuity in rule, and individuality and innovation in rule. However, it is particularly interesting that the crown that appeared with Body K in BT80 (phase 4) was manufactured using a matrix that had been previously used to manufacture silver leaf to decorate the saddles found in QT31 (phase 2a) and QT36 (phase 2b). It is possible that the crown and saddles once formed part of a set that utilised the same decoration methods and designs, and was perhaps manufactured by the same person. This is evidence for the continuity of an artistic tradition. If this was so, the crown may have first appeared in phase 2a at Qustul (c390-400AD) and was worn as part of the insignia of rule until finally being deposited during phase 4 (c.430-440AD).

The physical image of the ruler was constructed during ceremonies of inheritance in order to make visually explicit the new roles that the ruler took on. The nature of the fantastical personal image of the ruler bedecked in large quantities of artefacts of a wide range of materials, colours and finishes became not only a way of socialising the ruler as ruler, but also a way of removing them from normal contact and circulation with other people. Alongside their dazzling static image, their adornment in heavy or cumbersome items may also have altered the way in which they were able to move, and so bodily techniques concerning the ability to walk, sit or fight in the usual manner may have been constrained. This contrasts with the ability/necessity of the ruler at Qustul to move in an unencumbered manner. Freedom of movement was necessary in order to dexterously handle a horse, and the use of the horse (or camel) itself enabled speedy movement. Blier suggests that such heaviness of regalia and the consequent constraint of movement can be a means of stigmatising the ruler, and symbolising their incarceration as servant of the people (1998, 28). These

startling aspects of the ruler's appearance and behaviour could have been used to great effect in manipulating their disassociation from the wider group, but also the nature of their effect on it. The ruler may nor have worn full regalia on a daily basis, but may have staged their revelation in their full ornate array at judicious moments in order to impress and fascinate. Appearing in this manner only at certain significant moments would have reinforced the awe-inspiring impact of their image. The rarity of beholding such an overwhelming image – the familiar ruler recognisable yet transformed – ensured a mystification of the basis of royal authority based on the formal qualities of the artefacts of adornment, and their psychological effects on those viewing the spectacle. The belief that the ruler was special, other, favoured, was reinforced by visual cues.

It was not just the material culture of adornment that created special experiences. Certain other artefacts probably embodied special meanings too. In section 4.9 of chapter four it was suggested that what creates value in an artefact may be unrelated to its rarity or economic value. To this end, chapter seven was concerned with a detailed analysis of all of the artefacts from Qustul and Ballana from the perspective of three formal qualities: colour, decoration method, and decoration design (for a tomb by tomb analysis see appendices A, B and C. In section 7.15 of chapter seven, this approach was augmented by further data analysis of other qualities in artefacts such as surface finish and decoration effects. In section 7.15 some discussion of the significance of such schemes in terms of visually and haptically apprehending them has been provided. Yet like the revelation of the body of the ruler described above, artefacts may also have been concealed and displayed to particular effect. Once again the formal qualities of certain artefacts marked them out as unusual, such as their colour or sparkliness. The use of shiny red bronze vessels as a backdrop for the serving of food at festal occasions has also been outlined above.

The large numbers of artefacts decorated with freeform and linear designs, and which are found at both cemeteries indicate aesthetic continuity over time, whilst the linear motifs found with humans and animals at Qustul contrast with the figurative designs found with humans and animals at Ballana. This raises a question with regard to the length of time that objects were used

before they were deposited in the ground, and effectively removed from visual circulation. If aesthetic taste had changed wholesale from Qustul to Ballana, it would have been quite easy for the newly prevalent figurative motifs to have been incorporated into the existing pottery repertoire. Yet this did not happen. This may exemplify an instance of what is termed, in fashion theory, the 'trickle down' effect. Essentially this theory proposes that newly developed fashionable items (or colours, or designs) find their expression within the property or clothing of a relatively strictly delineated social group, who are able to patronise or demand the development of new forms for themselves. As a powerful and restricted group acquires new motifs, they become the object of desire to other people, who eventually copy the fashion for themselves – the design trickles down. It may be the case that by the time that the wider group had begun to use or wear a certain motif or style, it had passed from currency with the social group at the top of the chain, whose demand drove design in a new direction. In modern society with mass production and mass consumption, such a turn over is a very fast process, but in pre-industrial societies, the progression of fashionable designs would have been very much slower due to the lower volume of goods and the low speed of production. The pattern of continuity and change in the designs at Ballana and Qustul may represent such a process. At Qustul none of the designs found with humans were figurative (only a small number of artefacts found with humans had any kind of design). Of the designs found with animals at Qustul, 20.8% were figurative – the second most frequently occurring motif after linear designs. At Ballana, both humans and animals were found with designs that are mainly figurative, and in both cases, linear designs were second most numerous (chapter seven). The gradually declining popularity of linear designs versus the gradual rise in popularity of figural designs from Qustul to Ballana, and the lack of figurative designs in the artefacts in space (which are mostly vessels), denotes changes in fashion in progress, the figurative designs not having yet trickled down to the vessels. This is only one theory however, and it may have been the case that linear and freeform designs were those schemes that were deemed, by popular taste, to be appropriate to vessels. Yet why should changes in fashion occur in artefacts associated with humans and

animals before they change in artefacts found in space? There is no intrinsic reason why changes in fashion regarding artefacts that were worn or carried should be transformed any more quickly than artefacts relating to the domestic sphere (in its broadest sense). Such a pattern would be dependant upon social conditions in a particular group. Perhaps the adornment of people and animals provided a locus for overt display that was more widely and more immediately noticeable and this was why items that adorned humans and animals were likely to change more quickly.

The linear and freeform designs which account for such large proportions of the design catalogue at the sites are relatively uncomplicated schemes. Such designs may be considered as 'mere' decoration – simple patterns that are easily and quickly executed, exhibiting little specialist skill. Such decorative schemes as festoons, splashes, blobs, criss-cross, zigzags or single lines seem so simplistic as to barely count as decoration at all. But presumably such designs are not included on the pottery to serve a functional purpose. The patterns do not appear to be individualistic enough to identify a particular pot with a particular owner. Nor do these patterns seem to represent anything such as the food that the vessel might have held, or a god to whom its contents may have been offered. Neither does the pattern enable the vessel to function any better as a vessel. The pattern does not help the vessel to contain liquid any more effectively than it would without the splashes or lines. But the distinction between decoration and function is really a false one. If the decoration served no purpose at all, it would surely not be included as its presence would be an irrelevance. In this sense, 'decoration must always be functional, or its presence would be inexplicable' (Gell, 1998, 74).

The non-representational decorations depicted on artefacts from Qustul and Ballana are in the form of patterns. A pattern, by definition, is a visual scheme which repeats itself a number of times. Common patterns in the design corpus from the sites include festoons, blobs, splashes, lines. The splash, blob and festoon patterns that appear on some of the pottery (in particular the goblets), are 'translation' patterns, where the design remains the same across the vessel, as if the design element has slid along the surface of the object. Festoon

patterns might be classified as both 'translation' patterns, and as 'reflection' patterns, as the curves of the festoon not only mimic the other curves, they mirror one another. The repetitive shapes of the painted patterns on the pottery lead the eye along, and guide the gaze of the viewer. There is no obvious beginning or end to the pattern. This cohesiveness enshrines an unfinished exchange between the vessel (for example) and the viewer. As the pattern is cyclical, having no beginning and no end, there is no resolution between the viewer and the viewed. In this manner, the vessel itself is an object with internal agency – it forces the recipient to view it in a particular way.

The recurring X-Group colours of red, white, black (and perhaps pink) (see figure 279), and the simple, repetitive types of patterns discussed, are the staple X-Group decorative repertoire and imply a continuity between Qustul and Ballana. What makes these schemes even more coherent is their recurrence across different materials, and across artefacts with different functions. These are distinctive features which organise aesthetic perception and create a united X-Group aesthetic identity, subjectively made meaningful by that society (even given the other exotic luxury items which they had access to, and given the highly significant ritual context of the royal burials in which they were found). The crucial development here, is to move from a discussion about the meaning of artefacts, and the meaning of a particular decorative scheme, to a consideration of the effect of the artefact (Gosden, 2001, 164).

When considering the aspects of artefactual design and decoration that have been given here (and that were quantified in chapter seven), it is possible to identify the tensions between agents as either indexes (objects) or recipients in an aesthetic exchange (see chapter four). In psychological theories of perception, perception goes beyond the physical information received by the brain. The mind actively constructs what is perceived. Within such a model, seeing is a form of agency. In semiotic or interpretative theories of art, what a person perceives, sees and then interprets, is formed by their past experience and their culture. In this sense, creativity is attributed to the spectator(s) (Gell, 1998, 33). In terms of identity and personhood, this means that the agent occupies a

position as an active perceiver, who reacts to and experiences the artefacts that they see, and, in doing so, constructs their material world.

Further to these points concerning the repetitive use of colours and designs and their relationship with the perceiver, an interesting case can be made with specific reference to the material at Qustul and Ballana. Many of the pottery vessels (and in particular goblets and cups) were made from pottery with a red colour, or were covered with a red slip or wash. Often, the coloured decoration in the form of lines, blobs, splashes or festoons were painted on to the surface of the vessels in white. The interrelation between these colours causes the eye to see a third colour (which is not actually present): green. This is the theory of simultaneous colour interaction where the perception of one colour is influenced by the perception of an adjacent colour to produce a third (Chevreuil, 1981). The interaction between red and white which produces green can be demonstrated using figure one below (the reader should look first for a short time at the red shape and then at the white shape).

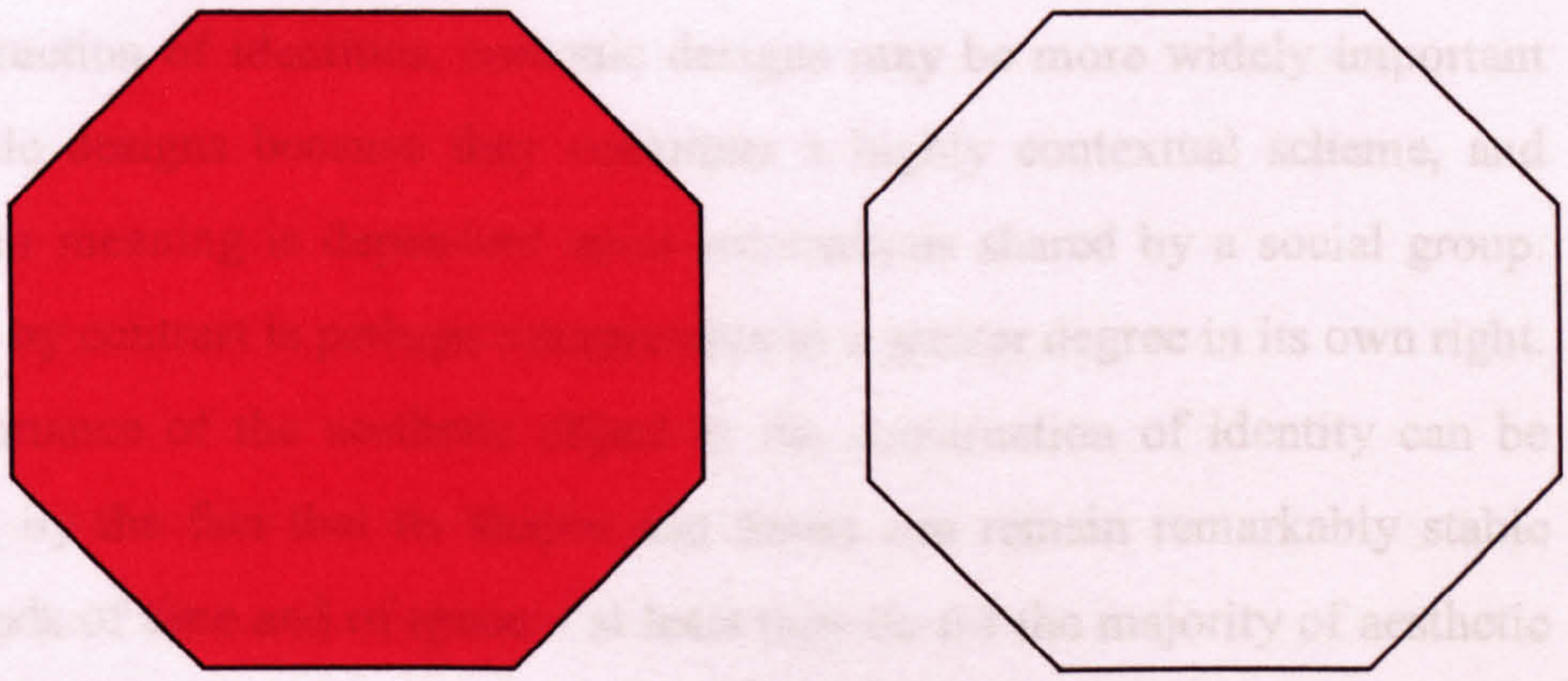


Figure 8.1

Effectively the frequent use of white on red patterning at Qustul and Ballana belies the fact that a third colour, green, can also be seen in such artefacts. This is particularly interesting because green was a very scarce colour

at both sites. At Qustul only 21 instances of green out of 1,388 instances of colour occurred, and at Ballana, only 47 instances of green occurred in a total number of 6,365 colour occurrences. 'True' green made up 1.5% of colour occurrences at Qustul, and 0.7% of colour occurrences at Ballana. Yet in fact, green was present in many objects of everyday use.

I have been implicitly making a case for the utility of an aesthetic project which places more emphasis on the psychological dimension of perception and experience. This fits well with interpretation from the embodied perspective that I have outlined above (see Jensen, 2000, 58). A semiotic interpretation of the work of art treats the work of art as a system of signs. From such a perspective, (art) objects embody messages for the viewer (both the people at Qustul and Ballana, and for the archaeologist) to decode and interpret. The artefacts embody meaning. However, I would emphasise that the problem of the work of art is not just what it signifies, but what it does, and how it does it. The consideration of a psychological dimension enables us to recognise the agency of the work of art (particularly if we define 'art objects' more widely). From this perspective the traditional Western hierarchy that attaches greater value to iconic versus aniconic works of art may be reversed. From the point of view of the construction of identities, aniconic designs may be more widely important than iconic designs because they constitute a highly contextual scheme, and hence their meaning is dependent upon conventions shared by a social group. The icon, by contrast is perhaps interpretable to a greater degree in its own right. The importance of the aesthetic object in the construction of identity can be measured by the fact that its shapes and forms can remain remarkably stable over periods of time and of space – at least they do for the majority of aesthetic schemes found in the majority of artefacts from Qustul and Ballana.

But the artefact does not act alone. In arguing from a position which re-emphasises the importance of the object, we must be careful not to downplay or disregard the individual agent who is the creative virtuoso who actually manufactures the artefact and all of its facets (this process may, in fact, involve a number of people). That creative process itself may be shrouded in secrecy and mysticism (see for example the ethnographic evidence in chapter six).

Neither should the wider social processes involved in the incorporation of artefacts from outside the community be forgotten (see the arguments concerning such issues in chapter six). The effects produced within the viewing agent can be manipulated and even exploited by the judicious revelation or presentation of a certain artefact. The artefact itself embodies a kind of agency which is operative through its secondary qualities such as colour and pattern which may 'coerce' a viewing subject into a particular reaction. This is pertinent with regard to the example concerning the 'magical' appearance of green given above. If we reconsider the most mundane finds, with the least interesting or unusual qualities as aesthetically constructive (and constructed) artefacts, imbricated in the complex negotiation of identities, and capable of envincing effects on individuals, it is not difficult to appreciate the potential for enchantment and wonderment. The great strength of this approach to aesthetics is that it is very firmly grounded in materiality. We are given the possibility of exploring an emotive world, but with a basis in the archaeological evidence, the artefacts remain central to interpretation. The consideration of aesthetics is also useful to the archaeologist, as it mediates quite naturally the trajectory between individual and collective identities. The schemes on an artefact are meaningful and affective to the individual, but are also recognisable and affective to the wider group.

8.6. Personhood and the Dispersal and Integration of Identity.

People may have travelled from far away to be at the funeral ceremony, and the entire ritual, as outlined above may have lasted for a considerable amount of time. Corporate effort was necessary to build the tombs and their tumuli, and people worked together on a common project. We can conjecture upon the circumstances under which people were brought together. People may have been compelled to attend and undertake the construction work as an act of service, over which they had little choice. Alternatively, the funeral event may have been viewed as a social event at which to come together with members of the kinship group who lived at some distance. Although physical work had to be

undertaken as part of the funerary preparations, this may have been viewed as a last act of respect for the deceased. If the line of rule was not based on descent, there may have been much discussion and conjecture concerning who might be picked out as the next ruler. It may also have been the case that there were other material incentives to encourage attendance. Beer, and the grain from which it was made, has been recognised as an important source of nutrition in the Sudan. In the 1950's in Darfur, sorghum accounted for 75% of calorific intake, and 97% of protein intake (Edwards, 1996b, 67). The provision of alcohol was perhaps an incentive to attend the funeral and the surrounding preparations. Amongst the Gamo of south-western Ethiopia beer is used as a payment for labour. The quality and quantity of the beer that is served is a strong motivational force for people to come together and undertake a project (Arthur, 2003, 518). The large quantities of vessels in many of the tombs at Qustul and Ballana may represent the remnants of such provisioning. Even in the tombs with the fewest finds, pottery bottles, jugs and cups are the most likely finds, and drinking alcohol may have been one of the most fundamental and widespread practices associated with both the work of constructing the grave and the interment itself. Although as Edwards suggests (1996b, 67) the consumption of beer was widespread in everyday life during this period, the beer served at funerals was perhaps an incentive to attend. It may also have had different properties to everyday beer due to the addition of sweeteners such as honey or dates, or by being brewed much stronger (see section 8.2 above concerning the manner in which festal foodstuffs could be made in unusual ways).

The fact that the liquids consumed were likely to have been alcoholic is not insignificant in itself. The consumption of alcohol has two physiological and psychological effects. In small quantities alcohol has a stimulating effect and can be described as a 'facilitator of social interactions' (van der Veen, 2003, 418). Larger quantities of alcohol have a narcotic effect. The consumption of such a psycho-active agent produced altered states of mind. Alcoholic foods and drinks may even be perceived as foodstuffs with quasi-magical properties due to

the process of fermentation that takes place, and as such may be construed as particularly appropriate at ritual events (Dietler, 2001, 73).

The fundamental social structure of the X-Group peoples remains open to question, and it is still unclear whether or not the people who were buried at Qustul and Ballana, and the people who they ruled over led a settled, semi-nomadic or entirely nomadic lifestyle. In fact, these modes of living need not be mutually exclusive, and groups may have alternated between such activities according to conditions at the time – one lifestyle offering greater opportunities than another given particular conditions (Sadr, 1991). This was perhaps particularly true in a country such as the Sudan, and particularly Lower Nubia, in which environmental conditions could be harsh. Settlement evidence for the X-Group is quite sparse (see section 2.5 of chapter two), and it is highly regrettable that the OINE did not spend a greater amount of time excavating the Meroitic period settlement site that was discovered at Ballana which may have held evidence of X-Group occupation (Williams, 1991a, 458; 1991b, 291-293). I suggest that the people that came together to construct the Qustul and Ballana tombs and tumuli, and to be involved in the burial itself may have come from some distance, and that the people buried in the royal tombs and those found at Qustul by the OINE (Williams, 1991c) do not represent a cemetery population from a single settlement site. There is no X-Group settlement yet discovered that would have been large enough to support such a population. Perhaps the group that came together at the cemeteries were scattered throughout the landscape at sites such as Faras or Gebel Adda, or perhaps some people were living in perishable structures such as tents which are archaeologically unrecoverable (see Prussin, 1995 for myriad examples of tent construction and use in Africa and chapter 2 section 2.4 for details of Blemmye and Nobadae lifestyles recorded by Classical authors).

People were living in small groups scattered across the landscape, and perhaps at times moving around in Lower Nubia, and, in itself, this model may be enough of a basis to question the monolithic 'Blemmye' and 'Nobadae' identities that are often used unreflexively in the archaeological literature. How could people living at such distances perceive themselves as belonging to the

group 'Blemmye' or 'Nobadae'? This question of group affiliation cannot be side-stepped by using the broader term 'X-Group' either. I would argue that the rites that took place at Qustul and Ballana were centrally important in the construction, maintenance and alteration of X-Group identities – they helped to give people experiences in common. This is a point to which I will return in section 8.7 below.

In the discussions surrounding technology in section 6.3 of chapter six, an example was given concerning the manufacture of cloth as a cosmological process in which the weaver took the role of a mother, and the cloth took the role of her son. Such an illustration exemplifies how the technical production of artefacts can both embody and externalise conceptual entities such as kinship or gender relations. In the Moroccan example mentioned, the physical process of textile production enacts a 'hidden' relationship between a mother and her son by externalising it in material culture as a parallel relationship between a weaver and her cloth. In modern Western culture that is based on the exchange of commodities, the human actions that created the commodity are abstracted and removed from the product. Relationships are also deemed to be created through exchange, consumption or ownership. However, if '[o]bjects are created not in contradistinction to persons but out of persons' (Strathern, 1988, 171), and it is social relations (and objects as agglomerations of social relations) that are the important thing when dealing with others, this casts both subject and object or person and artefact in a relationship that is intimate and inter-subjective (see the comments in section 4.4 in relation to partibility and alienable and inalienable exchange). As such, the line between humans, objects, and perhaps also animals, is blurred. The artefacts that people make and use, or acquire, 're-make' and use (see sections 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 of chapter six with regard to X-Group culture as indigenously manufactured or acquired and 're-made' as X-Group), may be though of as intrinsically part of their selves. This has important implications for the construction of X-Group identity.

If we accept that people are not necessarily bounded, individuated entities, but that instead people and personhood may be constructed from substances that originate outside of the body or pass through bodies, or that

aspects of material culture such as animals, foodstuffs, and other artefactual material are constitutive parts of the self that can be detached, exchanged and reabsorbed (see section 4.4 of chapter four) the grave assemblages from Qustul and Ballana can be interpreted in a different way. The large quantities of artefacts, people and animals in the graves could be the bringing together of the parts of an individual's personhood that in life, had been dispersed (*cf* Fowler, 2004, 84-85). The act of arraying an individual and their grave with numerous types of things was the occasion on which the person was re-fitted and made whole. This may have been from that moment onwards a permanent arrangement as the petrified self was interred and the grave itself was then also sealed up. Alternatively, the funeral ritual may have involved some re-dispersal of goods or essences, and at Qustul and Ballana, I would suggest that this was a re-dispersal through the substances of food and drink.

Over the course of their lives people were involved in performing or witnessing rites involving artefacts that became increasingly familiar to them. Admittance to the performance of aspects of rite may have occurred following particular events in the life course such as circumcision or the birth of a first child. After the ceremonies, when people are dispersed across the region, the use of similar artefacts (that were made in the same way/had the same designs) carried resonances of the collective event. These were also resonances concerning the way in which objects were used, and the bodily techniques or gestures involved in drinking from a splash patterned goblet or pouring from an amphora. These were physical reminders of events that happened in a place that may have been both geographically and temporally distance. The artefacts in themselves (their shape, colour, surface finish, decoration) and the manner of their use (sitting to drink, standing to pour, the use of the left or right hand, the serving of certain people before others) presenced (see section 5.22 of chapter five) past actions, feelings, memories from happenings at Qustul and Ballana. In such a manner particular artefact types and the way in which they were used served to reinforce notions of collective identity, even when far from others, and far from the 'centre'. Everyday, mundane actions using everyday mundane objects continued the purpose of a ritual that had been enacted years ago. This

may have been quite a subtle process that people were not acutely aware of or focussed on. Artefacts in a domestic context were 'ready to hand' and were not the constant conceptual focus, but the same artefacts in the different setting of the funeral rituals became 'present at hand' and were the focus of active recognition (see section 4.9 of chapter four).

The funerary rituals at the cemeteries were integrative rituals. They provided an opportunity to promote cohesion at regular, but perhaps quite lengthy intervals. In part this was achieved by group activities (construction) towards a singular goal, through ostensibly pleasant interactions involving good food and alcoholic drinks, and through the unifying presence of the old (dead) ruler, and the new ruler. Visual cues, such as the visibility of the mounds in space, and aspects of material culture such as the crowns at Ballana gave the impression of security and continuity that underlined the durability of the culture.

It has been argued that the act of dressing the ruler and the revelation of their body at certain moments in time were mechanisms of rule during the lifecycle. However, it is clear from the archaeological remains that such an image was also crucial in death. The sight of the ornately dressed dead ruler, and perhaps the staged revelation of the adorned dead was perhaps a central moment in funerary proceedings before the eventual disappearance of the dead into the tomb. In the processes of attending to the new ruler's body described above, the living became a counterpoint to the dead – they looked very similar. In section 4.4 of chapter four various perspectives informed by anthropological research that challenged modern western conceptions of the bounded individuated body, were presented. The ruler's body image was cultivated and presented as a metaphor of the body politic. The beautiful, well-fed ruler exemplified, created and maintained a beautiful, well-fed group. As such the ruler's body and what they symbolized (fitness, well-being, cohesion) was not bounded at its edges, but permeated every body's body via an image of what was ideal both in a literal physical sense and in a metaphorical social sense. This interpretation contrasts with Meskell's characterization of the body solely as a vehicle for display in the writing of Near Eastern archaeologies, and the body solely viewed from a

'society in microcosm' model in the writing of prehistoric archaeologies (Meskell, 1998, 145, and see section 4.5 of chapter four), as it sees bodies as implicated in wider social processes.

Coming back together and viewing the beautiful deceased ruler, and then the beautiful new ruler crystallised (perhaps even fetishised) a fixed and durable notion of rule as a positive thing. In a group with little formal iconic art that could serve as a reminder of the values that the ruler embodied (such as could be seen on the pylons of Egyptian and Meroitic temple architecture), the creation of perfect visual moments played this role instead.

8.7. Qustul and Ballana: A Comparison.

Figure two below presents a comparison of the broad cultural traits that occur at Qustul and Ballana, and helps to exemplify the contrasts between the two sites.

	Qustul	Ballana
Chapels?	Yes	No
Animal Pits?	Yes	No
Enclosure?	No	Yes
Animal Burials?	Many	Few
Retainer Burials?	Variable (<= 83)	Variable (<= 22)
Age profile	Young (58.8%)	Adult (62.9%)
Adorned Humans?	Few, sparse adornment	Few, much adornment
Restrictive adornment?	No	Yes
Disposal of Insignia?	No/Partial	Yes
Association of Bronze	Animals (exclusively)	Space
Use of Bronze	Trappings (esp. bells) (88.8% of total)	Vessels (73.2% of total)
Association of Silver	Animals (exclusively, usually horses)	Humans
Use of Silver	Trappings	Jewellery
Pottery: Local/Imported?	Local	Imported
Exclusive pottery wares?	None	R2, R4, W29
Exclusive decoration methods?	Blown, drilled, impressed, lathe turned, repoussé,	Beading, bevelling, bosses, hafting, inscribing, perforating, rivetting,

	sculpted	setting, socketing
Decoration designs with humans and animals	Linear	Figurative
Surface finishes on artefacts	Shiny (humans and animals)	Shiny (humans and animals)

Figure 8.2

In section 3.2 of chapter three I argued that material culture and practice were central to meaning, and to how the X-Groups made themselves. The details given in figure two offer a broad identification of the practices that made the X-Groups at Qustul and Ballana, and can be considered as cultural markers. However, given the caveats expressed above concerning the identification of groups with artefacts, one should proceed cautiously. This is particularly true because the cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana represent two specific manifestations of high culture – they were special sites, created by (or under the direction of) and for special people.

At Qustul, the young people who largely populated the graves were sparsely adorned but had access to wealth, in particular in the form of their well-adorned animals. Bloody rituals were enacted involving the sacrifice of many humans and animals. Private (or small-group) ritual acts were also performed in the chapels at Qustul, and may indicate personal piety. Local pottery formed the most ubiquitous artefact class. Metals, and in particular bronze and silver were only worn by animals as parts of their trappings. Particular decorative methods that were found in the artefacts were exclusive to the Qustul cemetery and these included blown, drilled, impressed, lathe-turned, repoussé worked and sculpted artefacts. Artefacts that were decorated tended to be decorated with linear designs, and there was a definite selection of shiny materials in the adornment of both humans and animals. Red was the most frequently occurring colour in the artefacts.

At Ballana, certain adults in the graves were very richly adorned, but the adornment of animals, and the inclusion of the animals in the funerary rituals declined sharply. The inclusion of human sacrifices in the graves also declined. Ritual acts may have had very public performances in the kidney shaped

enclosure that could have accommodated large numbers of people. Most of the pottery was imported, and wares R2, R4 and W29 were only found at Ballana, and not at Qustul. Silver was strongly associated with human adornment, and bronze with vessels. Certain decoration methods were exclusive to Ballana and these included beading, bevelling, bosses, hafting, inscribing, perforating, riveting, setting and socketing. If artefacts found with the humans and animals were decorated, the designs were most likely to be figurative. There was active selection of the adornment of both animals and humans with shiny materials. Red was the colour that appeared most frequently in the artefacts.

Figure two draws out certain salient details in the cultural repertoire created by the people interring the dead at Qustul and Ballana. Although there is certainly some continuity of practice in, for example, the use of tumulus burials, multi-chambered tombs, and a largely shared pottery repertoire, there are also many differences. These are differences that exemplify the changing use and significance of animals at the site, the alteration in the use of materials – particularly silver and bronze, the changing presentation of the human body, a different age profile of the humans in the graves and alterations in ritual practice. These specifics can be tied into the interpretations offered above concerning for example the basis of rule, the manipulation of artefacts and persons for psychological effect and socio-political change involving the rise of individual power. Are these contrasting practices and contrasting styles of political authority enough to propose that the cemetery populations at Qustul and Ballana represent two different peoples?

This question is obviously bound up with the possibility that if two groups were present one represents the Blemmye (Qustul), and the other represents the Nobadae (Ballana). I have already argued (in section 2.4 of chapter two) that the Blemmye/Nobadae question is an unfruitful line of enquiry because simply applying a name to a culture or site does not move us any closer towards understanding what it meant to be Blemmye or Nobadae. It was mentioned in section 8.6 above that the suggestion that people were living in small scattered groups in Lower Nubia at this period and possibly moving about the landscape may be enough to question the traditional 'Blemmye'/'Nobadae'

designations that are often used in the archaeological literature. Neither can the question of defining group identity be wholly avoided when using the term 'X-Group'. Furthermore, it is clear that the term 'Ballana culture' is also problematic. The significance of the activities at Qustul as constitutive of X-Group identity during the period of its use should not be ignored. One might suggest that archaeologists have been enchanted by the forms, materials and surface finishes of the shiny silver jewellery found at Ballana, and have therefore tended to give the site precedence. It is reasonable to argue that the cemetery at Ballana, and the new forms of culture that emerged there could not have occurred without the prior developments at Qustul. I would suggest that at Qustul and Ballana we see aspects of *X-Groups* (or perhaps even Y-Groups and Z-Groups).

A further problem relating to the identification of the Qustul and Ballana burials with the Blemmye or Nobadae is that of continuity from the Meroitic period. If the premise of Meroitic continuity is to be accepted, how did two nomadic tribal groups from the north who had not been integrated into the Meroitic Empire come to continue its legacy in the north? These two models do not fit together comfortably. It is much more acceptable to suggest that the ethnic make-up of the Sudan was a complex one: kin groups may have intercut with ethnic or geographic boundaries, particularly via endogamous and exogamous marriages that moved individuals and their cultural practices between different groups. As Hodder has shown (see section 4.6 of chapter four), similarities in material culture do not necessarily neatly correspond with ethnic boundaries (1982, 85). It is also reasonable to argue that tribal groups may have merged and dispersed if environmental or political conditions made this favourable (Sadr, 1991). Adams' statement that the X-Group were 'part of a complex transformation – racial, linguistic, and cultural' (1965, 161) is a more realistic picture of the slippery nature of ethnic identities in Lower Nubia during this period.

The development of the cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana has been interpreted as evidence for the arrival of new élites in the area (Adams, 1965, 167; 1977, 422; Rose, 1992, 111 see sections 2.9 and 2.10 of chapter two for a

further discussion). Rose also suggested (1992, 23-24) that the new élite burials at Qustul may have included that of Kharamadoye. In another attempt to identify individuals in the tombs with individuals attested in the historical record, Lenoble has suggested that the rich tomb BT80 at Ballana represents the burial of Silko (1997, 149). It is impossible to surely prove or disprove these assertions. The table below offers a list of individuals from Qustul and Ballana who seem to be particularly 'individuated' due to their location in the tombs, their association with particular grave goods, or their mode of burial.

Individual	Location	Why?
Body A	QT14: Surface	Throat slit; outside tomb; goods in satchel.
Body FF	QT03: Room 1	Associated with 40 dogs and 2 horses.
Horse BB	QT03: Room 2	Colour repertoire.
Camel B	QT24: Ramp	Only individual to wear gold at Qustul.
Donkey B	QT25: Forecourt	Colour repertoire.
Camel C	QT31: Ramp	Wore silver (usually only worn by horses).
Camel H	QT31: Forecourt	Wore silver (usually only worn by horses).
Body S	QT36: Room 3	Adorned. Unusual occurrence of transparent and turquoise.
Body A	BT80: Room 2	Crown.
Body K	BT80: Room 3	Crown. Quantity of arrowheads and finger looses. Colour repertoire
Body G	BT80: Room 3	Quantity of finger looses and jewellery. Colour repertoire
???	BT80: Room 4	Quantity of iron ingots and metalworking tools.
Body C	BT06: Pit	Crown. Range of artefacts. Buried in pit.
Body C	BT47: Room 3	Crown. Quantity of jewellery. Colour repertoire. Broken axis tomb.
Body A	BT51: Chamber	Crown. Quantity of jewellery.
Body A	BT04: RobPass	Broken neck. Amount of pottery. Colour repertoire.
Body F	BT10: Pit	In pit at mouth of ramp.
Body E	BT10: Room	Crown.

	2	
Body B	BT95: Room 2	Crown. Quantity of jewellery.
Cow J	BT95: Room 2	Supine. Unusual species.
Body H	BT114: Room 1	Crown.
Body G	BT114: Room 1	Crown.
Body D	BT118: Room 1	Crown? (not worn)

Figure 8.3

The details in the table above may be a rather simplistic way in which to define individuals, and this deficiency is acknowledged. However, it is a neat way of drawing together the archaeological evidence for individuation. Certain humans and animals were marked out as different through the treatment of their bodies, the artefacts which they wore or were associated with. These modes of individuation are quite varied, and the appearance of the crowns seems to be the most consistently recurring attribute.

The evidence from Qustul and Ballana presents a picture that is both about elements of continuity and elements of change. I would therefore argue that the inhabitants of the two cemeteries were not two separate and distinct cultural groups, but that the evidence represents within group change through time, and perhaps a gradual change in the kin groups that held power at the sites. These peaks of power or moments of dramatic change can be said to be represented by: tomb QT03 with its large number of bodies (83) in phase 1b, and with the most elaborate tomb layout (10 rooms); the move from Qustul to Ballana; the large amounts of personal adornment found with Bodies G and K in BT80 (phase 3b); and the large amounts of adornment with Body C in BT47 (phase 4). A further major change was in the source of the pottery at the two sites, as local pottery was more numerous at Qustul, and imported pottery was more numerous at Ballana (see figure 6.44 in chapter six). This is a particularly significant change as pottery was the most numerous artefact type at each site, and therefore the change was perhaps particularly visible. The rise in imported pottery is particularly evident in the transitional phases from Qustul to Ballana

as in phase 3a at Qustul there were only 34 imported vessels, whereas in phase 3b at Ballana there were 429 imported vessels. This can be viewed as further evidence for the personal power and charisma of those individuals (Bodies G and K) in BT80 who could express this in their cultivation and exploitation of trade links with Egypt to acquire new goods. On the basis of such evidence I would suggest that Török was correct to place BT80 in the first phase at Ballana (*contra* Williams, 1991c). Furthermore, I would suggest that this is good reason to argue that if much of the pottery was imported at Ballana, perhaps other artefacts were also imported and not necessarily stolen as has been the more frequent interpretation.

The change in geographical focus from Qustul to Ballana can be paralleled in earlier changes in cemetery activity, for example by the change in activity from the cemetery at el-Kurru to the site of Nuri during the Kushite period, or the move from Kerma to Burgeig during the Kerma period (Welsby pers comm). The significance of the geographical change from Qustul to Ballana cannot be under-estimated. The exact reasons for this change is unknown (and likely to remain so), but the change was perhaps instigated by certain charismatic individual(s) who decided to disassociate themselves with previous practices at Qustul. However, this was not a total break. As mentioned, multi-chambered tombs were still constructed, as were tumuli – the most visible and lasting aspect of the funerary ritual. The site at Ballana was also built opposite Qustul, and therefore Qustul served as a constant reminder of the past. Therefore, although there were significant changes at Ballana, and perhaps the changes were instigated by the well adorned couple in BT80 who were interred during the first phase at Ballana, they also had reason to maintain a visual link with Qustul. This does not imply the arrival of an 'alien' cultural group with entirely different practices at Ballana, but instead a group who moved from Qustul for particular reasons, and which was the start of socio-political change based in different cultural practices outlined above.

8.8. The Legacy of Qustul and Ballana.

Activity at the Ballana cemetery ceased at around 500AD. It has been suggested that the final decline of the cemeteries was due to internal political developments, a changing relationship with Egypt, and possible further conflict between the Nobadae at Ballana and the Blemmye who remained on the edges of Nobadae society (Williams, 1991c, 159). The next major date in the history of Nubia is 543 AD, which witnessed the arrival of a Monophysite Christian mission to Nubia sent from Byzantium by the Empress Theodora, and which provides the date for the official conversion of Nubia to Christianity. From this point Byzantium and Nubia were on good terms as in 573 AD a delegation from Makuria visited Constantinople taking gifts of elephant tusks and a giraffe (Vantini, 1975, 8). Although there is a considerable gap between the dates concerning the end of the Ballana cemetery and the dates of the conversion, it has been suggested that there was contact with Christianity, and possible practice of Christianity prior to the official mid sixth century date. Church silver was found in tomb BT03, and various items, such as bronze lamps were decorated with Maltese cross designs. Other lamps with Christian symbolism have been found on settlement sites (Adams, 2000, 86-89). Of course, a question of interpretation remains regarding whether or not the presence of Christian symbolism on artefacts is evidence for Christian belief or practice (for a similar discussion concerning other motifs at Qustul and Ballana see section 6. 4 of chapter six). Perhaps the presence of church silver in BT03 may be evidence for the political conversion of rulers at Ballana who then continued to use pagan rites (Edwards, 2004, 218). This possibility would also bolster the interpretation that such high status objects in the Ballana tombs were not the products of looting. Furthermore, it highlights the complexity of the conversion process (*cf* Edwards, 2001; 2005).

The date of the conversion to Christianity should mark the moment at which Christian burial practices (supine, extended, orientated east-west, without grave goods) appeared in the Sudan. Given the gap in the burial evidence between the last Ballana burial and the date of conversion it would seem that

'when seen within the context of wider regional developments, rather than seeking another cause for the abandonment of these great tumulus burials, the simplest and most parsimonious interpretation is that, after the last of these burials, the Nobadian kings and their elite were being buried according to Christian rites. As such, they effectively disappeared from the archaeological record' (Edwards, 2005, 218).

The changing political and cultural landscape of Lower Nubia as evidenced in the burials at Qustul and Ballana, and outlined above, was to culminate in the rise of the three Christian Kingdoms in the Sudan during the sixth century. The high status burials at Qustul and Ballana (but also at sites such as Gamai and Firka) offer certain possibilities concerning the move to centralisation. The arguments outlined above imply an increasing centralisation of power at Ballana with authority resting in the hands of one or two individuals. The evidence also points to the exercise of power in considerably different ways to its manifestations at Qustul. At Ballana we see a more gently coercive form of rule and the explicit demarcation of 'royal' difference and specialness via changes in the control of bodies, the creation of ritual space and the elaboration of personal appearance. Essentially, power was actively co-opted and manipulated by a small number of individuals, and socio-political control came to rest in their hands. This was perhaps due to personal charisma, increasing contact with Egypt through trade, and the prestige that the range and type of material culture that could be acquired from this contact afforded. This movement towards the concentration of power in the hands of the few was undoubtedly already in place to some extent at Qustul, but it gained pace, and became much more explicitly marked at Ballana. These developments paved the way for the formal establishment of a centralised kingdom. The increasingly centralised state was no doubt a more amenable prospect for conversion than a dispersed, multi-tribal society. However, the mechanics of the conversion to Christianity remains opaque from an archaeological perspective, not least in the areas that were to become Alwa and Makuria (Welsby, 2002, 23).

8.9. Concluding Remarks.

The interpretations outlined above are based upon the theoretical perspectives outlined in chapter four, and on the data that was analysed in chapters five, six and seven. This is a subjective interpretation of the evidence, and by its nature is not exhaustive. I have, however, endeavoured to pull together both the theoretical and analytical approaches used in this research to create an integrated interpretation. Whilst this interpretation is in some parts necessarily conjectural, it is nevertheless very much based in the nature of the archaeological evidence. The interpretation advanced here offers an holistic and embodied interpretation of individual and group experience, and suggests some of the bases for authority at the sites.

An appeal to the sensual nature of experience is not a point that is peripheral to the harder material facts of the past. These senses were integral to, and the means of past experience. It must be acknowledged that the use of the senses in the past (or in other modern cultures) was probably different to our experiences in the modern world. However, these differences may still be limited by nature of the sense organs themselves (Howes, 1991, 17). It may be a modern western bias to privilege the visual in discussions of sensory experience. Whilst in the interpretation presented here visual experience has been argued to be a significant factor, the senses of olfaction and taste (in terms of cooking, eating and drinking), audition (with regard to the bells of the animals and certain unrecoverable aspects of ritual practice), and the haptic sense have all been integrated. These are also multi-dimensional ways in which the X-Group(s) were identified an etic perspective (an other), as these are layers of culturally specific practice and meaning that identified the X-Group(s) as X-Group(s) to other peoples.

Cohen (1979) has argued that the most effective political symbols are not those that are overt, but that instead have a bivocality 'melding intense personal experience with existential identity issues with broader structures of power' (Dietler, 2001, 71). At Qustul and Ballana, polyvalent sensual meanings were layered up during the rituals in order to create just such experiences. What was

crucial about these experiences was the fact that they could be re-experienced through material culture on a daily basis. A recognisable aesthetic world which conjoined visual appearances and finishes, the imbibing of culturally specific foods and drinks, and particular technologies of the body created an aesthetic identity for the X-Group(s).

Chapter Nine

Conclusion.

9.2. Reflection on Research Questions and Methodology.

The central aim of this thesis was to provide a reinterpretation of the X-Group cemeteries at Qustul and Ballana. The reinterpretation that I provided in chapter eight was based on the interrogation of the database and the production of quantitative data, and on the theoretical perspectives that were discussed in chapter four. In the reinterpretation I have argued that the presentation and use of the body (both human and animal) and the presentation and use of artefacts were the basis for creating X-Group identity. I argued that the aesthetic qualities of the artefacts and of the adorned bodies created an X-Group identity that was an 'aesthetic' identity.

The methodology outlined in chapter three was a suitable approach to the Qustul and Ballana evidence. The methodology was developed on the basis of the evidence found in the site reports, and on the basis of the capabilities of the Microsoft Access programme. The aim was to include in the database as much information about the locations of and in the tombs, the human and animal remains and the objects. This was a necessity as the research was based upon finding attributes of the material culture at the sites that appeared to be significant. As many variables as possible were entered into the database in order to be able to run numerous queries. Entering data into the database in such a detailed manner was a very laborious task, but studying the places, bodies and objects from the sites in their minutiae began to naturally suggest questions – apparent similarities, differences and idiosyncrasies in the data. These were the basis of the queries that were run on the data. It was expected that some queries would prove to be uninformative, and that other queries and the graphs resulting from them would only suggest an interesting pattern in a cumulative manner, after a number of tests had been run and compared. This was certainly the case.

The choices involved in deciding what queries to run were quite subjective. On a number of occasions, a particular result suggested a further question. Sometimes this meant that I had to return to the database and enter another row or rows of data in order to make a query along the lines of a particular question possible to run. On other occasions the research that I was undertaking intimated a line of enquiry that I found interesting and which again necessitated the addition of further data to the database.

Without doubt, the data acquired from the database is not exhausted.

Whilst the entering of very detailed data on the sites into a database may appear to be a very intimate contact with the material culture; the very act of constructing such a database is, paradoxically, a rather alienating experience. The nature of a database, and the tacit premise on which a database can be successfully manipulated is that it must contain some data that is comparable, or even the same. The creation of a database is a regulatory exercise in which one must adopt a very consistent, rigorous approach to classification and recording. This may or may not be problematic depending upon the kind of data which is being recorded. Data in the 'tombs' table that concerned the surface are and volume of the tumuli, or in the 'loci' table that concerned the area of the rooms in the tombs was numerical data, and therefore quite uncontentious. However, many of the artefacts exhibit numerous modes of decoration or design. The complexity of such artefacts had necessarily to be glossed over. Their intricacy was downplayed and the most obvious (the largest or most frequently occurring) designs were recorded. Although the decoration method or decoration design fields in the database could have been multiplied an infinite number of times, there would have been information from only a handful of artefacts to fill the fields. This would have meant thousands of rows of negative data. Ultimately, complexity and idiosyncrasy is downplayed in the interests of time (in terms of how long it takes to manually enter data), in terms of producing a database that is workable without being unwieldy, and in terms of making sure that reasonable results will be generated. Even with an explicit desire to record as many variables as possible, there had to be a point at which to stop. As such, it is clear that the information recorded in the database is not exhaustive.

The way in which the database was constructed, the types of information that was entered, and the amount of detail that was entered all contribute to determining the types of results that would be produced. Although the construction of a database using a computer programme is ostensibly a 'scientific' project, it is not without its philosophical and rhetorical problems.

In chapter four it was argued that the boundaries between humans, artefacts and animals could be rethought, and that the classifications of each thing could be historically and culturally variable. To some extent, the construction of the database took up this theme. Some data fields were those that one might reasonably expected to be fundamentally included in any attempt to quantify a site such as the location of the tombs, the age and sex of the bodies, the ware types of the pottery. Other data fields such as those concerning the colour or surface finish of the artefacts are more unusual. The inclusion of data in such fields was an explicit attempt to explore the specificities of material life at the sites along lines of enquiry that might not normally be explored, but that were part of lived experience in the past, practically based in material culture. The use of such taxonomic devices was a way of complementing more frequently explored (and therefore acceptable), practical information alongside data that expanded on such normative categories.

9.2. Future Research.

In the introduction to this thesis, the non-inclusion of the OINE material in this research was discussed. A fruitful avenue of research would be to build a further database like the one created for this thesis, in which to enter the OINE data concerning the other X-Group burials from the sites. This data could then be interrogated in order to surmise the similarities and differences between the burials, which could refine ideas concerning status at the sites. It would be interesting to see whether or not the trends observed in this research concerning, for example, the use of colour and the use of designs is the same in the OINE graves. The OINE graves may also contain a different artefactual repertoire. This is certainly true in one major respect – there is a substantial textile corpus

from the non-royal graves at Qustul (see Mayer Thurman, 1979), and this is one type of material that is not found in any number in the 'royal' graves. This is a particularly interesting corpus as it has received scientific analysis in terms of fibre identification and dye analysis (see Fiedler, 1979; Masschelein-Kleiner, 1979). An investigation of this corpus could refine ideas concerning personal adornment and the expression of identity through clothing.

Further research could be undertaken on the metalwork from Qustul and Ballana. In particular, the metallurgical composition of the Qustul and Ballana bronzes should be investigated, not least to define whether the bronzes are indeed bronzes, or in fact brasses. The metalwork from Qustul and Ballana is in a wide variety a forms, and a study of the techniques of manufacture, including social aspects of technology may advance the debate concerning the origins of the artefacts. It has also been suggested that the metalwork from Qustul and Ballana could represent a possible link to the development of metallurgy in West Africa (Sutton, 2001), and further work on the metals from Qustul and Ballana could provide evidence for this as well as positioning the sites within a broader African context. Research concerning technologies, manufacture and the origins of the Qustul and Ballana material could aim at the heart of the relationships between people and animals and things, and how meaning and value accumulate and change (for such an approach see Gosden and Marshall, 1999). The investigation of the biography of the artefacts from Qustul and Ballana would build on suggestions that have been made in this research (see in particular chapters six and eight), but that could not be exhaustively explored here.

Further work could re-focus the emphasis of research on Nubian culture as an indigenous process, that is indigenously produced, rather than on Nubian culture simply as a reflection of contact with or continuity from other cultures. Research that begins from a perspective that acknowledges the vigour of indigenous culture would intrinsically enable discussion of social and technological processes of cultural production. This thesis has also demonstrated the utility of an archaeological project that takes the secondary qualities of objects as a central line of research. This is an approach that could be used on

any type of site, from any time period. It also offers a way in which to engage with artefacts that appear to be ubiquitous (such as a mass of pottery or beads) and gives them a new prominence. Further consideration of aesthetics as a constitutive aspect of identity and sensory experience as an aspect of identity could be very fruitful, but such research should seek to integrate the variety of bodily experience and all of the senses (taste, smell, sound, touch), and should be careful not just to privilege the visual.

More explicit discussion of the methodologies used to approach sites or bodies of material would be particularly helpful. This is one area in which there appears to be little perspicacity, perhaps because one does not like to draw attention to the inevitable deficiencies in one's data, or to admit failings. However, the explicit description of the processes involved in developing a methodology, the programmes used, and the decisions made would be a useful advance. If the methods used to interrogate data were clearly laid out in academic work, this would begin to provide a resource which one could turn to, and then develop in order to fit one's own particular set of data and research questions. This is not an argument for a singular, unified approach to the past. It is an argument for being more explicit about the practical tools that might be appropriate in a certain set of circumstances.

A greater engagement with theoretical perspectives, and an understanding of the genealogy of archaeology, and within that, Nubiology could also be beneficial (see Gosden, 1999). This would be a means to open up discussions within Sudanese archaeology, and to integrate and expand interaction with other disciplines such as anthropology, or other movements such as feminism or postmodernism. I am not suggesting a rareified intellectual discussion. This thesis has demonstrated that it is possible to take a theoretically informed approach to the past that is solidly rooted in the archaeological data. Such integration is surely the most useful and desirable direction for future research.

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Abbreviations:
FHN: Fontes Historiae Nuborium.

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Appendix A

Colour

For each of the tombs containing objects at Qustul and Ballana, graphs have been created relating to colour. These refer to details of the percentage of colours found in each location of the tomb. Such graphs show the percentage of different colours that occur in each location in the tomb (each location equals 100%). The locations presented in the graphs are only those that contained artefacts. Graphs have also been made in cases where artefacts were found in association with human or animal remains. As noted in chapter three, the colours used to describe the objects are those assigned by the excavators. In a small number of instances, the excavators merely noted the material of an artefact, but did not record its colour. In such cases, a reasonable decision has been made with regard to which colour to pick to describe the material. For example, the excavators may describe a bead as 'milky quartz', in which case it has been classified as white. Where faience has not been specifically recorded as blue or green, I have classified it as turquoise. A comparison of these graphs facilitates an examination of the distribution of colours throughout the tomb, and an investigation of whether or not certain colours tend to appear in certain locations. It is also possible to examine whether the colour of artefacts that appear with humans or animals are the same as those that appeared in space. Results are presented in terms of the phasing system developed by Török, which has been utilised in the two preceding chapters (see chapter two section 2.11).

7.5.i. Phase 1a (c. 380AD).

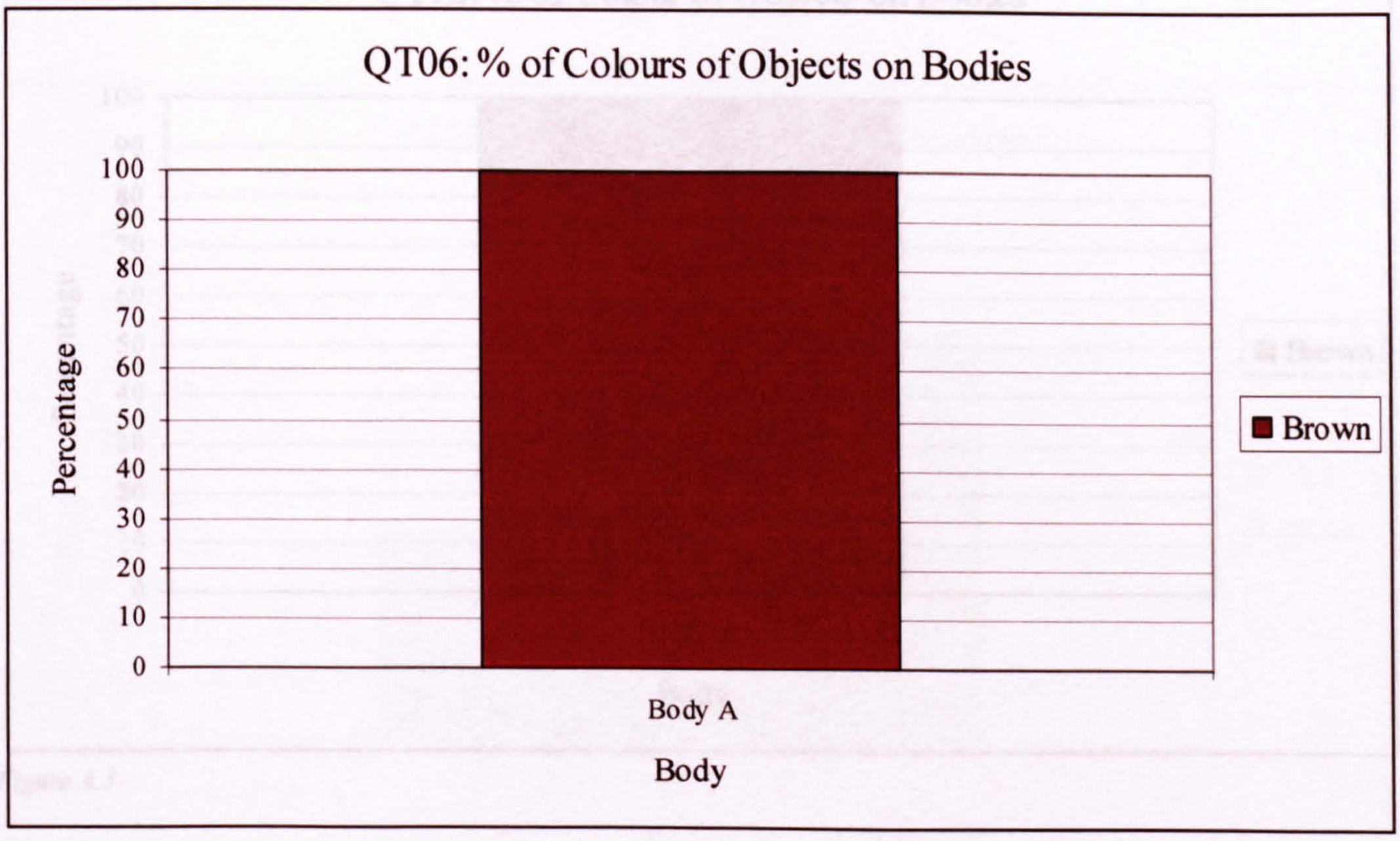


Figure A.1

The only artefacts found in QT06 were two fragments of brown leather that were associated with the human body in the Chamber. Body A was classified as a mature adult male.

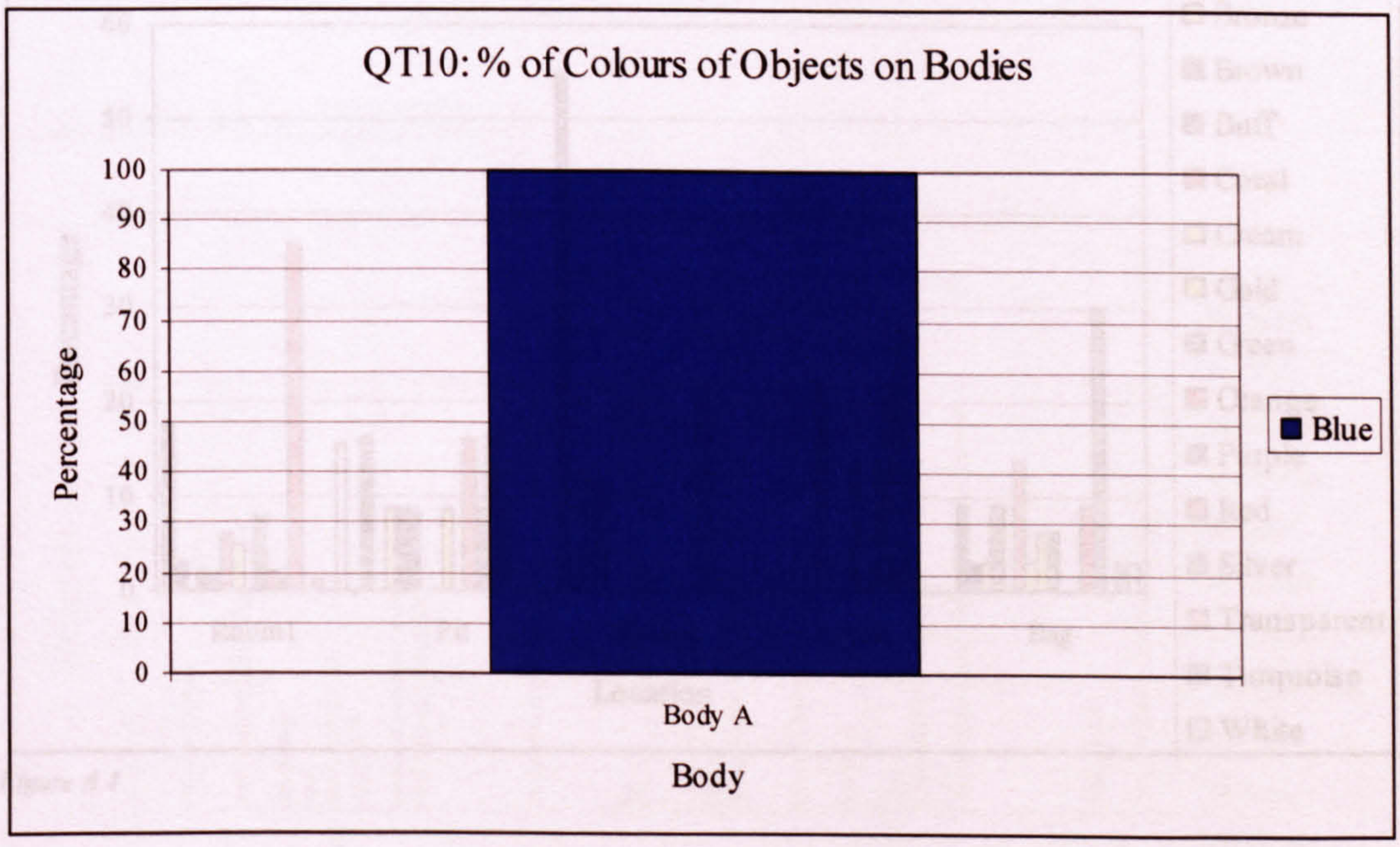


Figure A.2

Body A was classified as a male, aged 21 years. The only artefacts found in this tomb were blue beads that were associated with the Body in the Chamber.

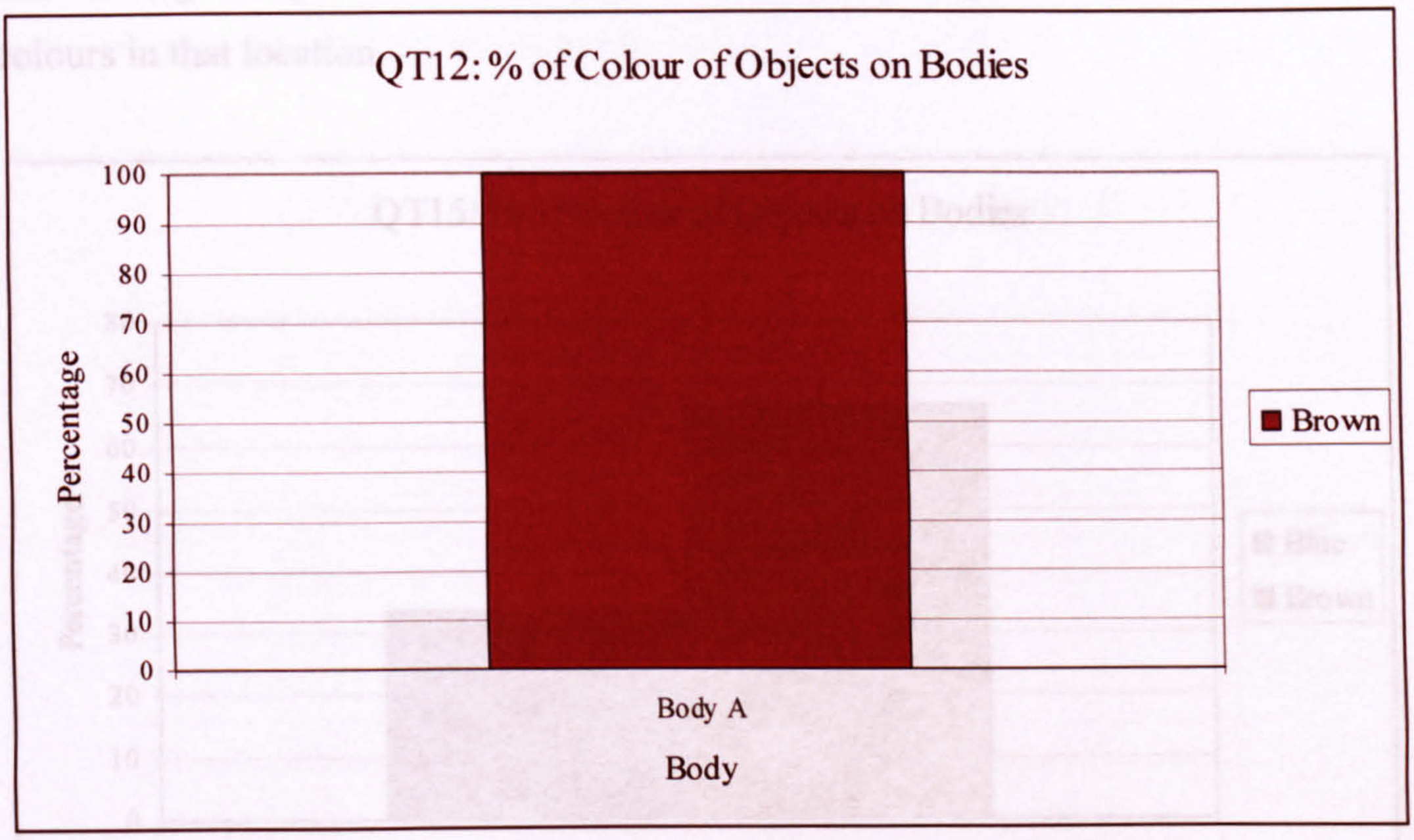


Figure A.3

There was only one artefact found in QT12. It was a brown knife handle associated with Body A in the Chamber. Body A was classified as an adult male.

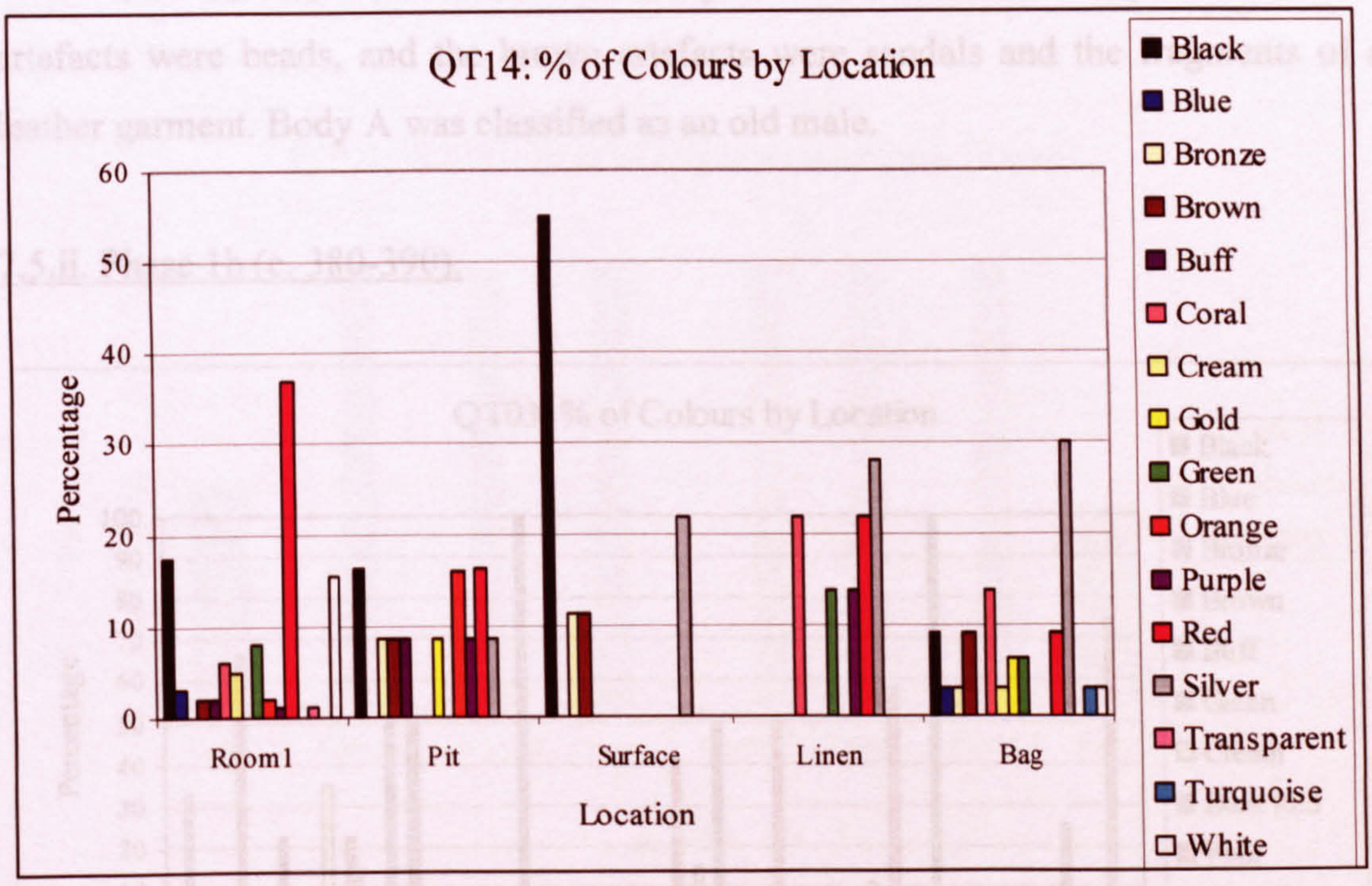


Figure A.4

A large range of colours was found in the artefacts from QT14. There is no great uniformity between the colours that make up the proportions in each location of the tomb, although silver is the most frequently occurring colour in both the Linen

and the Bag. Many of the colours in each location make up less than 10% of the total colours in that location.

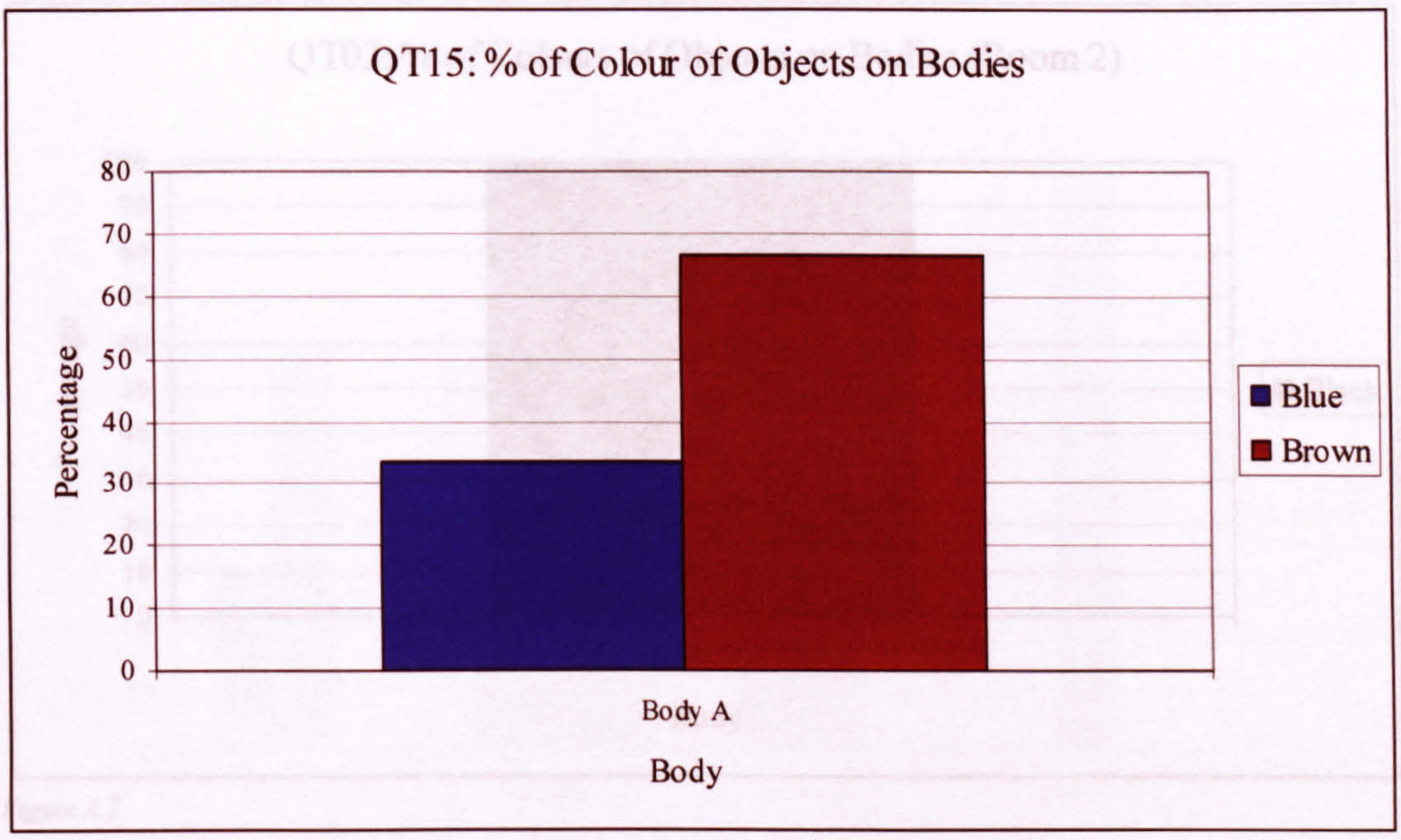


Figure A.5

Two colours were found with Body A in the Chamber of QT15. The blue artefacts were beads, and the brown artefacts were sandals and the fragments of a leather garment. Body A was classified as an old male.

7.5.ii. Phase 1b (c. 380-390).

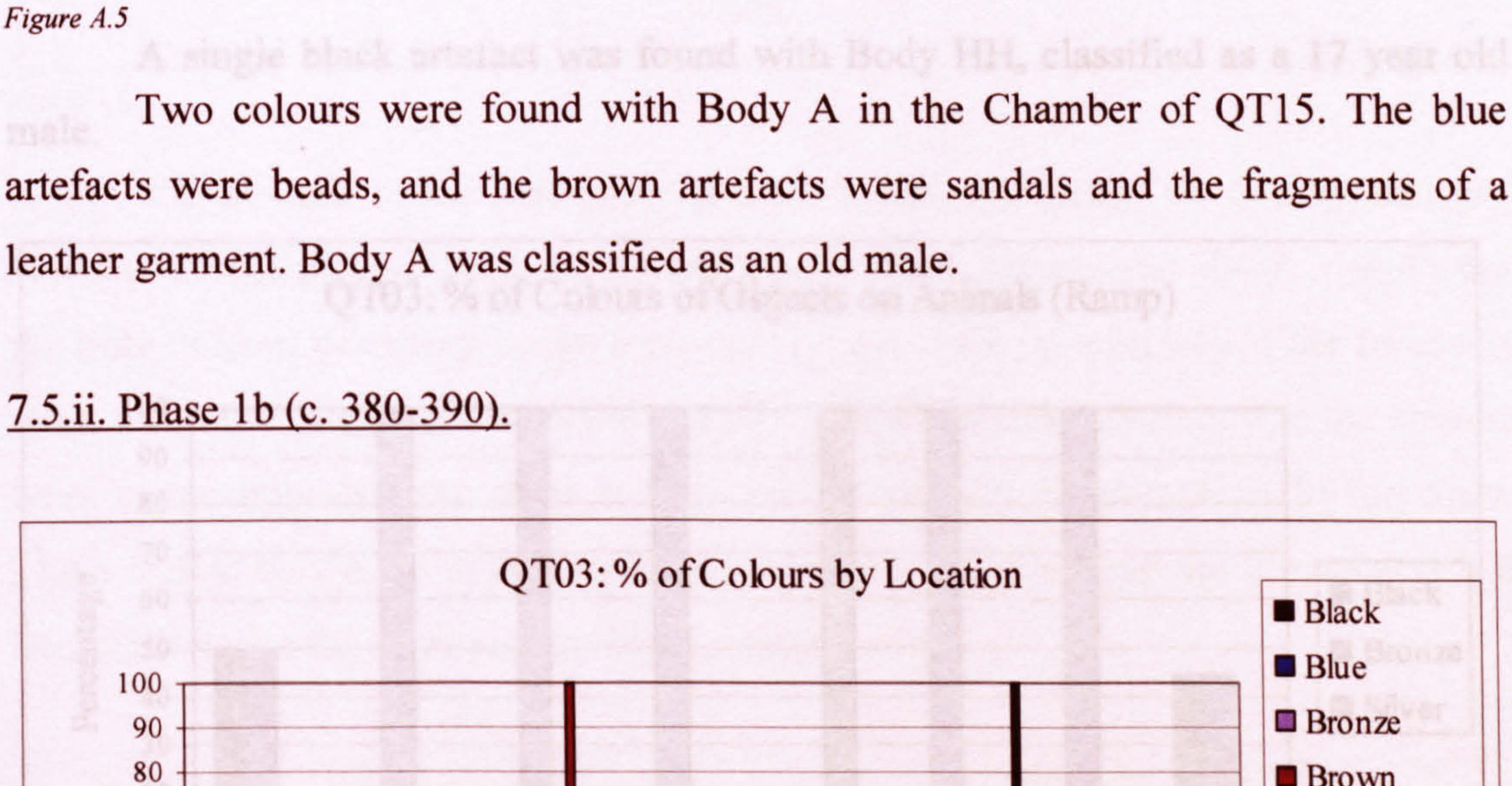


Figure A.6

Artefacts were found in nine different locations in QT03. 13 different colours were found in the artefacts in the tomb.

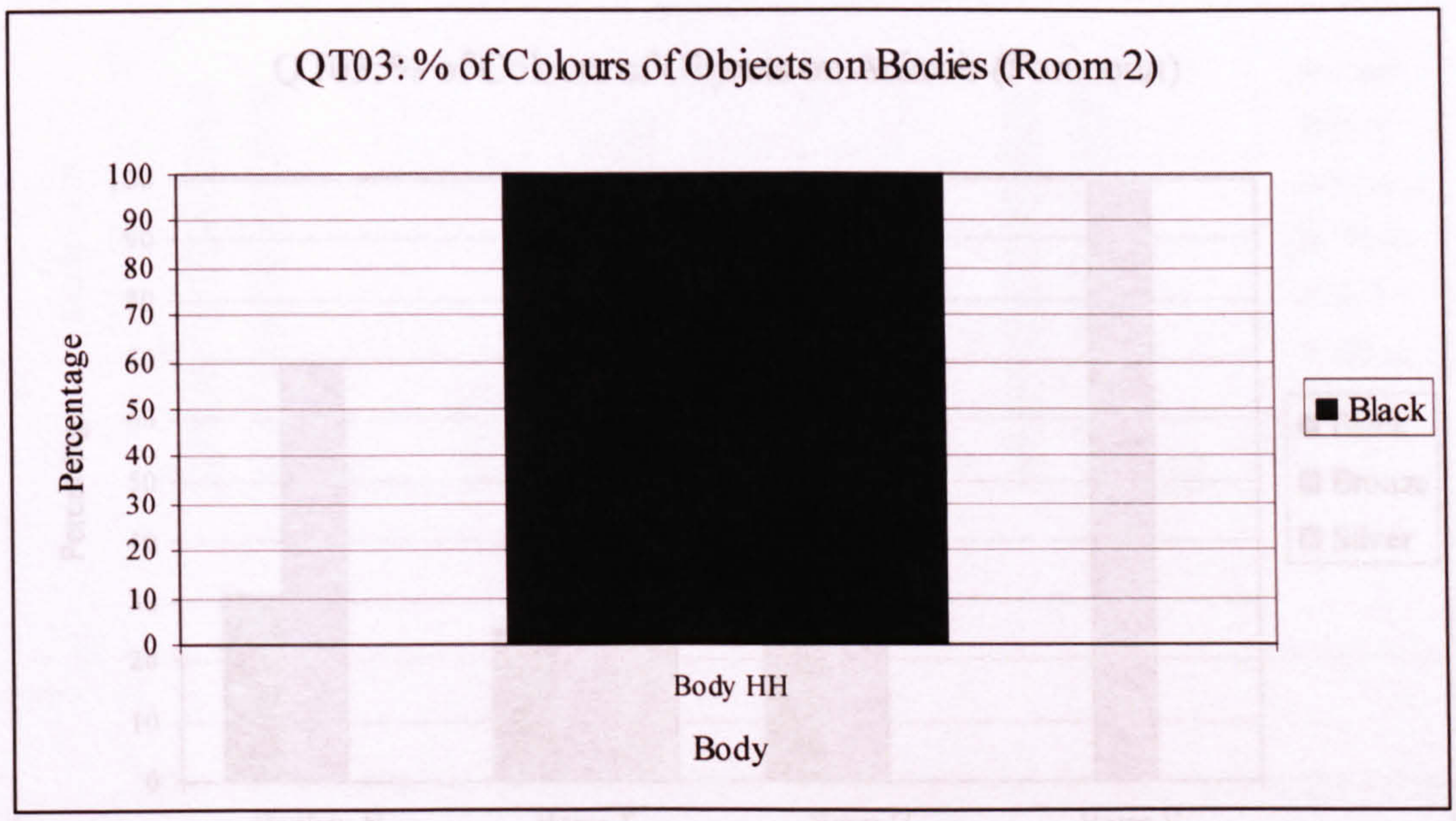


Figure A.7

A single black artefact was found with Body HH, classified as a 17 year old male.

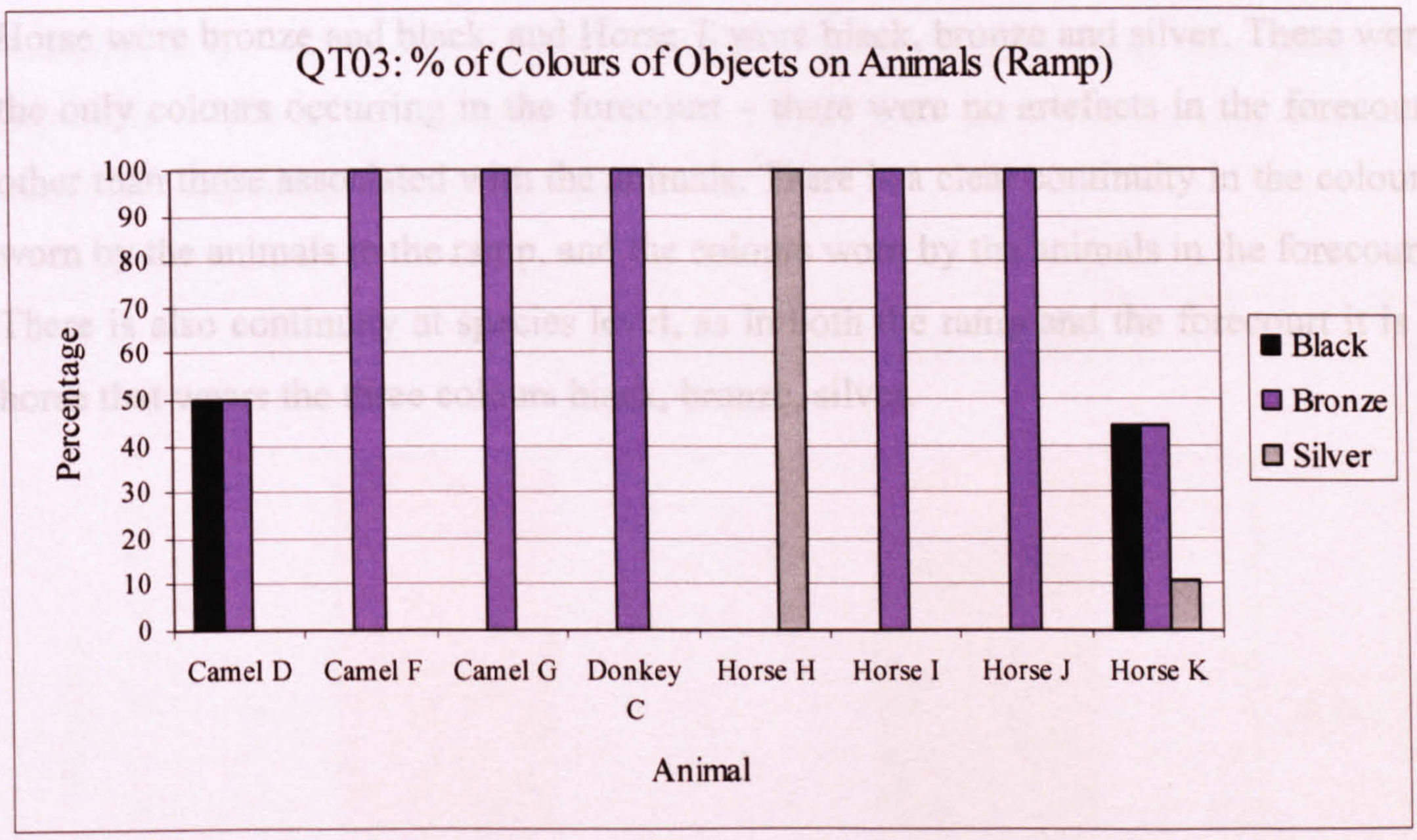


Figure A.8

All of the animals in the graph above were found in the Ramp of QT03. Most of the animals (2 camels, 1 donkey, and 3 horses) were wearing only one colour. In every case this was bronze, except Horse H which was wearing silver. Camel D wore

both black and bronze, whilst Horse K wore black, bronze and silver. These artefacts associated with the animals are the only occurrence of black and silver in the ramp.

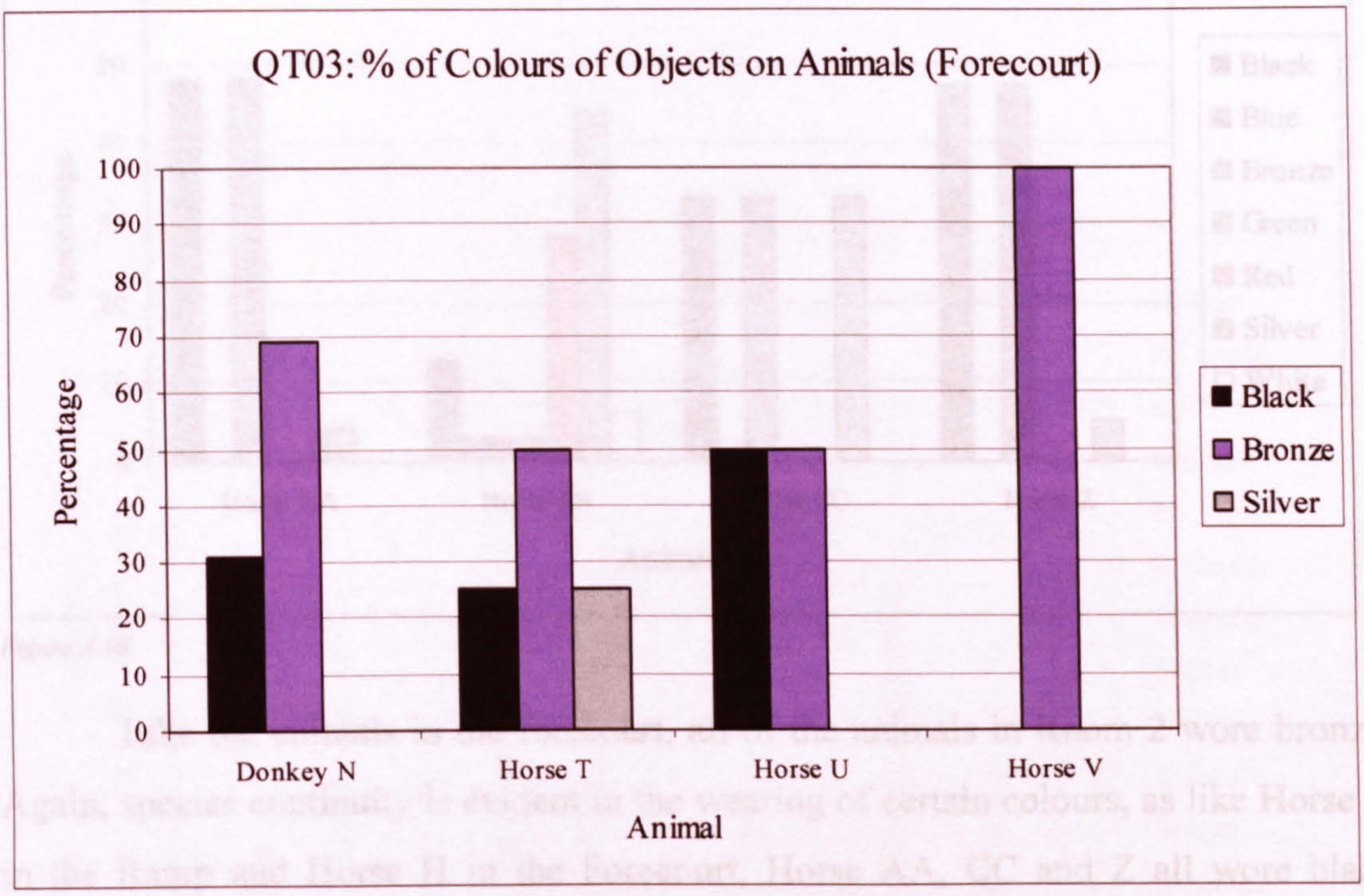


Figure A.9

The animals in the Forecourt all wore bronze artefacts. One donkey and one Horse wore bronze and black, and Horse T wore black, bronze and silver. These were the only colours occurring in the forecourt – there were no artefacts in the forecourt other than those associated with the animals. There is a clear continuity in the colours worn by the animals in the ramp, and the colours worn by the animals in the forecourt. There is also continuity at species level, as in both the ramp and the forecourt it is a horse that wears the three colours black, bronze, silver.

Figure A.11

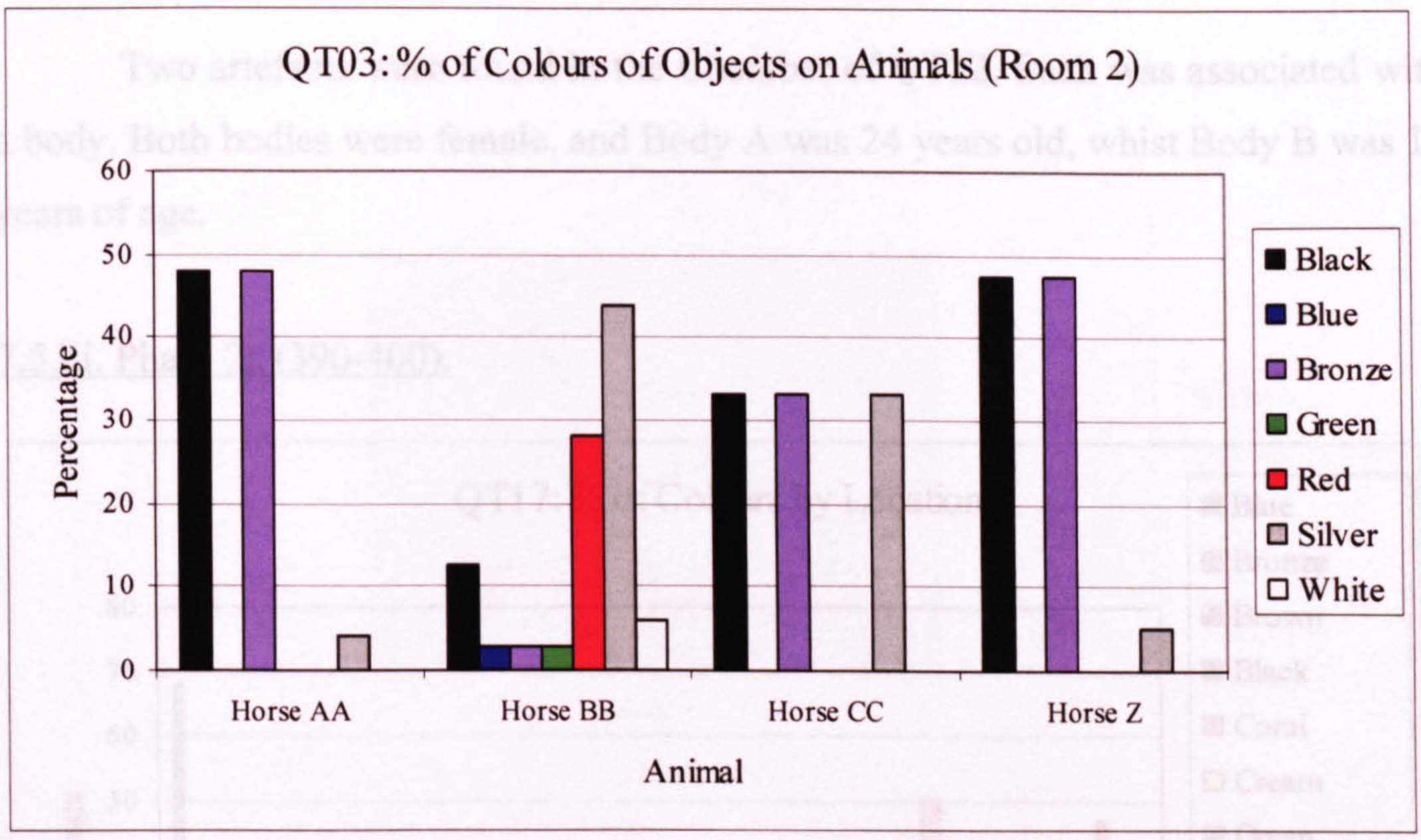


Figure A.10

Like the animals in the forecourt, all of the animals in Room 2 wore bronze. Again, species continuity is evident in the wearing of certain colours, as like Horse K in the Ramp and Horse H in the Forecourt, Horse AA, CC and Z all wore black bronze and silver. Horse B is very unusual in the context of the colours worn by the other animals in the tomb. Although Horse B wears the same tripartite colour ensemble as the other horse in Room 2, it also wore small amounts of blue, green, red and white. None of these colours (nor bronze, black or silver) occurred in Room 2, except in association with the animals.

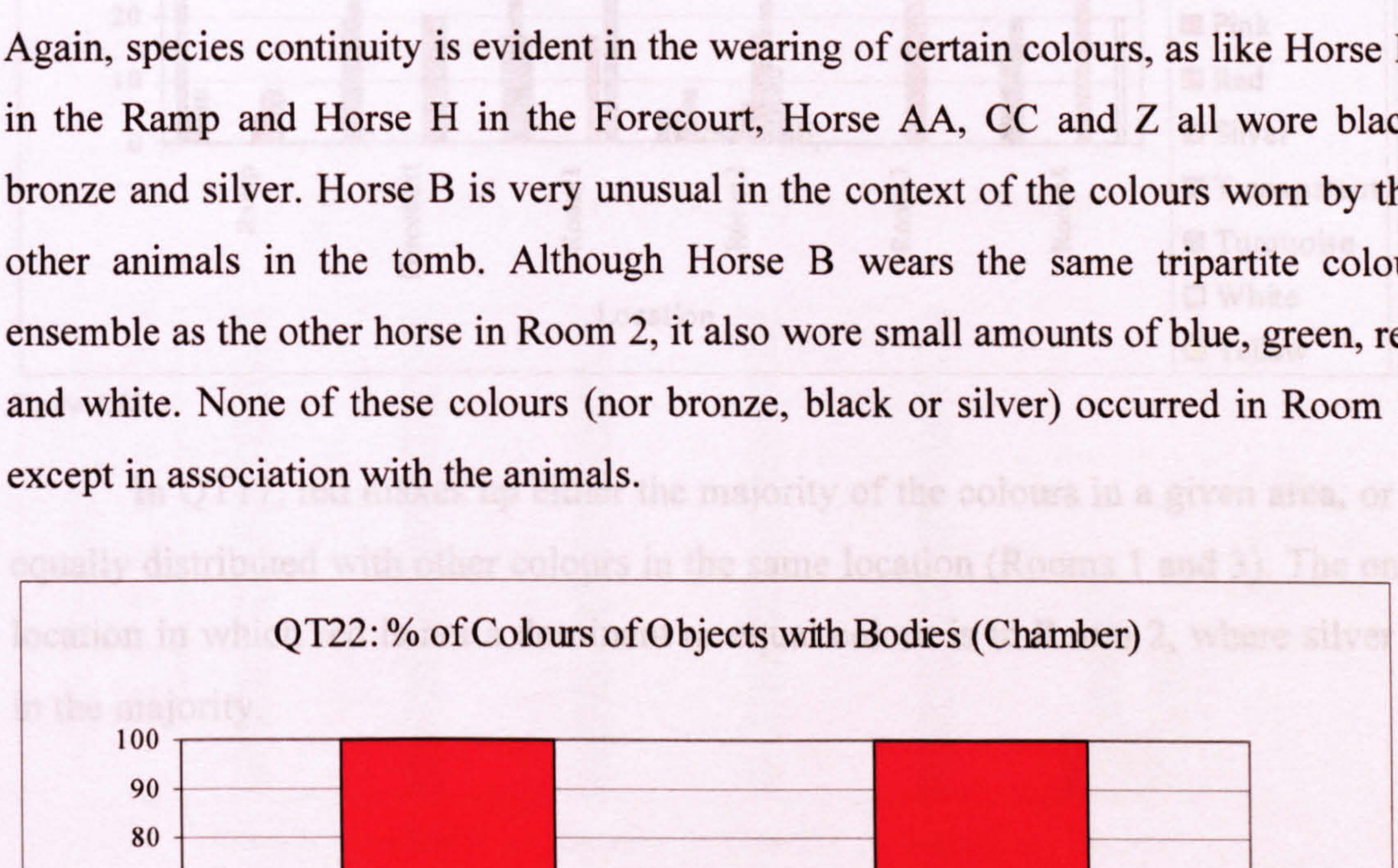


Figure A.11

Two artefacts were found in the Chamber of QT22. Each was associated with a body. Both bodies were female, and Body A was 24 years old, whist Body B was 18 years of age.

7.5.iii. Phase 2a (390-400).

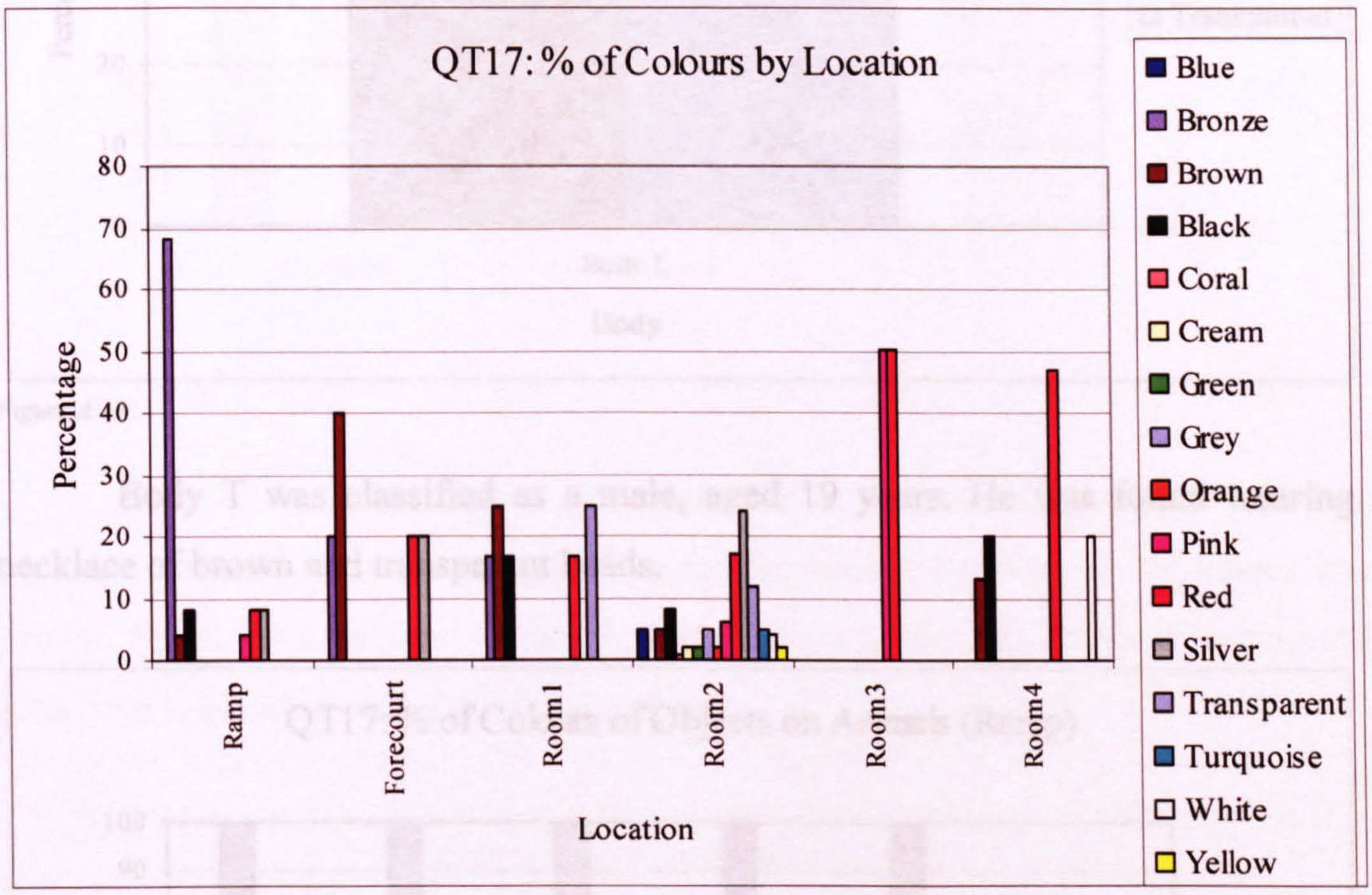


Figure A.12

In QT17, red makes up either the majority of the colours in a given area, or is equally distributed with other colours in the same location (Rooms 1 and 3). The only location in which red is not a dominant or equal colour is in Room 2, where silver is in the majority.

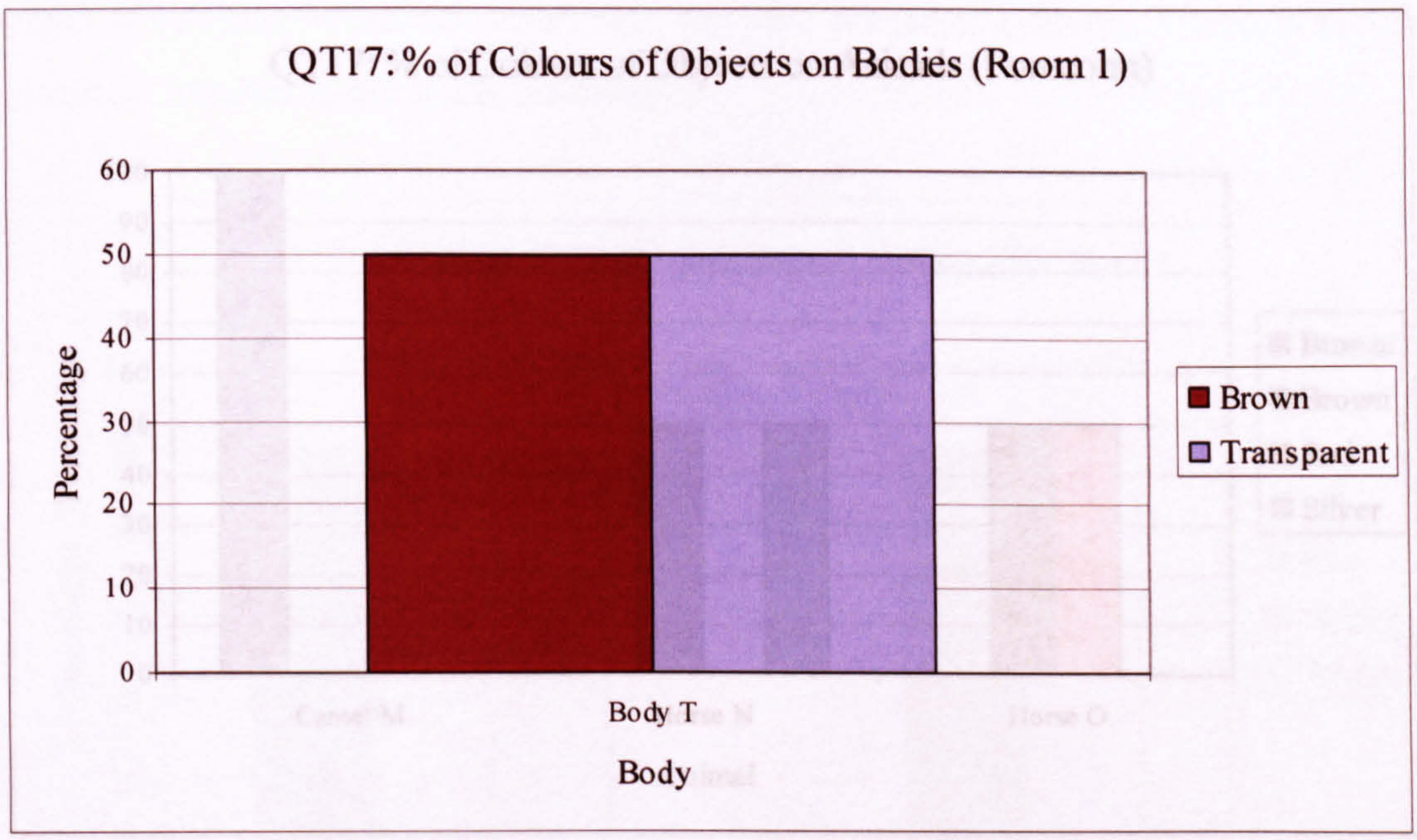


Figure A.13

Body T was classified as a male, aged 19 years. He was found wearing a necklace of brown and transparent beads.

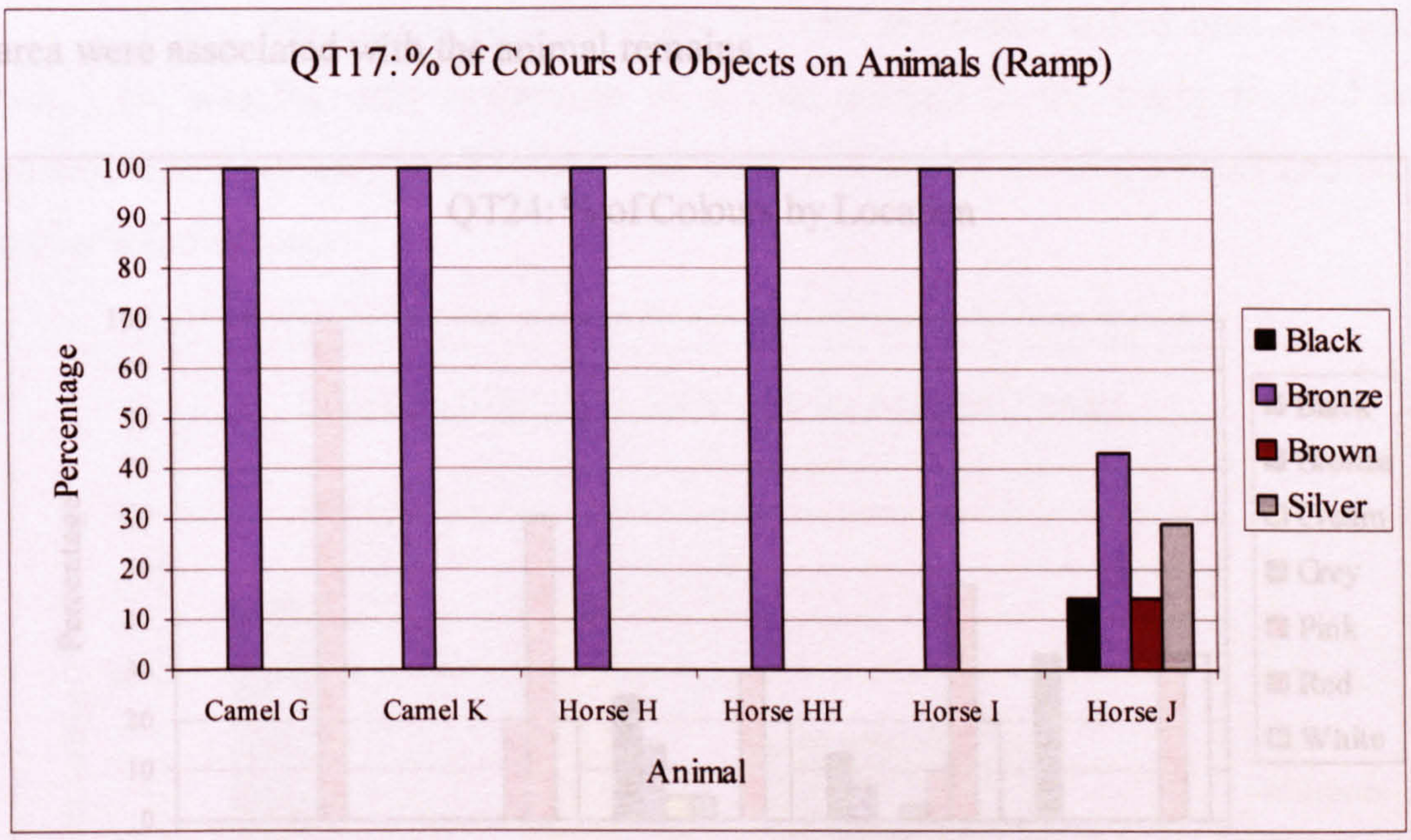


Figure A.14

Every animal in the Ramp of QT17 wore bronze. Horse J also wore black, brown and silver. Bronze, brown and silver only occur in the ramp in association with animal bodies.

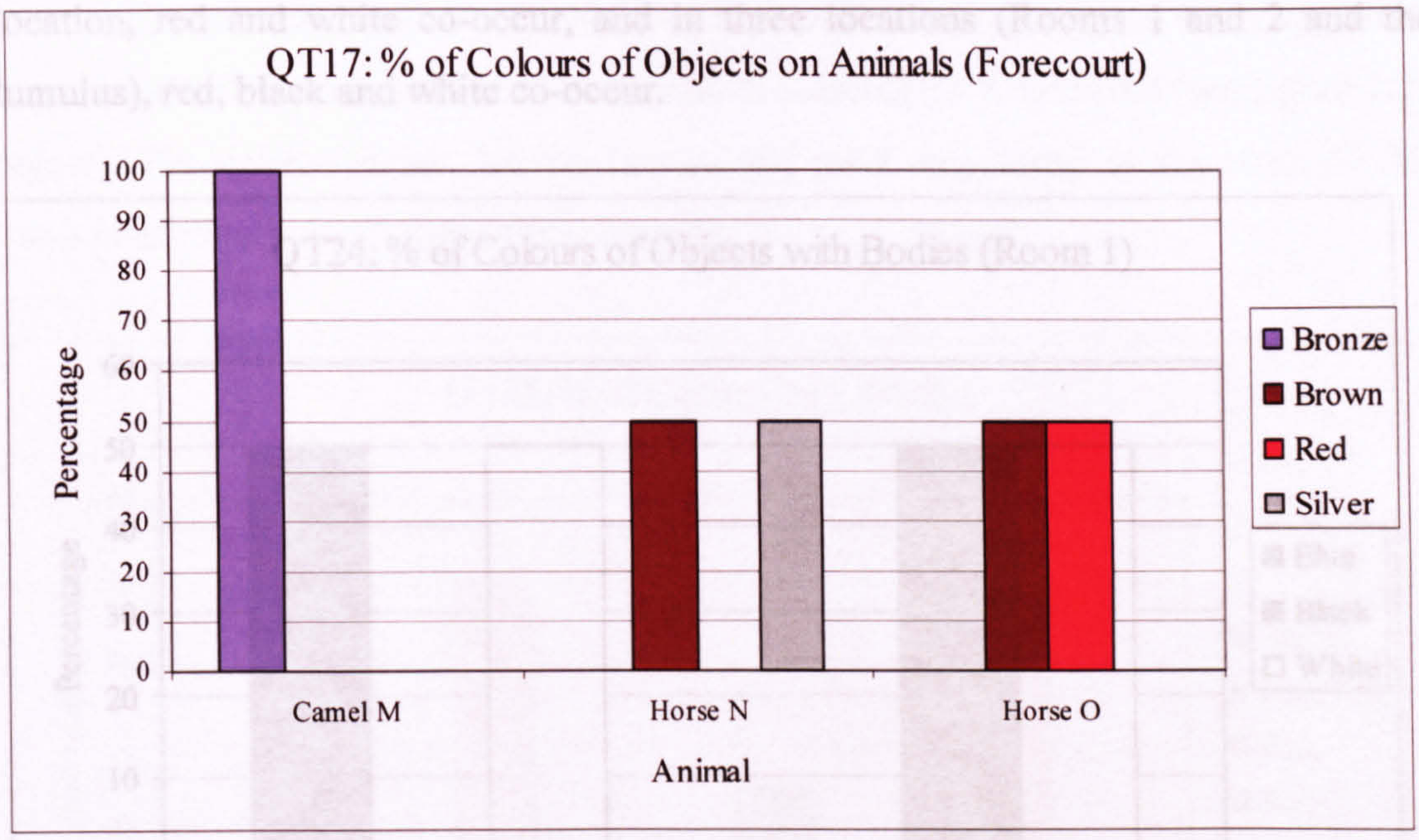


Figure A.15

None of the colours worn by the animals in the forecourt of QT17 was worn by every animal. Bronze was only worn by the camel, but both of the horses wore brown. These were the only colours in the forecourt, as the only artefacts found in this area were associated with the animal remains.

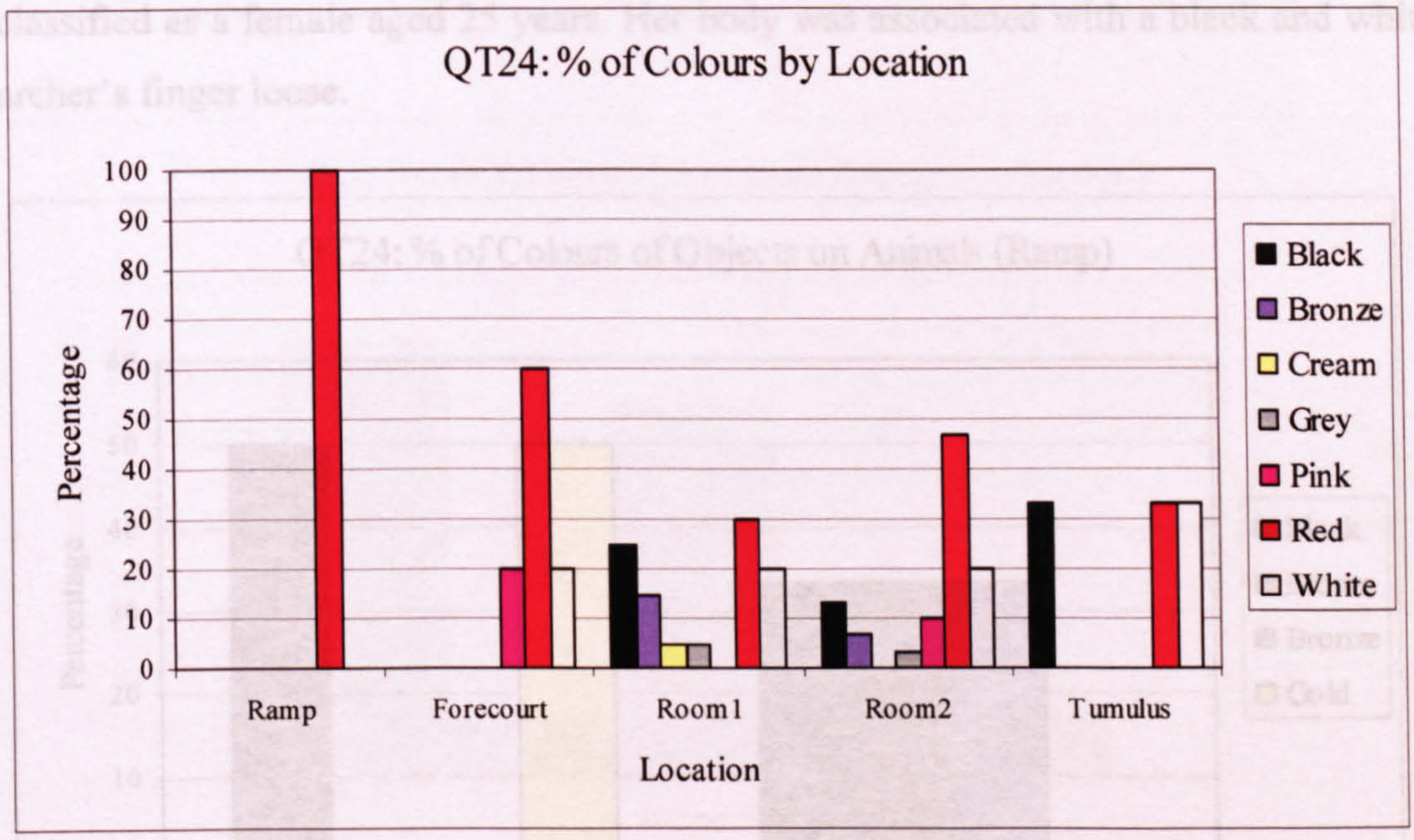


Figure A.16

In every location of QT24, red is the dominant or (in the case of the tumulus) equally occurring colour. In the ramp, red was the only colour found. In every other

location, red and white co-occur, and in three locations (Rooms 1 and 2 and the tumulus), red, black and white co-occur.

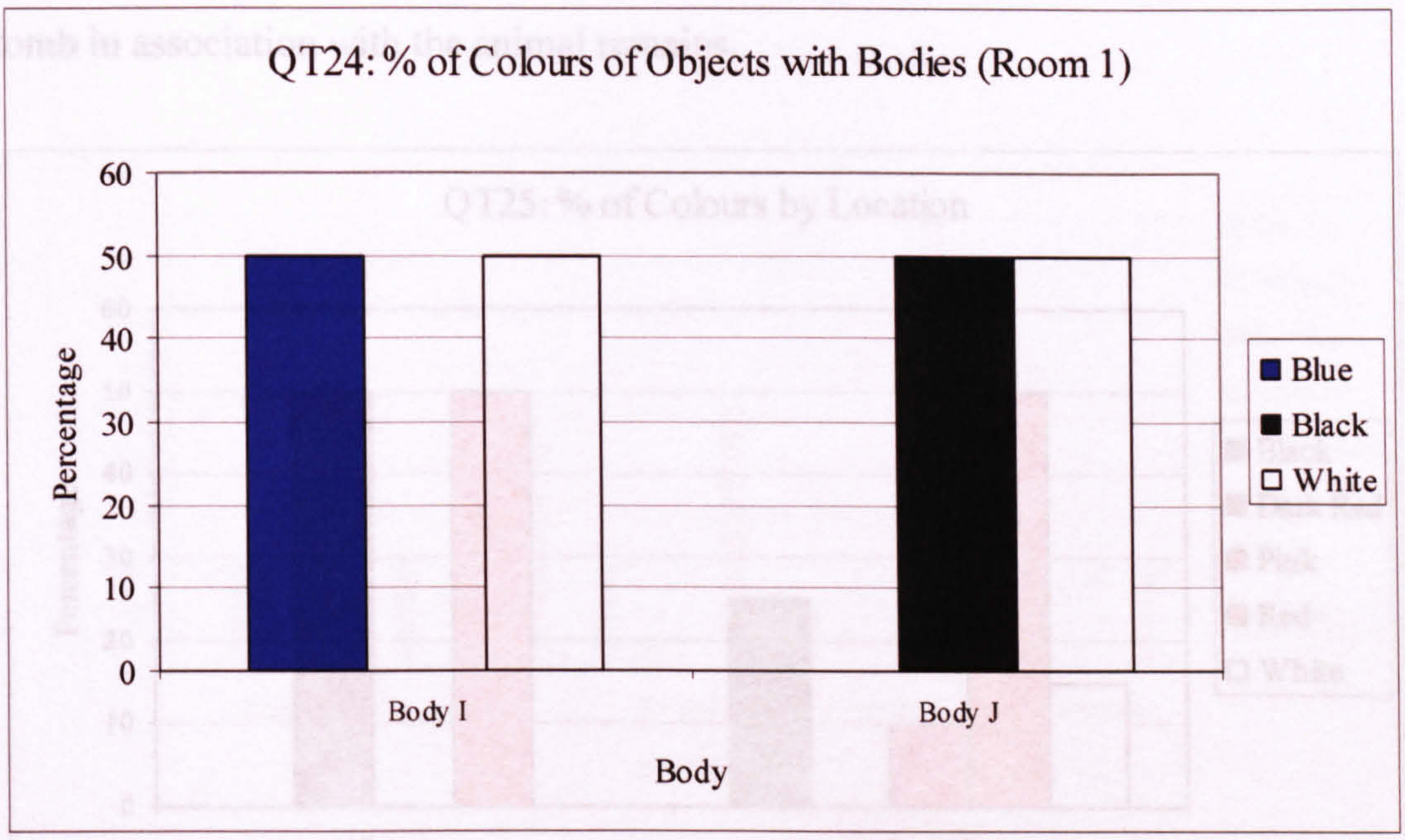


Figure A.17

Body I was a male aged 20 years. He was associated with a blue and white belt. This was the only occurrence of a blue artefact in the tomb. Body J was classified as a female aged 25 years. Her body was associated with a black and white archer's finger loose.

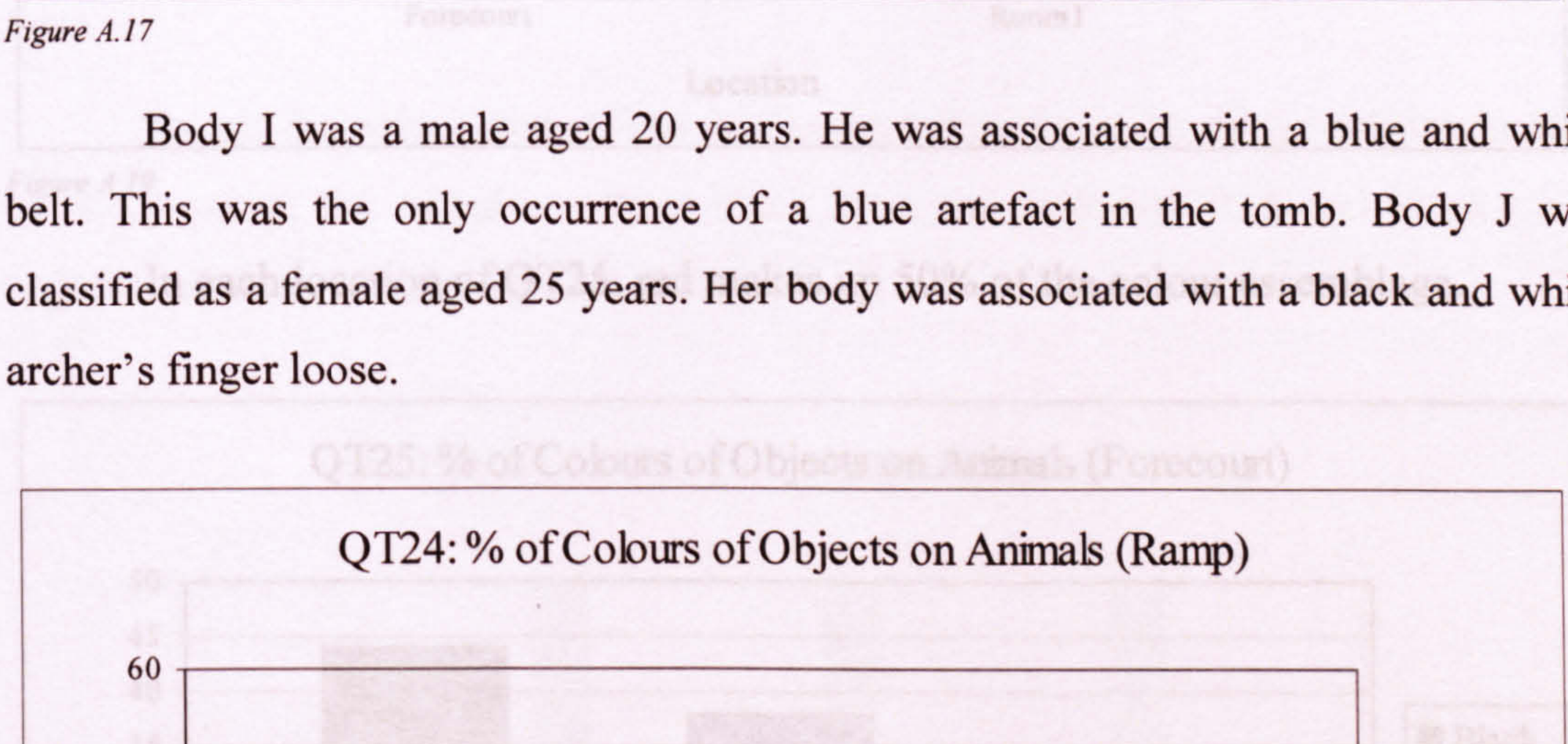


Figure A.18

The animals in the Ramp of QT24 both wore black. The gold worn by Camel B is one of only two occurrences of an animal wearing gold at Qustul (see figure 7.29 below). The colours black, brown, bronze and gold only occur in the ramp of this tomb in association with the animal remains.

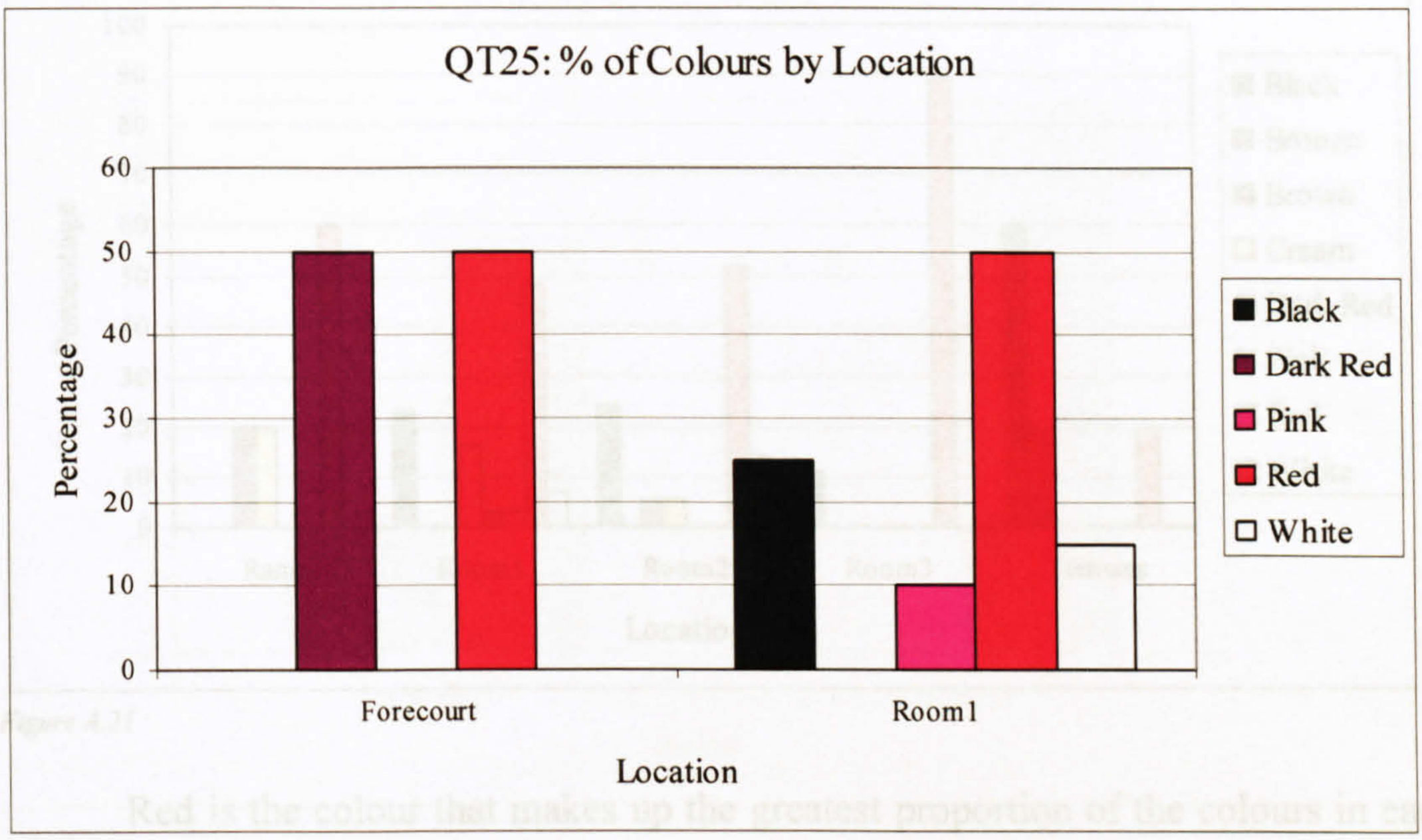


Figure A.19

In each location of QT25, red makes up 50% of the colour assemblage.

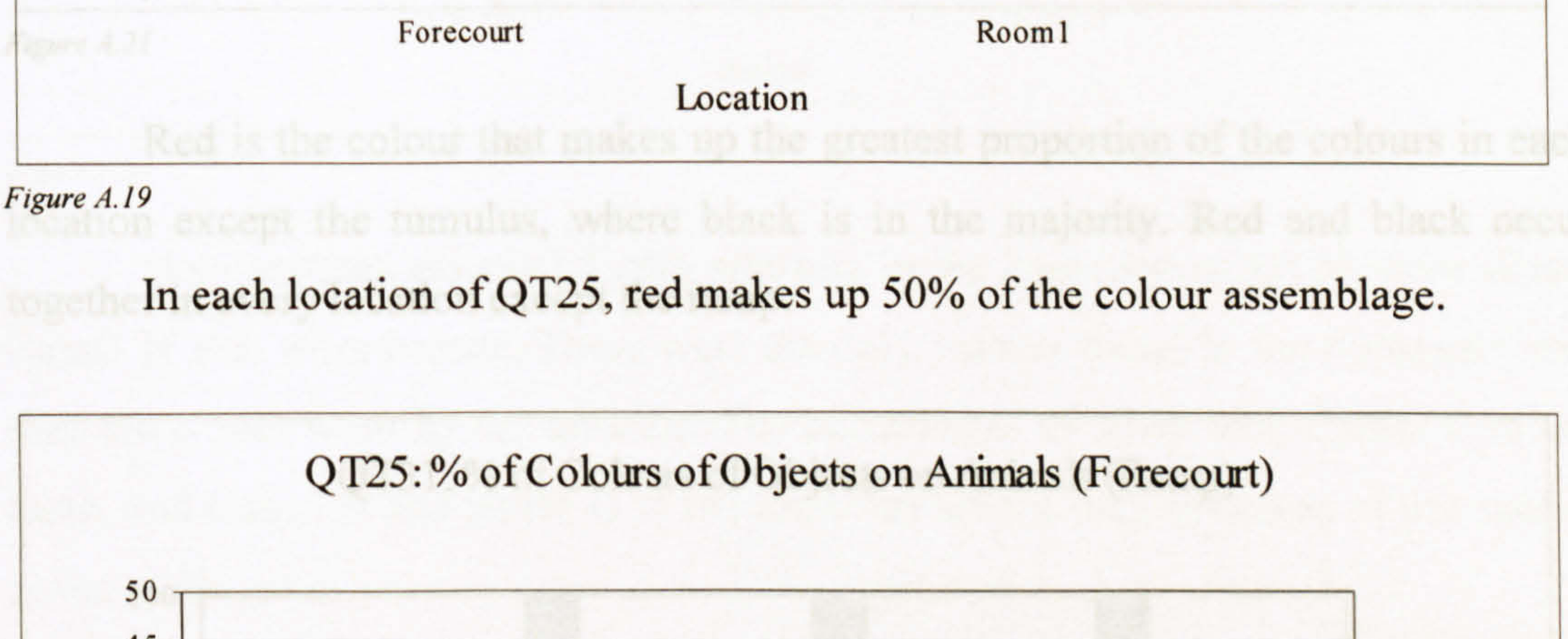


Figure A.20

The donkey wore five colours, which is a large variation for an animal, and the same combination was worn by Horse BB in QT03 (with the addition of silver). This

is the only occurrence of black, blue, bronze and green in the forecourt of the tomb. The donkey also wears the sole instances of blue, bronze and green in the tomb.

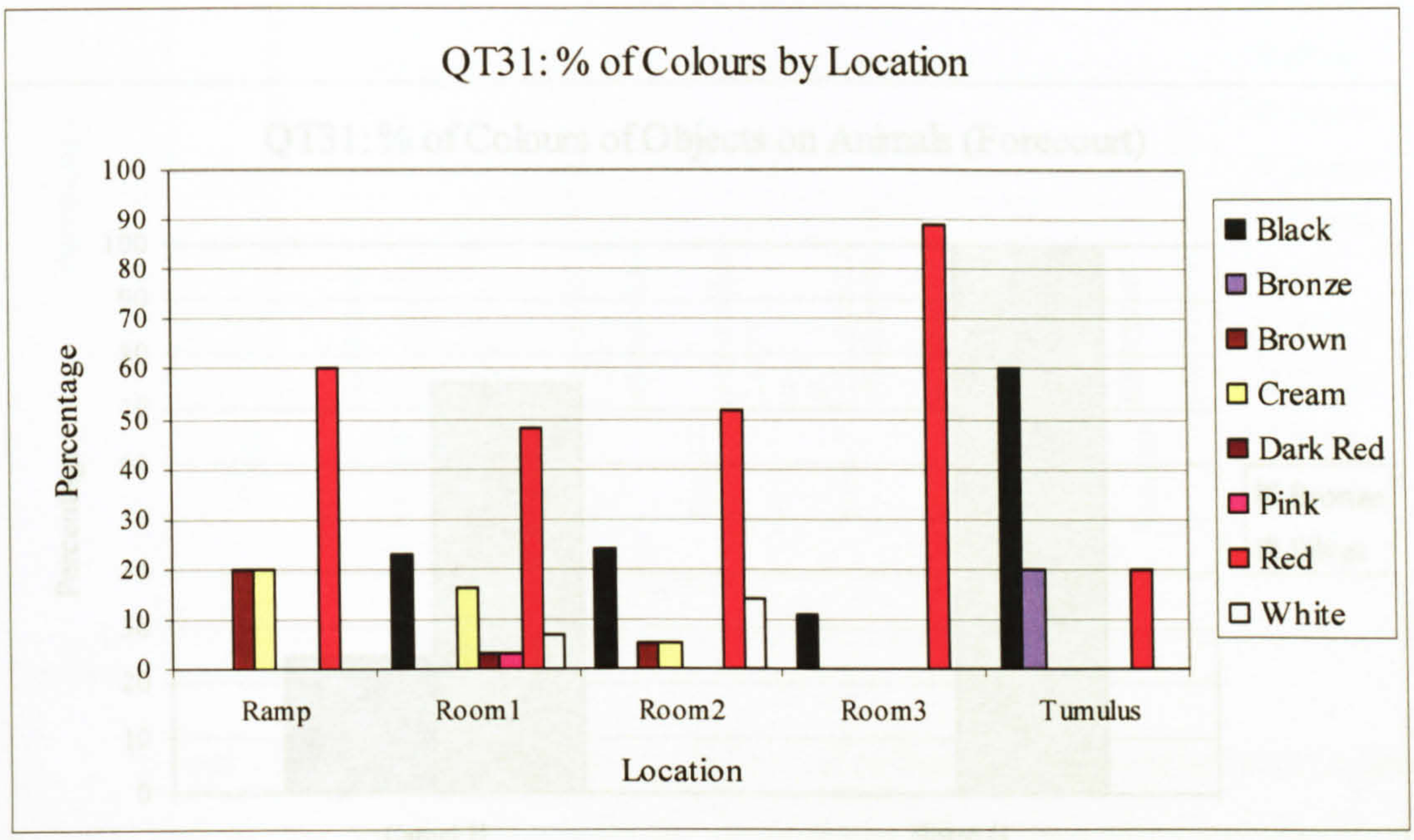


Figure A.21

Red is the colour that makes up the greatest proportion of the colours in each location except the tumulus, where black is in the majority. Red and black occur together in every location except the ramp.

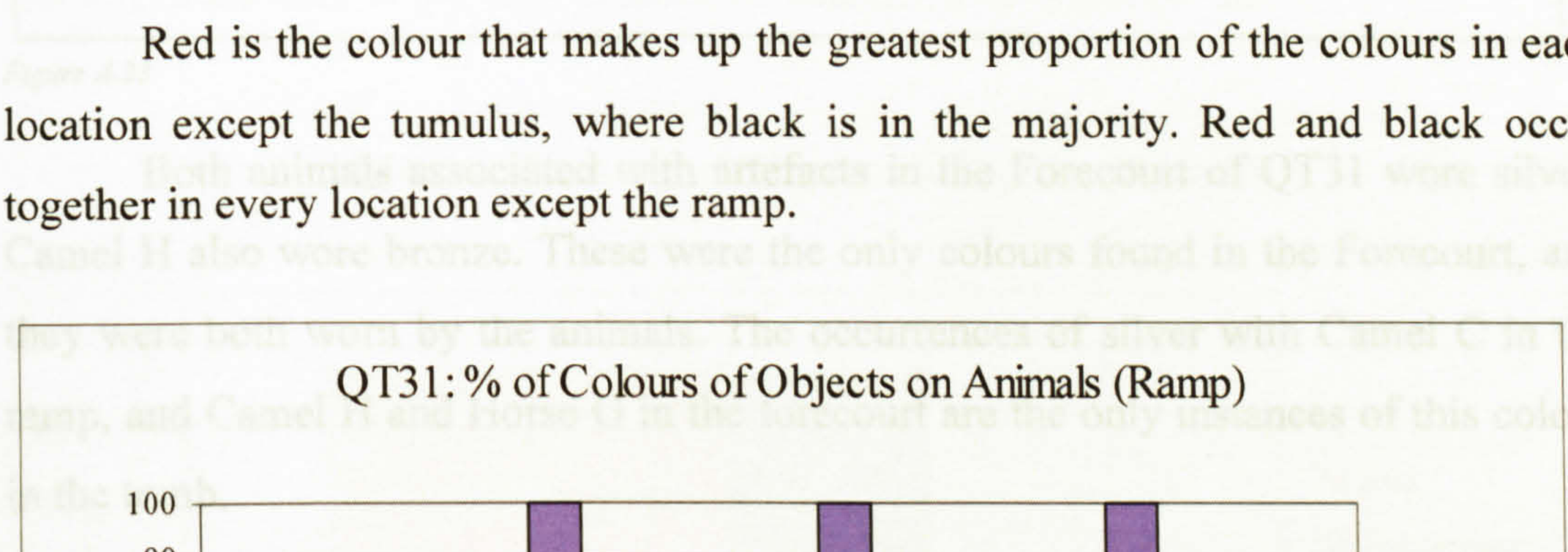


Figure A.22

Every animal in the Ramp of QT31 wears bronze. Camel C also wears brown, red and silver. Bronze and silver were only found in the ramp in association with the animal remains.

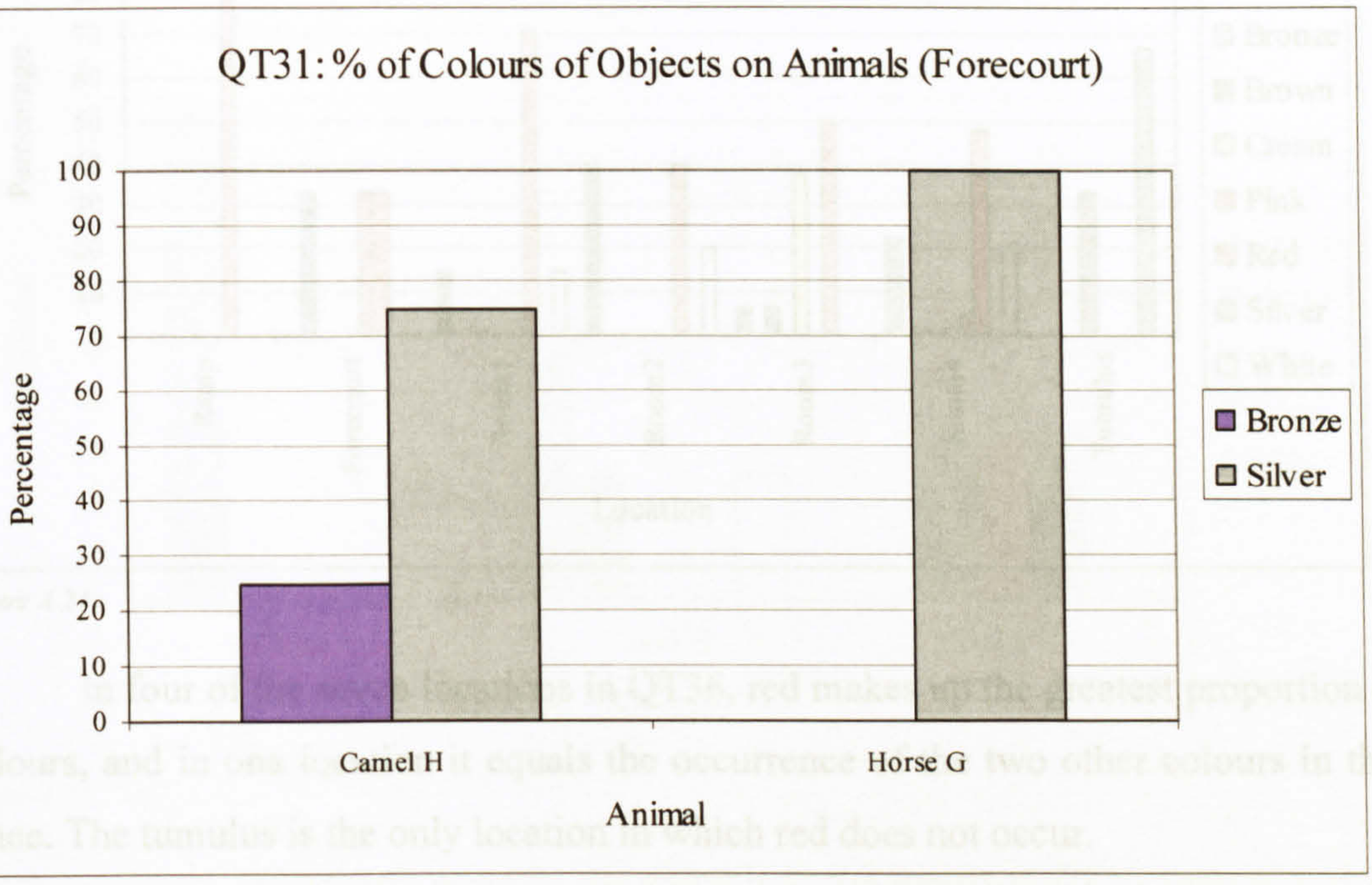


Figure A.23

Both animals associated with artefacts in the Forecourt of QT31 wore silver. Camel H also wore bronze. These were the only colours found in the Forecourt, and they were both worn by the animals. The occurrences of silver with Camel C in the ramp, and Camel H and Horse G in the forecourt are the only instances of this colour in the tomb.

7.5.iv. Phase 2b (c. 400-410).

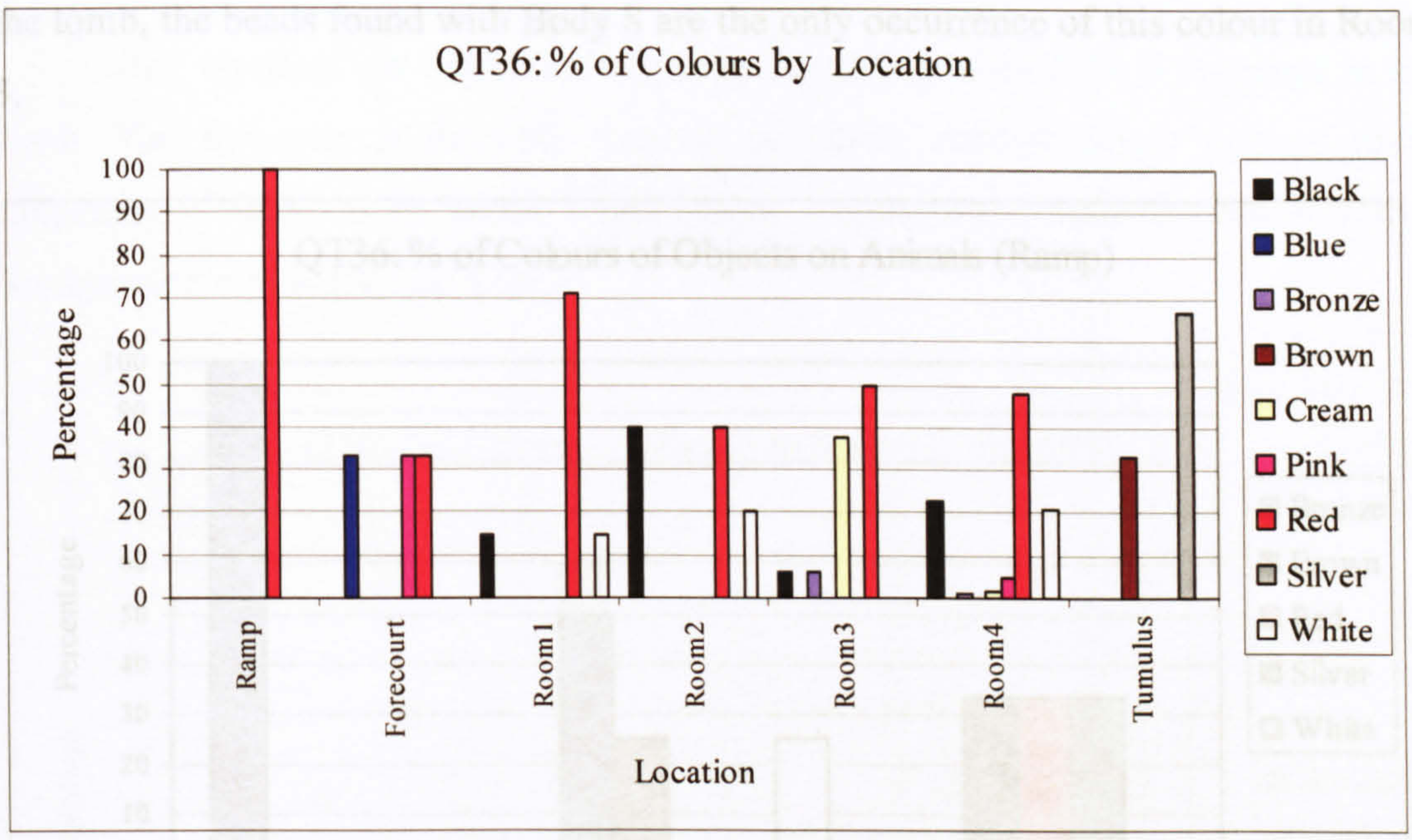


Figure A.24

In four of the seven locations in QT36, red makes up the greatest proportion of colours, and in one location it equals the occurrence of the two other colours in that place. The tumulus is the only location in which red does not occur.

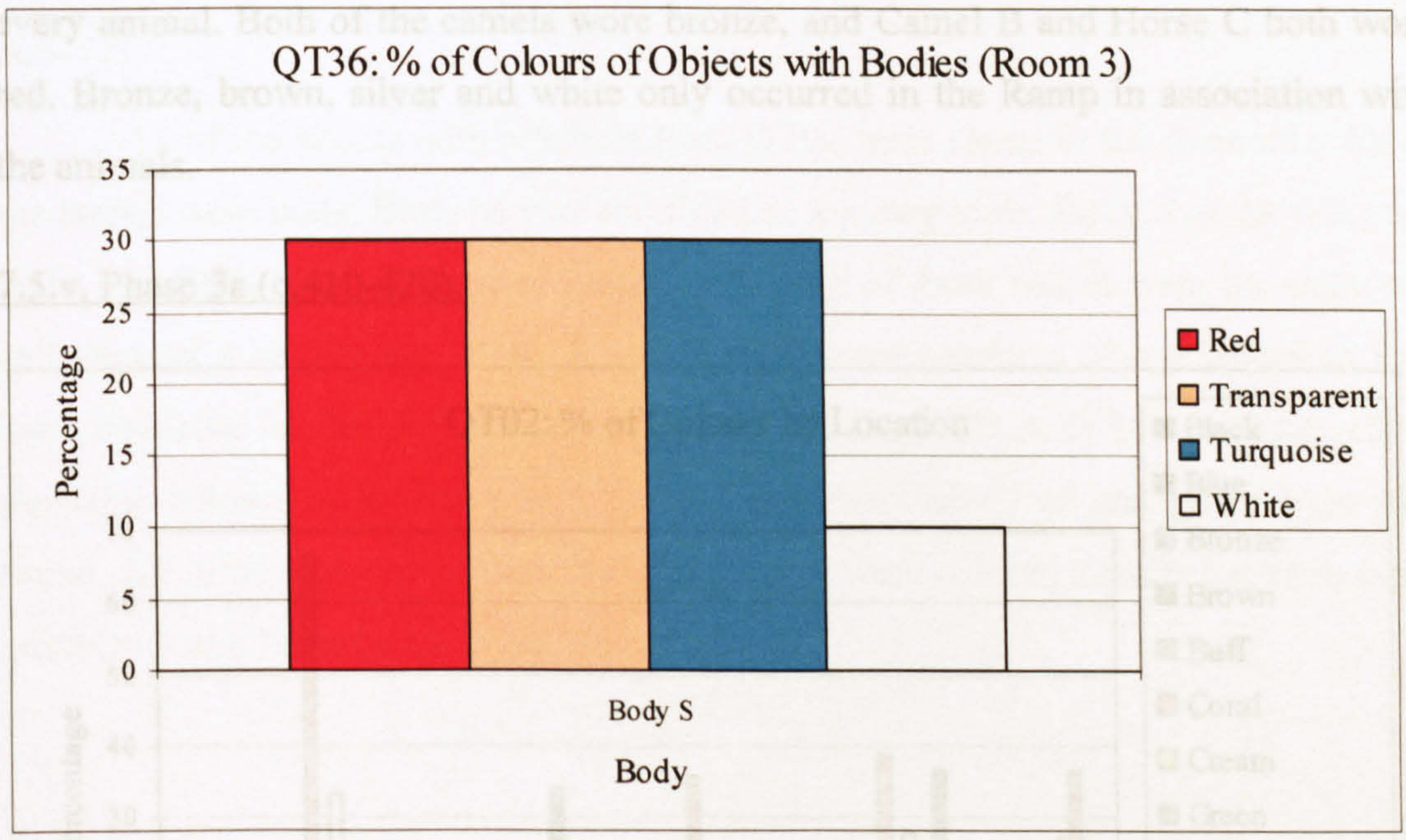


Figure A.25

Body S was found in Room 3 of tomb QT36. The body was classified as an adult female. She was found wearing a necklace of red, transparent and turquoise beads, with further white beads associated with her body. This is the only occurrence of transparent and turquoise in the tomb, and whilst white occurs in other locations in

the tomb, the beads found with Body S are the only occurrence of this colour in Room 3.

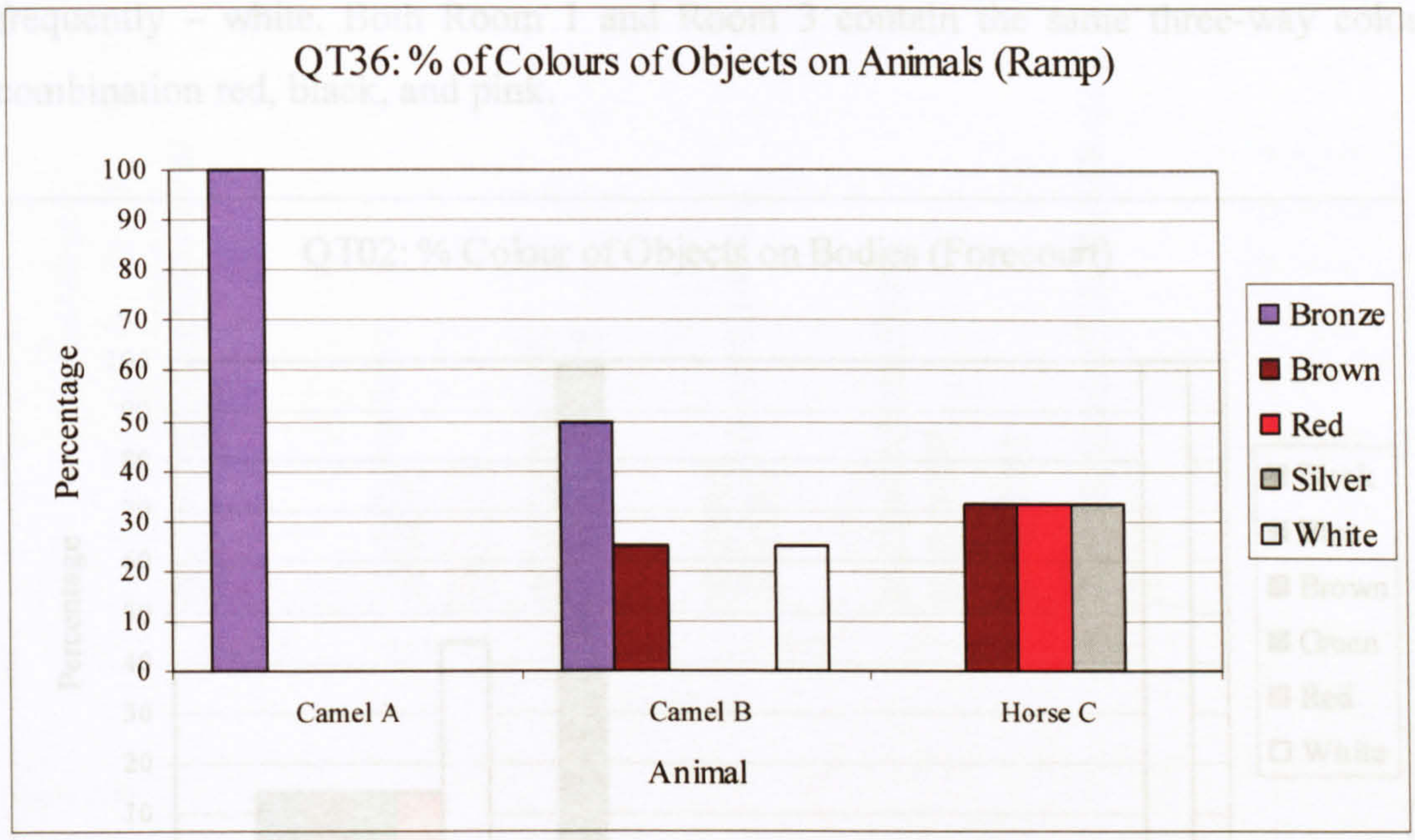


Figure A.26

None of the colours worn by the animals in the Ramp of QT36 were shared by every animal. Both of the camels wore bronze, and Camel B and Horse C both wore red. Bronze, brown, silver and white only occurred in the Ramp in association with the animals.

7.5.v. Phase 3a (c.410-420).

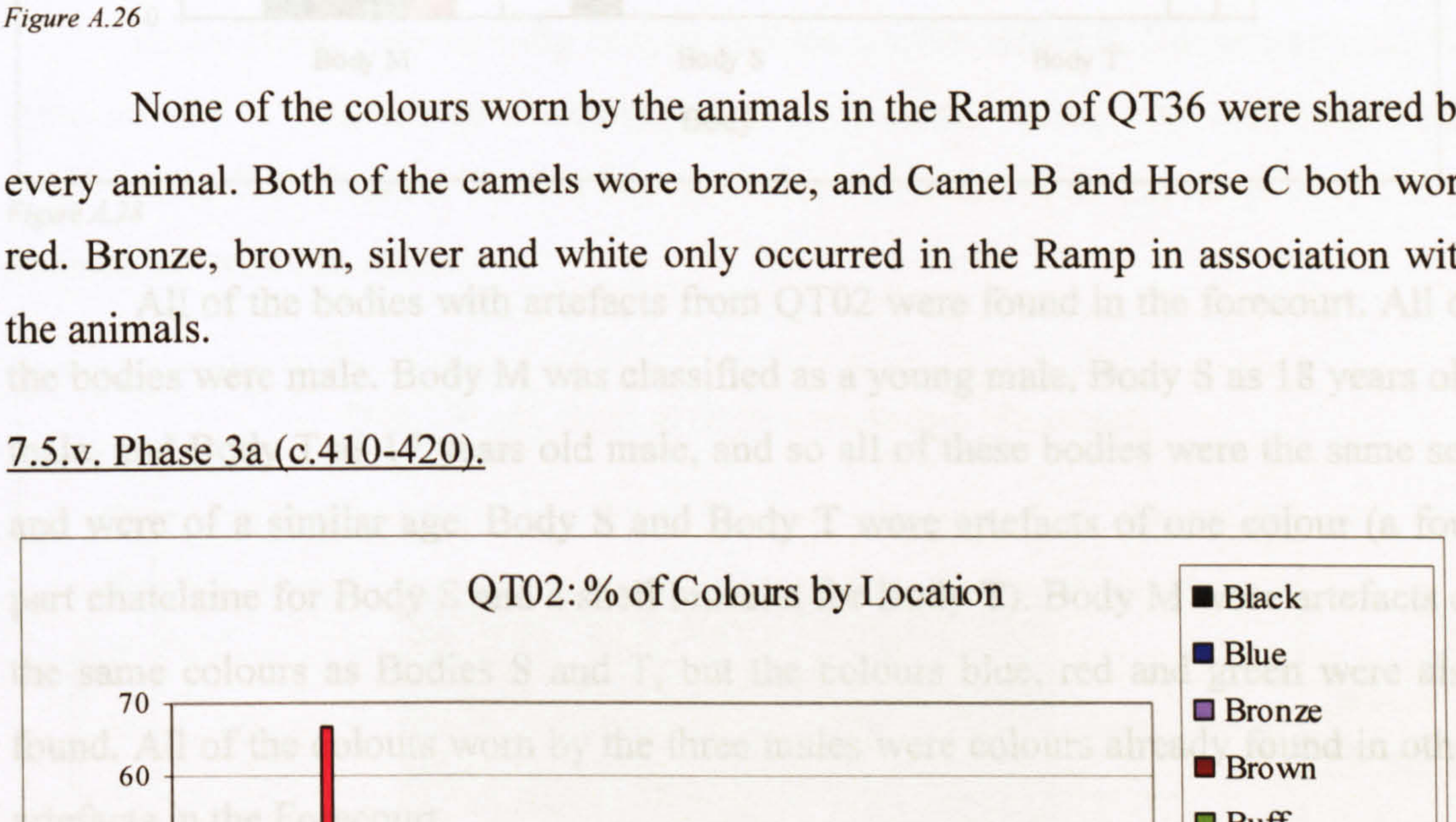


Figure A.27

Red artefacts are the most frequently occurring in 4 of the 5 locations in the tomb. The forecourt is the only location in which another colour appears more frequently – white. Both Room 1 and Room 3 contain the same three-way colour combination red, black, and pink.

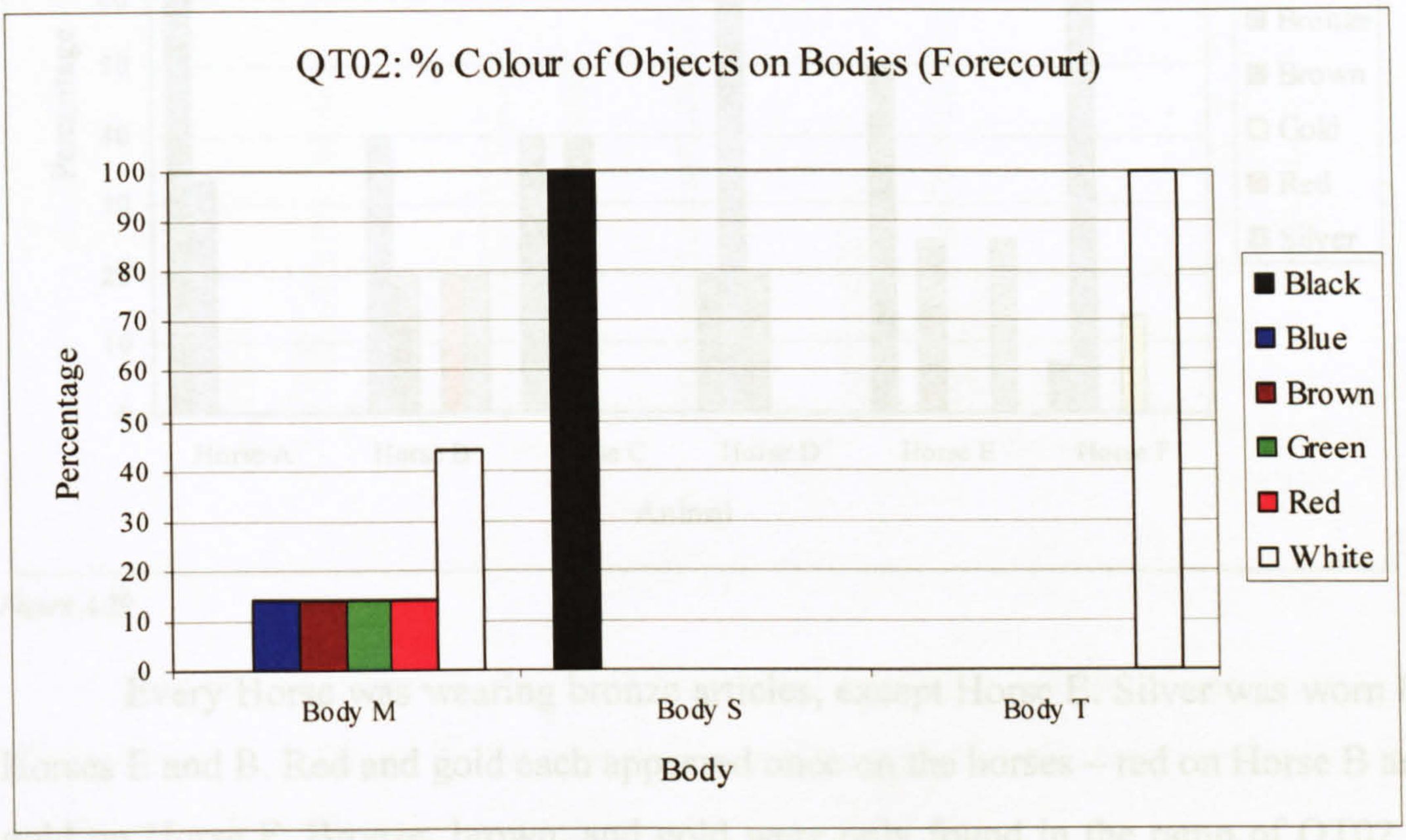


Figure A.28

All of the bodies with artefacts from QT02 were found in the forecourt. All of the bodies were male. Body M was classified as a young male, Body S as 18 years old male, and Body T as 17 years old male, and so all of these bodies were the same sex and were of a similar age. Body S and Body T wore artefacts of one colour (a four part chatelaine for Body S and a shell bracelet for Body T). Body M wore artefacts of the same colours as Bodies S and T, but the colours blue, red and green were also found. All of the colours worn by the three males were colours already found in other artefacts in the Forecourt.

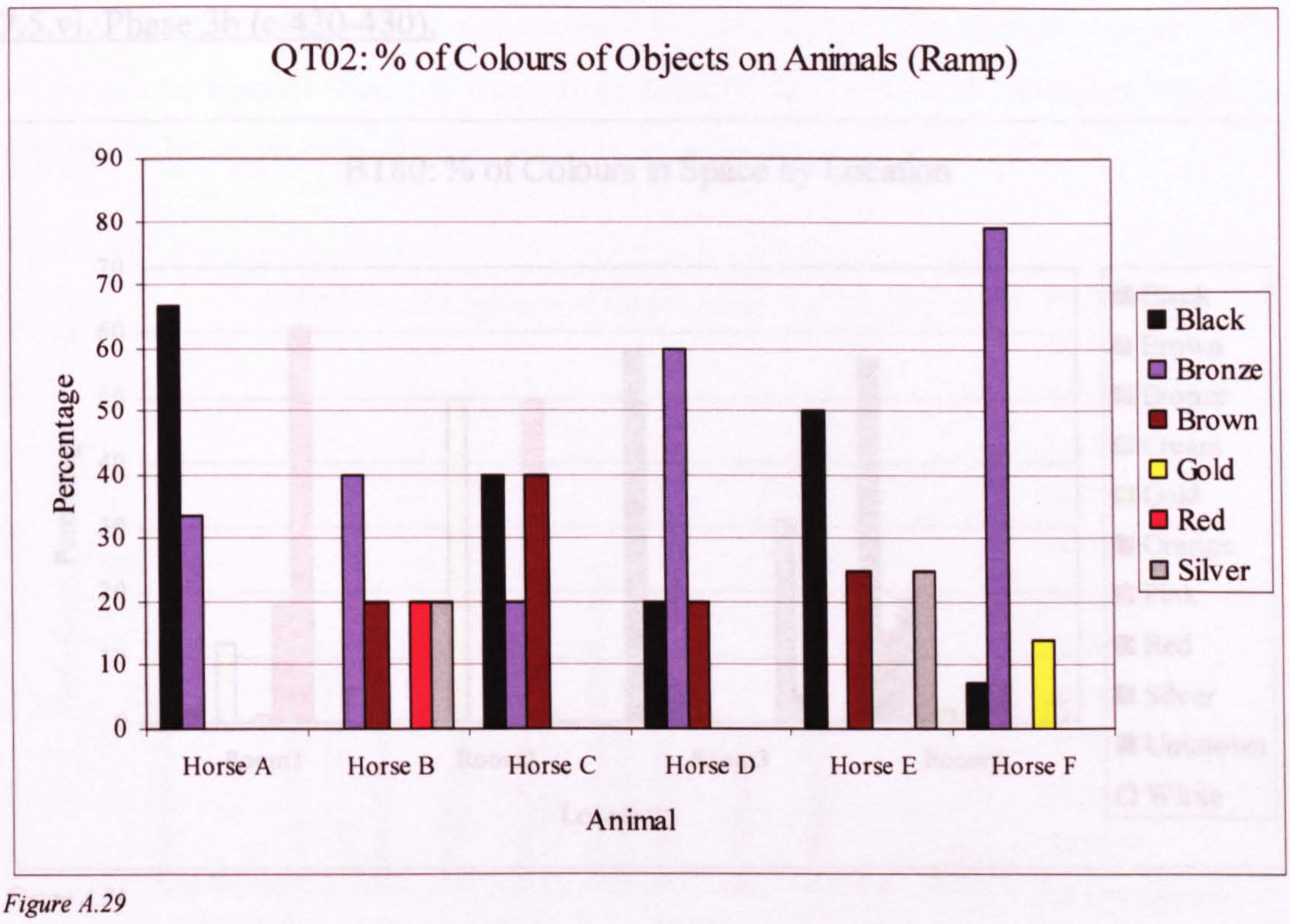


Figure A.29

Every Horse was wearing bronze articles, except Horse E. Silver was worn by Horses E and B. Red and gold each appeared once on the horses – red on Horse B and gold on Horse F. Bronze, brown, and gold were only found in the ramp of QT02 in association with the animals.

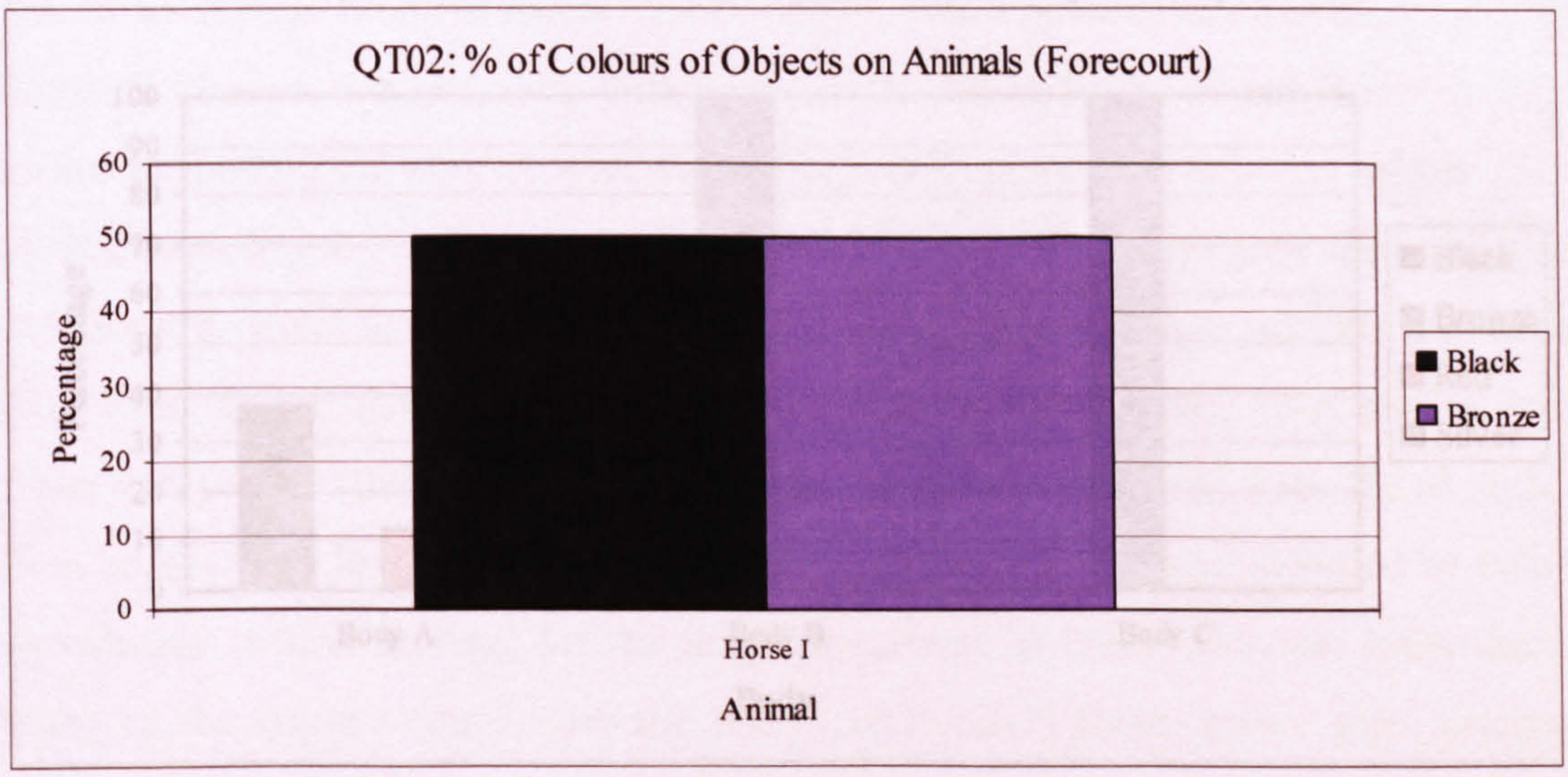


Figure A.30

Only a single animal was found with artefacts in the Forecourt. Like the horses in the ramp Horse I was also wearing silver.

7.5.vi. Phase 3b (c.420-430).

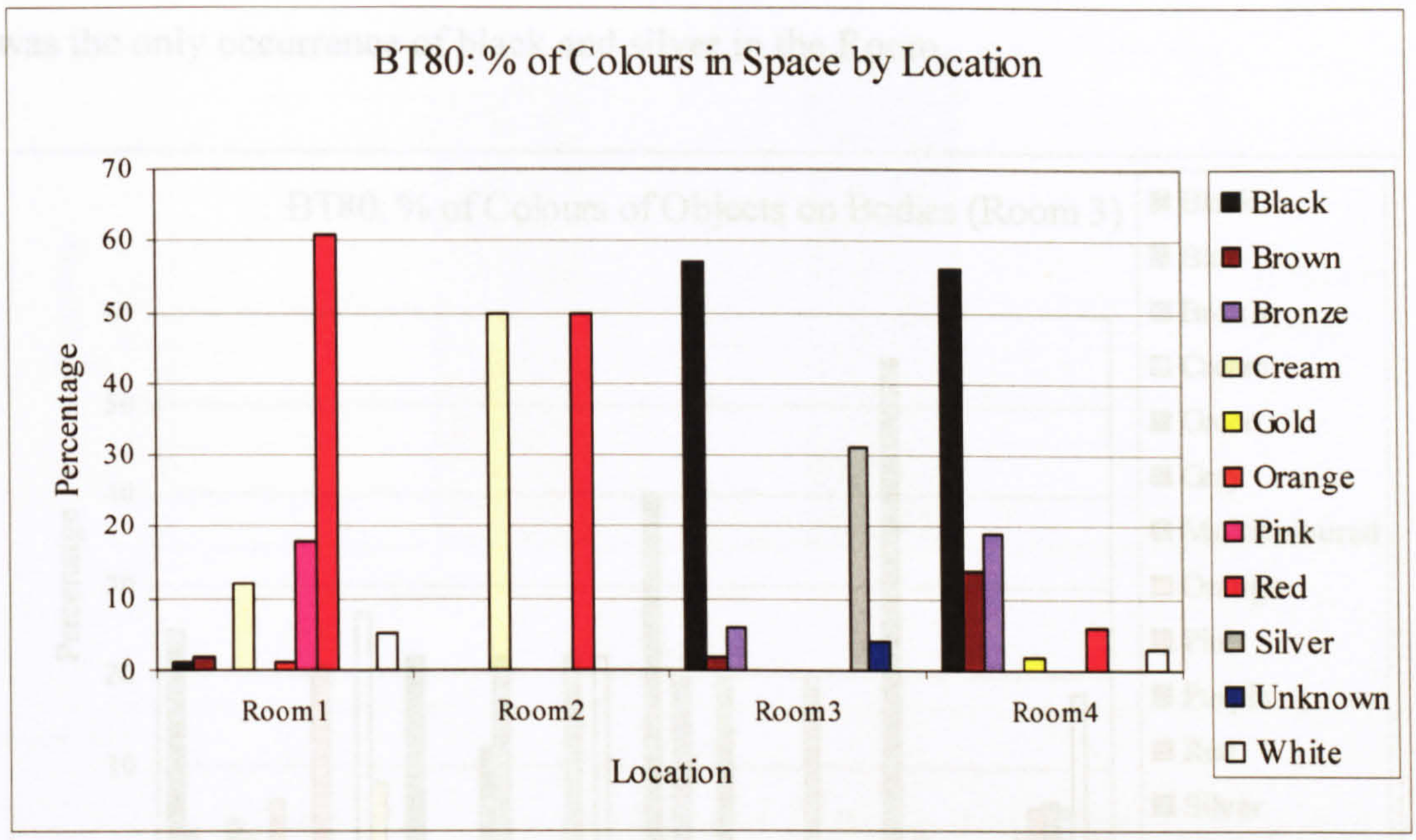


Figure A.31

Red only appears as the most frequently occurring colour in one location in BT80: Room 1. In Room 2, red appears in equal quantities with cream, and in Room 3 and Room 4, black appears most frequently.

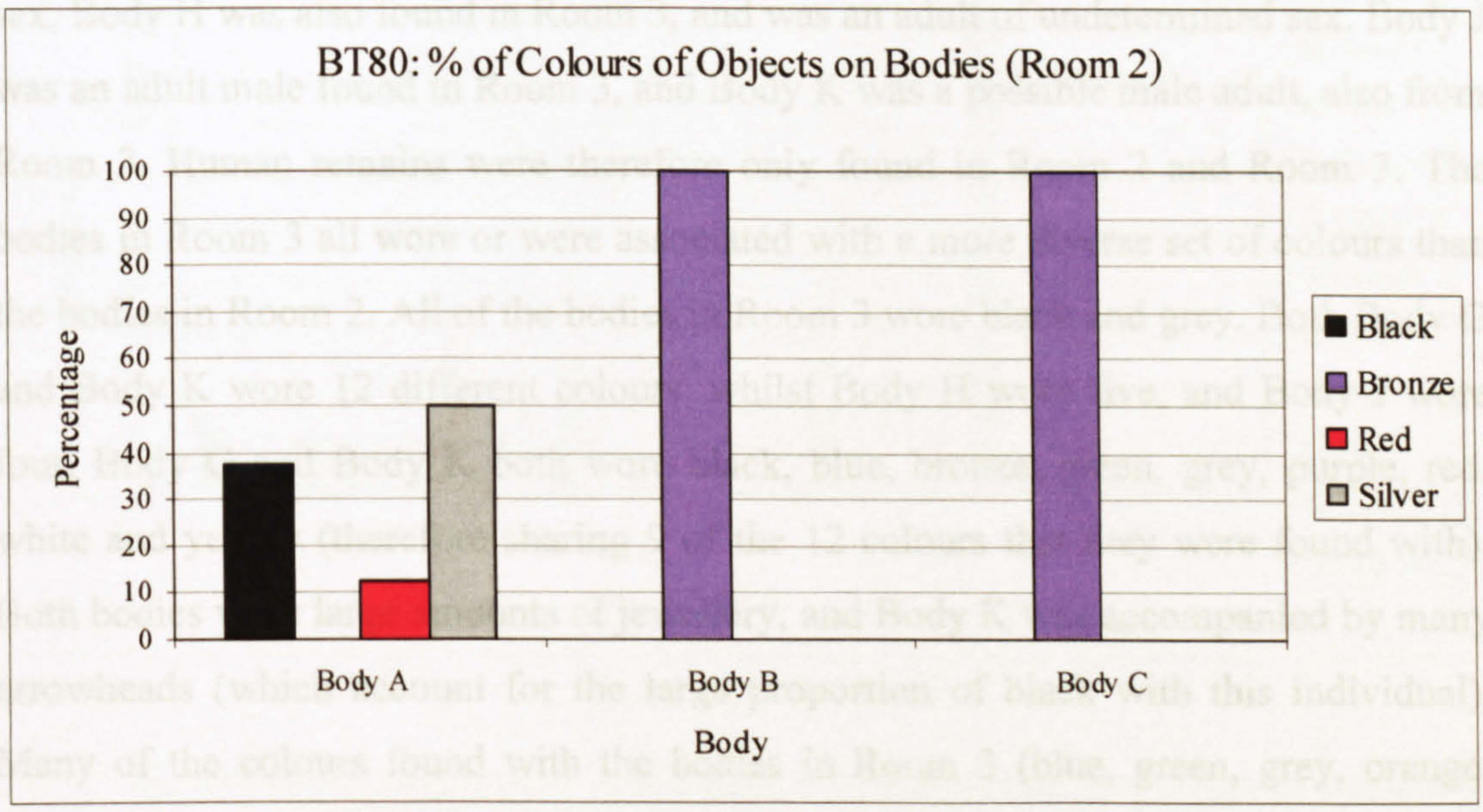


Figure A.32

Seven human bodies in BT80 were discovered with artefacts. Body A was a young adult male found in Room 2. Body B was an adult female found in Room 2. Body C (like Body A), was a young adult male found in Room 2. Both Body B and

Body C from Room 2 only wore a single colour, bronze (the only occurrence of that colour in the Room). Body A wore three colours, red black and silver, and again, this was the only occurrence of black and silver in the Room.

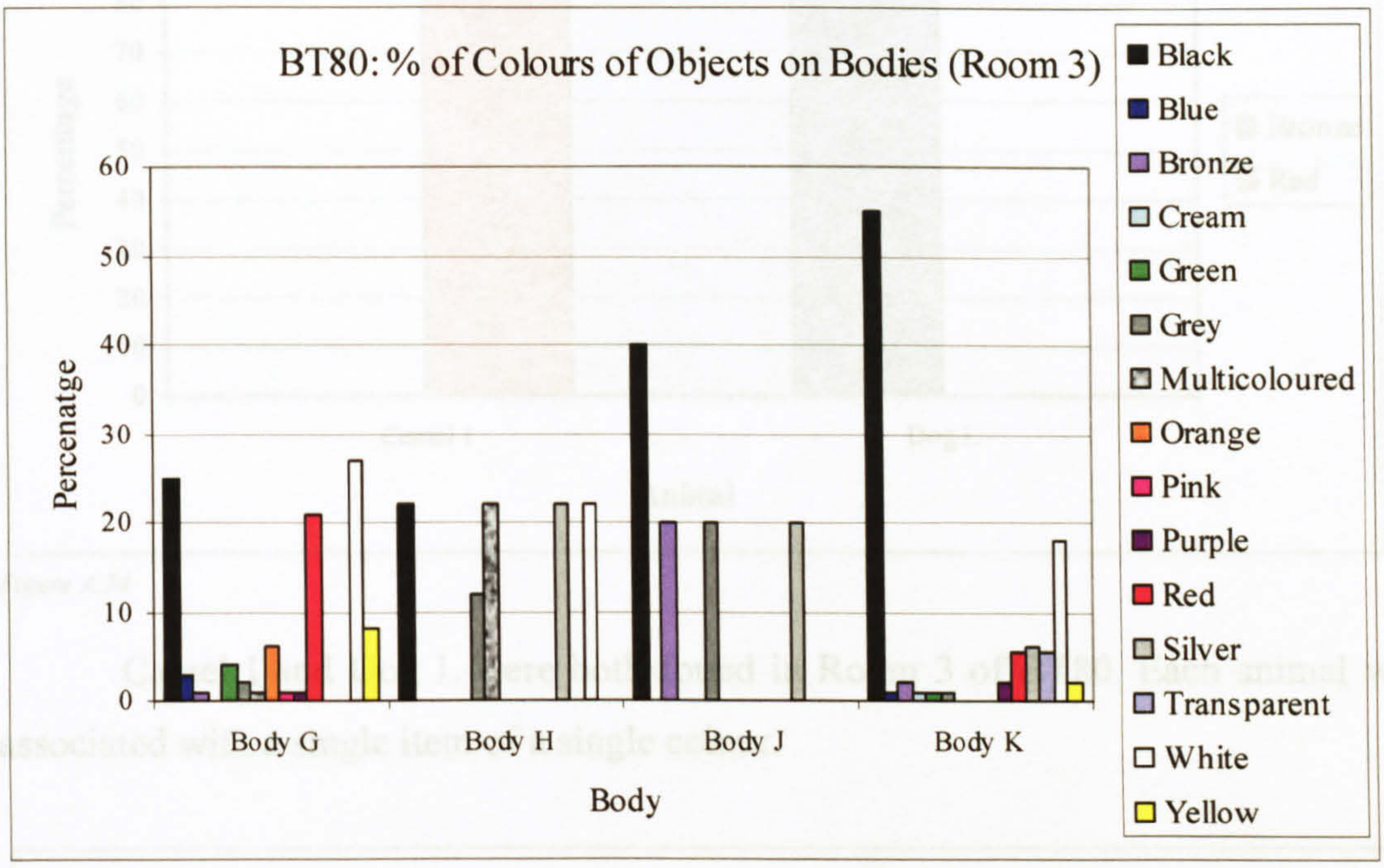


Figure A.33

Body G was discovered in Room 3 and was a young adult of undetermined sex. Body H was also found in Room 3, and was an adult of undetermined sex. Body J was an adult male found in Room 3, and Body K was a possible male adult, also from Room 3. Human remains were therefore only found in Room 2 and Room 3. The bodies in Room 3 all wore or were associated with a more diverse set of colours than the bodies in Room 2. All of the bodies in Room 3 wore black and grey. Both Body G and Body K wore 12 different colours, whilst Body H wore five, and Body J wore four. Body G and Body K both wore black, blue, bronze, green, grey, purple, red, white and yellow (therefore sharing 9 of the 12 colours that they were found with). Both bodies wore large amounts of jewellery, and Body K was accompanied by many arrowheads (which account for the large proportion of black with this individual). Many of the colours found with the bodies in Room 3 (blue, green, grey, orange, purple, transparent and yellow), were only found in this location, and only in association with the human remains.

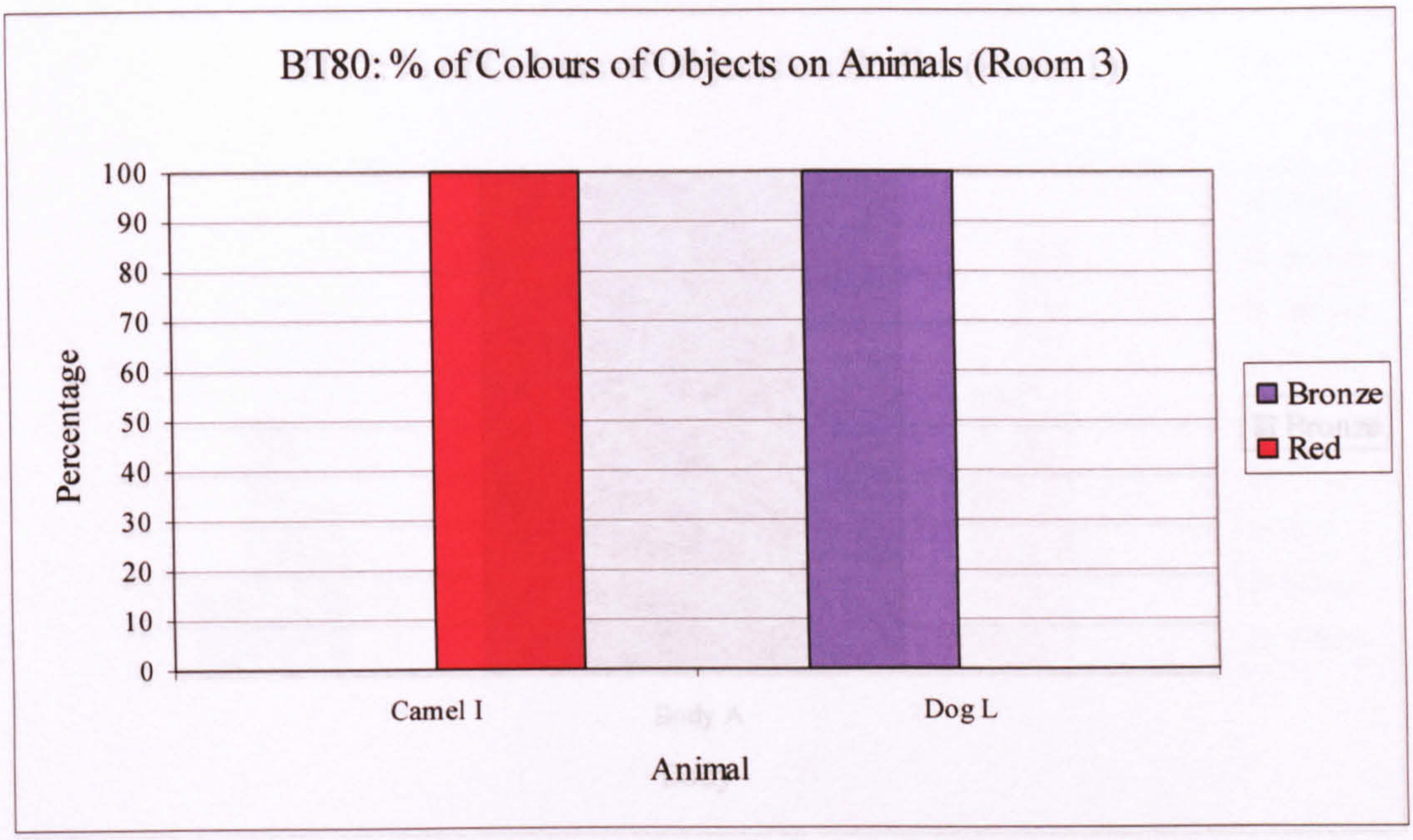


Figure A.34

Camel I and Dog L were both found in Room 3 of BT80. Each animal was associated with a single item of a single colour.

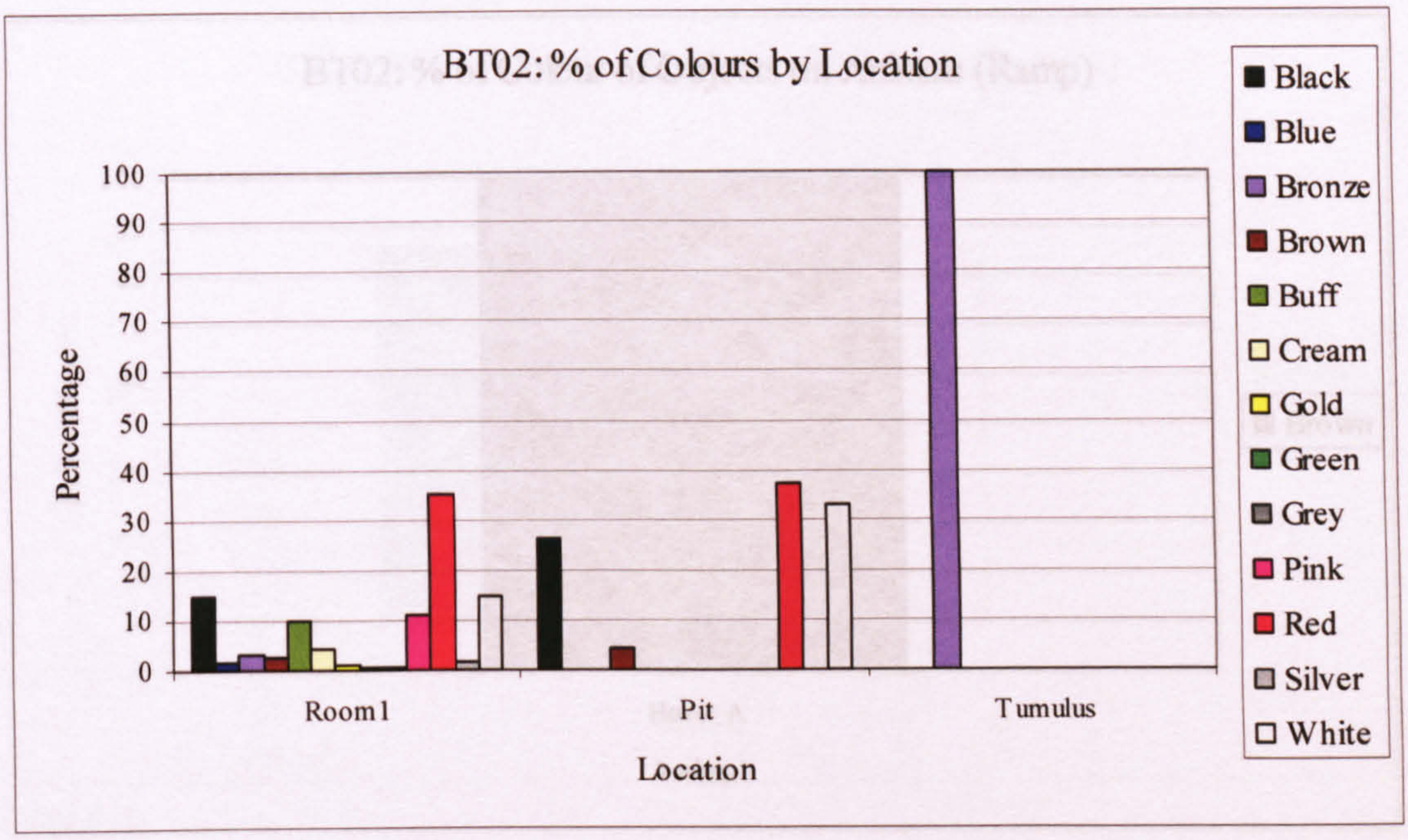


Figure A.35

In both Room 1 and the Pit, red makes up the largest proportion of colours in each location. Only bronze was found in the tumulus.

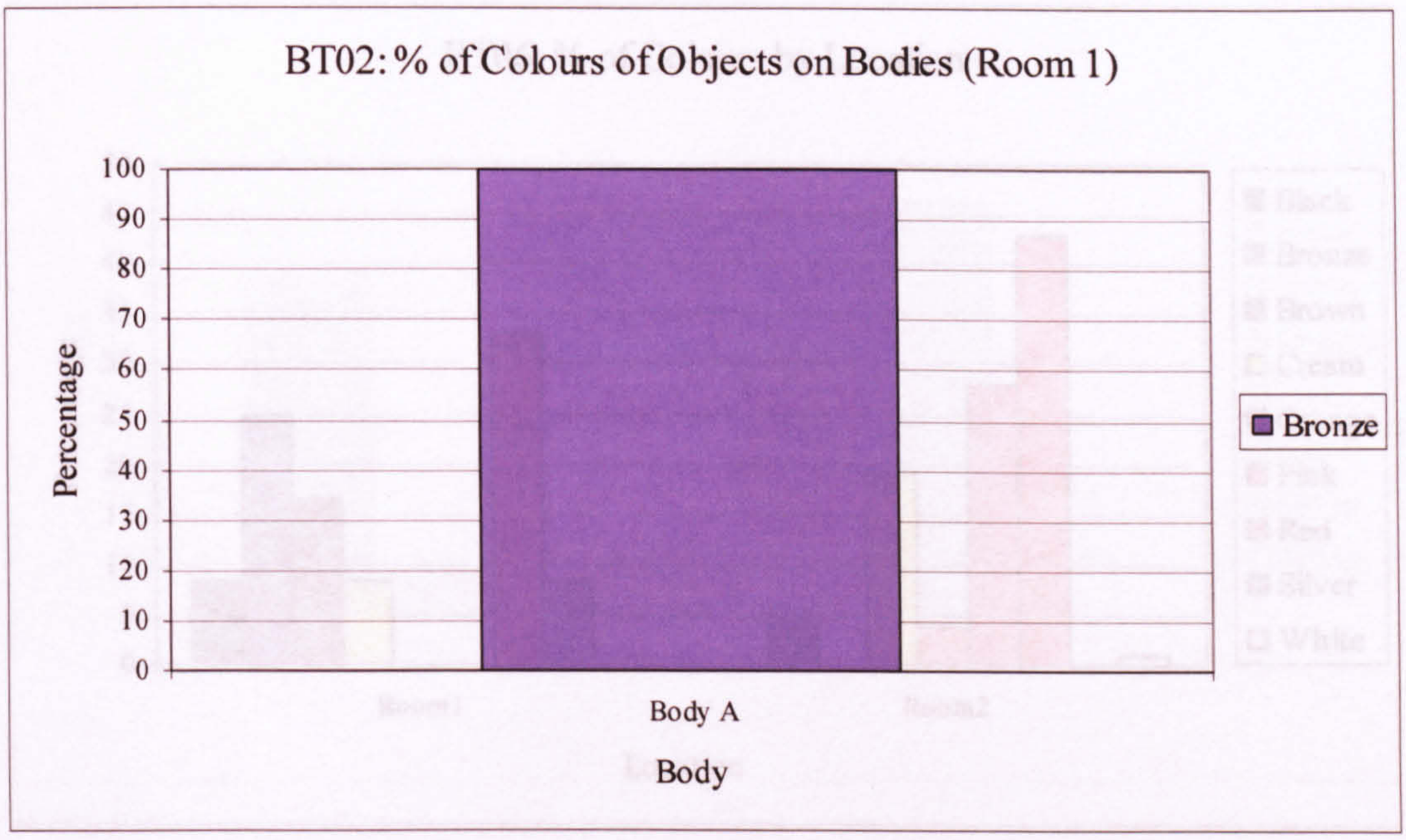


Figure A.36

A single bronze bowl was found in Room 1 with Body A. This individual was of unknown sex, but was classified as young.

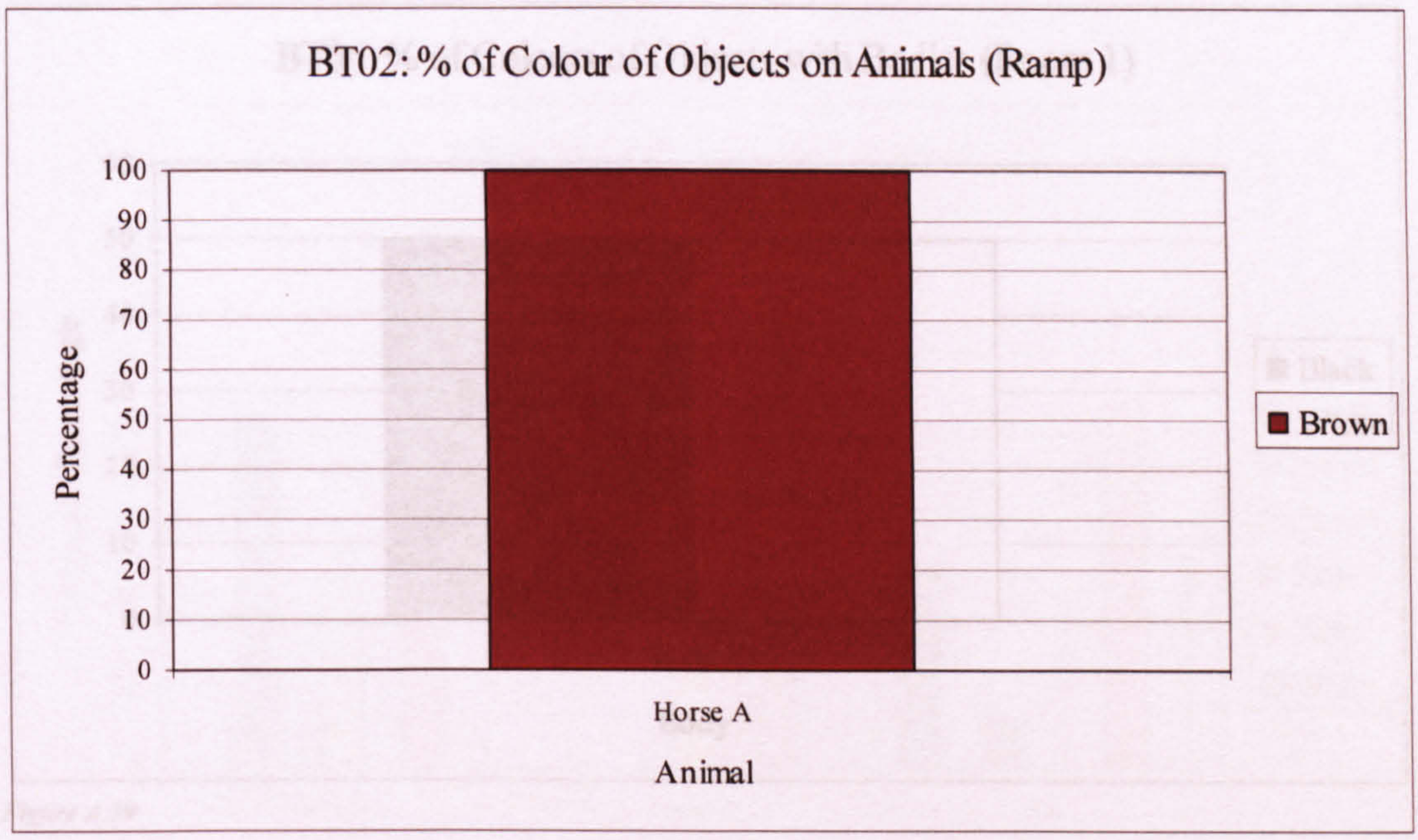


Figure A.37

Horse A was found in the Ramp of BT02, and was associated with 2 pieces of pottery.

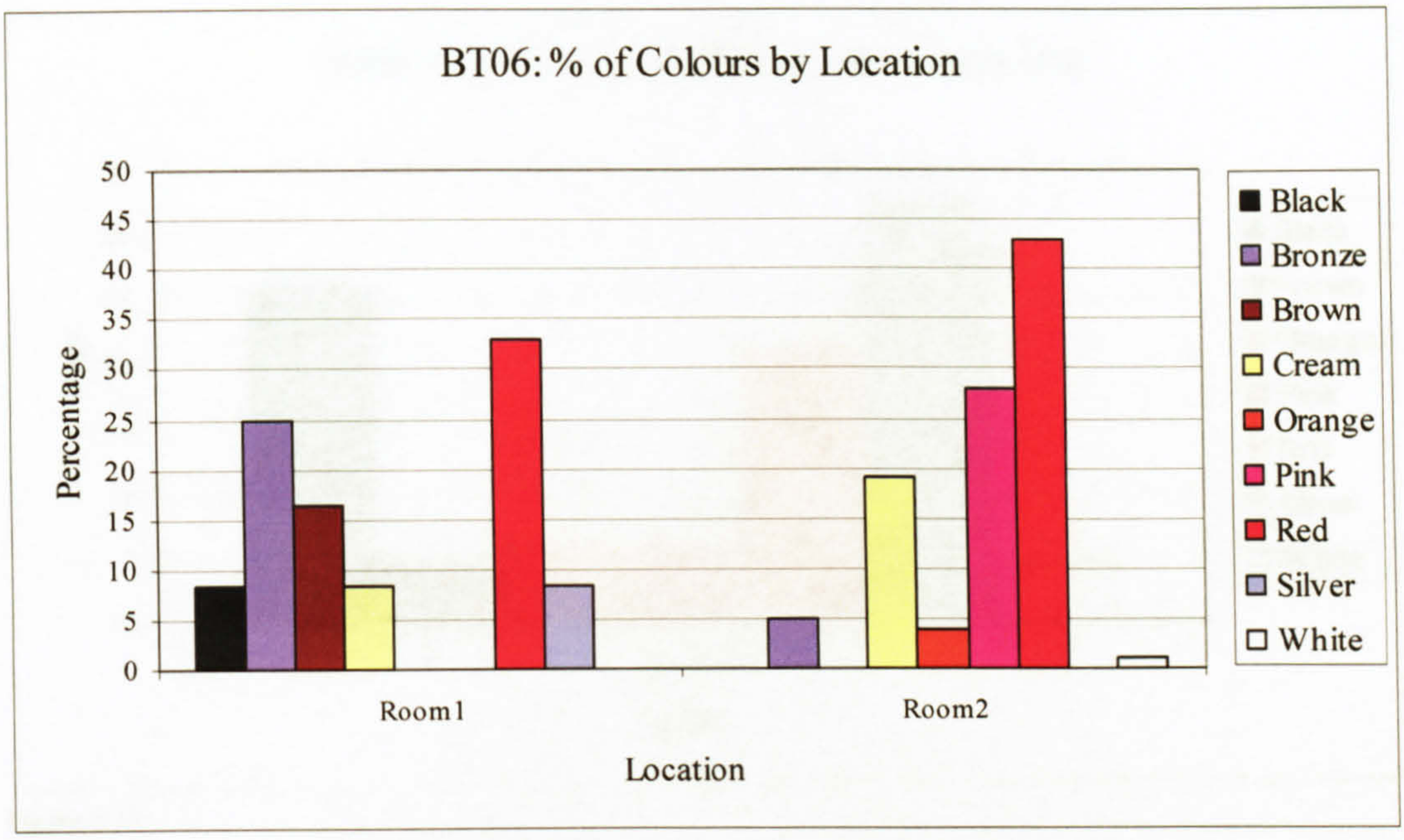


Figure A.38

Red is the most frequently occurring colour in both Room 1 and Room 2 of BT06.

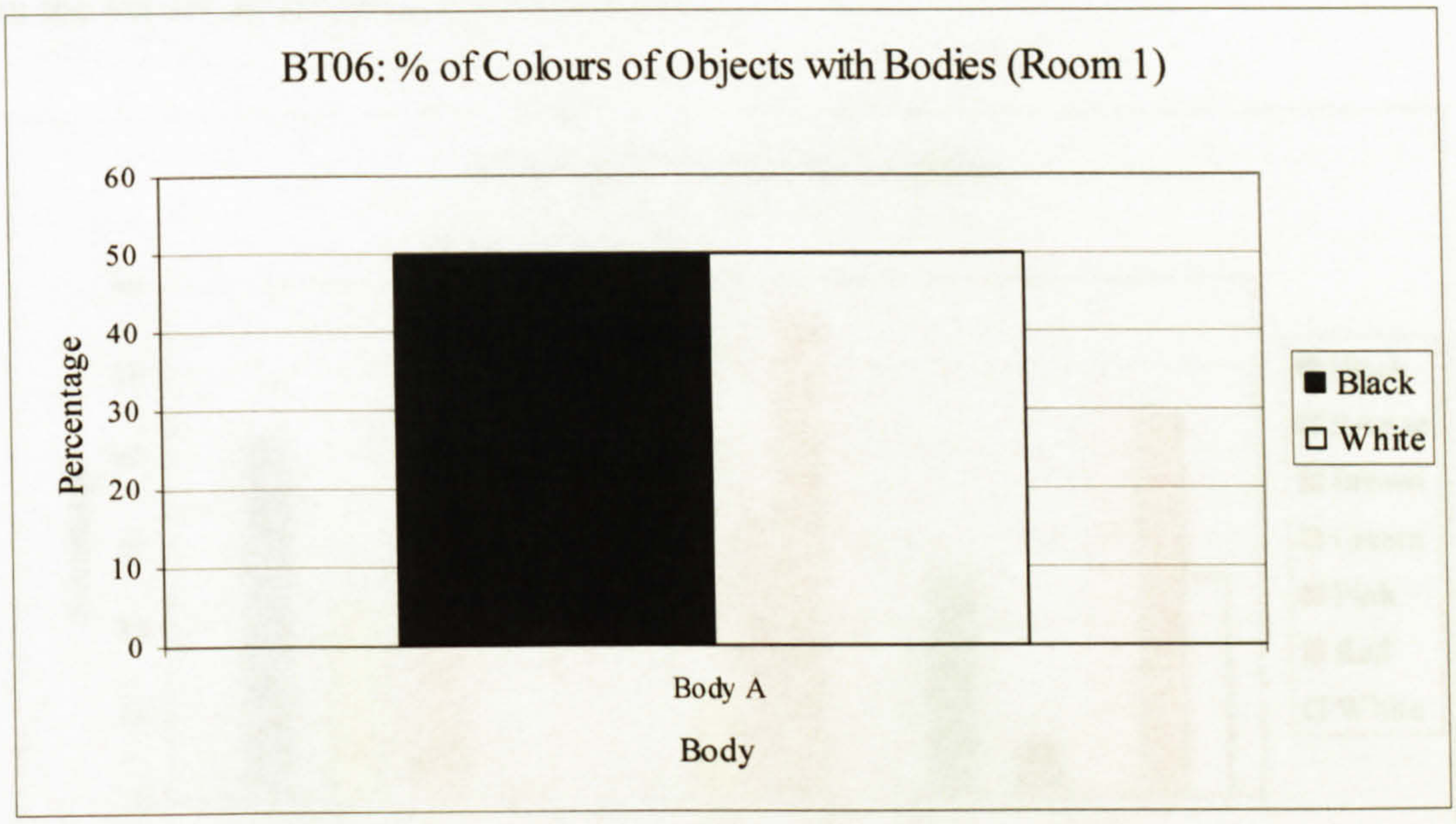


Figure A.39

Body A was examined, but it was not assigned a sex. Body A was thought to be of 18 years of age. Body A was found in Room1 with a single artefact (a finger loose).

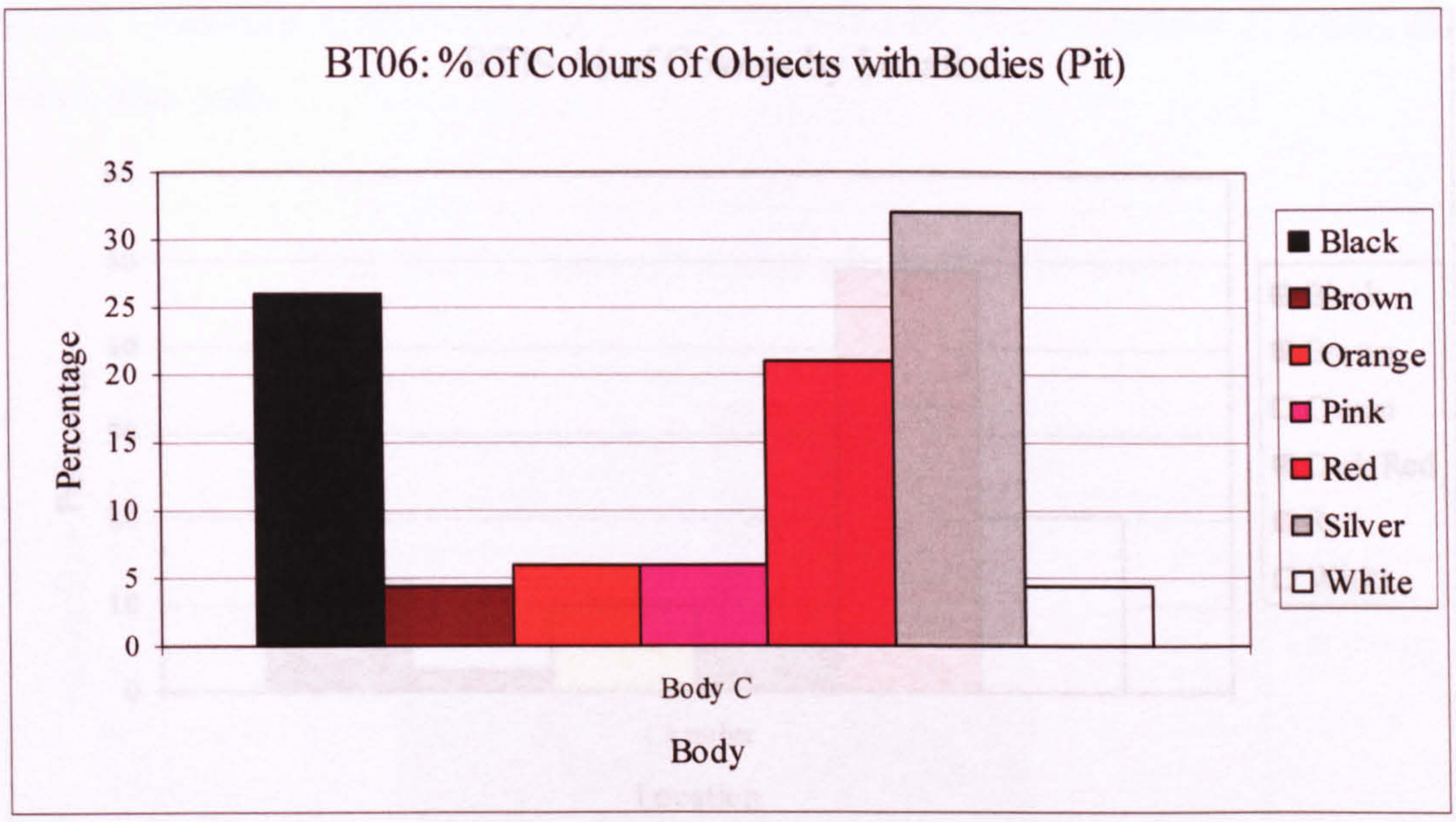


Figure A.40

Body C was examined but was not assigned a sex, it was not assigned an age either. Body C was found in the Pit with 30 artefacts including pottery, jewellery and weaponry. Black and white objects were found with both bodies in BT06. The colours in the Pit are all associated with Body C.

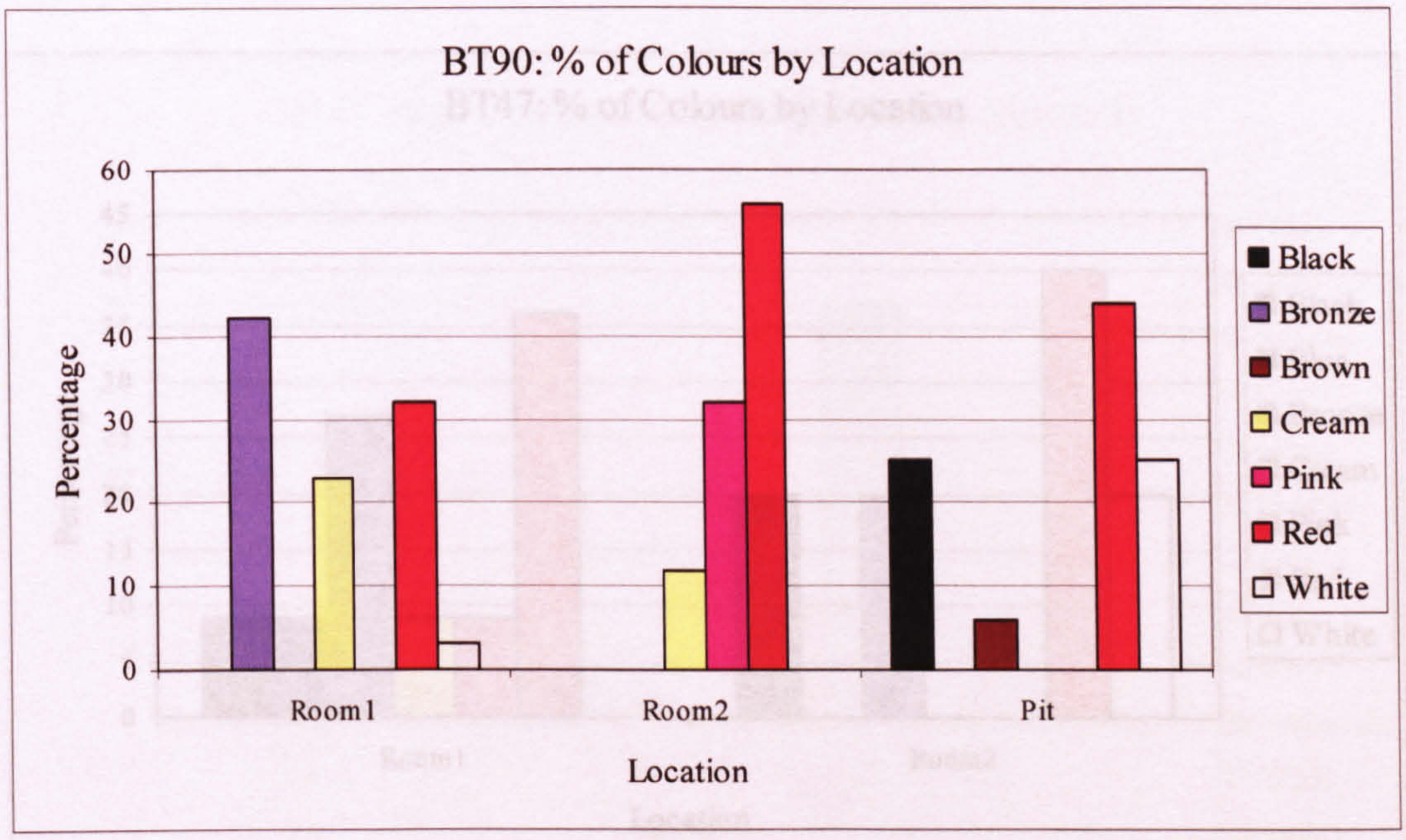


Figure A.41

Seven colours were found in the artefacts from BT90. In both Room 2 and the Pit, red was the most frequently occurring colour. Bronze occurred most frequently in Room 1, followed by red.

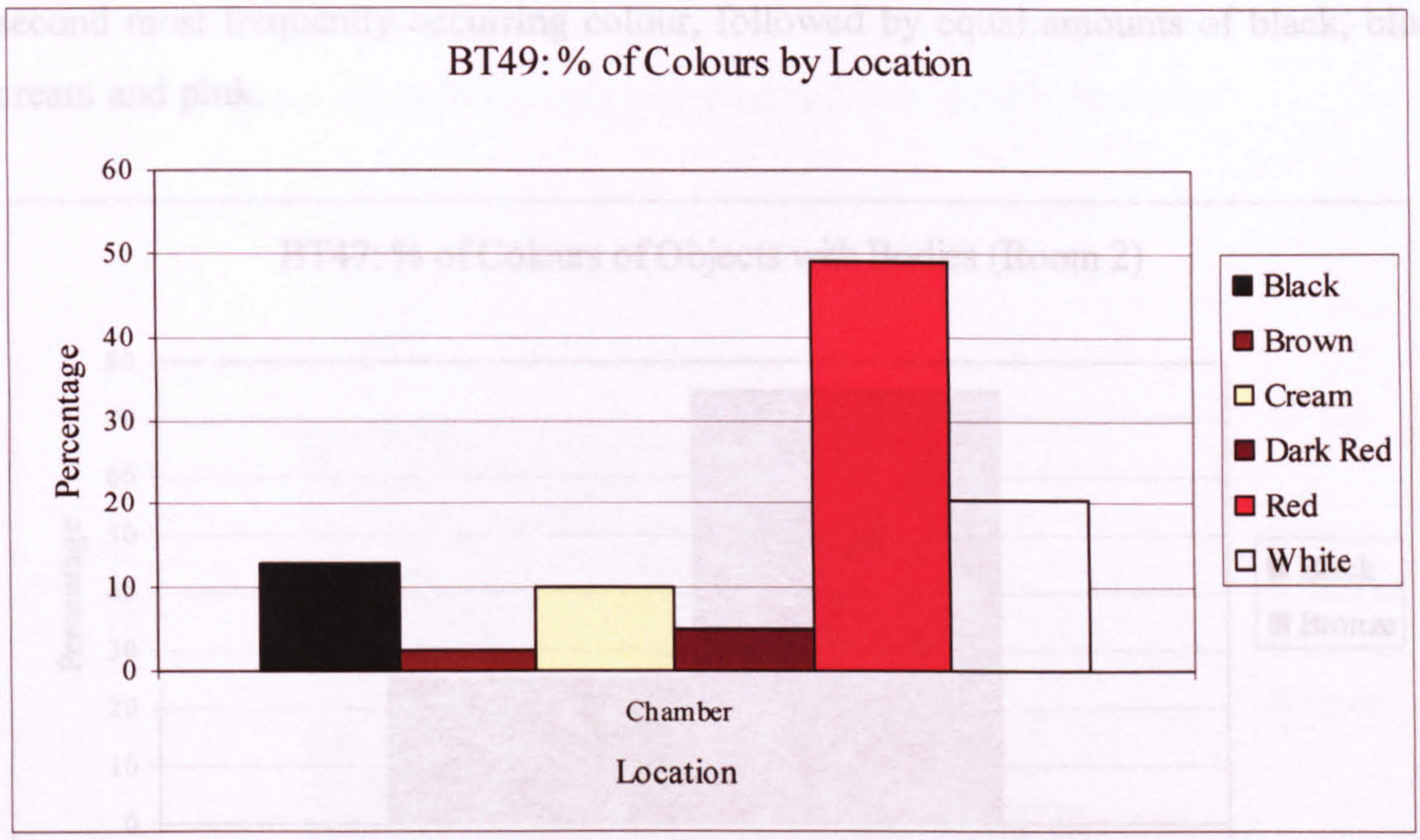


Figure A.42

All of the artefacts from BT49 appeared in the Chamber of the tomb. Red appeared most frequently, followed by white and then black.

7.5.vii. Phase 4 (c.430-440).

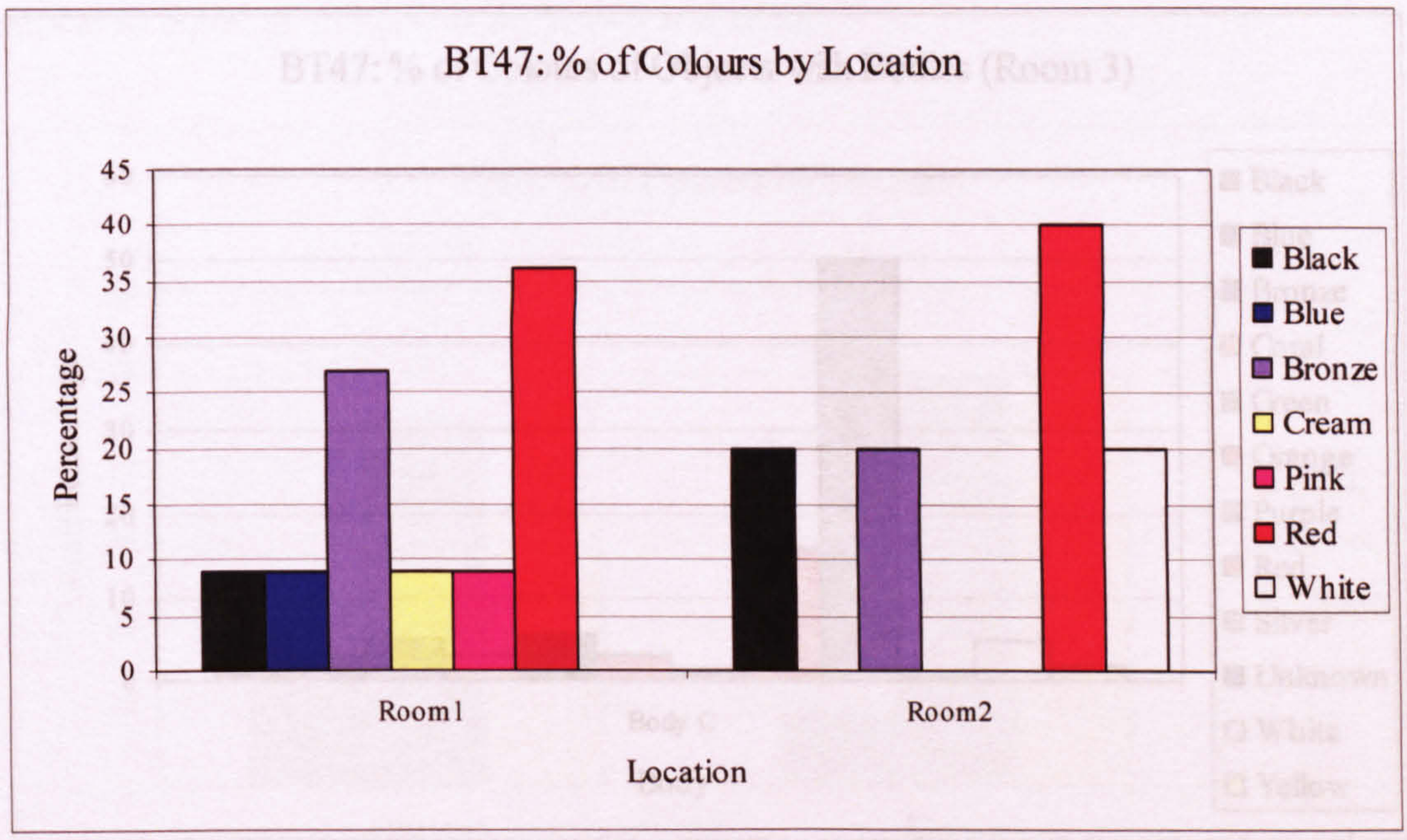


Figure A.43

Red appears as the colour of greatest proportion in each location in the tomb. Black, bronze and white then occur equally in Room 2. In Room 1, bronze is the

second most frequently occurring colour, followed by equal amounts of black, blue, cream and pink.

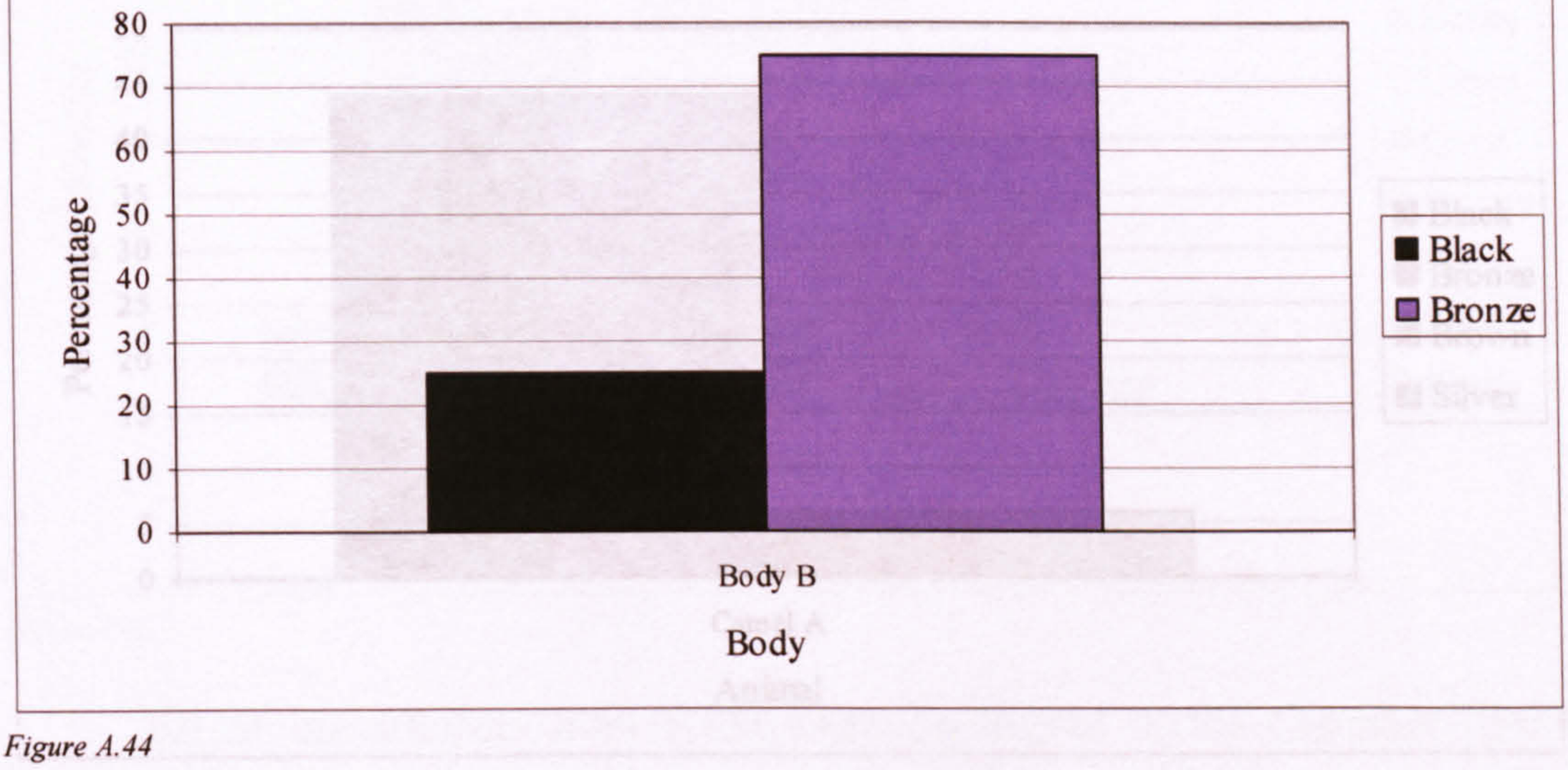


Figure A.44

Body B was found in Room 2 of the tomb and was classified as an adult female. Body B was only associated with two colours (black and bronze).

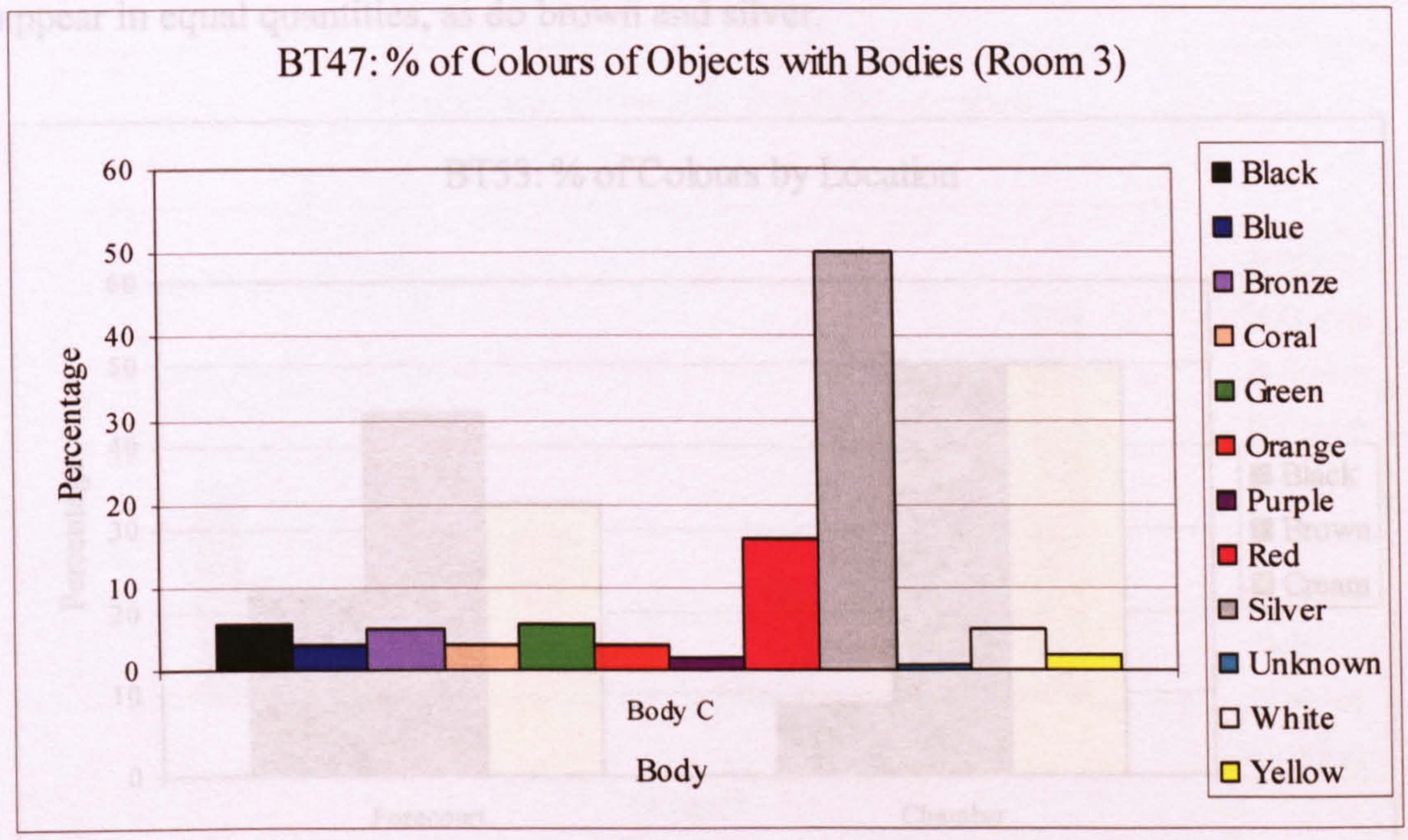


Figure A.45

Body C was found in Room 3 and was designated as an adult of unassigned sex. Body C was associated with 12 different colours including black and bronze, but with silver appearing most numerously. All of the artefacts in Room 3 were associated

with Body C, and the colours coral, green, orange, purple, yellow, and a tiny percentage of unknown colours, only occurred in Room 3 with the body.

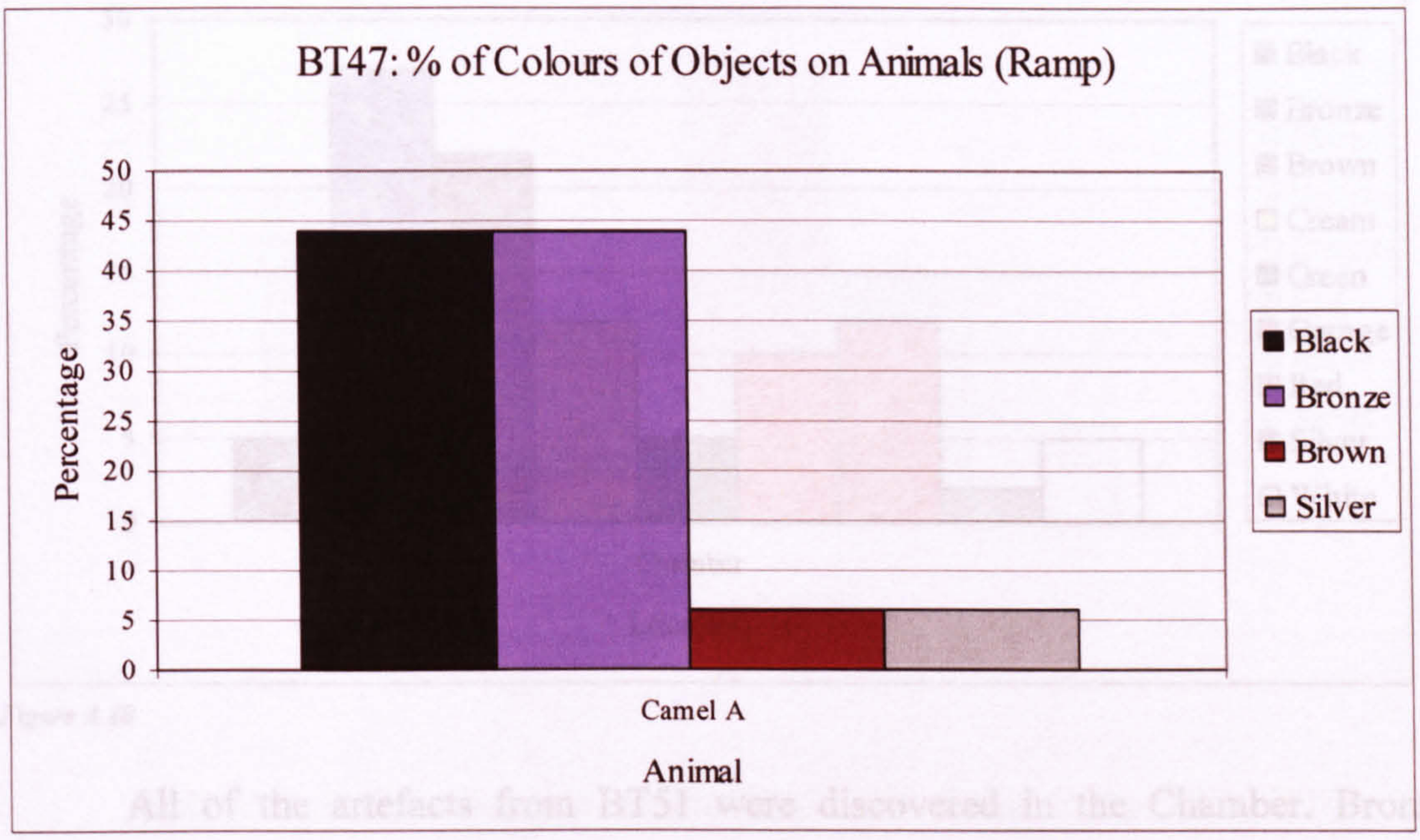


Figure A.46

Camel A was found in the Ramp of BT47, with artefacts of four colours. These are the only artefacts appearing in the ramp of the tomb. Black and bronze appear in equal quantities, as do brown and silver.

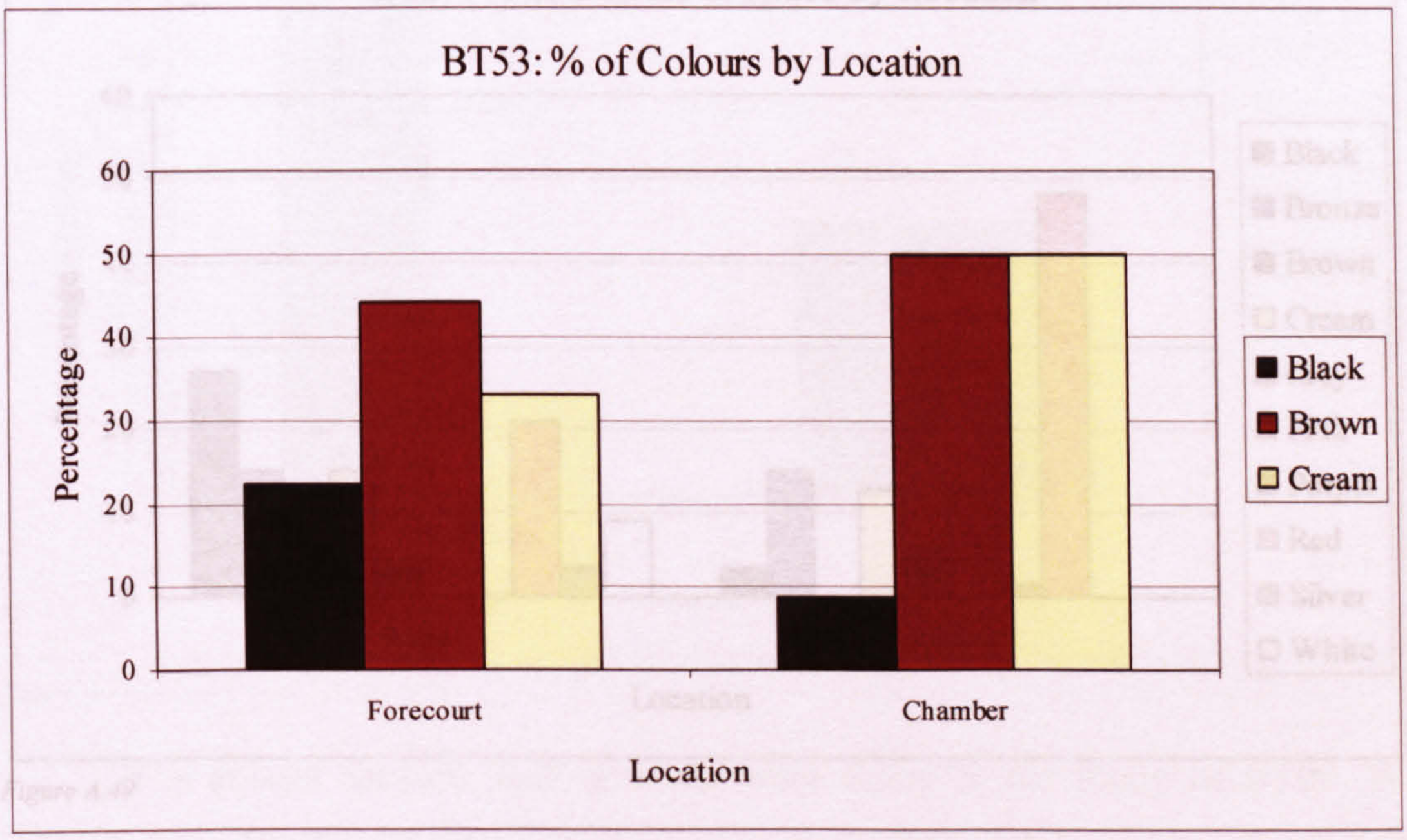


Figure A.47

Three colours were found in the artefacts from BT53, and all three occurred in two locations.

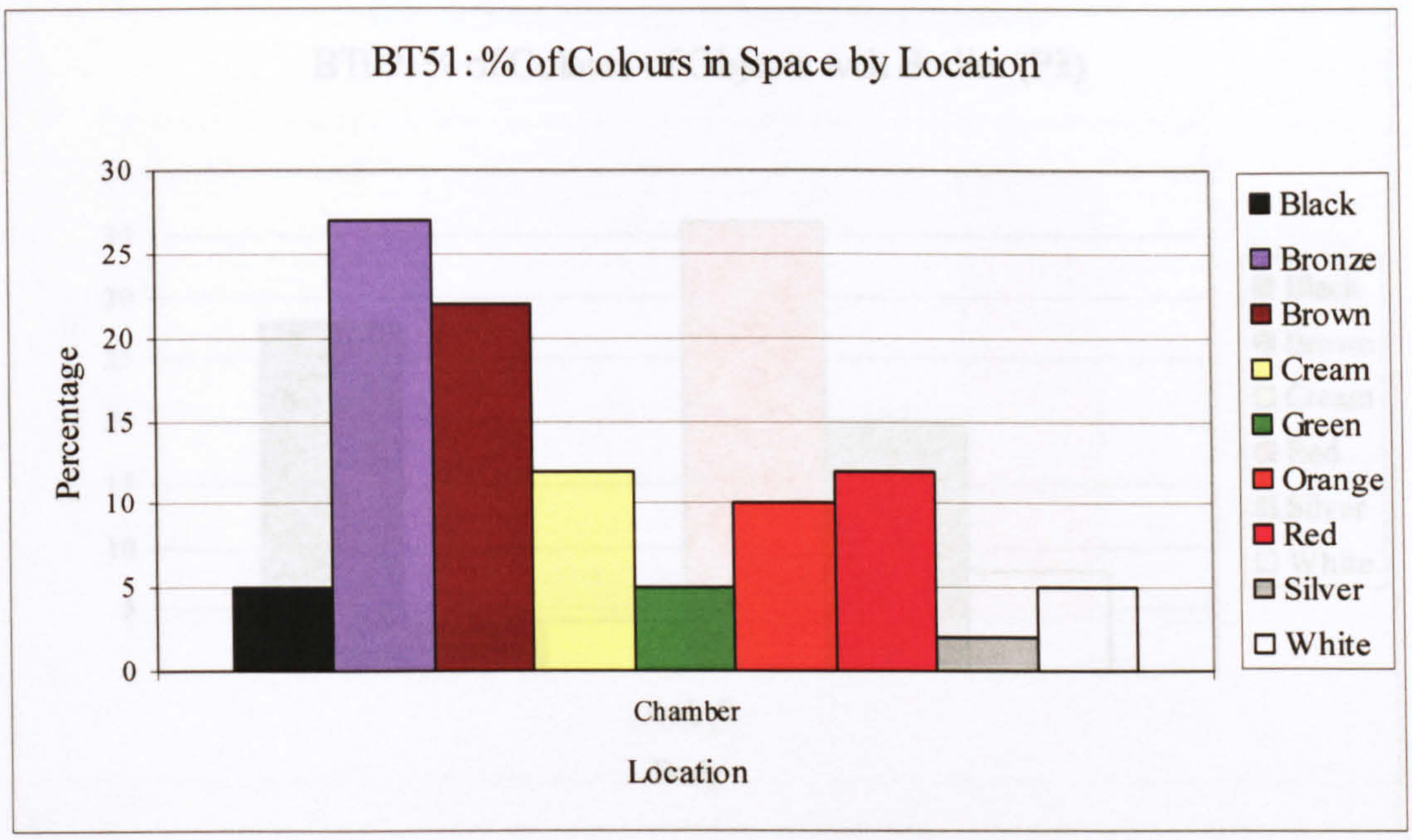


Figure A.48

All of the artefacts from BT51 were discovered in the Chamber. Bronze appeared most frequently, followed by brown.

7.5.v.iii. Phase 4a (c.430-440).

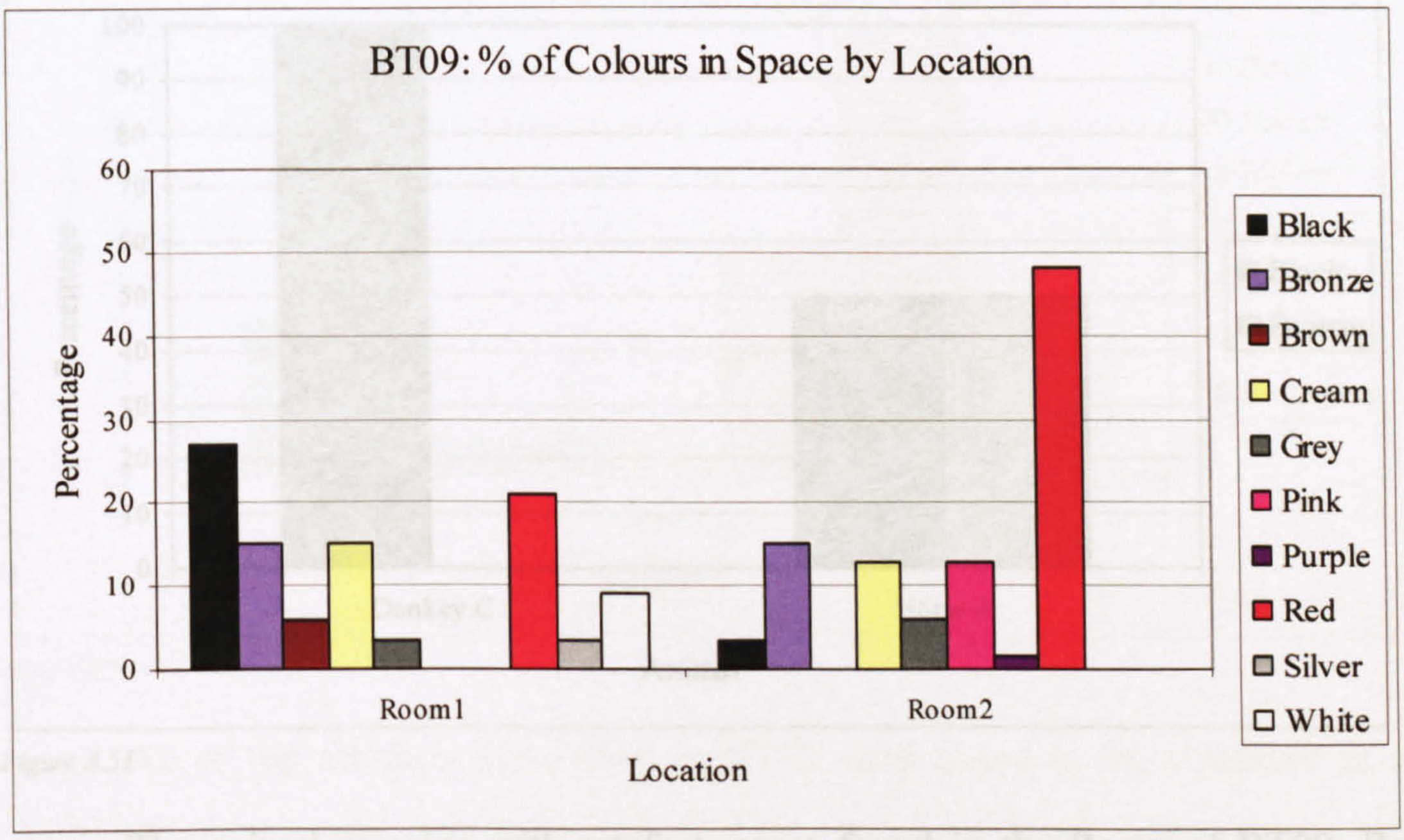


Figure A.49

In Room 1, black occurs most frequently in the artefacts, but in Room 2, red occurs most frequently. Black, bronze, cream, grey and red were found in both locations in the tombs.

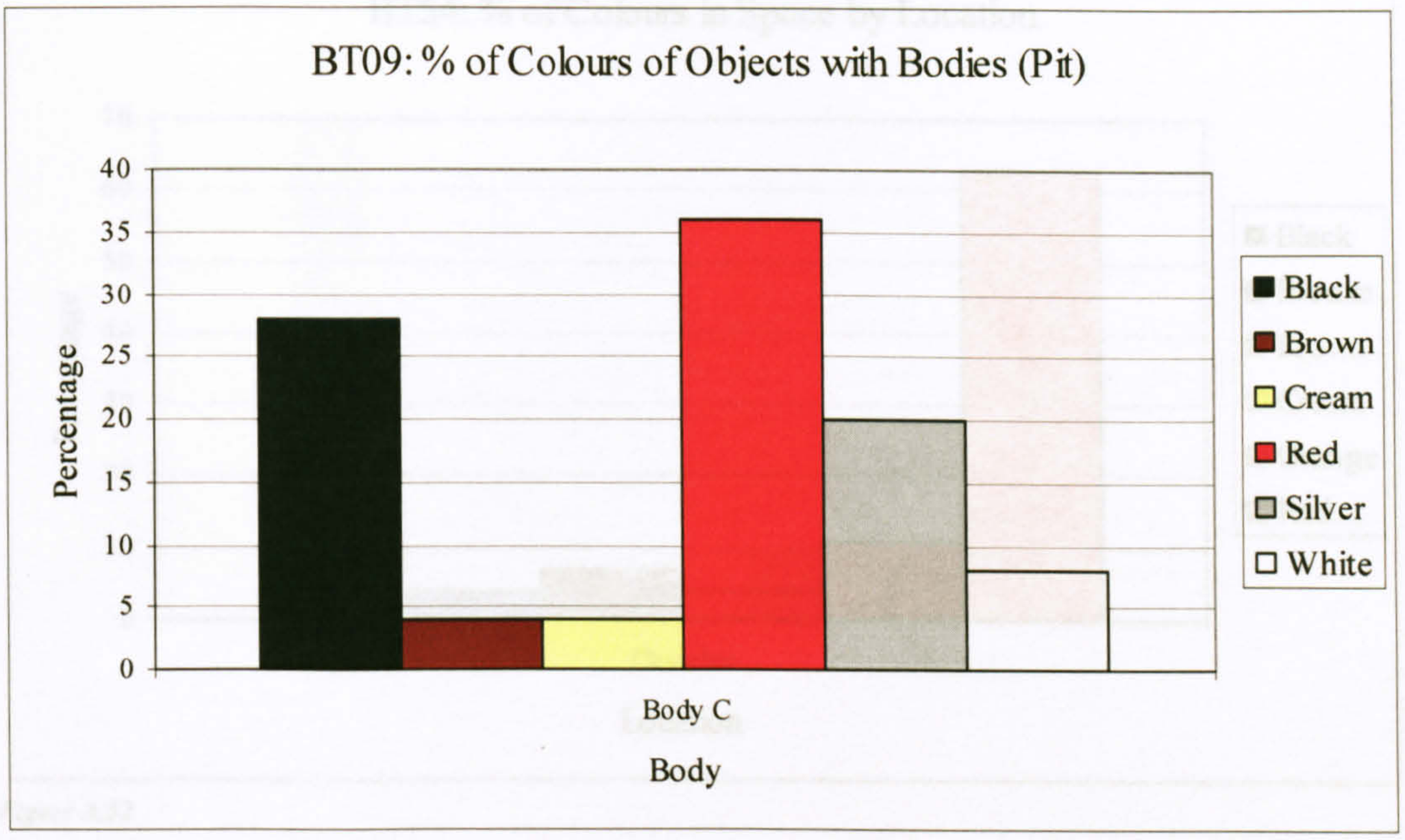


Figure A.50

Body C was classified as a middle aged male, found in the Pit of BT09. The colours found with Body C were colours found in other areas of the tomb.

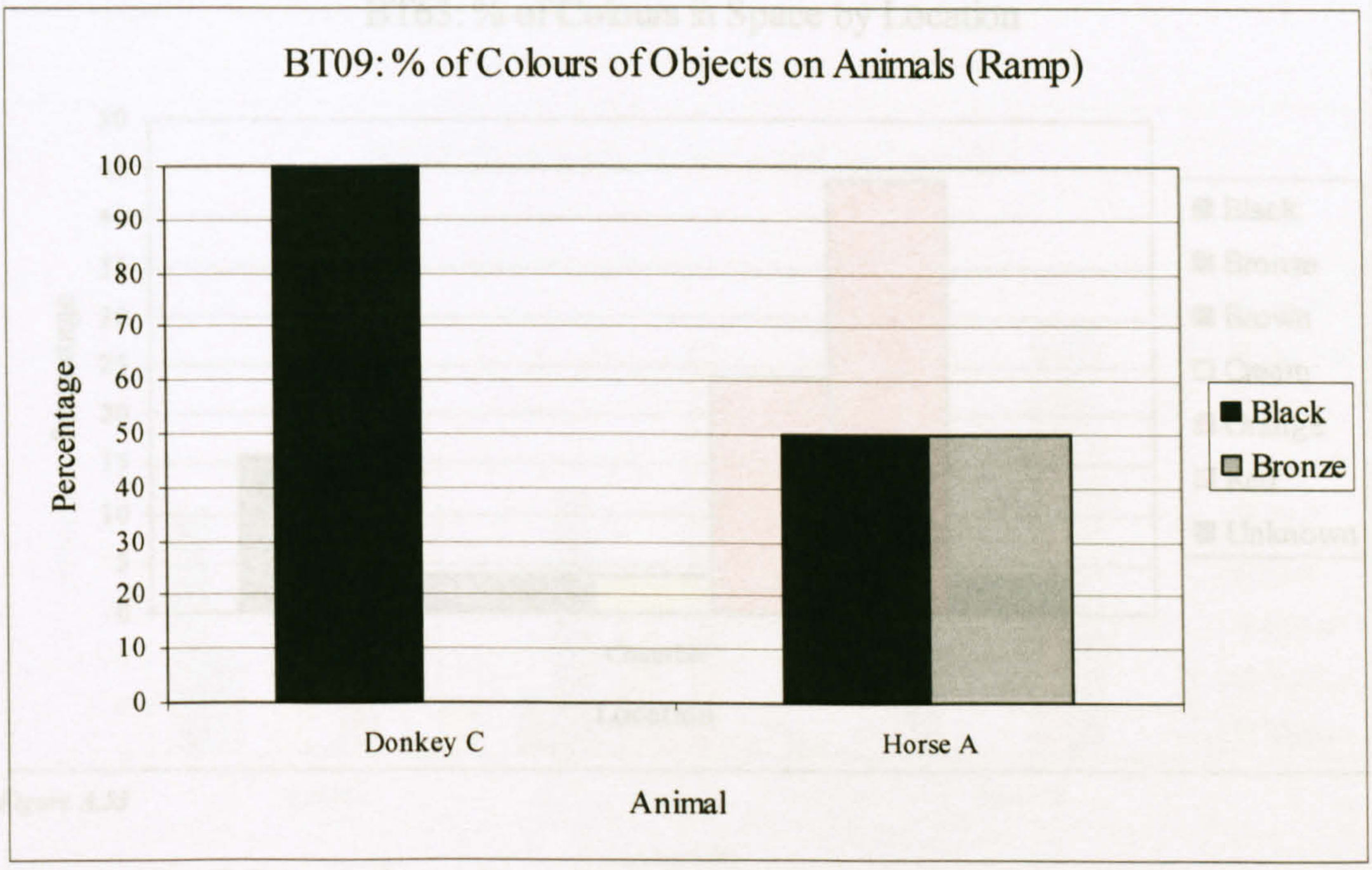


Figure A.51

The animal remains with artefacts were found in the Ramp of BT09. Both animals wore black, and Horse A also wore silver. All of the artefacts found in the Ramp were associated with these animal remains.

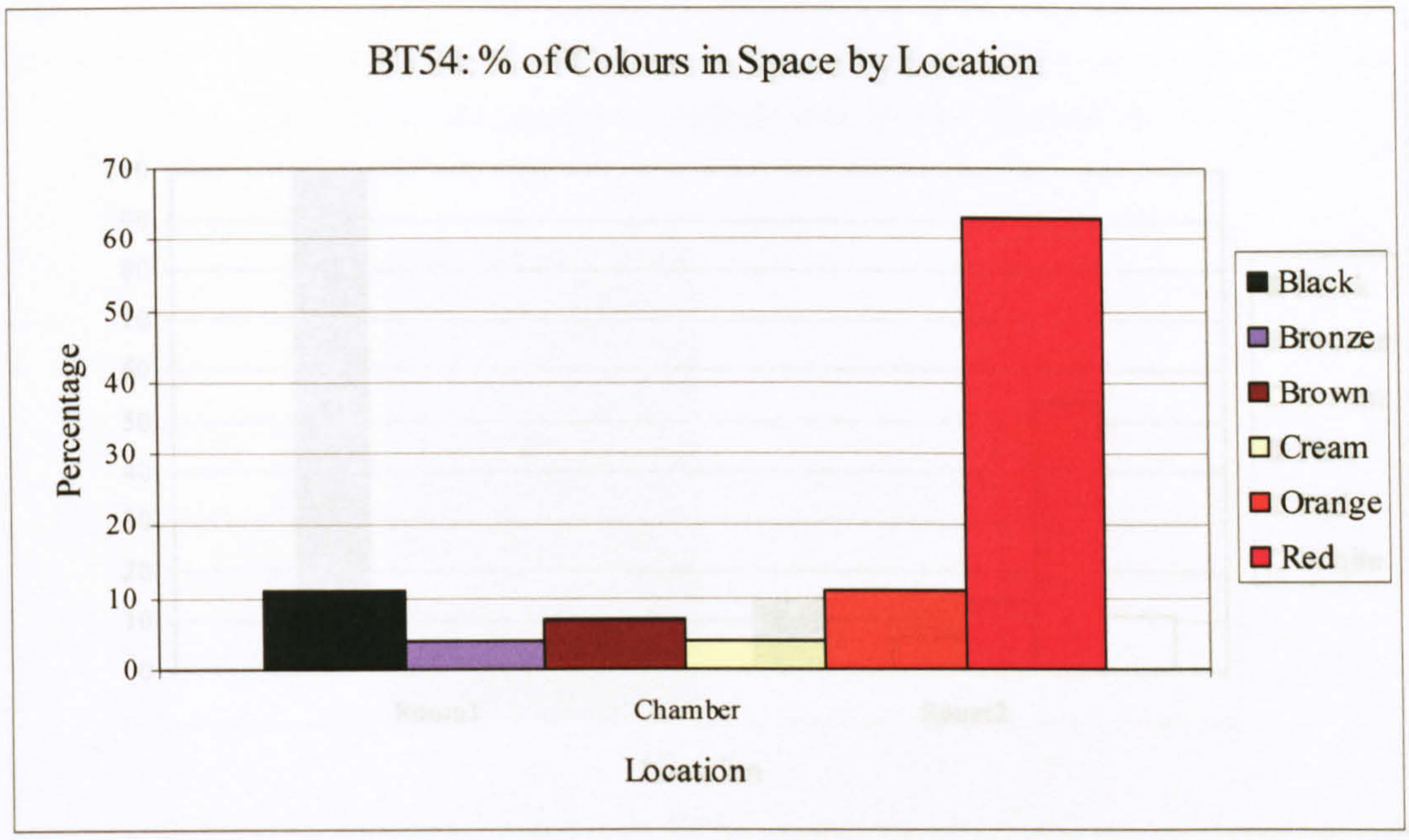


Figure A.52

All of the artefacts discovered in BT54 were found in the Chamber of the tomb. Red appeared most frequently in the artefacts.

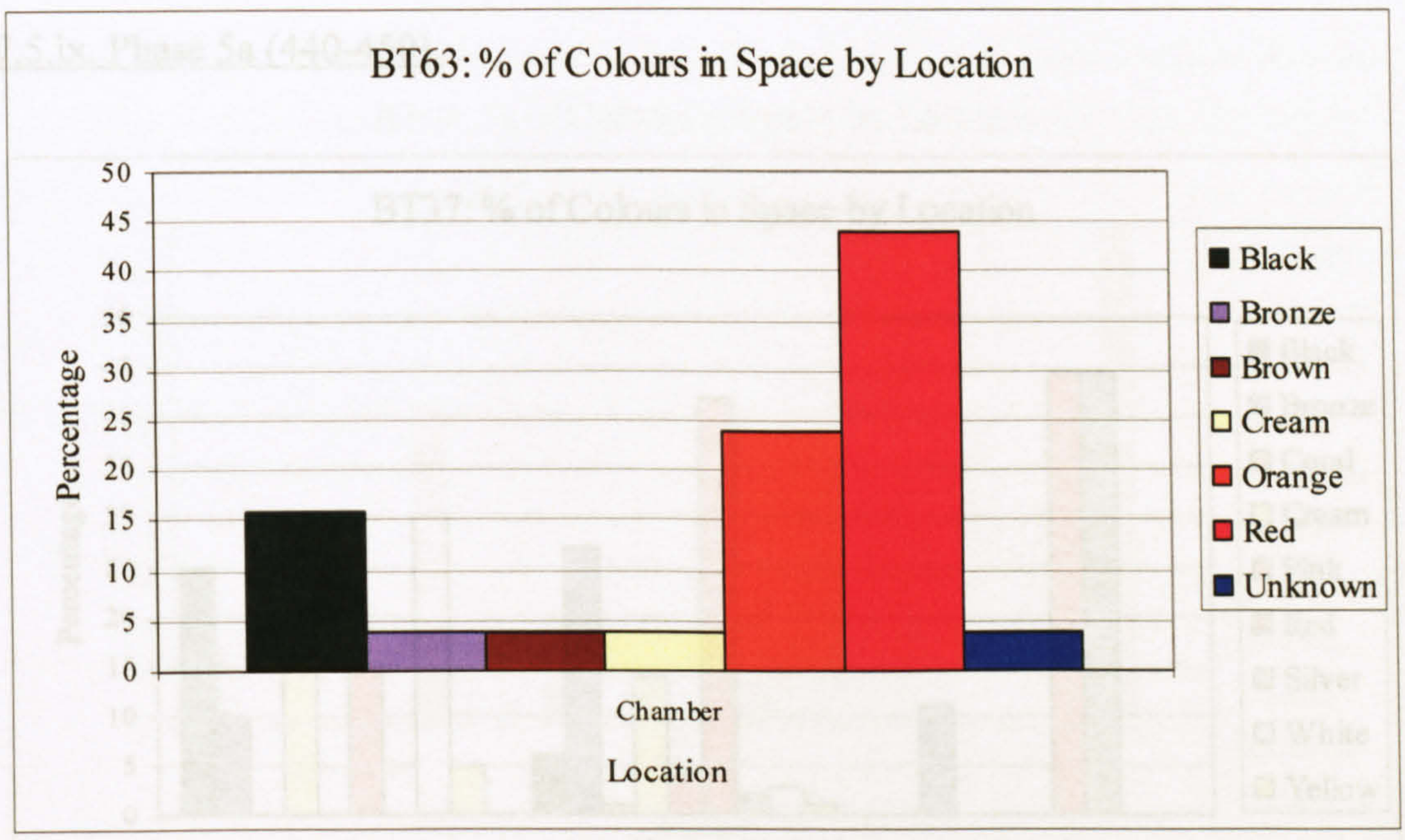


Figure A.53

All of the artefacts discovered in BT63 were found in the Chamber of the tomb. Red occurs most frequently, followed by orange and black. There were a small number of objects of unknown colour.

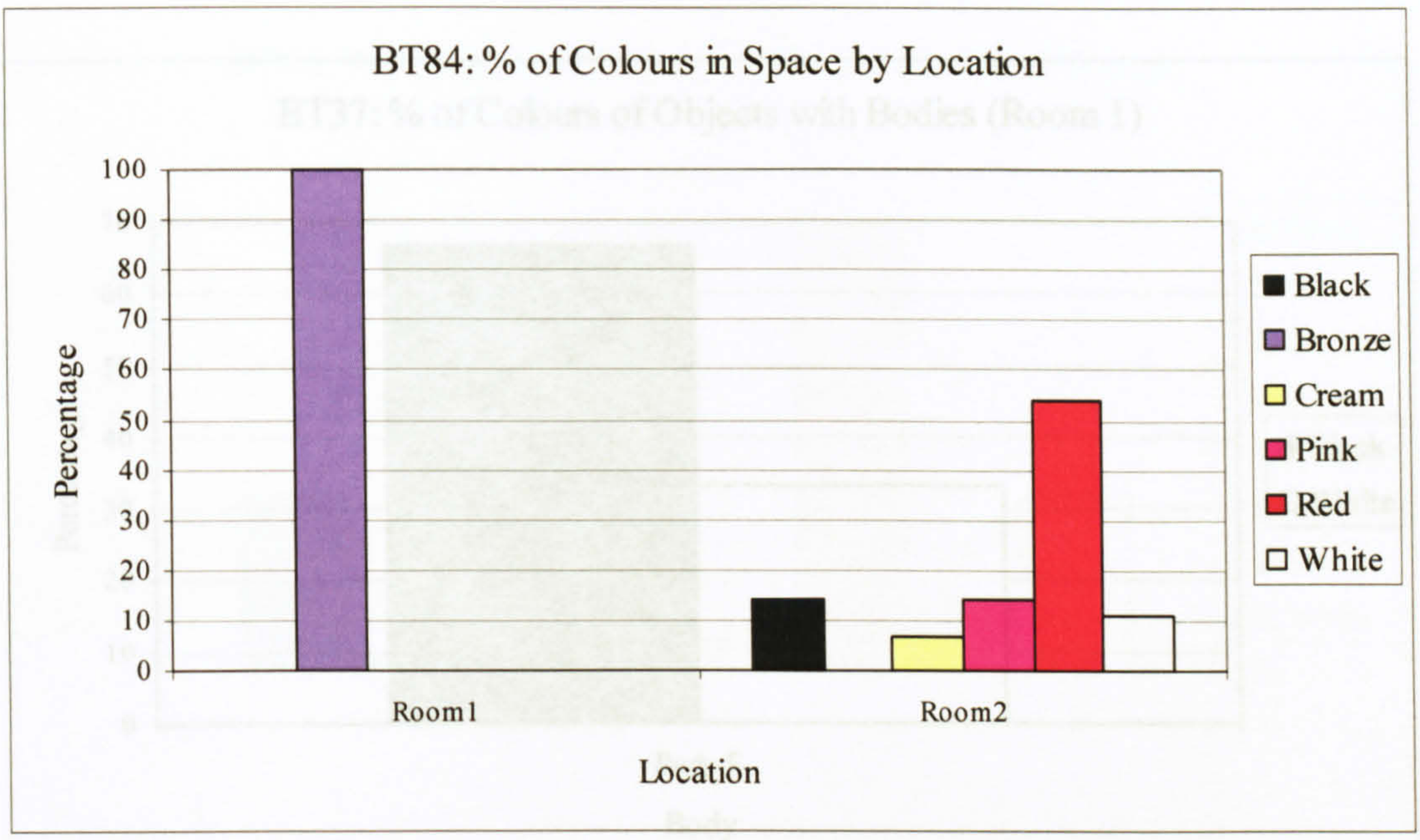


Figure A.54

In Room1, bronze is the only colour, but in Room 2, red appears most frequently.

7.5.ix. Phase 5a (440-450).

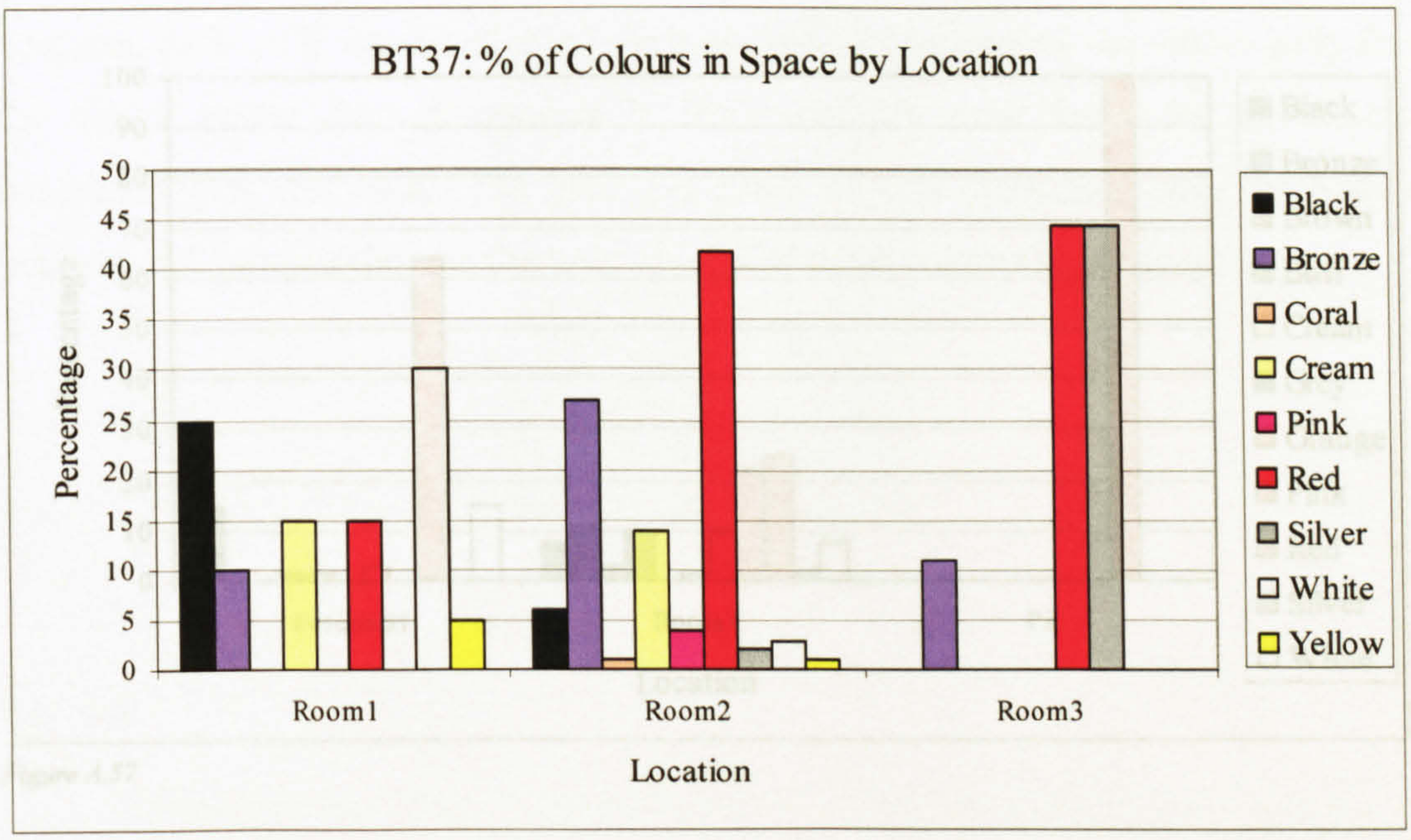


Figure A.55

In Room 1 of BT37, white formed the greatest proportion of the colours in that location. In Room 2, red forms the greatest proportion, and in Room 3 forms the equally highest proportion with silver.

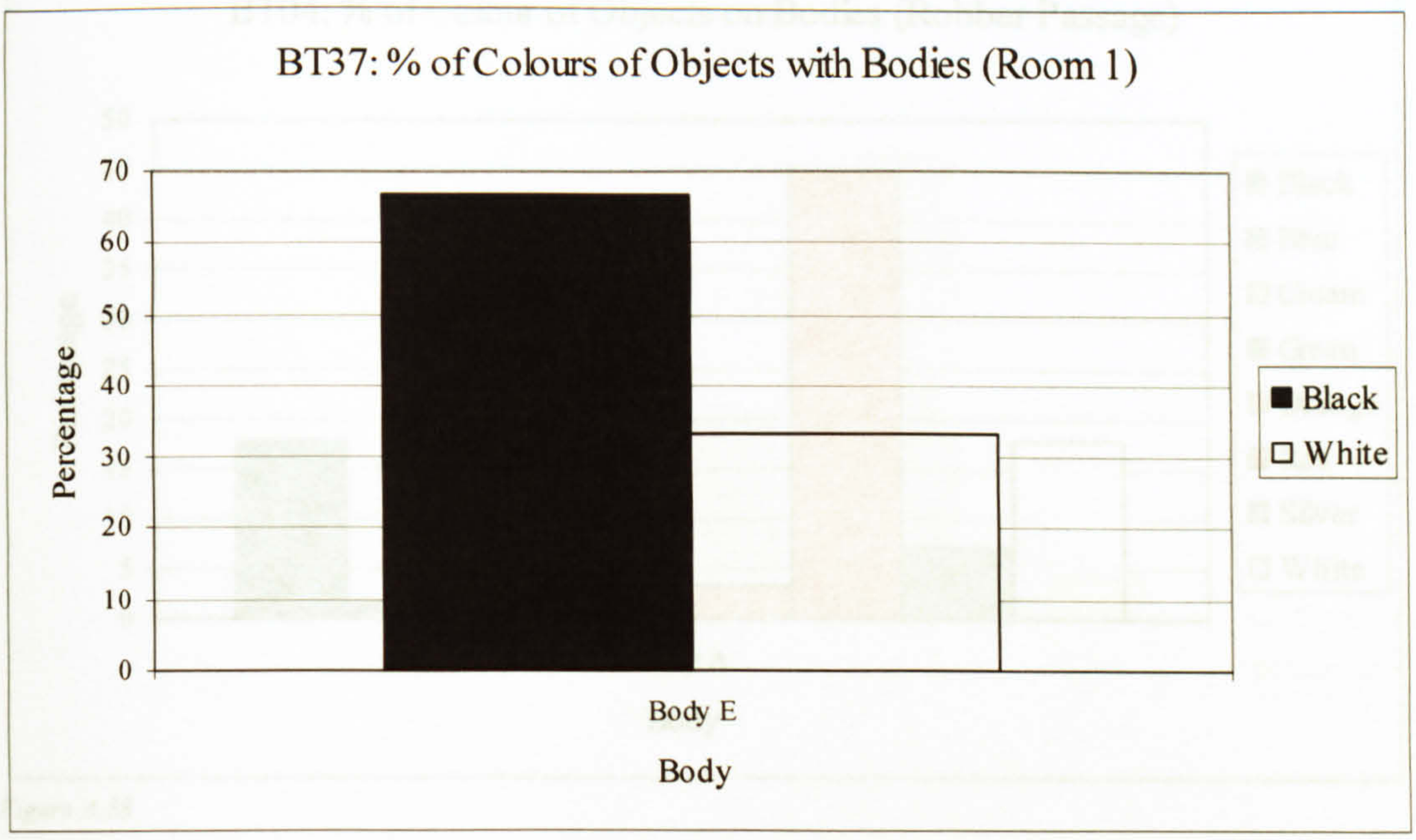


Figure A.56

Body A in tomb BT37 was an adult female, found in Room 1 of the tomb. She was wearing a black and white necklace and was associated with a spear.

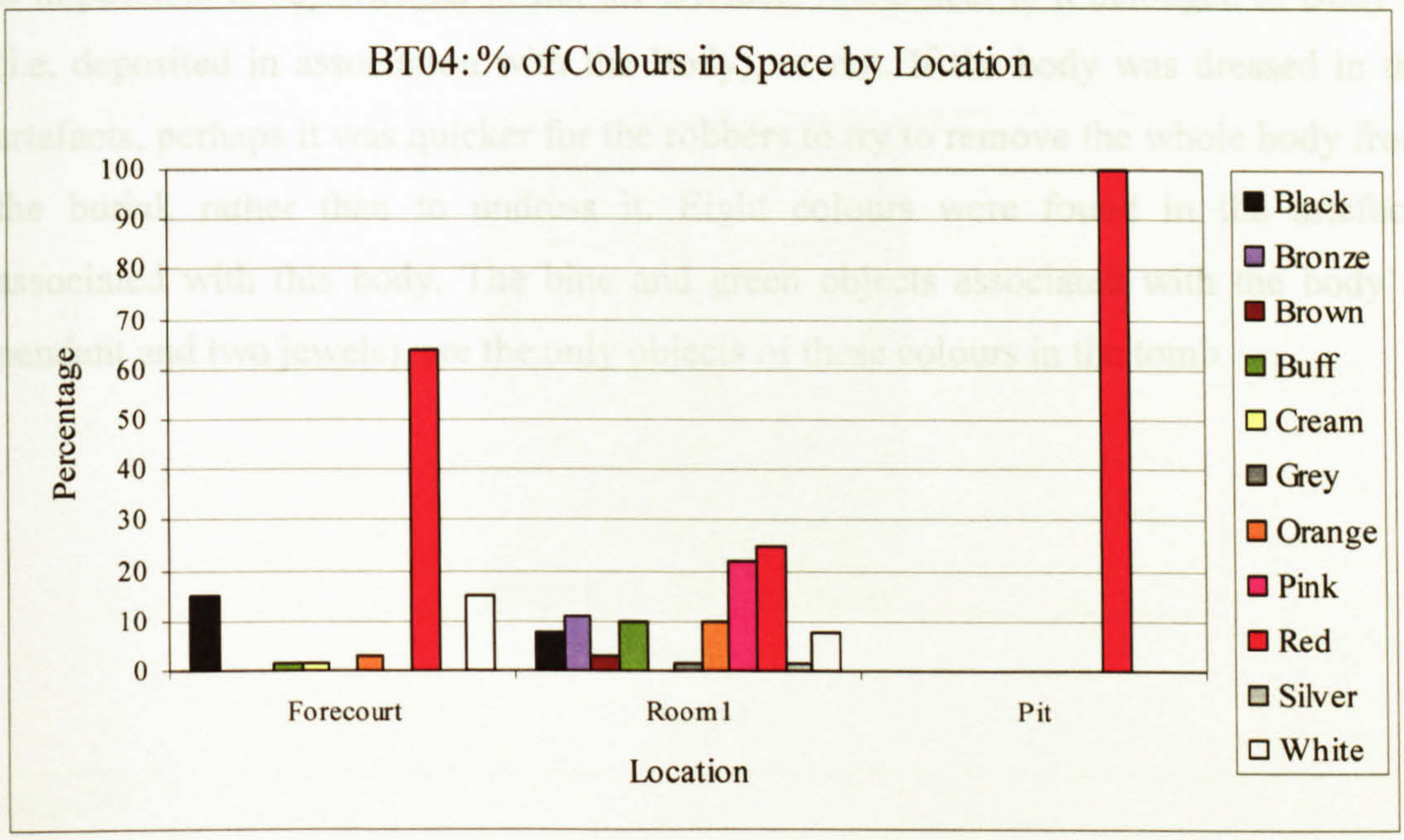


Figure A.57

Red makes up the greatest proportion of colours in every area of BT04, and it is the only colour found in the Pit.

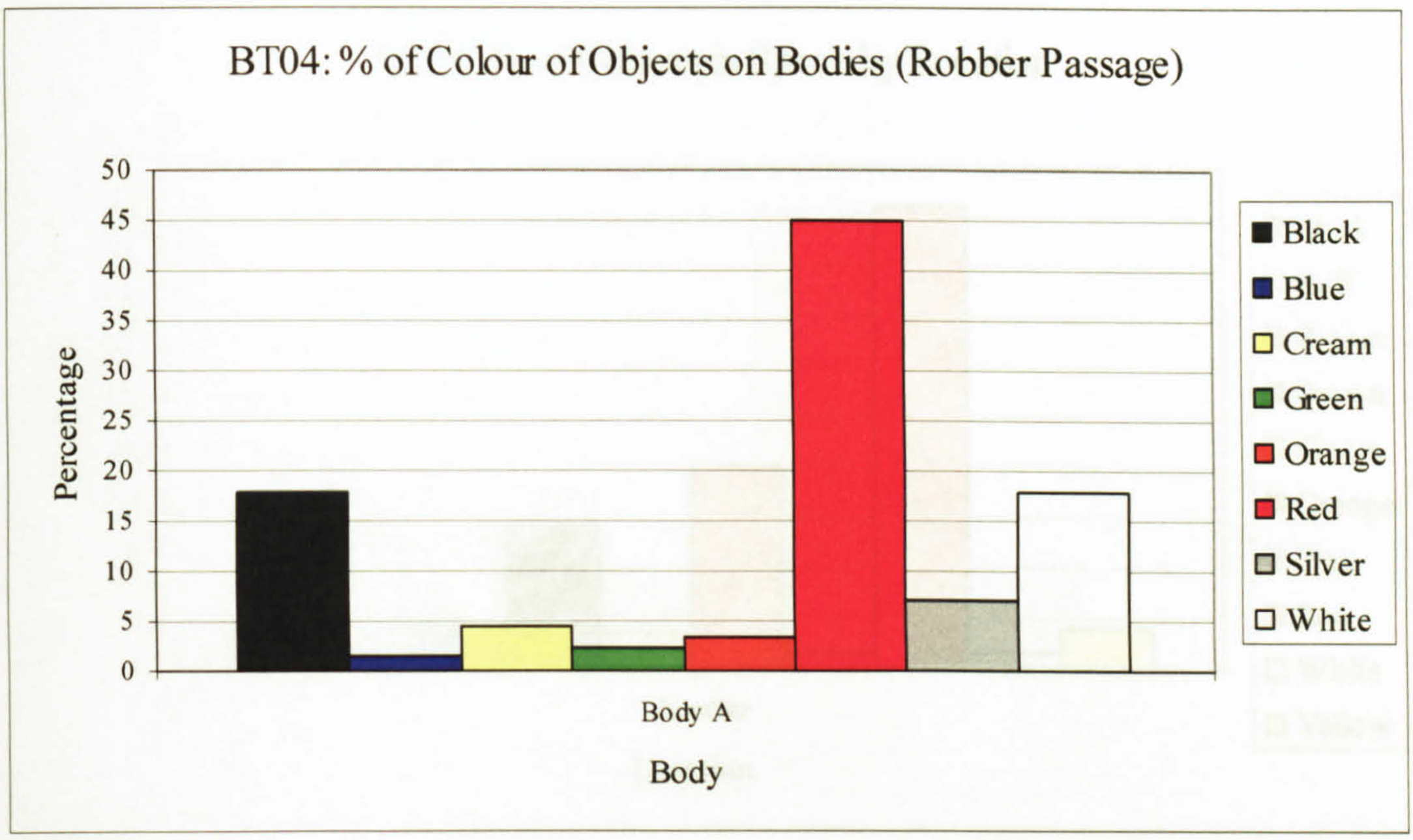


Figure A.58

Body A is of unknown age and unknown sex. The Body was found in the Robber Passage, and is only included in this analysis due to the large number of artefacts (53 objects) found with the body. As the body was in the Robber Passage, it is impossible to say whether or not the artefacts found near to it belonged to Body A (i.e. deposited in association with the Body), or not. If the body was dressed in the artefacts, perhaps it was quicker for the robbers to try to remove the whole body from the burial, rather than to undress it. Eight colours were found in the artefacts associated with this body. The blue and green objects associated with the body (a pendant and two jewels), are the only objects of these colours in the tomb.

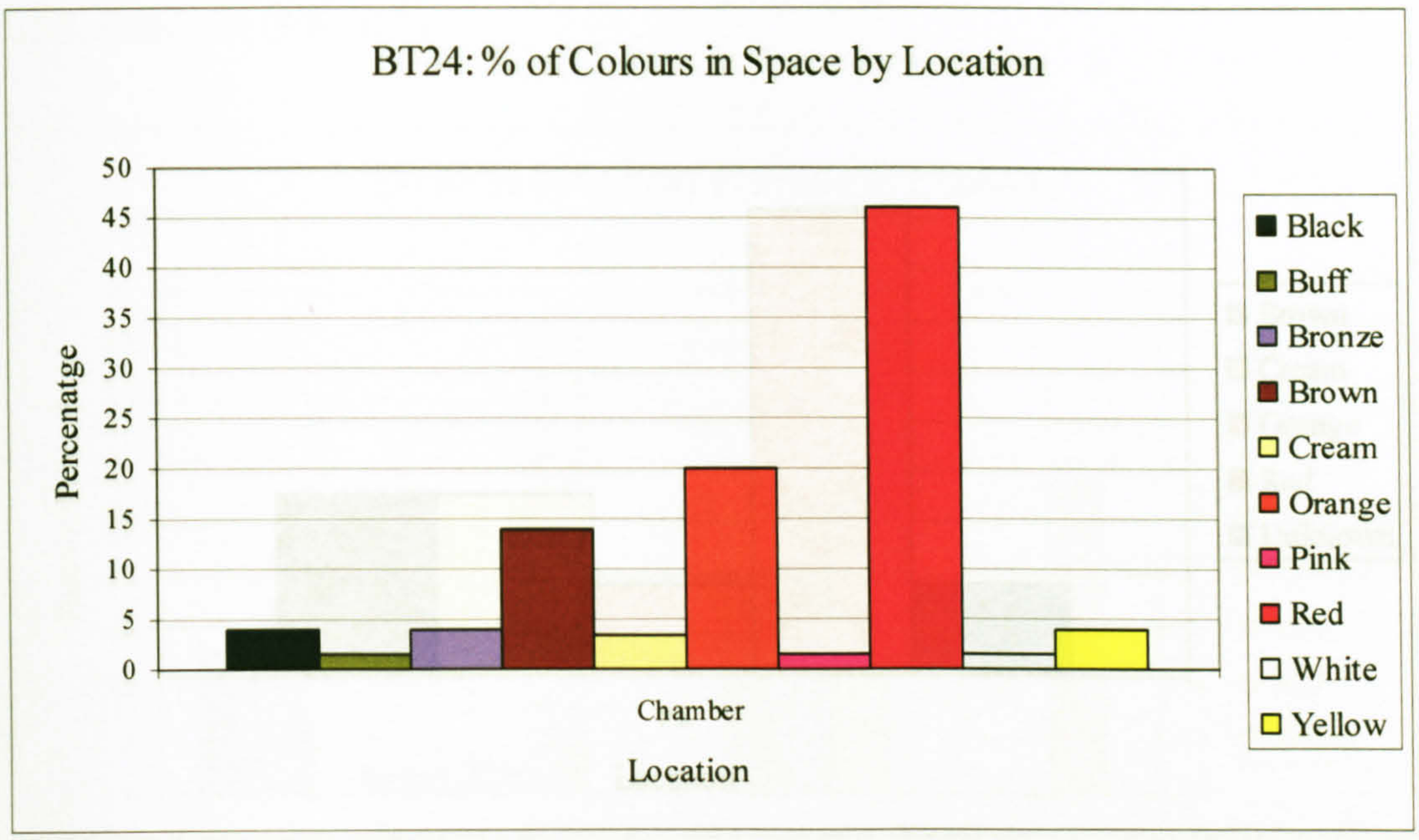


Figure A.59

10 colours were found in the artefacts in the Chamber of BT24. Red appeared in most of the objects, followed by orange and brown.

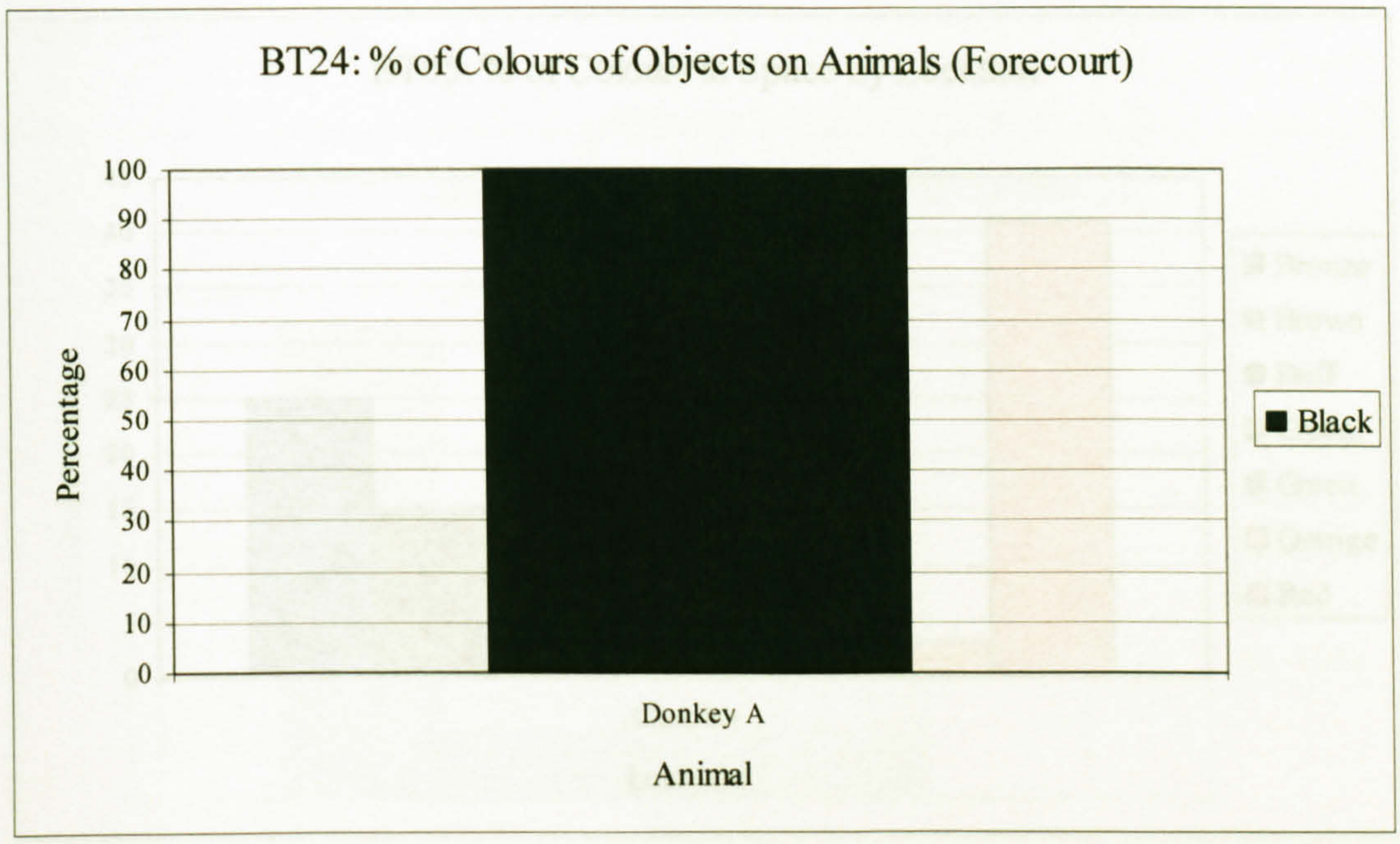


Figure A.60

Donkey A was found in the Forecourt of BT24 with a single black artefact.

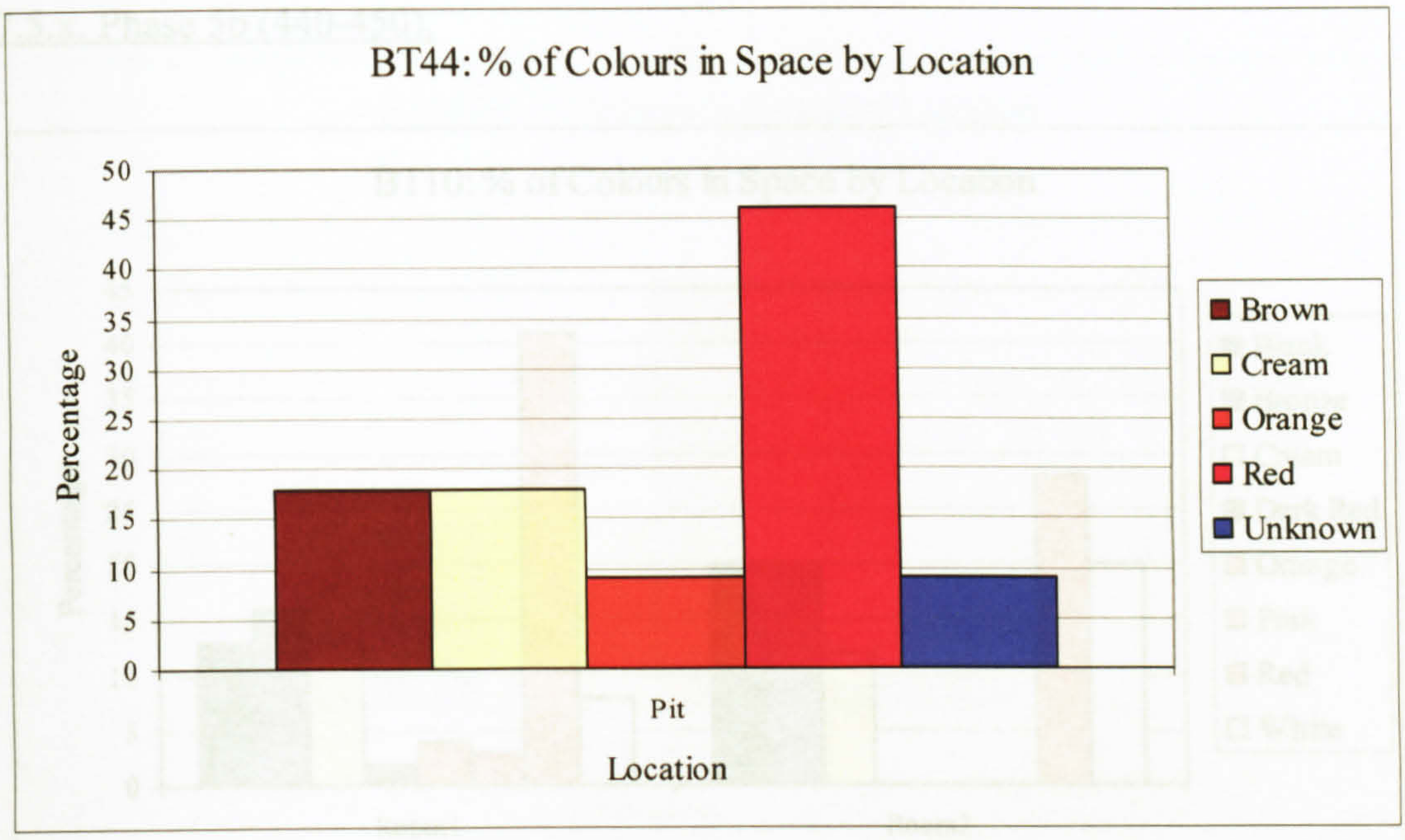


Figure A.61

All of the artefacts from BT44 were found in the Pit. Five colours were found in the artefacts and red forms the greatest proportion of these colours.

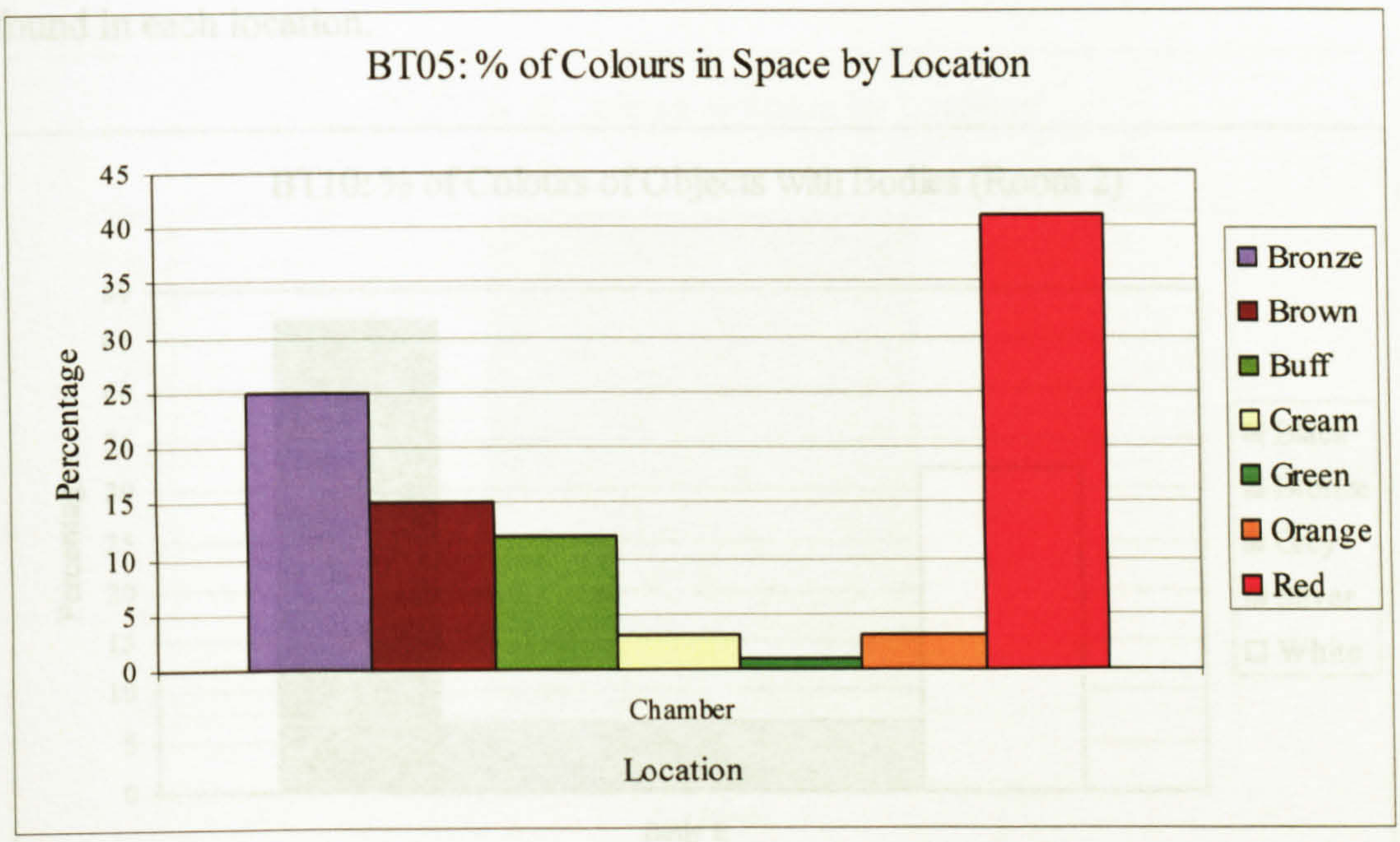


Figure A.62

There was no body, either human or animal found in this tomb. Objects containing the colour red account for over a third of the colours appearing in this tomb. Neither black nor white occur in this tomb.

7.5.x. Phase 5b (440-450).

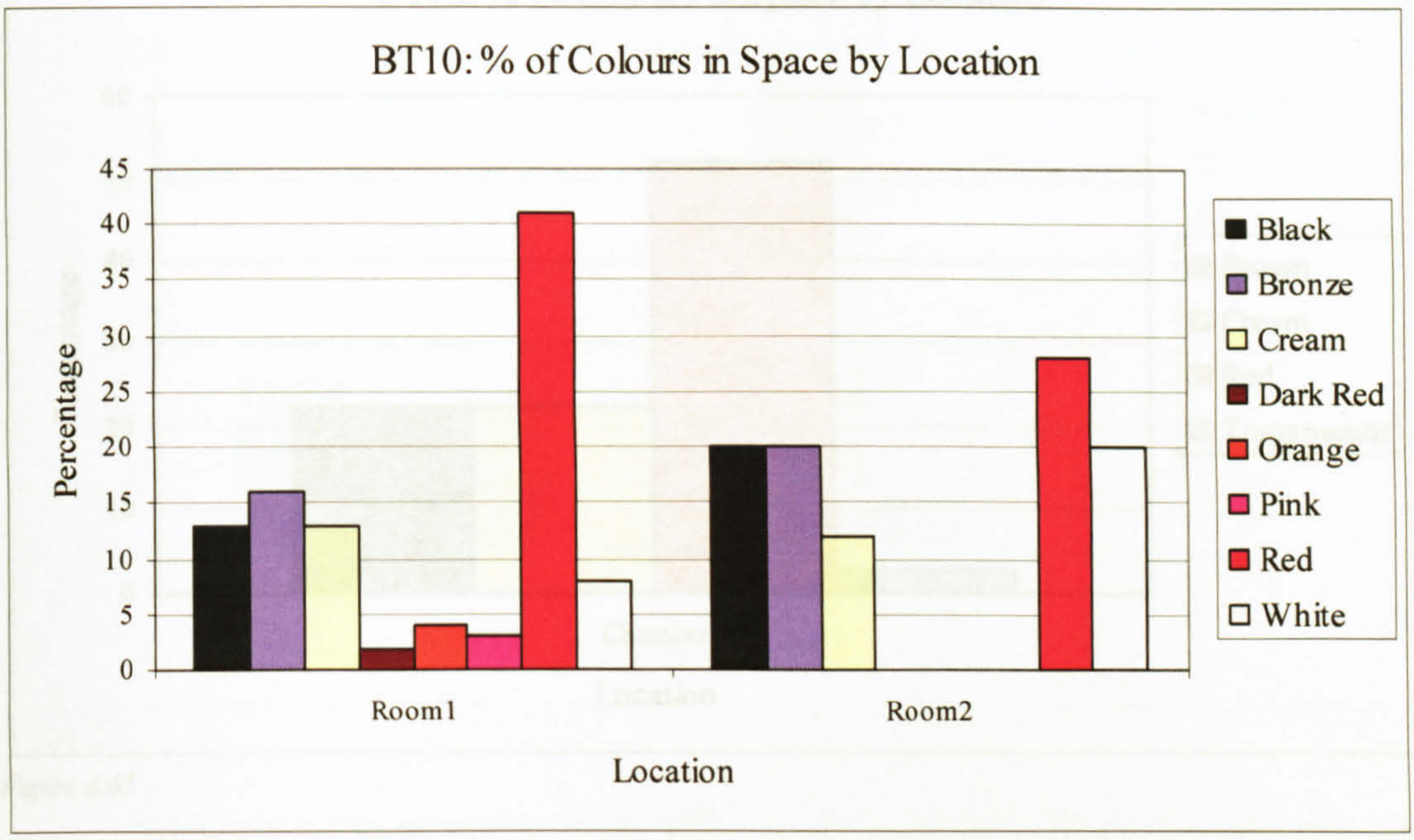


Figure A.63

In both Room 1 and Room 2 red forms the greatest proportion of the colours found in each location.

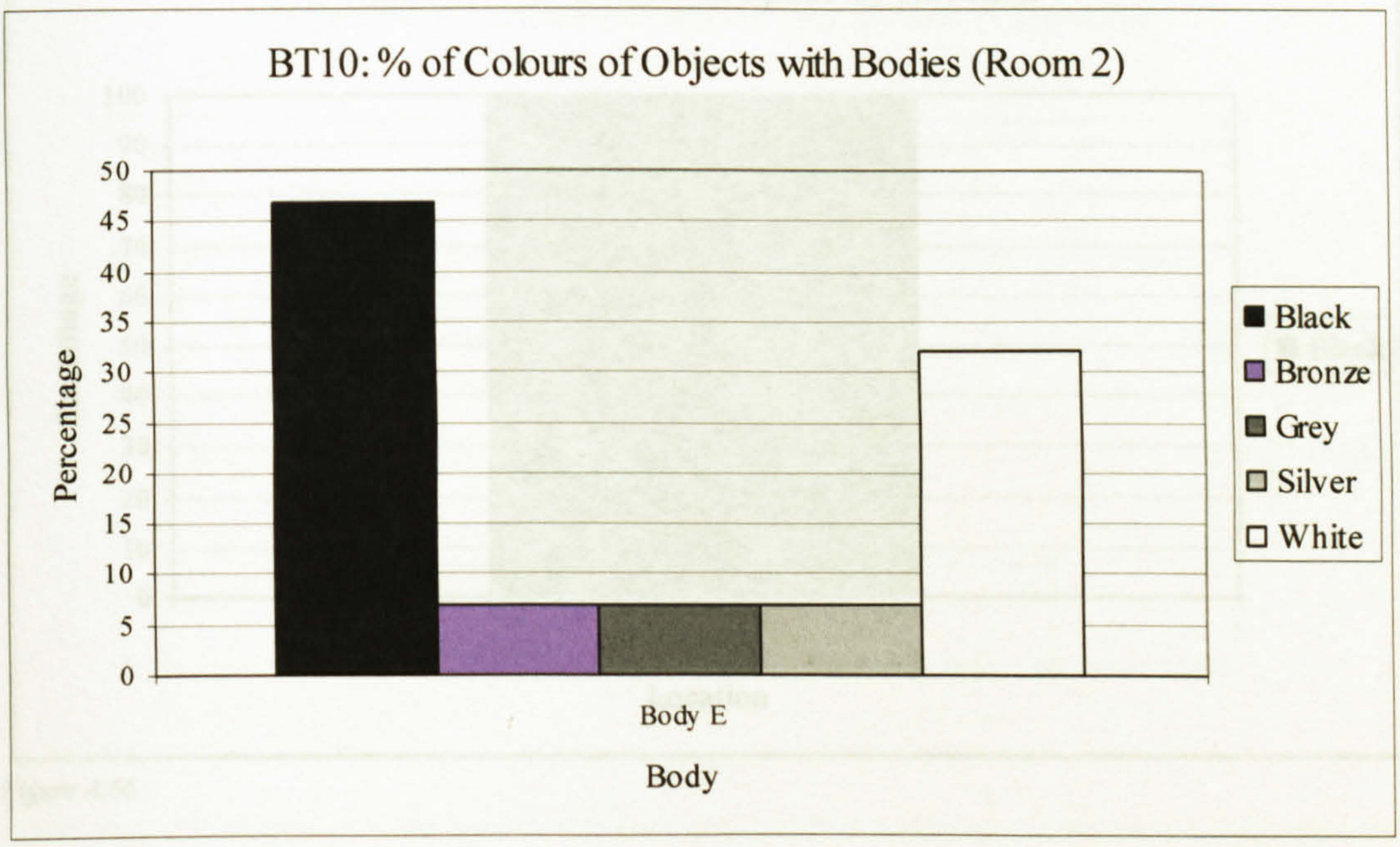


Figure A.64

Body E was a possible female, classified as an adult and located in Room 2 of the tomb. Some of the artefacts with Body E contained the colours grey and silver, and these were the only instances of the colours in the tomb.

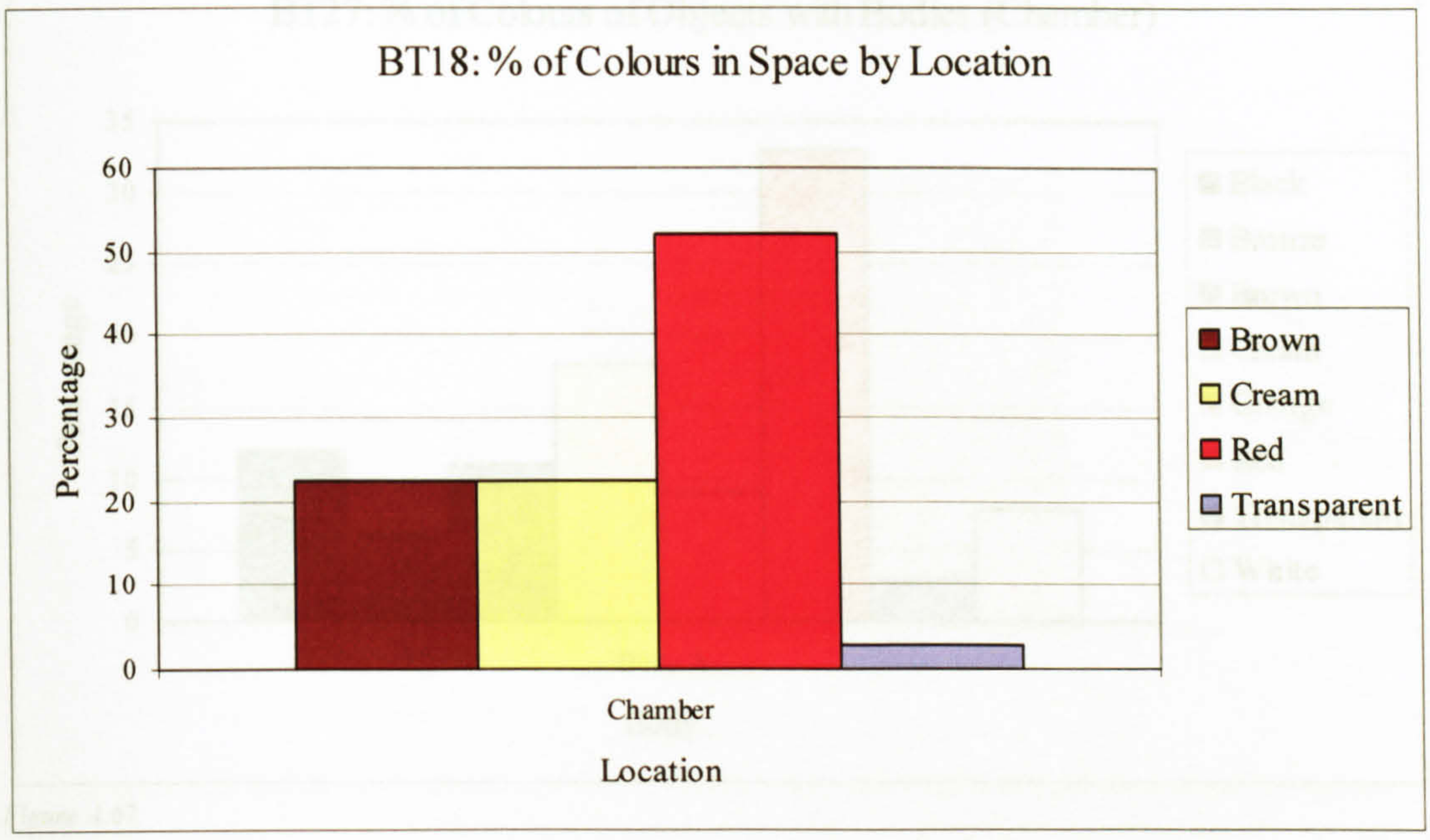


Figure A.65

Four colours were found in the chamber of BT18. Most of these artefacts were red.

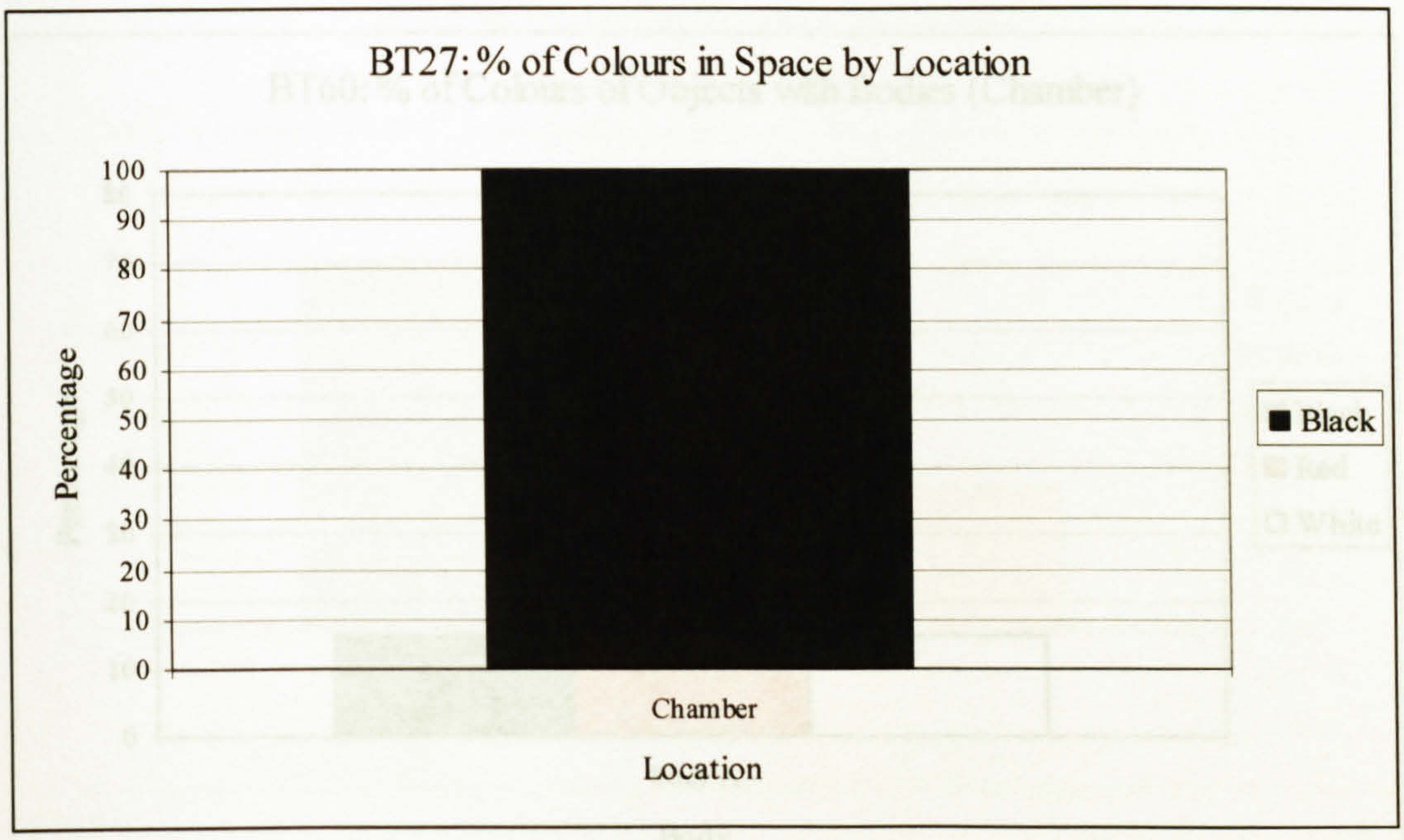


Figure A.66

A single black artefact was found in the Chamber of BT27, unassociated with a body.

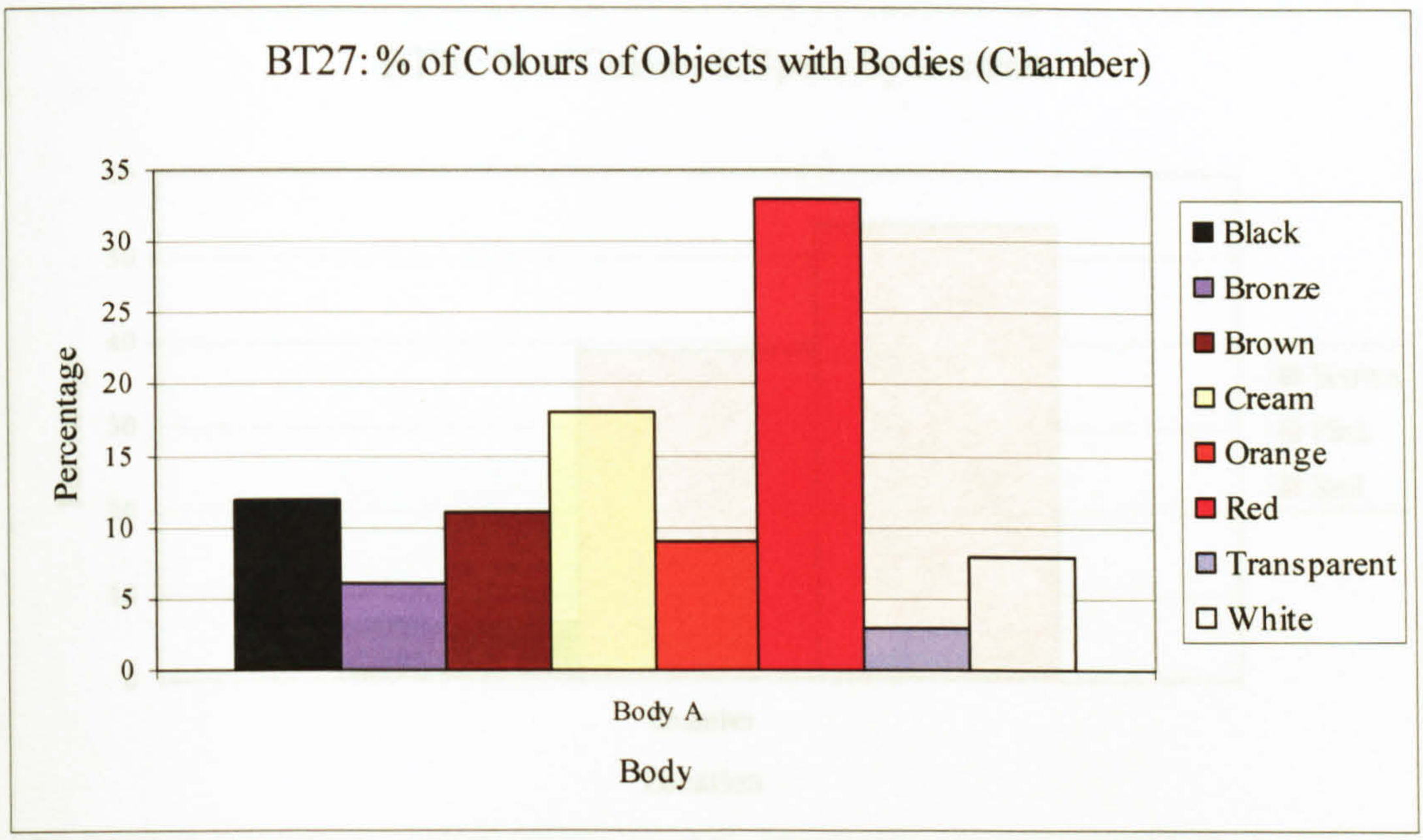


Figure A.67

All of the other artefacts from BT27 were found with Body A in the chamber. These artefacts exhibited eight different colours, with red being the most numerous. Body A was of unknown sex and unknown age.

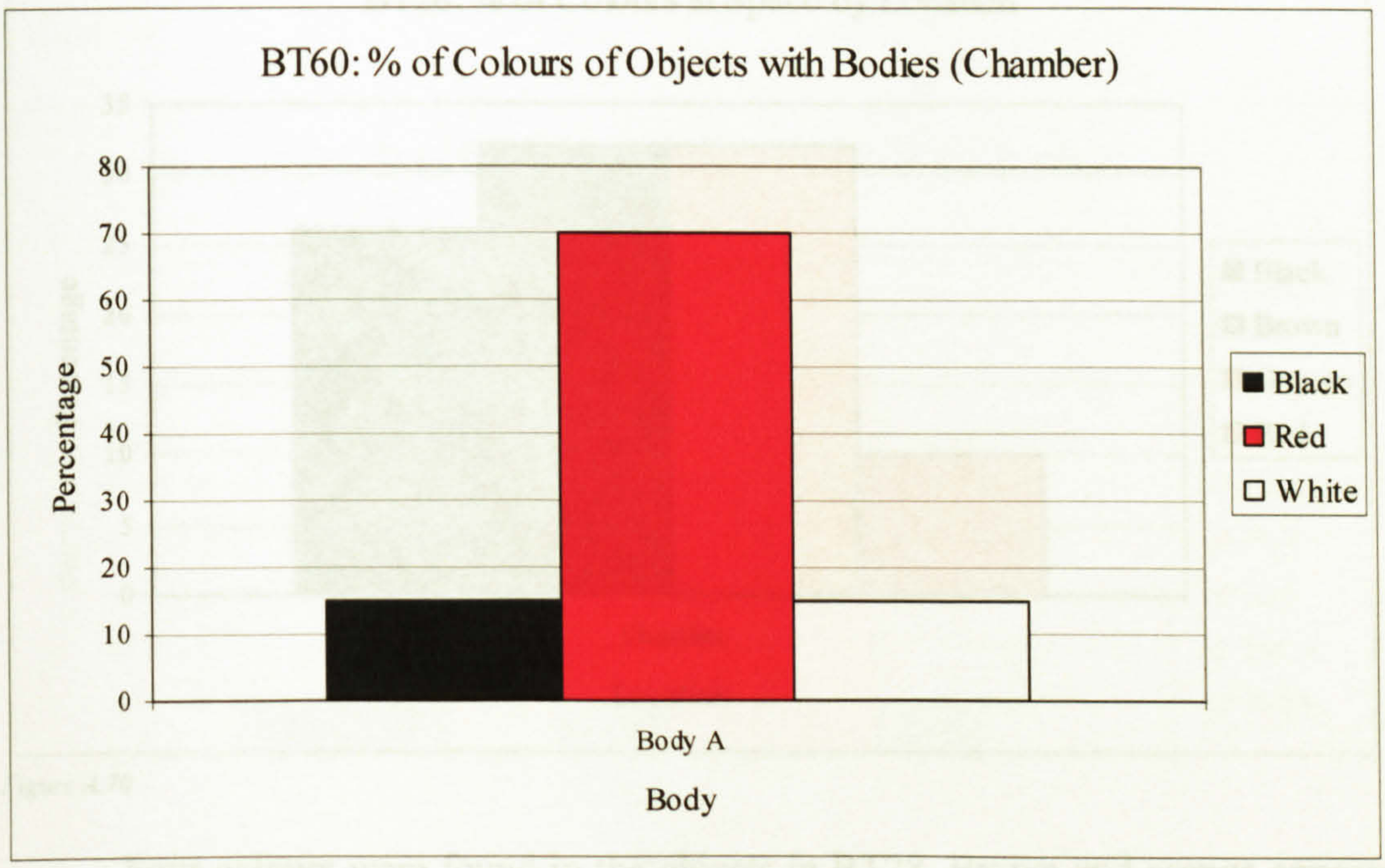


Figure A.68

All of the artefacts from BT60 were found with Body A in the chamber of the tomb. Body A was classified as an adult male. Only 3 colours were found in the 20 pottery vessels, of which red was the most numerous.

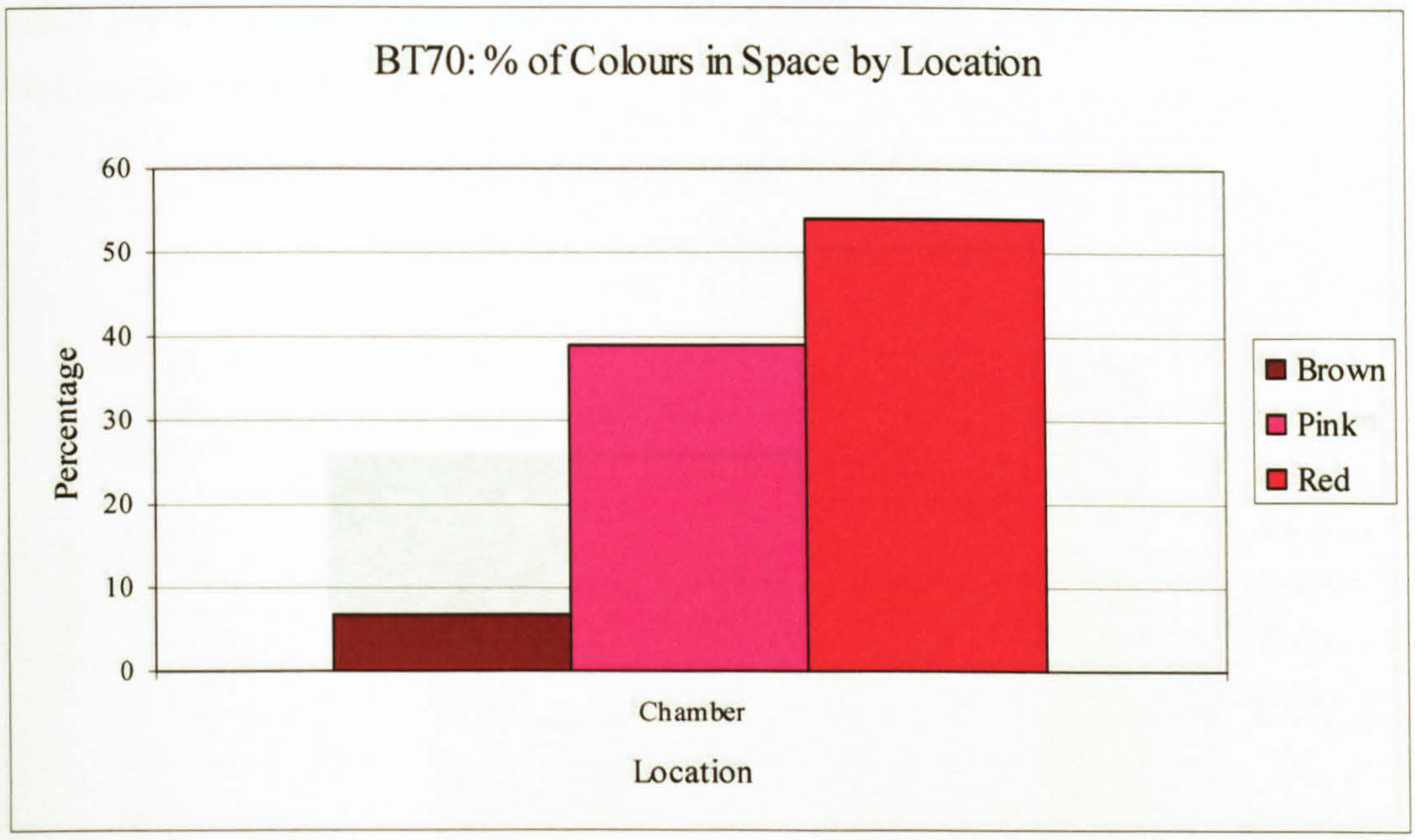


Figure A.69

All of the artefacts in tomb BT70 were found in the Chamber. Artefacts containing red were the most numerous.

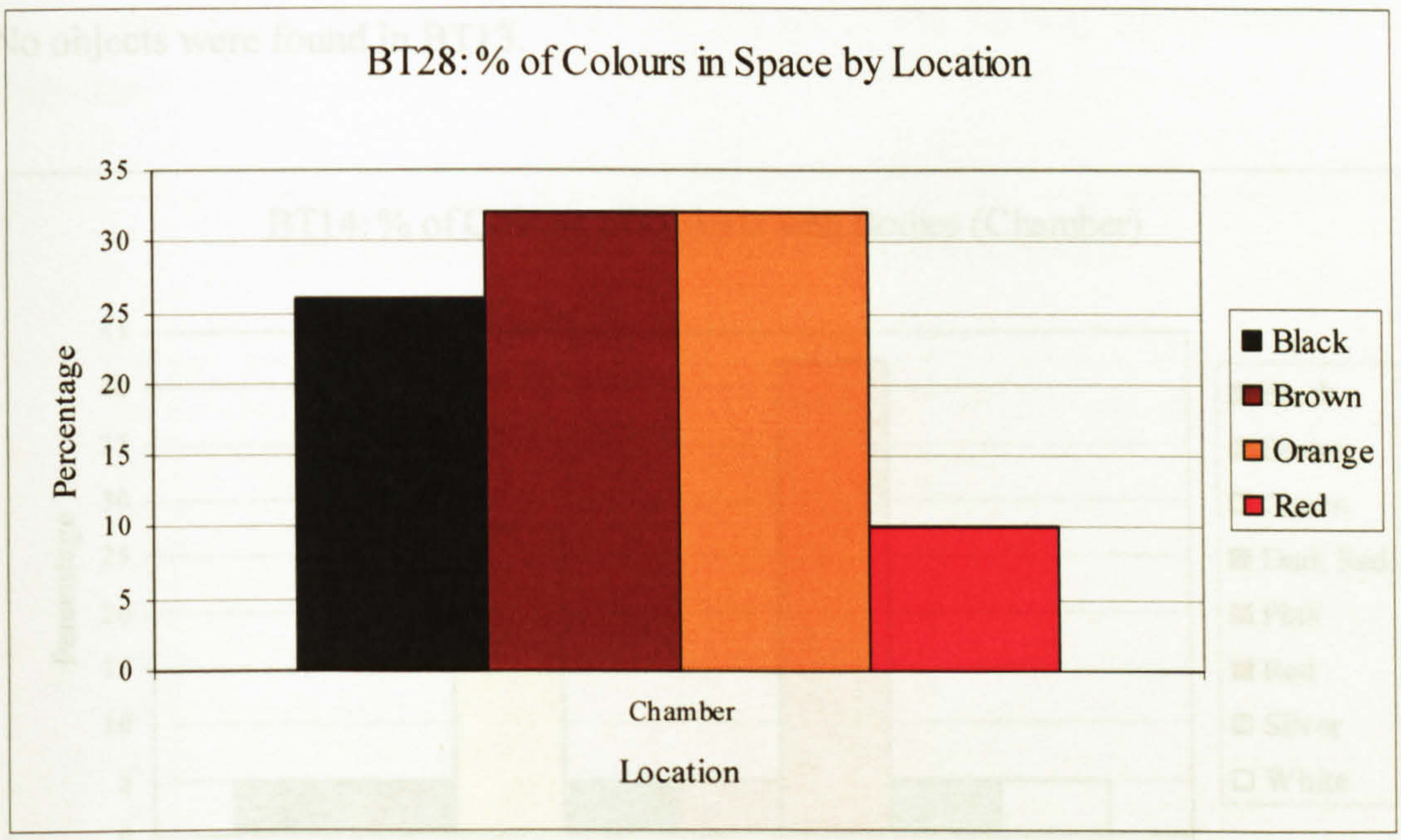


Figure A.70

Four colours were found in the objects in BT28. Brown and orange appeared in equal proportions, followed by black and then red.

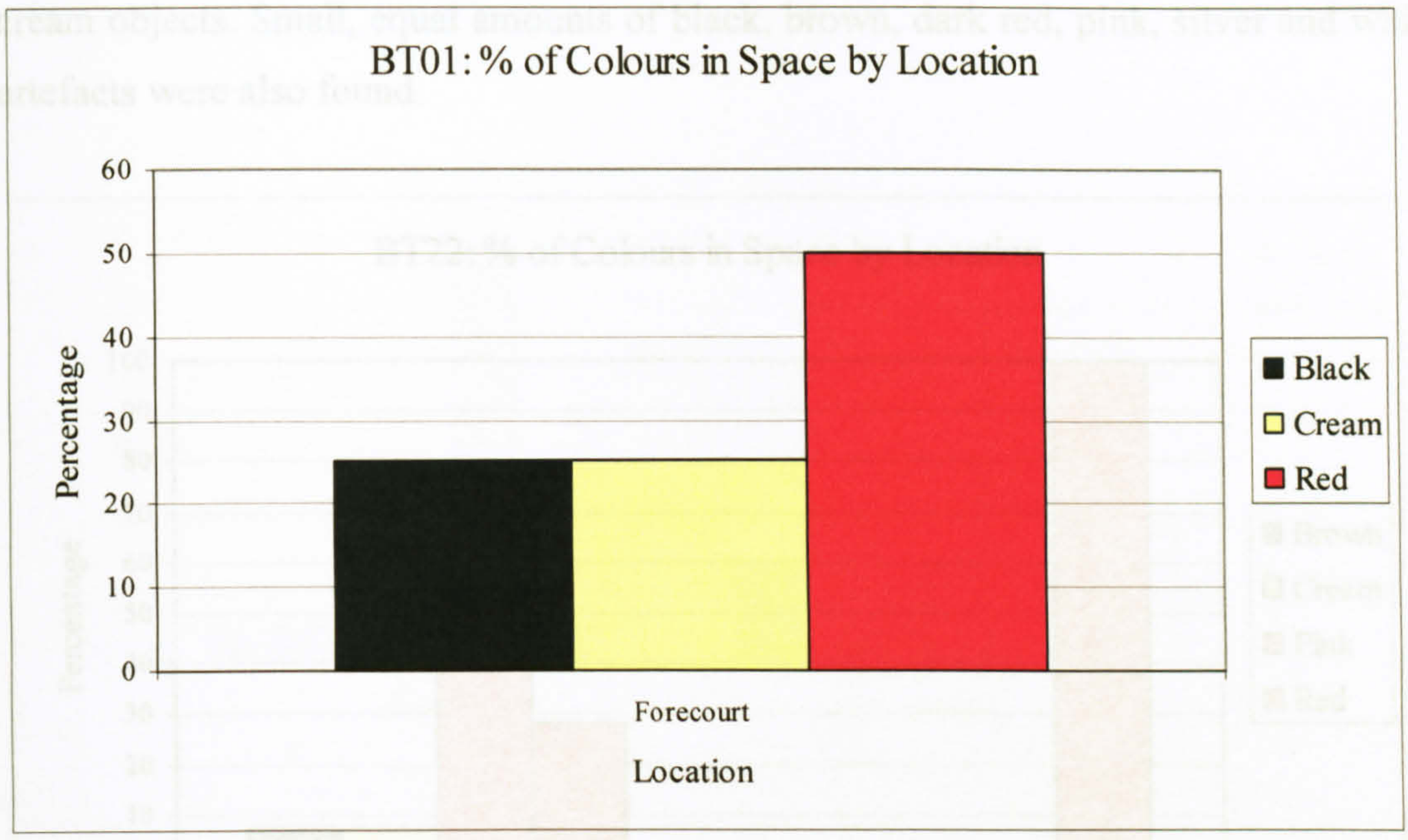


Figure A.71

Only three artefacts were found in BT01. Red appeared most frequently in these objects.

No objects were found in BT13.

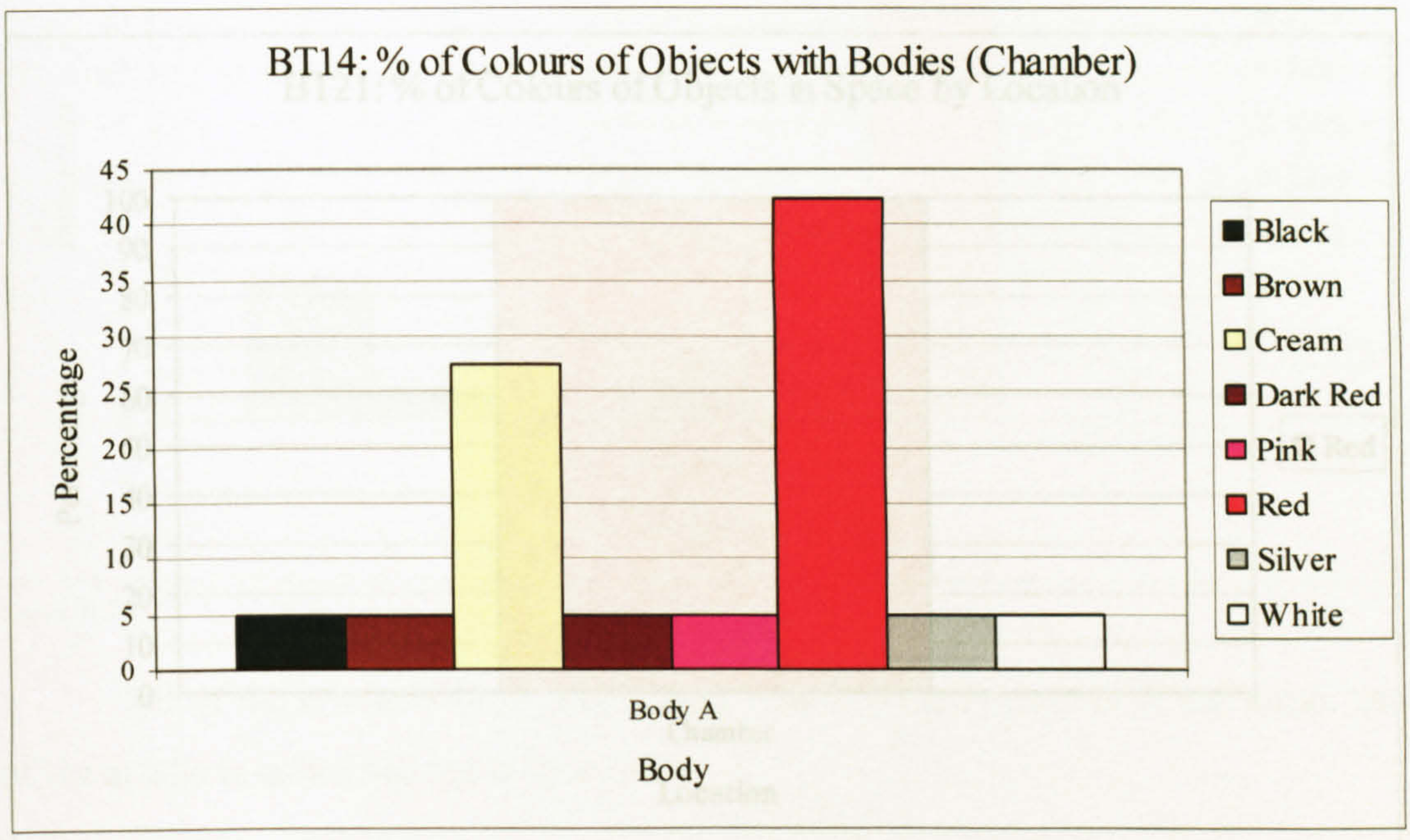


Figure A.72

All of the artefacts in BT14 were found with Body A in the chamber. Body A was an adult of unknown age. Red artefacts appeared most frequently, followed by

cream objects. Small, equal amounts of black, brown, dark red, pink, silver and white artefacts were also found.

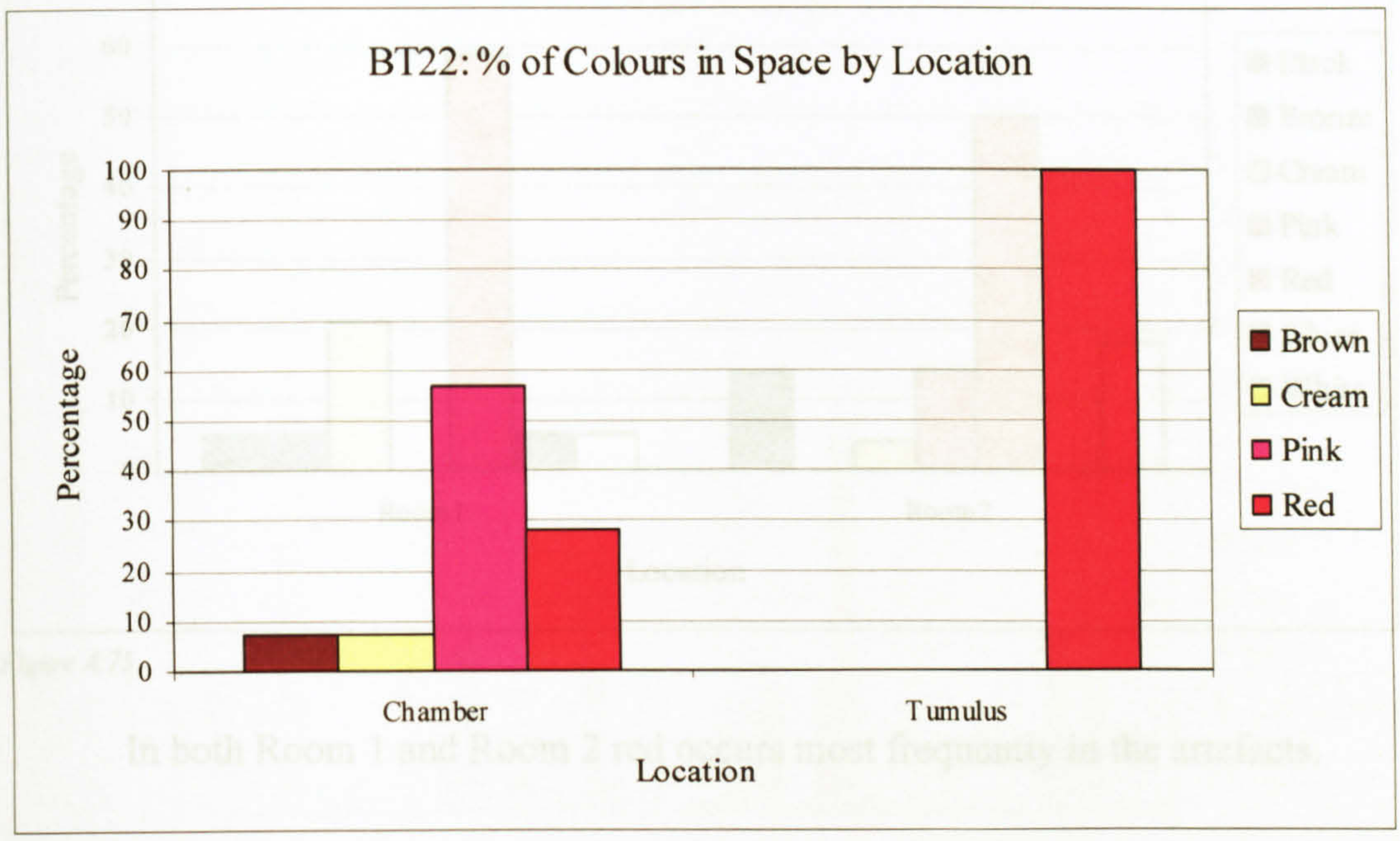


Figure A.73

Red occurs in both locations of BT22, and it was the only colour found in the Tumulus.

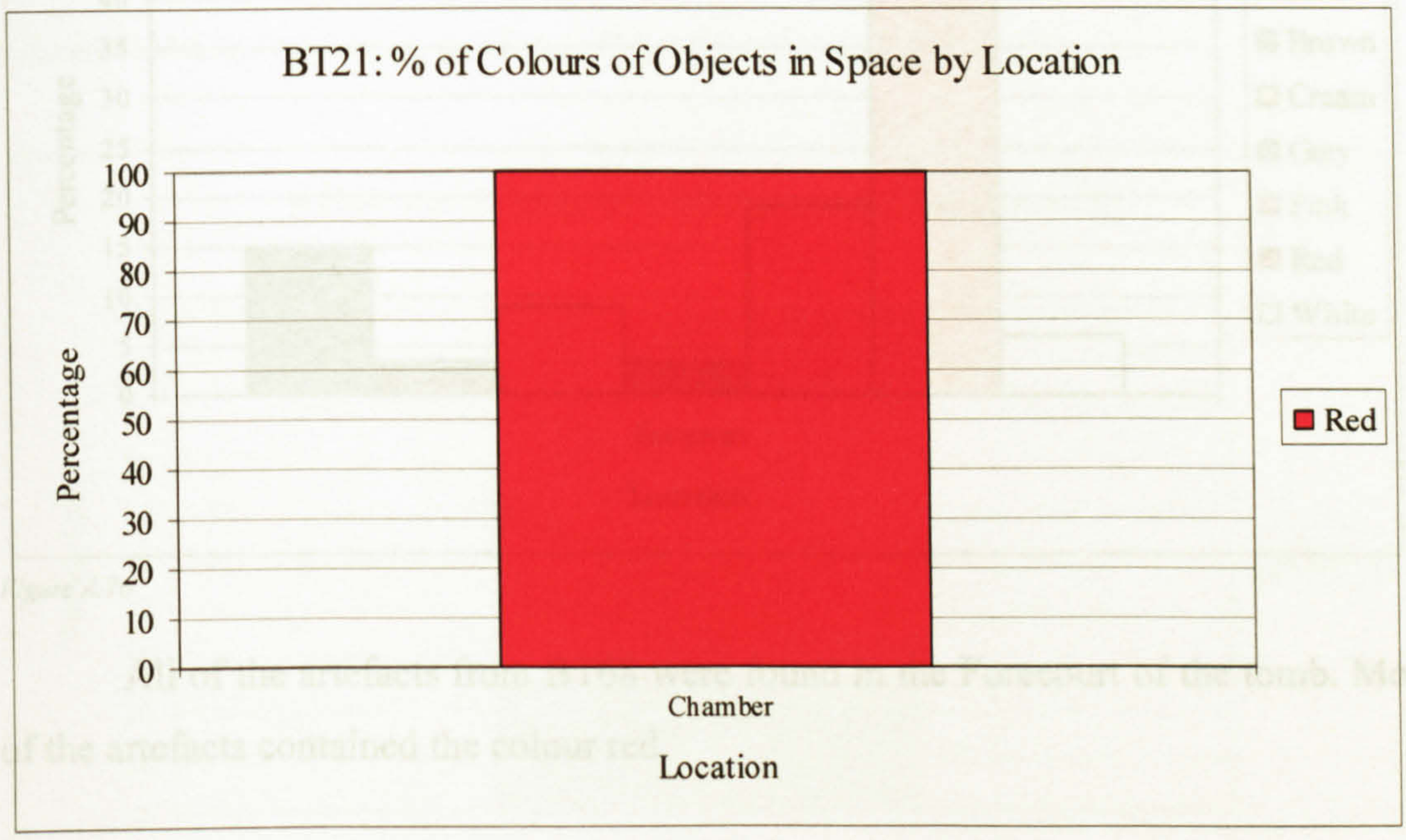


Figure A.74

Only one red artefact (a pottery vessel) was found in the chamber of BT21.

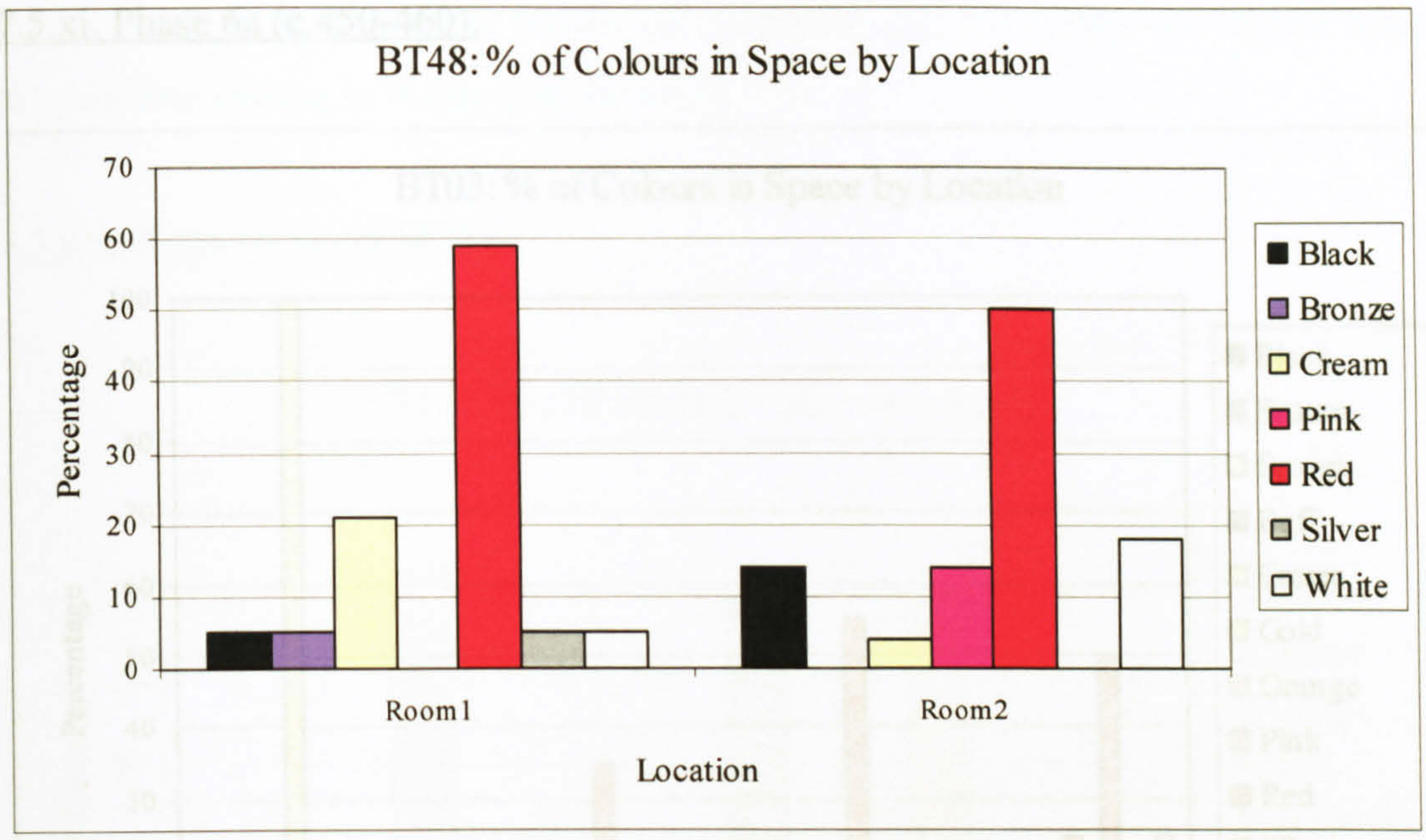


Figure A.75

In both Room 1 and Room 2 red occurs most frequently in the artefacts.

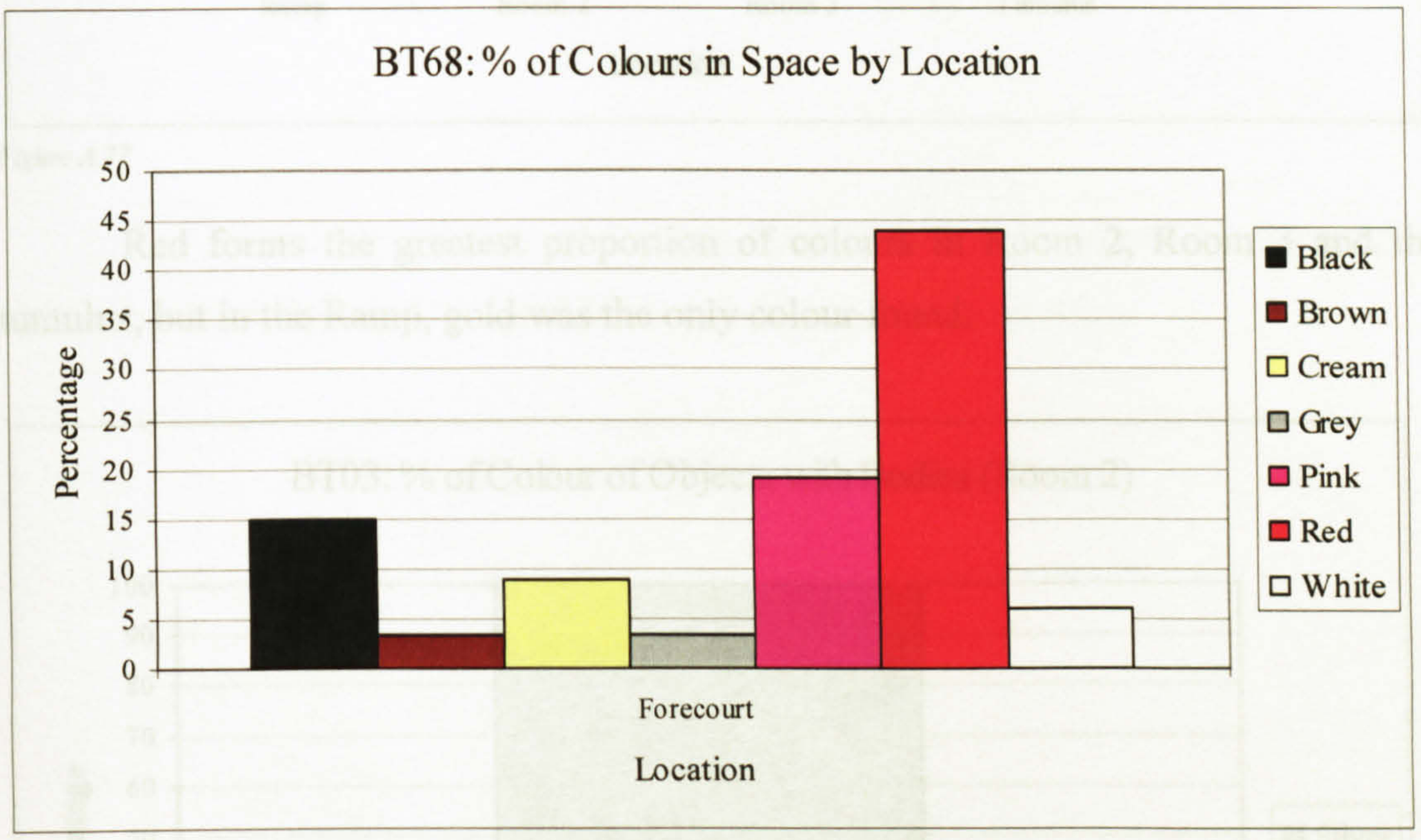


Figure A.76

All of the artefacts from BT68 were found in the Forecourt of the tomb. Most of the artefacts contained the colour red.

7.5.xi. Phase 6a (c.450-460).

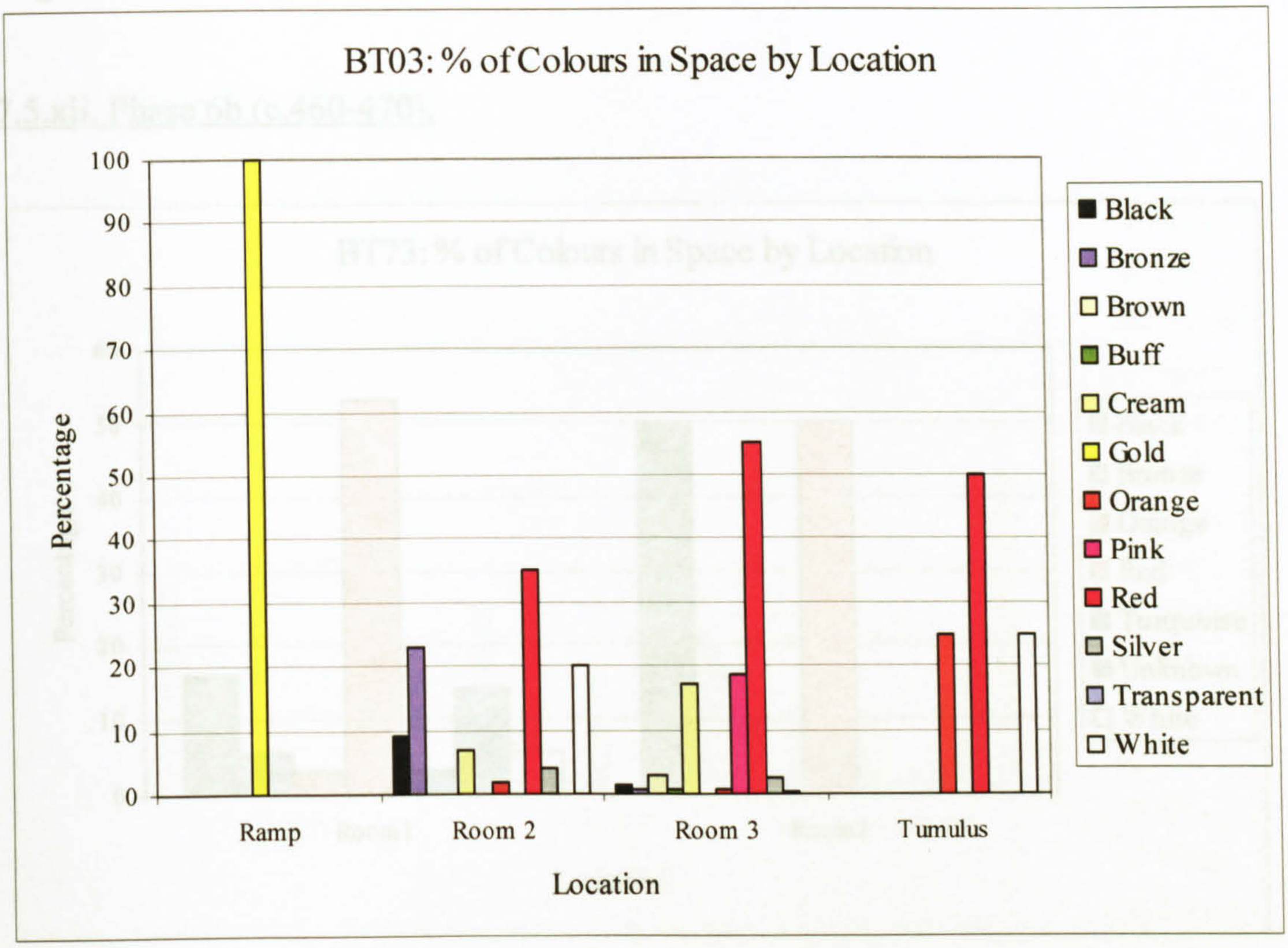


Figure A.77

Red forms the greatest proportion of colours in Room 2, Room 3 and the tumulus, but in the Ramp, gold was the only colour found.

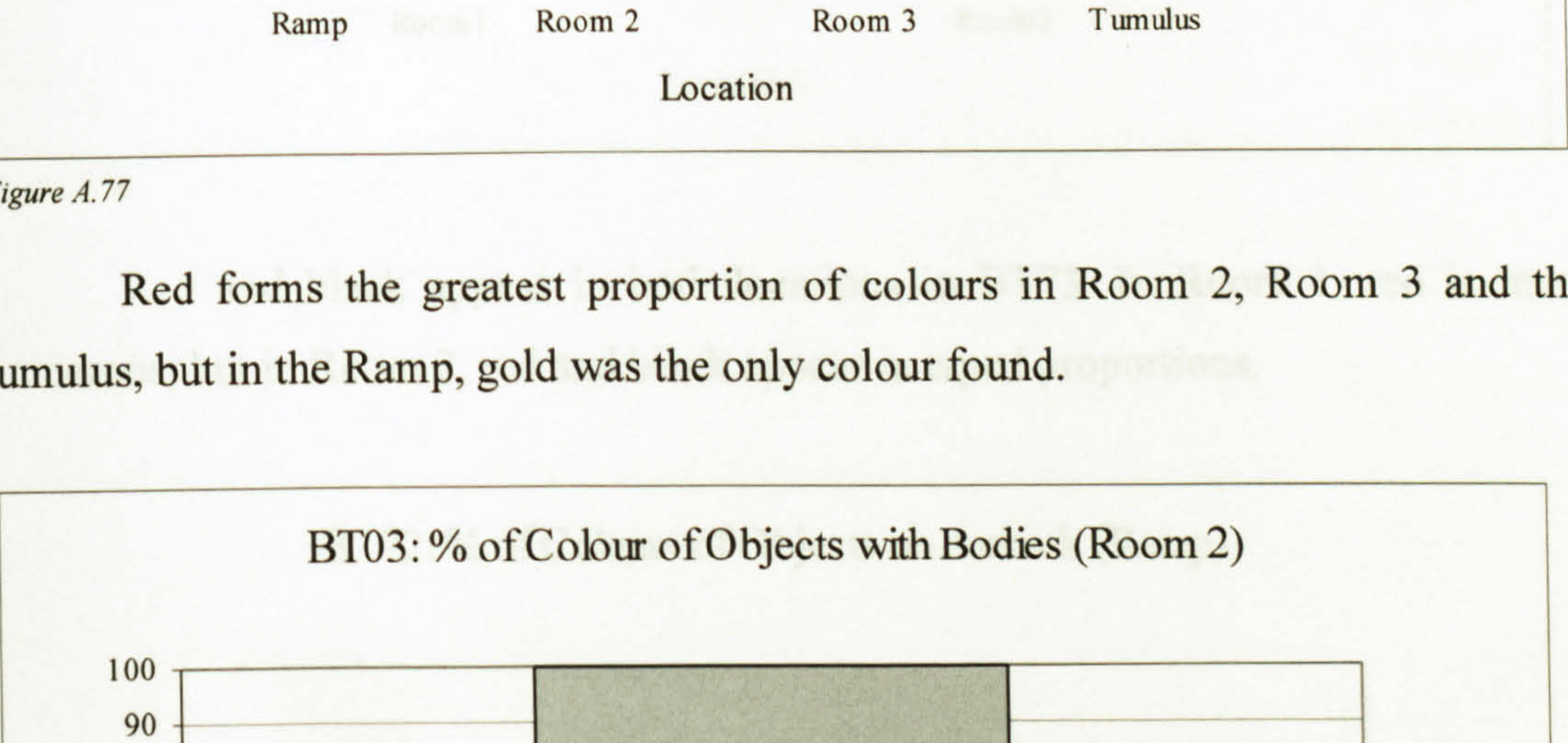


Figure A.78

Body B is a possible female of unknown age. The body was found with a single silver earring in Room 2 of the tomb.

7.5.xii. Phase 6b (c.460-470).

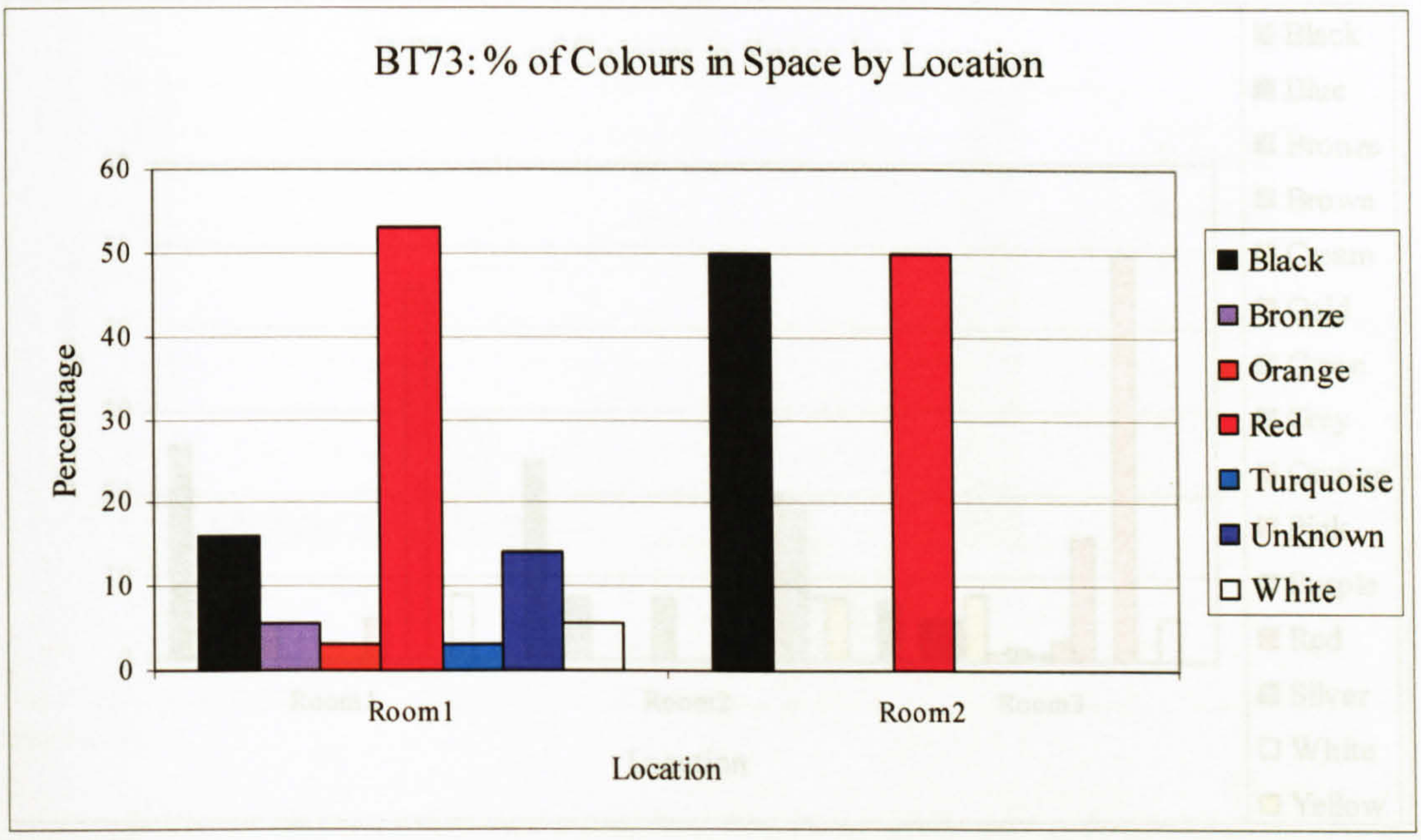


Figure A.79

Red and black appear in both locations in BT73. In Room 1, red is most numerous, but in Room 2, red and black appear in equal proportions.

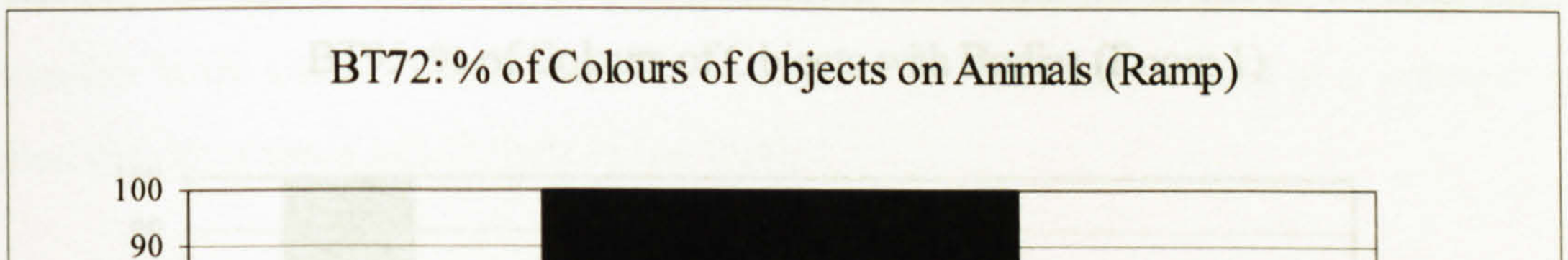


Figure A.80

Only two artefacts that were found in BT72 were associated with Horse A in the Ramp.

7.5.xiii. Phase 7a (c.470-480).

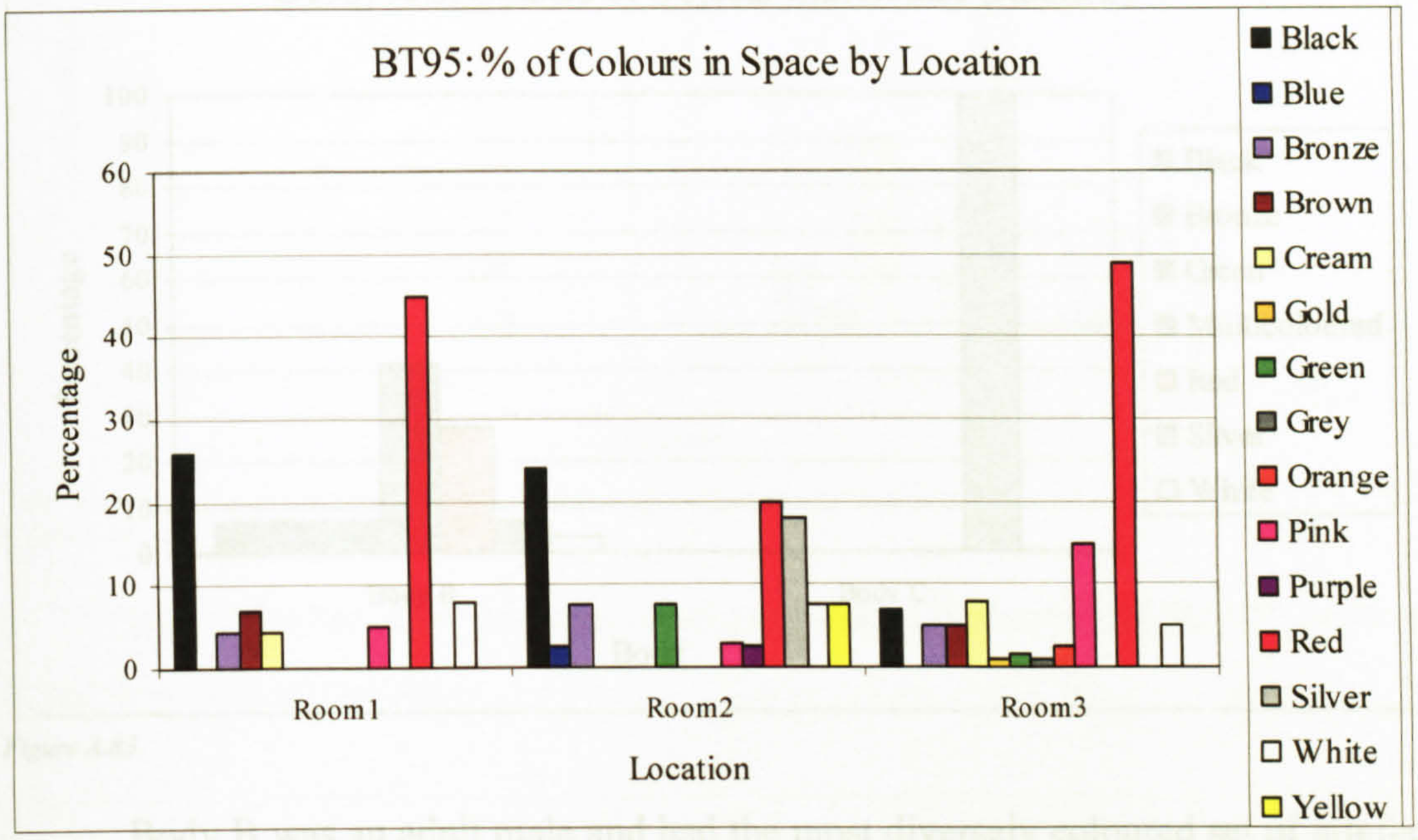


Figure A.81

In both Room 1 and Room 3, red is the most commonly found colour, but in Room 2, black appears most frequently (followed by red).

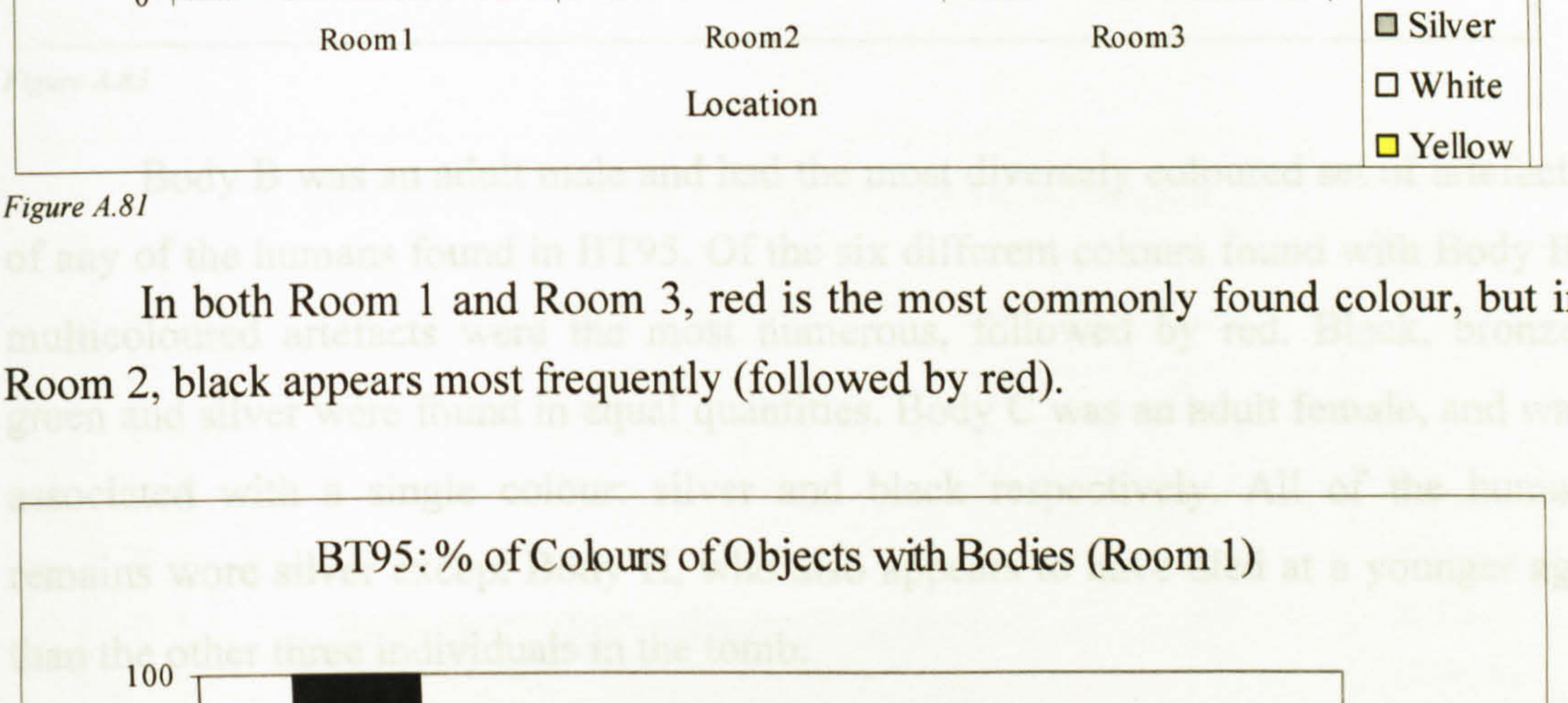


Figure A.82

Body H was a young adult of undetermined sex, and was associated with a single colour. Body I was also an adult of undetermined sex, and was found with both bronze and silver.

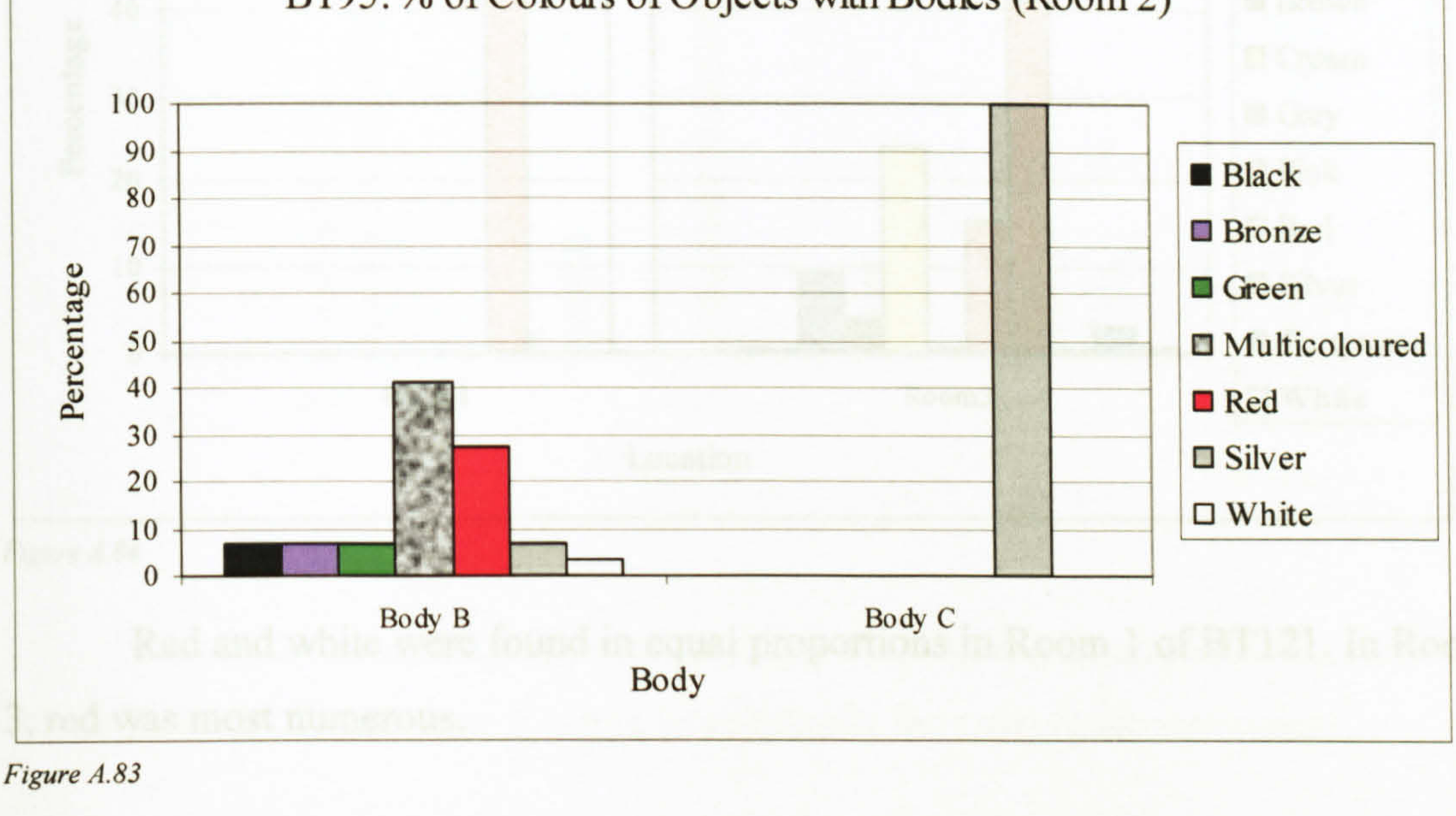


Figure A.83

Body B was an adult male and had the most diversely coloured set of artefacts of any of the humans found in BT95. Of the six different colours found with Body B, multicoloured artefacts were the most numerous, followed by red. Black, bronze, green and silver were found in equal quantities. Body C was an adult female, and was associated with a single colour: silver and black respectively. All of the human remains wore silver except Body H, who also appears to have died at a younger age than the other three individuals in the tomb.

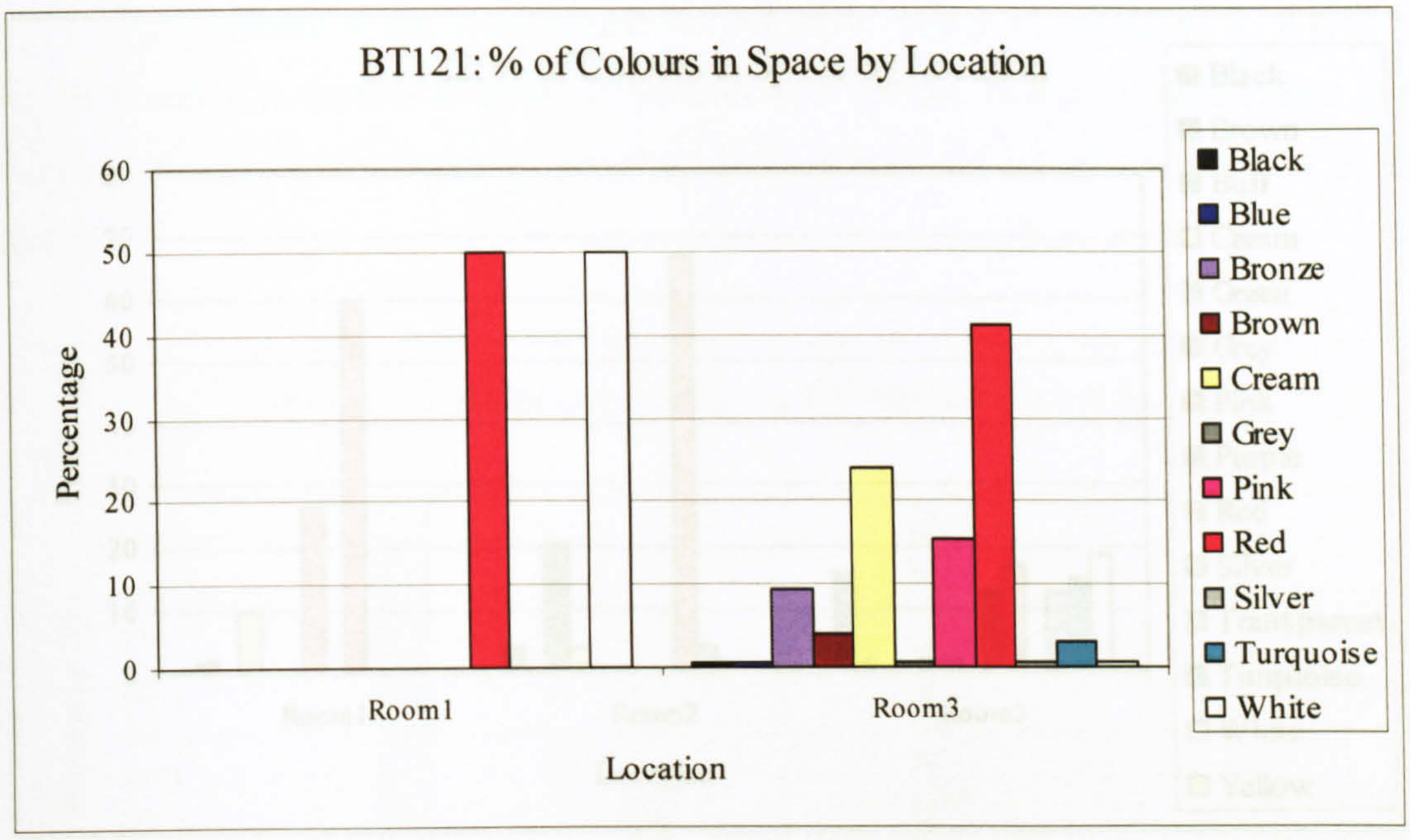


Figure A.84

Red and white were found in equal proportions in Room 1 of BT121. In Room 3, red was most numerous.

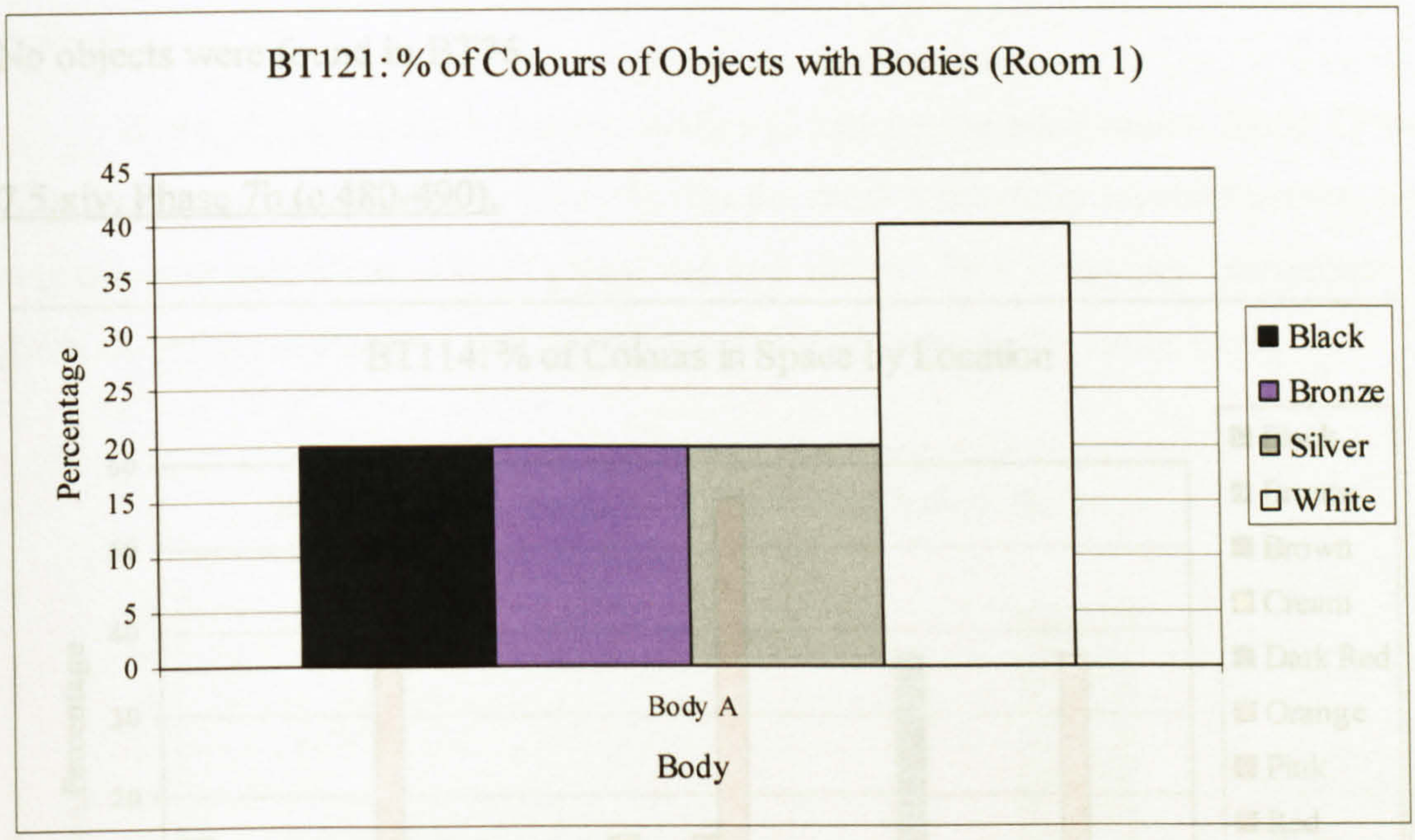


Figure A.85

Body A was an adult male. The artefacts found associated with the body were metals (black, bronze, and silver) and alabaster (white). Black, bronze and silver only appear in Room 1 of the tomb in association with Body A.

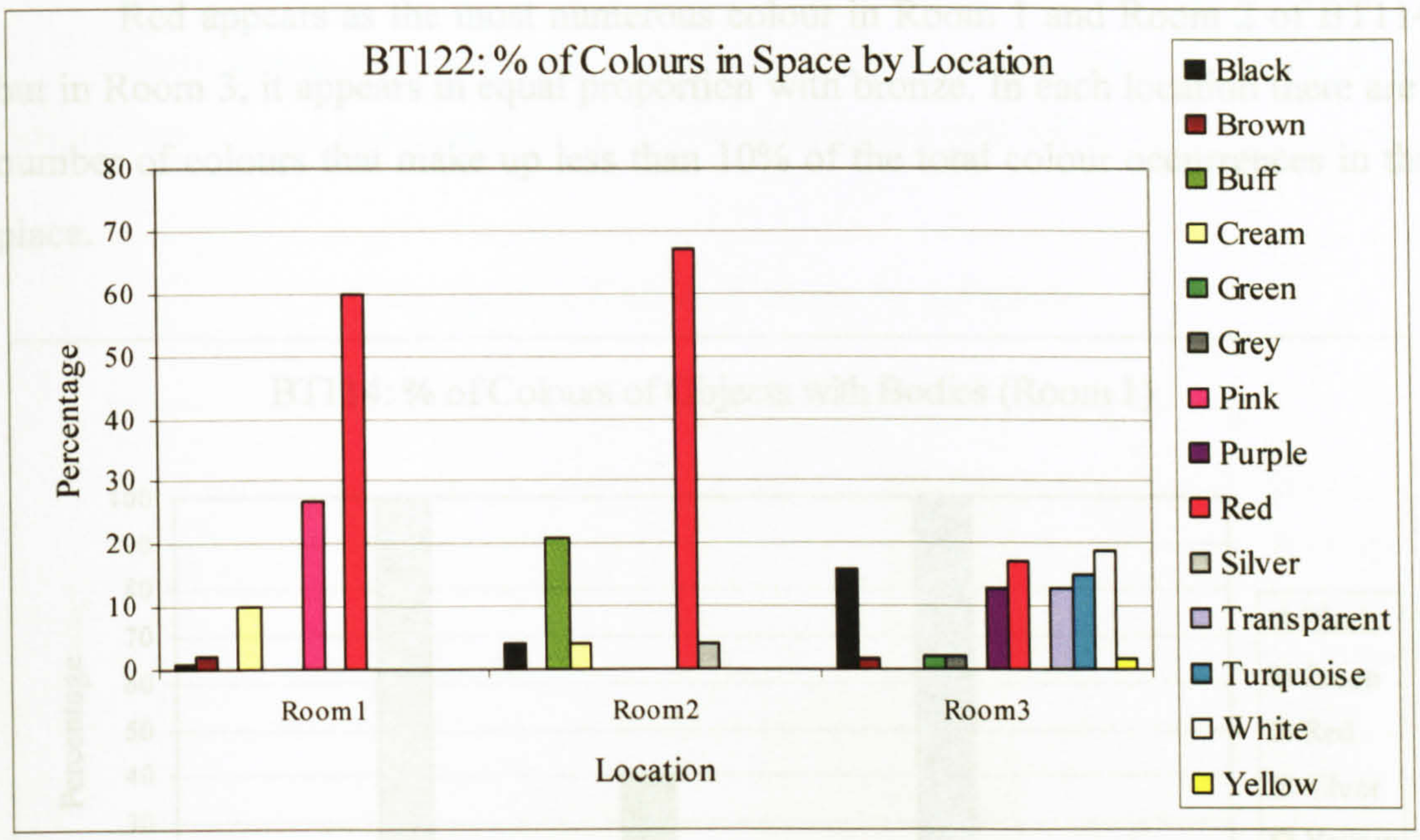


Figure A.86

Red is the most frequently occurring colour in the artefacts in Room 1 and Room 2 of BT122. In Room 3, white is marginally the most numerous colour.

No objects were found in BT76.

<u>7.5.xiv. Phase 7b (c.480-490).</u>

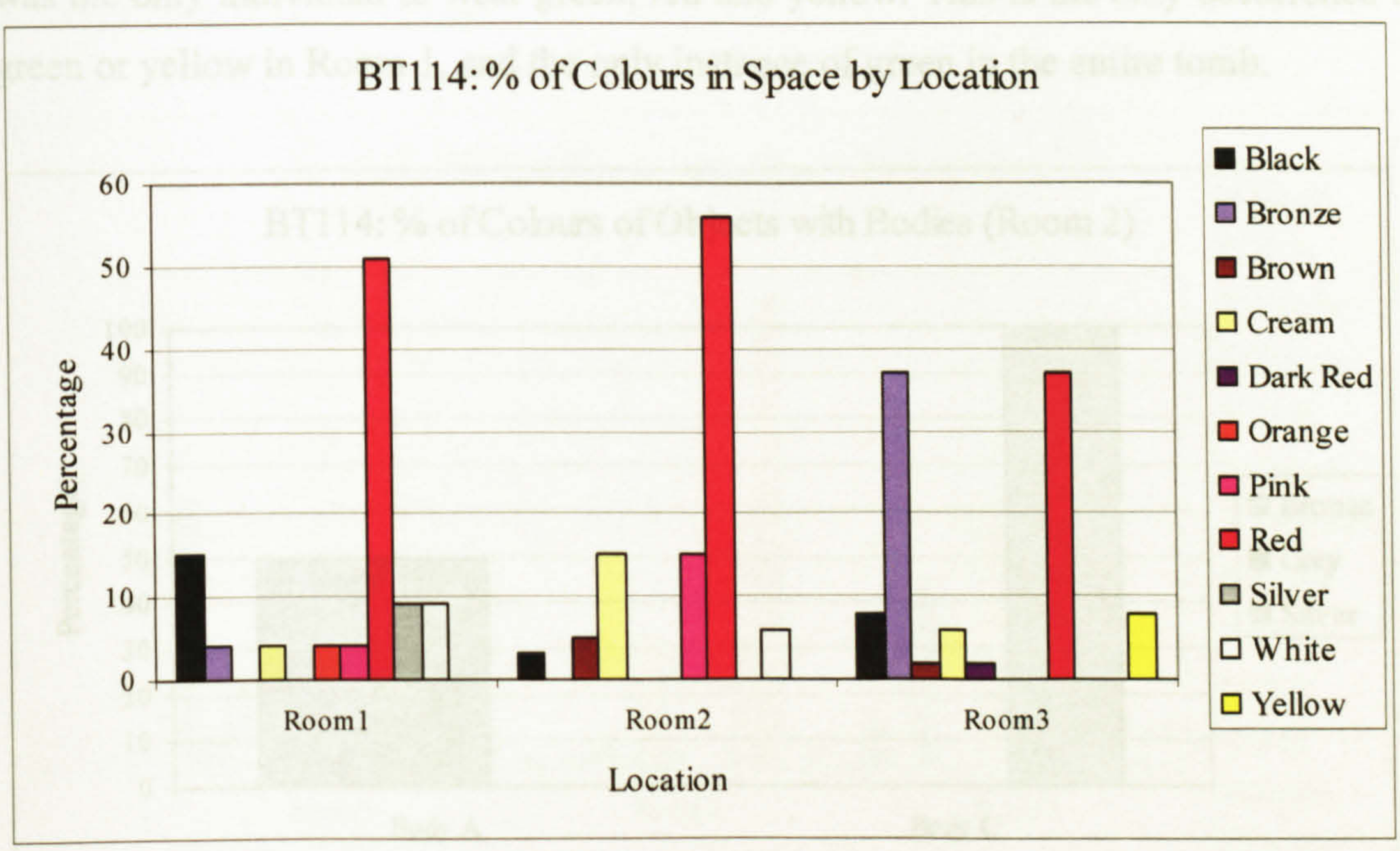


Figure A.87

Red appears as the most numerous colour in Room 1 and Room 2 of BT114, but in Room 3, it appears in equal proportion with bronze. In each location there are a number of colours that make up less than 10% of the total colour occurrences in that place.

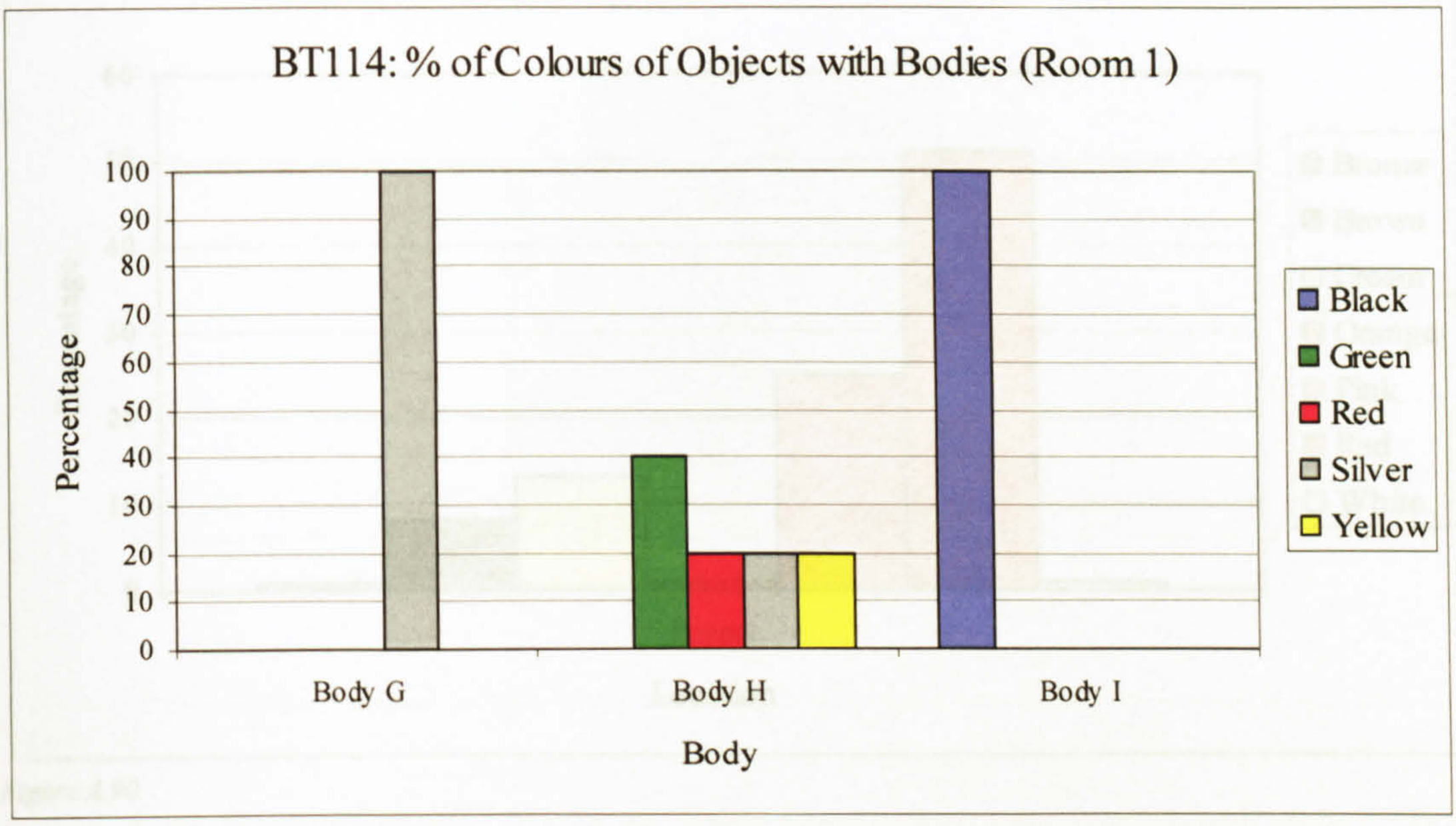


Figure A.88

Body H was an adult female. Bodies G and I were adult males. Body G was only found with silver objects. Body H was the most colourfully adorned person, and was the only individual to wear green, red and yellow. This is the only occurrence of green or yellow in Room 1, and the only instance of green in the entire tomb.

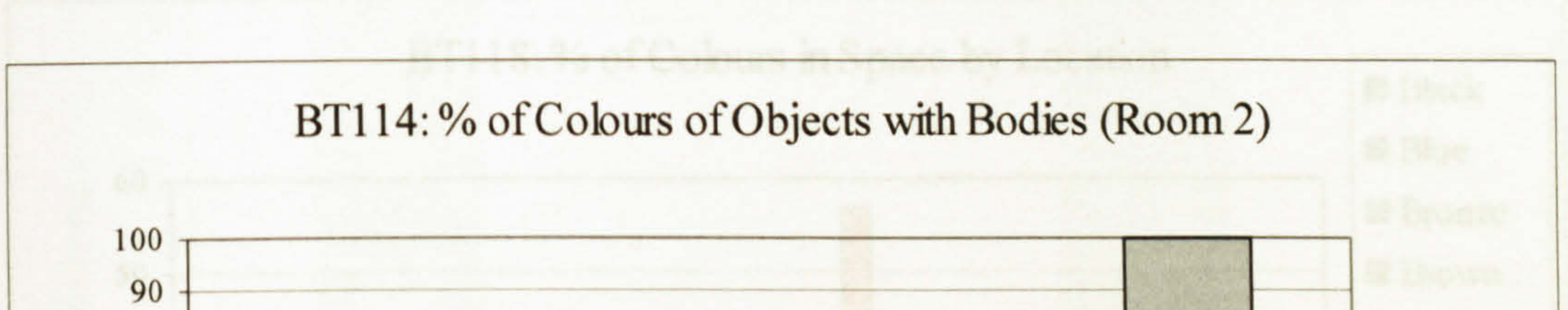


Figure A.89

Body A was an adult female. Body C was a young adult male. Body A and Body C were found in Room 2. Body C was only found with silver objects.

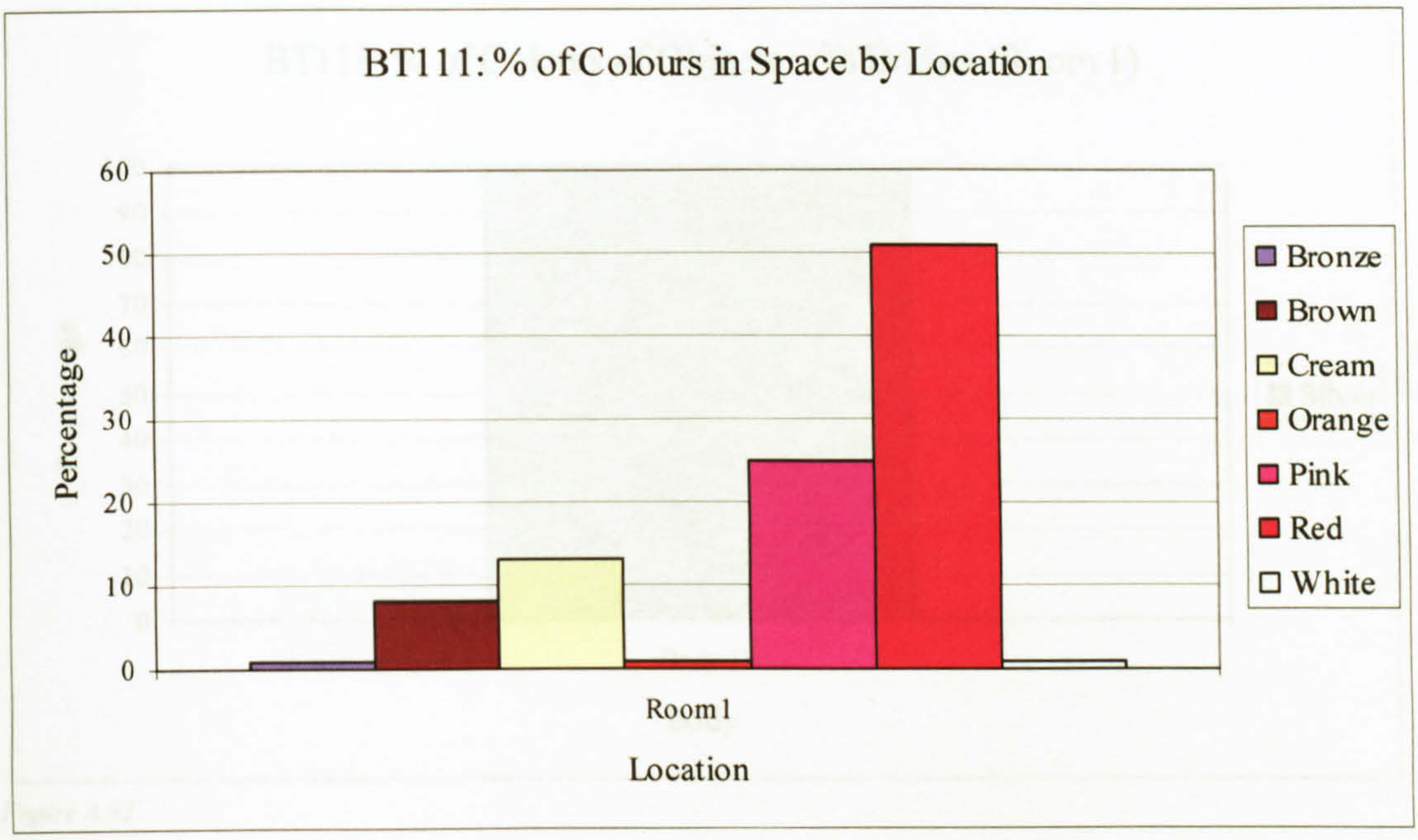


Figure A.90

All of the artefacts from BT111 were found in Room 1 of the tomb. Red artefacts were in the majority.

7.5.xv. Phase 7c (c.490-500).

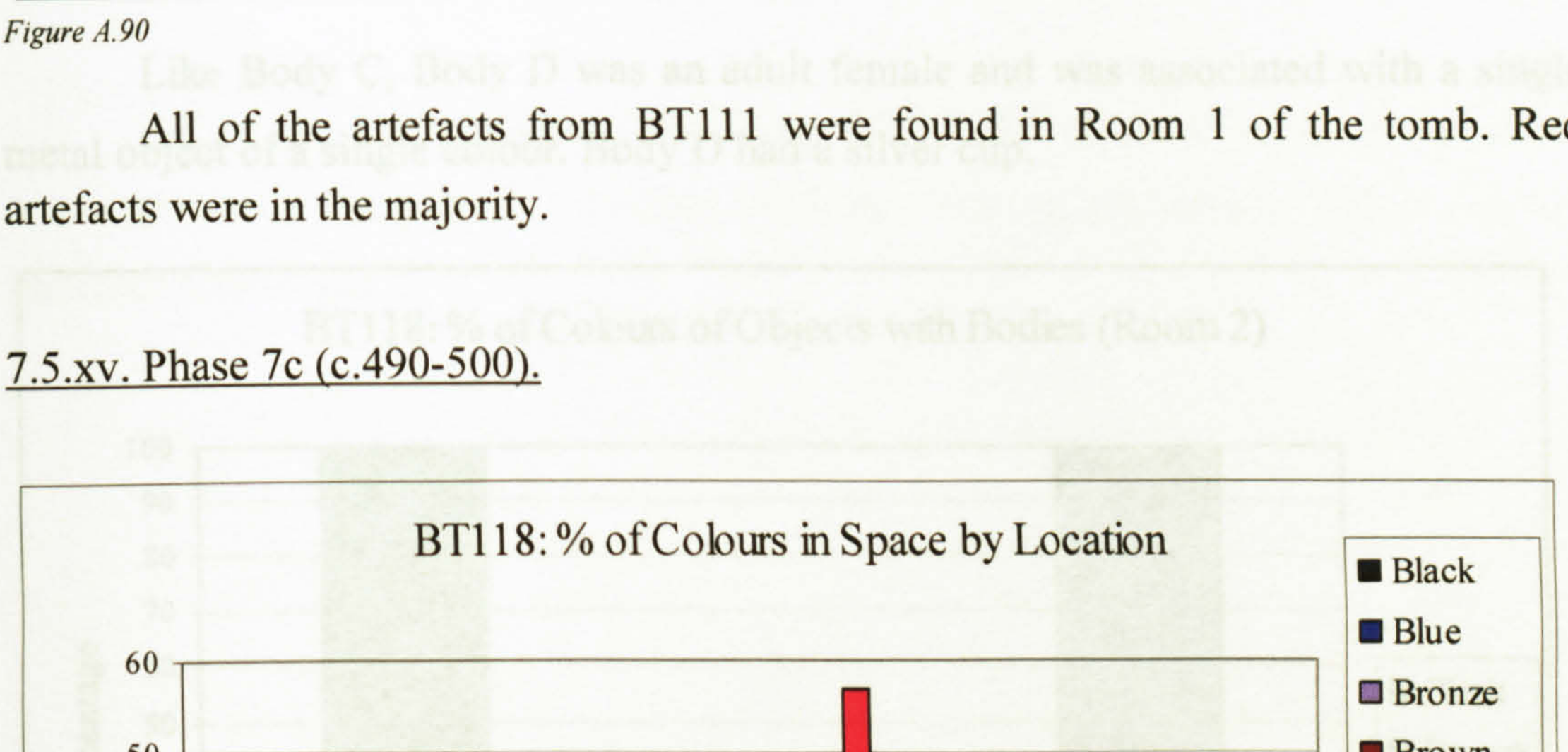


Figure A.91

In Room 2 and 3 red is the most frequently occurring colour (although this is marginal in Room 3). In Room 1, black is most numerous.

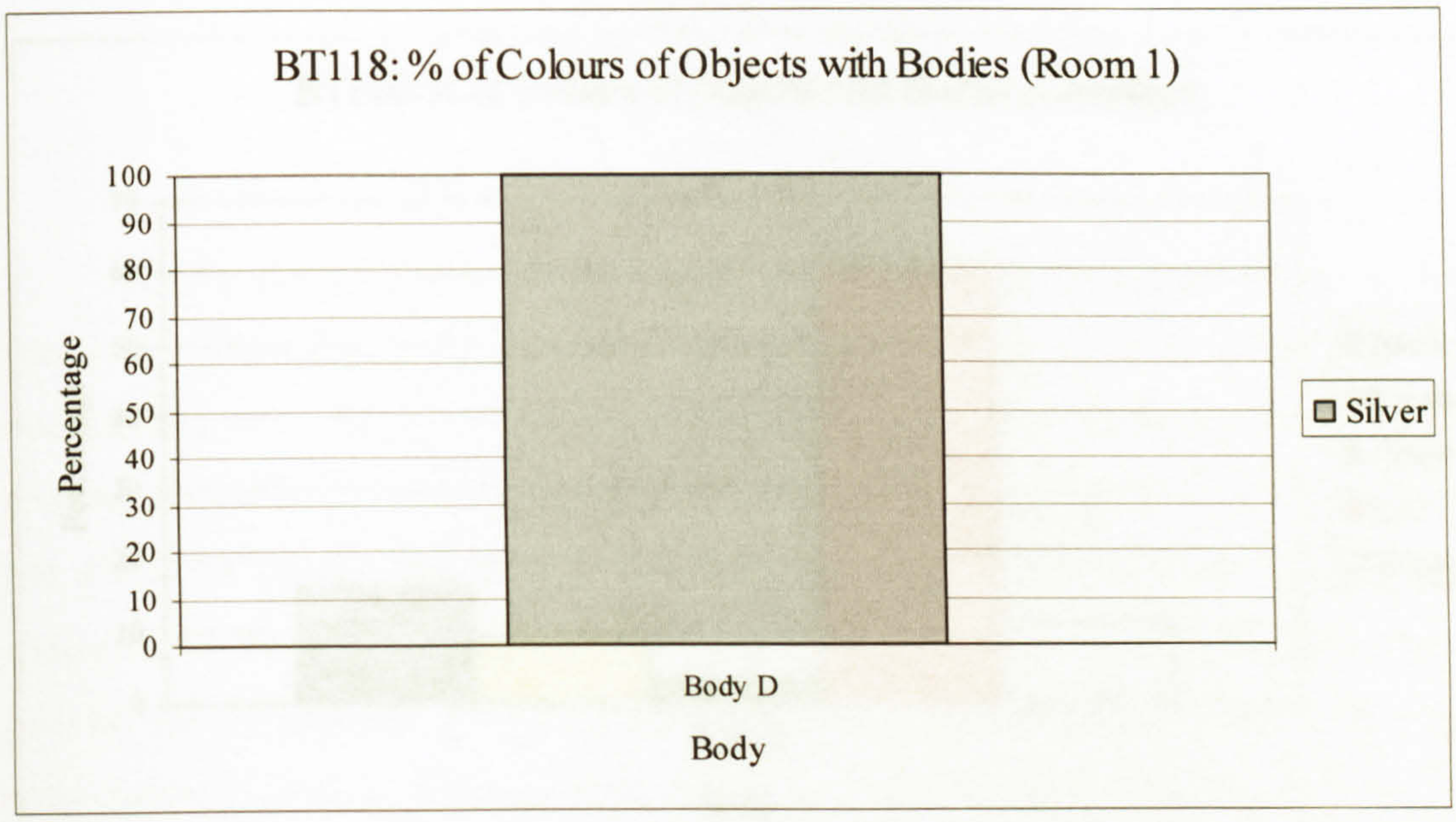


Figure A.92

Like Body C, Body D was an adult female and was associated with a single metal object of a single colour. Body D had a silver cup.

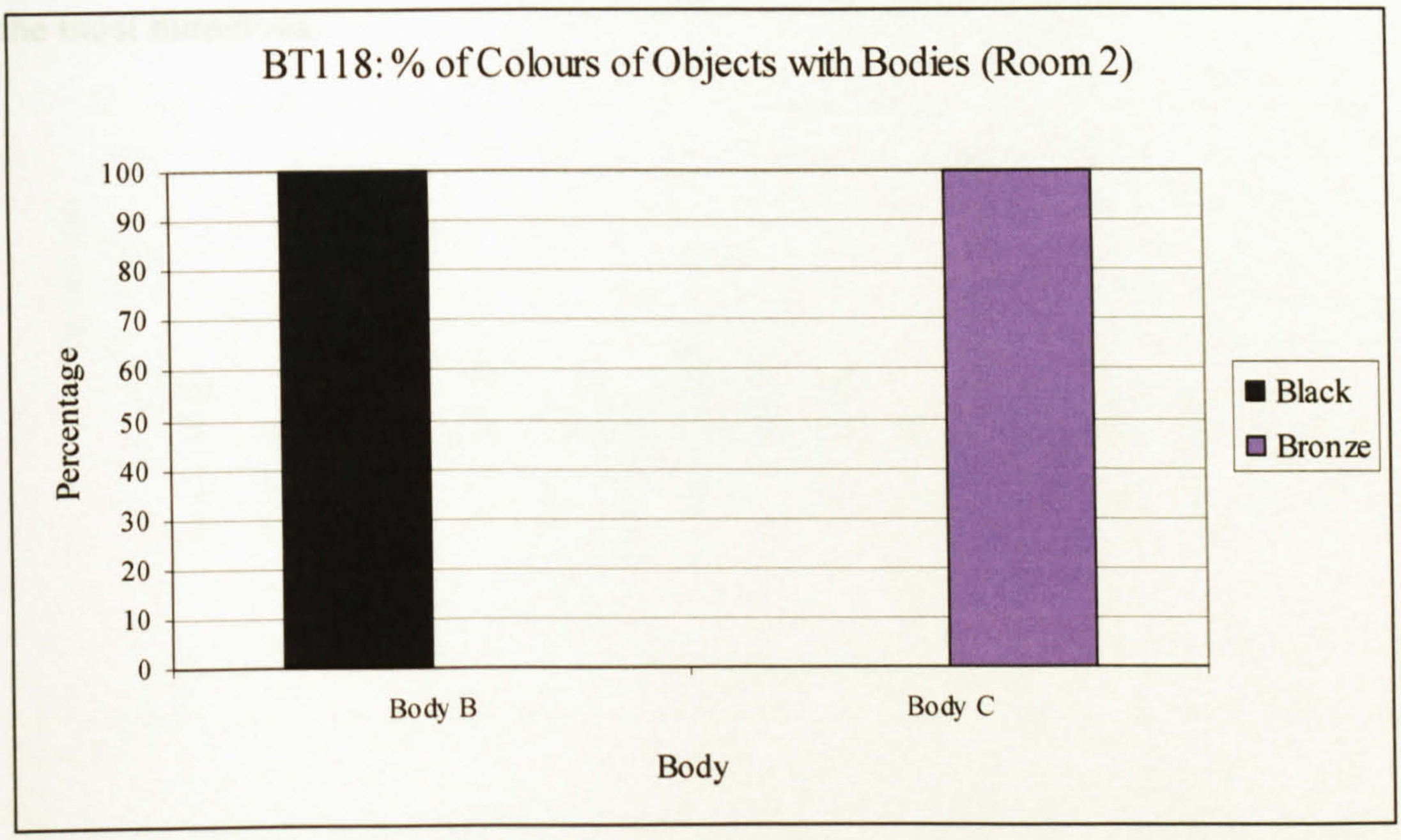


Figure A.93

Body B was an adult male, and Body C was an adult female. Each was associated with a single object of a single colour. Each object was made of metal. Body B had an iron axe head (black), Body C had a bronze table.

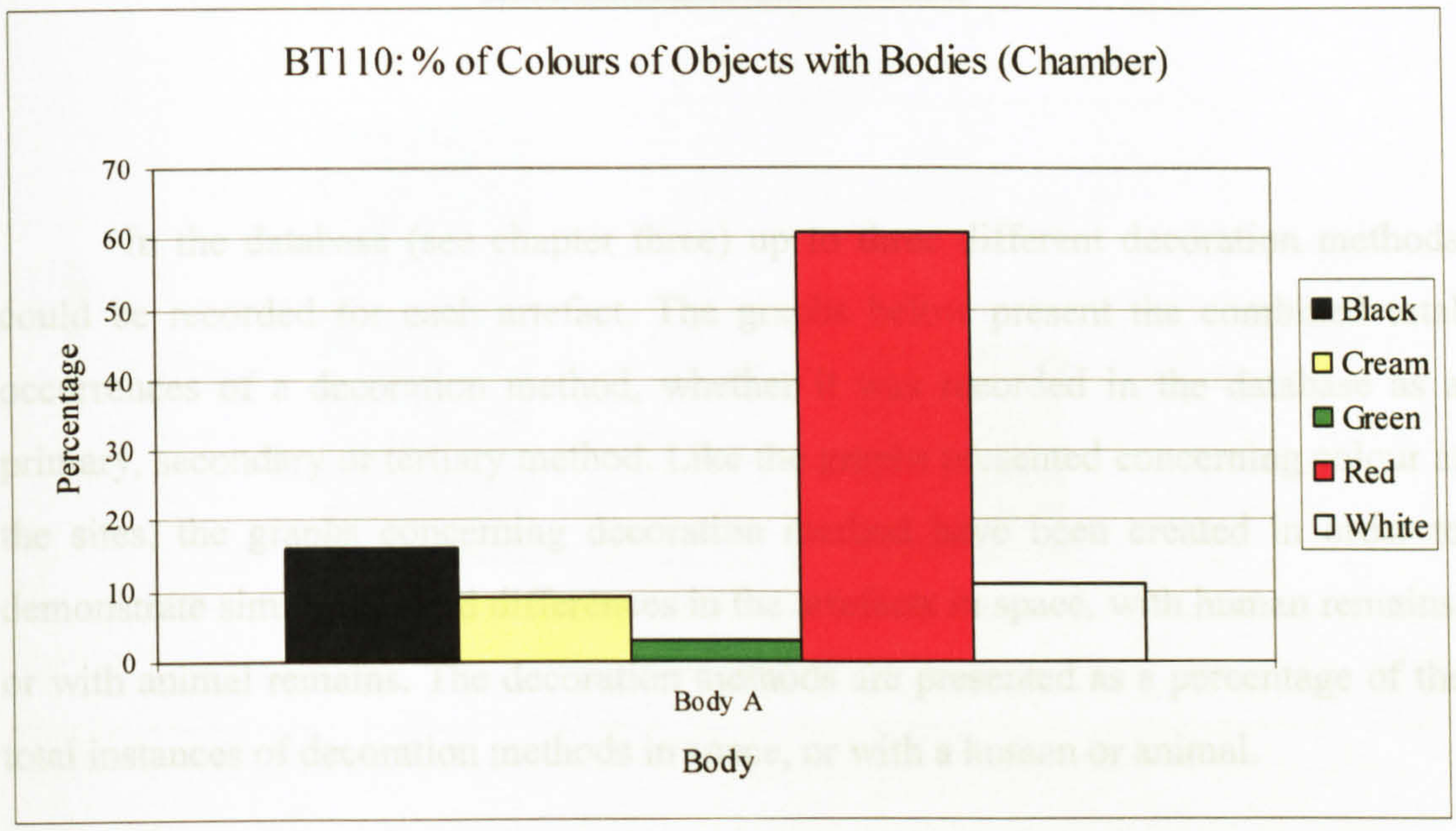


Figure A.94

All of the artefacts discovered in tomb BT110 were found in the Chamber in association with Body A. Five colours were found in the artefacts, of which, red was the most numerous.

Appendix B

Decoration Methods

In the database (see chapter three) up to three different decoration methods could be recorded for each artefact. The graphs below present the combined total occurrences of a decoration method, whether it was recorded in the database as a primary, secondary or tertiary method. Like the graphs presented concerning colour at the sites, the graphs concerning decoration method have been created in order to demonstrate similarities and differences in the artefacts in space, with human remains, or with animal remains. The decoration methods are presented as a percentage of the total instances of decoration methods in space, or with a human or animal.

7.8.i. Phase 1a (c.380).

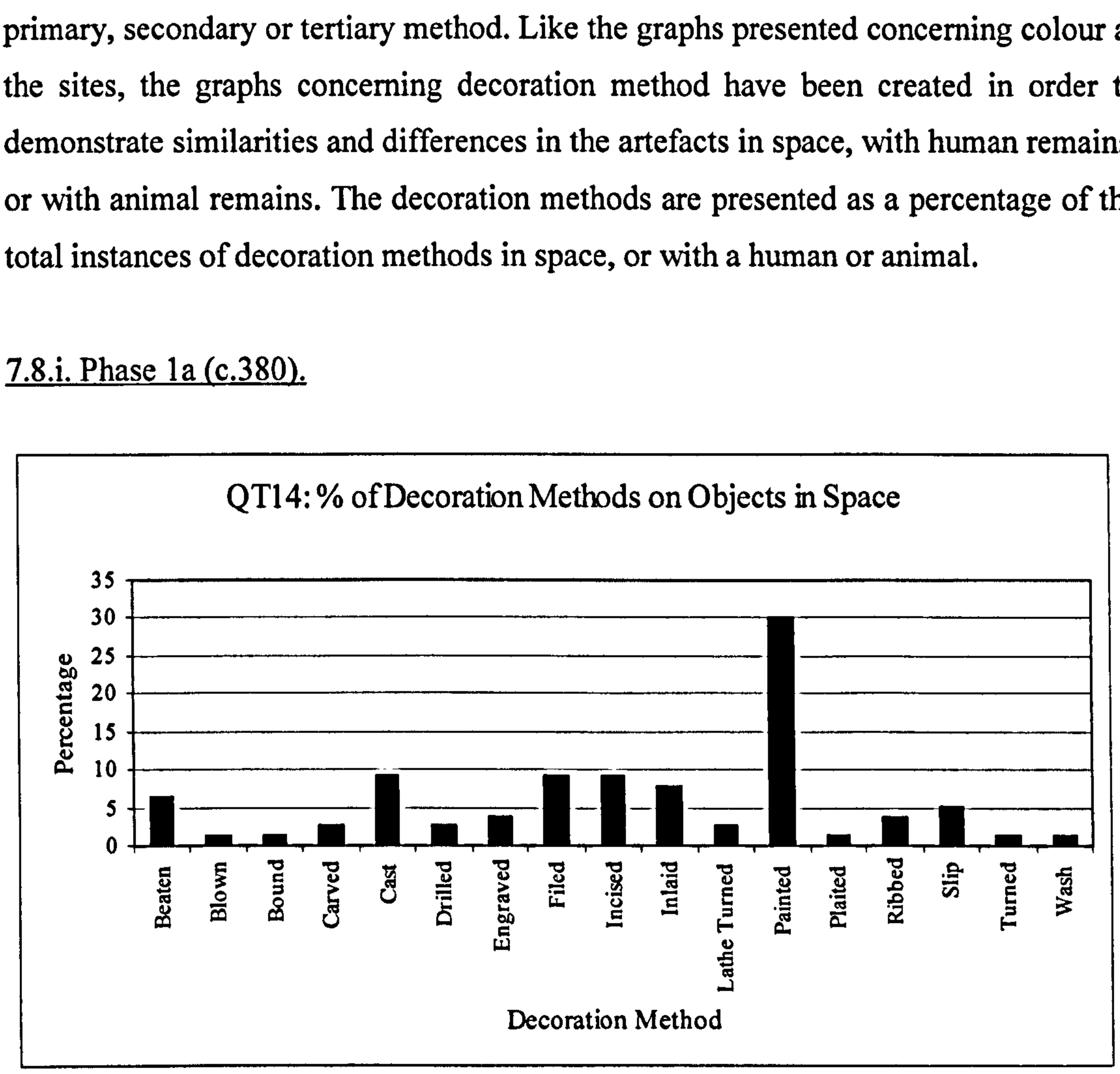


Figure B.1

40 objects had a decorative method, and of these, nine had two decorative designs (22.5%) and six had three designs (15%). Most of the objects that were decorated had been painted. Objects that were cast, incised or filed appeared in equal

numbers as the second most frequently occurring decoration methods. The techniques of blowing, binding, plaiting, turning and washing only occurred once.

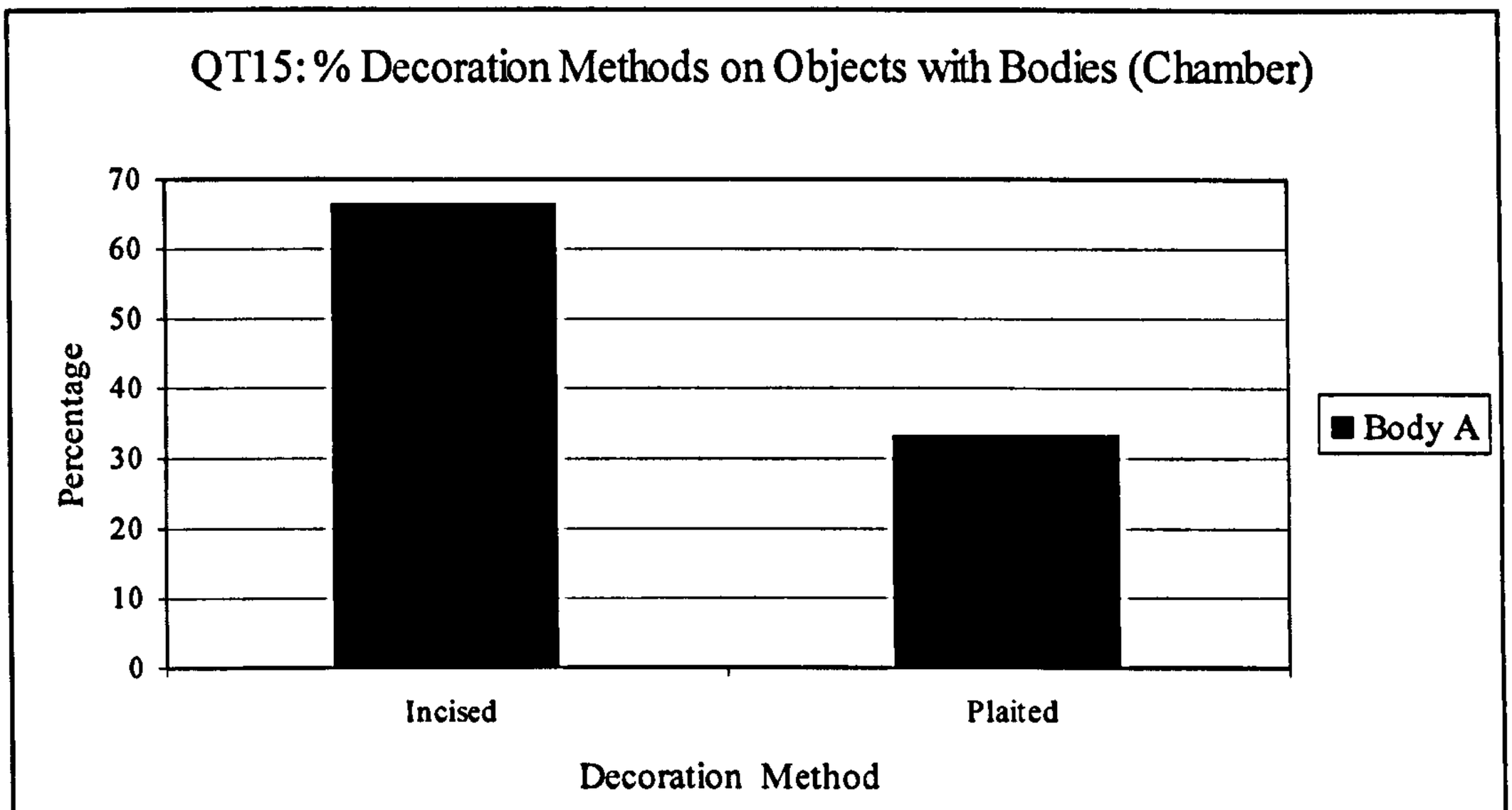


Figure B.2

Three objects in QT15 were found with Body A, but only two objects were decorated.

The objects in QT06 and QT12 were not decorated. There were no objects in QT09, QT10 or QT11.

7.8.ii. Phase 1b (c.380-390).

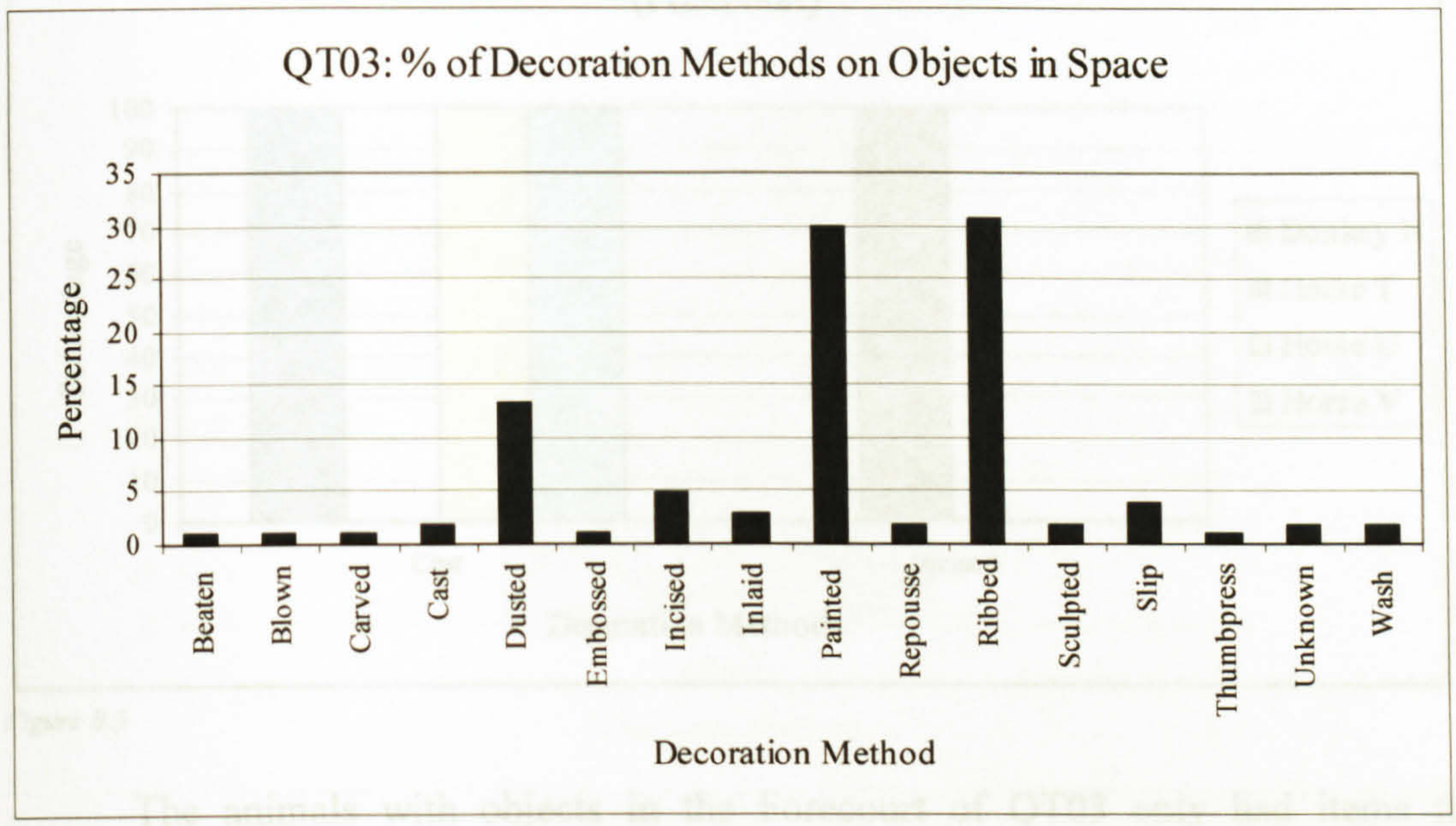


Figure B.3

Most of the artefacts from QT03 that were decorated were ribbed, painted or dusted. Beaten, blown, carved, embossed and thumbpress designs only occurred once.

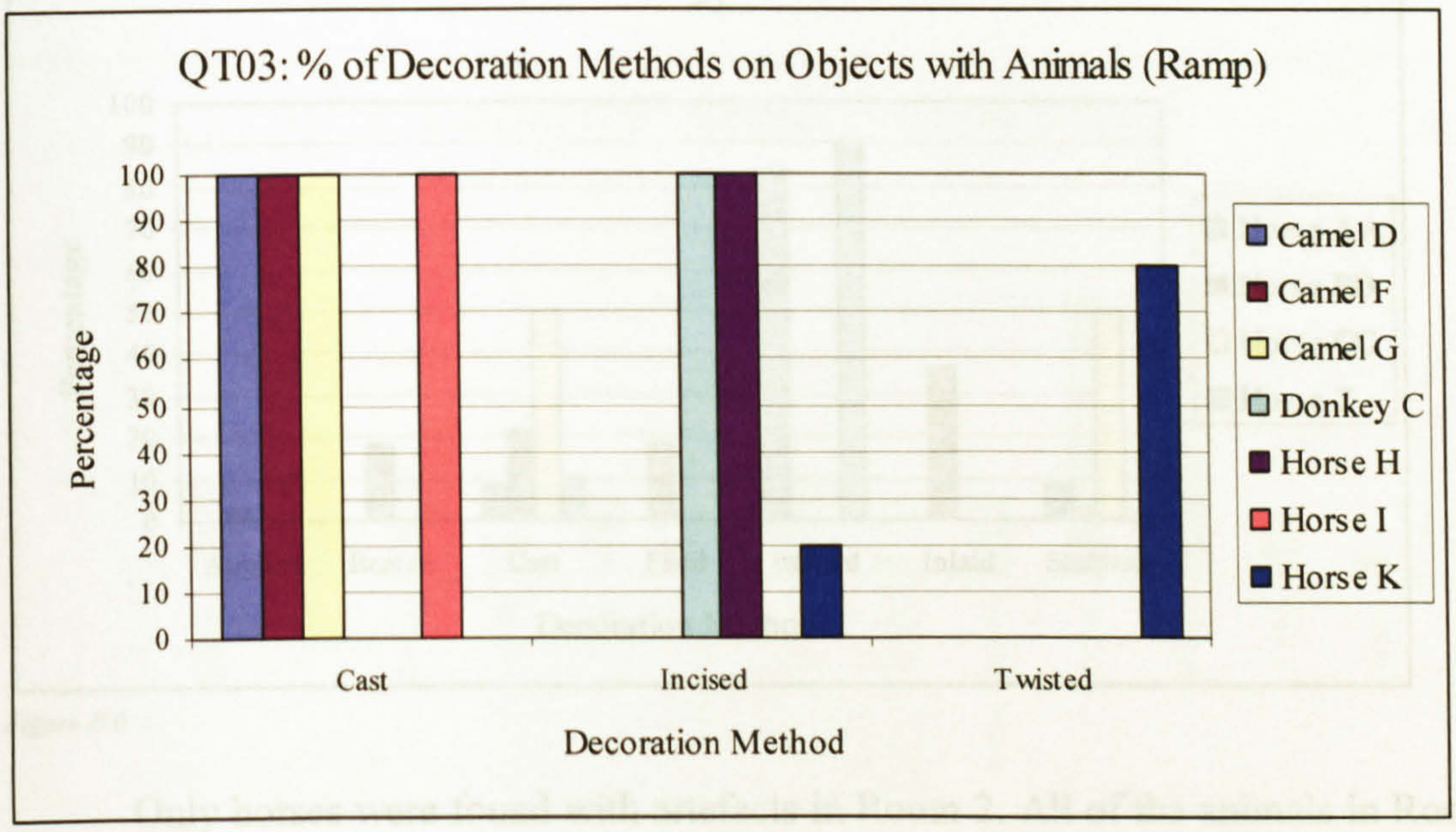


Figure B.4

Camel D, Camel F, Camel G and Horse I had objects that had only been cast, and Donkey C and Horse H only had artefacts that were incised. Horse K was the only animal in the ramp to be associated with an object with more than one decorative method. Twisting was also only found with Horse K.

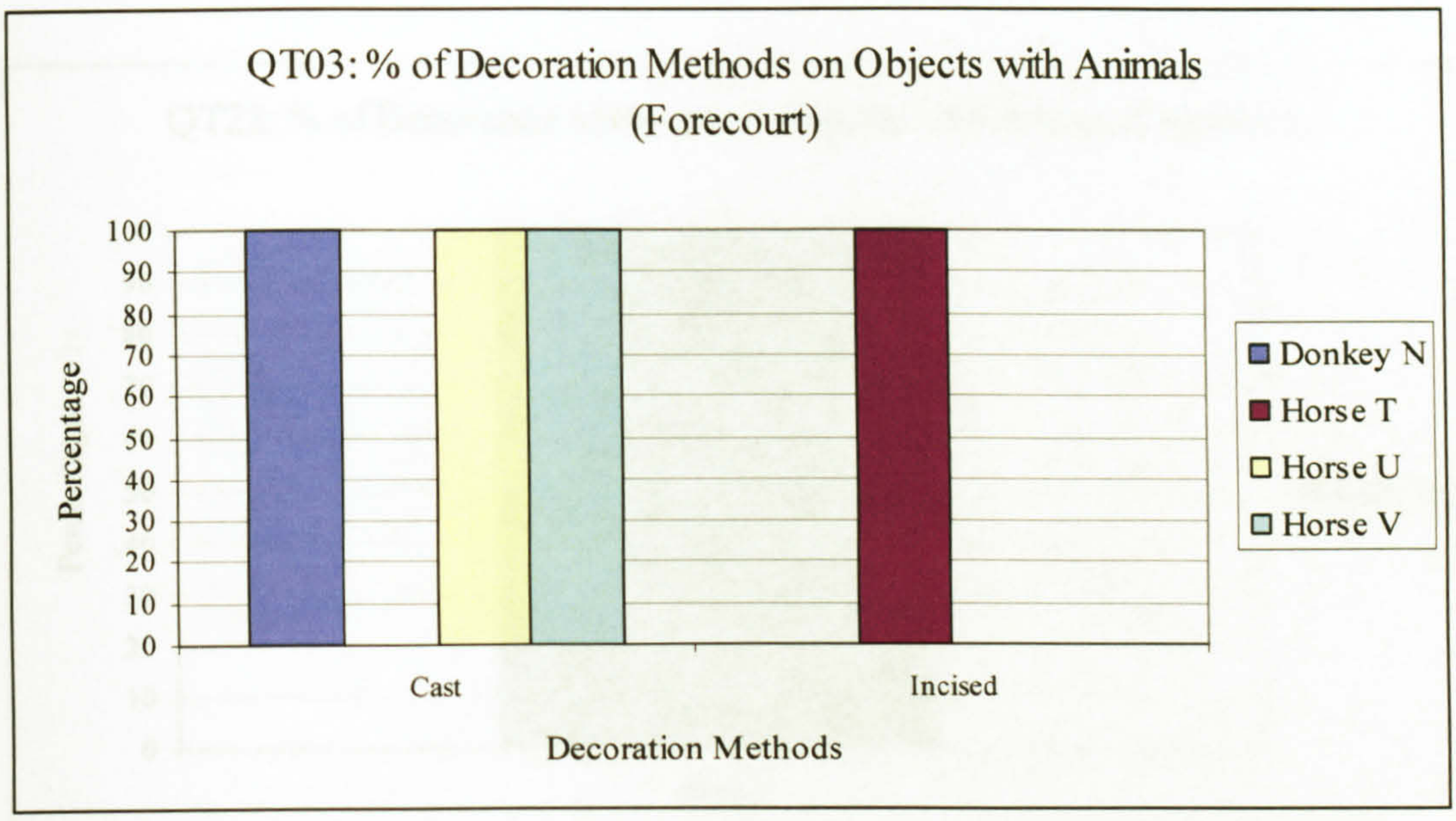


Figure B.5

The animals with objects in the Forecourt of QT03 only had items that incorporated a single decoration method.

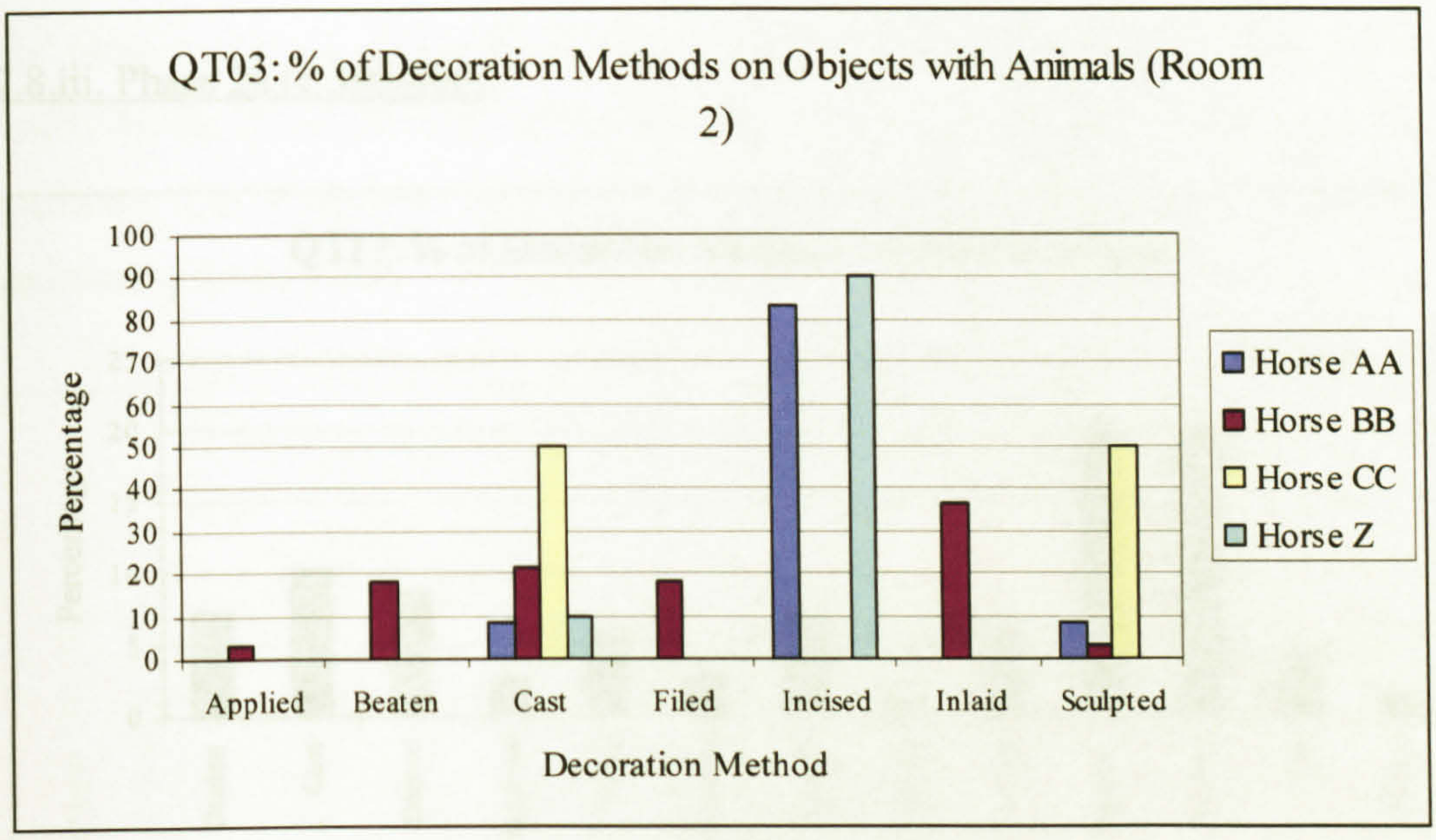


Figure B.6

Only horses were found with artefacts in Room 2. All of the animals in Room 2 were associated with artefacts that were made using more than one decoration methods. Horse BB had artefacts exhibiting six different methods.

A number of decorative methods only appeared in the artefacts associated with the animals in this tomb. These methods were applying, filing and twisting. The artefact associated with Body HH in QT03 did not exhibit any decoration design.

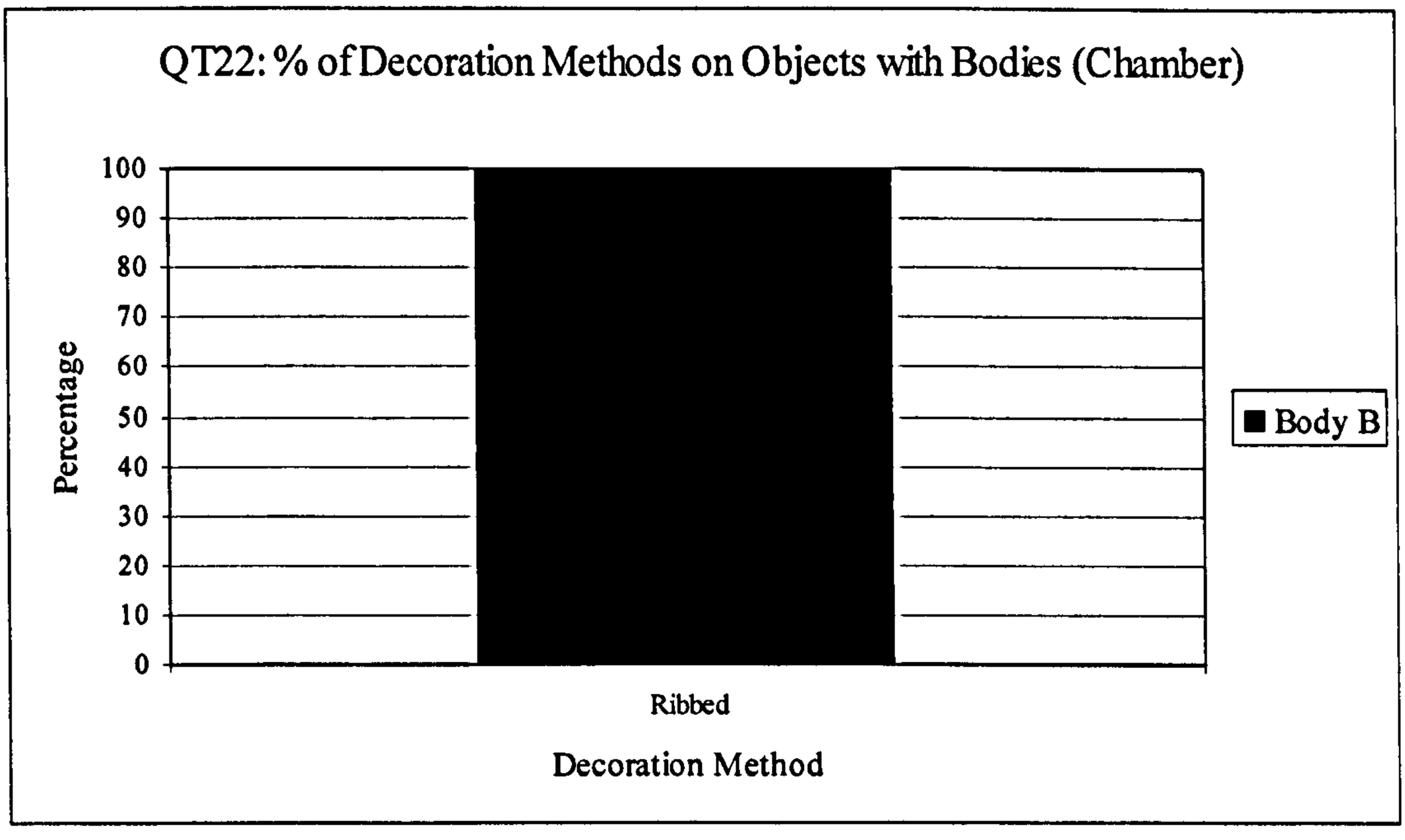


Figure B.7

The single artefact associated with Body B in this tomb was ribbed.

7.8.iii. Phase 2a (c.390-400).

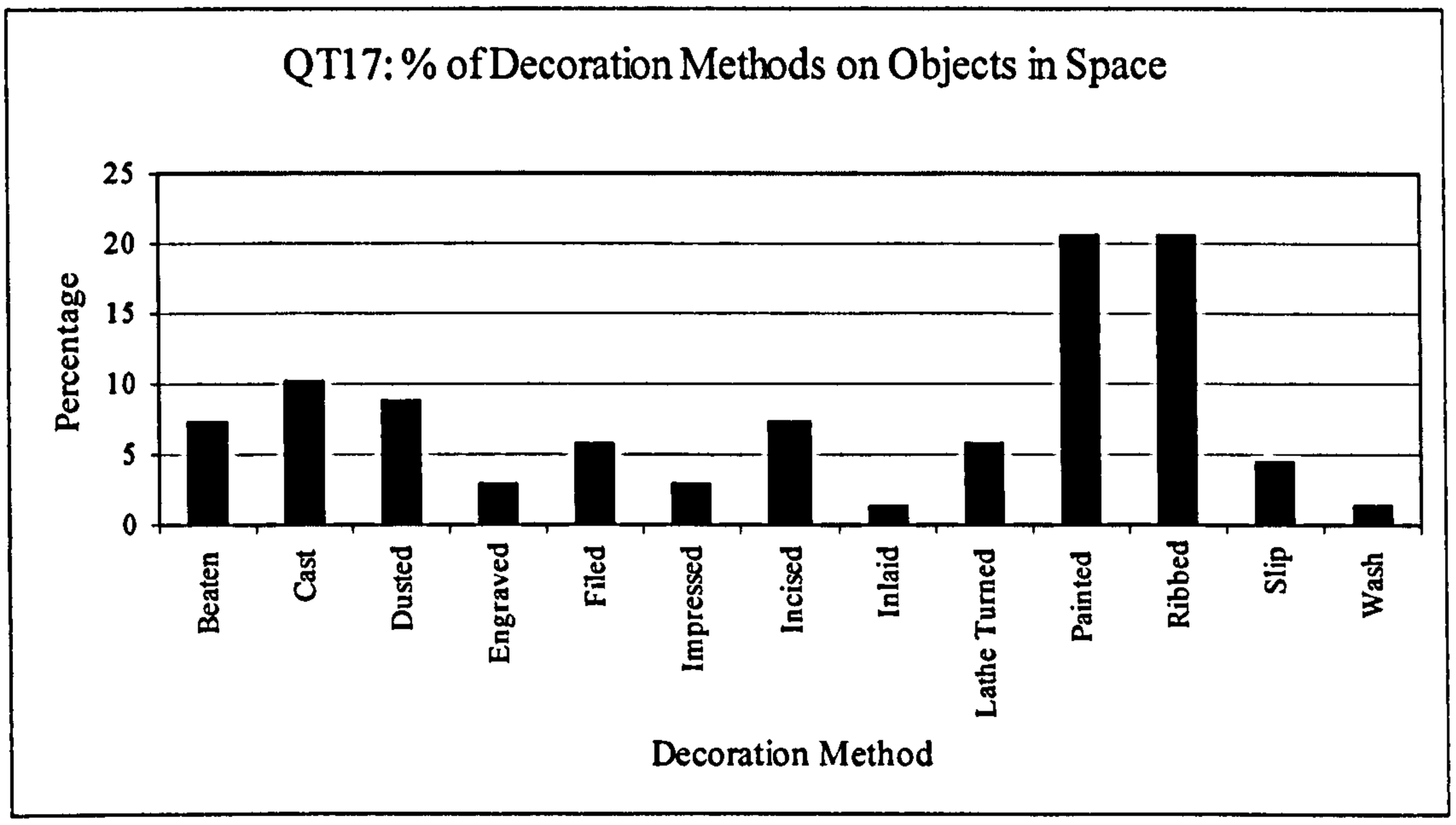


Figure B.8

There were 13 different decoration methods in the objects from QT17. Most of the artefacts that were decorated had been painted or ribbed, and these decoration methods appeared in equal quantities.

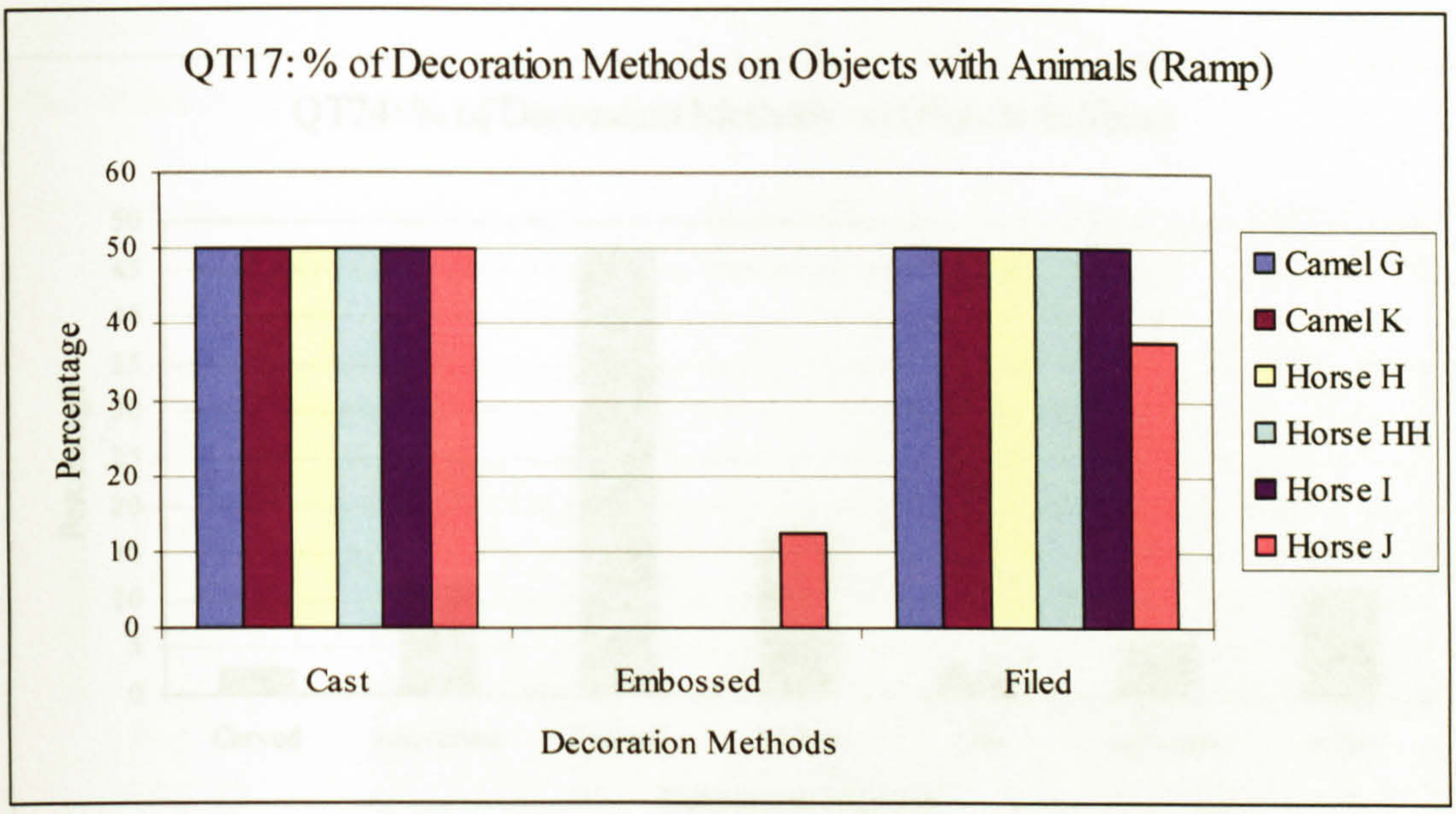


Figure B.9

The only embossed or incised artefacts found in QT17 were found in association with the animal remains in the tomb. Equal quantities of artefacts that were found with the animals had been cast and filed (excepting Horse J), in contrast to the most numerous methods of decoration on the artefacts that simply existed in space. Horse J was the only animal with artefacts that had three different decoration methods. The embossed artefact found with Horse J was the only instance of embossing in the tomb.

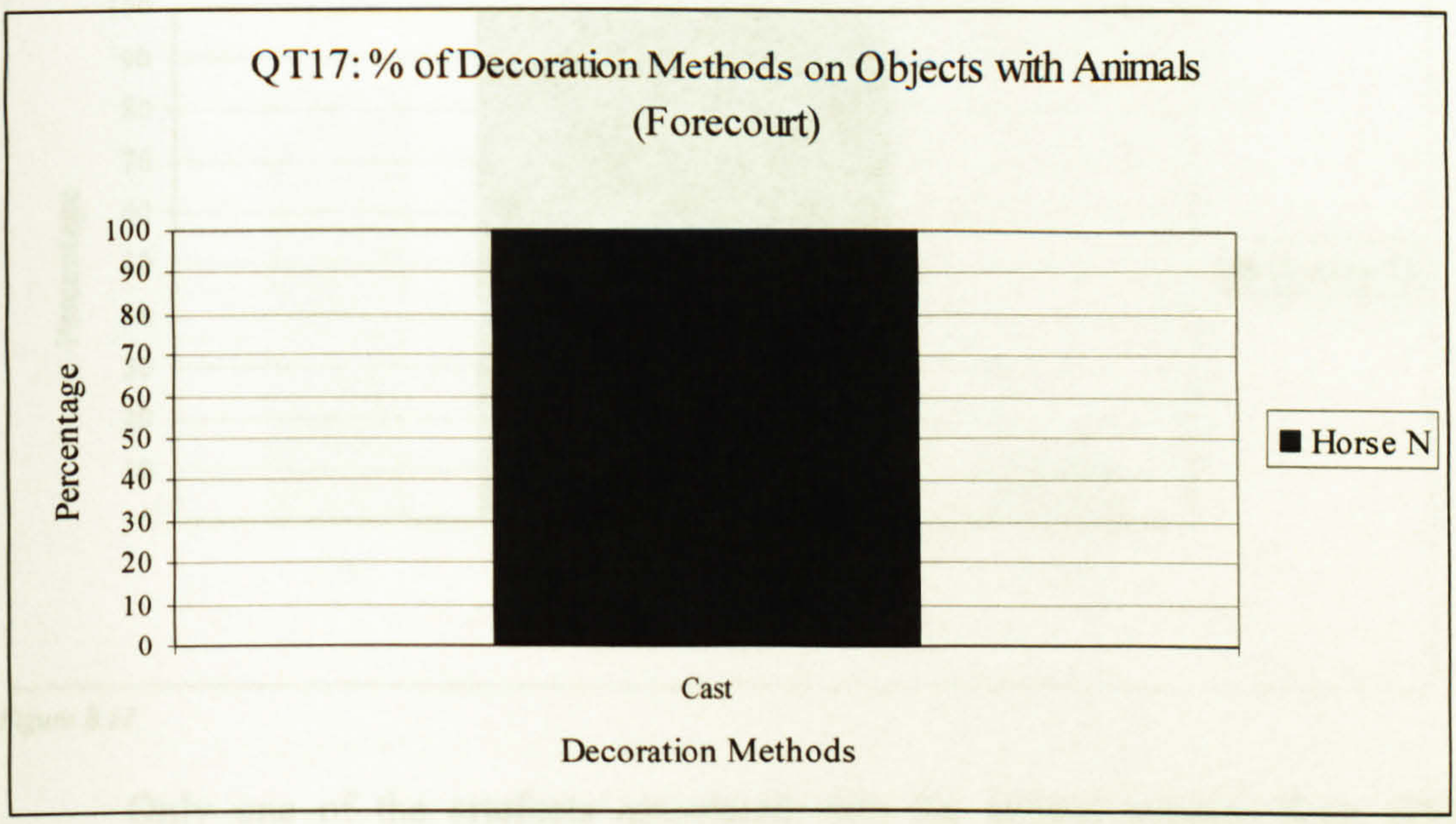


Figure B.10

Horse N in the Forecourt had a single cast object.

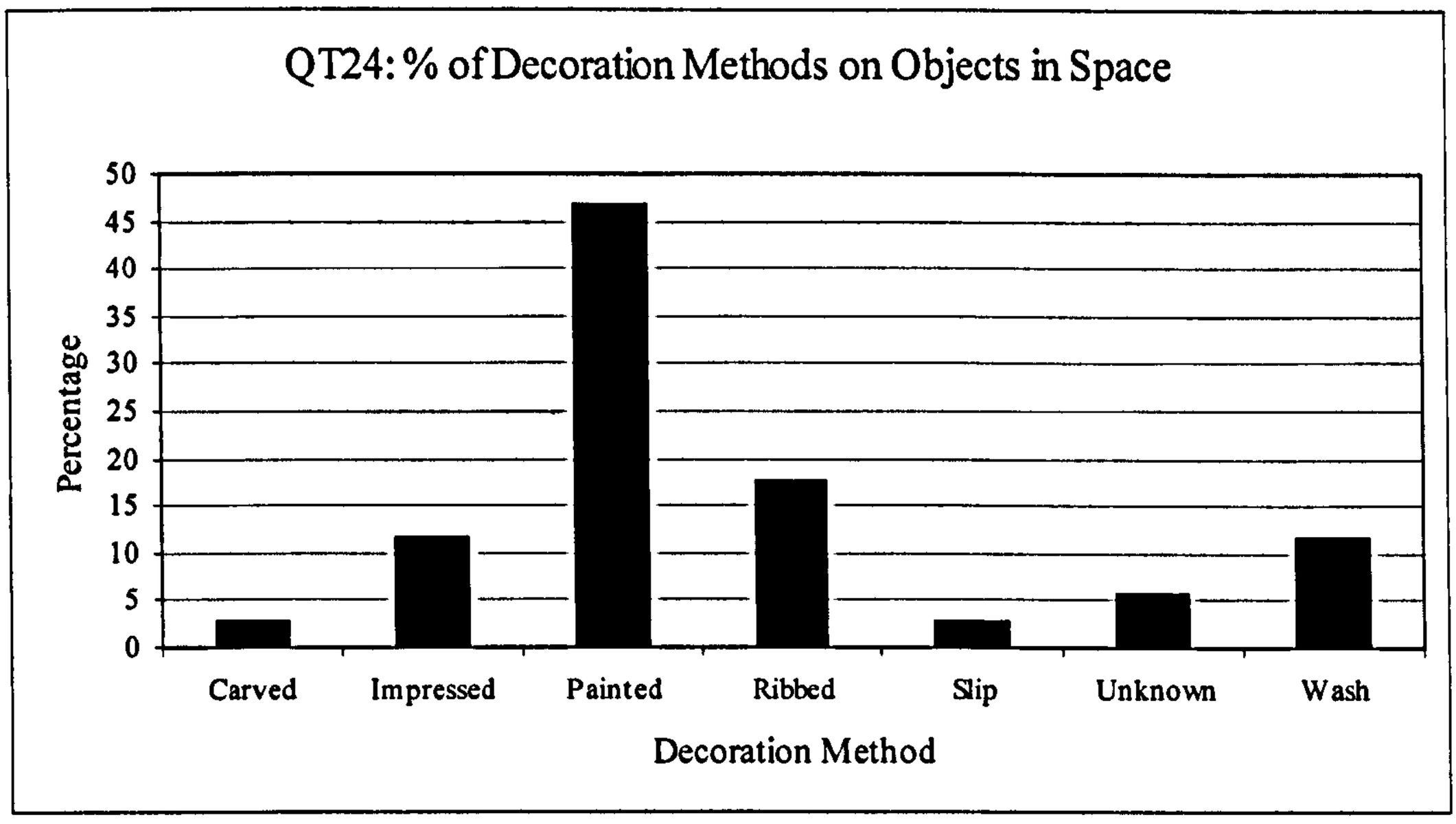


Figure B.11

Seven decoration methods were found in the artefacts from this tomb, one method of which was unknown. Most of the artefacts from QT24 were painted. The two carved artefacts from the tomb are examples of a particularly unusual decoration method, and in fact this was the only instance of the method at Qustul.

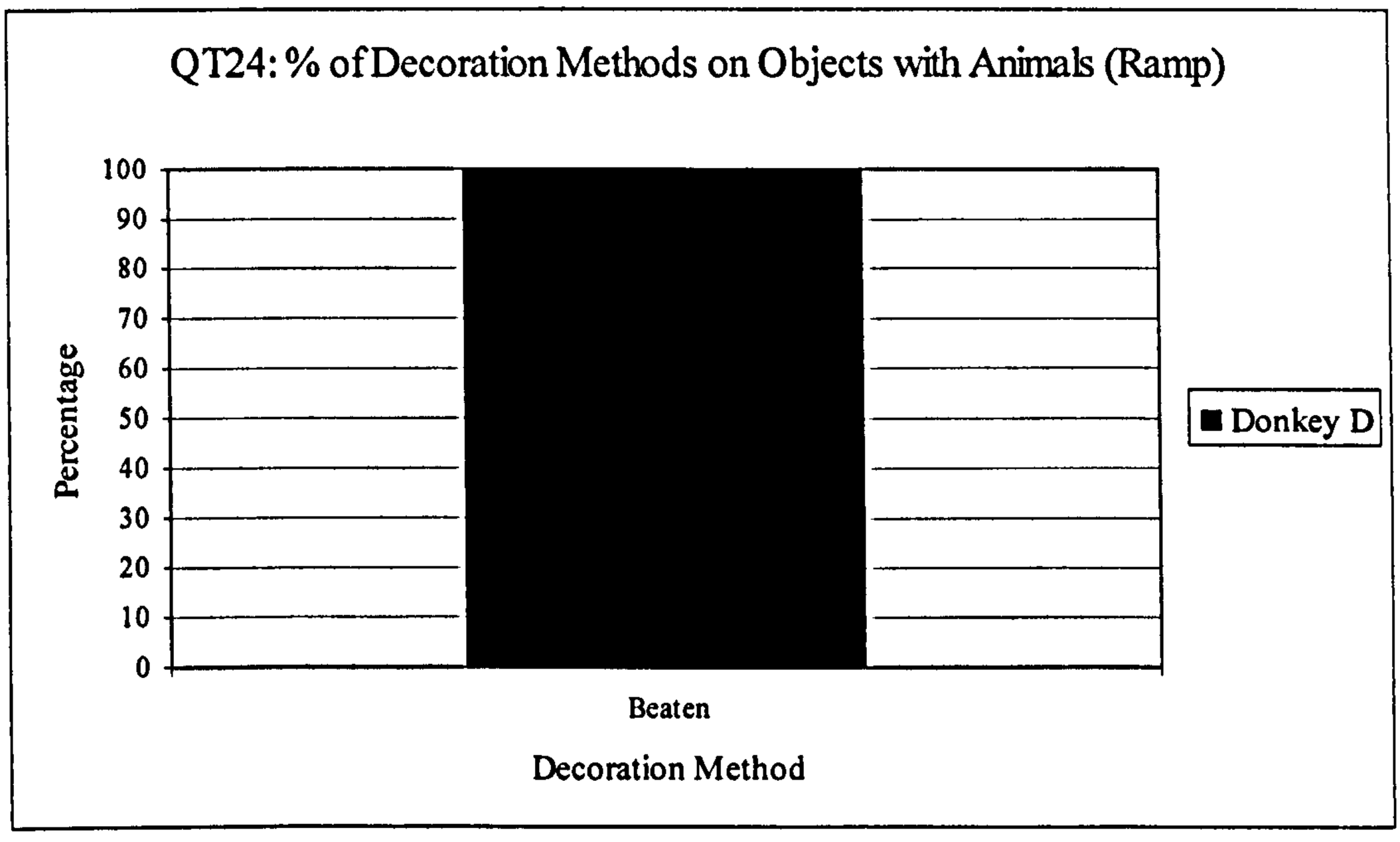


Figure B.12

Only one of the artefacts associated with the animal remains from QT24 showed any decoration method. It was the only item in this tomb to have been

produced by being beaten. The artefacts found with the human remains in this tomb were undecorated.

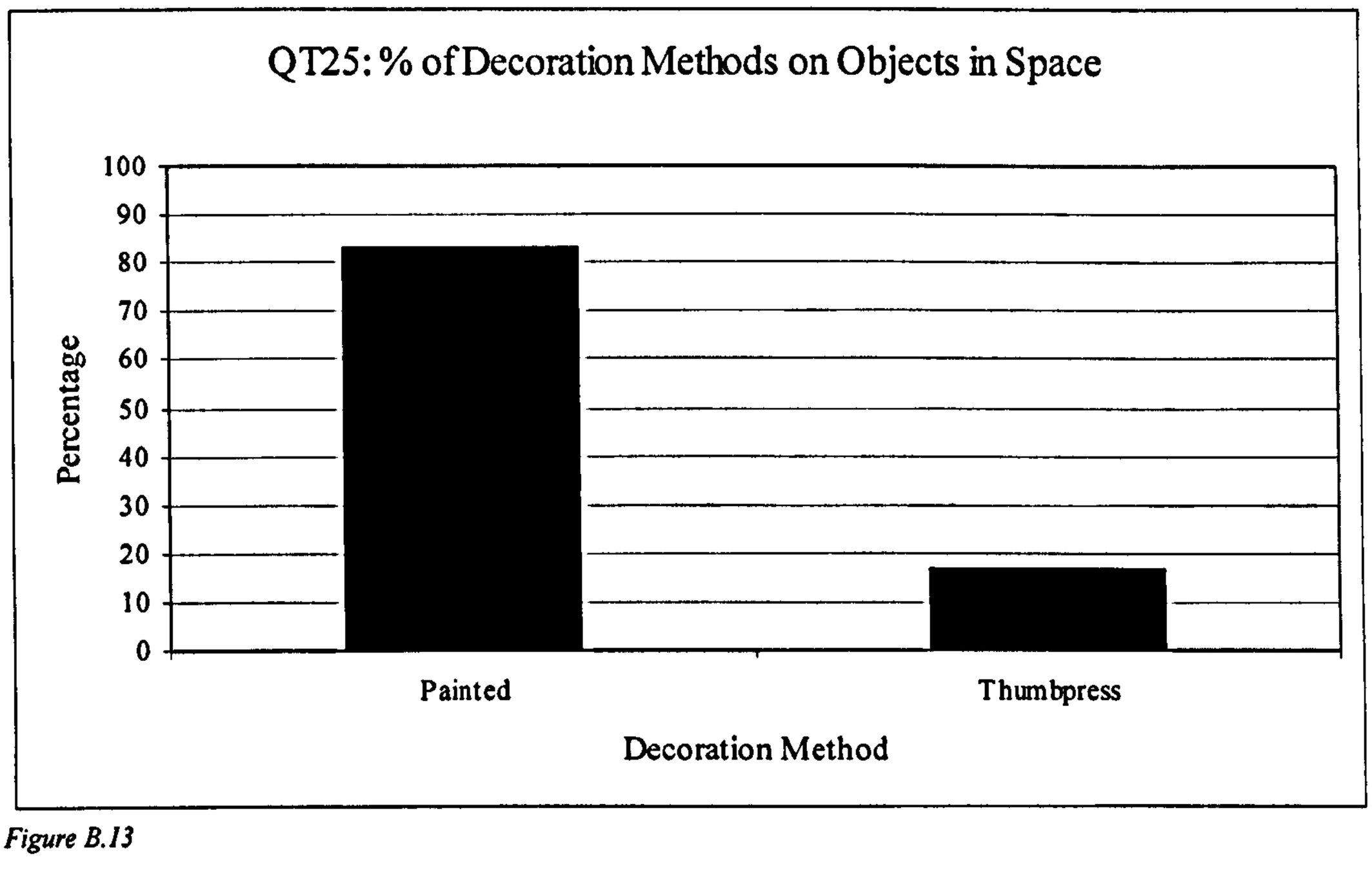


Figure B.13

The small number of decorated artefacts found in QT25 showed only two decoration methods, of which painting was the most common.

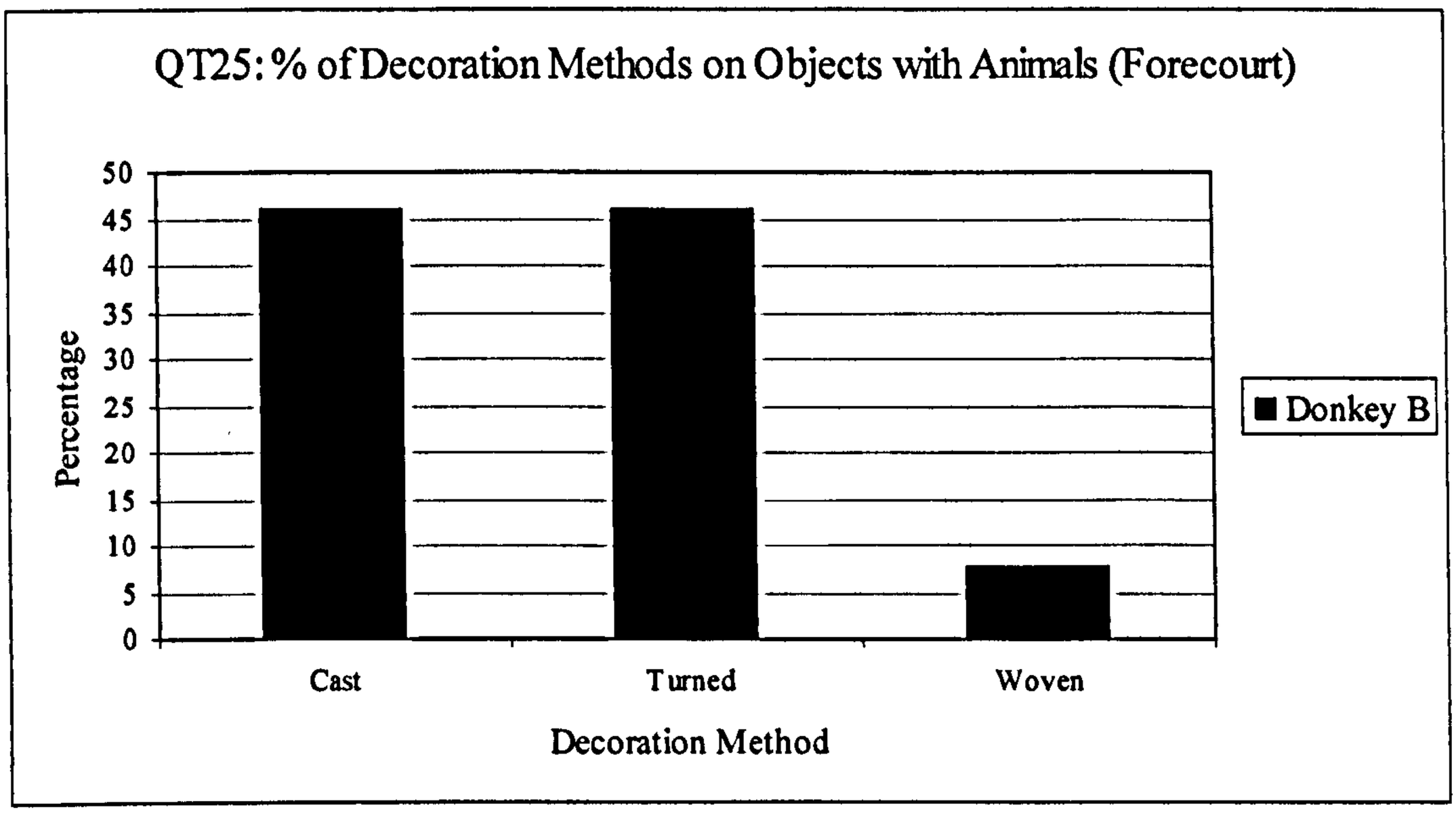


Figure B.14

Only one animal (a donkey) was found in QT25. The decorative methods used on the objects associated with the donkey were different to those used on the artefacts

in space. The artefacts existing in space and the artefacts with the donkey were decorated using mutually exclusive methods.

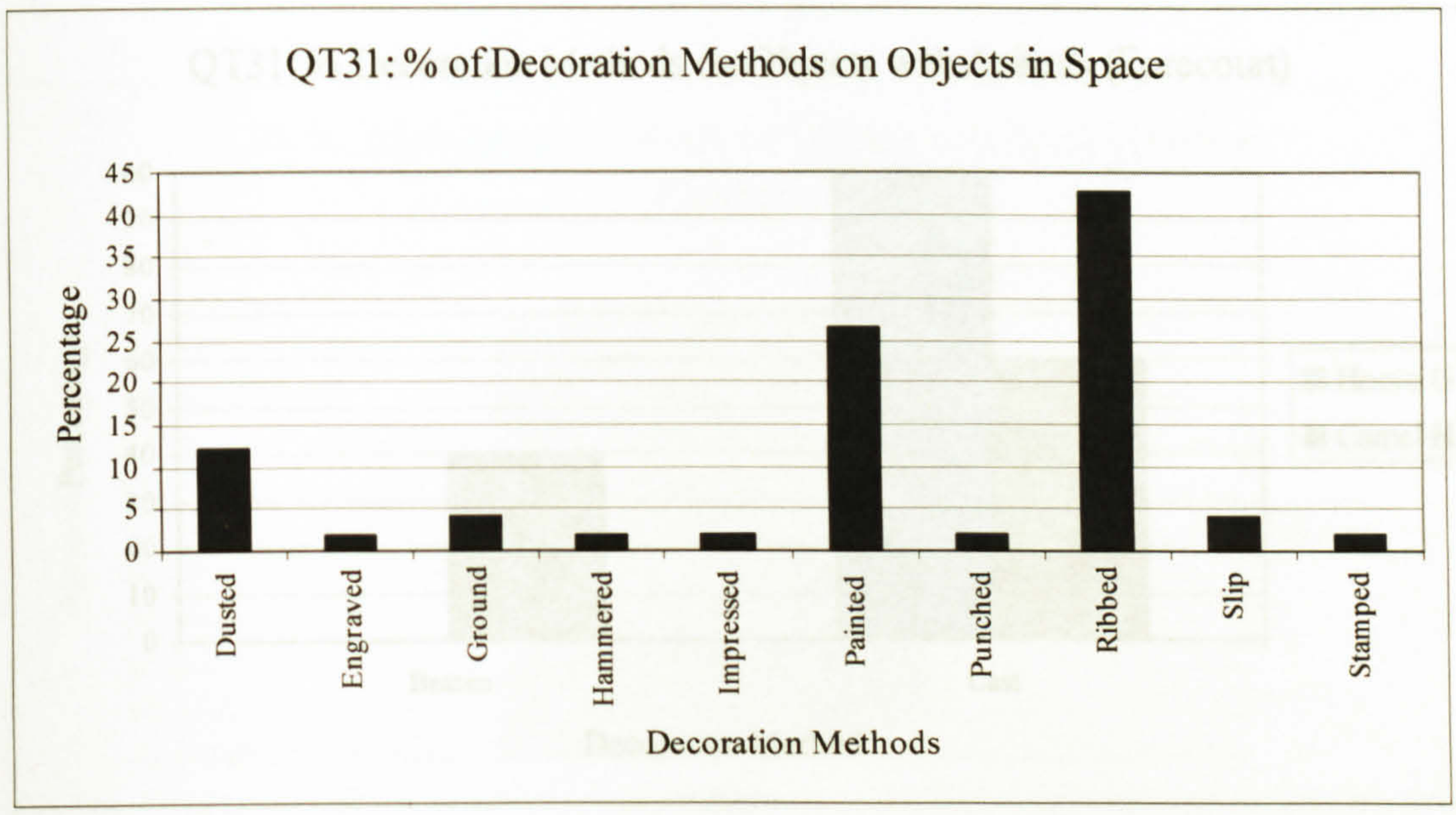


Figure B.15

Ten different decorative methods were found in the artefacts from QT31. Most of the artefacts that were decorated were ribbed or painted.

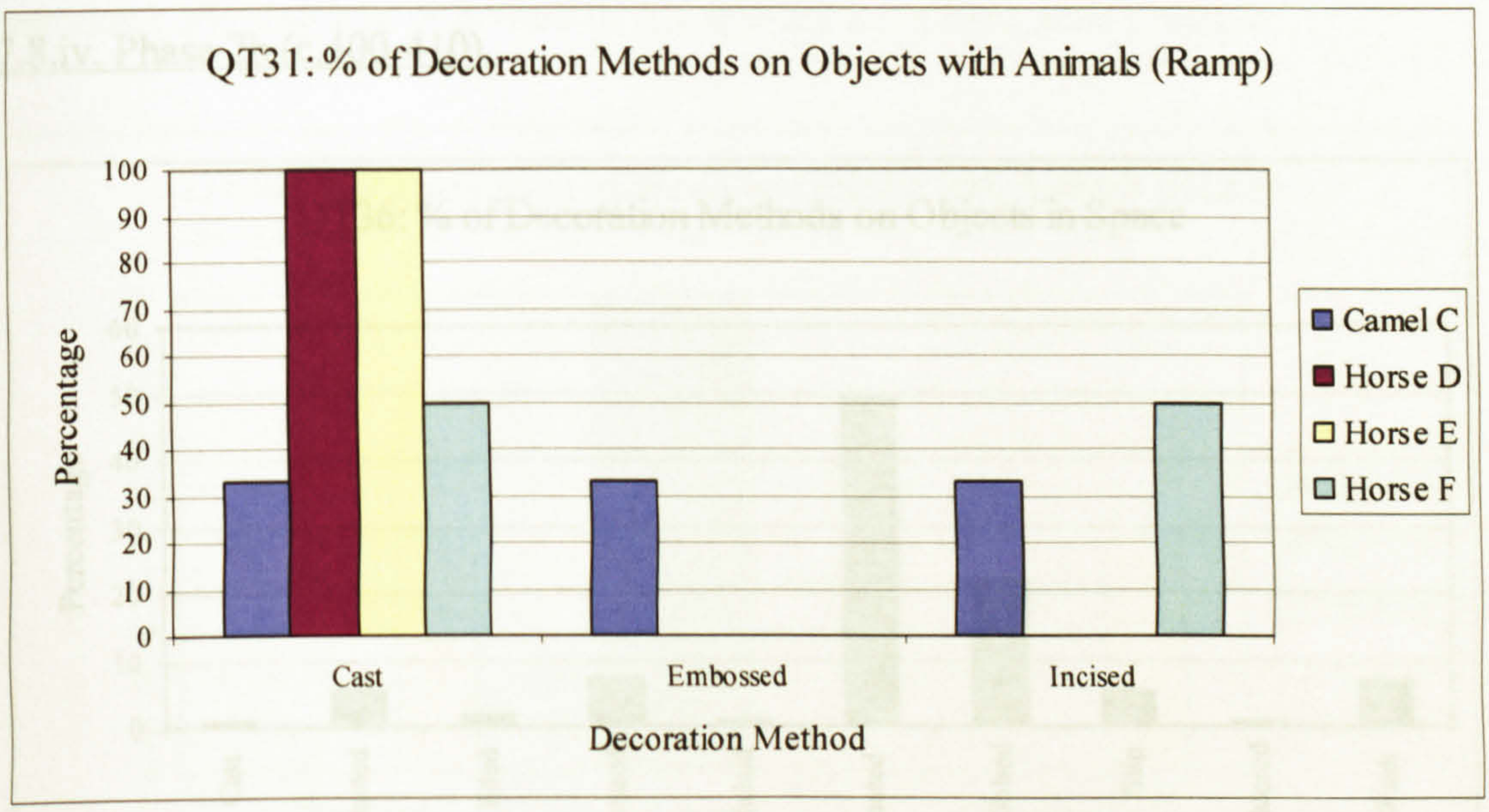


Figure B.16

Three decoration methods were used to decorate the artefacts found with the animals. Horse D and Horse E only had objects that were cast, whereas Horse F had artefacts with two designs, and Camel C had artefacts with three designs. The

techniques of casting, embossing and incising were all unique to the artefacts found with the animal remains, and they only occurred in the ramp.

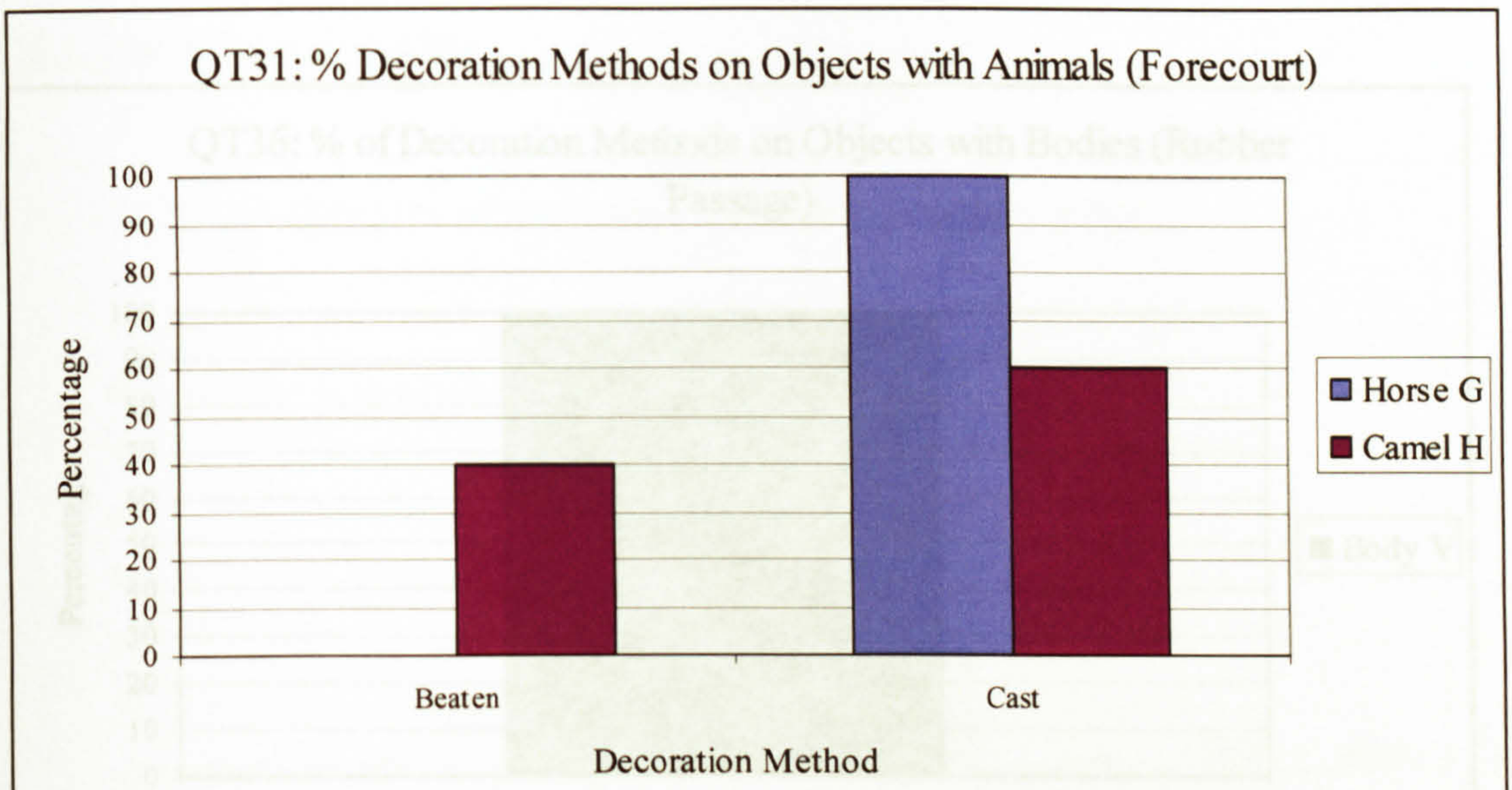


Figure B.17

The technique of beating was exclusive to the animals, and only occurred in the Forecourt. Horse G was found with a single cast artefact.

7.8.iv. Phase 2b (c.400-410).

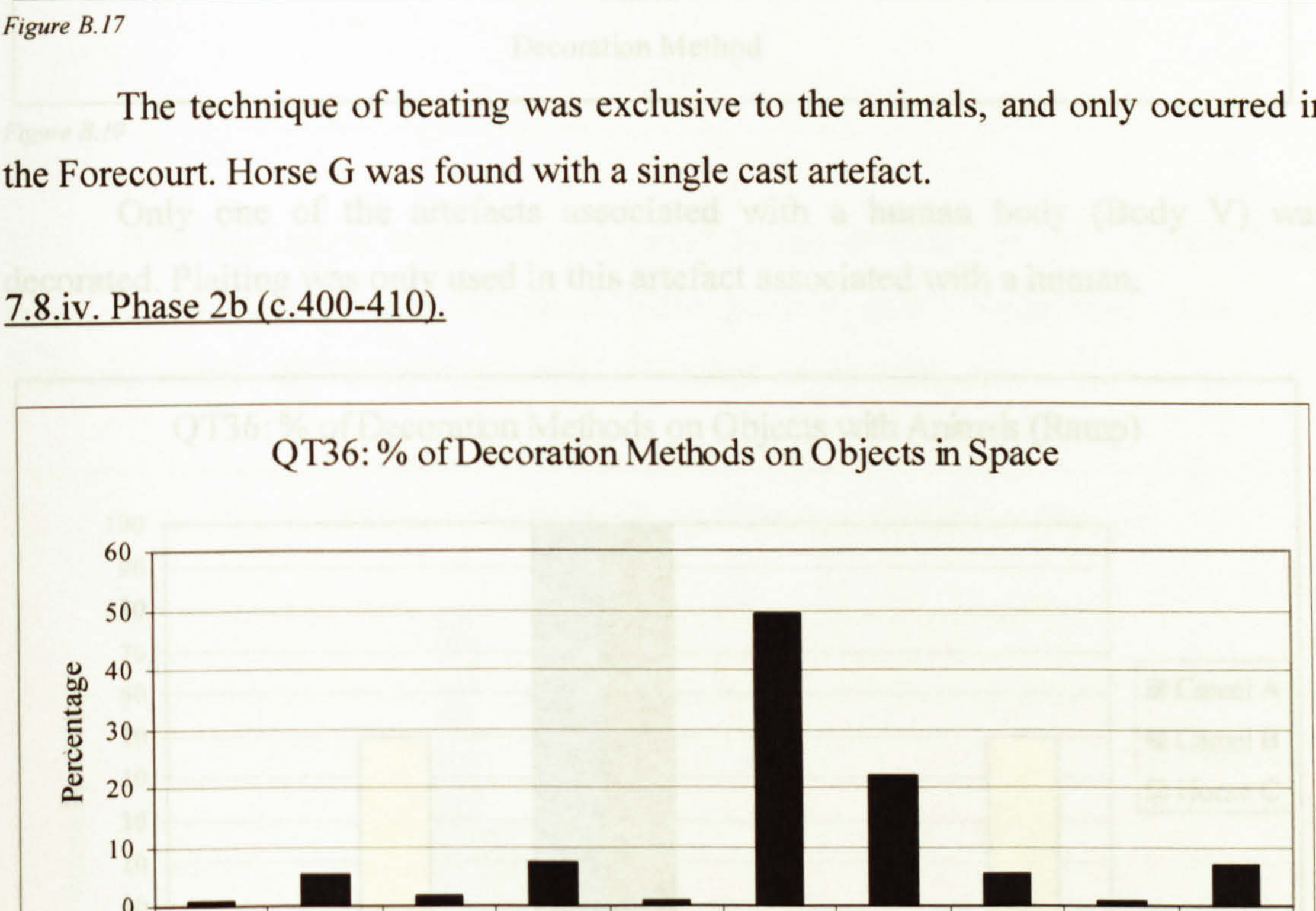


Figure B.18

Ten different decorative designs were found in the artefacts from QT36. Most of the artefacts that were decorated were painted or ribbed. There were single examples of artefacts that were cast, inlaid and soldered.

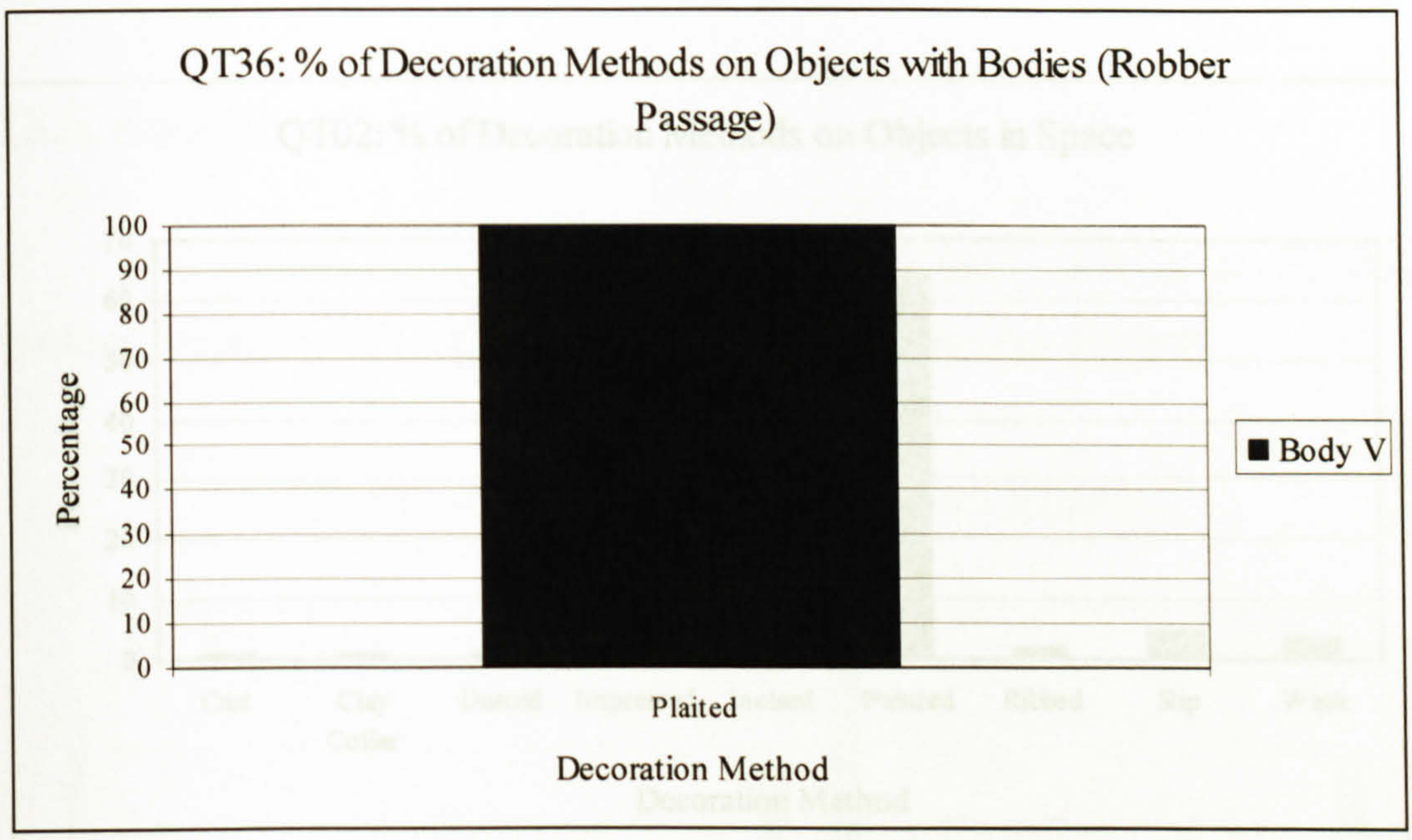


Figure B.19

Only one of the artefacts associated with a human body (Body V) was decorated. Plaiting was only used in this artefact associated with a human.

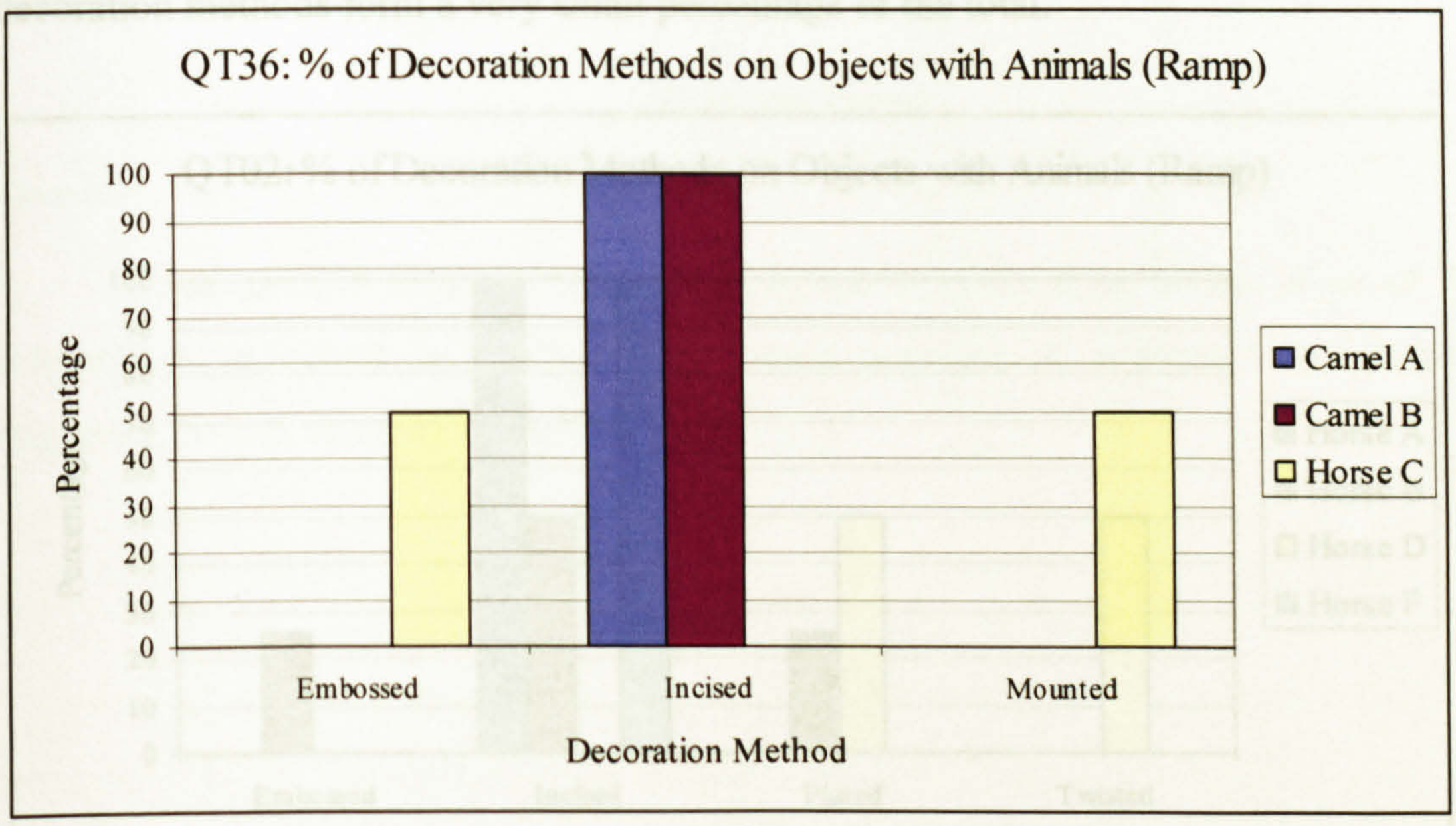


Figure B.20

All three decoration methods (of which embossing was the most frequently found) used in the artefacts associated with the animals from QT36 were found solely

in those artefacts. Camel A and Camel B were found with artefacts with a single decoration method. The artefact found with Horse C had two decoration methods.

7.8.v. Phase 3a (c.410-420).

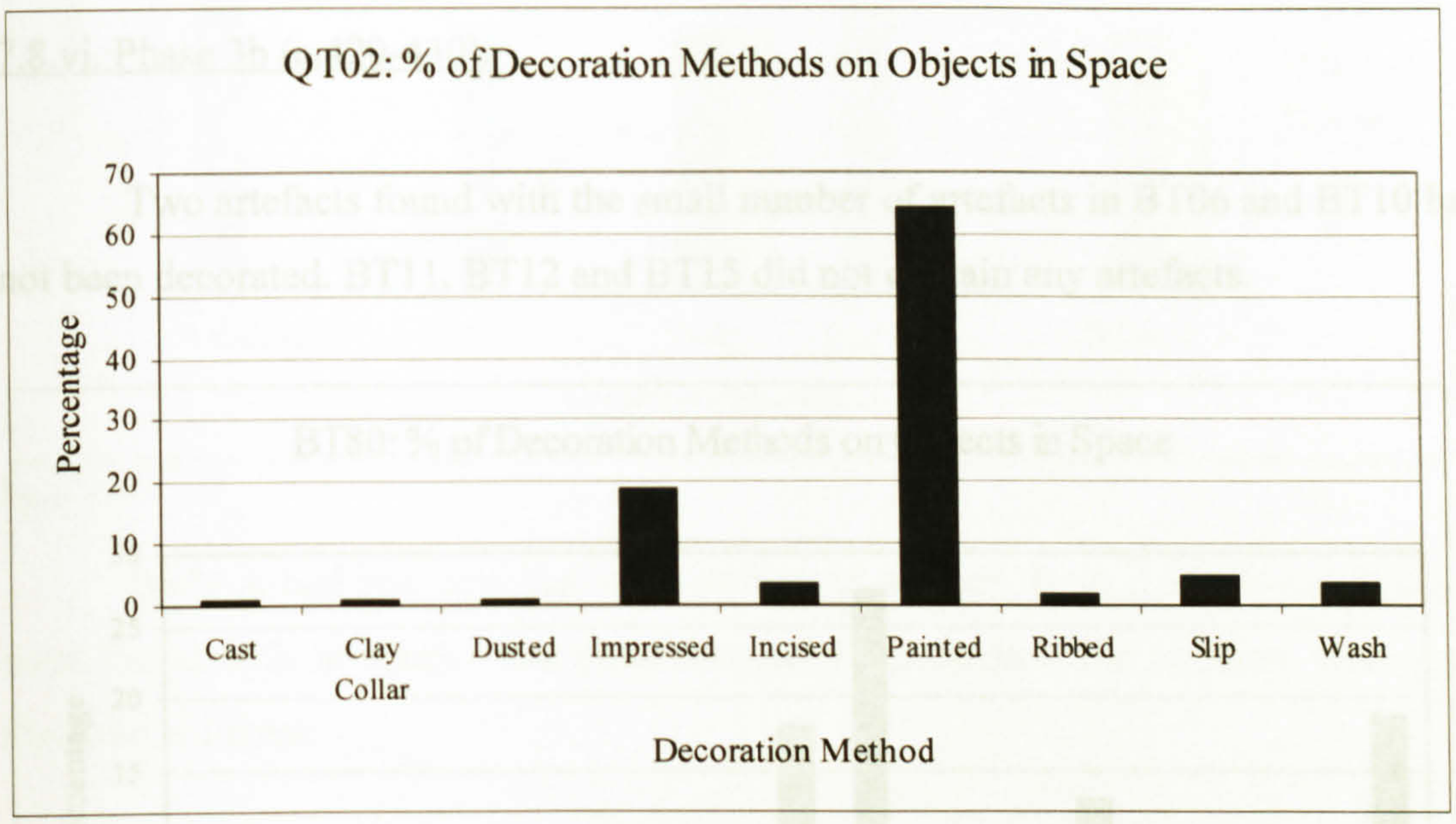


Figure B.21

Nine decoration methods were found in the artefacts in space QT02. Most items in QT02 that were decorated were painted and/or impressed. The other decoration methods form a very small percentage of the total.

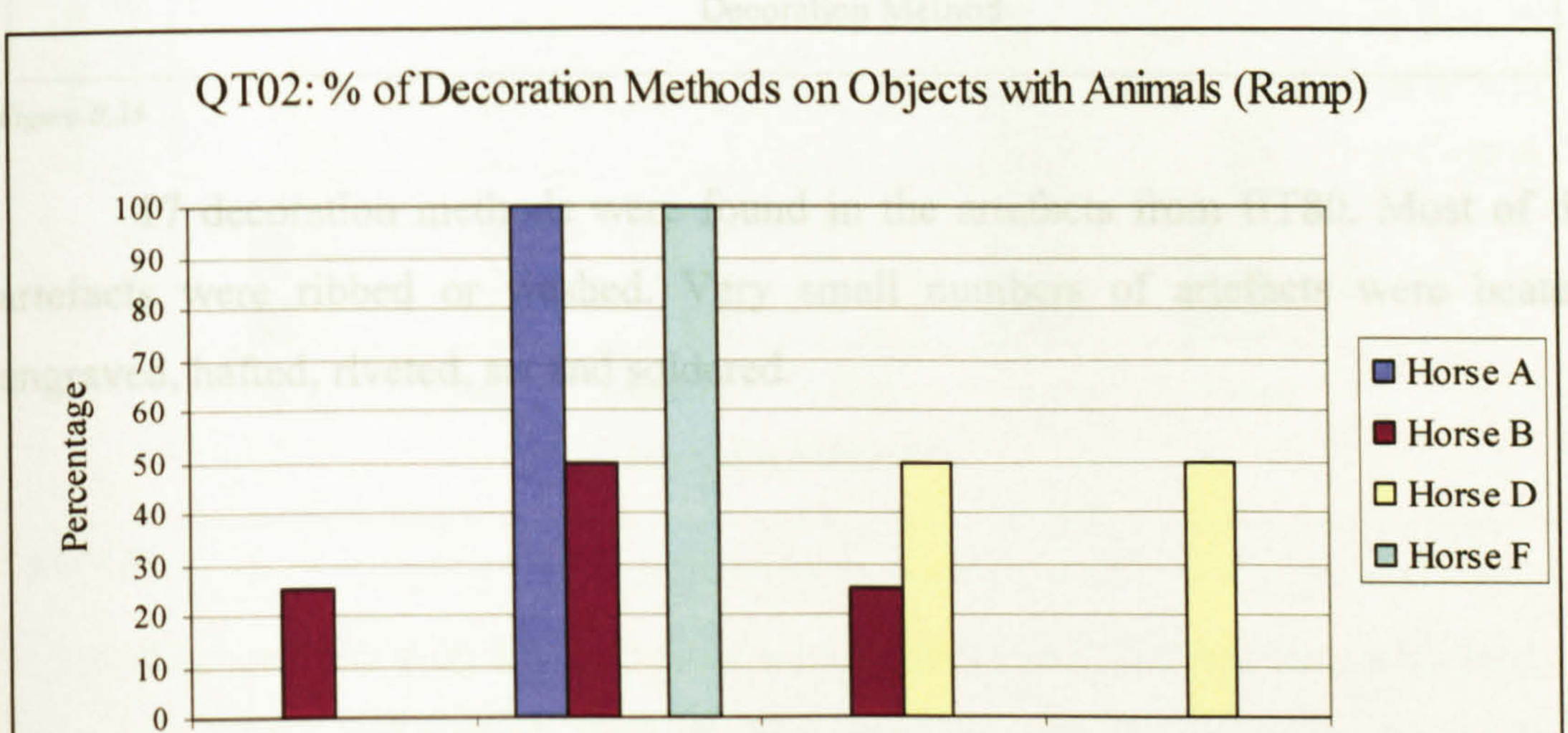


Figure B.22

Most of the artefacts found with the animals in QT02 were incised, however the other decorative methods – embossed, plated and twisted – were only found in artefacts relating to the animal remains. None of the artefacts associated with the human bodies in QT02 exhibited any decoration methods.

7.8.vi. Phase 3b (c.420-430).

Two artefacts found with the small number of artefacts in BT06 and BT10 had not been decorated. BT11, BT12 and BT15 did not contain any artefacts.

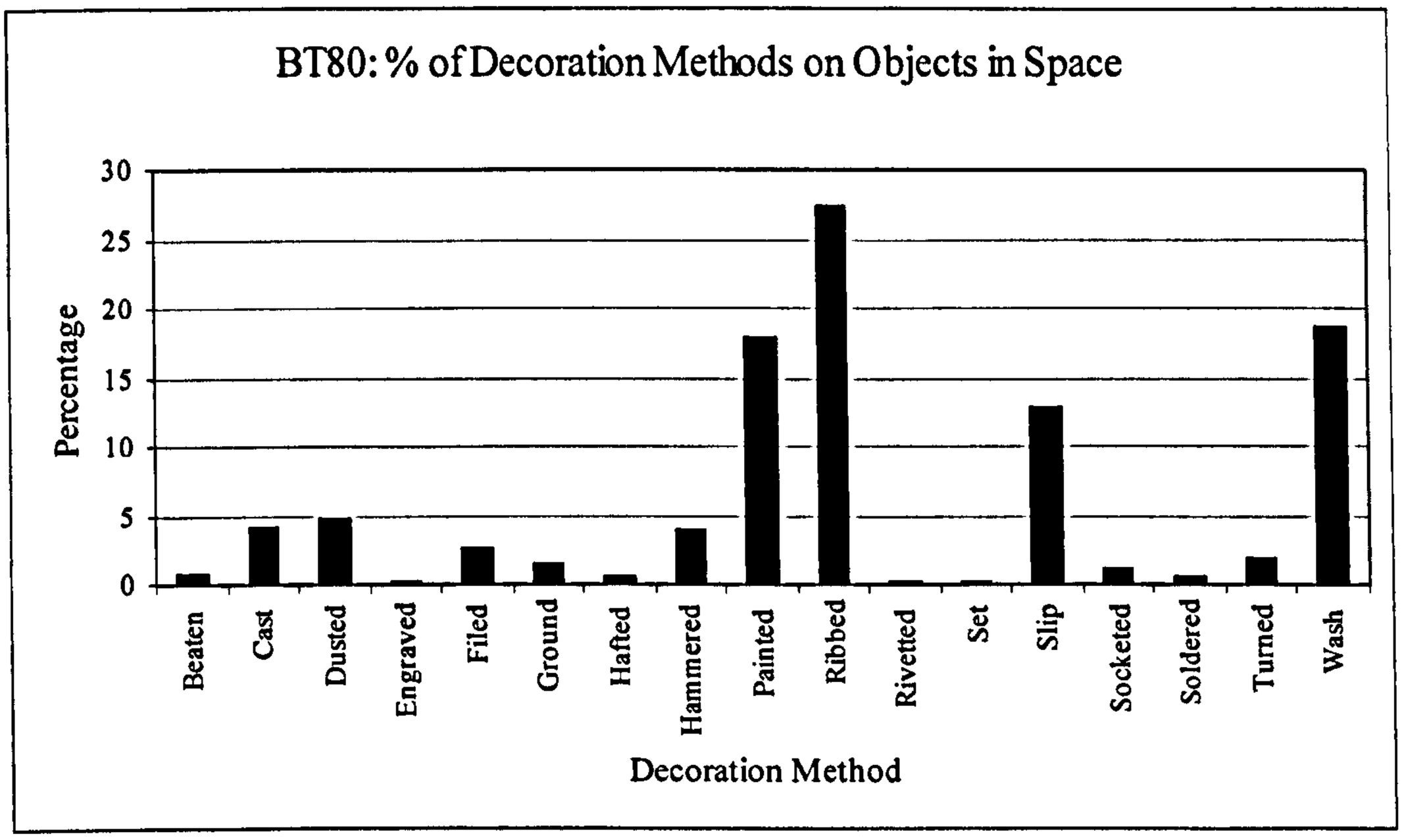


Figure B.23

17 decoration methods were found in the artefacts from BT80. Most of the artefacts were ribbed or washed. Very small numbers of artefacts were beaten, engraved, hafted, riveted, set and soldered.

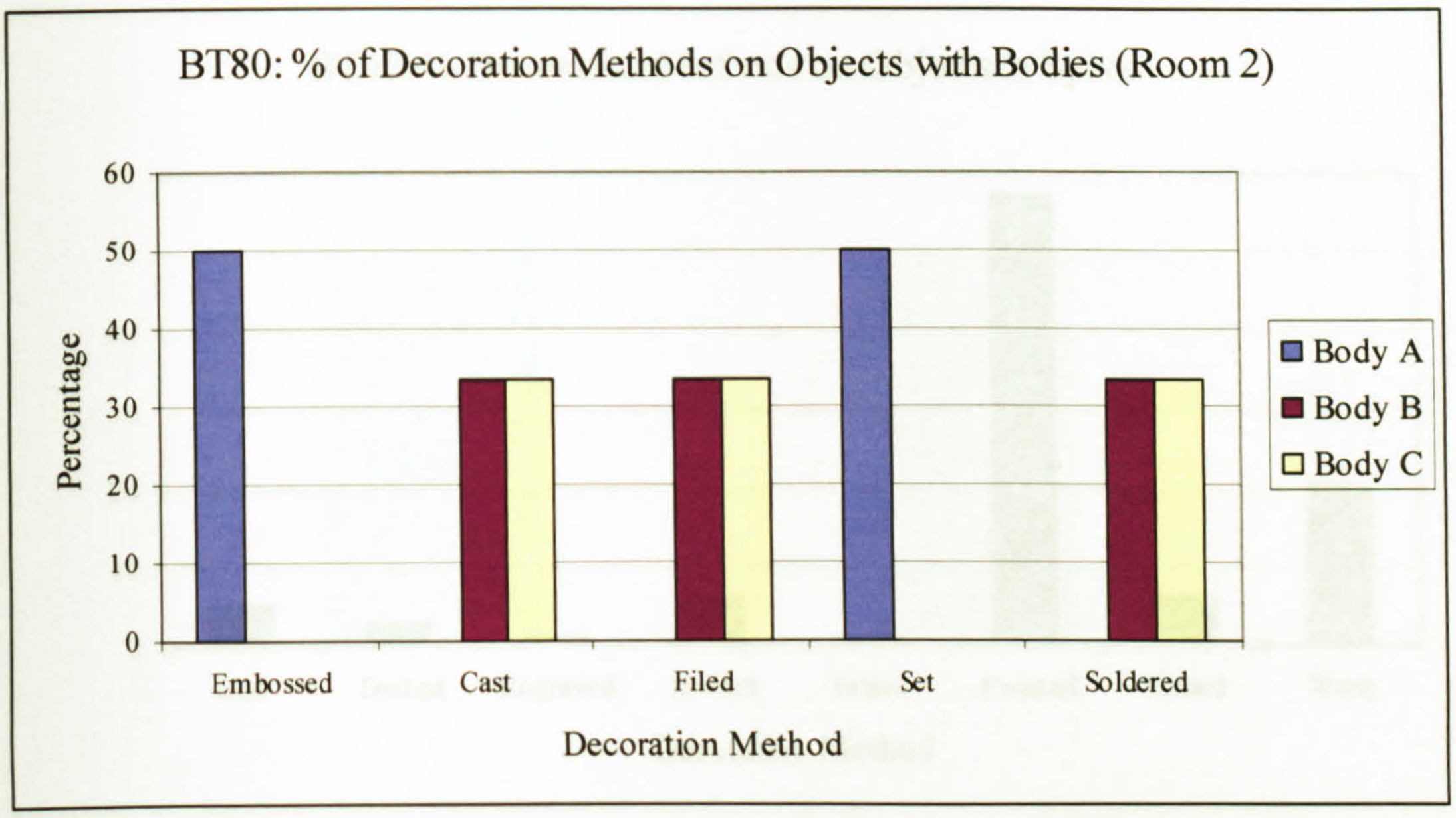


Figure B.24

Body A had artefacts that were embossed and set. Both Body B and Body C were found with artefacts with three decoration methods – the artefacts were cast, filed and soldered.

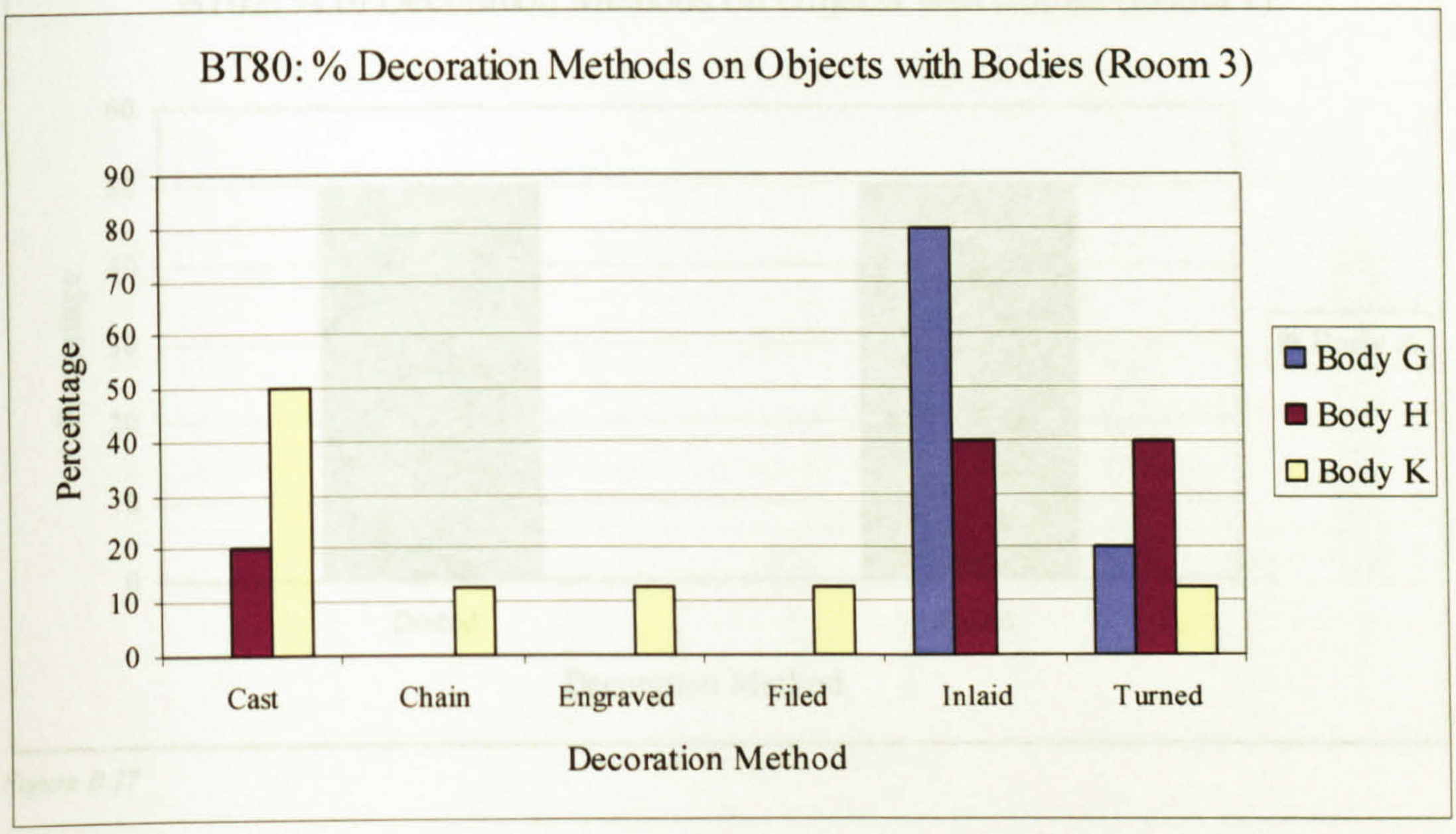


Figure B.25

The artefacts with Body G were inlaid and turned. The artefacts with Body H were cast, inlaid and turned. Body K had artefacts with the most diverse range of decoration methods. All of the bodies had artefacts that had been turned. The artefacts found with the animals in BT80 did not contain any decoration.

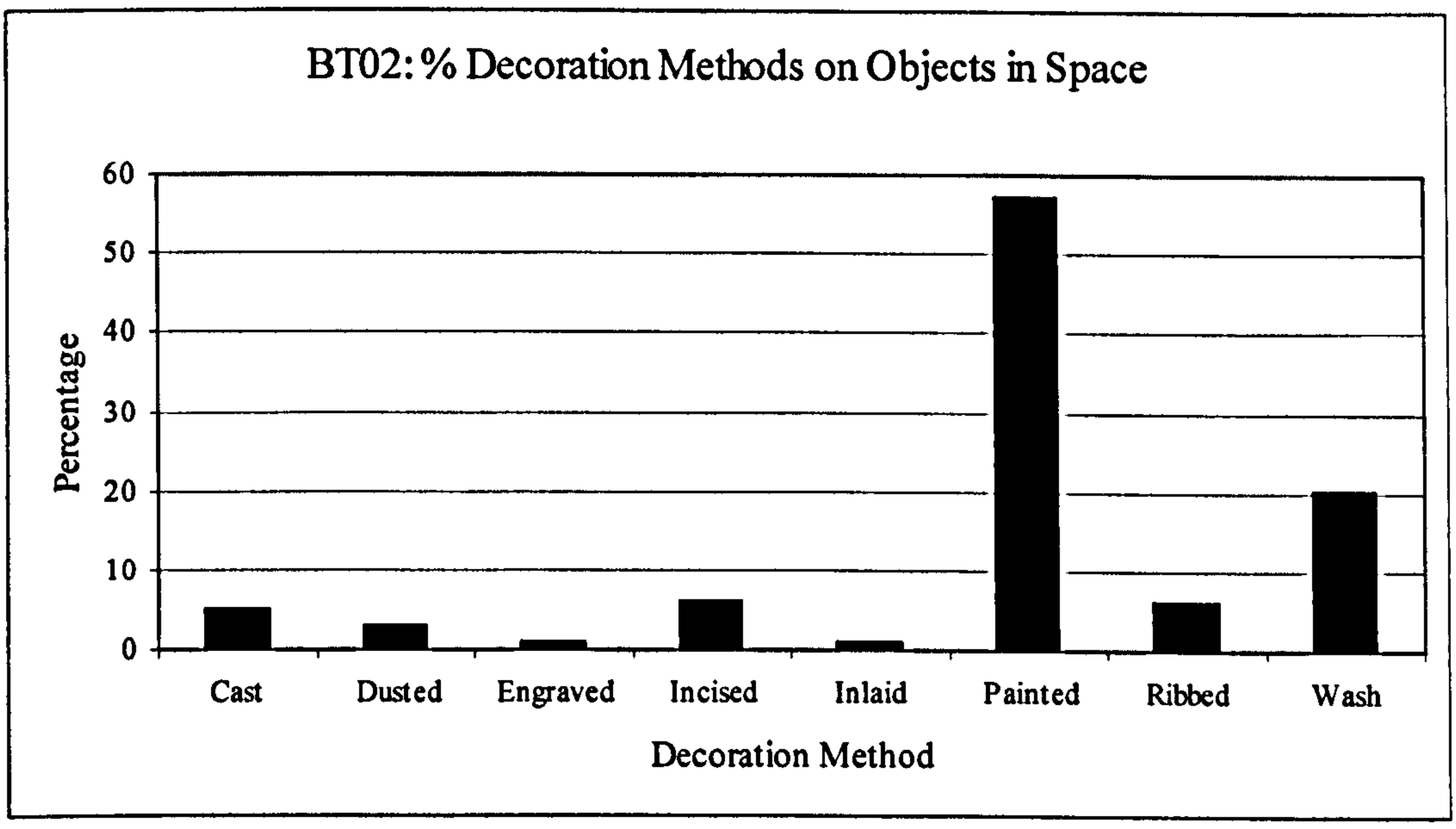


Figure B.26

Eight decorative methods were found in the artefacts from BT02. Most of the artefacts that were decorated had been painted.

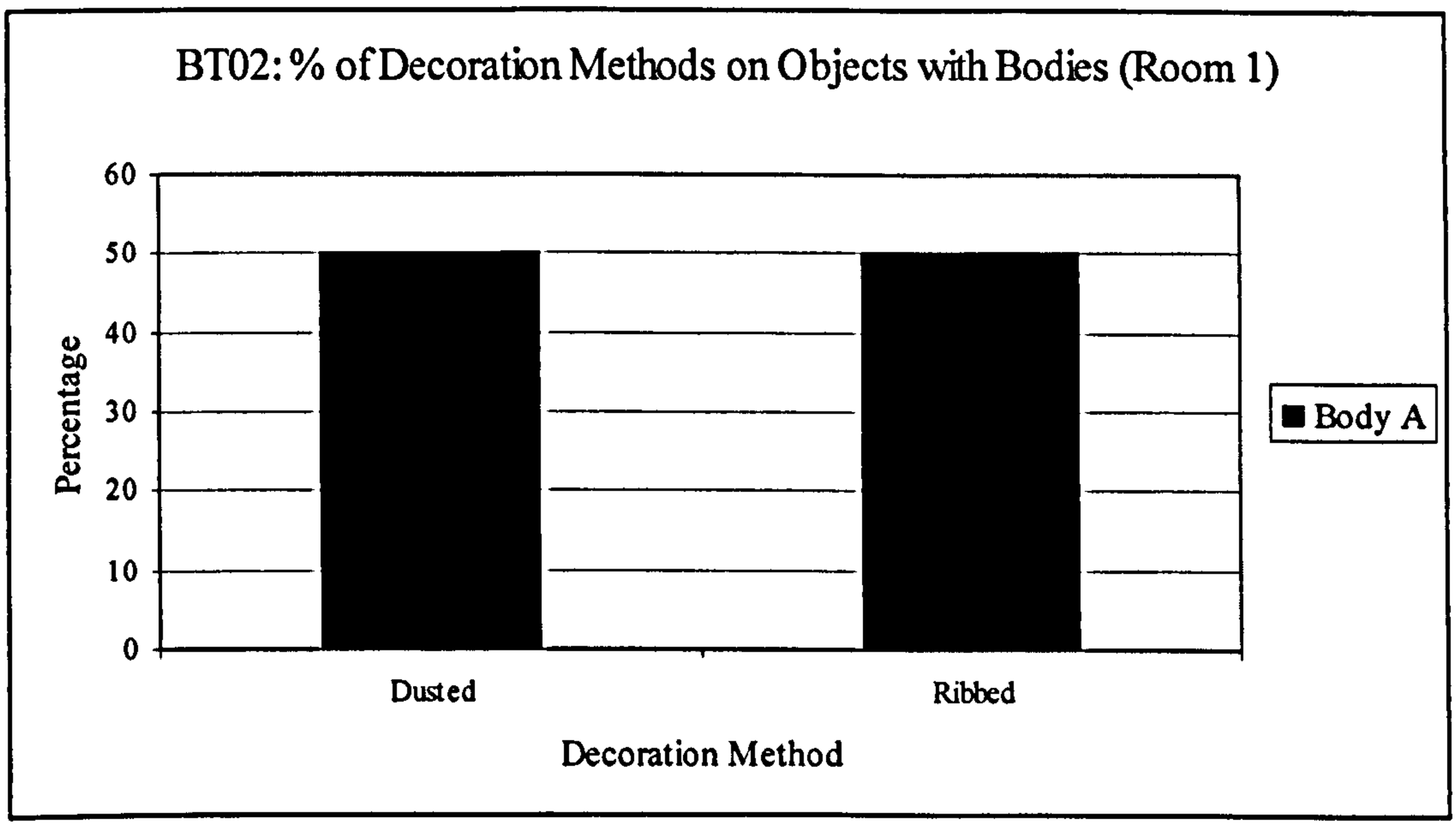


Figure B.27

The single artefact found with Body A in this tomb had been decorated using two methods.

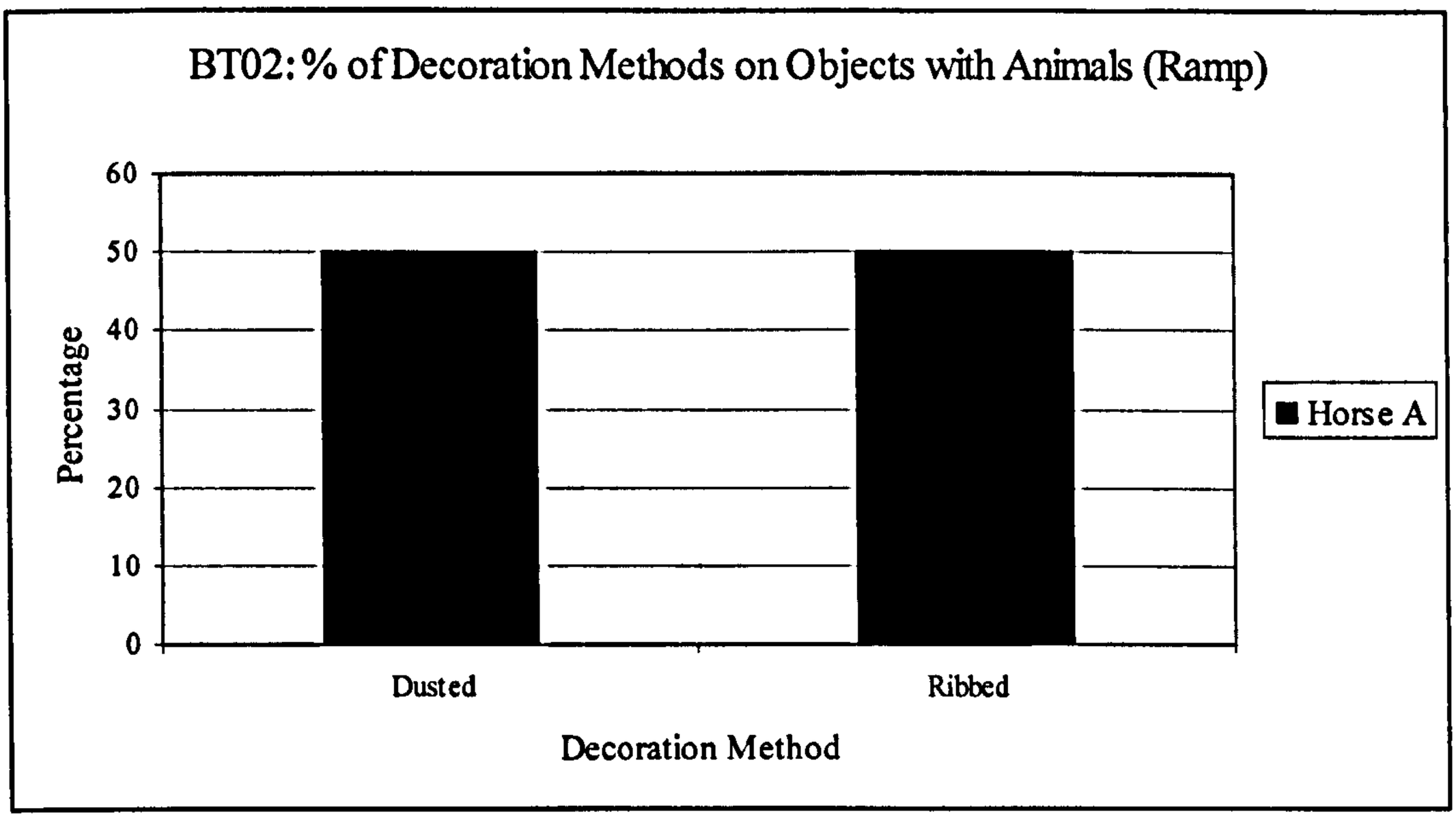


Figure B.28

Like the artefact found with the human body, the single artefact with the horse had been decorated using two different methods. The methods were the same for both the human and the animal.

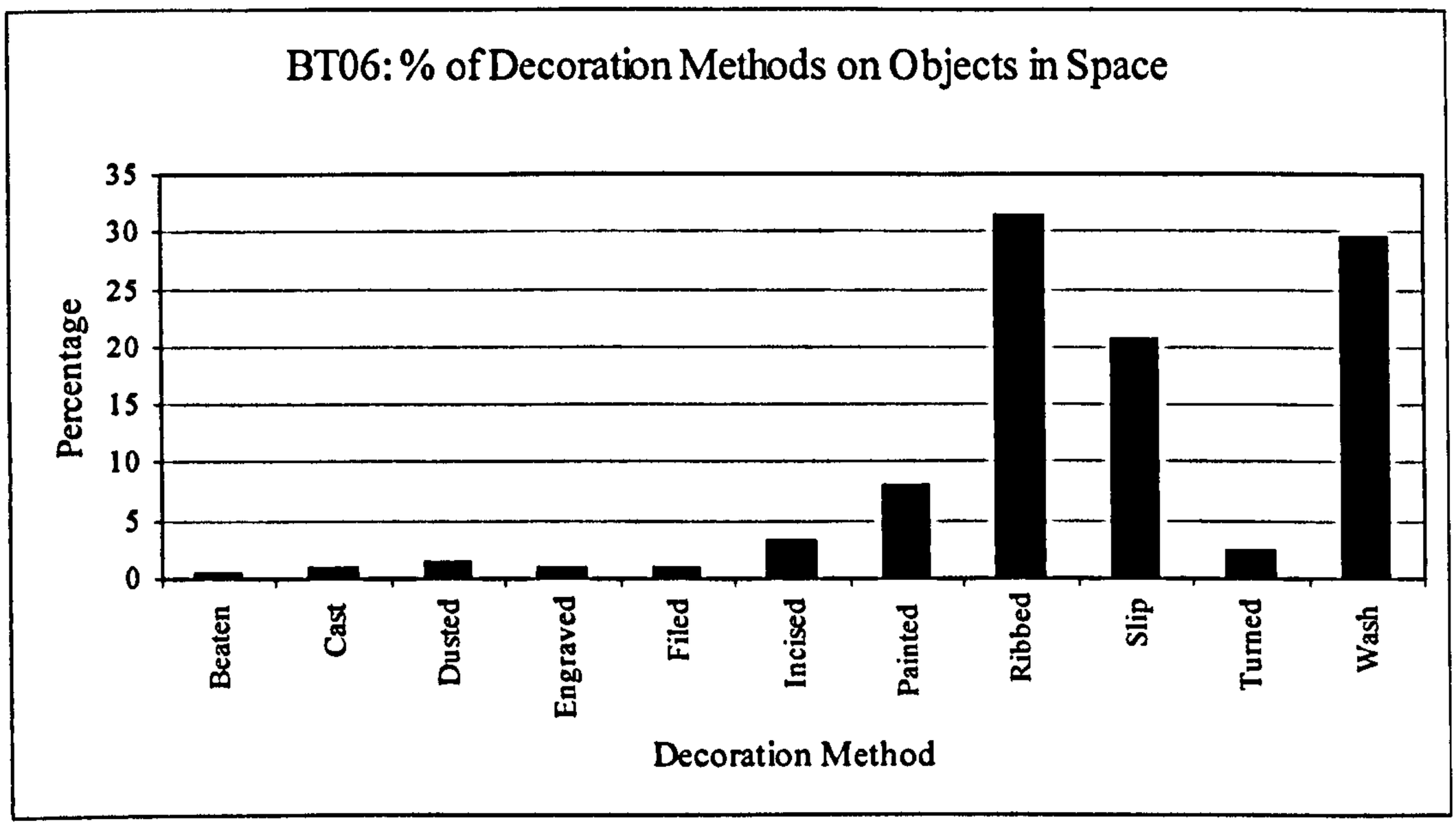


Figure B.29

There were 11 different decorative methods in the artefacts from this tomb. Most of the objects were ribbed, washed, or slipped.

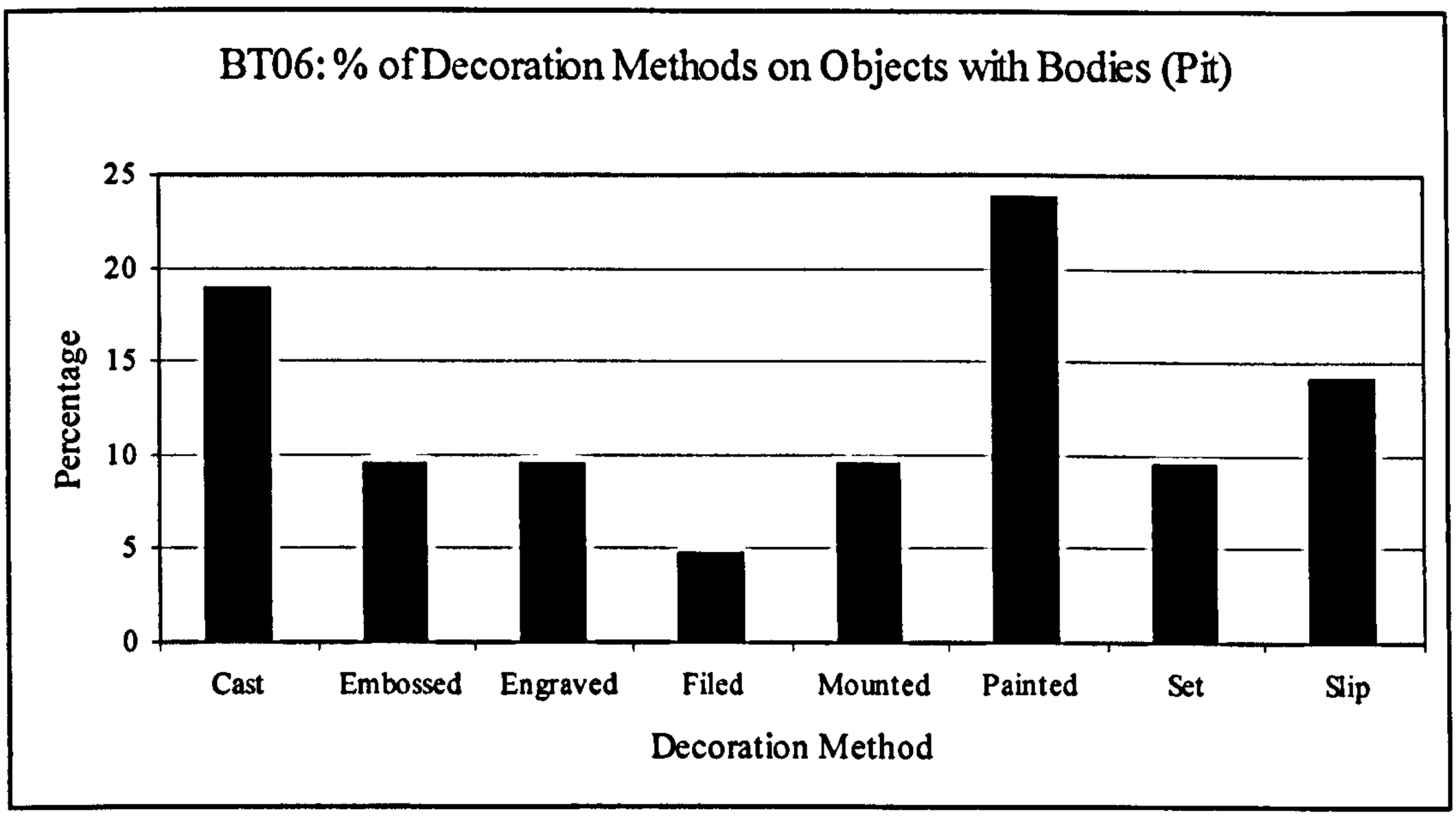


Figure B.30

Eight decorative methods were found in the artefacts from BT06 associated with a human body. The techniques of embossing, mounting and setting were found exclusively with the human remains.

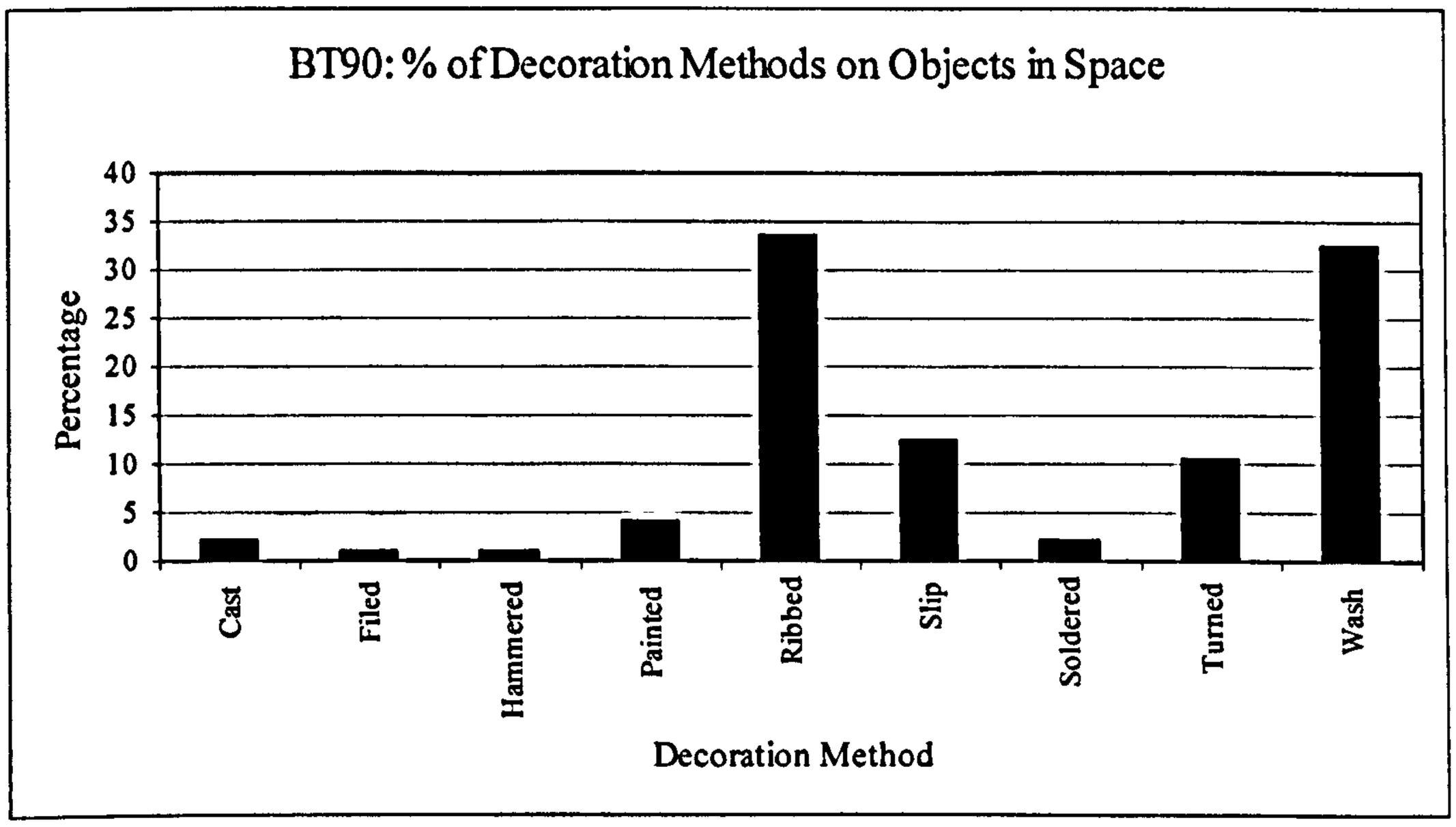


Figure B.31

Most of the artefacts from BT90 were ribbed or washed. Small numbers of artefacts were filed or hammered.

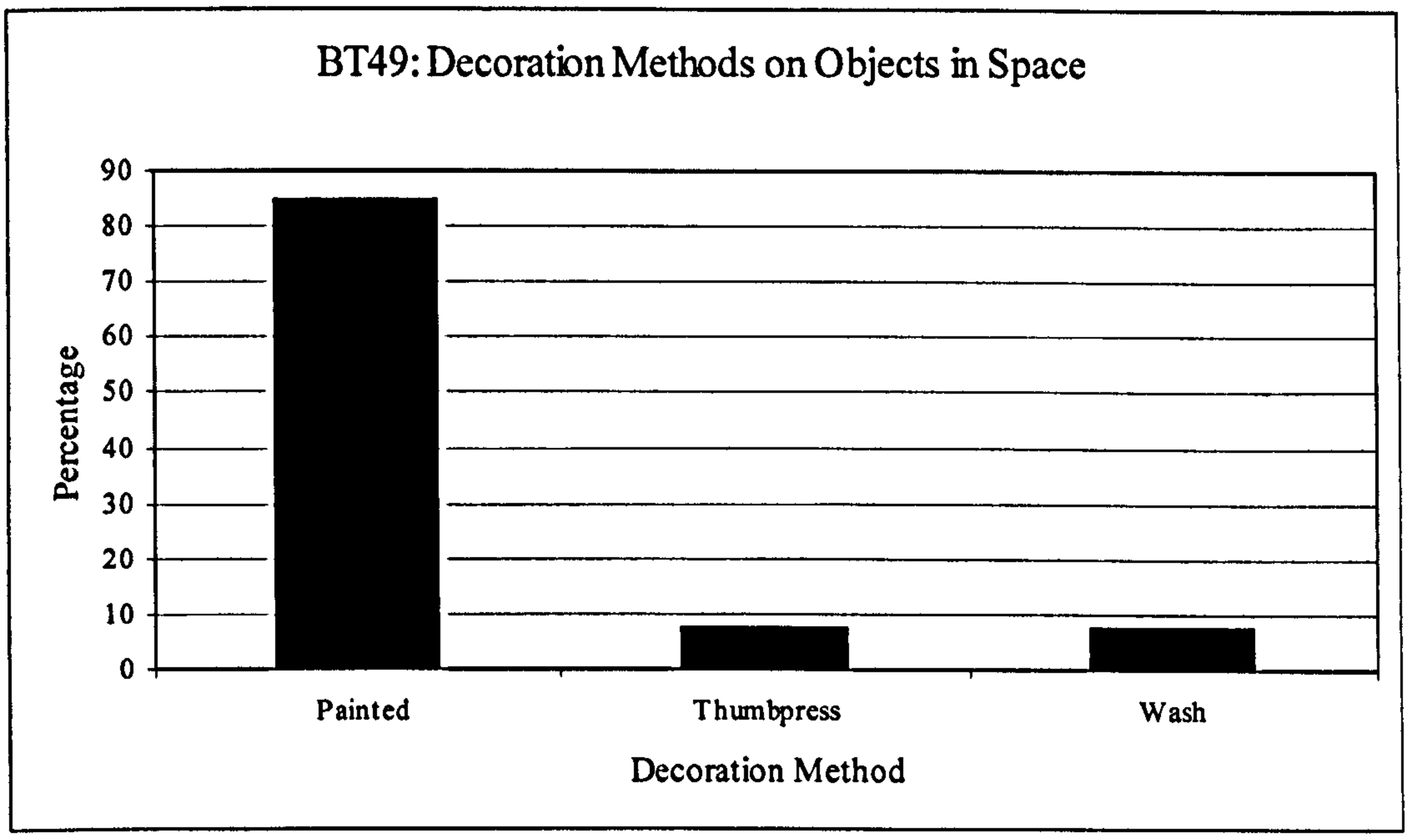


Figure B.32

Most of the artefacts from BT49 were painted.

7.8.vii. Phase 4 (c.430-440).

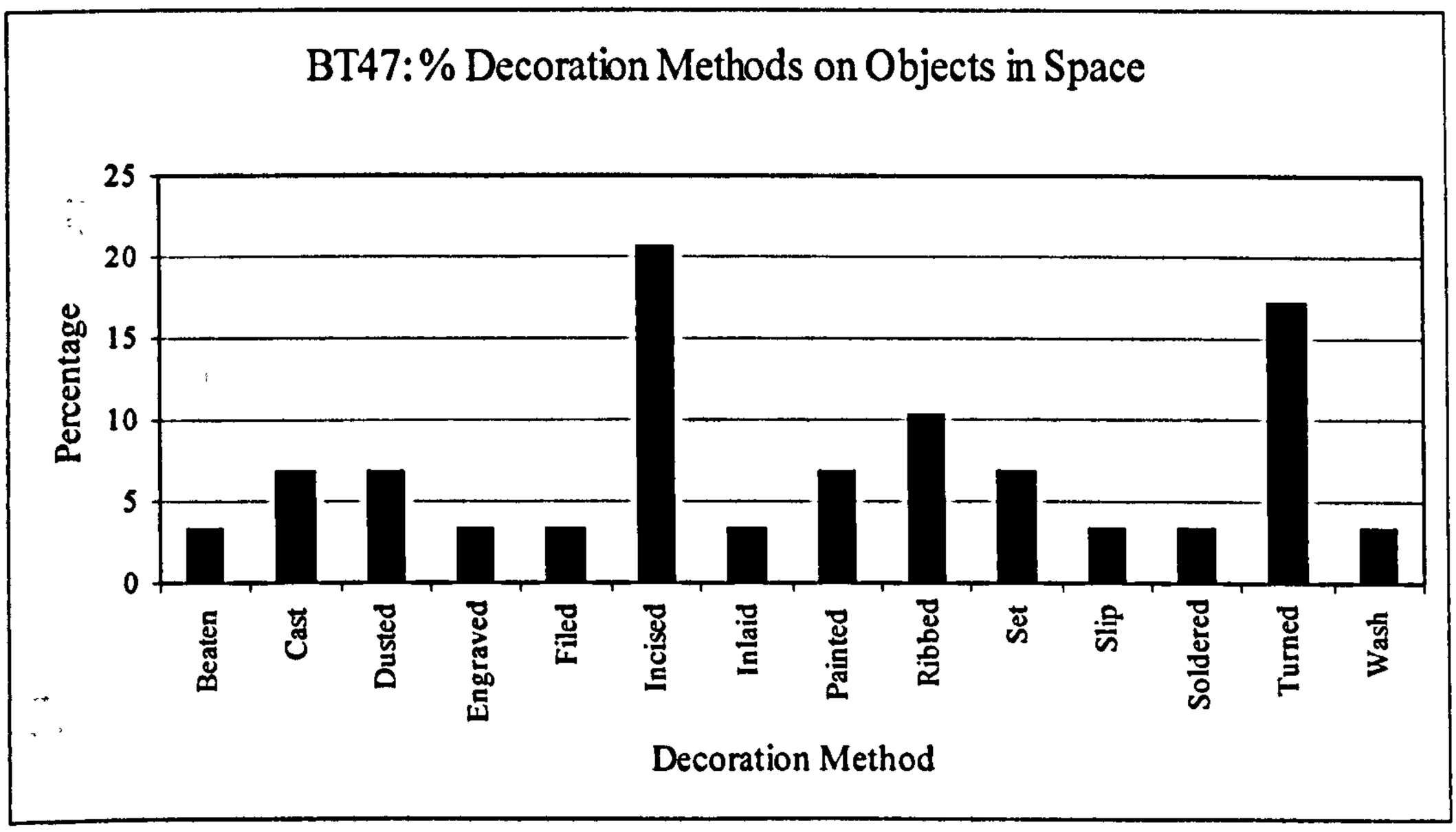


Figure B.33

Fourteen different decoration methods were found in the artefacts from BT47.

Most of the artefacts were incised or turned.

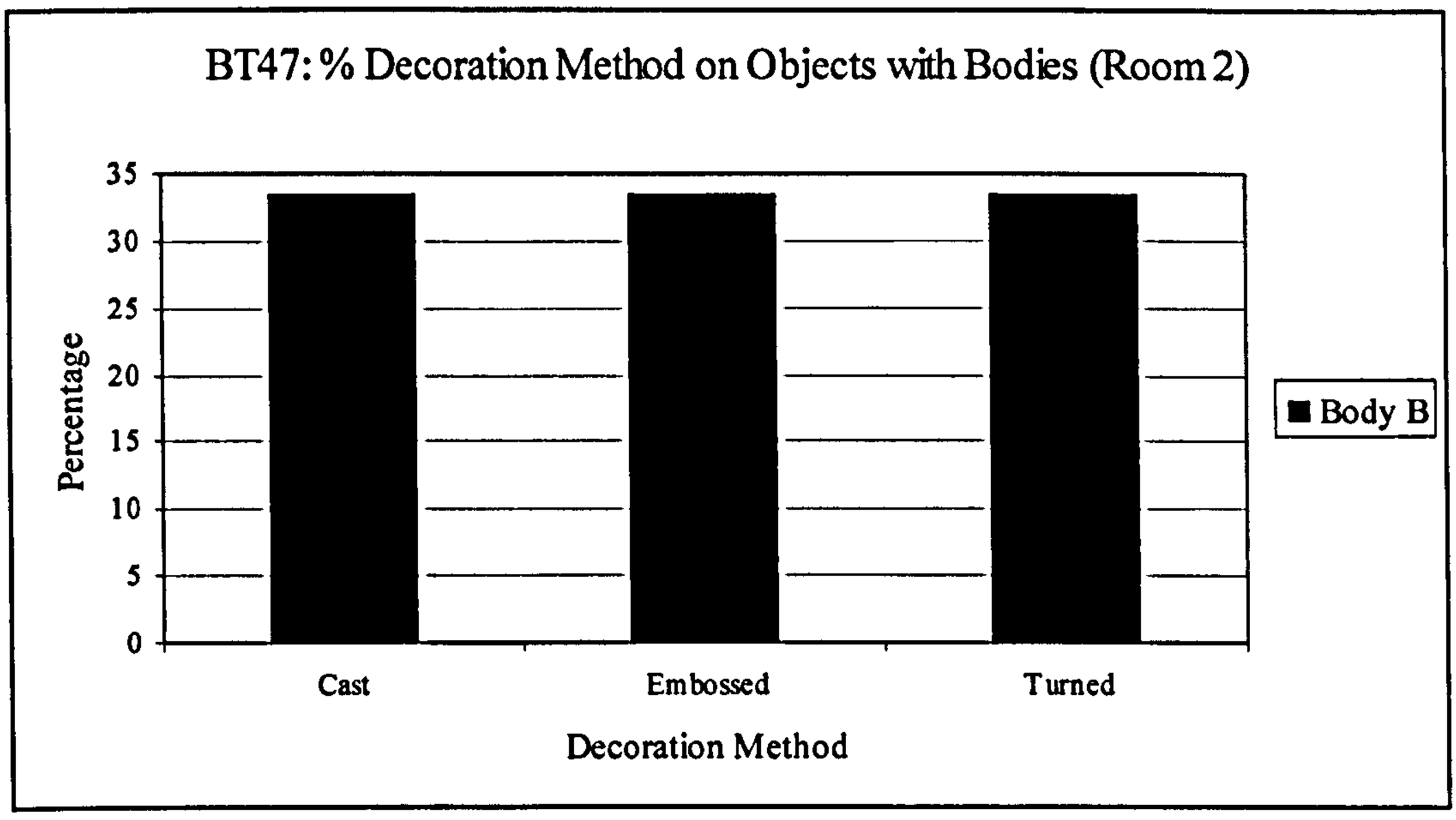


Figure B.34

A single object with three different decoration methods was found with Body B.

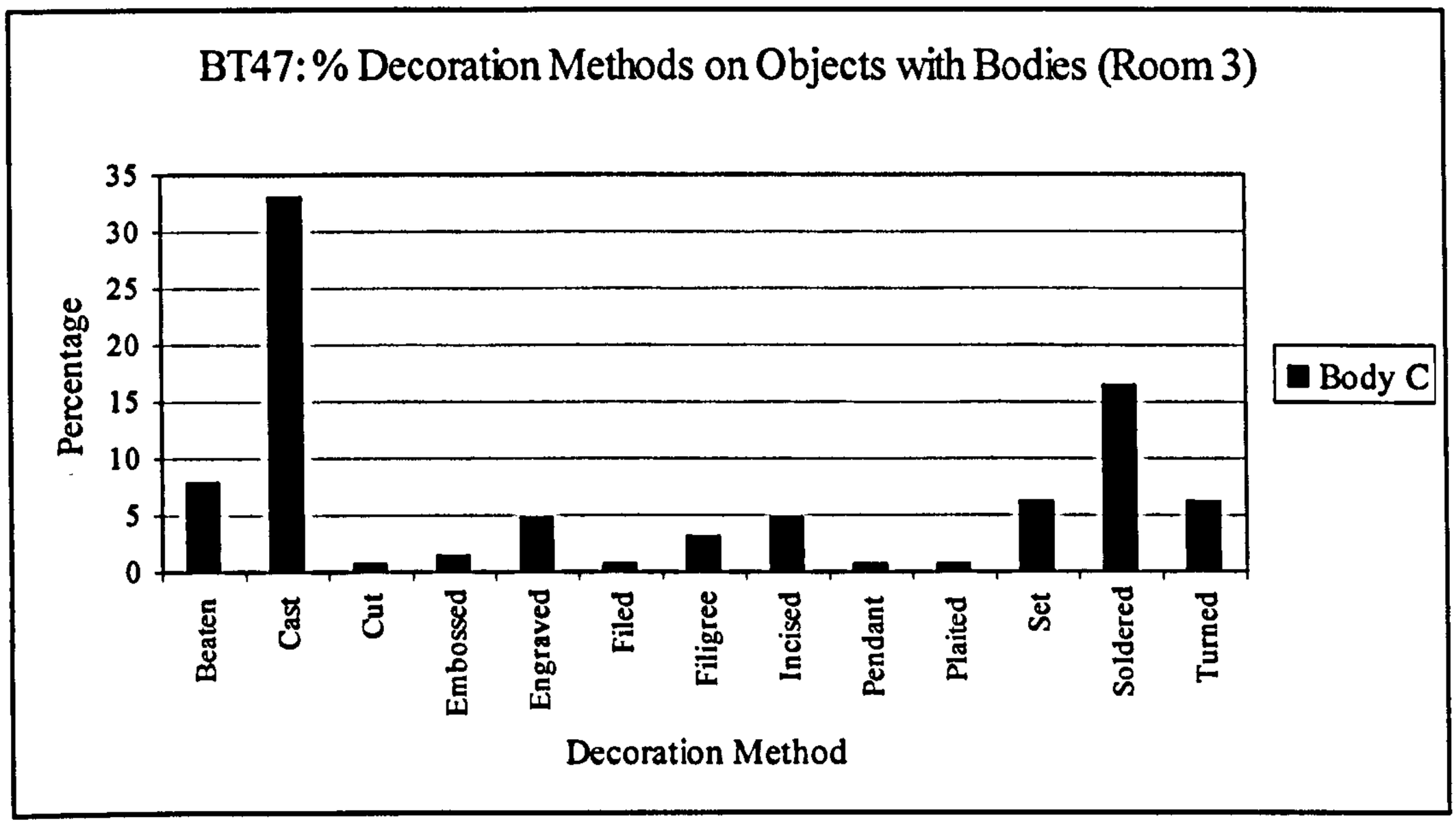


Figure B.35

13 decorative methods were used in the artefacts found with the two bodies in BT47. Certain decorative methods including embossing, filigree, pendant, plaited were found only in the artefacts associated with this body.

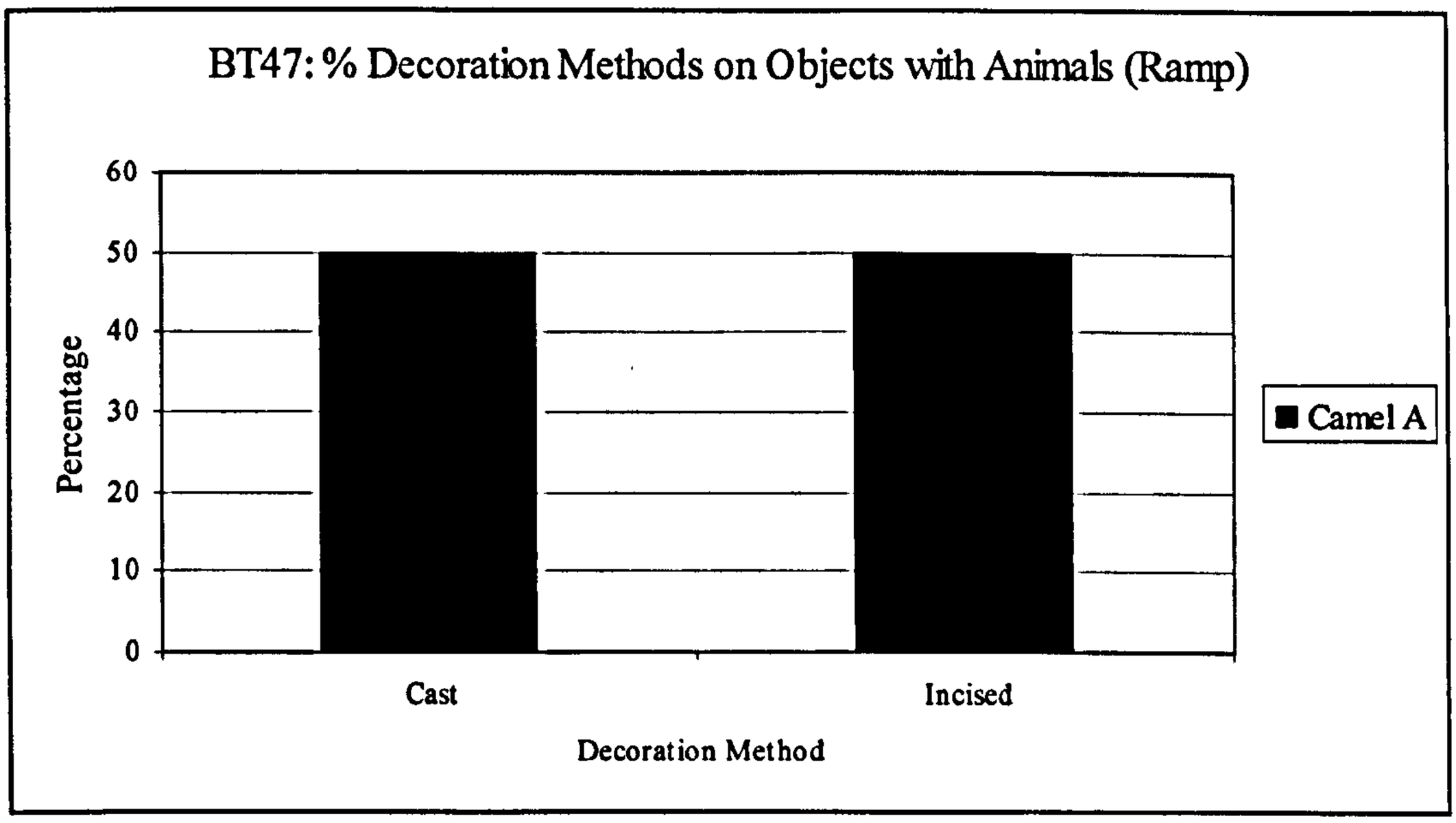


Figure B.36

Only two decorative methods were found in the artefacts associated with the camel in BT47.

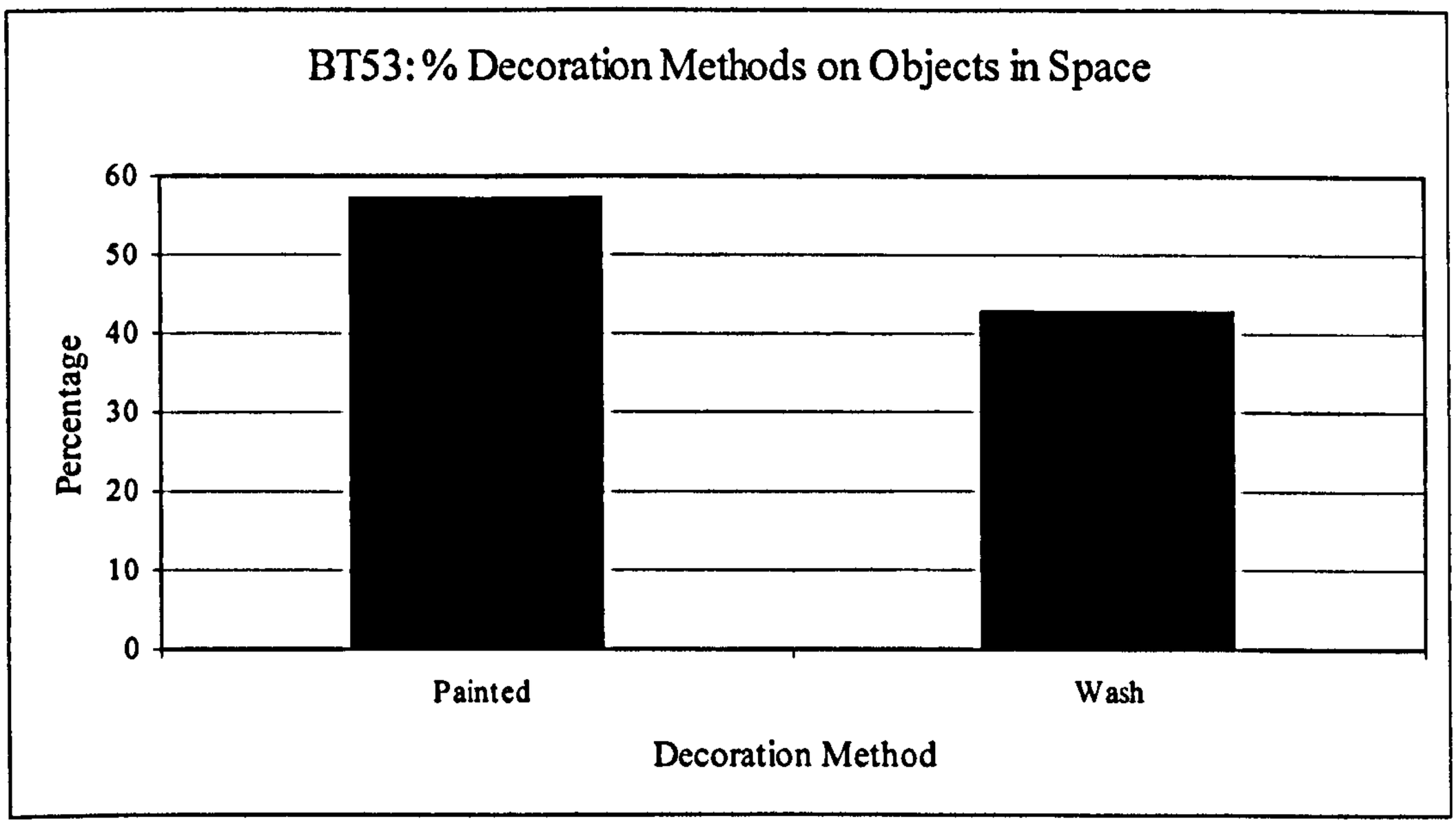


Figure B.37

Two methods of decoration were used in the artefacts from BT53. Most of these artefacts were painted.

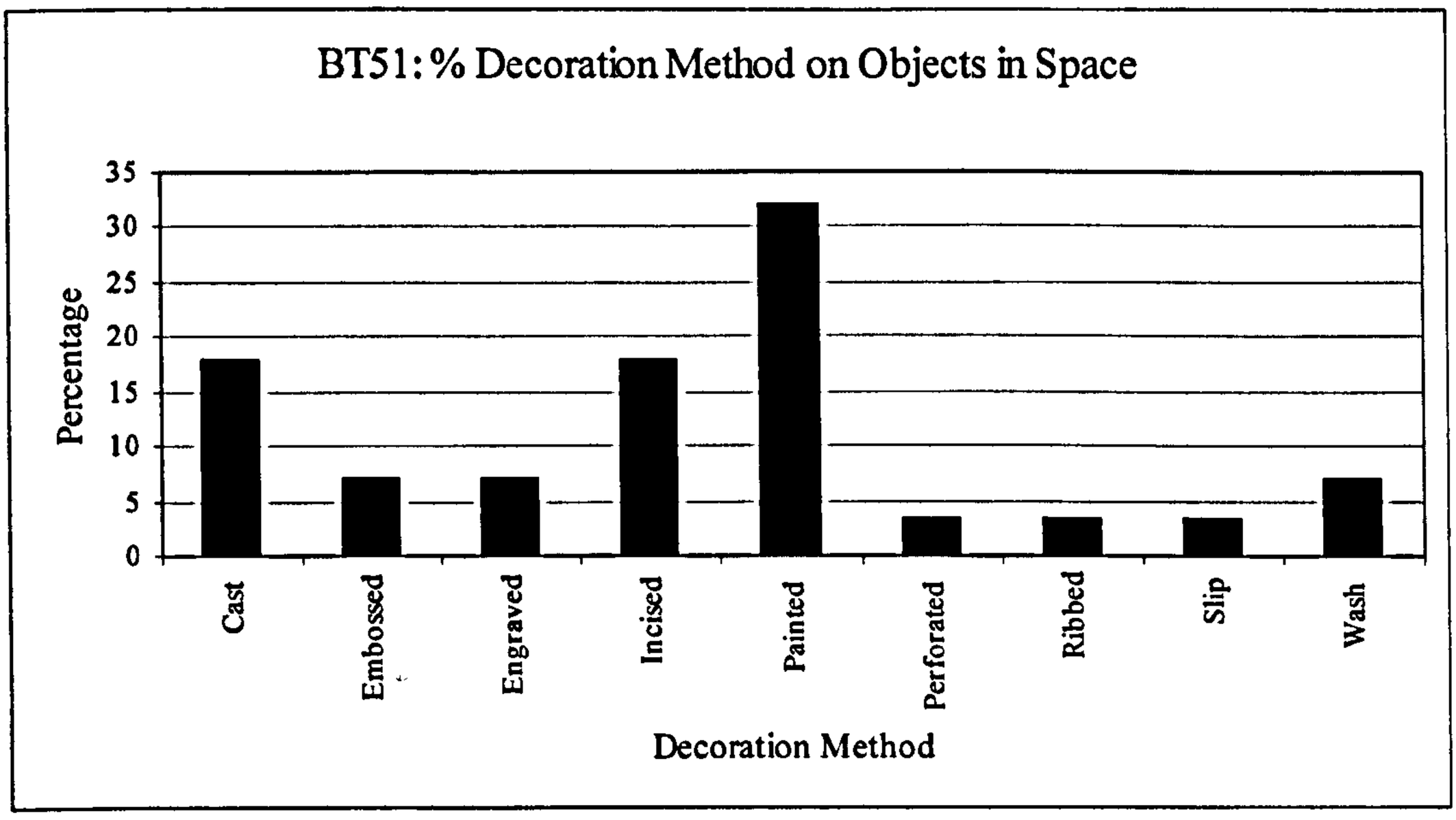


Figure B.38

Most of the artefacts in BT51 were decorated by painting. There were nine different decorative methods found in the artefacts.

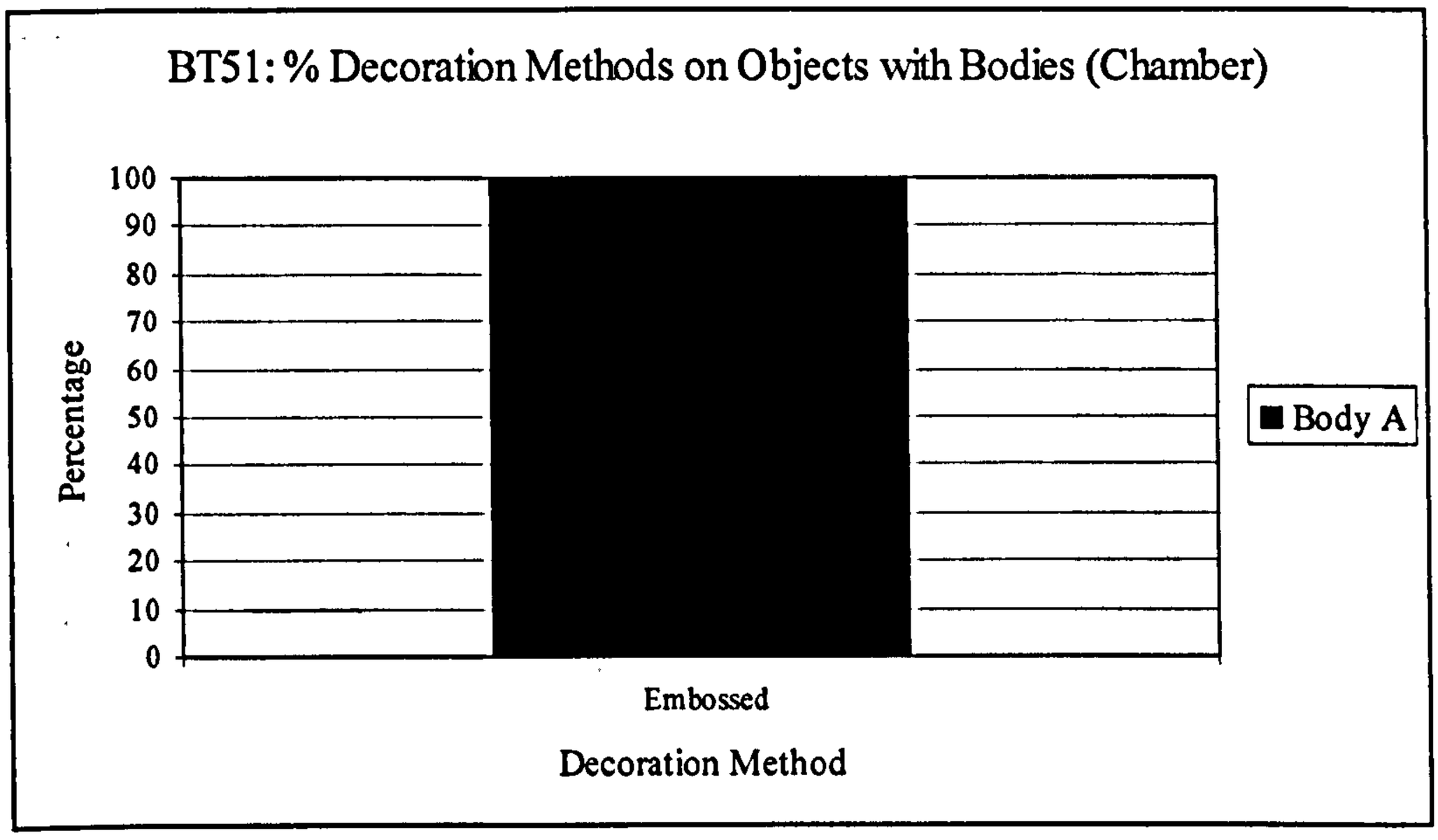


Figure B.39

The single artefact with BT51 was embossed.

7.8.viii. Phase 4a (c.430-440).

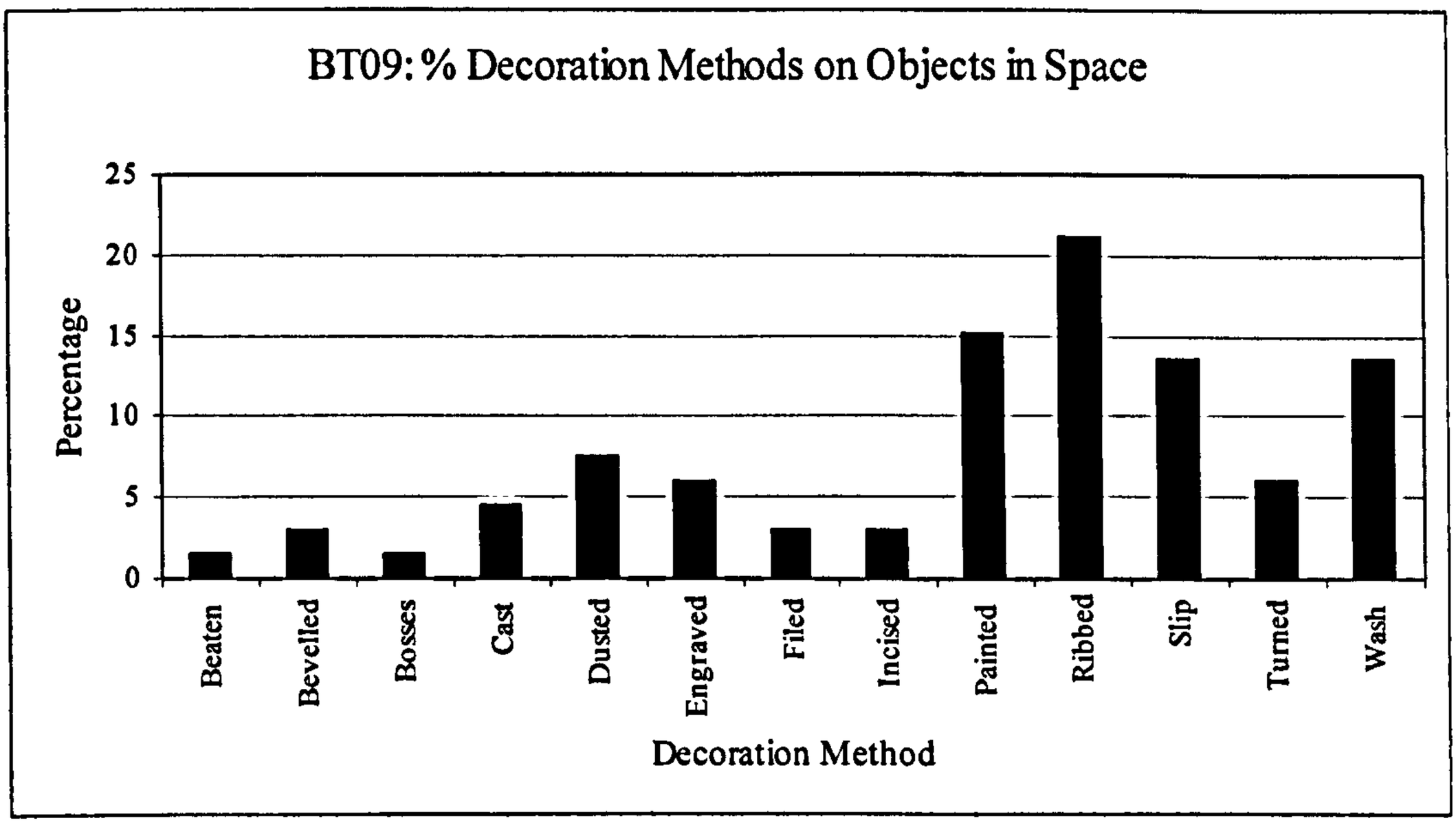


Figure B.40

13 different decorative methods were used in the artefacts from this tomb. Painting and ribbing were the most frequently occurring decorative methods.

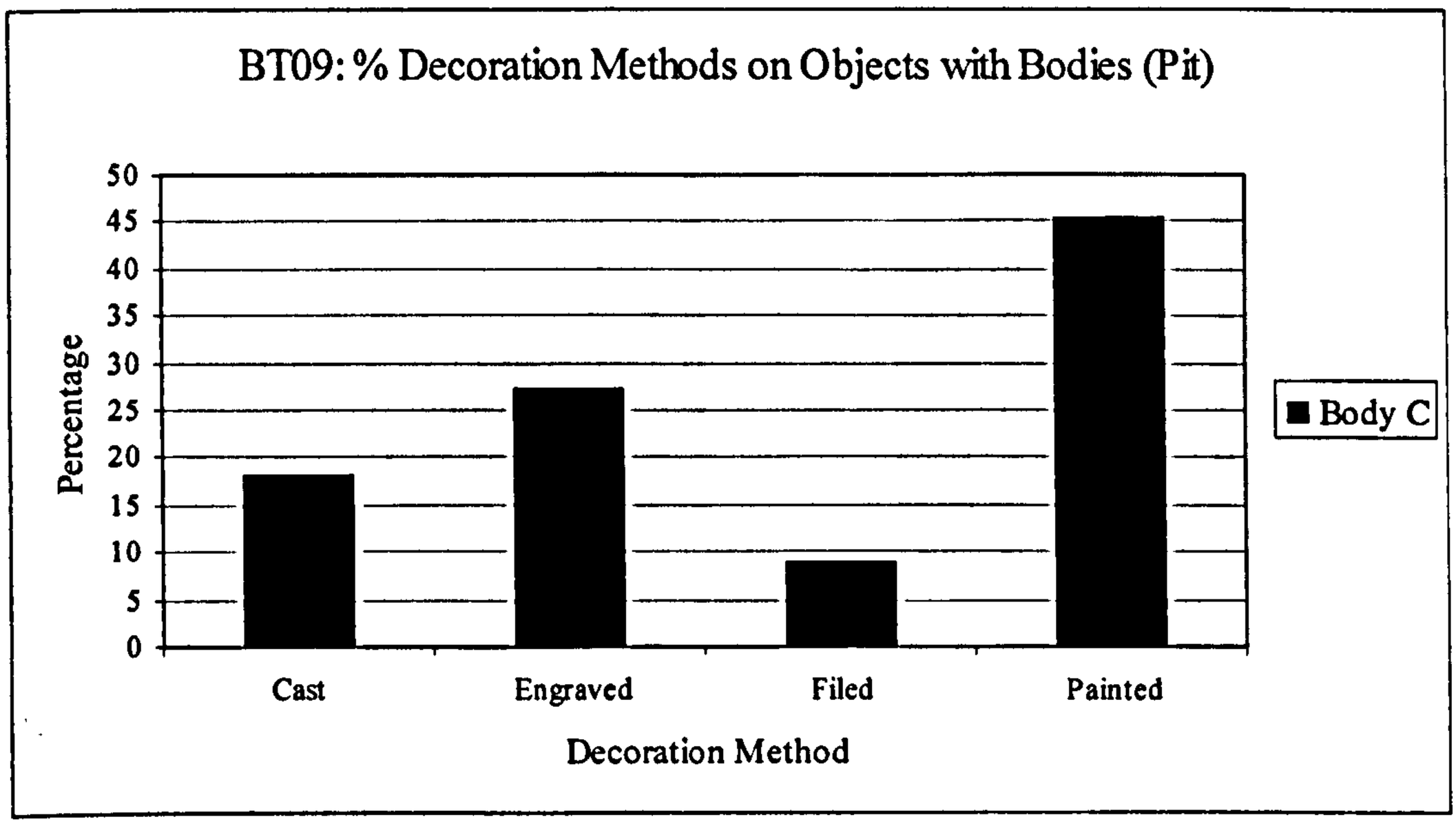


Figure B.41

Four methods of decoration were found in the artefacts with the body in this tomb. Objects that were painted were the most numerous.

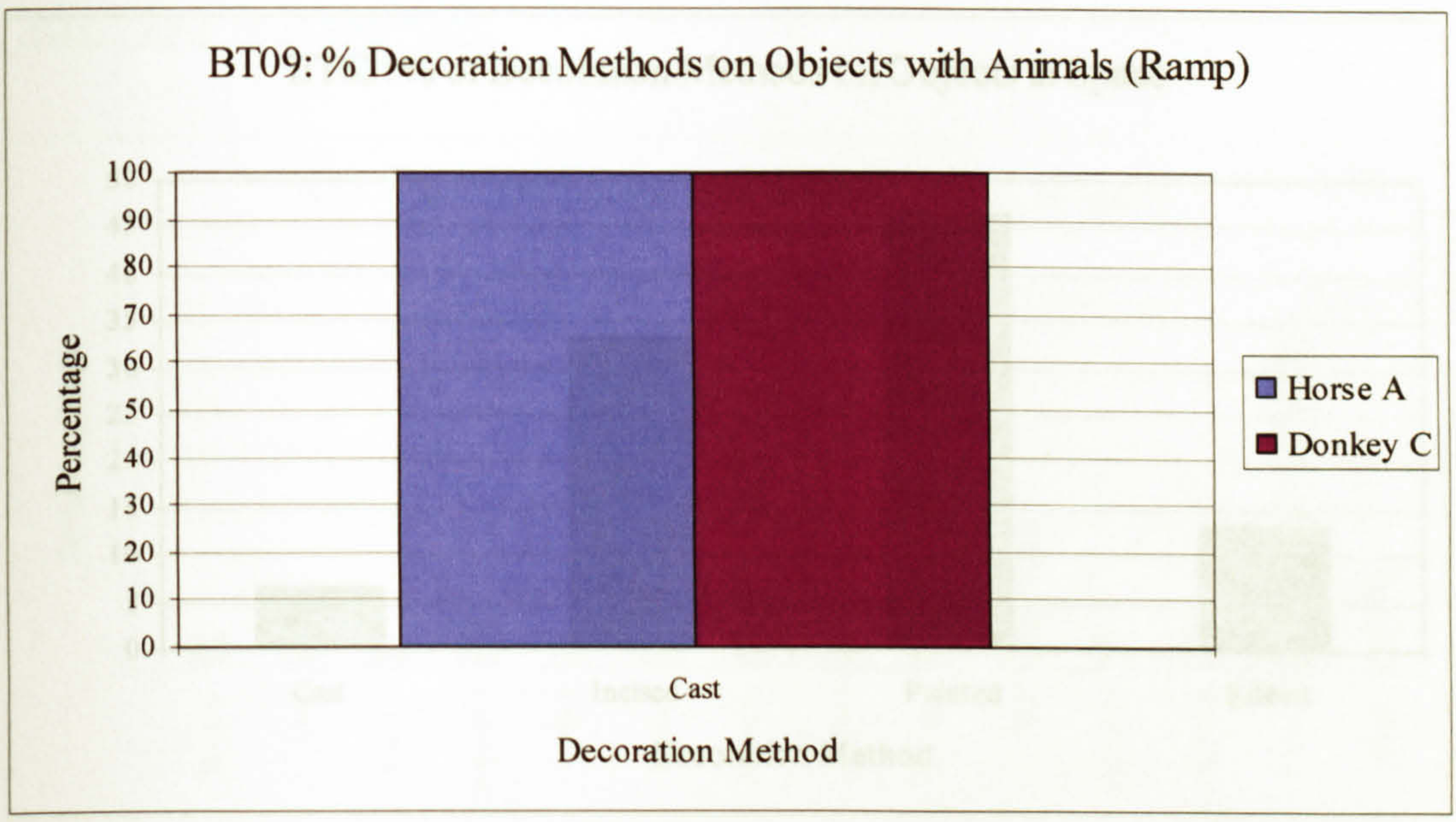


Figure B.42

Casting was the only decorative method found in the artefacts with the animals in BT09.

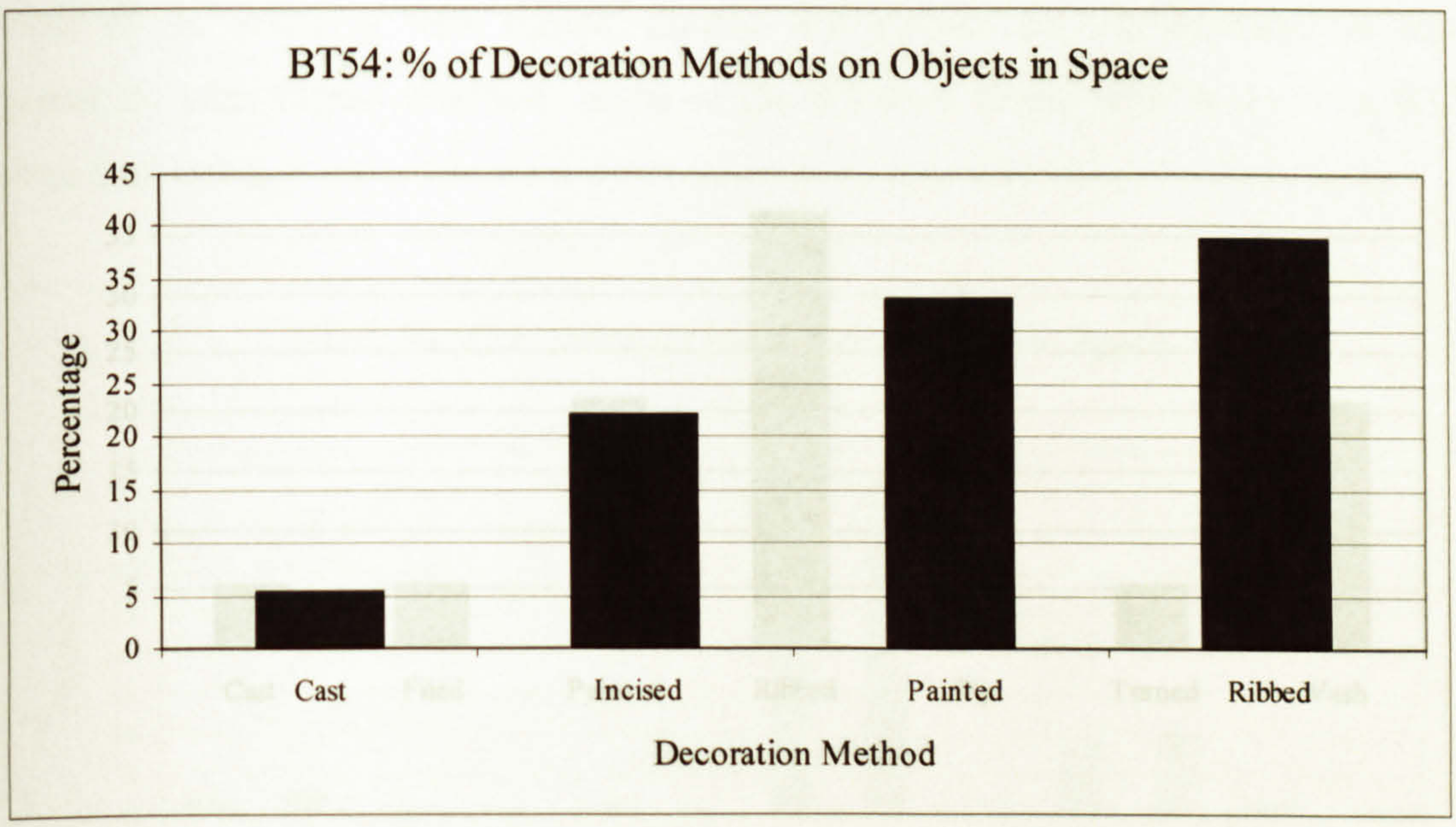


Figure B.43

Most of the artefacts found in BT54 were ribbed. A small number of artefacts were cast.

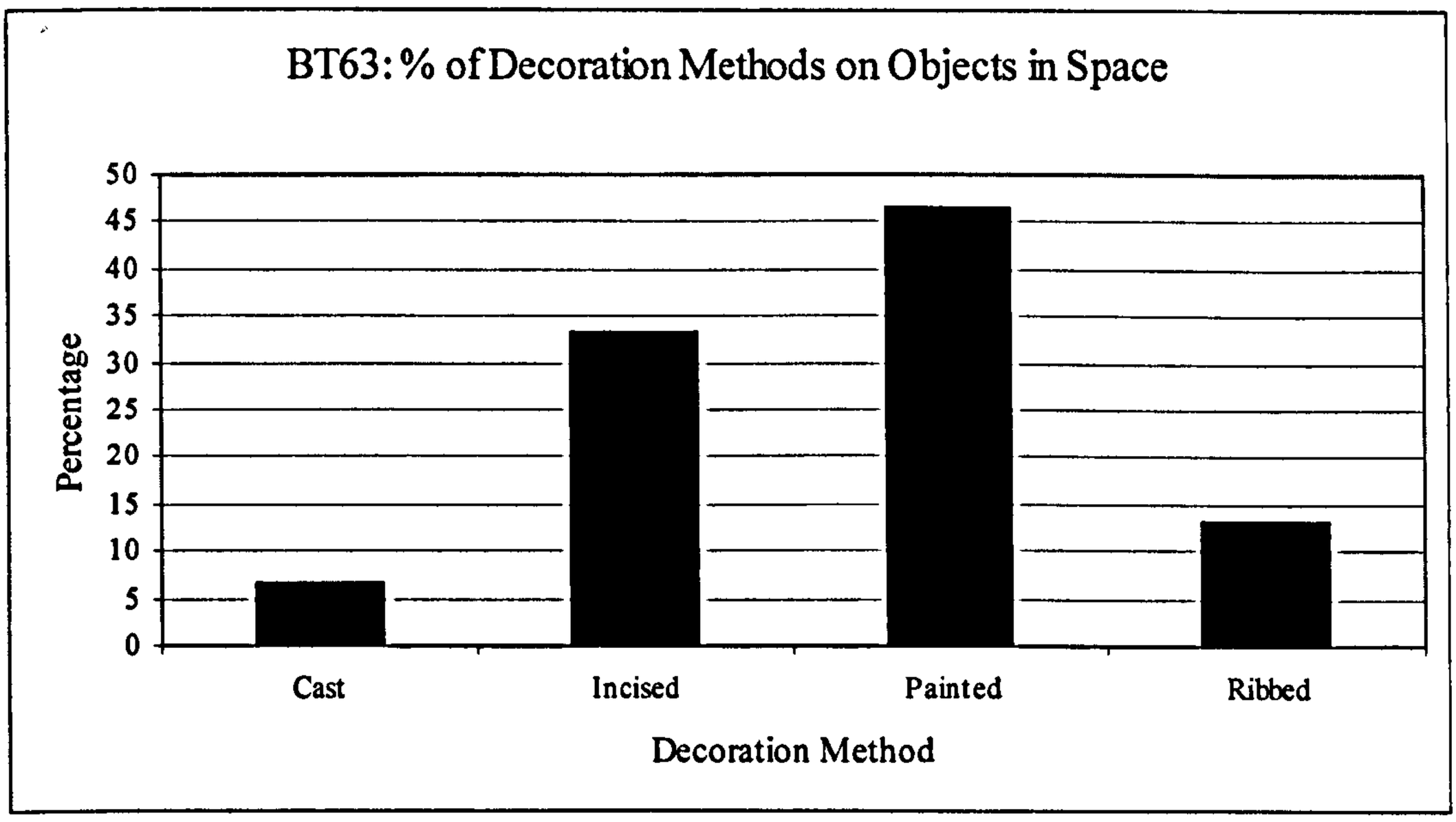


Figure B.44

Most of the artefacts were painted in BT63. Four decorative methods were seen in the artefacts from this tomb.

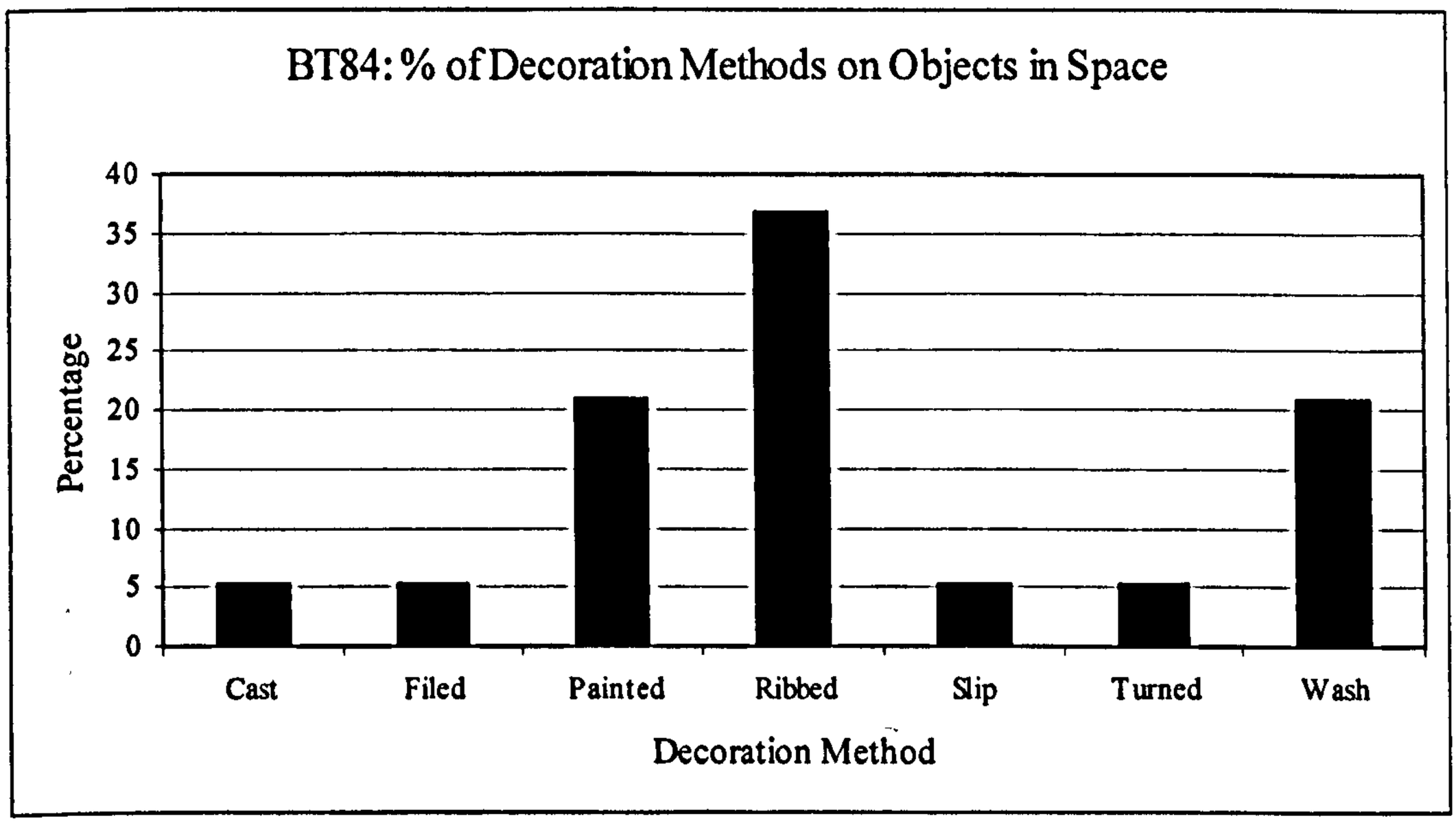


Figure B.45

Seven different decorative methods were found in the artefacts from BT84. Most of the artefacts were ribbed, painted or washed artefacts appeared in equal quantities, as did cast, filed, slipped and turned objects.

7.8.ix. Phase 5a (c.440-450).

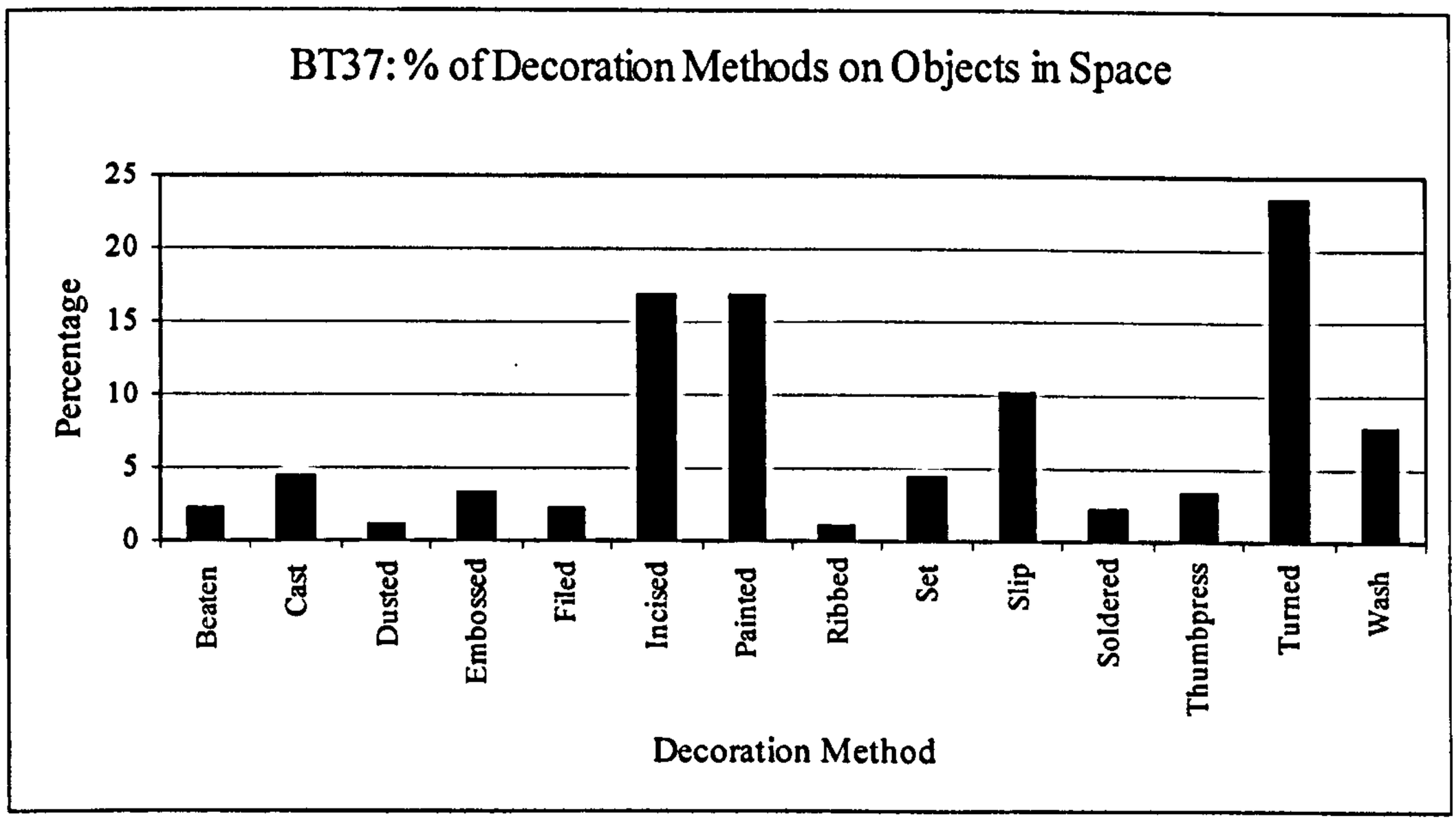


Figure B.46

There were 14 different decorative methods in the artefacts from this tomb. Most of the artefacts were turned. Incised and painted objects appeared in equal quantities after turned artefacts. None of the artefacts found with Body E in BT37 were decorated.

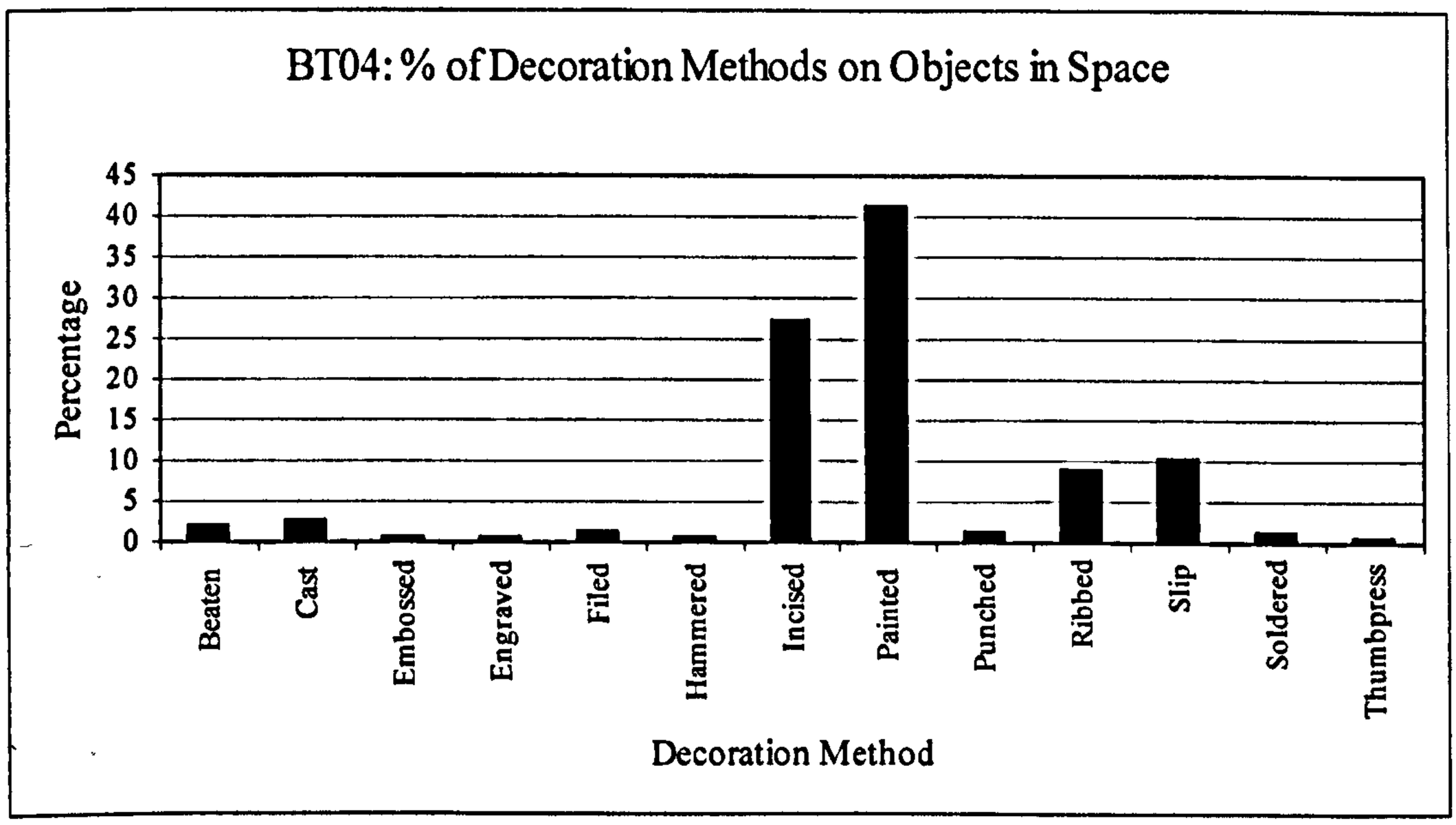


Figure B.47

14 different methods of decoration were found in the objects from BT04; the most common decoration methods were painting, incising and slipping.

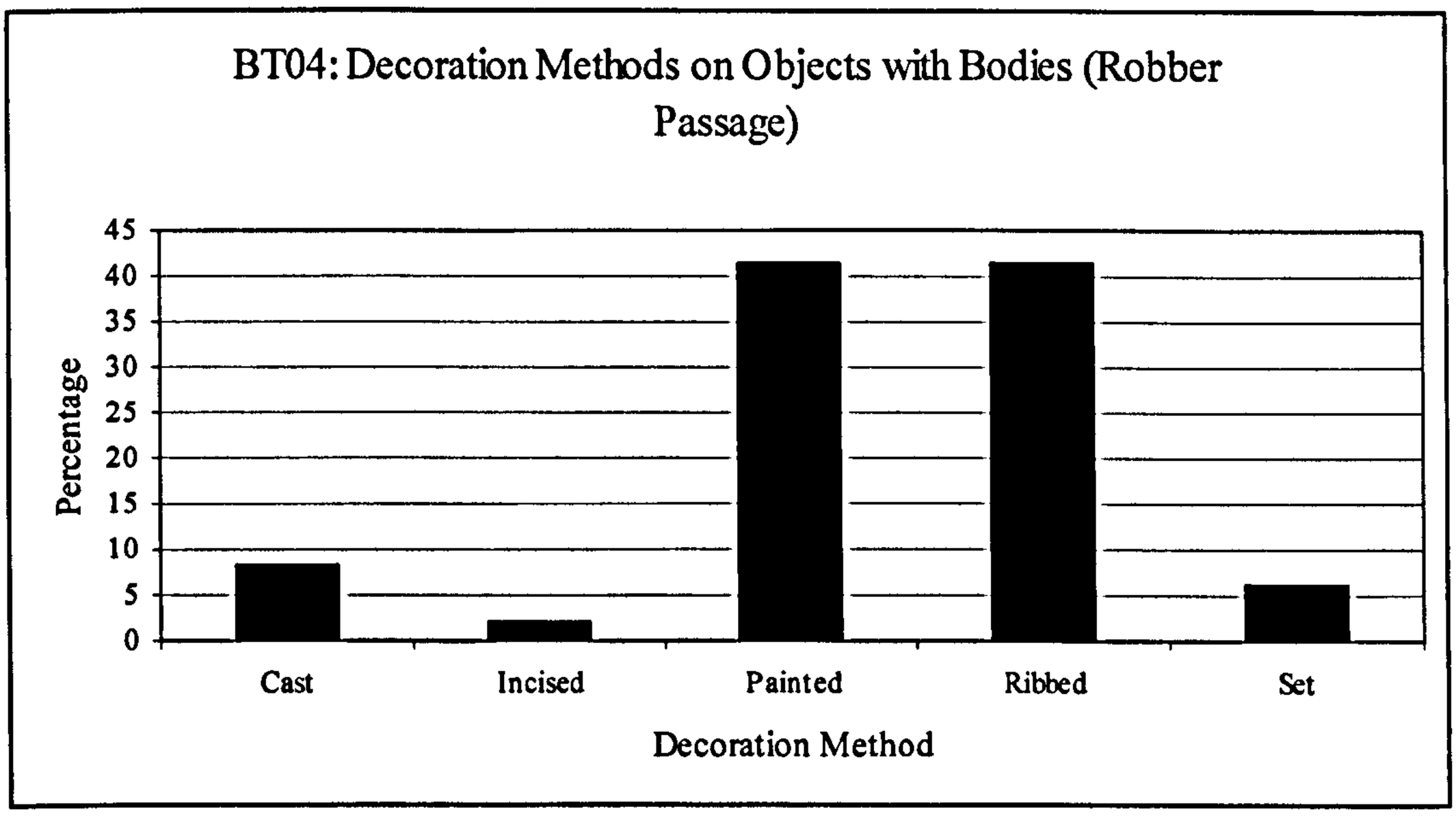


Figure B.48

Five decoration methods were used to decorate the artefacts found with the Body in BT04. Painted and ribbed artefacts appeared in equal quantities.

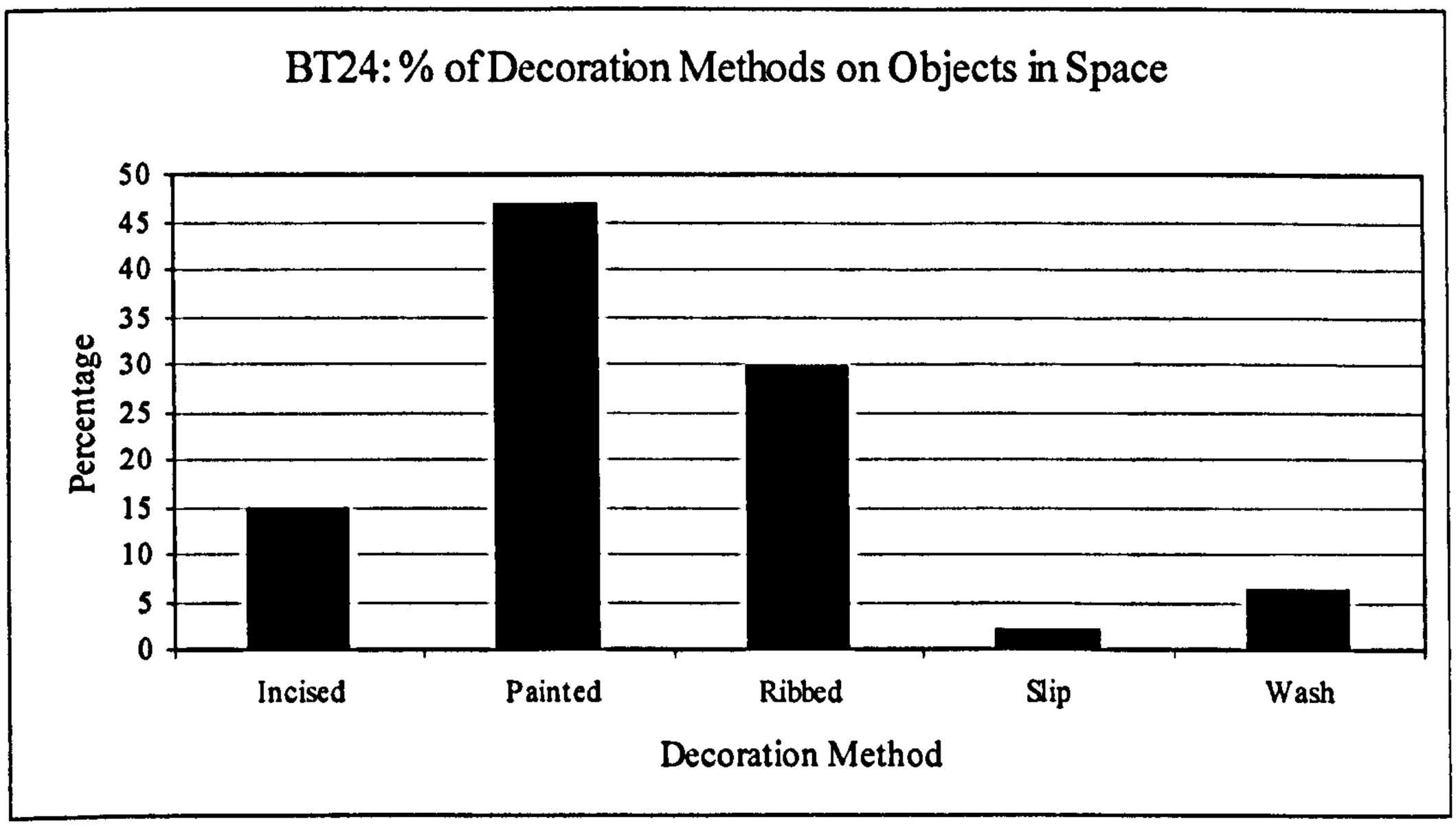


Figure B.49

Five decorative methods were seen in the artefacts from BT24. Most of the artefacts were painted.

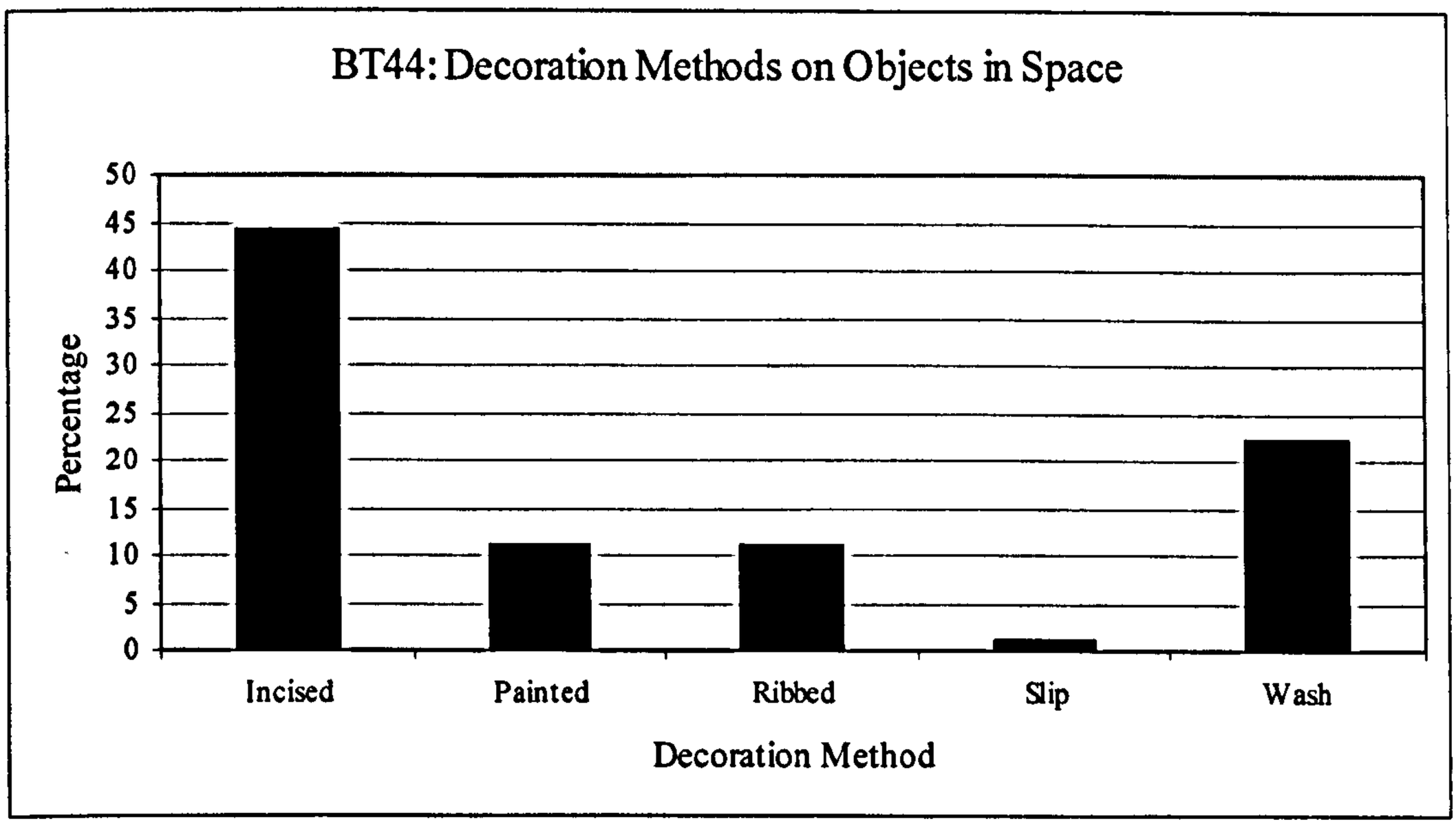


Figure B.50

Five decorated methods were used in the artefacts from BT44. Most of them were incised.

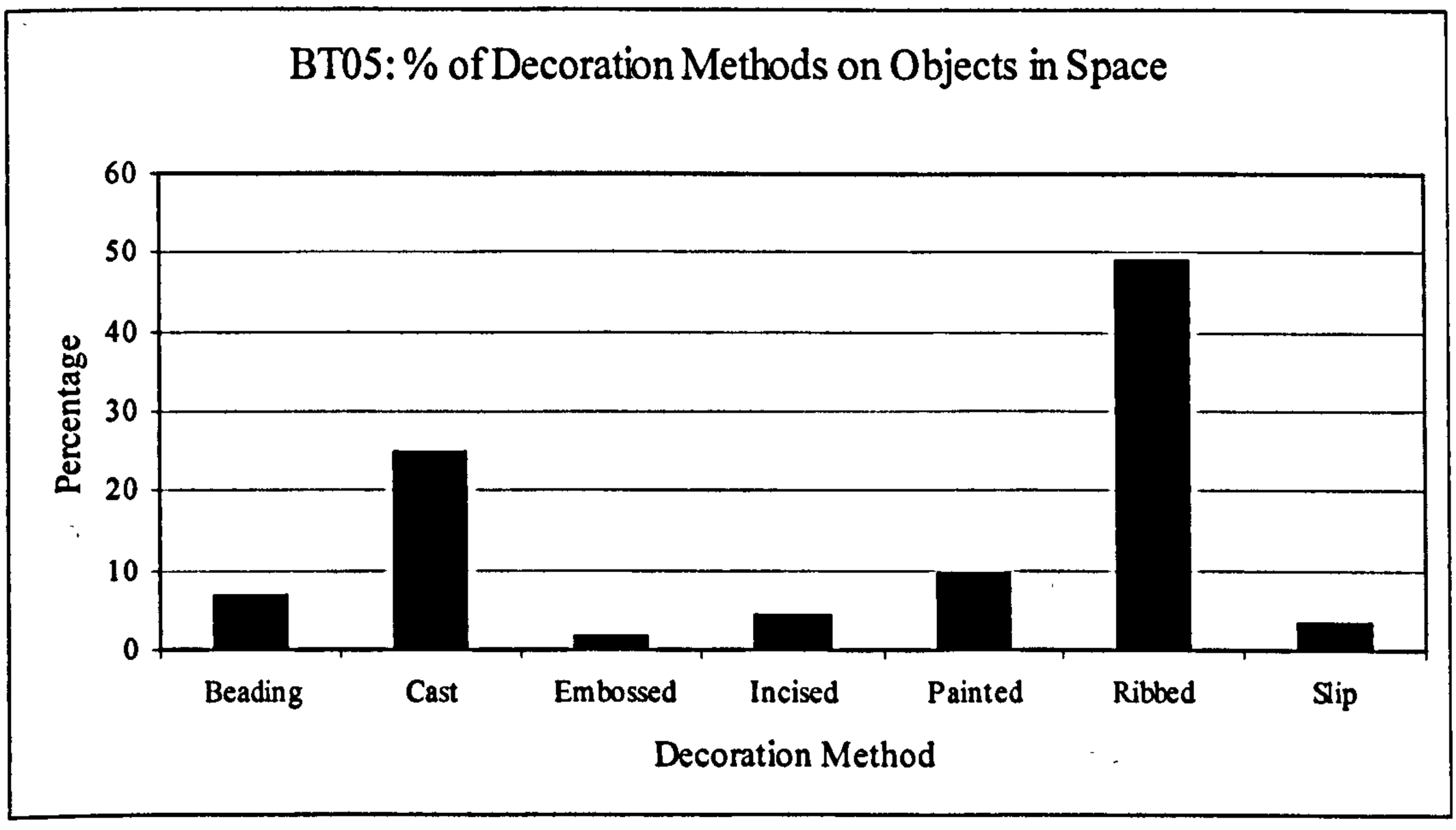


Figure B.51

Seven different decorative methods were found in the objects from BT05. The majority of decorated objects were ribbed, cast or painted.

7.8.x. Phase 5b (c. 440-450).

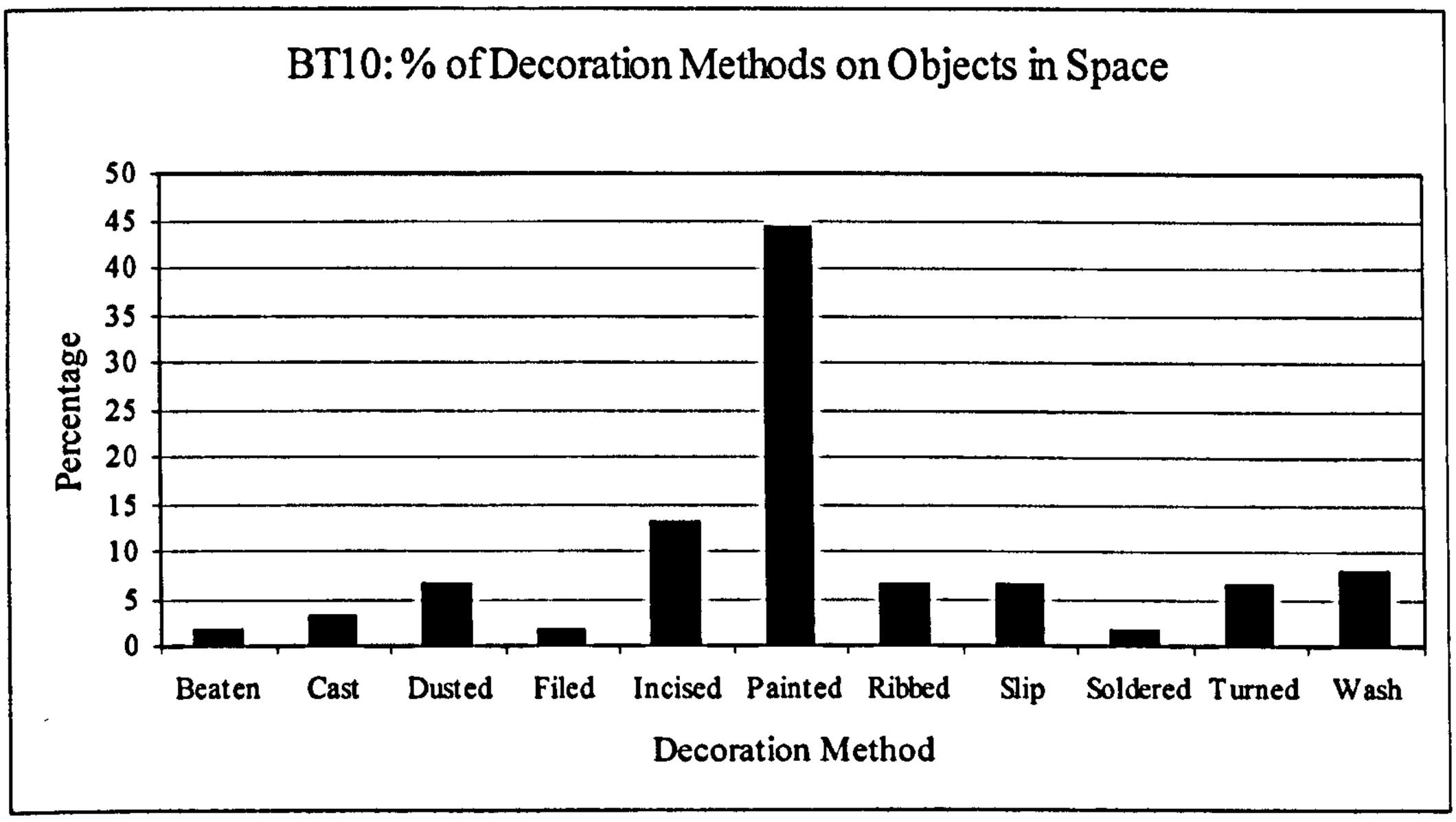


Figure B.52

11 different decorative methods were exhibited in the artefacts from this tomb. Most of the artefacts that were decorated were painted or incised.

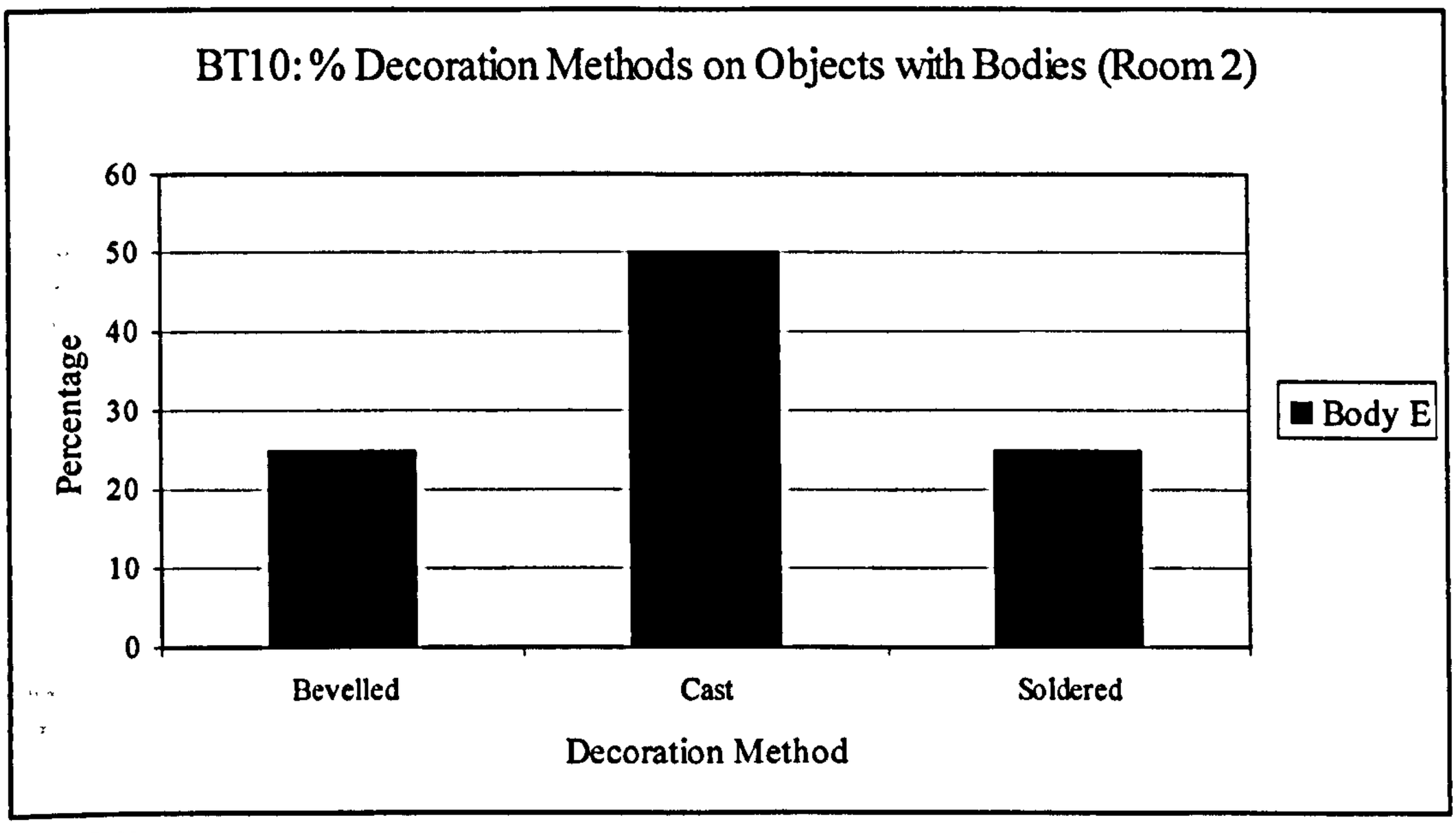


Figure B.53

Three decorative methods were found in the artefacts associated with the body in BT10. The technique of bevelling was exclusively found with the human body.

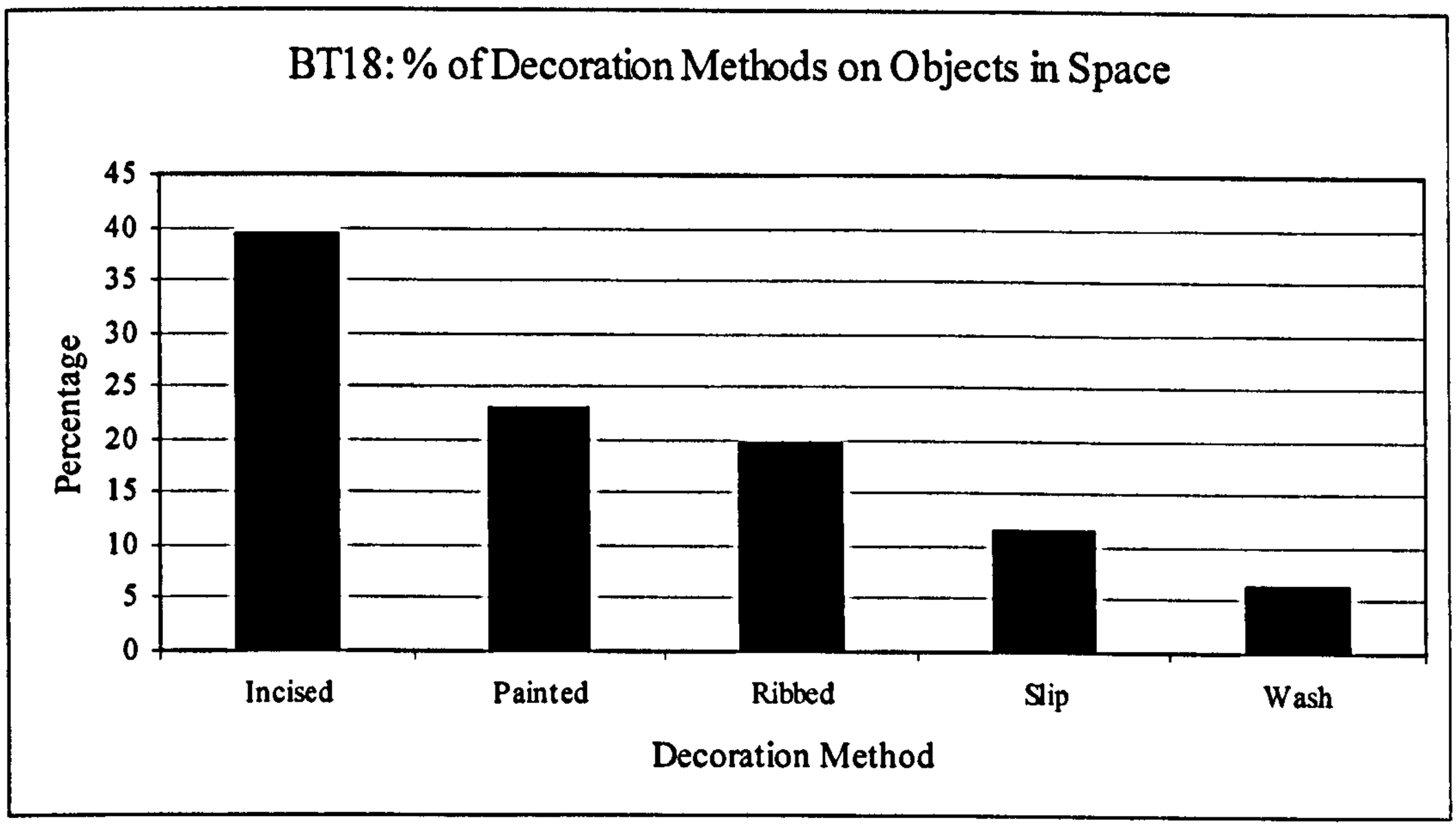


Figure B.54

Five different decorative methods were used in the objects from BT18. Most of the objects were incised or painted.

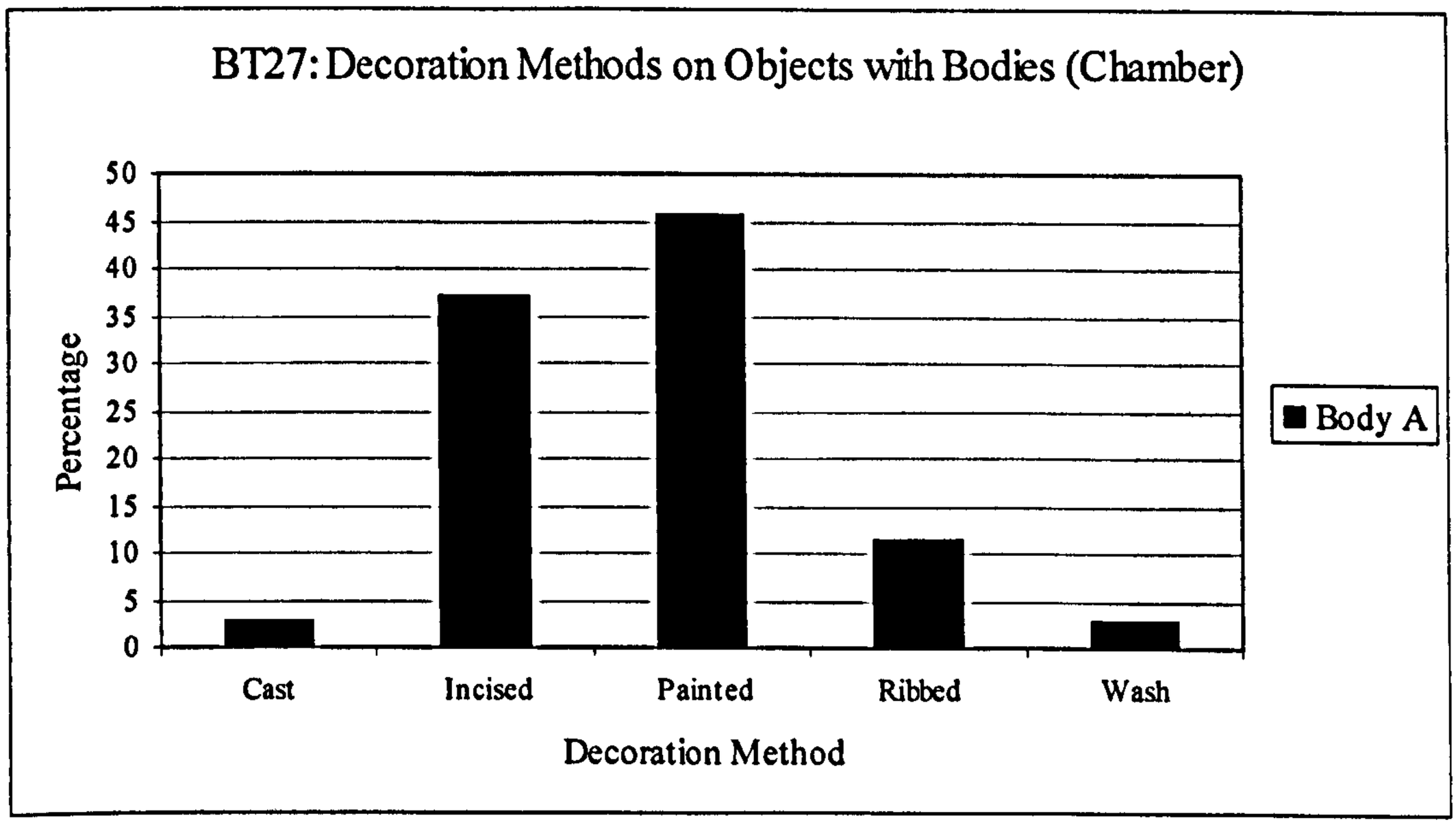


Figure B.55

All of the artefacts from BT27 recorded in this graph were associated with Body A in the Chamber. Most of the artefacts were painted.

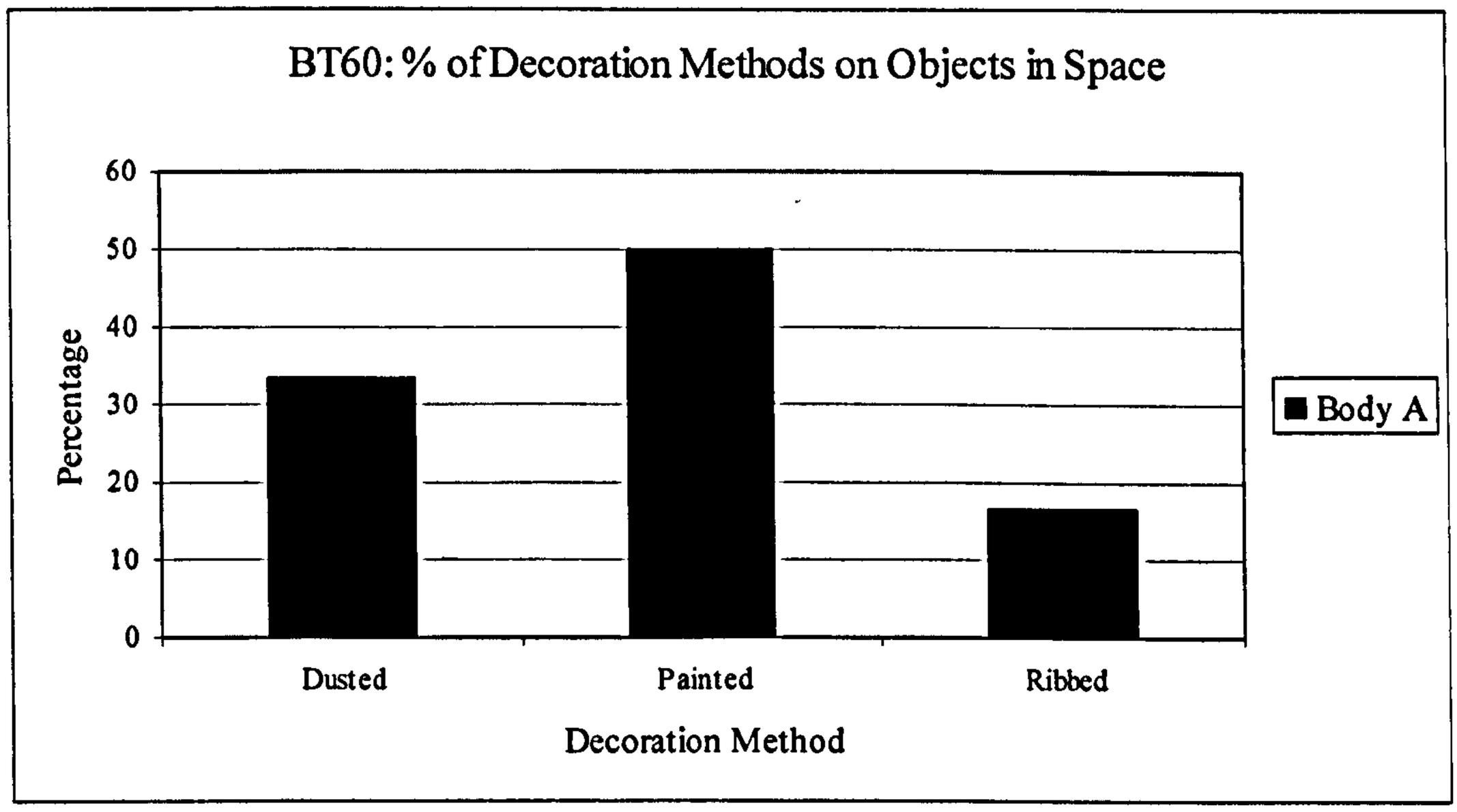


Figure B.56

All of the artefacts from BT60 were found in association with Body A. Most of the artefacts were painted.

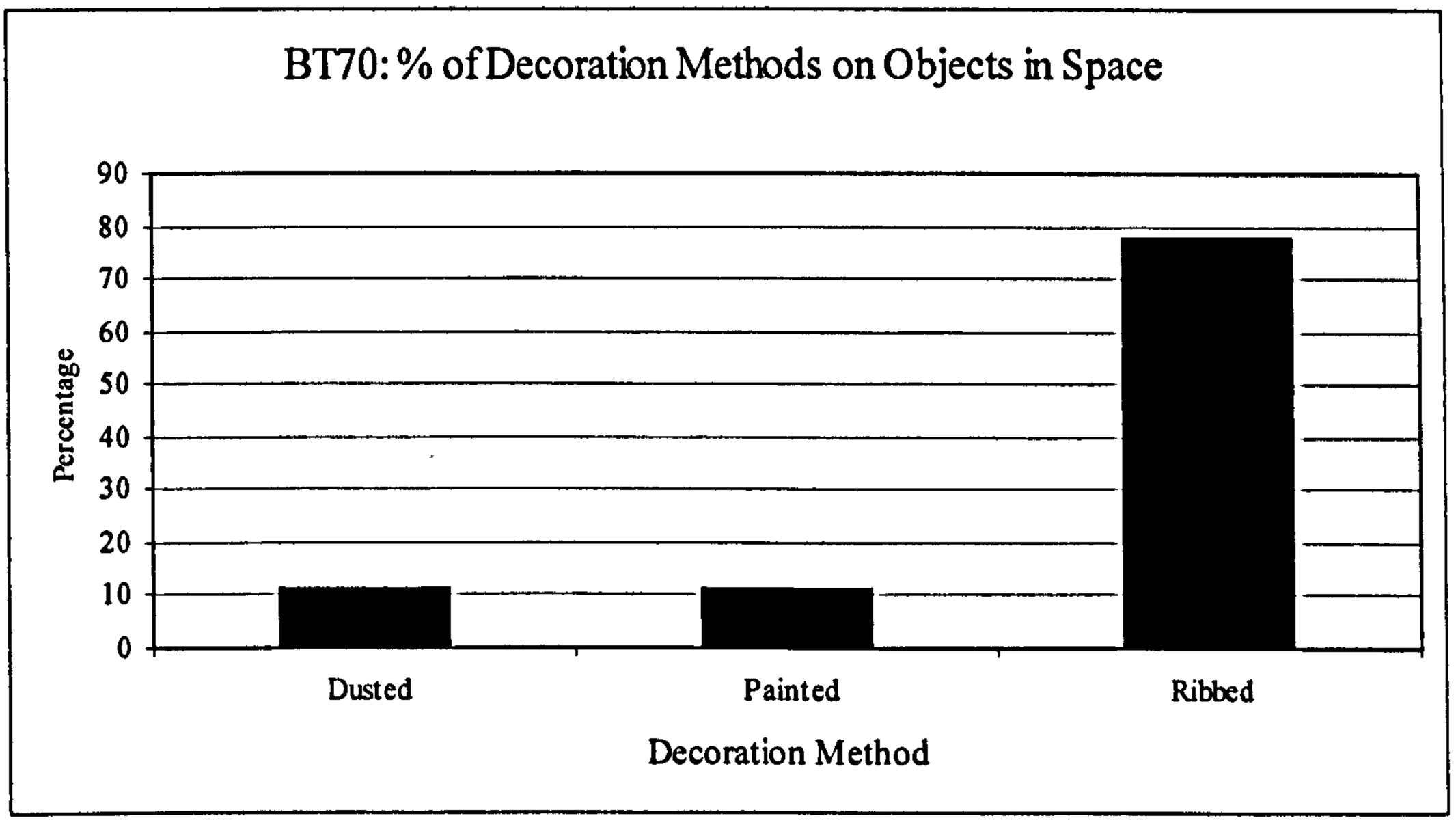


Figure B.57

There were only three decorative methods found in the objects from BT70. Most of the artefacts were ribbed.

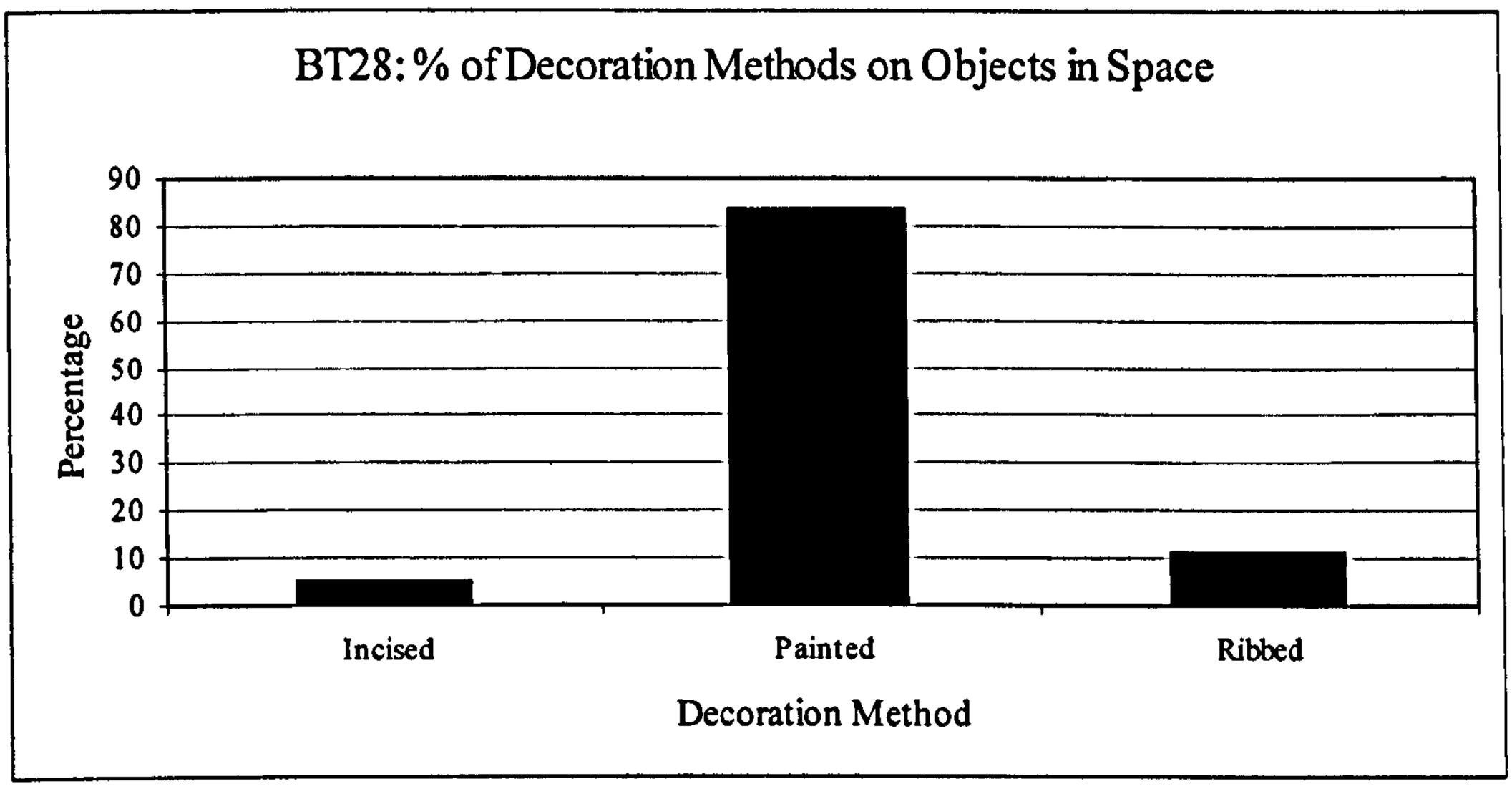


Figure B.58

Only three decorative methods were used in the artefacts from BT28. Most of the artefacts were painted.

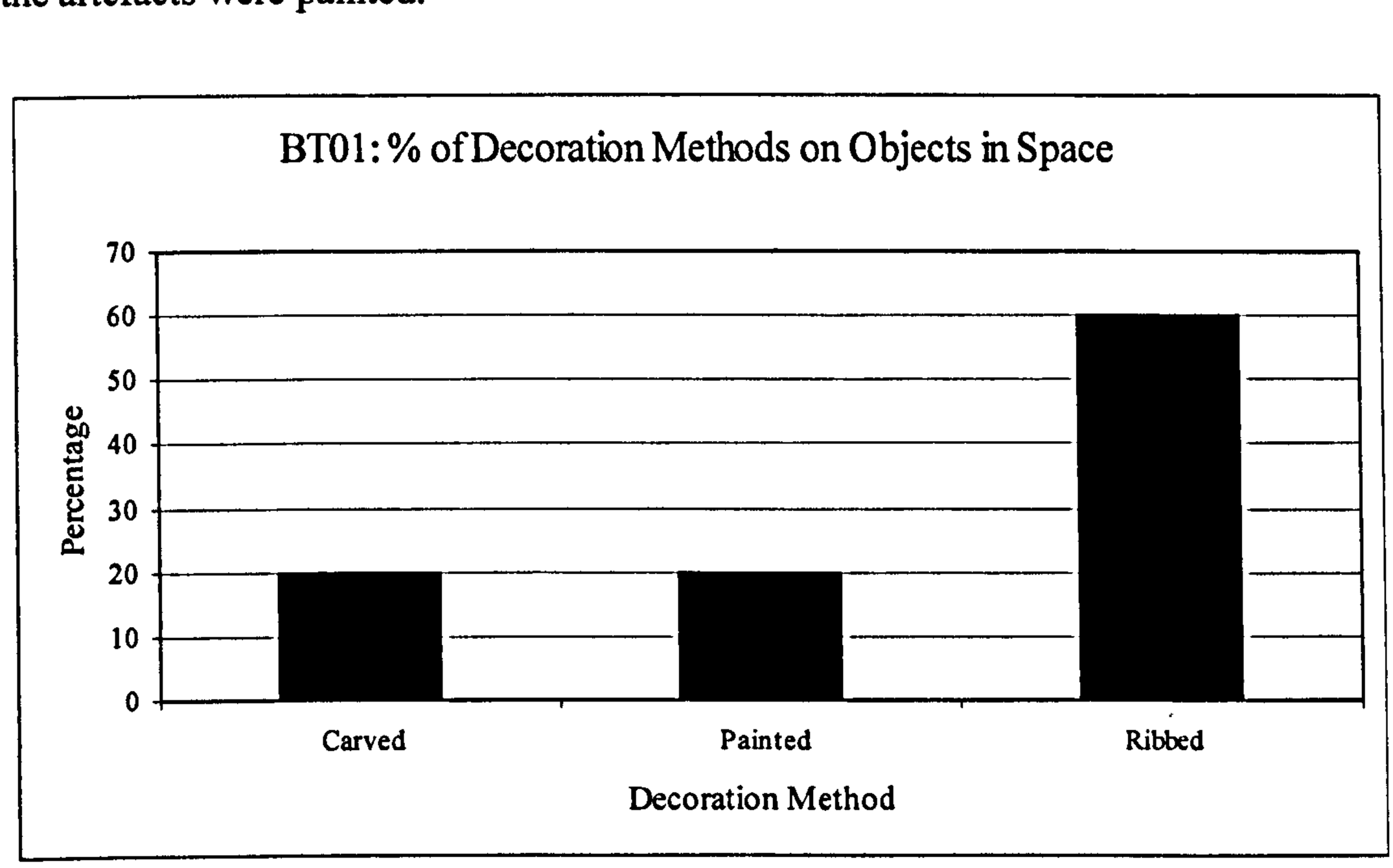


Figure B.59

Most of the artefacts in BT01 that were decorated were ribbed.

There were no decorated artefacts in tomb BT13.

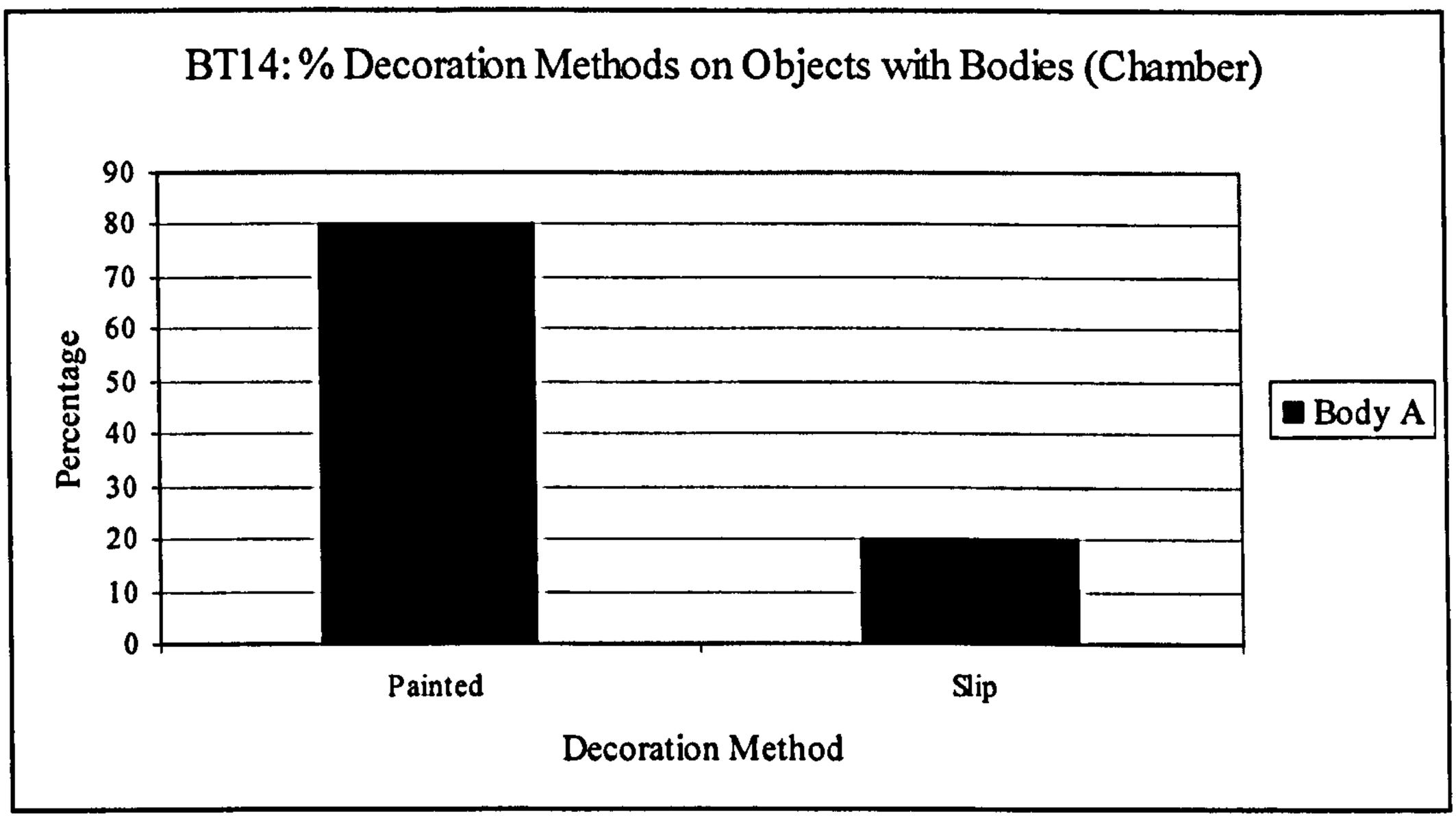


Figure B.60

All of the artefacts from BT14 were associated with Body A. The artefacts only contained two decorative methods of which, painting was the most numerous.

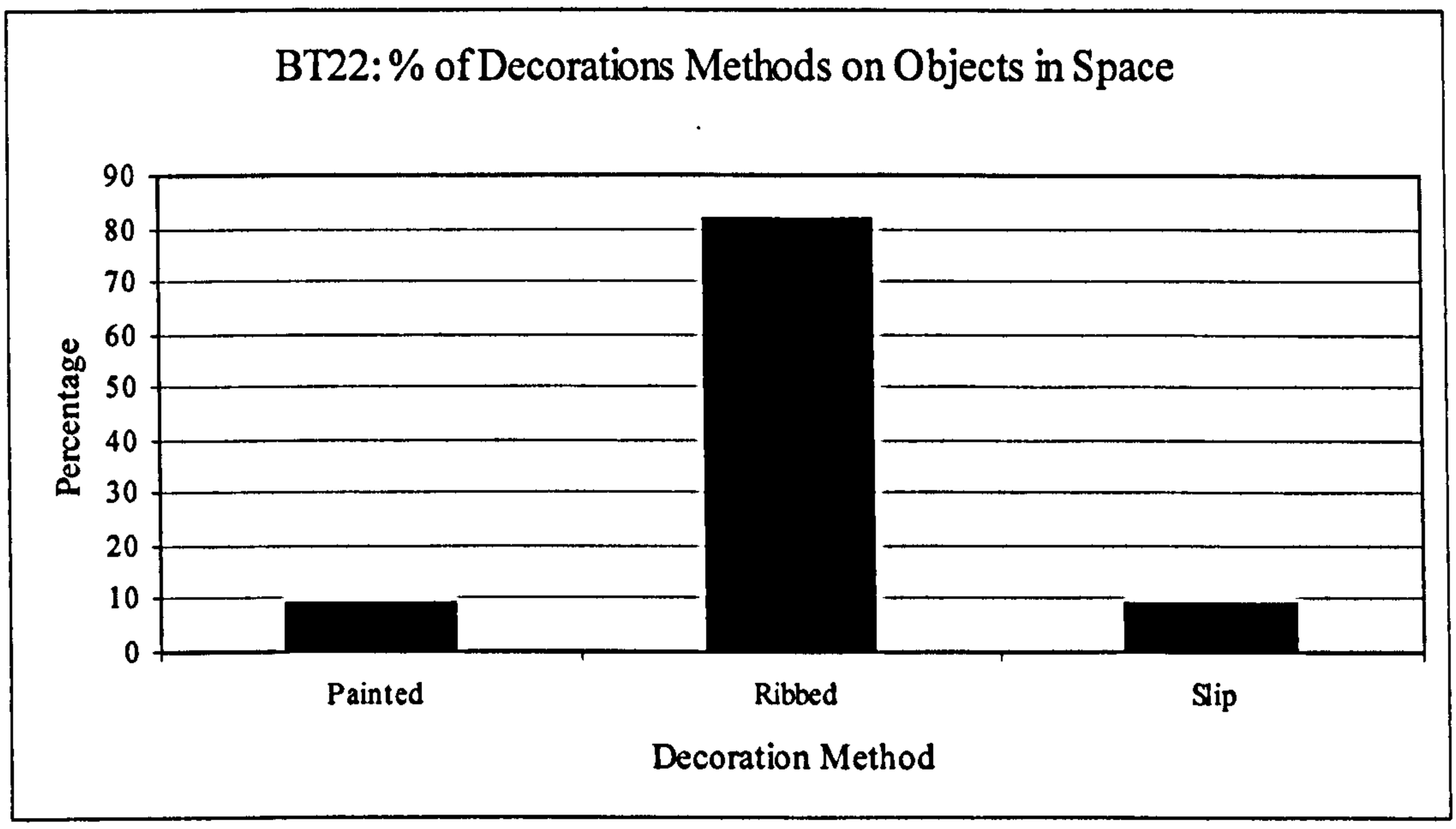


Figure B.61

Most of the artefacts from BT22 were ribbed. Only one artefact was painted, and this was the only artefact with two decoration methods.

The single red artefact discovered in the Chamber of BT21 had no decorative scheme.

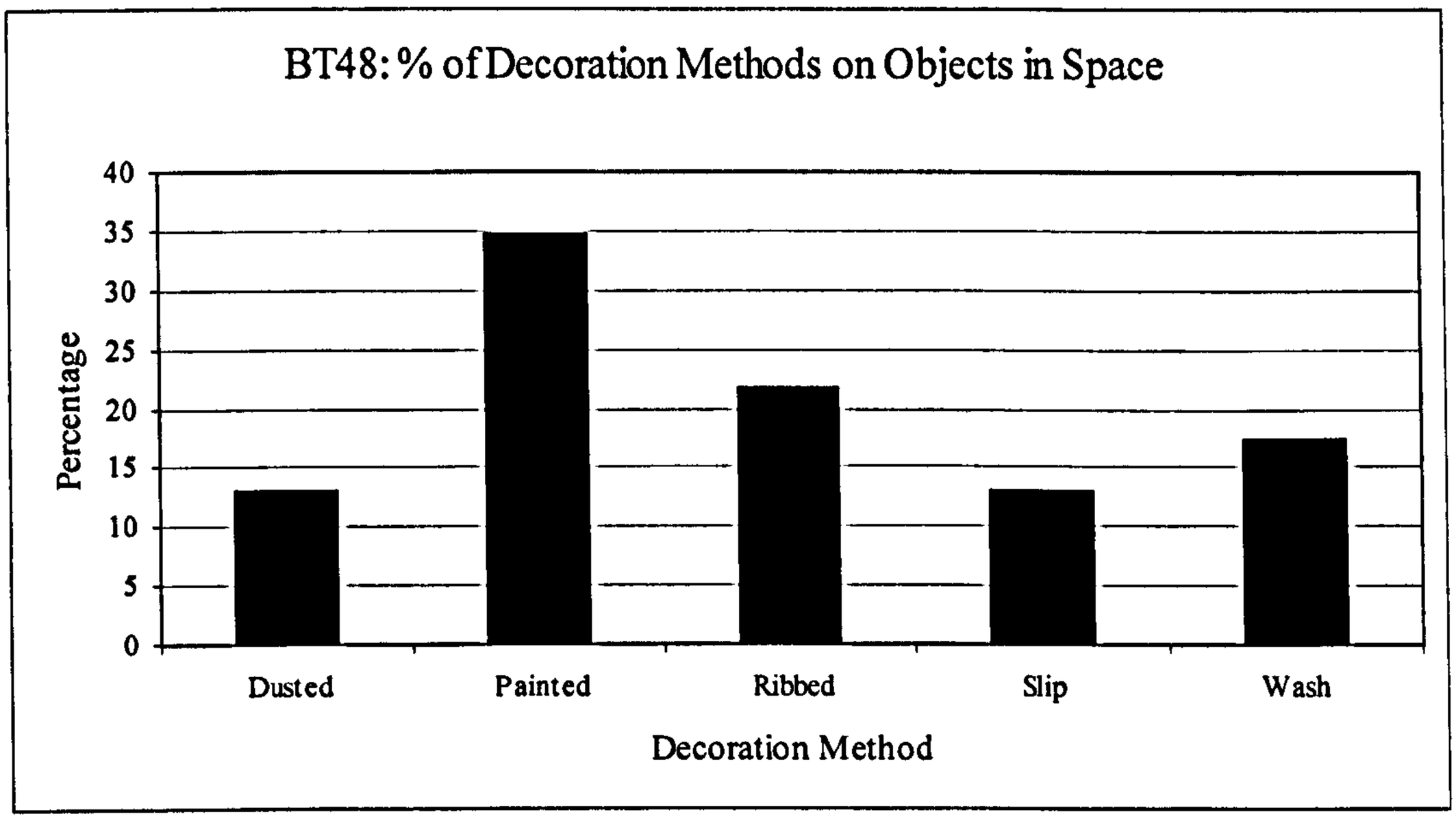


Figure B.62

Five decorative methods were used in the artefacts from BT48, most of which were painted.

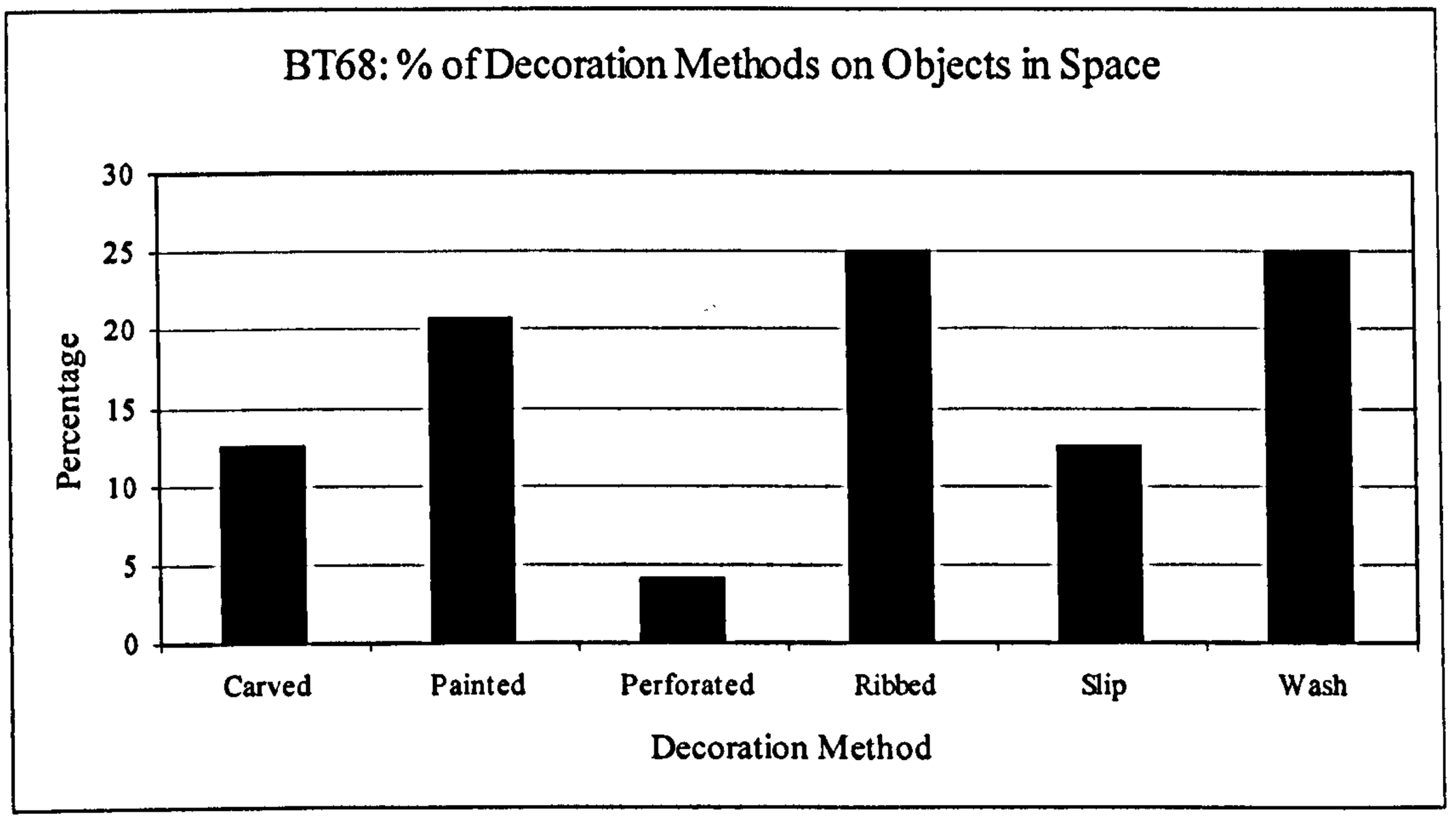


Figure B.63

Most of the artefacts that had been decorated in BT68 were either ribbed or washed.

7.8.xi. Phase 6a (c.450-460AD).

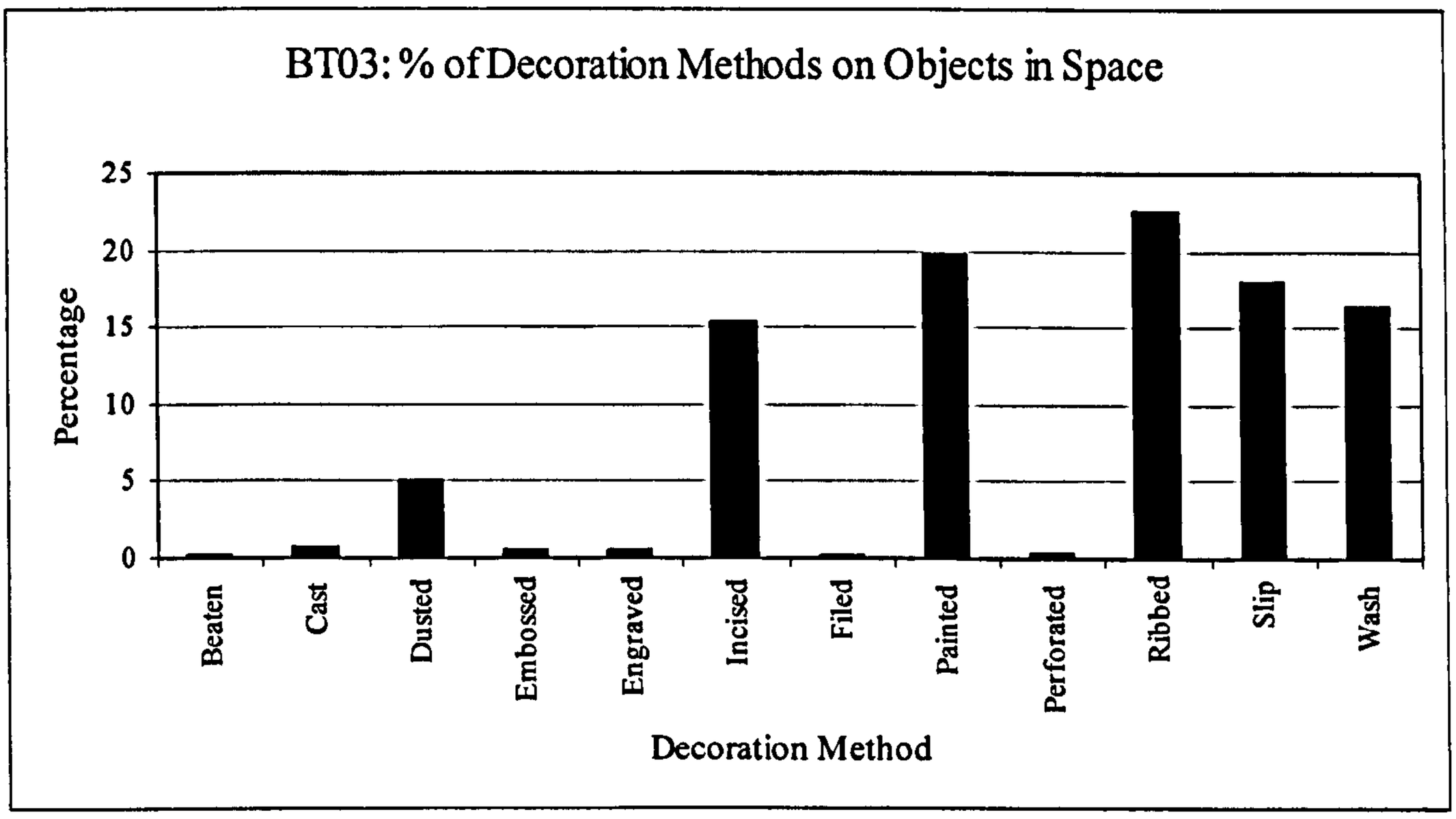


Figure B.64

12 decorative methods were used to decorate the artefacts in BT03. Most of the artefacts were ribbed or painted.

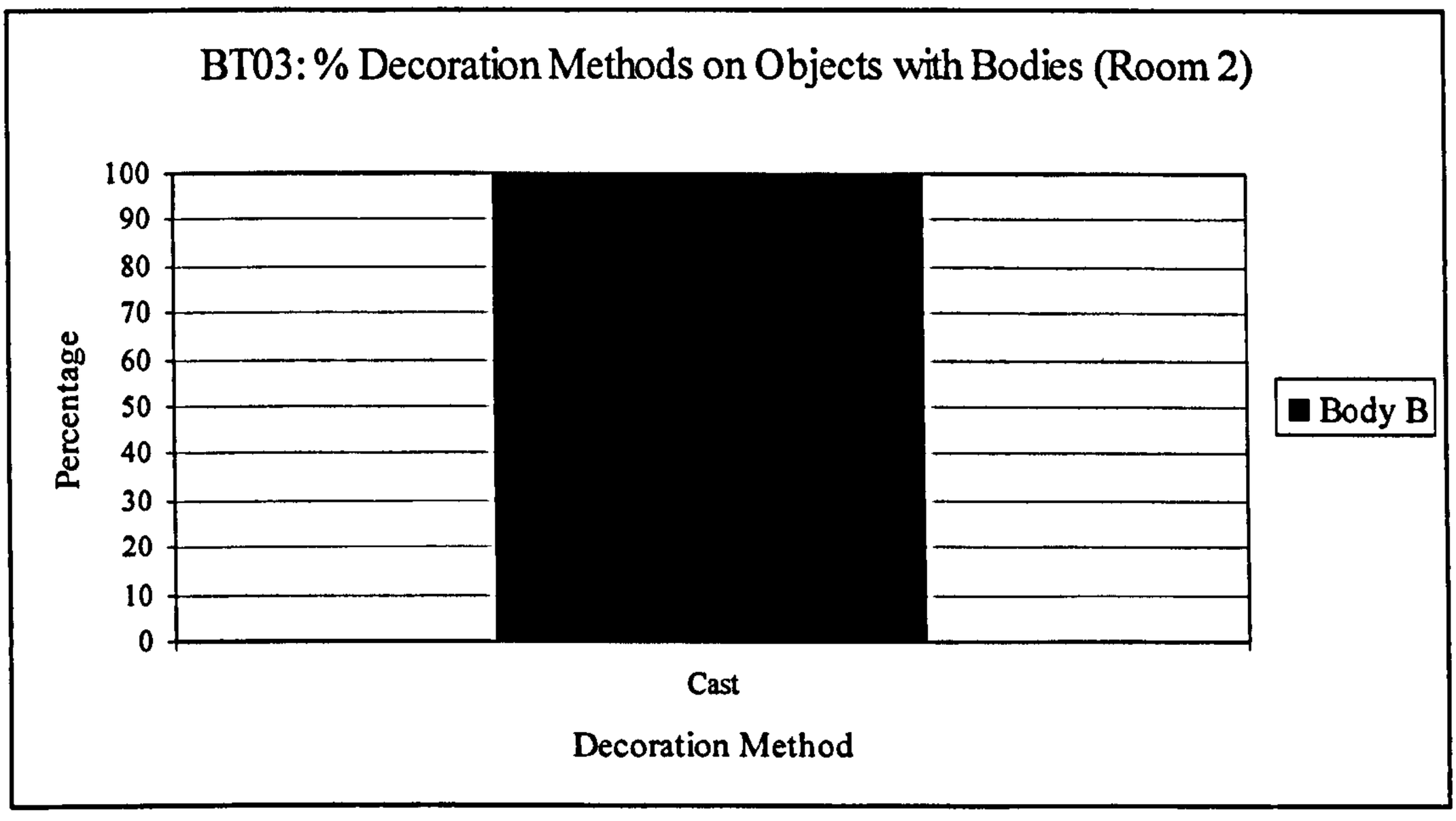


Figure B.65

The artefacts found with Body B in BT03 were cast.

7.8.xii. Phase 6b (c.460-470AD).

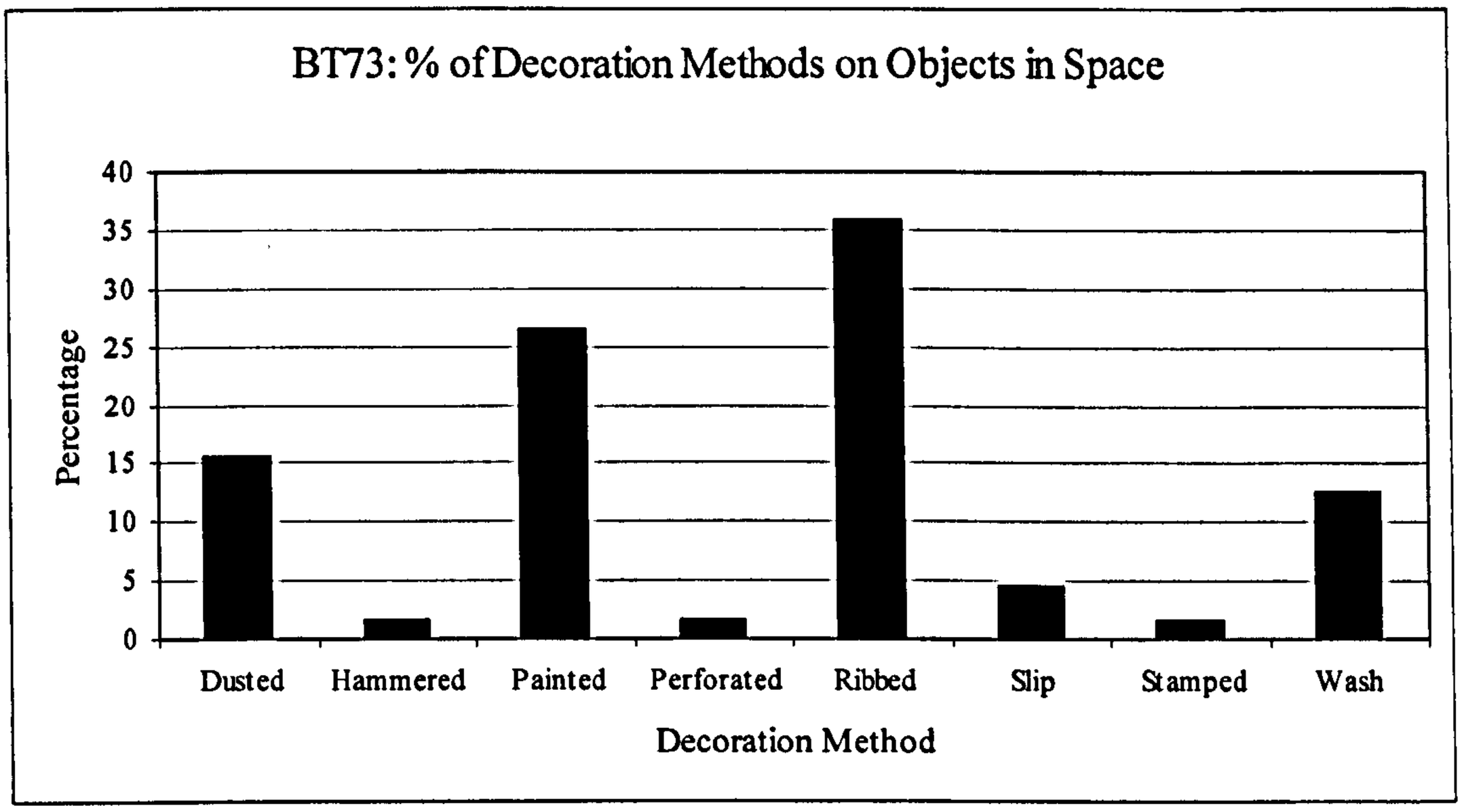


Figure B.66

Eight decorative methods were seen in the objects from BT73. Most of the artefacts were ribbed.

Neither of the two artefacts from BT72 had any decoration.

7.8.xiii. Phase 7a (c.470-480AD).

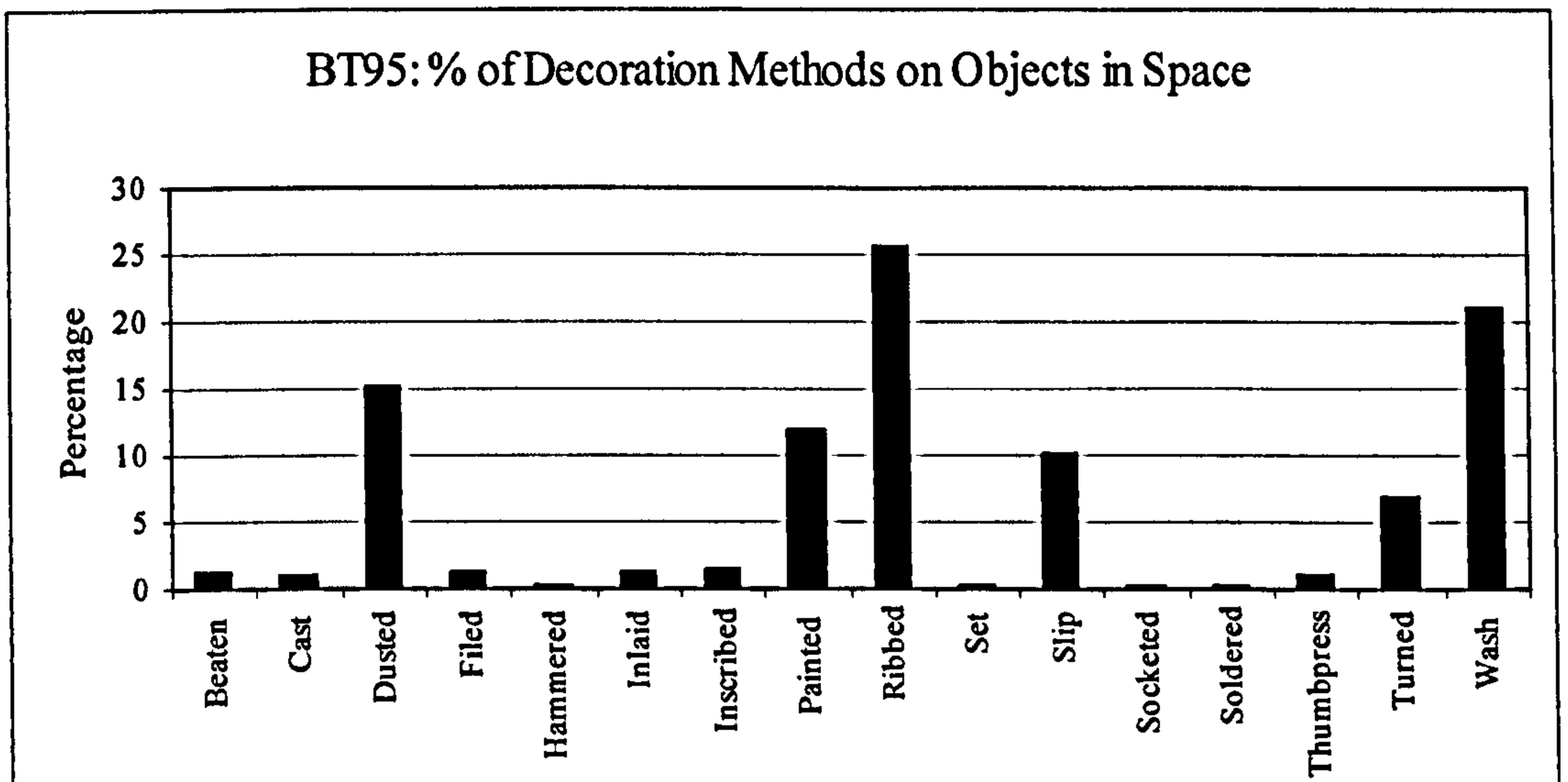


Figure B.67

16 decorative methods were found in the artefacts from BT95. Most of the artefacts were ribbed, washed or dusted.

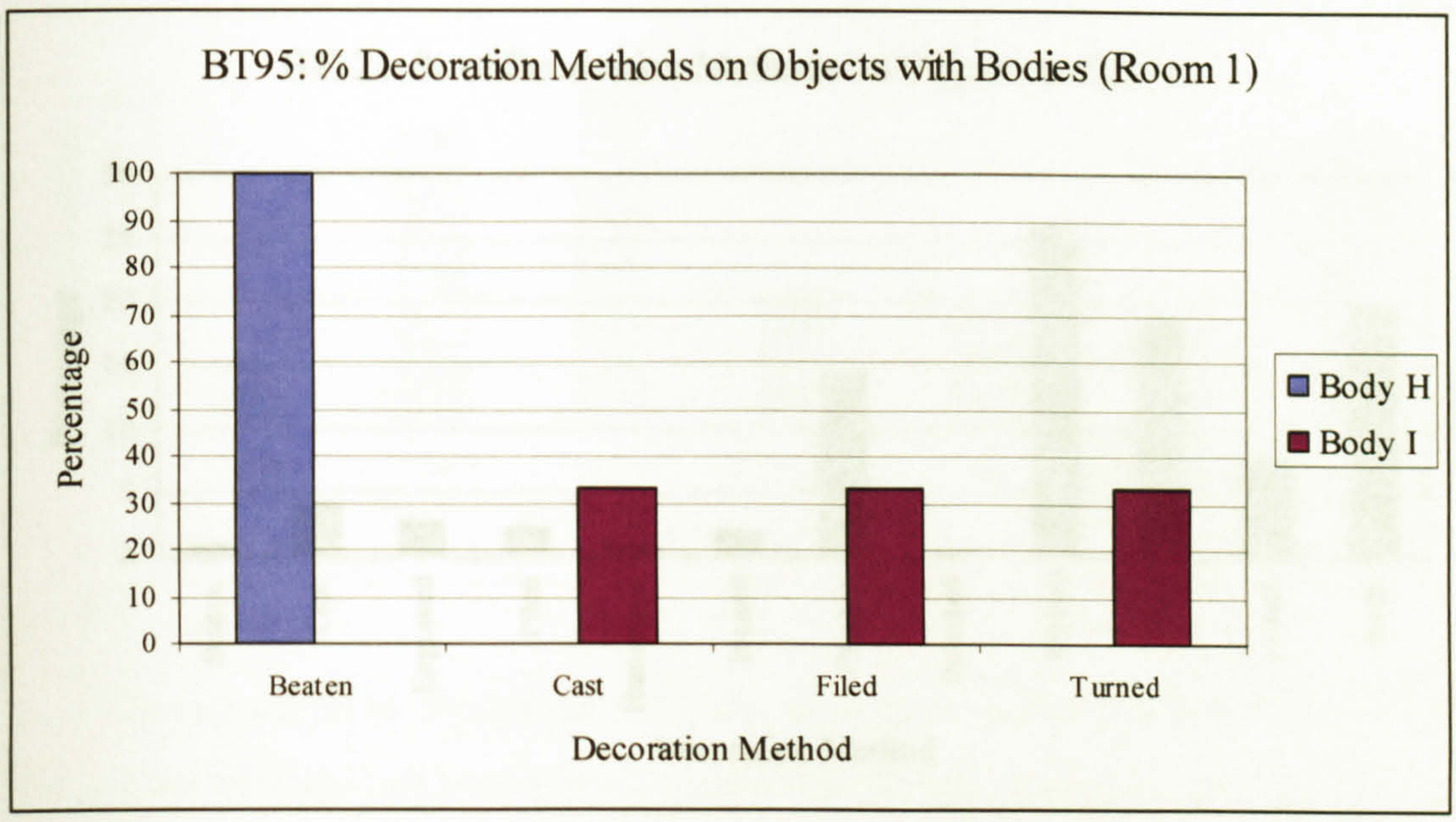


Figure B.68

The artefacts found with the bodies in Room 1 were decorated using four different methods. The artefact with Body H was beaten, and the artefact with Body I was cast, filed and turned.

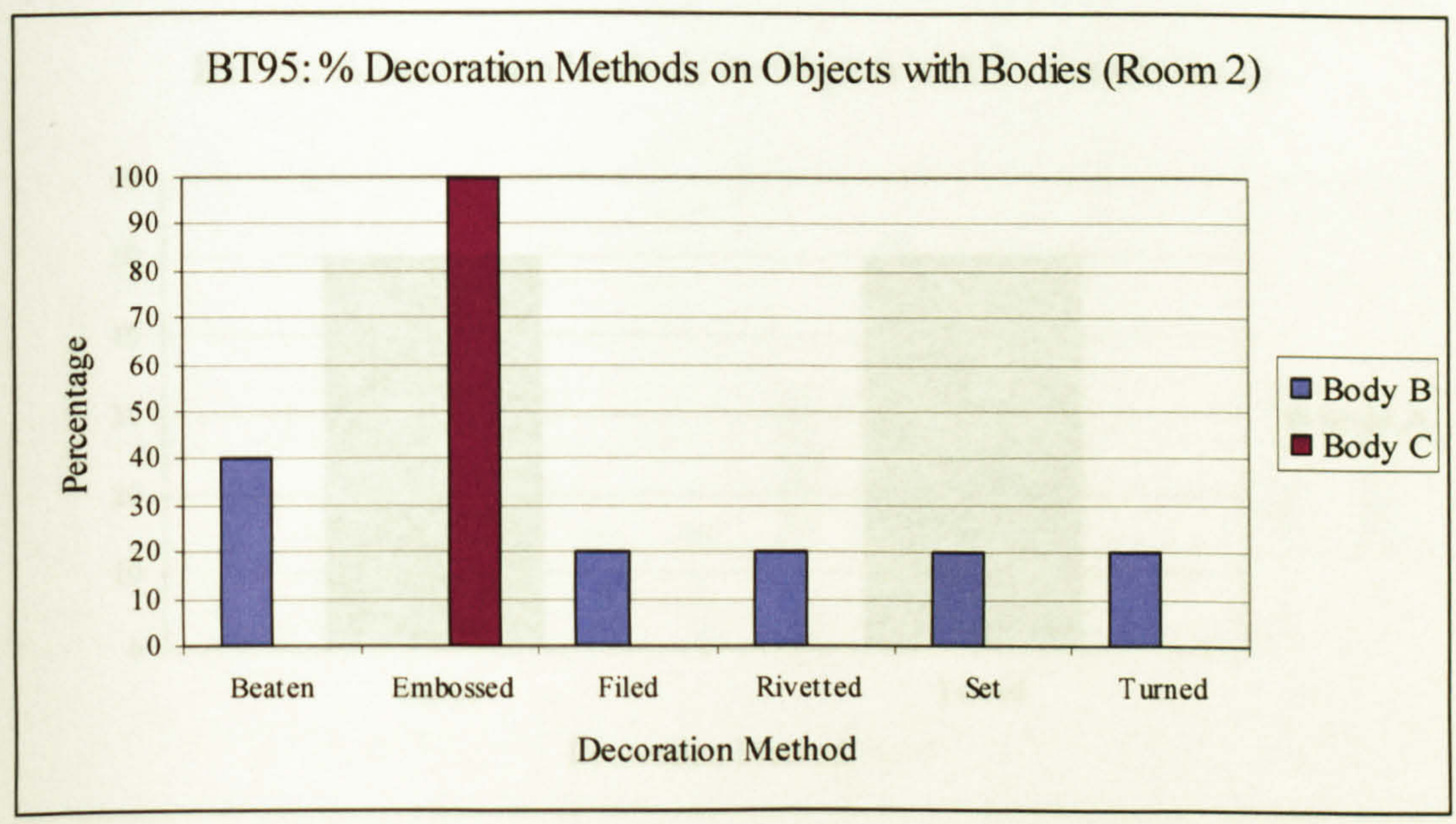


Figure B.69

Body B was found with 29 artefacts decorated using five different methods. The artefact found with Body C was embossed. Certain decorative methods found

with the humans in BT95 were exclusively found on artefacts associated with skeletal remains. These techniques were riveting and embossing.

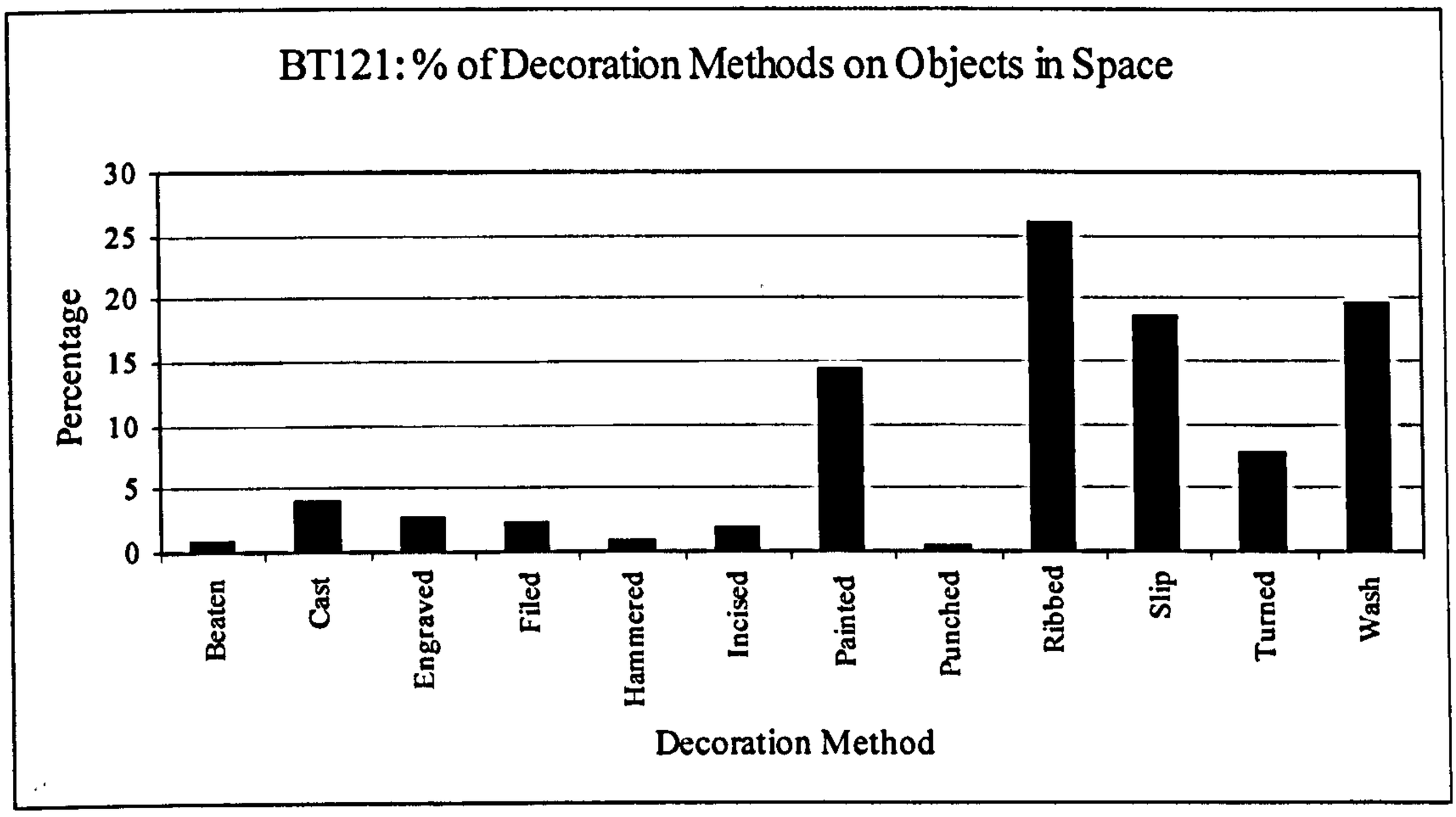


Figure B.70

12 decorative methods were found in the artefacts from BT121. Most of the objects had been ribbed, washed or slipped. A small percentage of objects were beaten, hammered or punched.

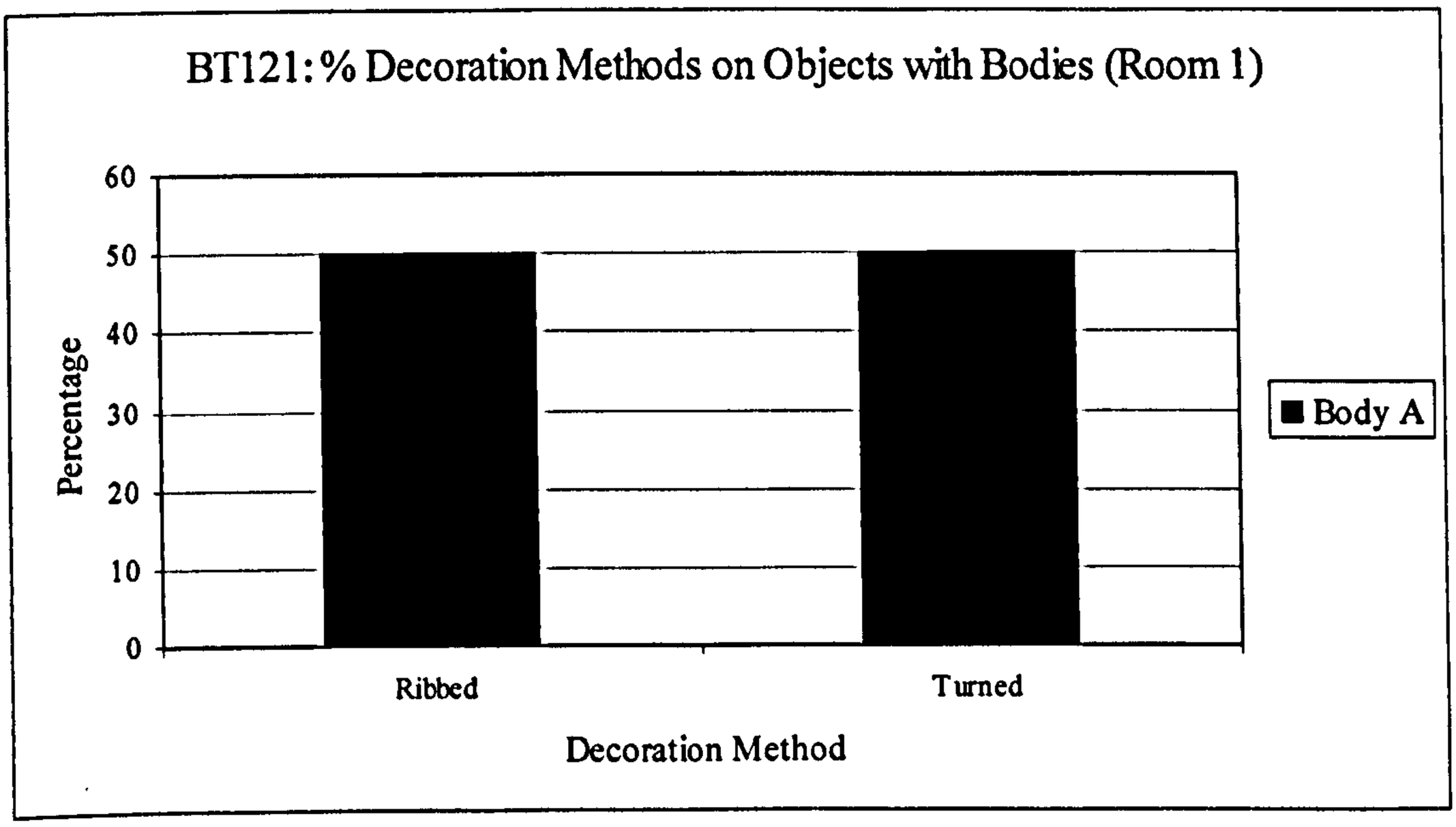


Figure B.71

Only one of the artefacts found with Body A in BT121 was decorated. It was both turned and ribbed.

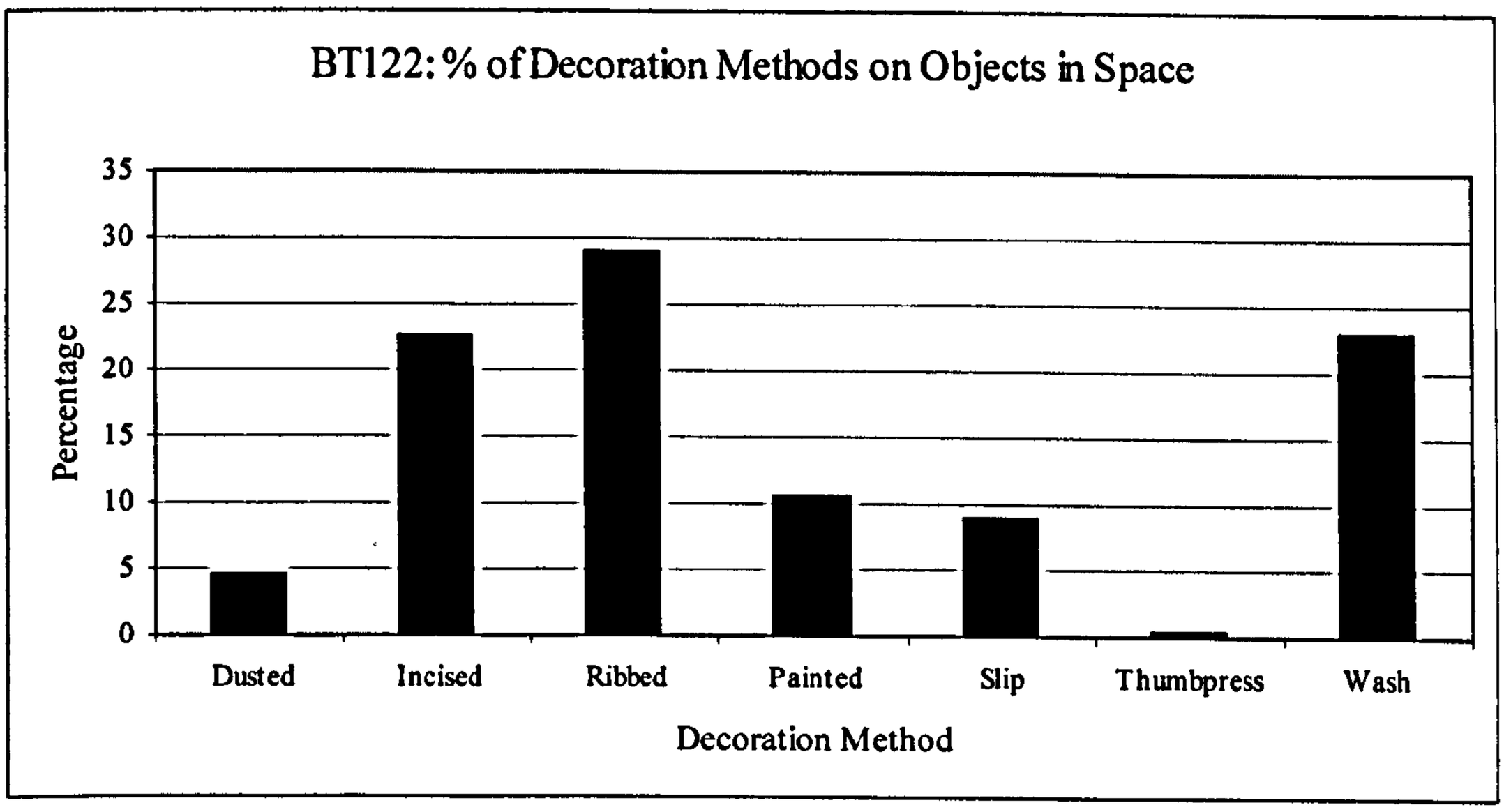


Figure B.72

Seven different decorative methods were seen in the artefacts from BT122. Most of the artefacts had been ribbed, washed or incised.

There were no decorated artefacts in BT76.

7.8.xiv. Phase 7b (c.480-490AD).

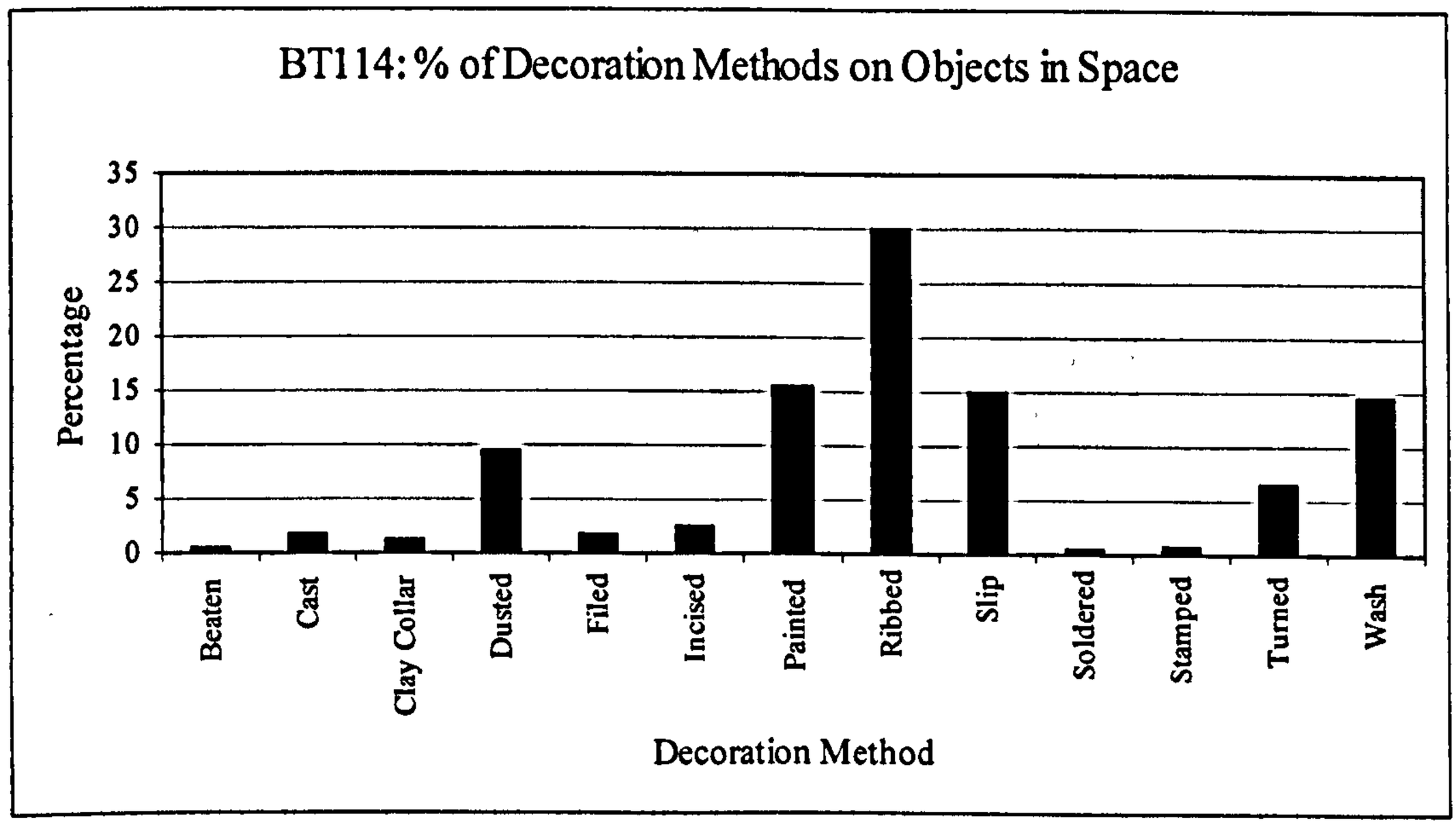


Figure B.73

13 decorative methods were seen in the artefacts from BT114. Most of the artefacts were ribbed, painted or slipped.

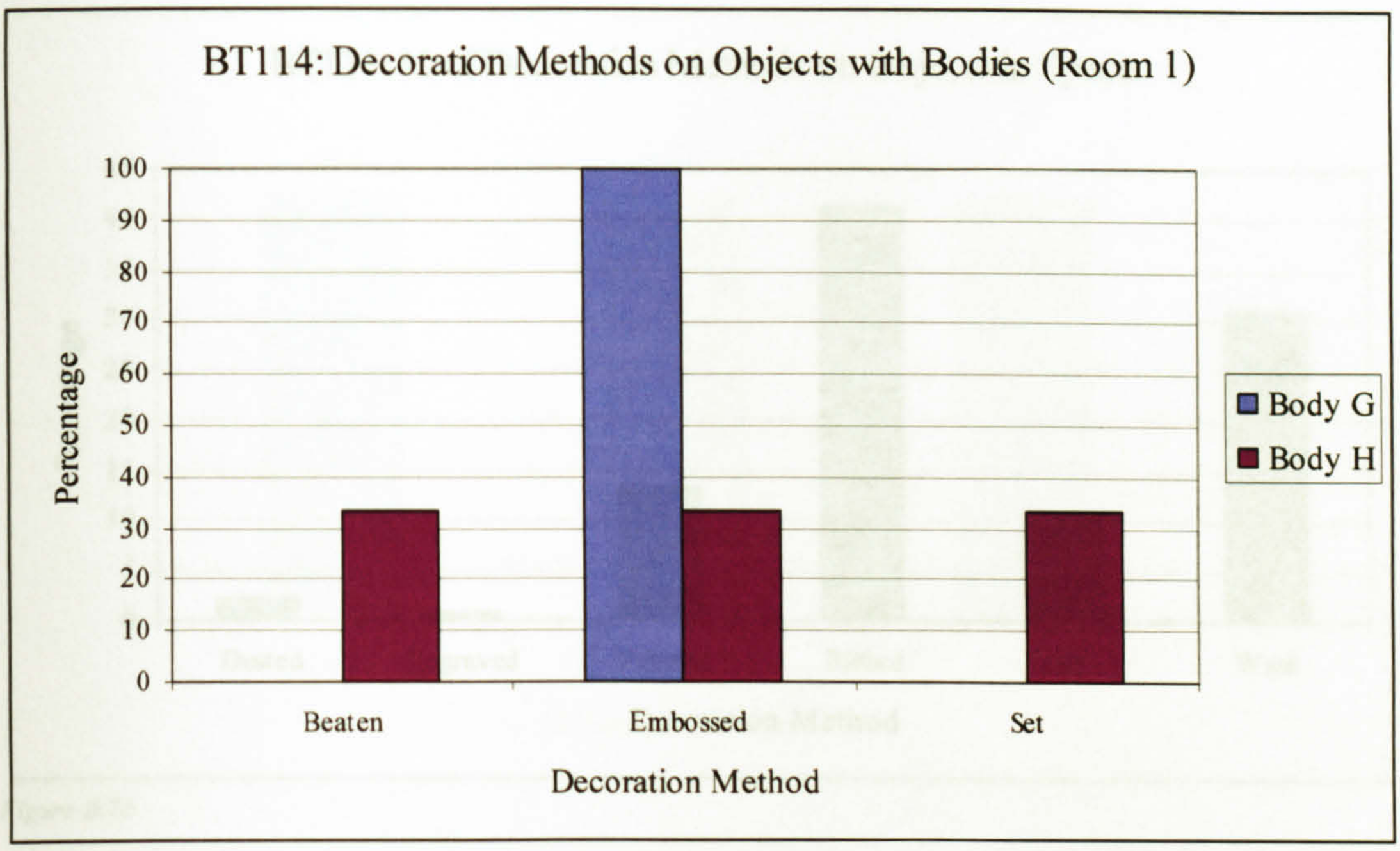


Figure B.74

The artefact with Body G was embossed. The artefact with Body H was beaten, embossed and set.

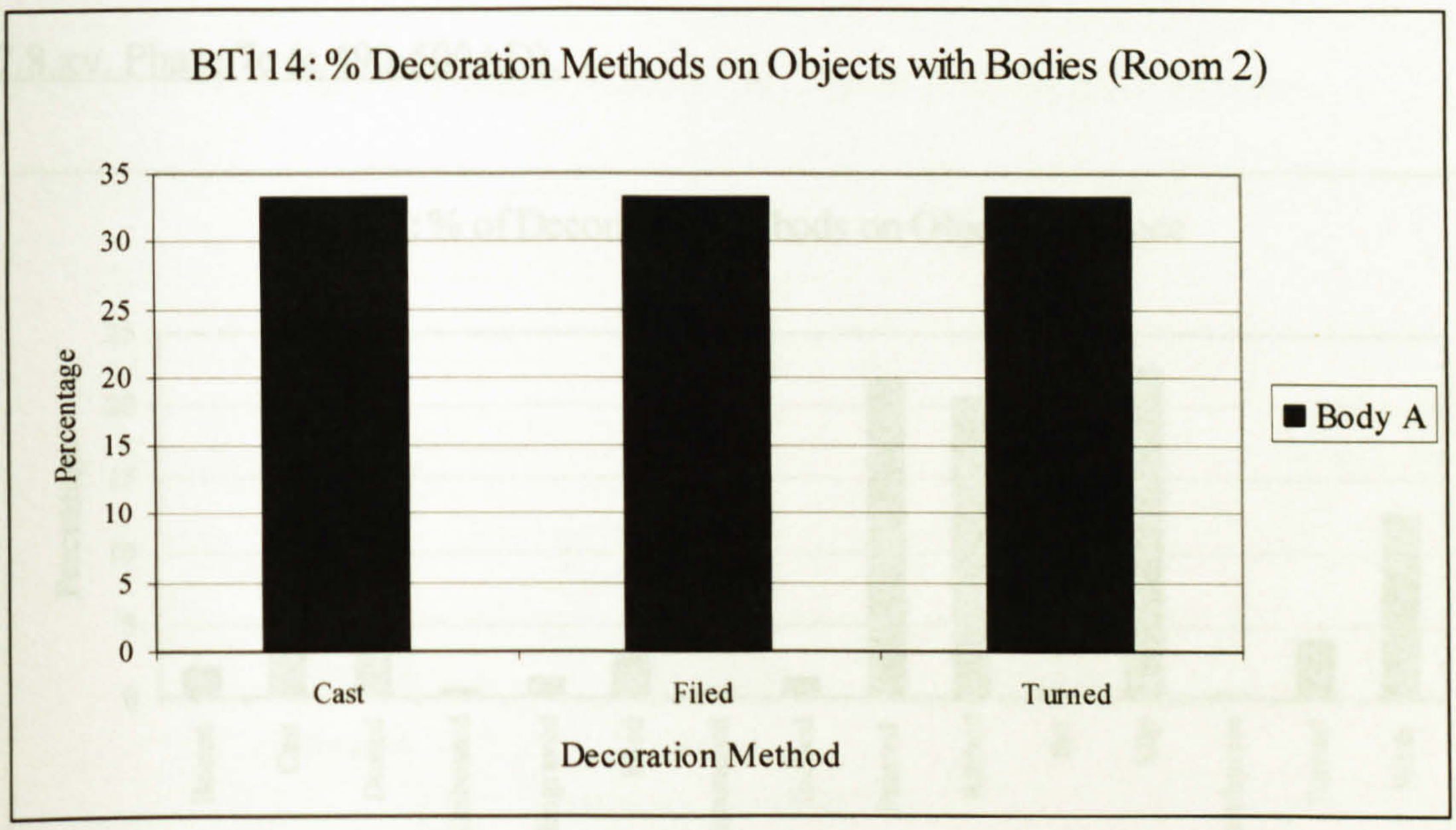


Figure B.75

The artefact found with Body A was cast, filed and turned. A number of the decoration methods found in the artefacts with the human remains were the only examples of such methods in the tomb. These techniques were set or embossed in this tomb.

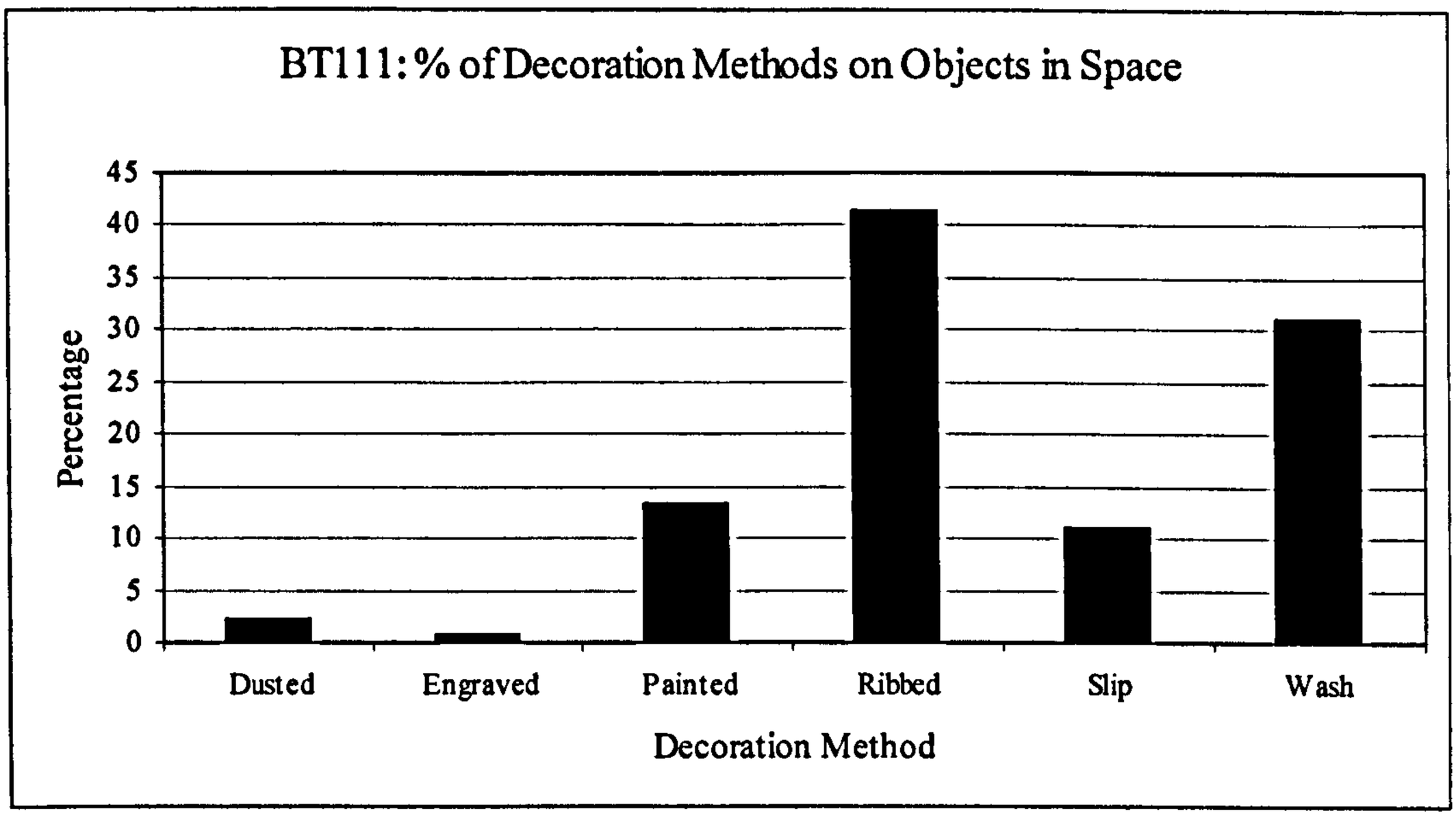


Figure B.76

All of the artefacts from BT111 existed in space, and were not found in association with any human or animal remains. Most of the artefacts had been ribbed or washed.

7.8.xv. Phase 7c (c.490-500AD).

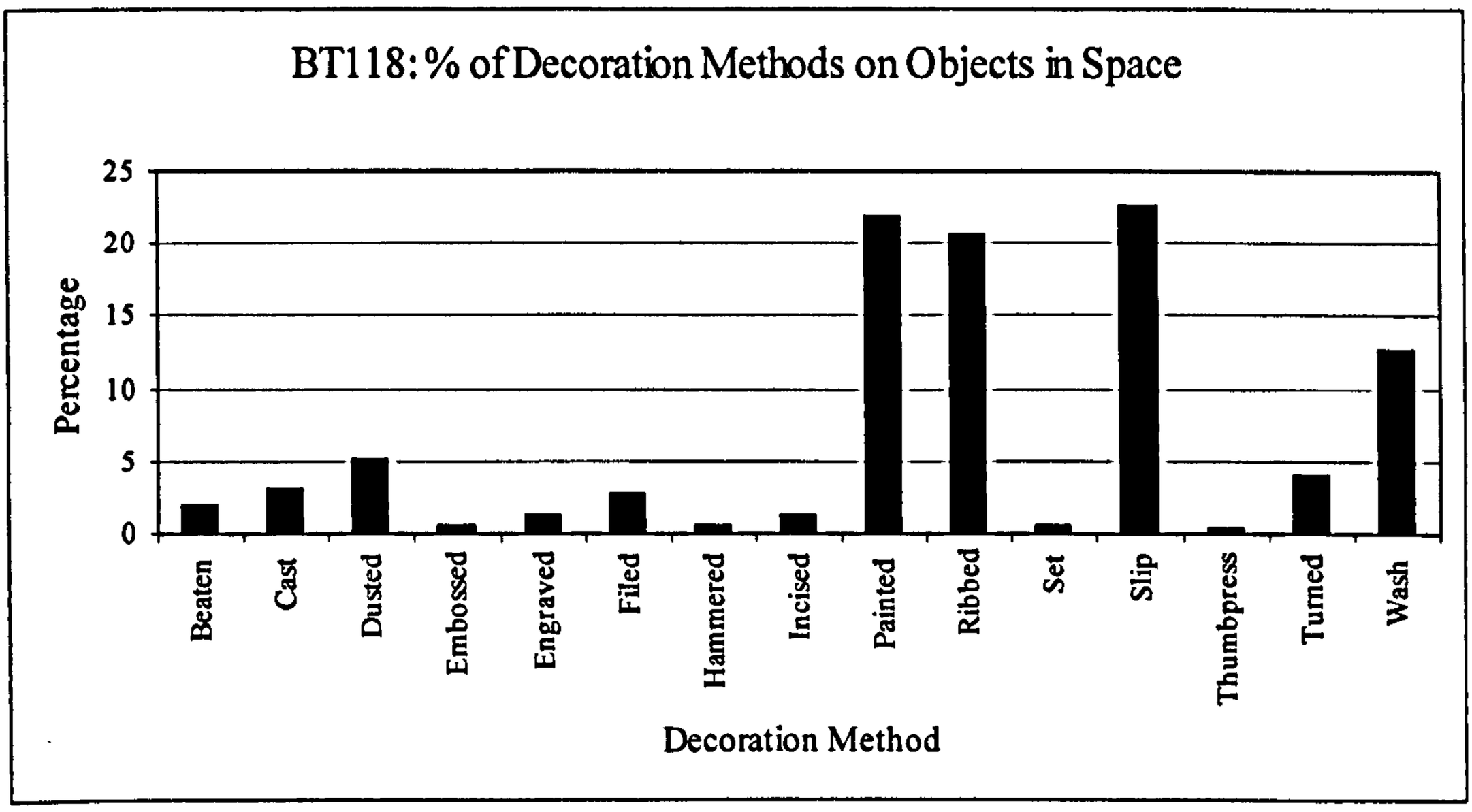


Figure B.77

15 decorative methods were found in the artefacts from BT118. Most of the objects were slipped, painted or ribbed.

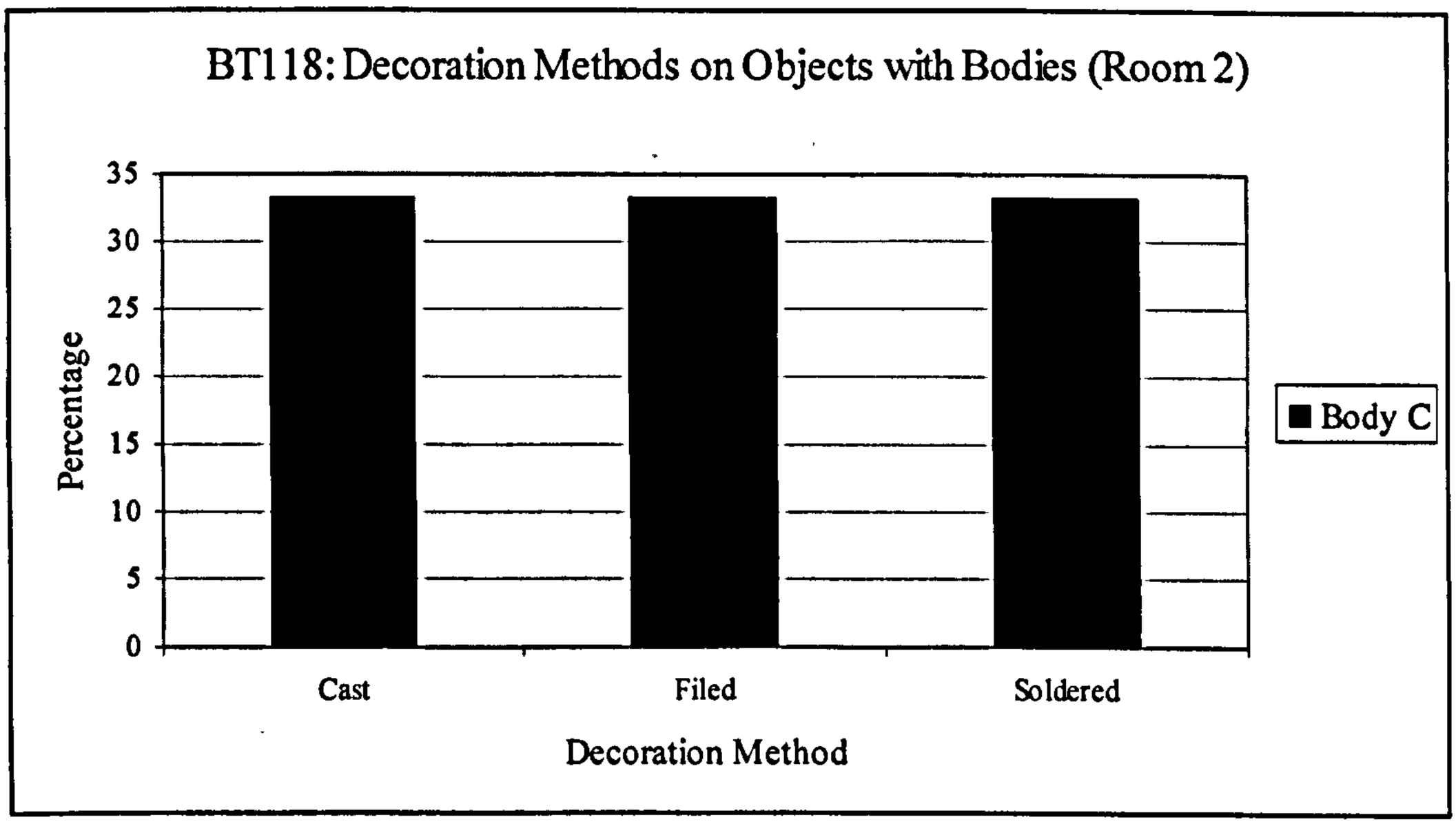


Figure B.78

Only one artefact found with Body B in BT118 was decorated. It contained three decorative methods. This artefact exhibits the only instance of soldering in the tomb.

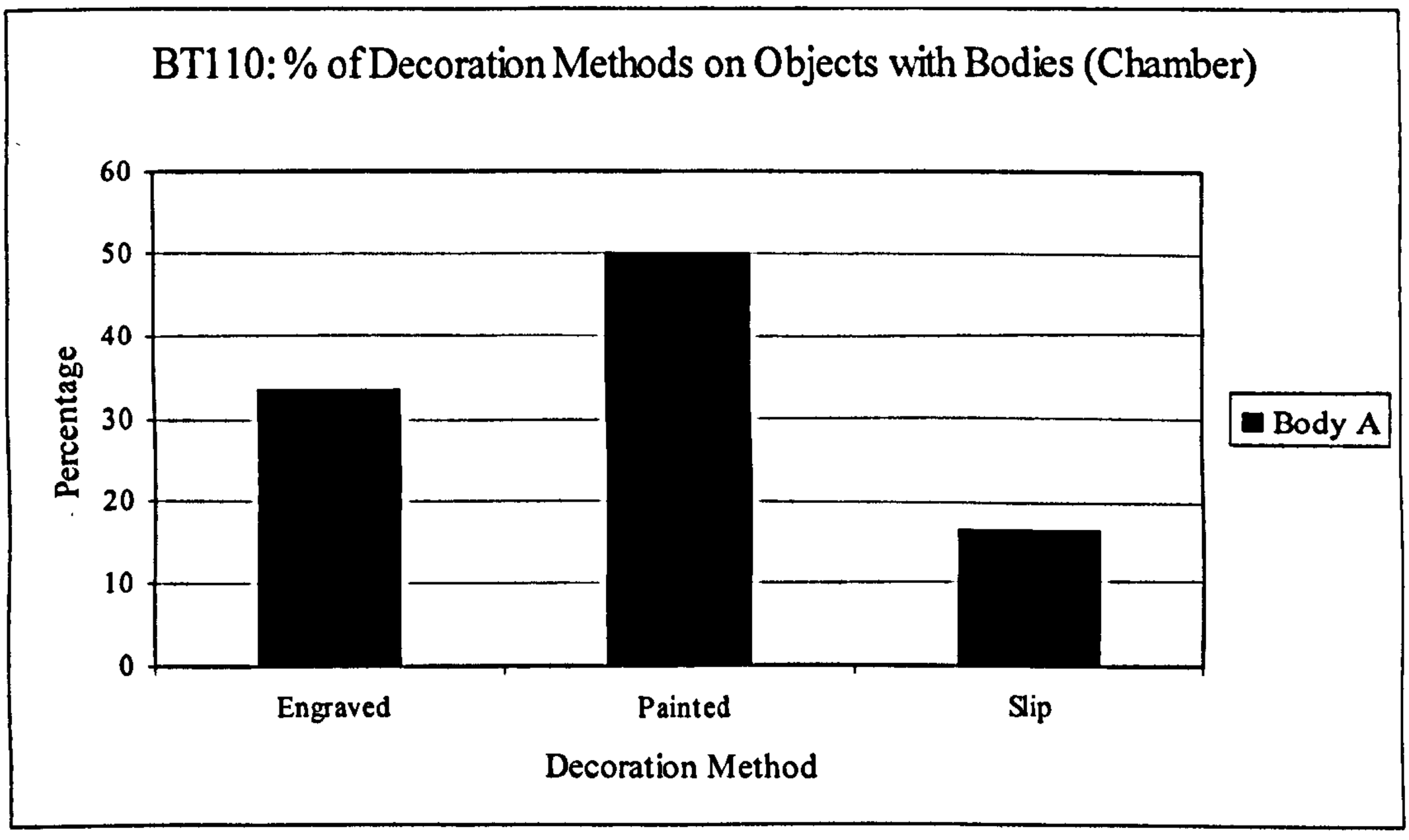


Figure B.79

All of the artefacts from BT110 were found in association with Body A. The artefacts were only decorated using a single scheme, of which, painting was the most common.

Appendix C

Decoration Designs

The graphs that follow in this section concern the percentage of decorative designs found on artefacts in space, with human remains, and with animal remains through the phases at the cemeteries. Designs were recorded in a detailed manner, a distinction being made for instance between artefacts with a design of an animal or animals. A distinction has also been made between lines and lateral lines. Artefacts with a decoration of lateral lines tend to be pottery or metalwork, where lateral lines encircle the object. Artefacts decorated lines are lines positioned in any direction. However, stripes refer to vertical lines on the object. The entry 'festoon (d)' refers to double festoon patterns.

7.11.i. Phase 1a (c.380AD).

The small numbers of artefacts from QT06, QT10 QT12 did not have any decorative designs. There were no artefacts in QT09, QT11.

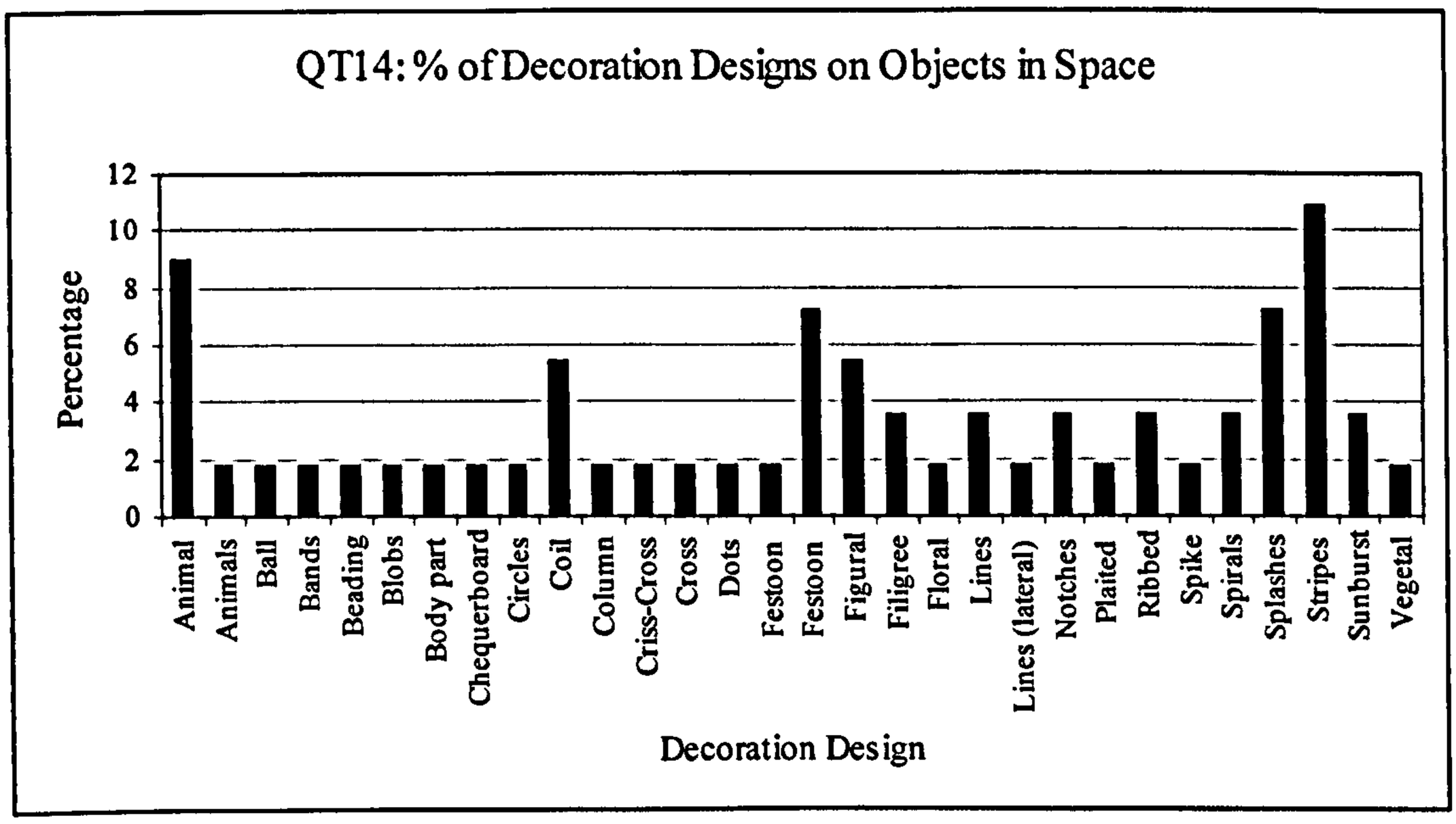


Figure C..1

There were 30 different types of decorative design in the 40 decorated objects from QT14. Striped designs form the single most popular type of design, followed by animal designs and double festoons. There were single instances of designs that were

animal, balls, bands, beading, blobs, body parts, chequerboard, circles, columns, criss-cross, cross, dots, festoons, floral.

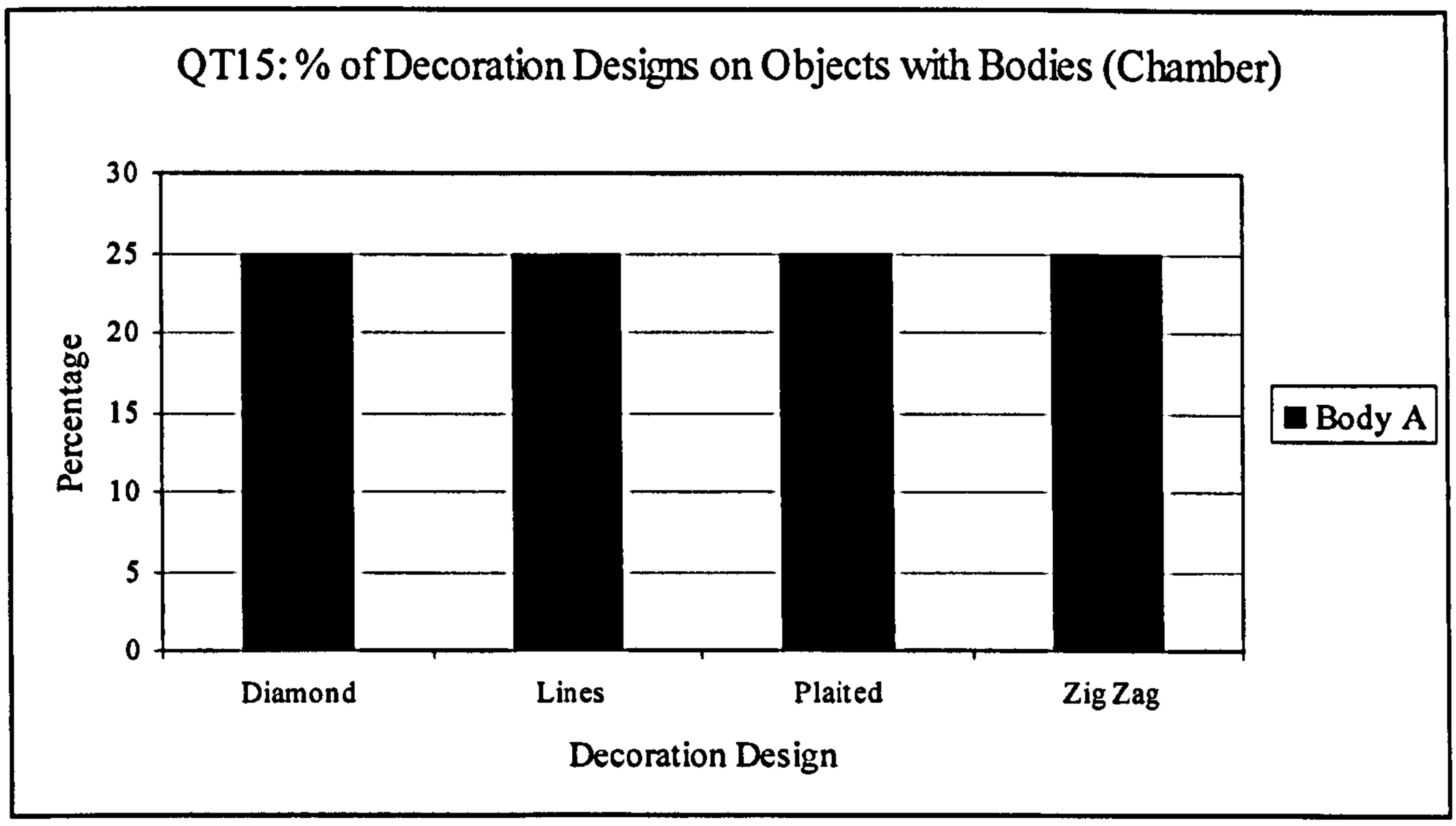


Figure C.2

Of the three artefacts in QT15 that were associated with Body A, two of them (the sandals and fragments of a garment) were decorated, each with two designs.

7.11.ii. Phase 1b (c.380-390AD).

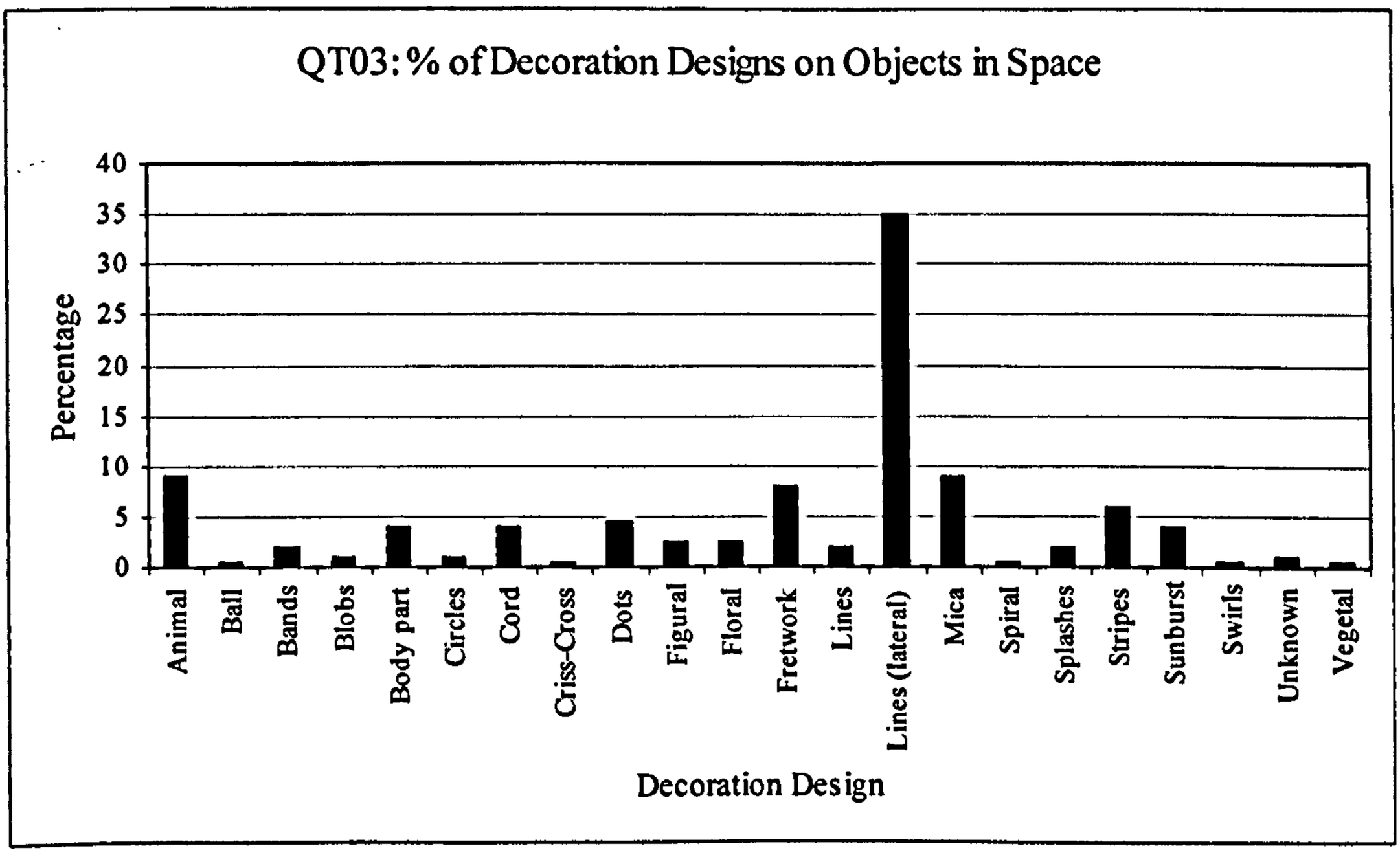


Figure C.3

67 objects from QT03 exhibited some sort of decorative design. Twenty different designs were noted in the artefacts from QT03. The most popular designs used to decorate objects were lateral lines. Equal quantities of artefacts decorated with an animal, or dusted with mica were found. The single artefact found with Body HH did not have any decoration designs.

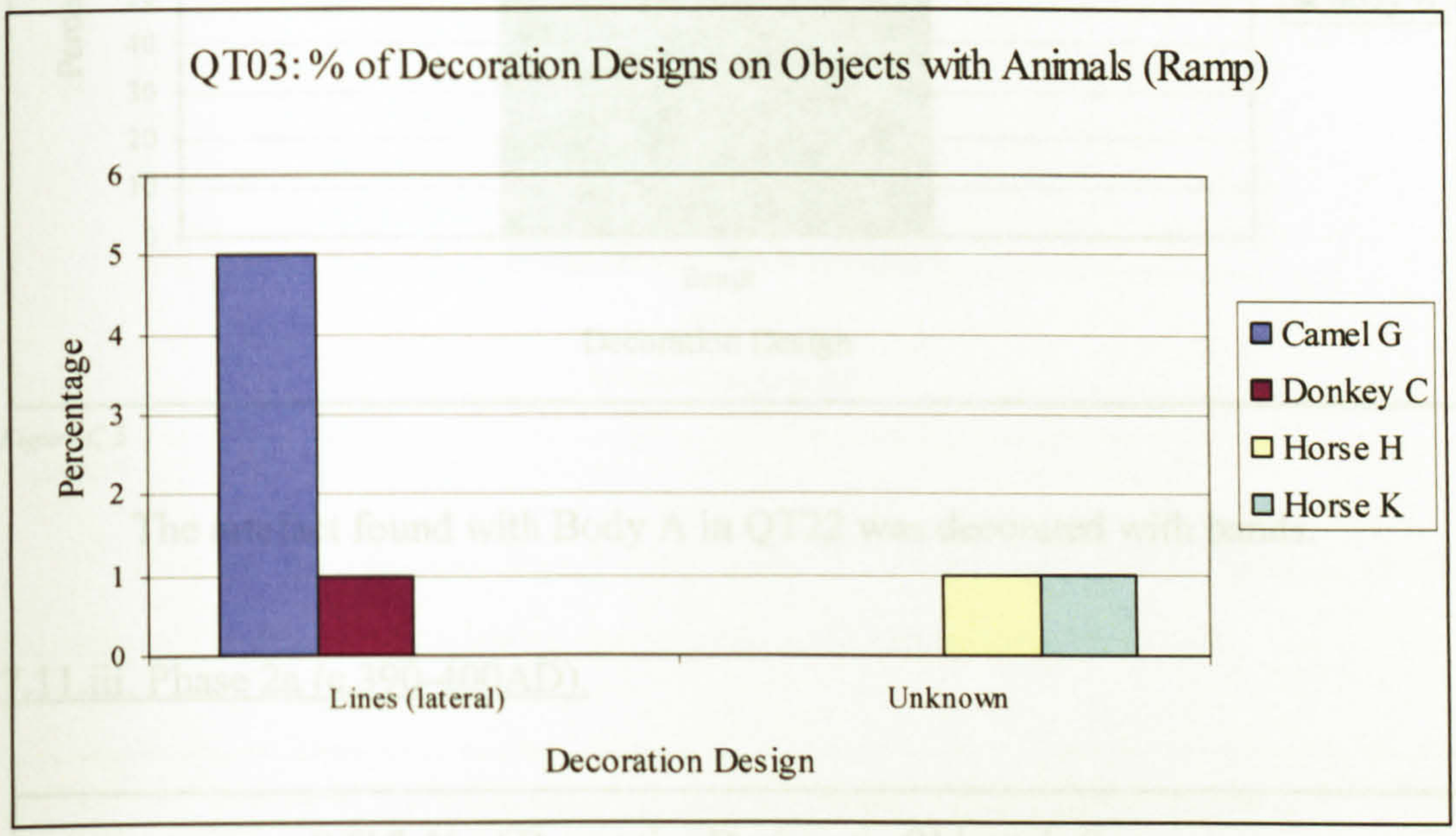


Figure C.4

Like the artefacts existing in space, nine decoration designs were found in the objects with the animals. Most of the artefacts were decorated with lines. The use of cording, and two of examples of decoration design classed as 'unknown' were only seen in the artefacts found with the animals.

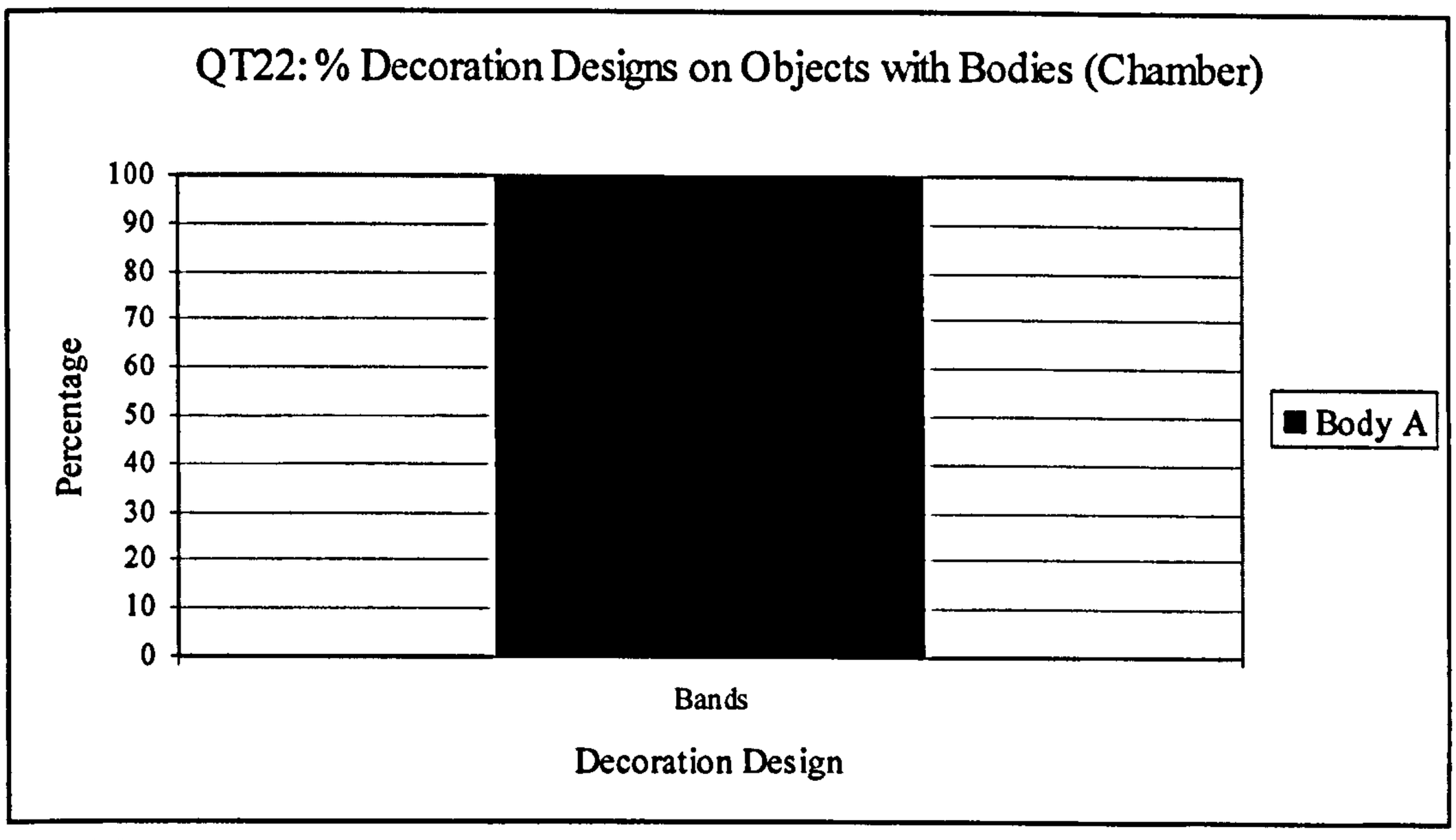


Figure C.5

The artefact found with Body A in QT22 was decorated with bands.

7.11.iii. Phase 2a (c.390-400AD).

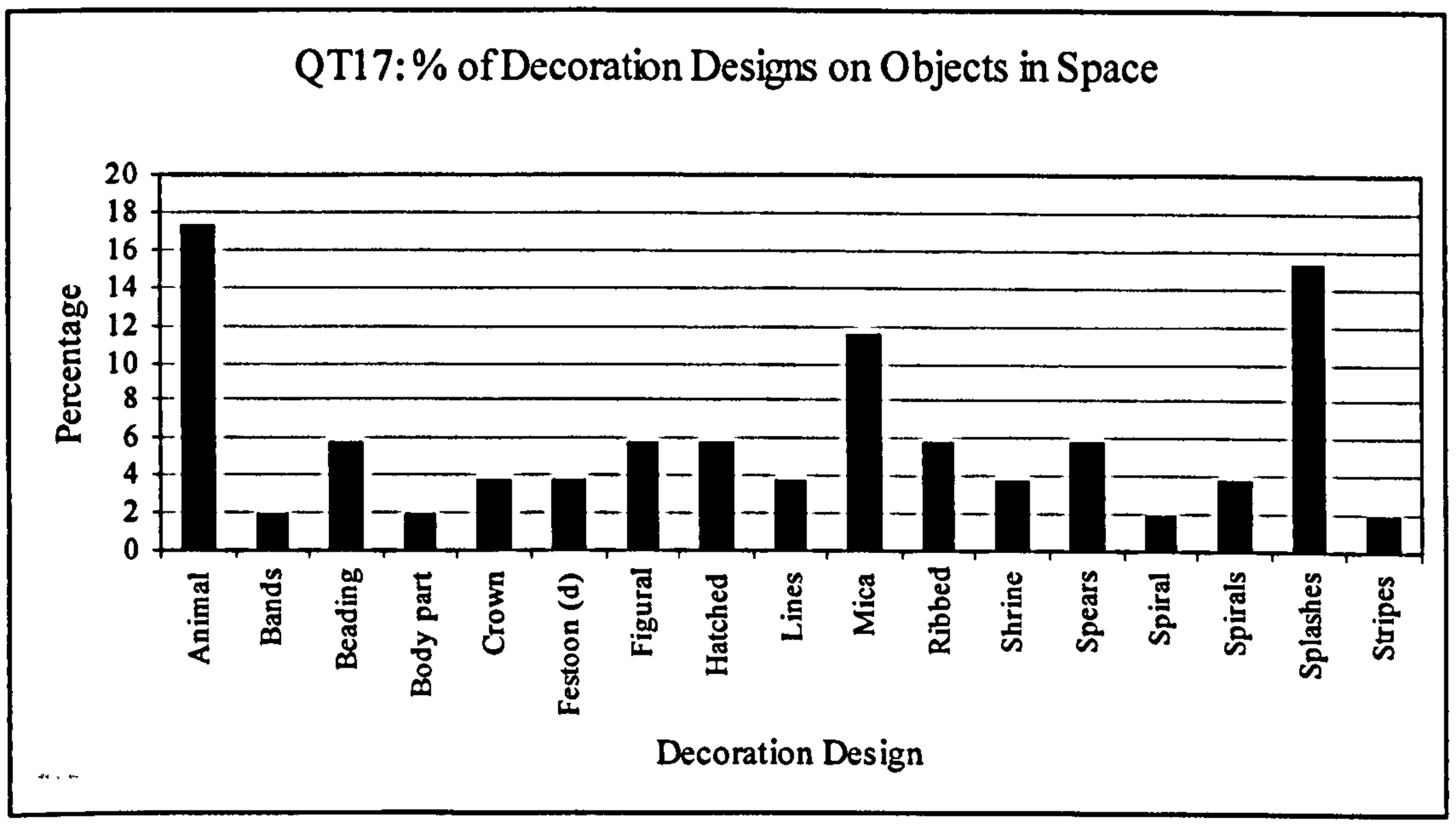


Figure C.6

17 different decorative designs were found in the artefacts in QT17. Animals, splashes and dusting with mica were the most common designs.

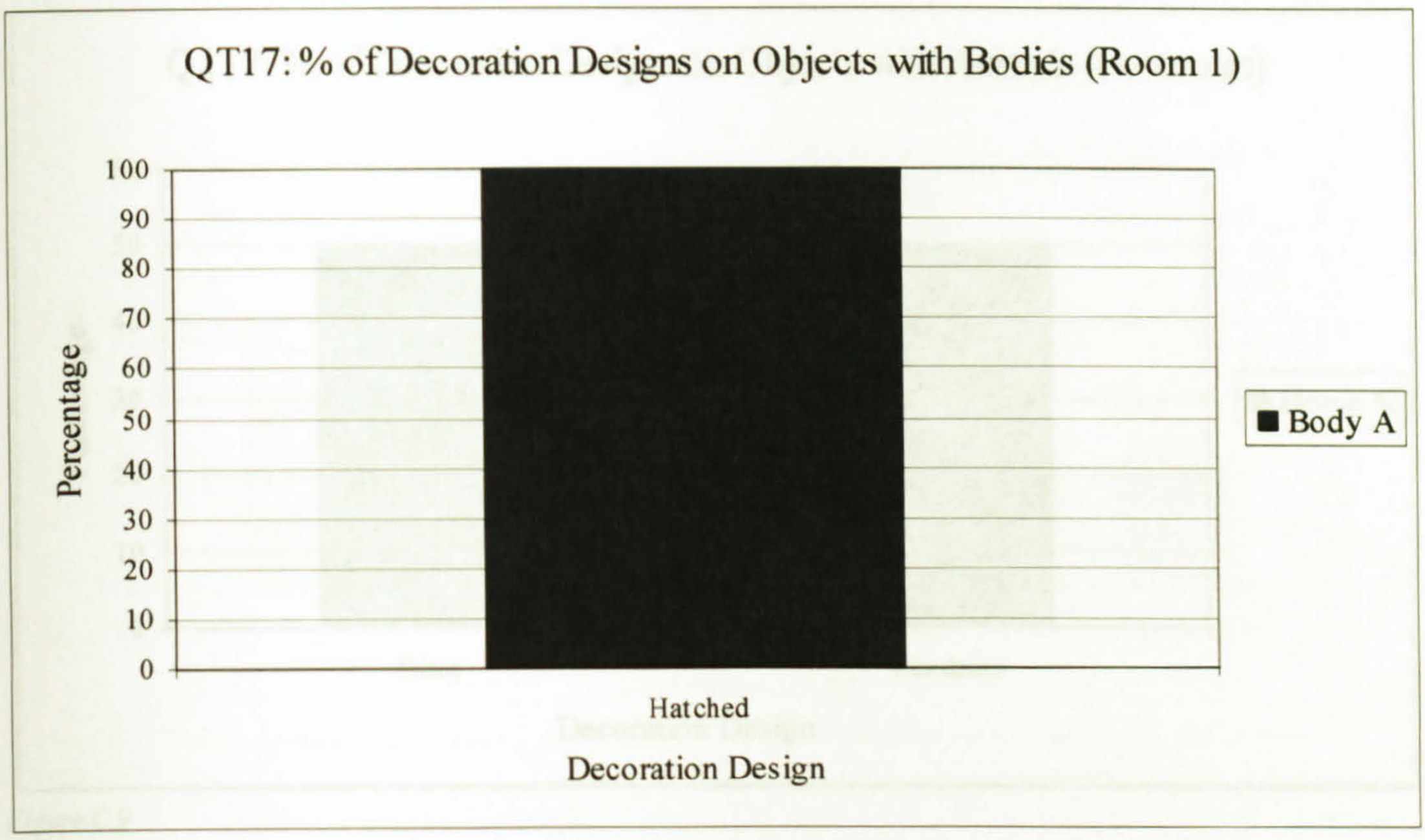


Figure C.7

One of the artefacts found with Body T was hatched. Other hatched artefacts were found in the tomb, without association with any skeletal remains.

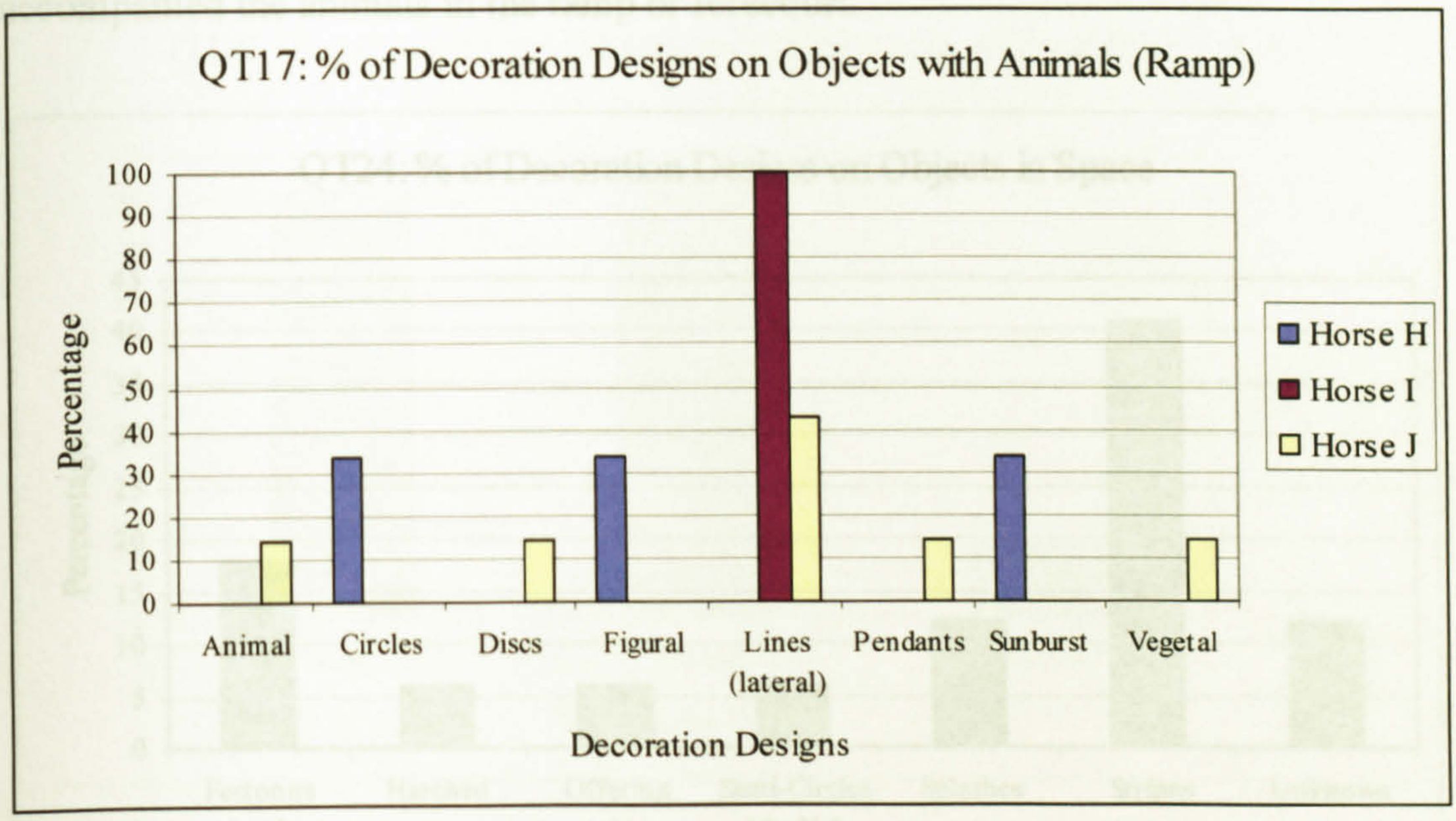


Figure C.8

Eight decoration designs were found in the artefacts associated with the animals, of which, lateral lines were the most common.

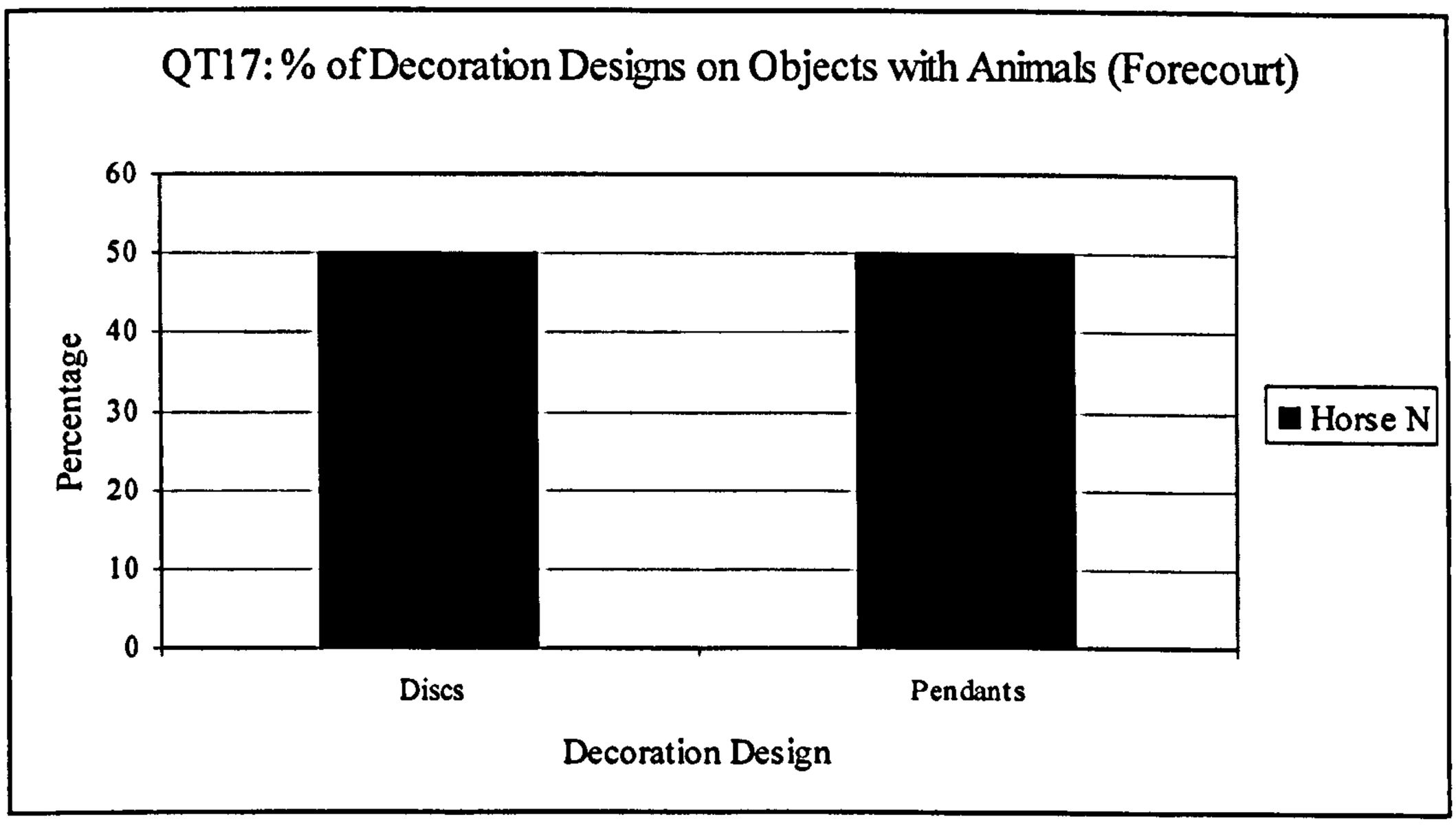


Figure C.9

Horse N was the only animal in the Forecourt to be accompanied by artefacts with a design. The single artefact with the horse had two designs. The circle, discs, pendant, sunburst and vegetal motifs were only found in the artefacts that accompanied the animals in the ramp or forecourt.

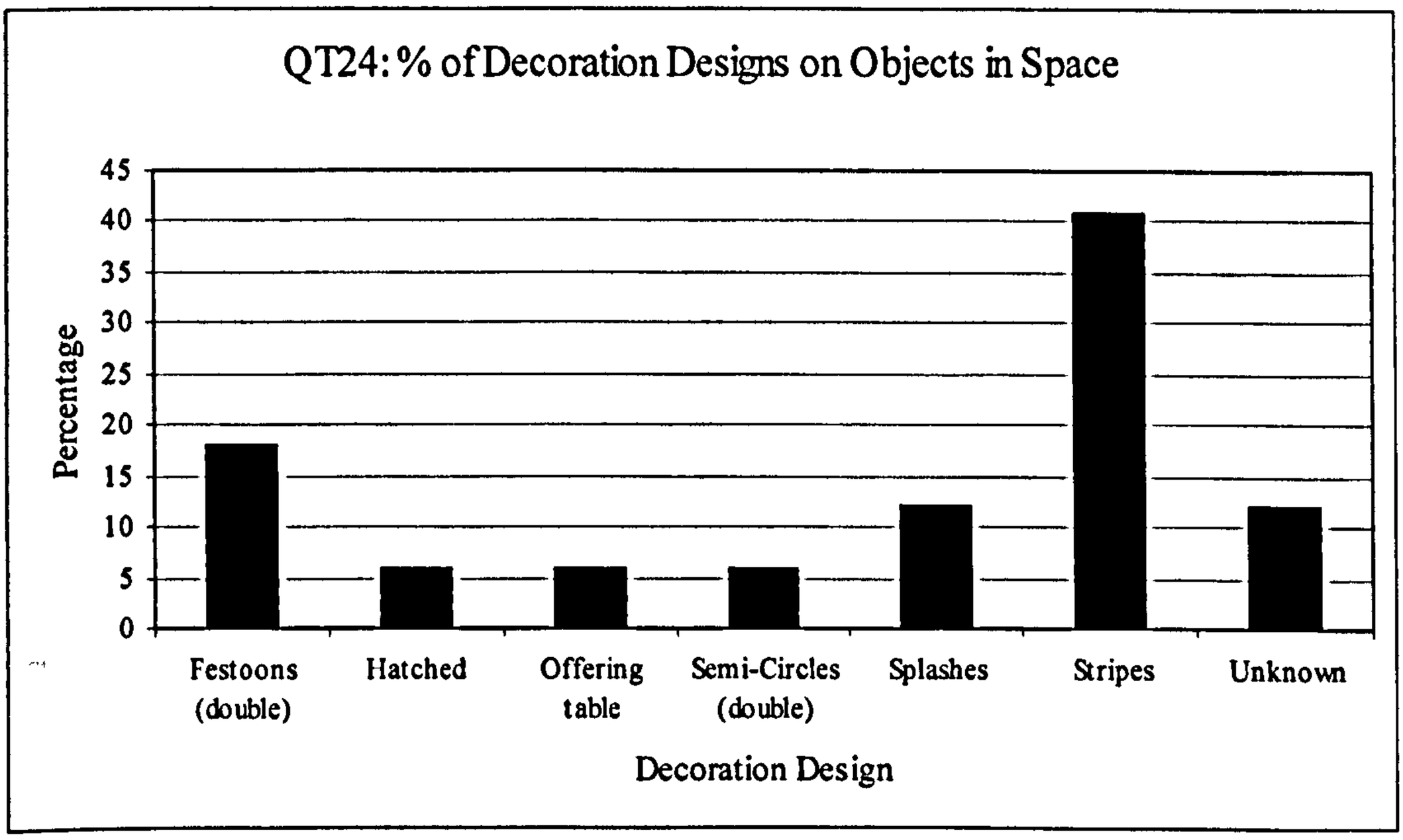


Figure C.10

Seven decoration designs were found in the artefacts that existed in space in QT24. Striping was the most frequently occurring design. None of the artefacts found with the humans or animals in QT24 had any decorative designs.

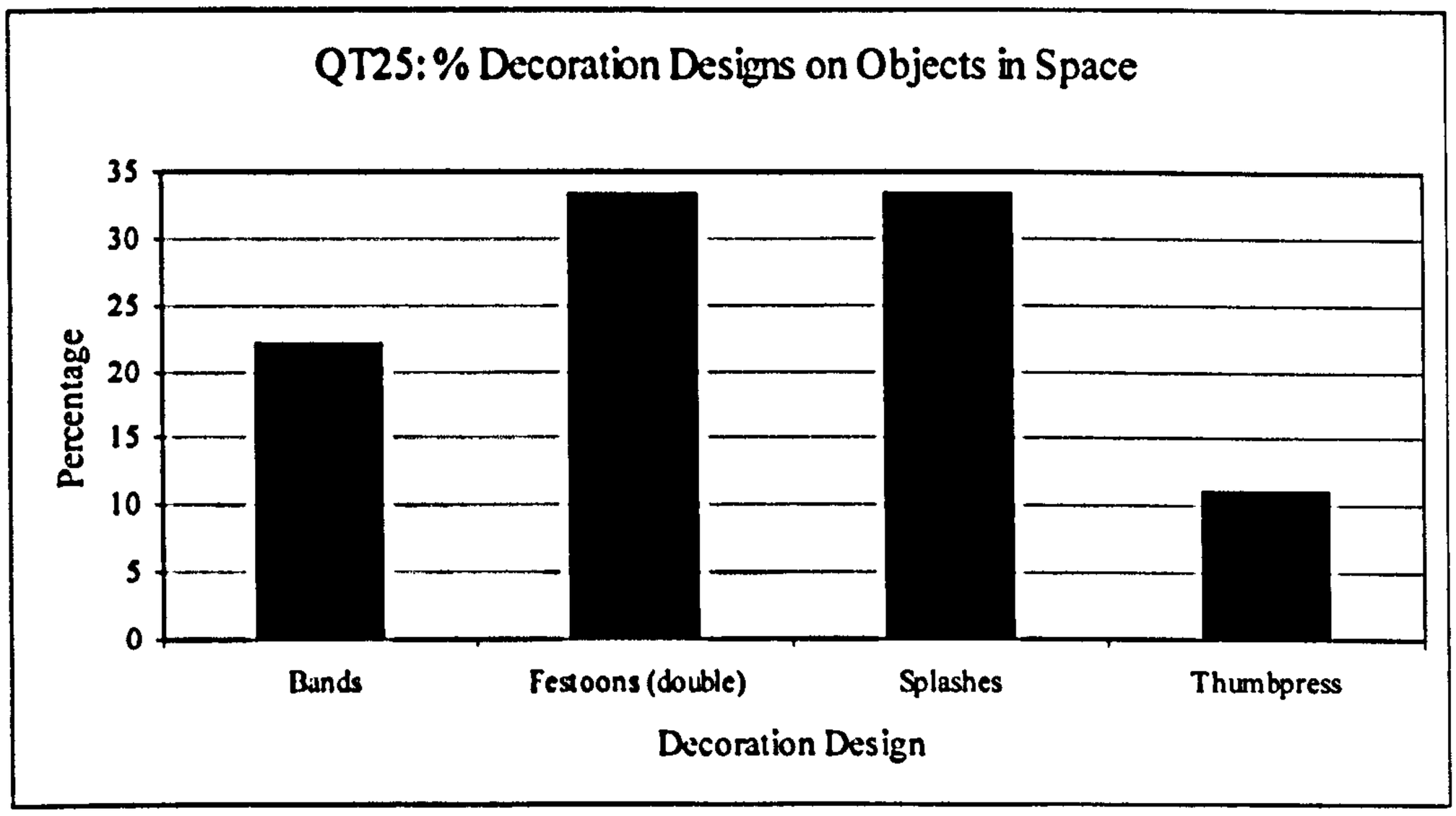


Figure C.11

Four designs were found in the artefacts from this tomb. Double festoons and splashes were equally the most frequent design. All of these decoration designs were found exclusively in space, without association with any remains.

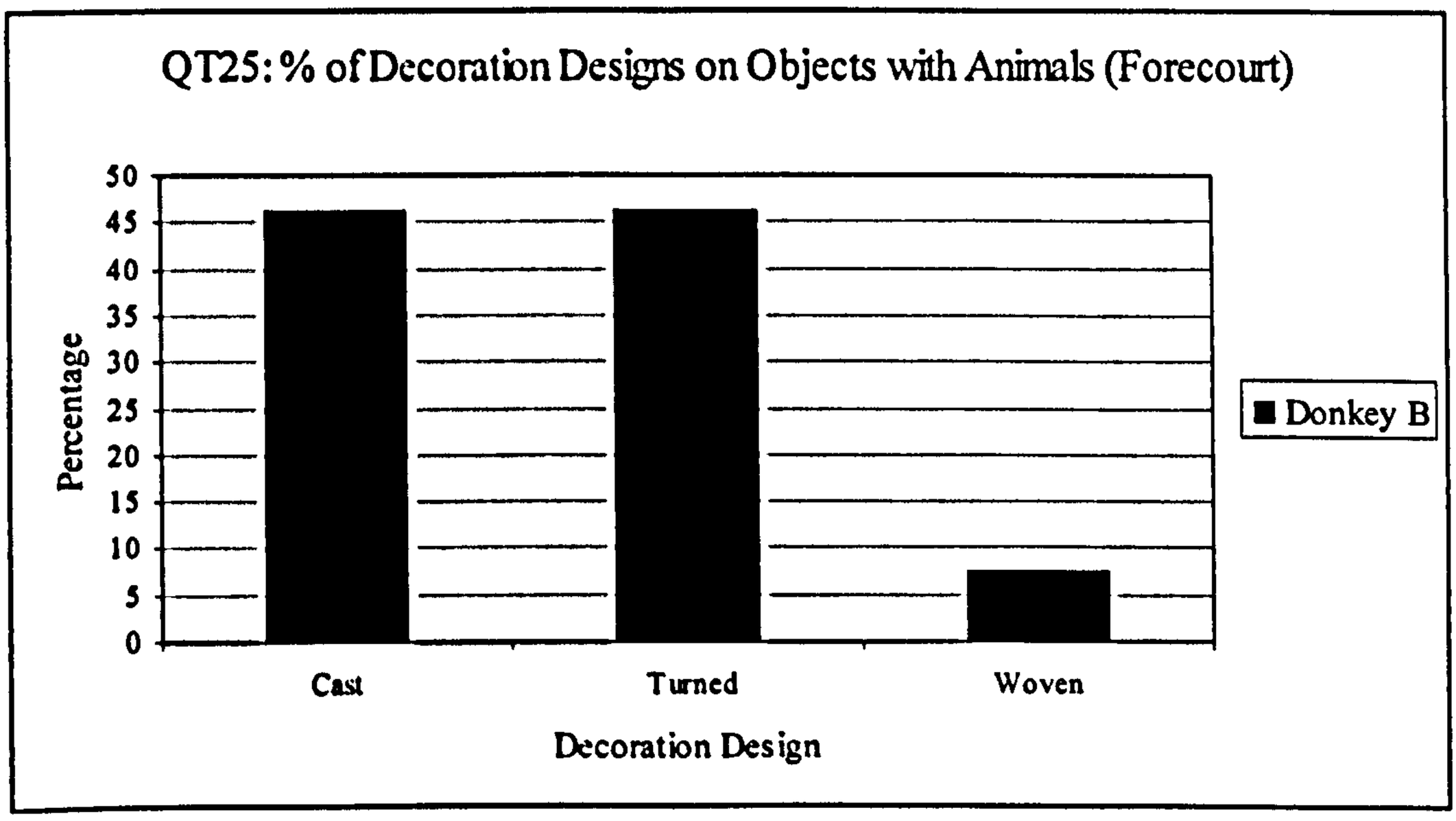


Figure C.12

A number of artefacts found with Donkey A were decorated. Six objects were equally cast and turned, and one was woven. All of these decoration designs were found exclusively with the animal.

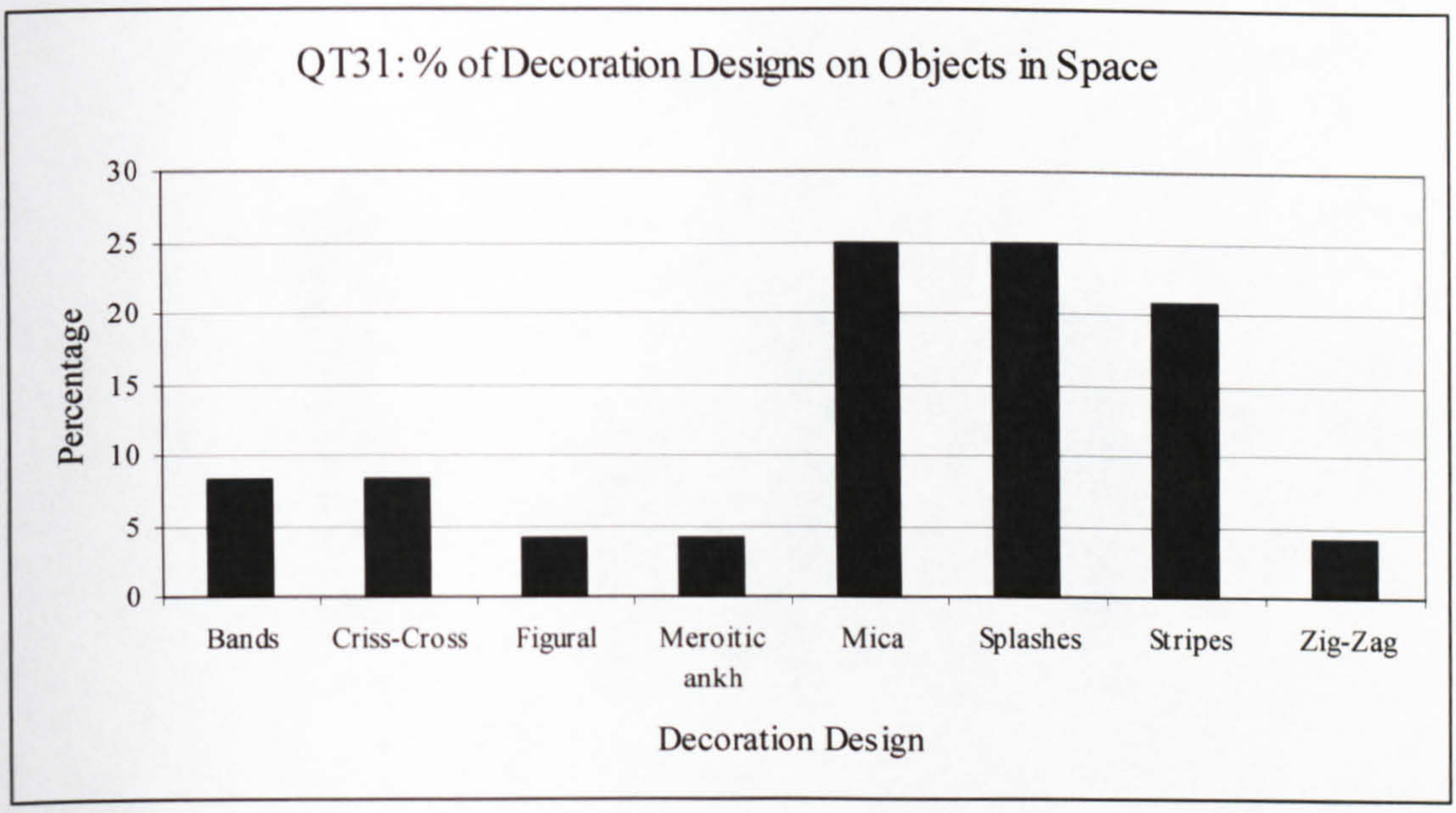


Figure C.13

Eight decoration designs were found in the artefacts from QT31, the most unusual being the 'Meroitic ankh'. Equal numbers of artefacts were dusted with mica or decorated with splashes.

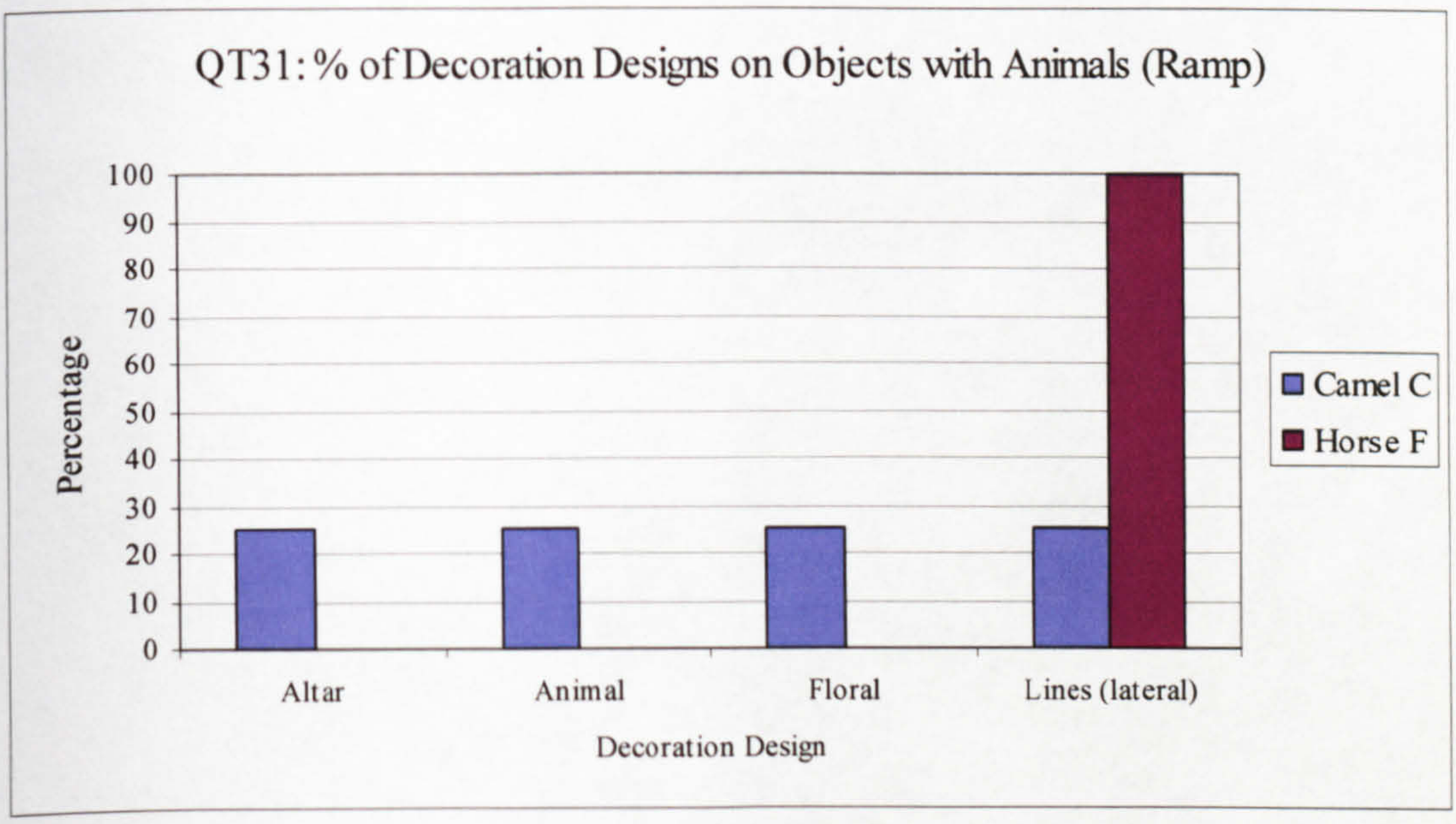


Figure C.14

The artefacts with Horse F were only decorated with lines. Lateral lines were the most common design found on the artefacts with the animals. The artefacts with Camel C were decorated with four different designs.

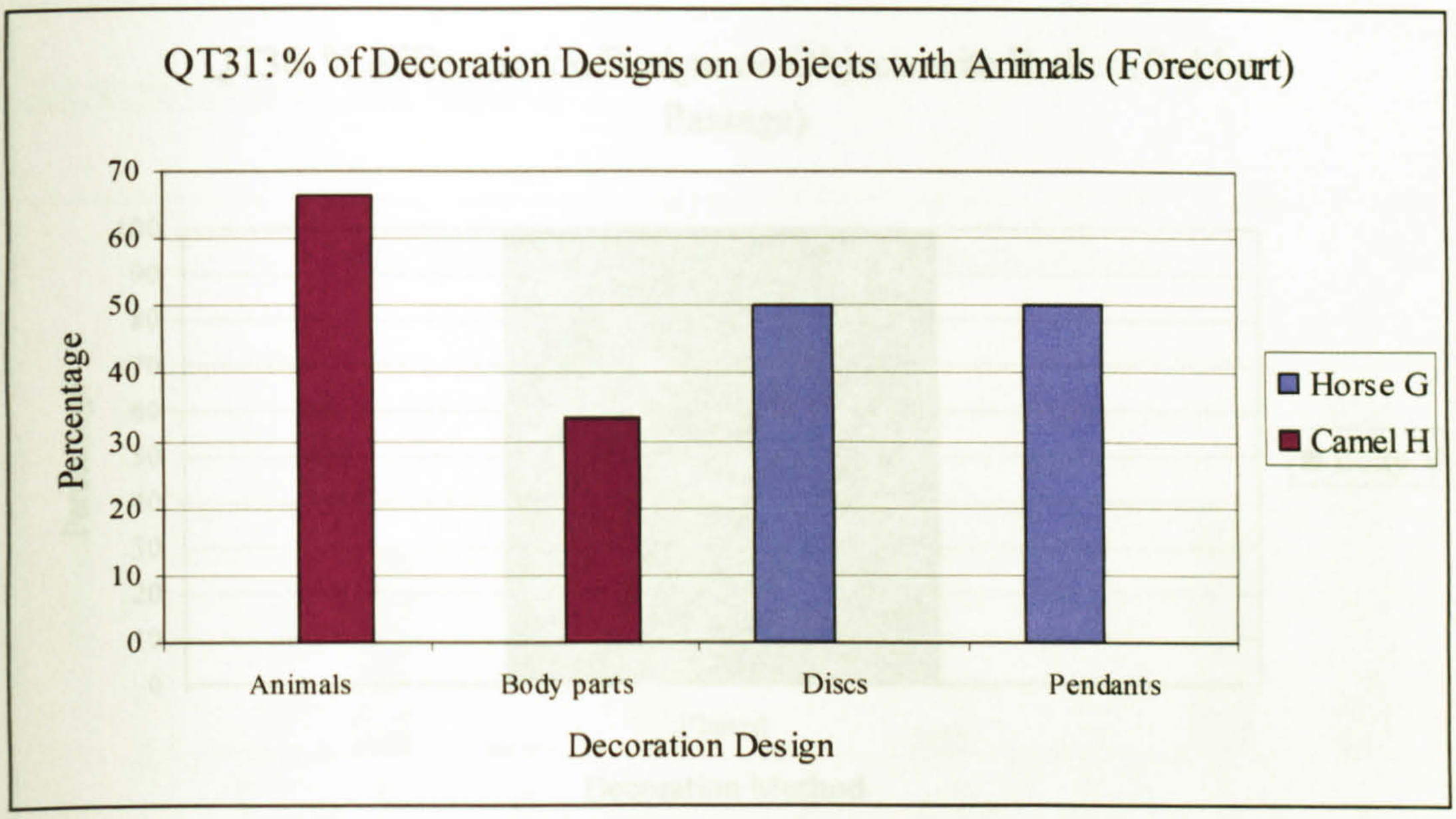


Figure C.15

As was the case with the artefacts existing in space in this tomb, there were eight decorative designs evident in the artefacts found with the animals. However, none of the designs found with the animals were found in space.

7.11.iv. Phase 2b (c.400-410AD).

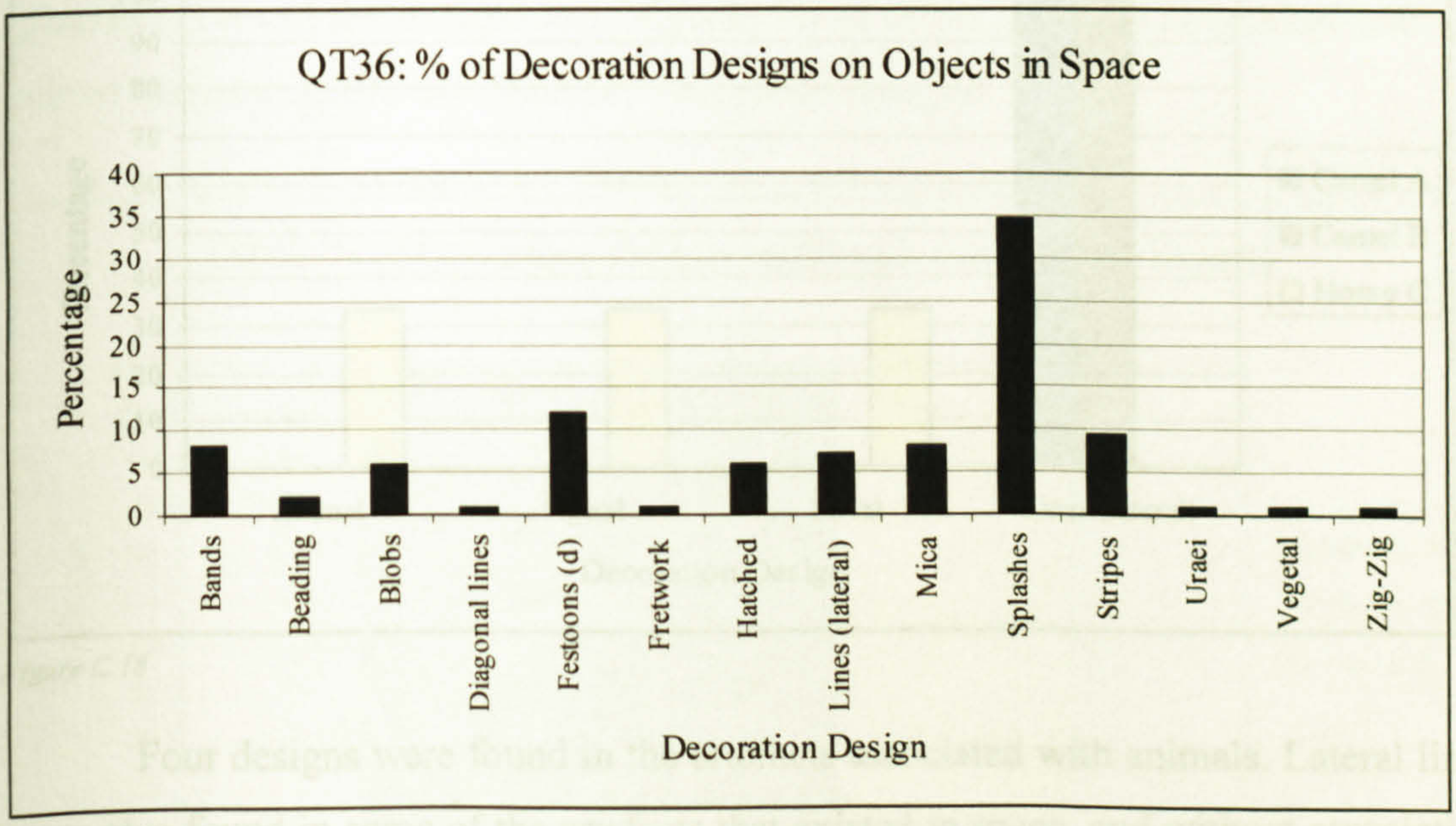


Figure C.16

14 decoration designs were found in the artefacts from QT36. Most of the artefacts were decorated with splashes or double festoons.

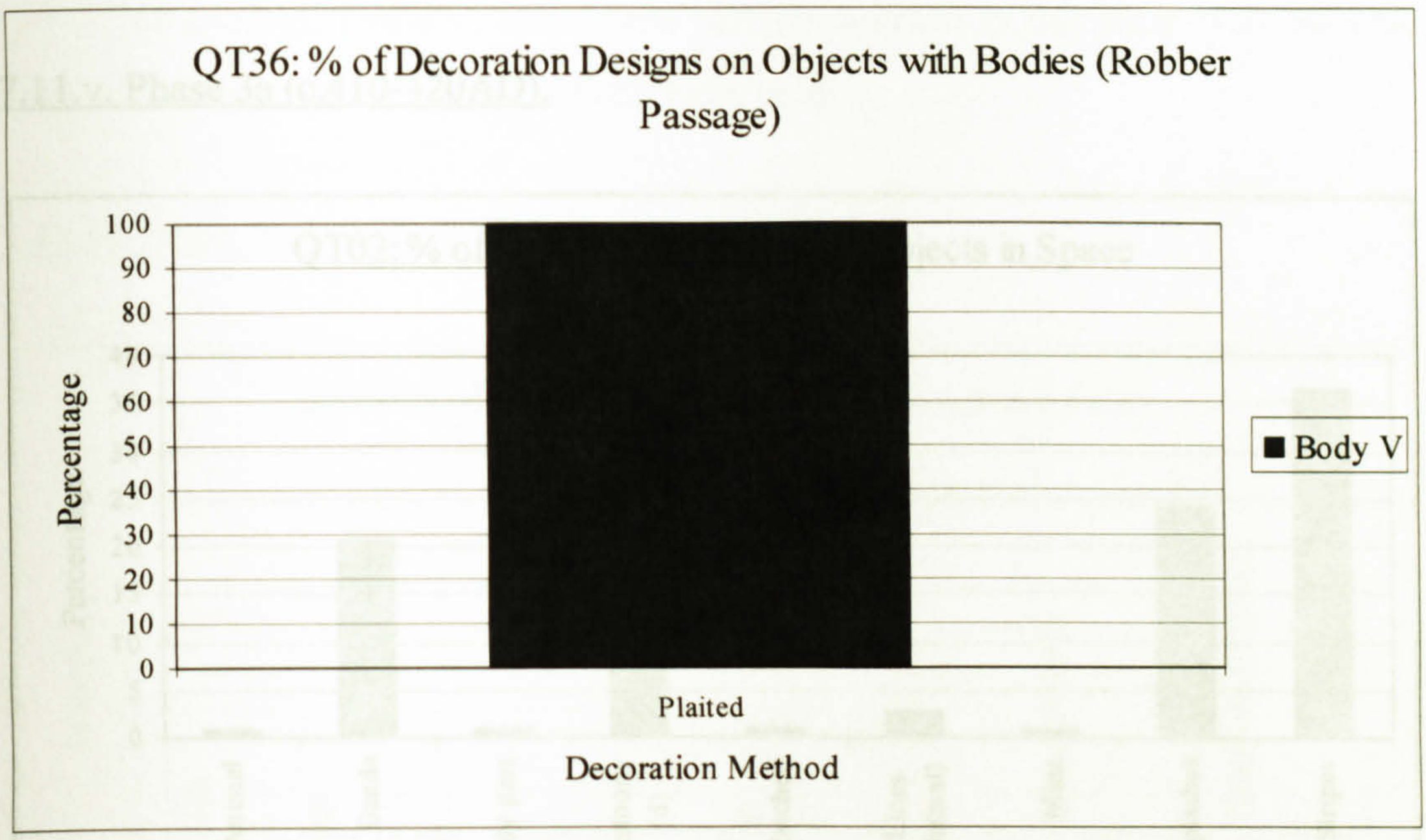


Figure C.17

One artefact found with Body V had decoration designs, and had been plaited. This kind of design was only found in this artefact.

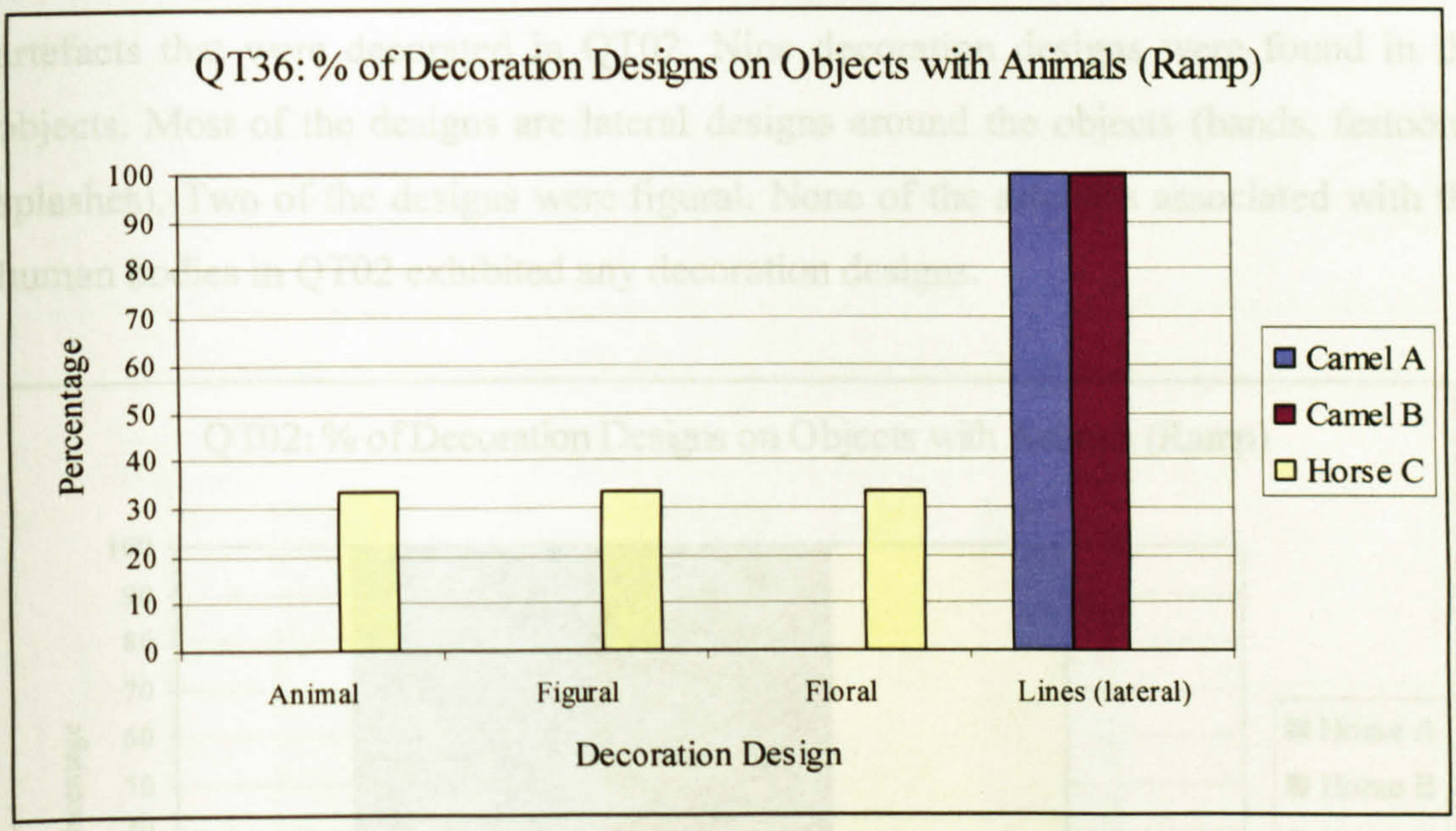


Figure C.18

Four designs were found in the artefacts associated with animals. Lateral lines were also found in some of the artefacts that existed in space, and without association with human or animal remains. Animal, figural and floral designs were only found on objects associated with the animals in this tomb.

No decorated artefacts were found in QT26.

7.11.v. Phase 3a (c.410-420AD).

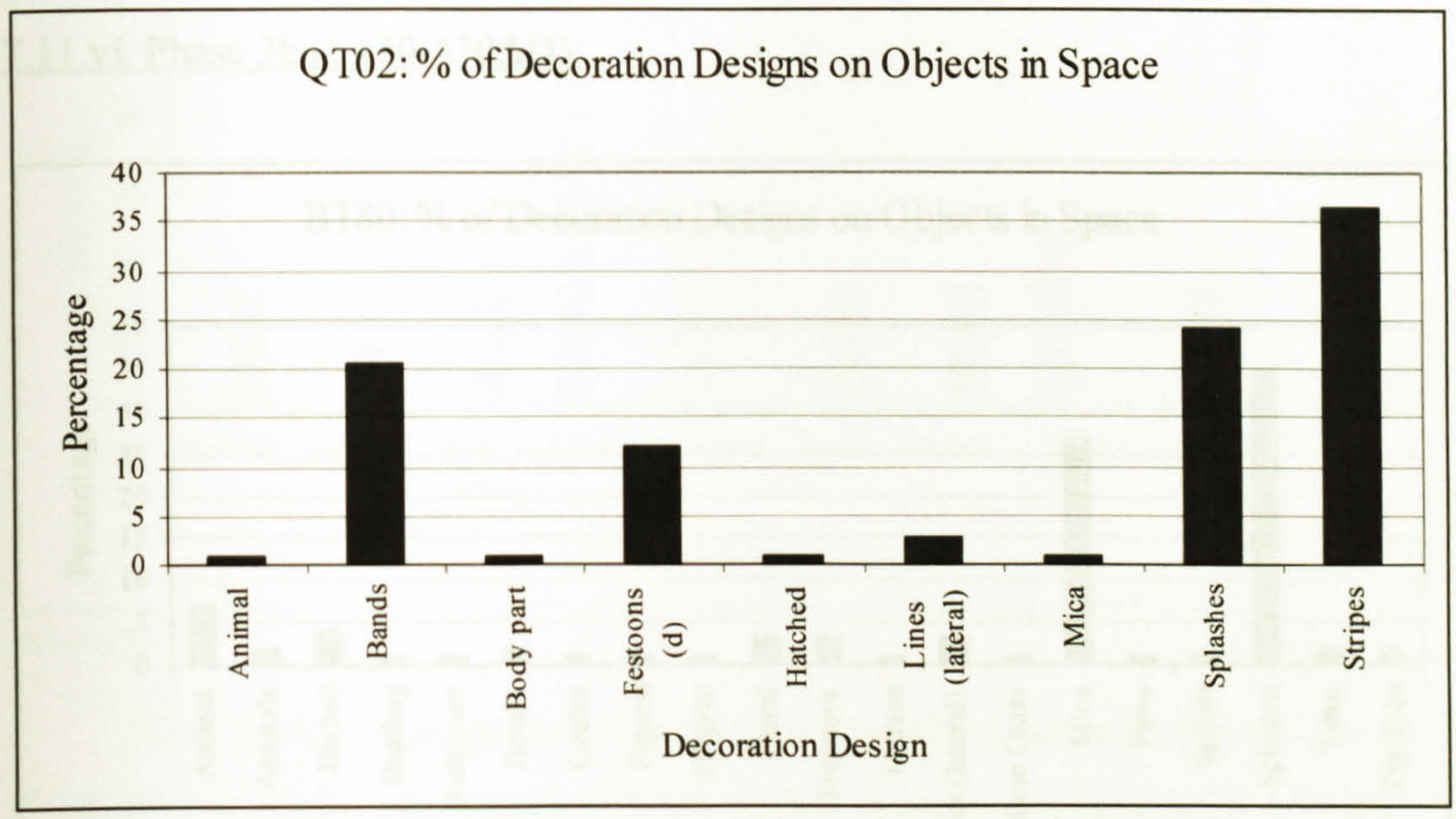


Figure C.19

Stripes and splashes form the majority of the decorative designs in the 75 artefacts that were decorated in QT02. Nine decoration designs were found in the objects. Most of the designs are lateral designs around the objects (bands, festoons, splashes). Two of the designs were figural. None of the artefacts associated with the human bodies in QT02 exhibited any decoration designs.

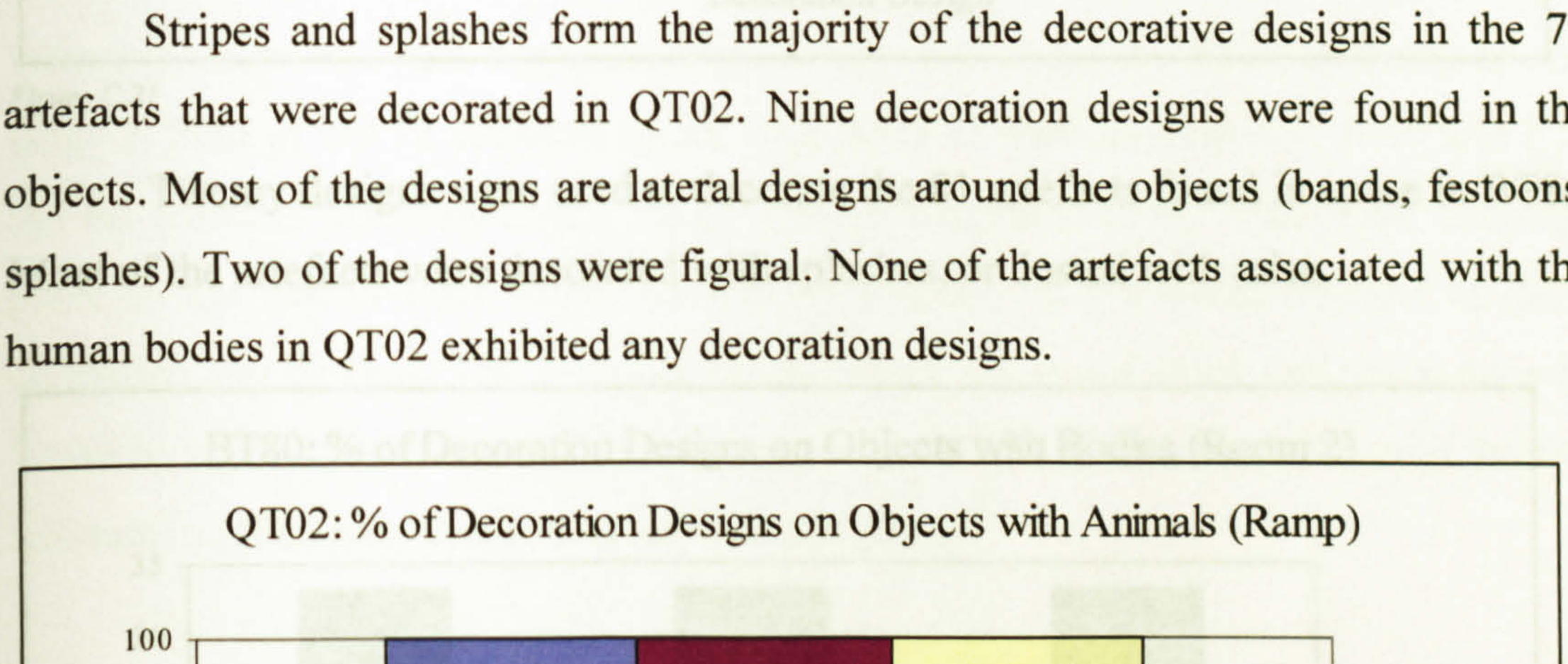


Figure C.20

14 artefacts found in association with the animals in this tomb were decorated with lateral lines. All of these artefacts were bells.

7.11.vi. Phase 3b (c.420-430AD).

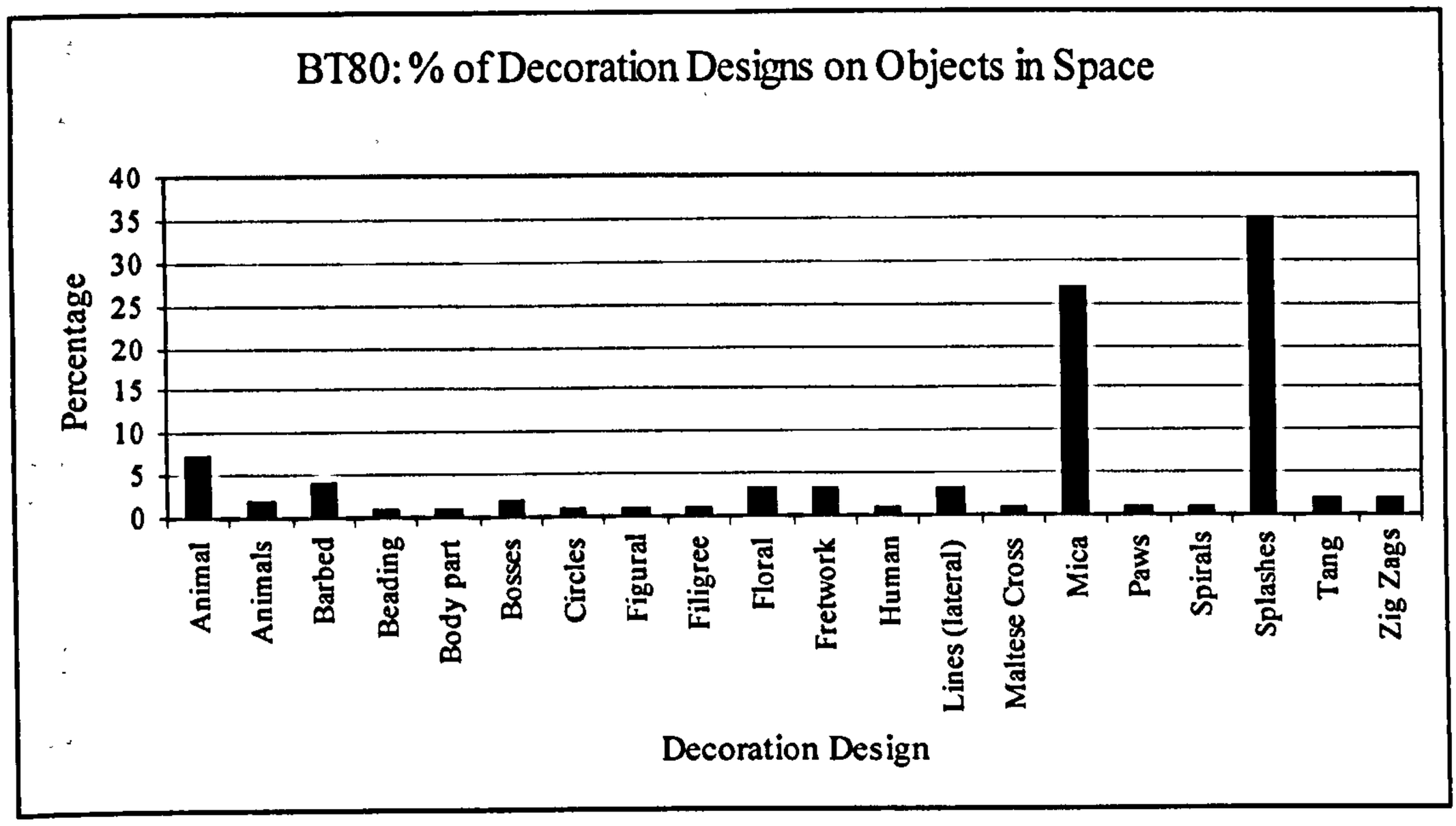


Figure C.21

Twenty designs were used to decorate the 81 artefacts found in space in BT80. Most of the artefacts were decorated with splashes, or dusted with mica.

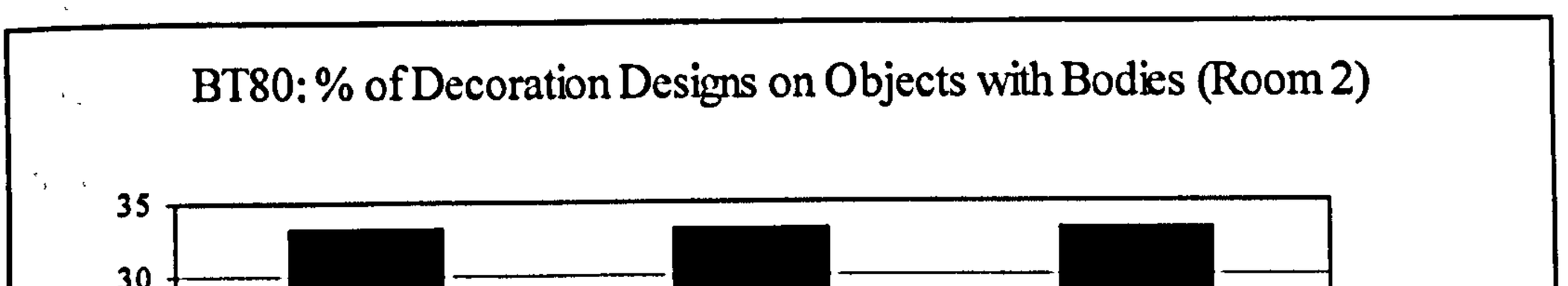


Figure C.22

One of the four items found with Body A was decorated.

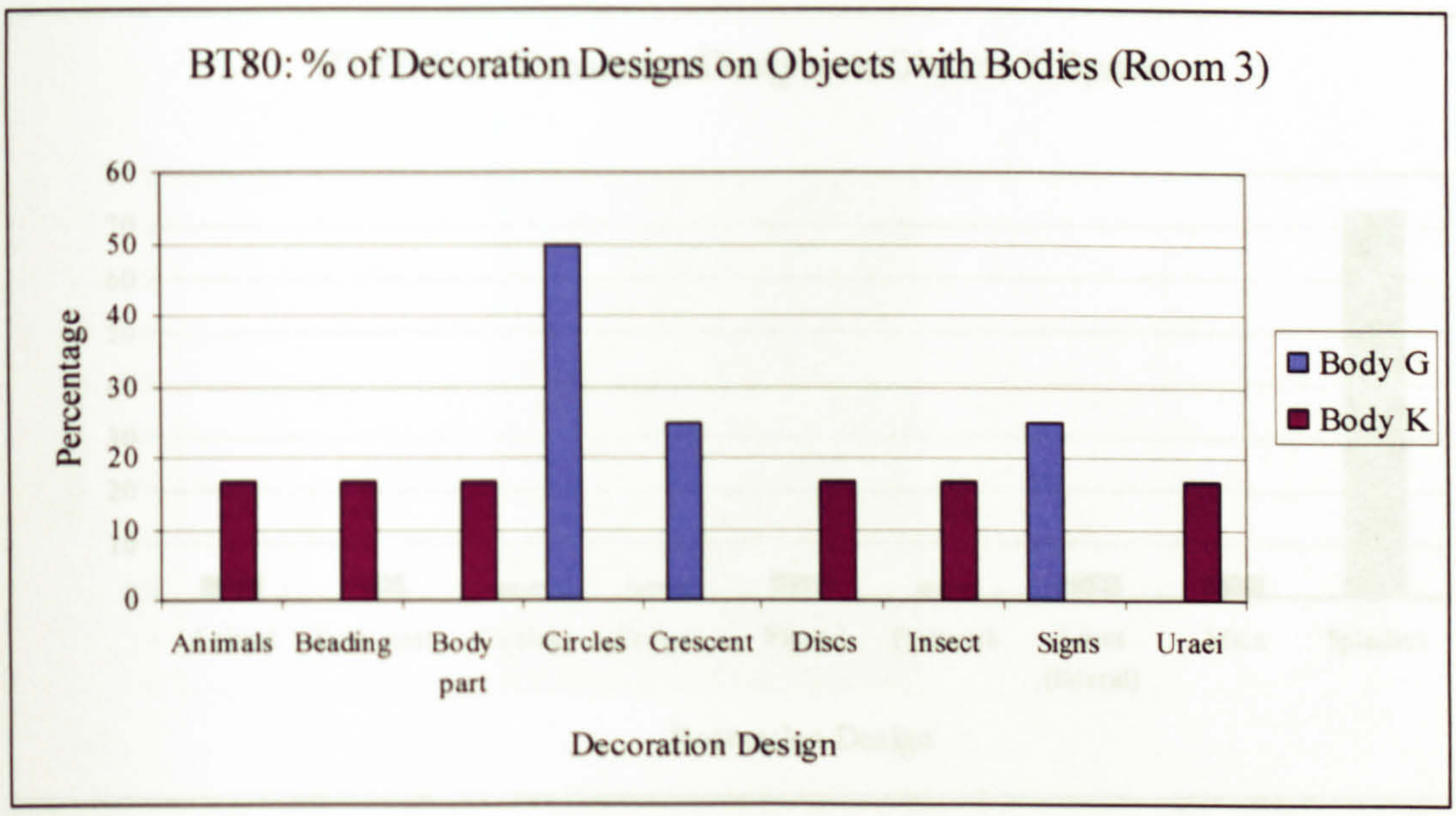


Figure C.23

Nine design schemes were used in the artefacts associated with the bodies in BT80. 155 artefacts were found with the bodies in the tomb, but only 7 of them were decorated with a design (4.5%). The single artefacts found with Body B and Body C were not decorated, and nor were those artefacts found with Body G, Body H and Body J. Four of the 73 artefacts found with Body G were decorated (5.5%), and 2 of the 66 artefacts associated with Body K were decorated (3%). Therefore, although some of the bodies were found with many objects, only a small fraction of these contained any designs. The crescent, discs, insect, signs and uraei designs were only found in artefacts associated with human remains. The objects associated with the two animals in BT80 were not decorated with any design.

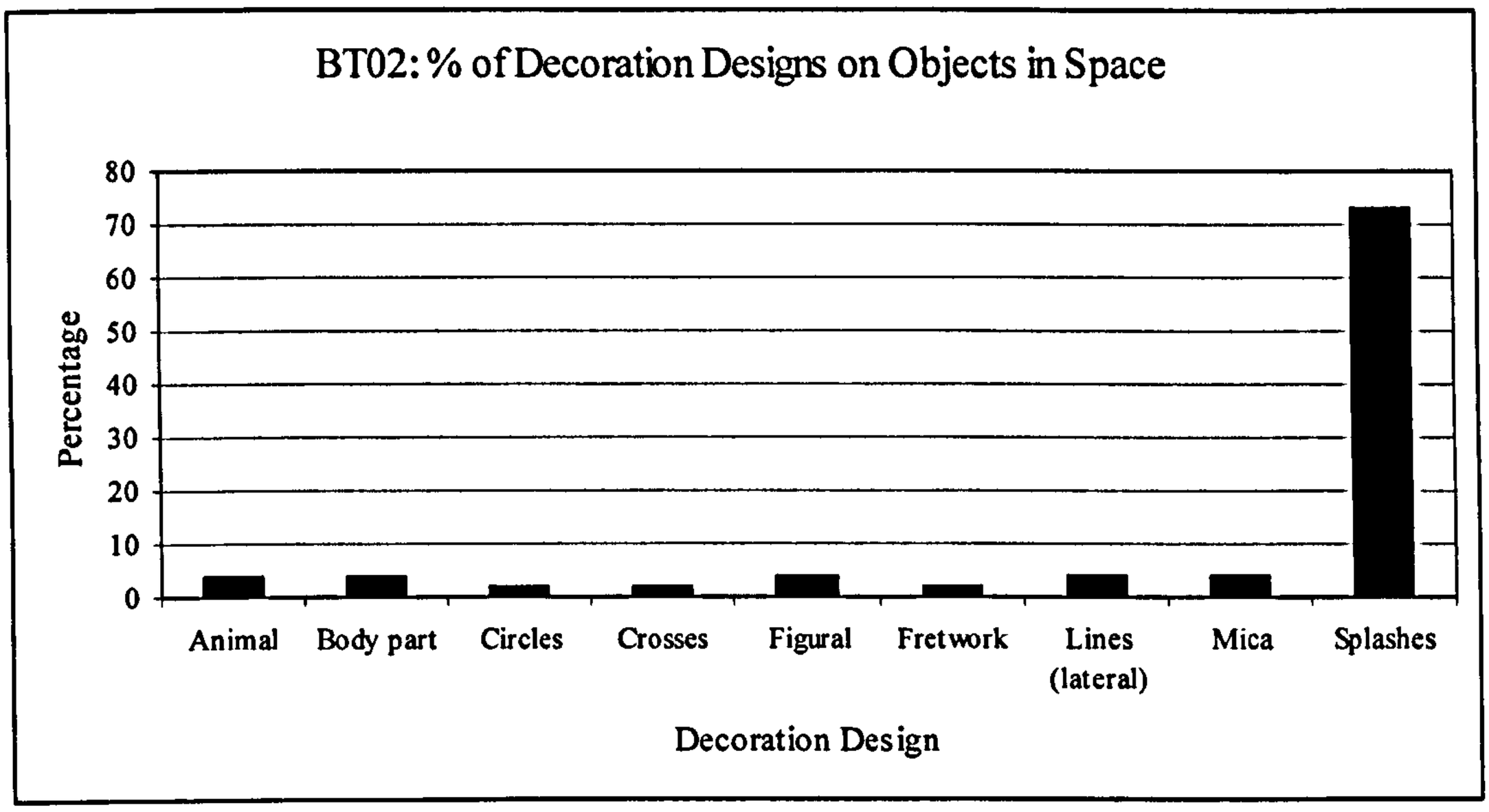


Figure C.24

Nine designs were found in the artefacts from BT02. 35 out of 48 artefacts were decorated with a splash pattern.

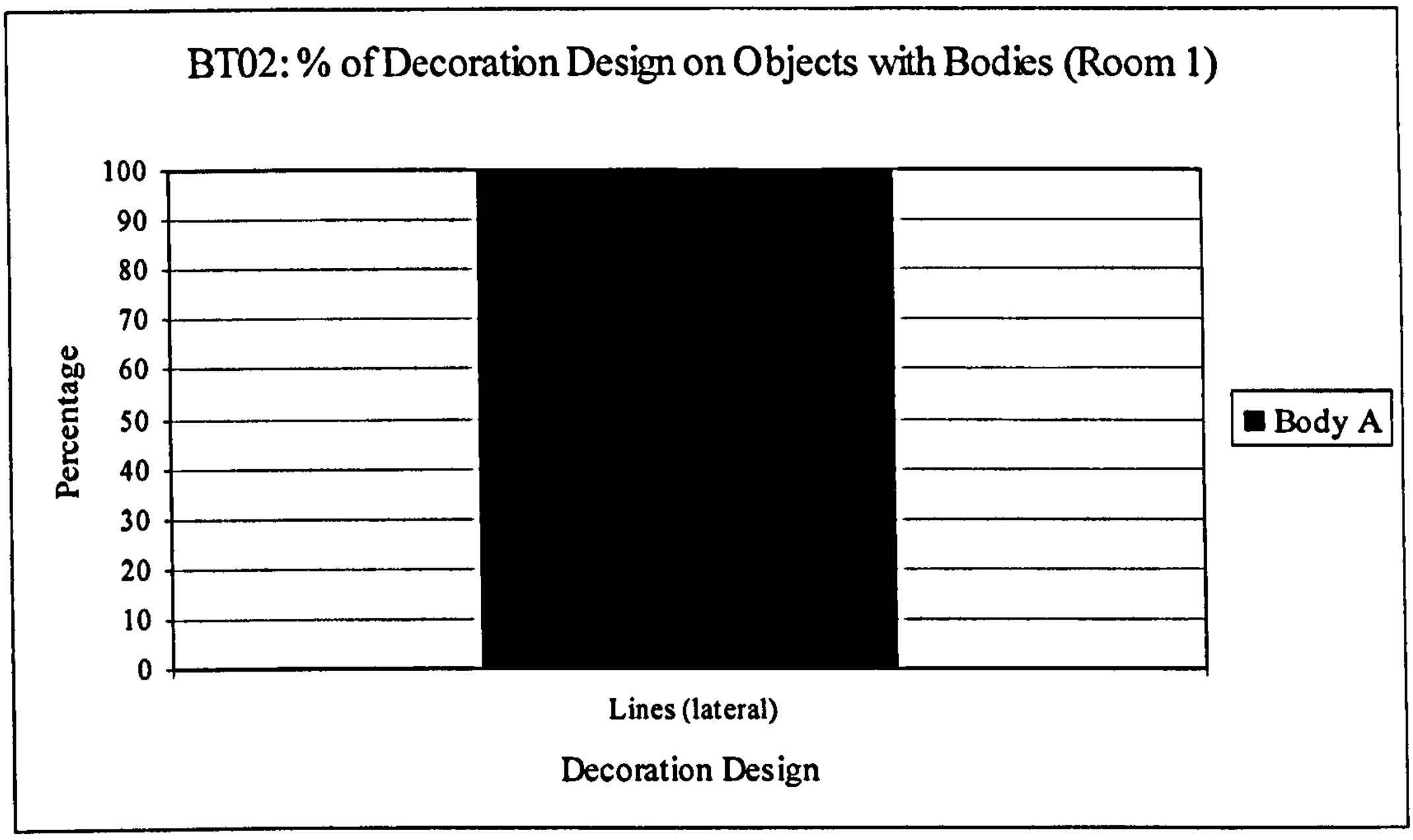


Figure C.25

One artefact found with Body A was decorated with lateral lines. This type of design was also found in the artefacts that existed in space.

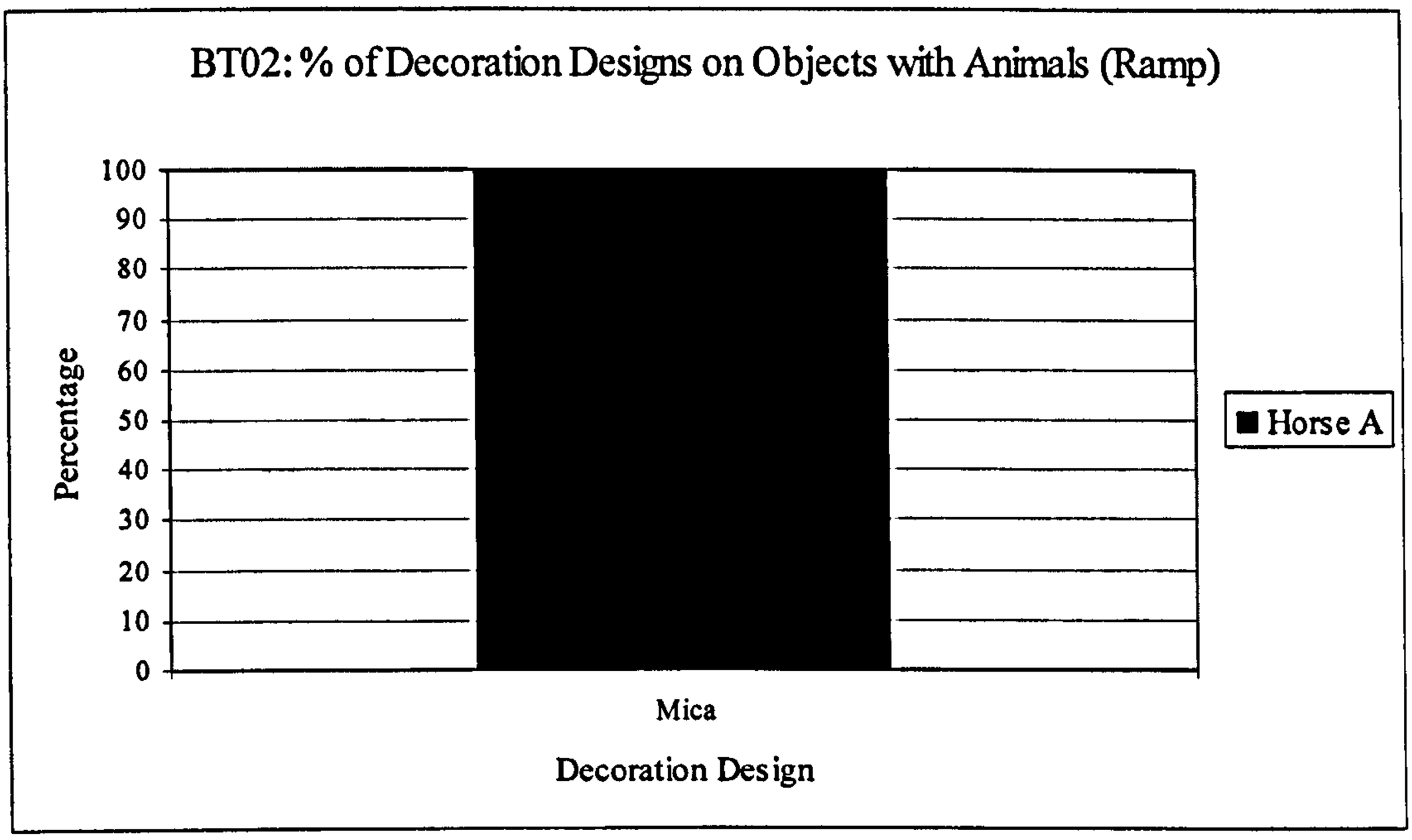


Figure C.26

One artefact found with Horse A was dusted with mica. This design was also found in those artefacts that existed in space.

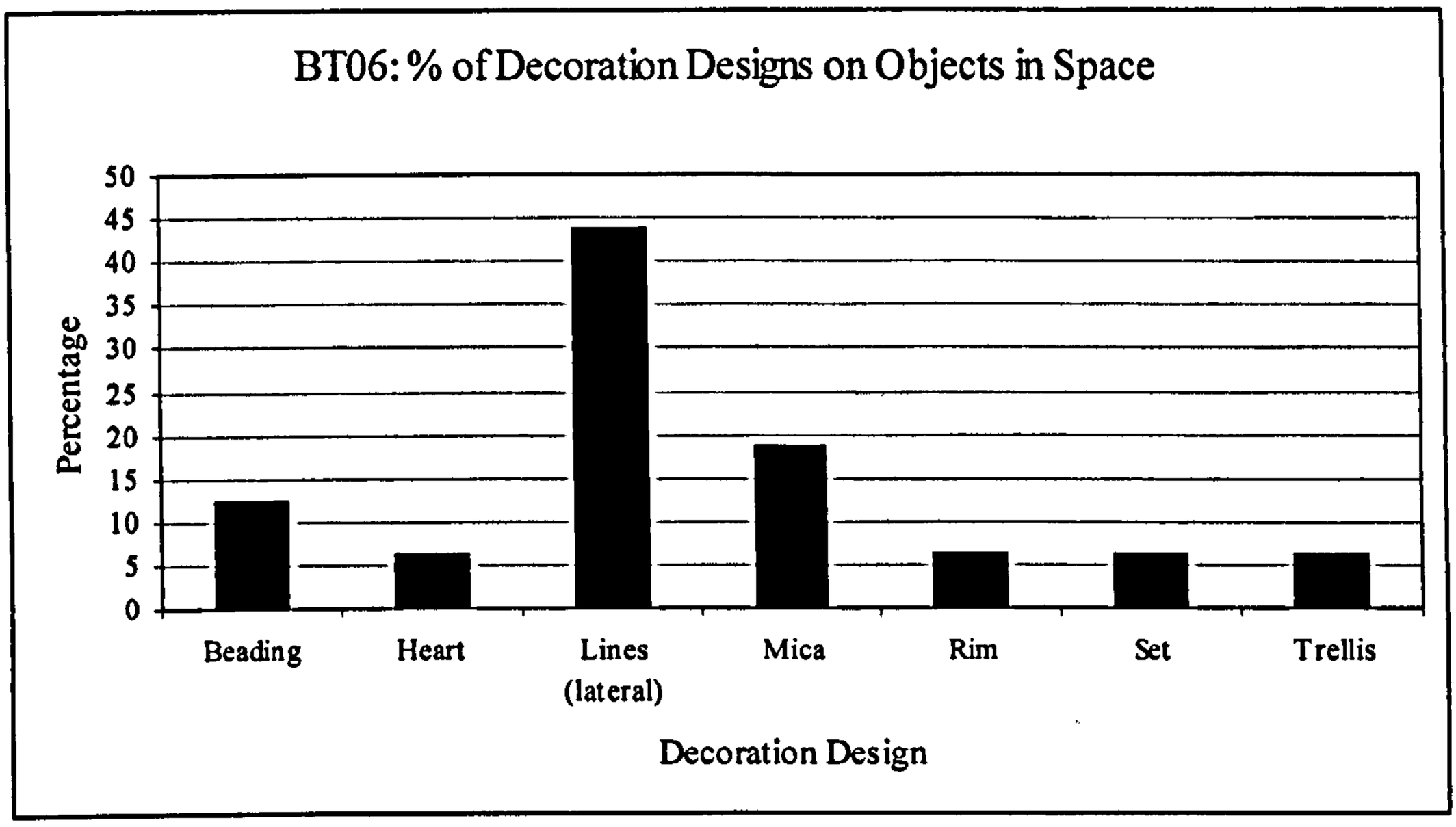


Figure C.27

One of the artefacts had two designs, but none of the artefacts had three designs.

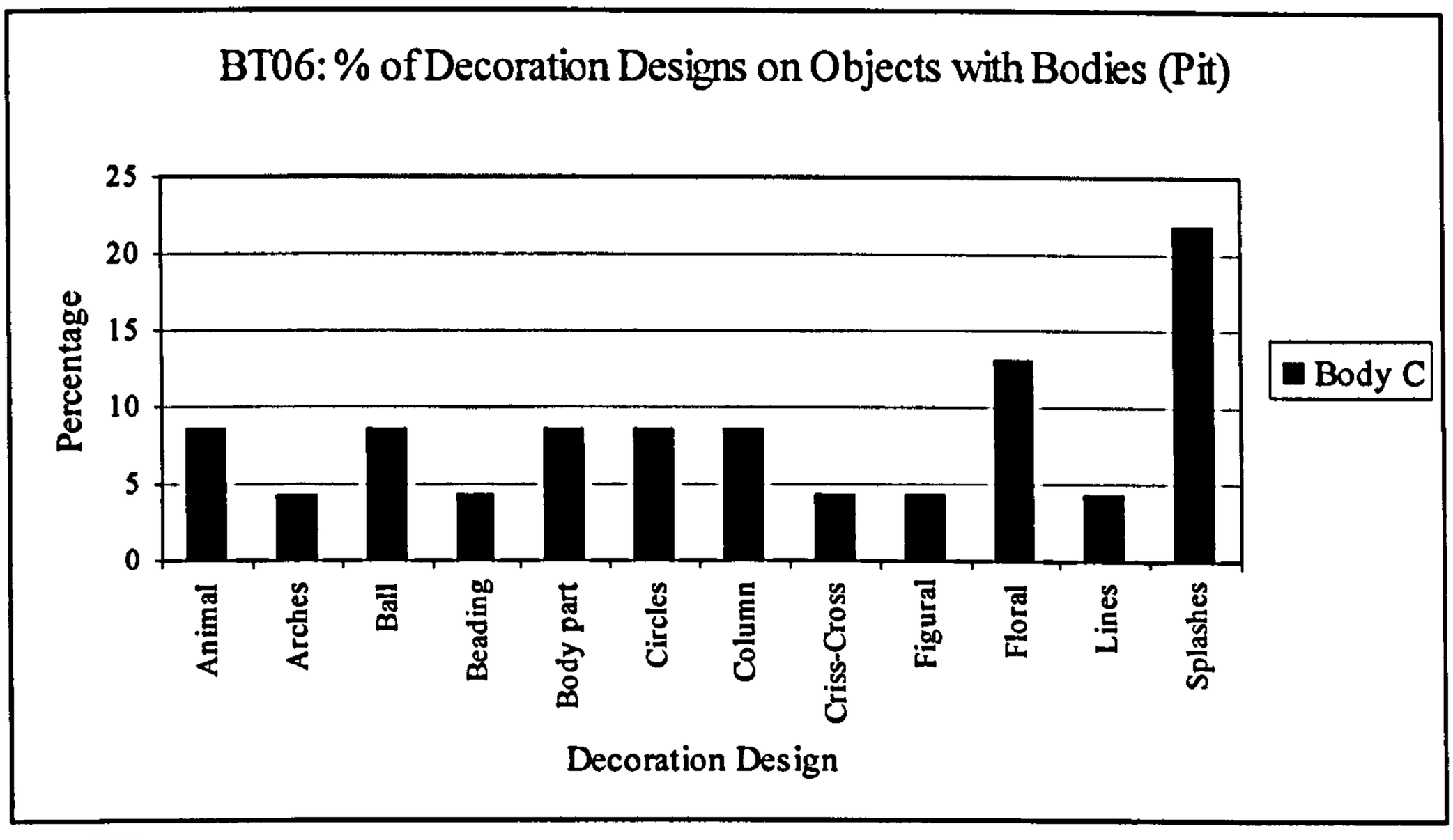


Figure C.28

In contrast to the artefacts found in space in this tomb, a number of the artefacts found with bodies had secondary and tertiary decorative designs. 12 designs were found in these artefacts (in contrast to seven designs found in the objects in space), and the most common motif was splashes. The only motif shared between the artefacts related to the humans and those artefacts without associations are lines.

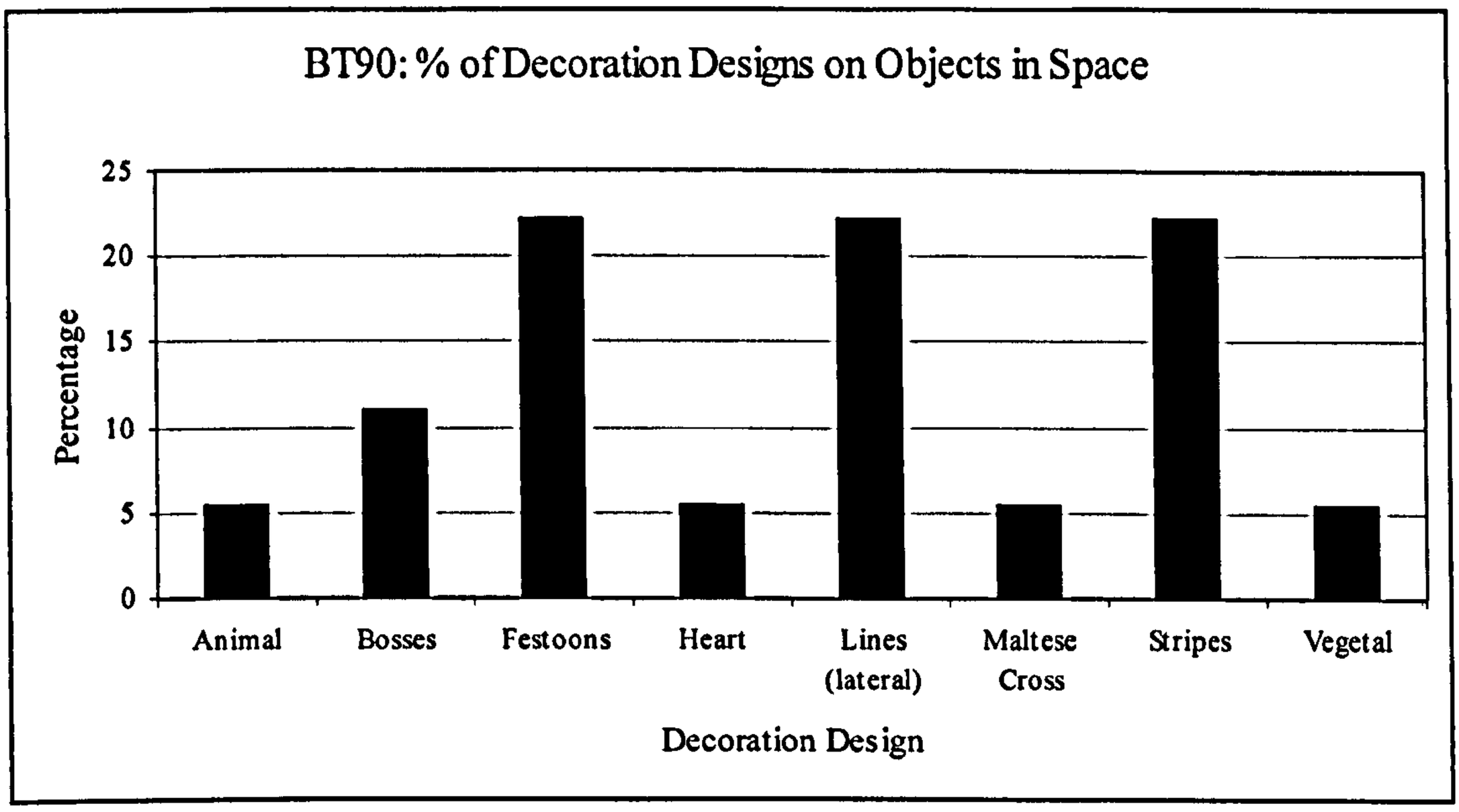


Figure C.29

Eight decorative designs were used in the 12 decorated objects from BT90. Four of the artefacts had two different designs (33.3%), and four of the objects had three designs (33.3%).

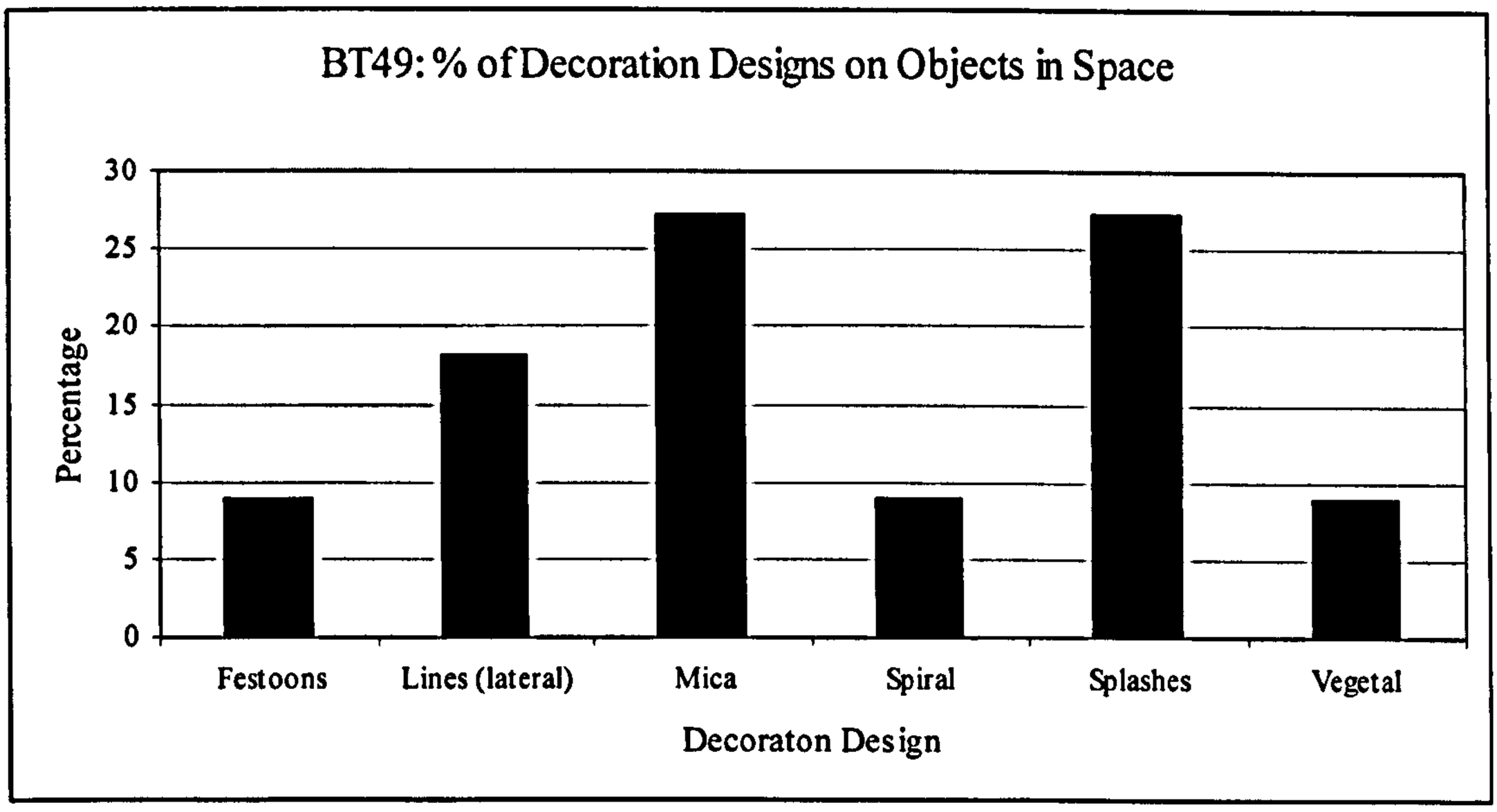


Figure C.30

Six designs were found in the artefacts from the tomb. Most of the artefacts from BT49 were either dusted with mica or had a splash design. None of the objects had three designs. The assemblage from BT49 is therefore very similar to that from BT48.

7.11.vii. Phase 4 (c.430-440AD).

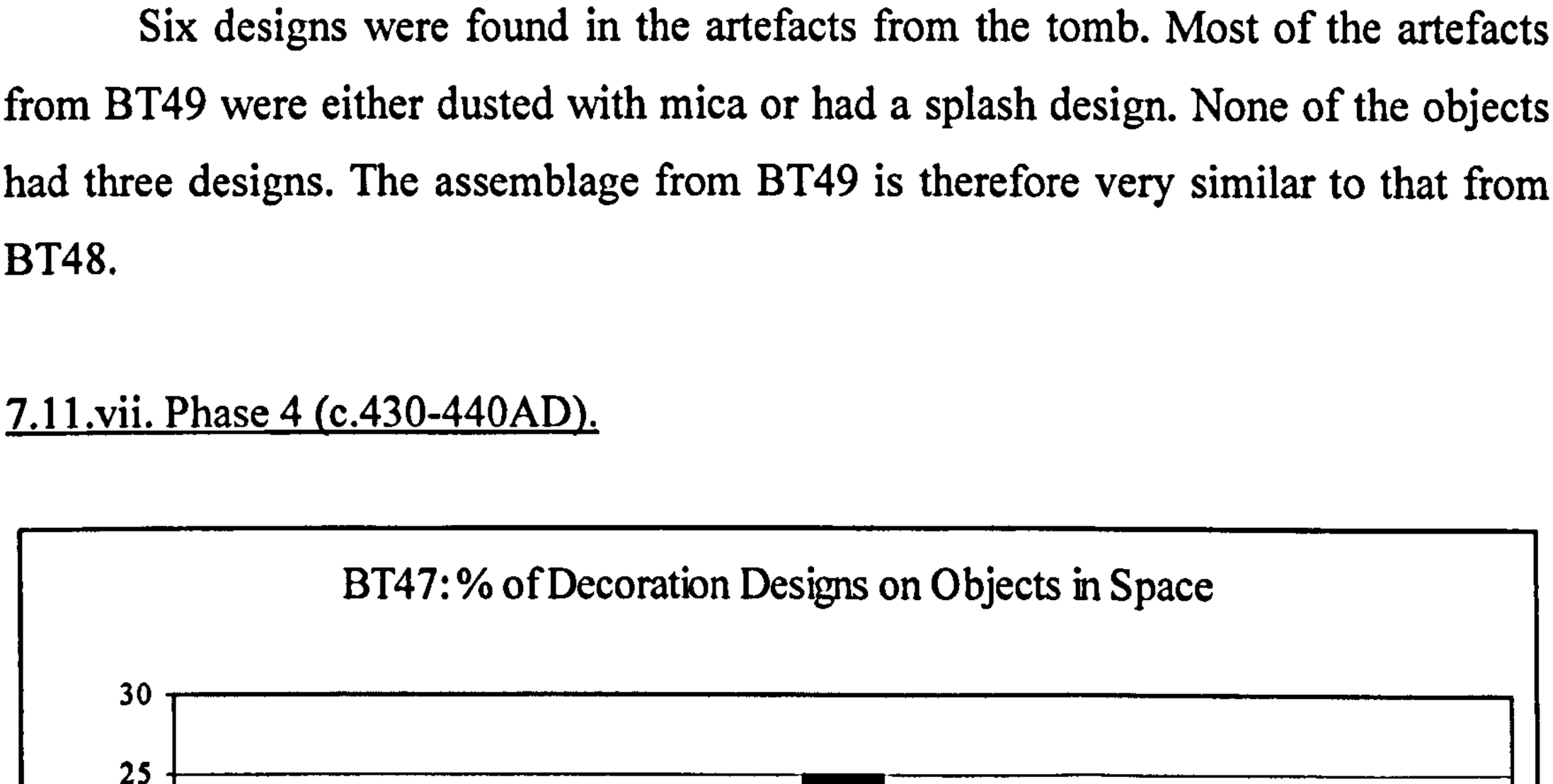


Figure C.31

Seven decoration designs were found in the objects from BT47 that were unassociated with human or animal remains. Most of the artefacts were decorated

with a figural design. The figural, mica and splash pattern designs were only found in space.

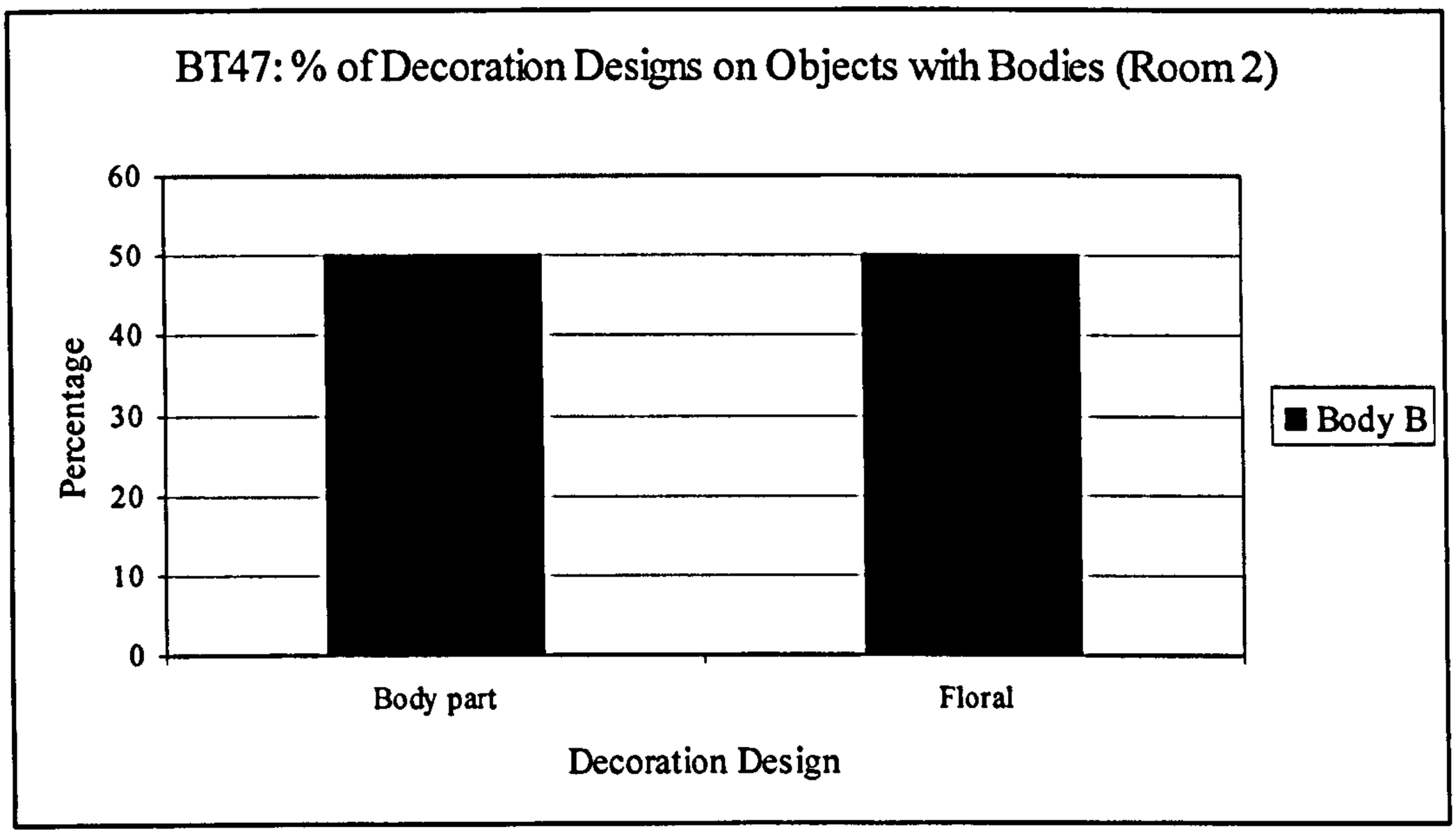


Figure C.32

A single artefact with Body B was decorated. It had two designs.

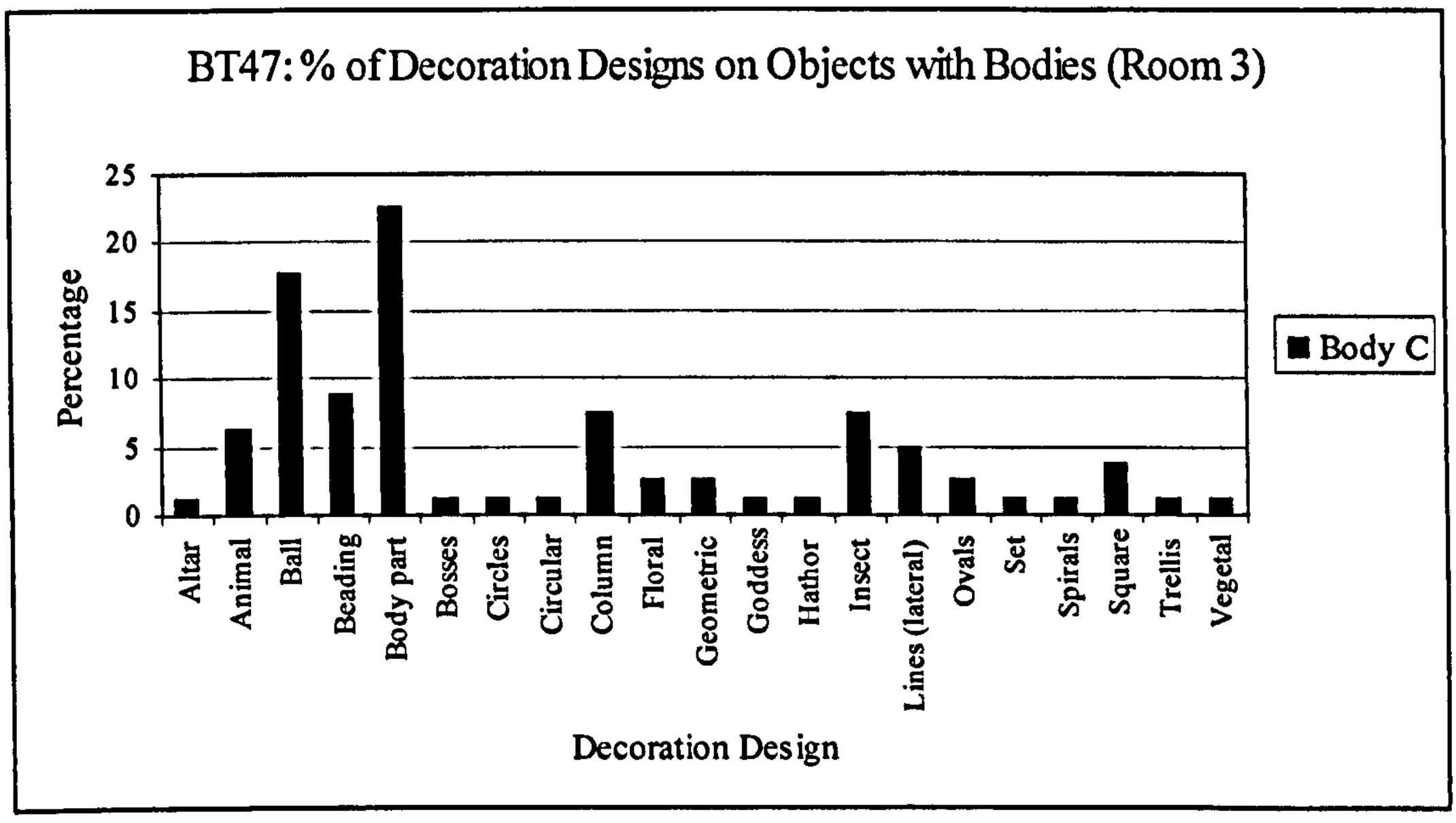


Figure C.33

Twenty one designs were found in the artefacts associated with the bodies in BT47. Two designs (body part and floral) were found with Body B in Room 2, but the full range of designs (79 design occurrences in 108 artefacts) was found with Body C in Room 3.

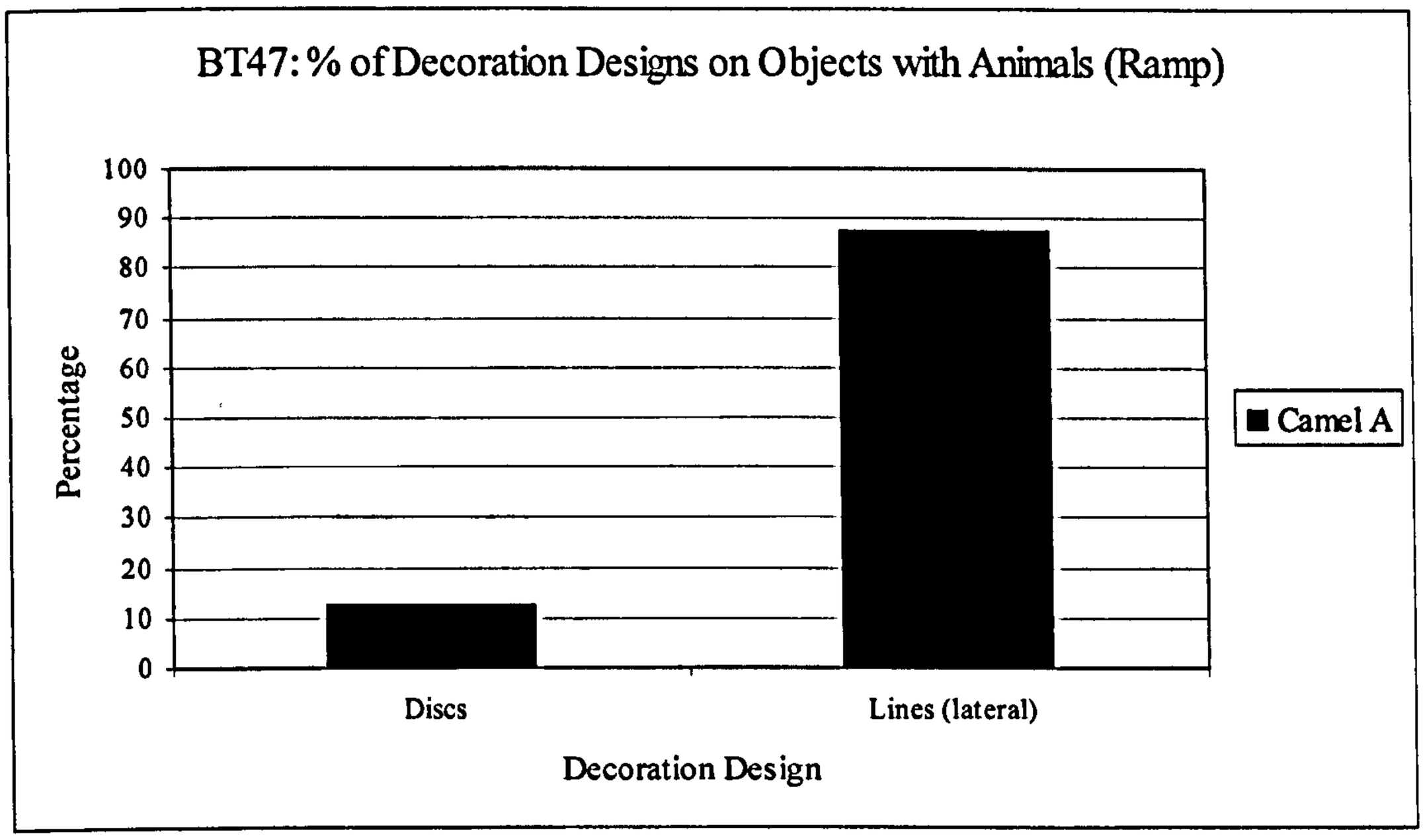


Figure C.34

All of the artefacts found with an animal in BT47 were associated with Camel A. Most of the artefacts were decorated with lateral lines, and designs of lateral lines were the only motif found in space, with humans, and with animals. Discs were only found with the camel.

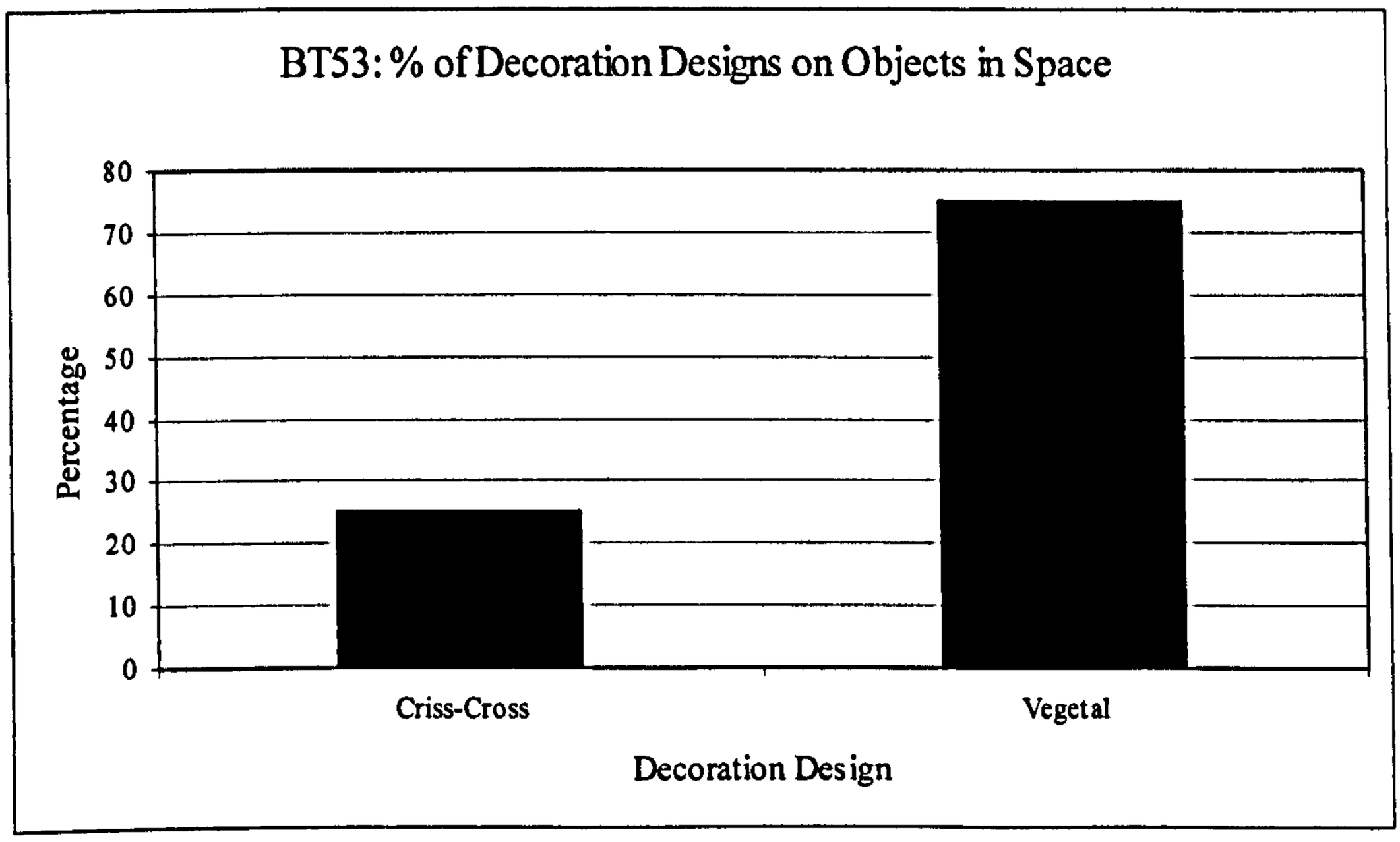


Figure C.35

Four artefacts from BT53 were decorated. One was decorated with a criss-cross design, and the other three with vegetal designs. None of the objects had a second or third design.

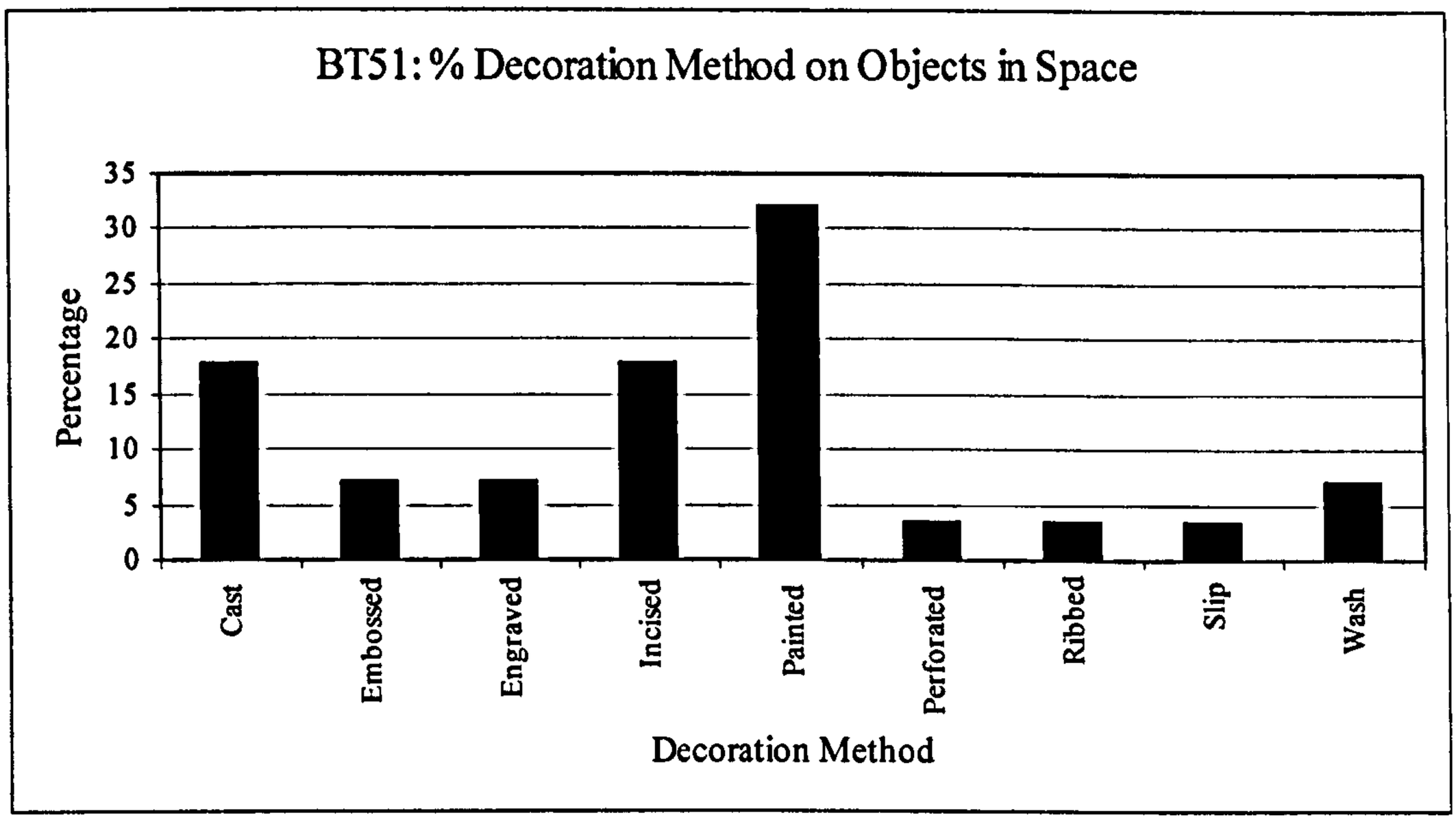


Figure C.36

16 designs were found in the 26 decorated artefacts from BT51. Lateral lines and illustrations of body parts were the most popular decorative designs.

7.11.viii. Phase 4a (c.430-440AD).

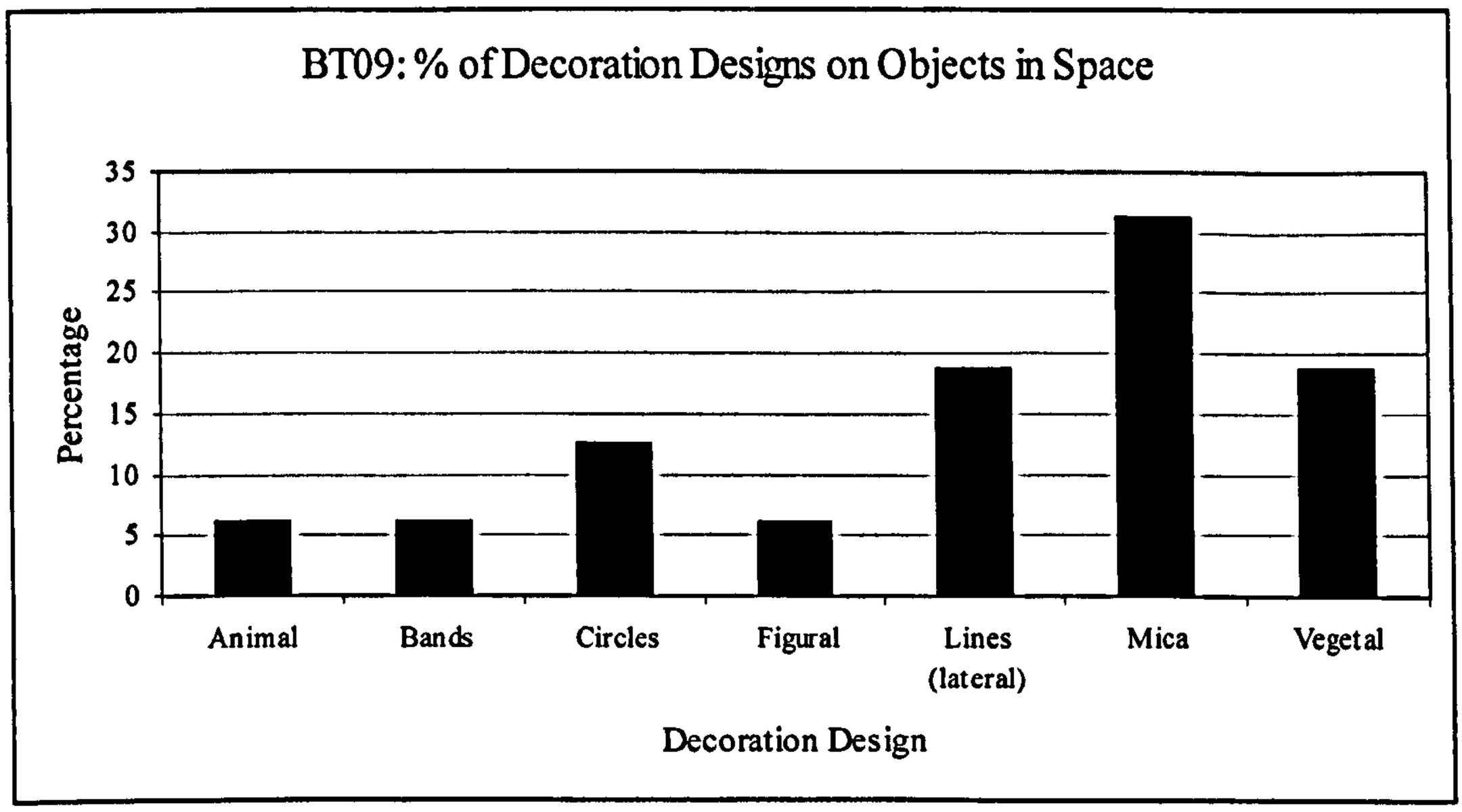


Figure C.37

Seven designs were found in the artefacts from BT09. Most of the objects were dusted with mica, and only two artefacts had three decorative designs.

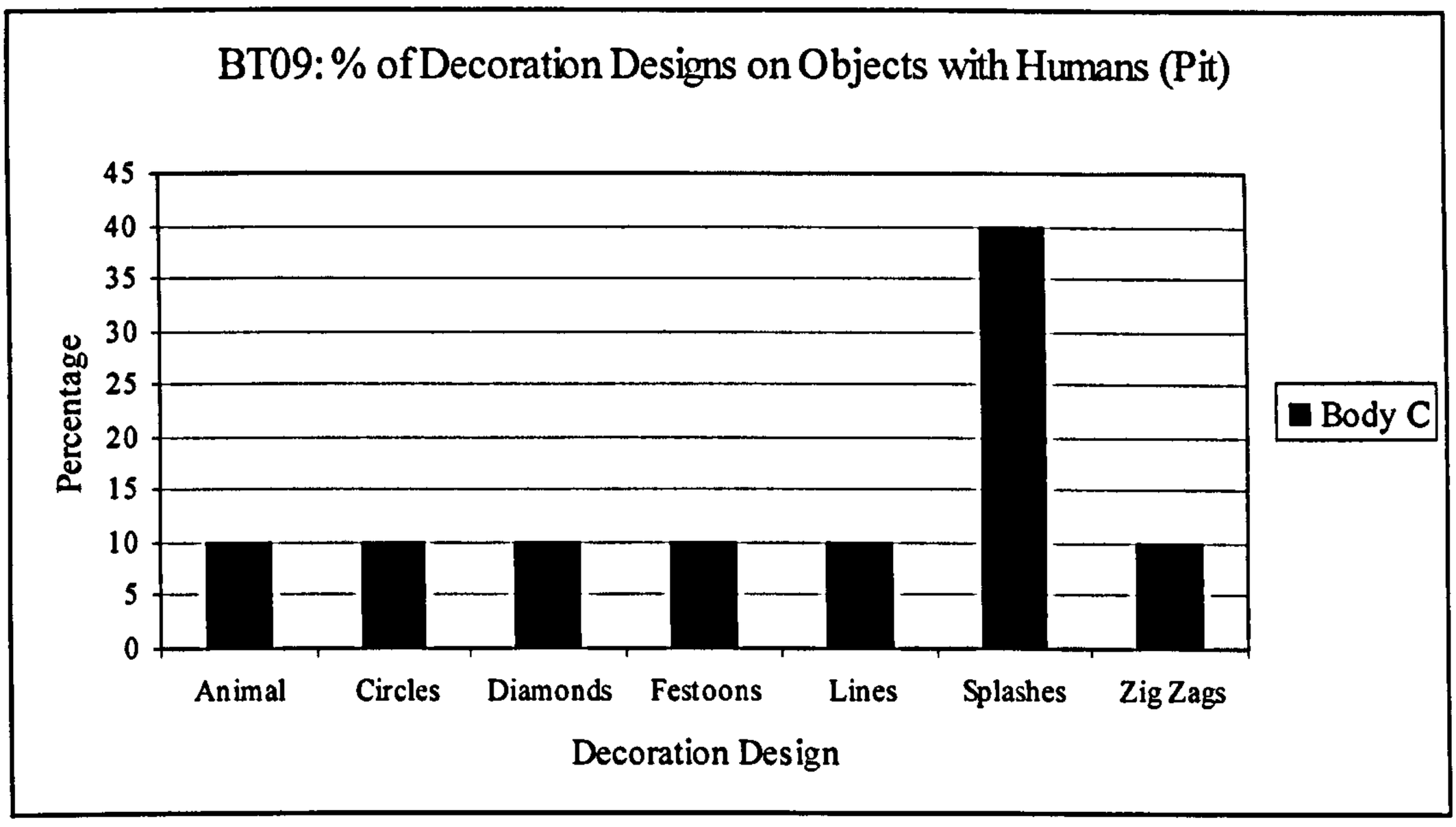


Figure C.38

Splashes were the most frequent design in the artefacts associated with Body C in BT09. Only a single artefact had three designs. Lines were the only type of design shared with the object that was unassociated with skeletal remains. The other designs in the two sets of artefacts were mutually exclusive.

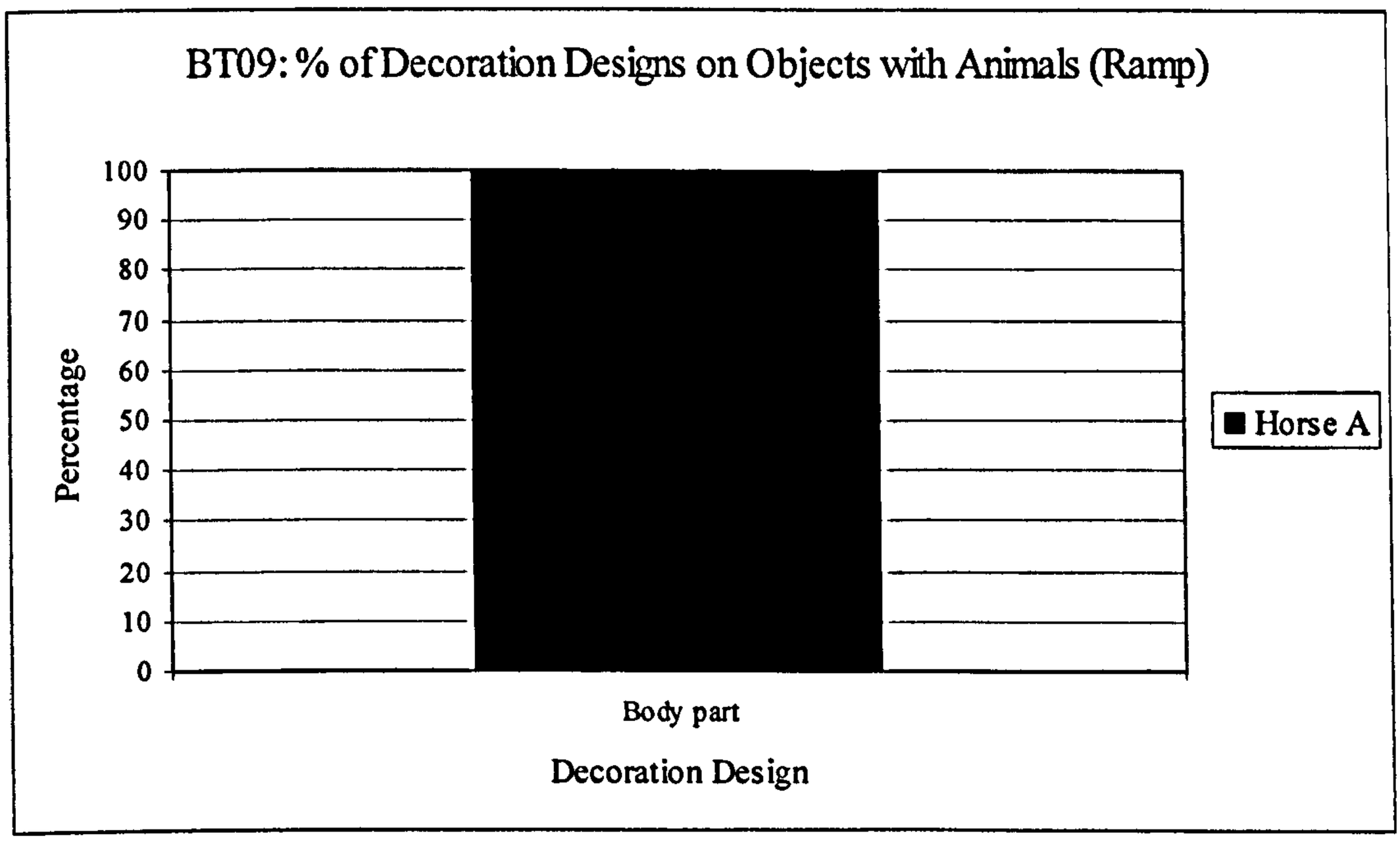


Figure C.39

One artefact with a single design was associated with Horse A.

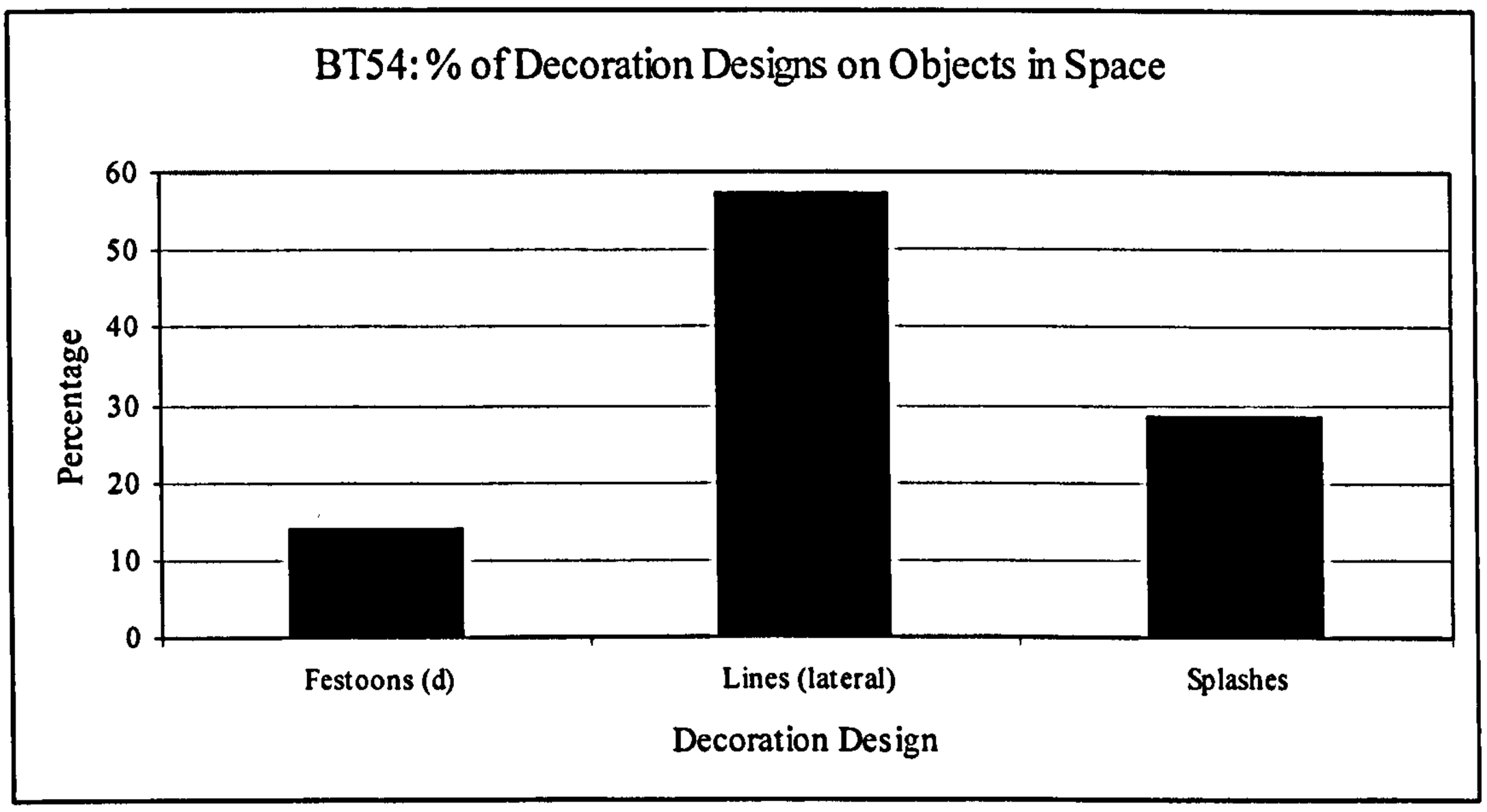


Figure C.40

Three decoration designs were used on six vessels from BT54. One of the artefacts had two decorative designs (16.6%). None of the artefacts had a third decorative scheme. Lateral lines were the design most frequently used to decorate the vessels.

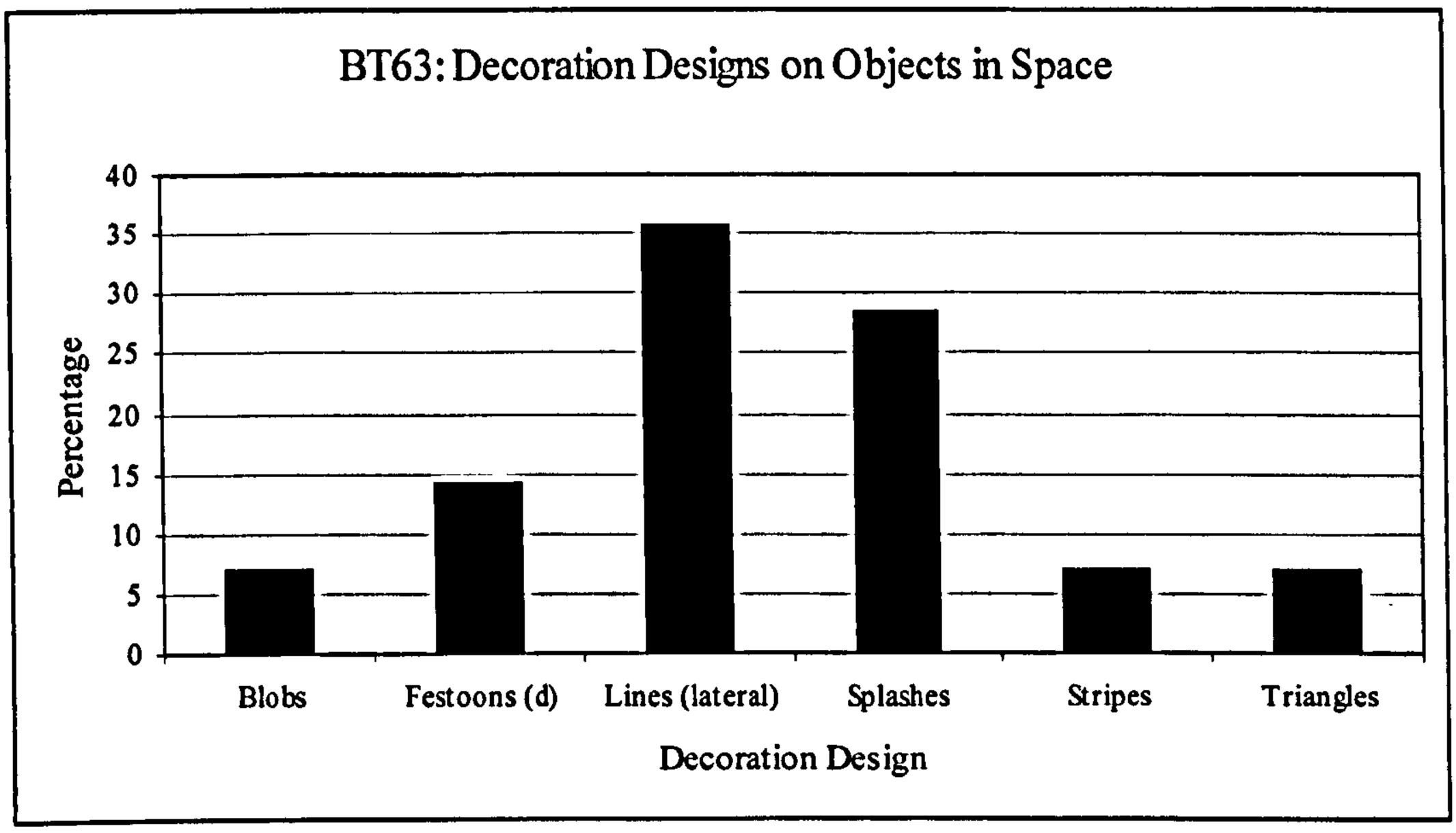


Figure C.41

Six decoration designs were used in the ten decorated vessels from this tomb. Most of the vessels that were decorated were decorated with lateral lines.

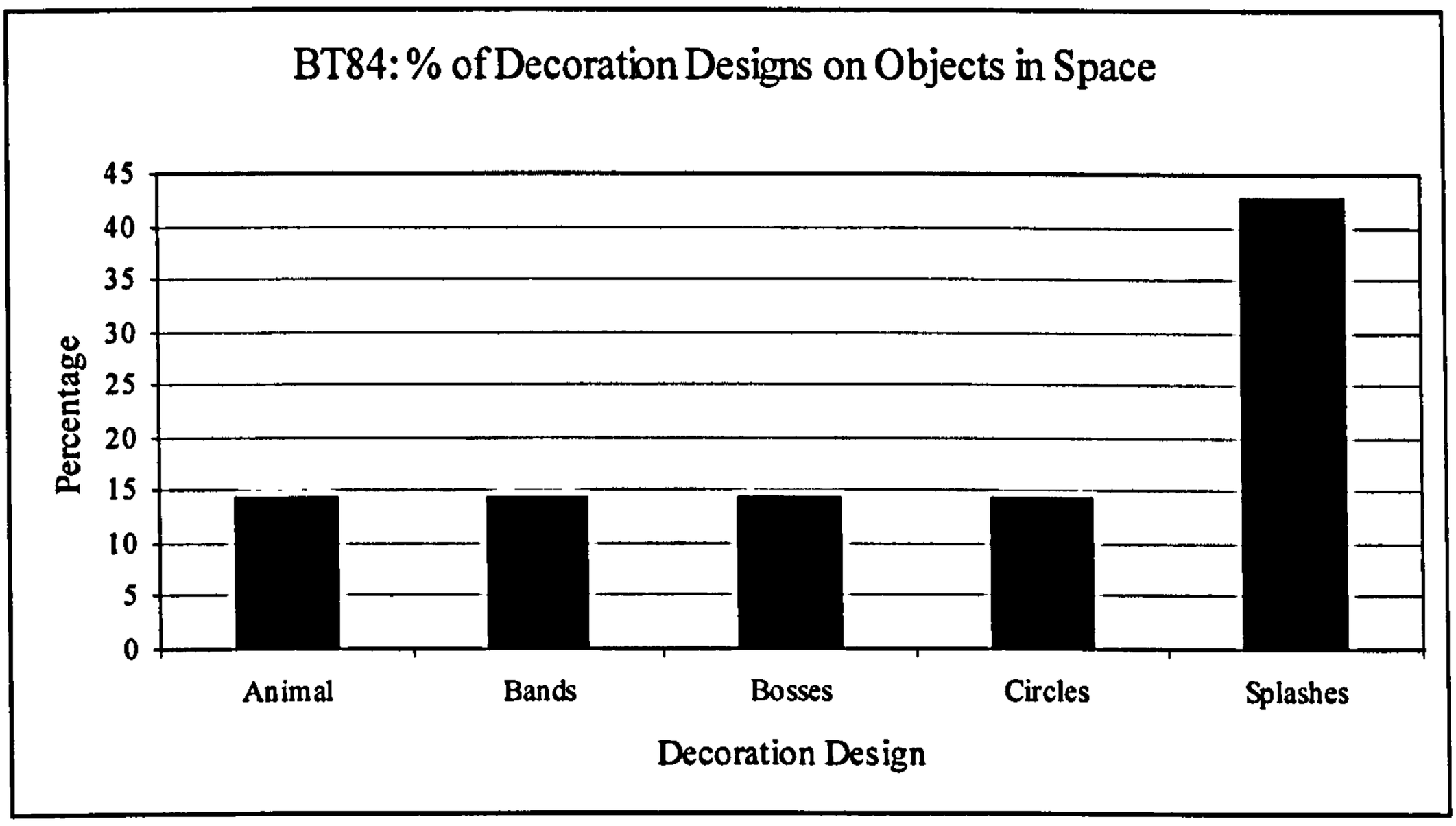


Figure C.42

There were five decorative designs used in the five decorated artefacts from BT84. Splashes were the most frequently occurring design. Single instances of animal, bands, bosses and circles were also found.

7.11.ix. Phase 5a (c.440-450AD).

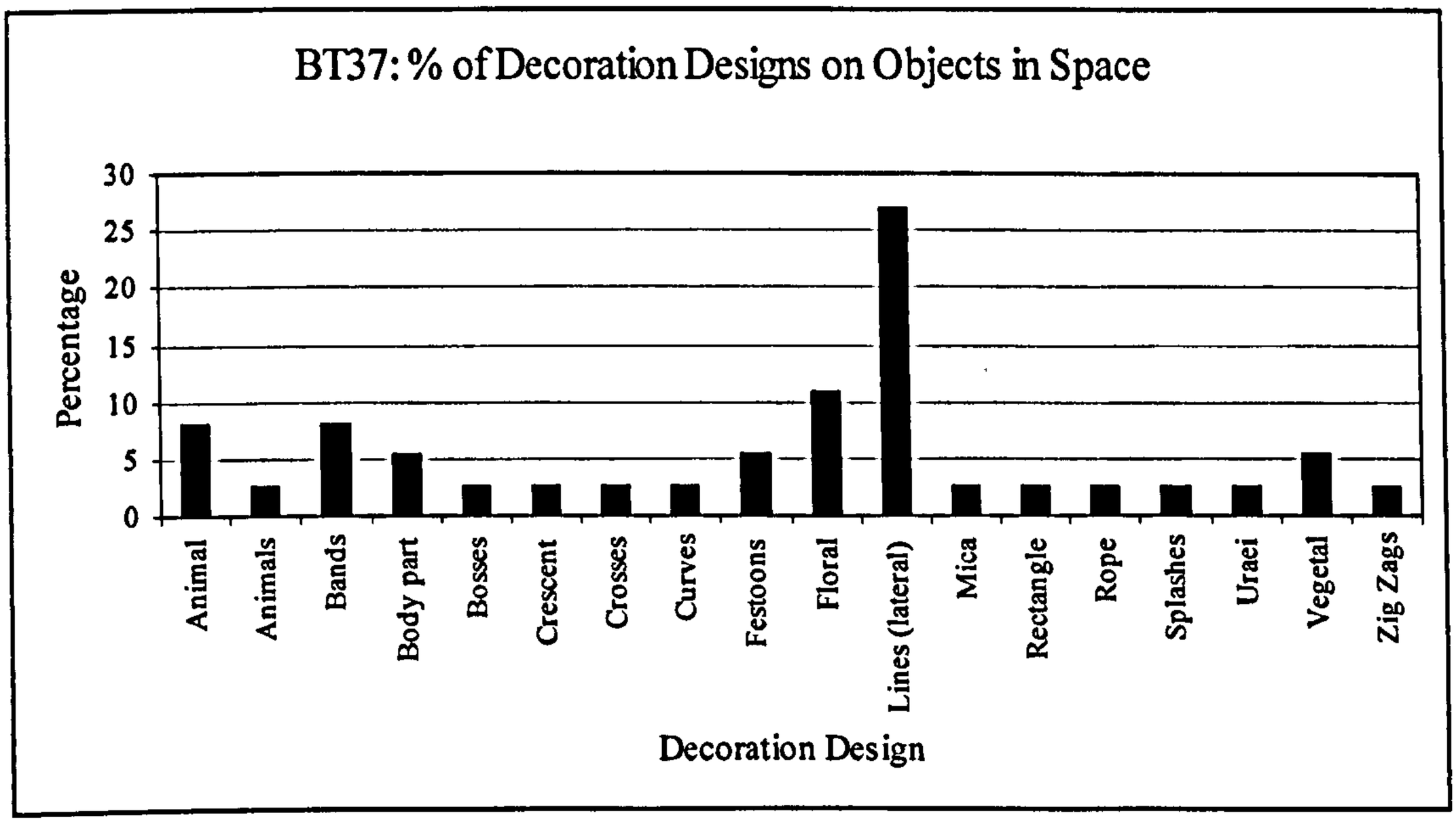


Figure C.43

18 decoration designs were found in the artefacts in BT37. Most of the artefacts were decorated with lateral lines. None of the artefacts found with Body A or Body E were decorated with designs.

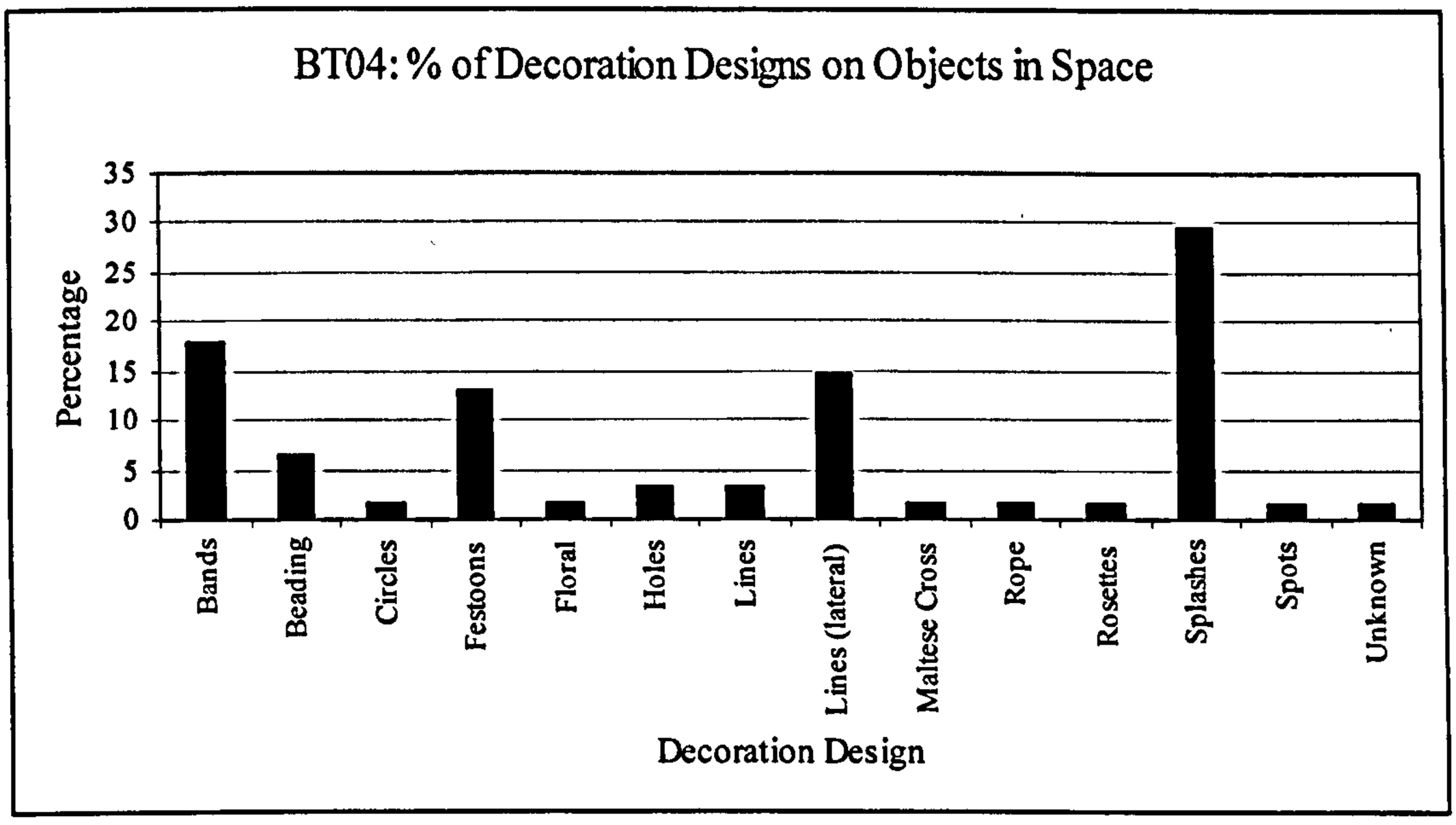


Figure C.44

Fourteen designs were found in the artefacts from BT04. Most of the objects were decorated with splashes or bands.

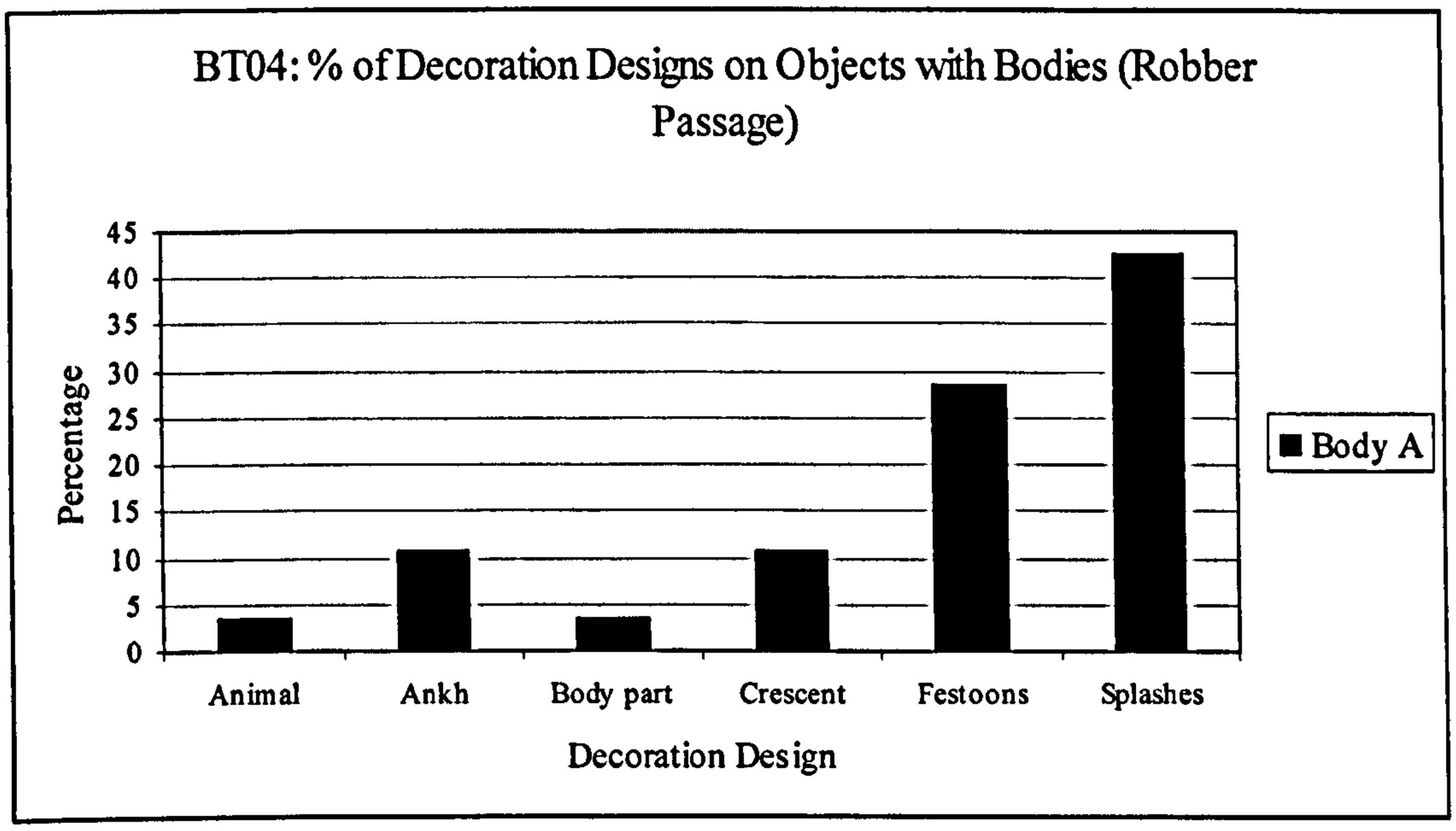


Figure C.45

Six designs were found in the artefacts associated with Body A in the Robber Passage. Most of the objects were decorated with splashes and festoons. The animal, ankh, body part and crescent designs were exclusive to the objects found with this body.

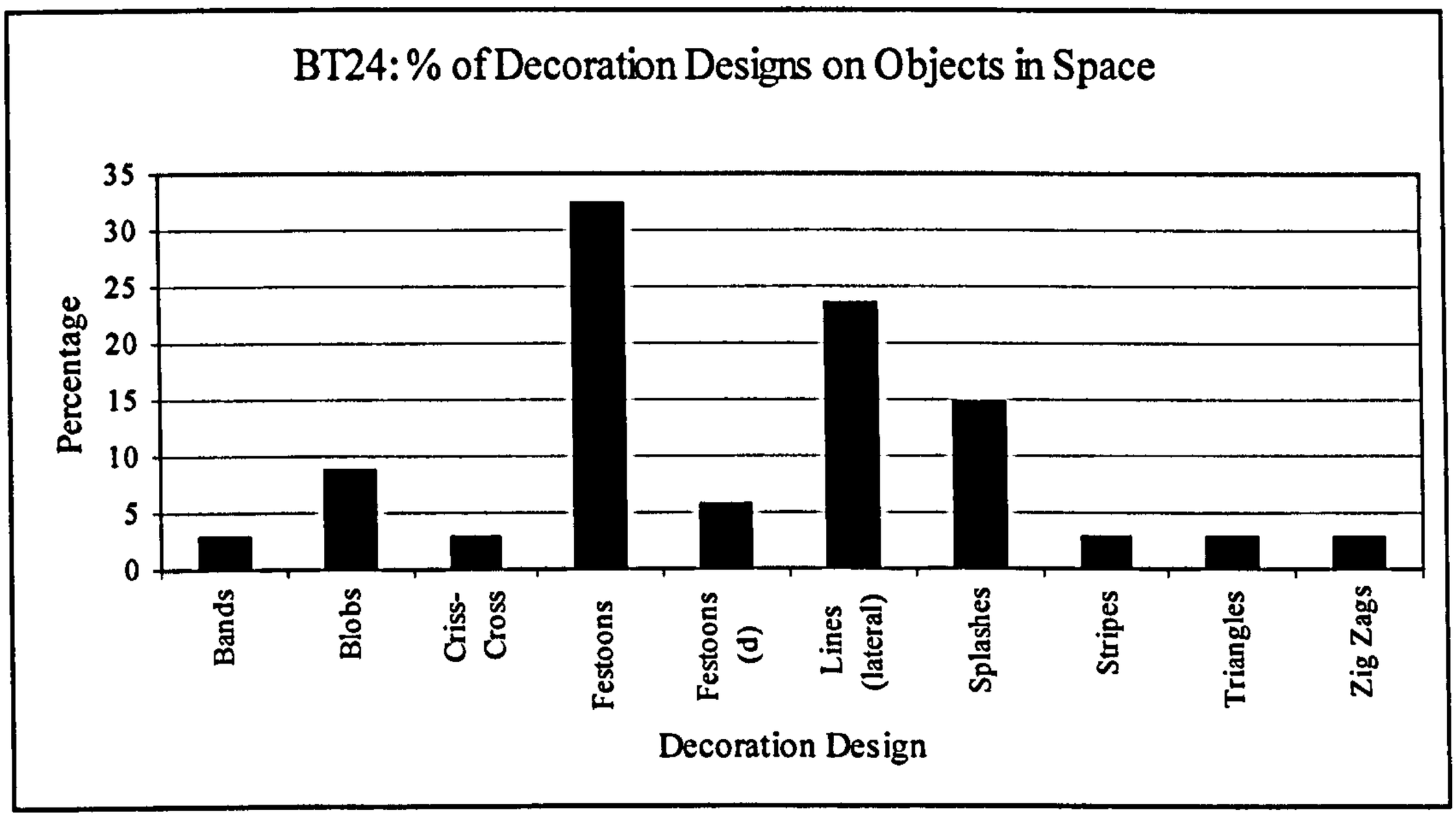


Figure C.46

There were 26 decorated artefacts from BT24, decorated in 10 different schemes. Most of the artefacts were decorated with festoons or lateral lines.

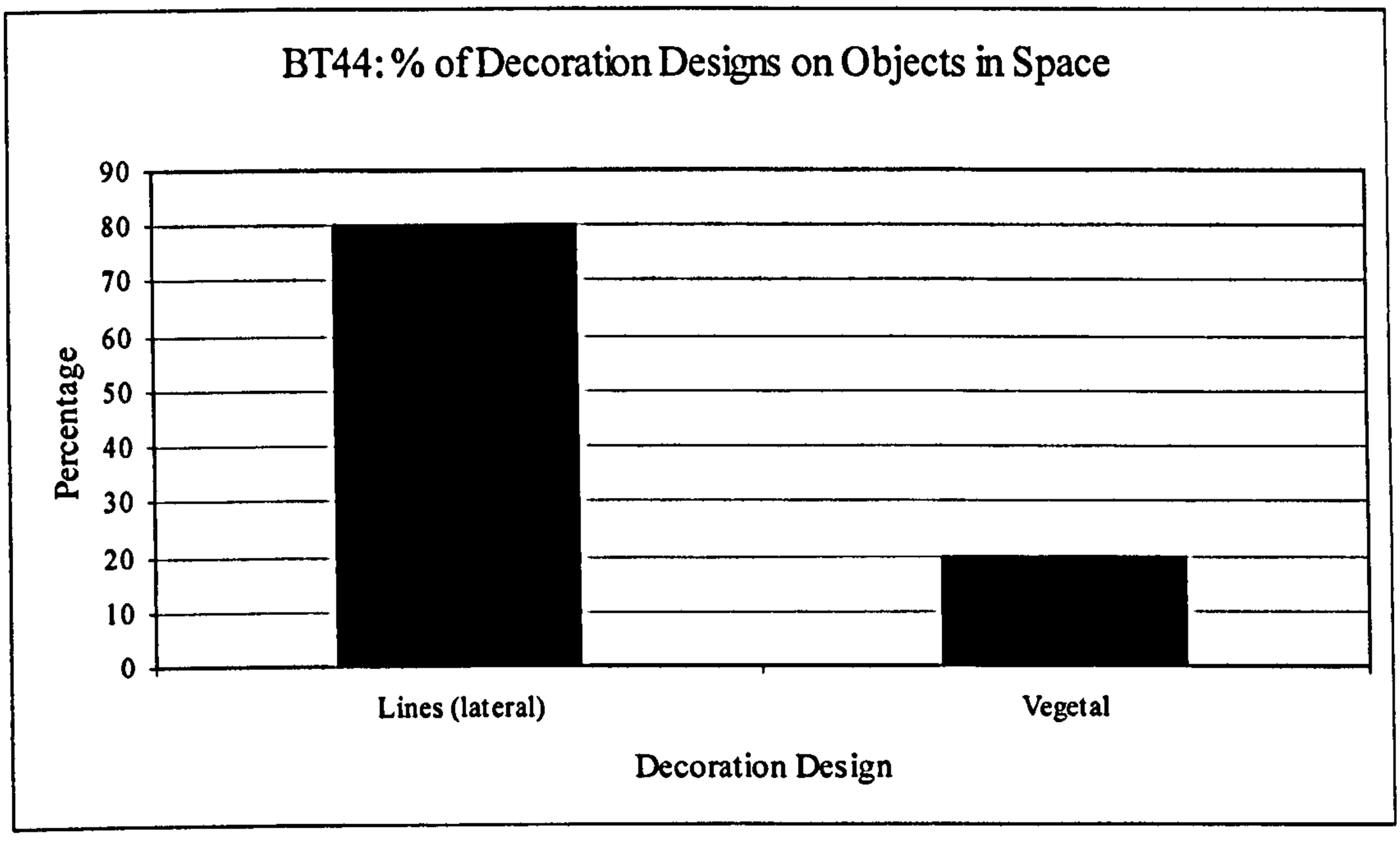


Figure C.47

Most of the artefacts in BT44 were decorated with lateral lines. None of the artefacts had a secondary or tertiary design scheme.

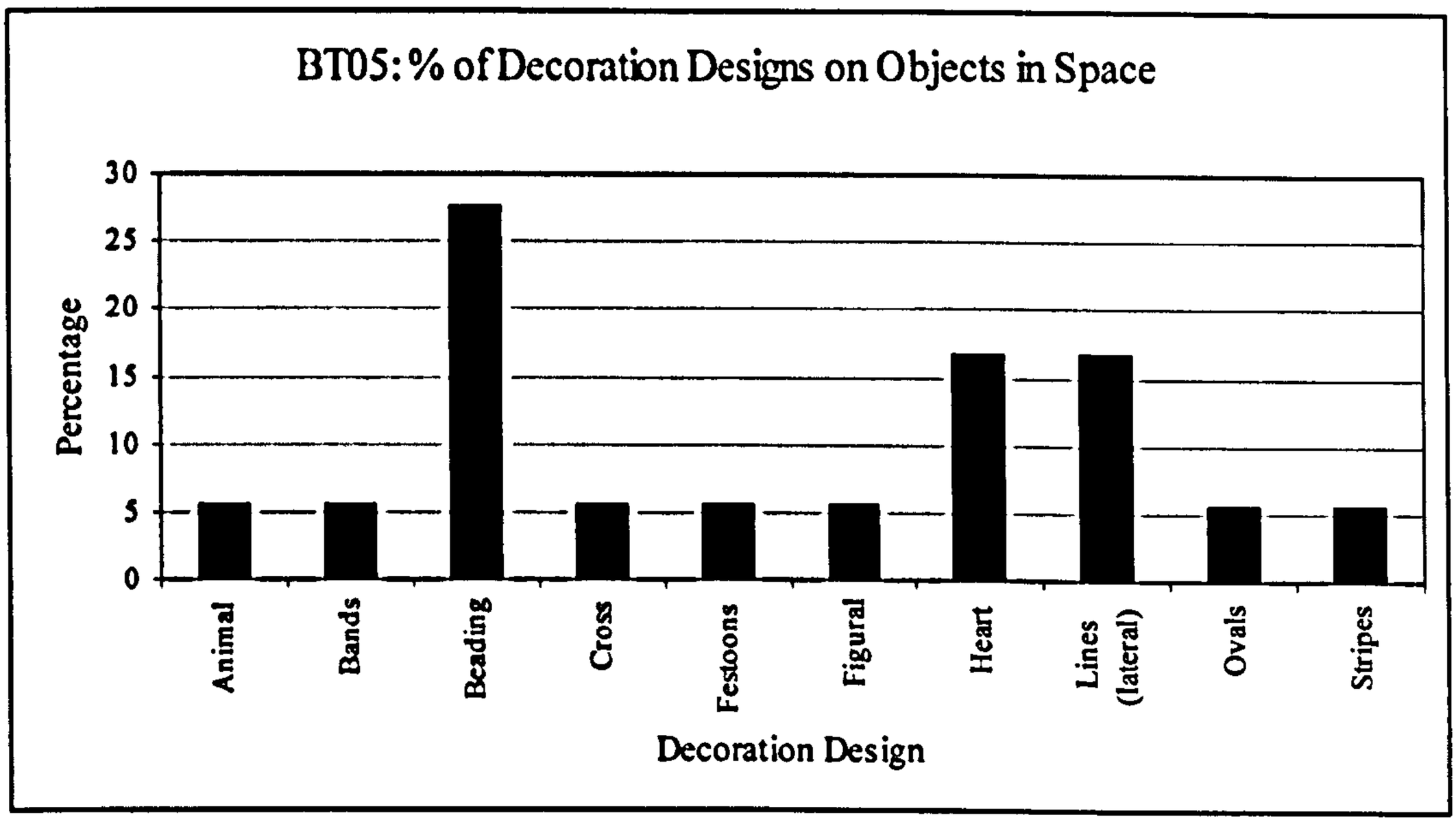


Figure C.48

Ten designs were found in the artefacts in BT05. Beading, lines, and heart shaped decorations occurred most frequently. A total of thirteen decorated objects were found in this tomb.

7.11.x. Phase 5b (c.440-450AD).

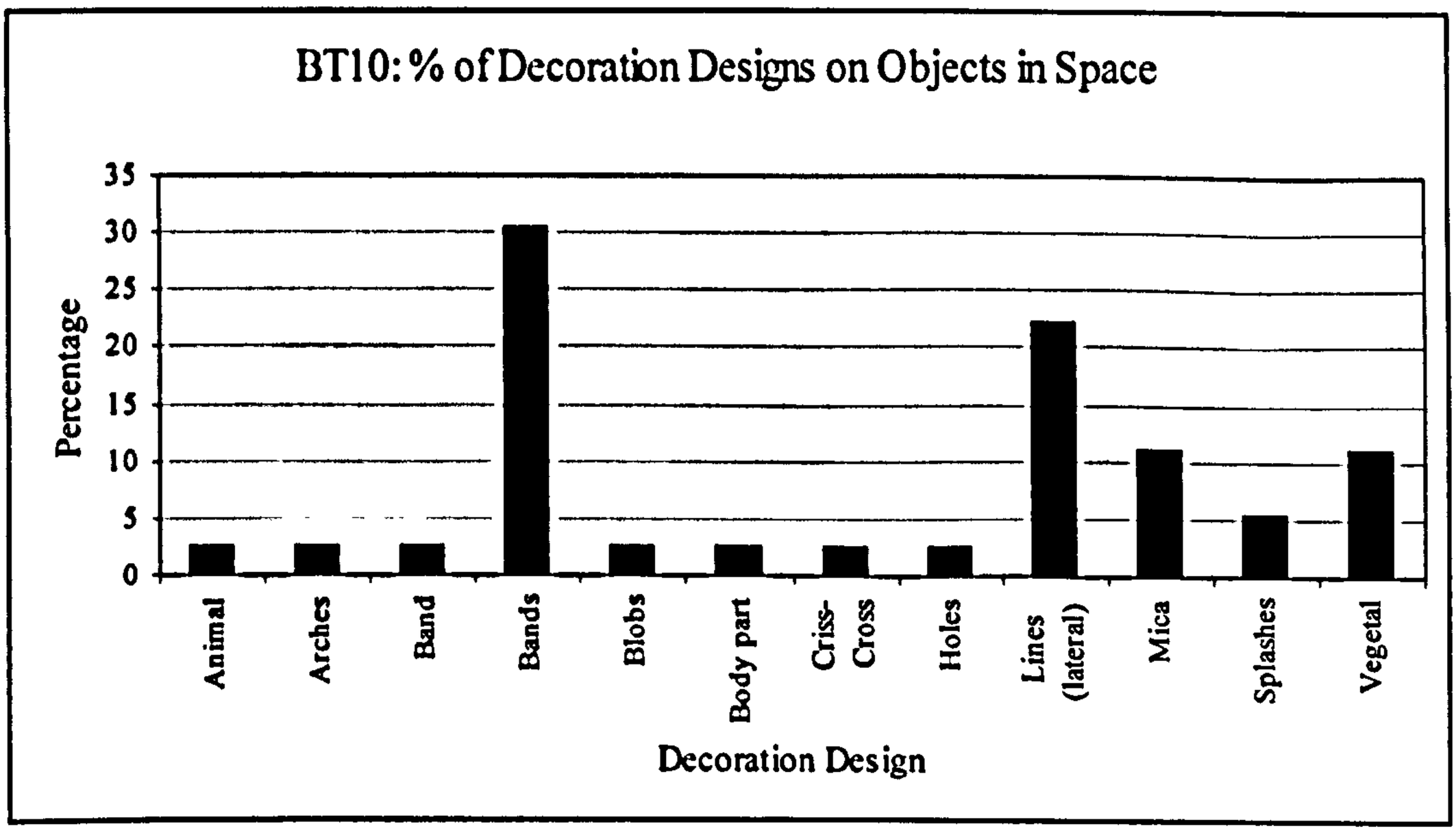


Figure C.49

13 designs were found in the artefacts from BT10 with bands being the most common, followed by lines.

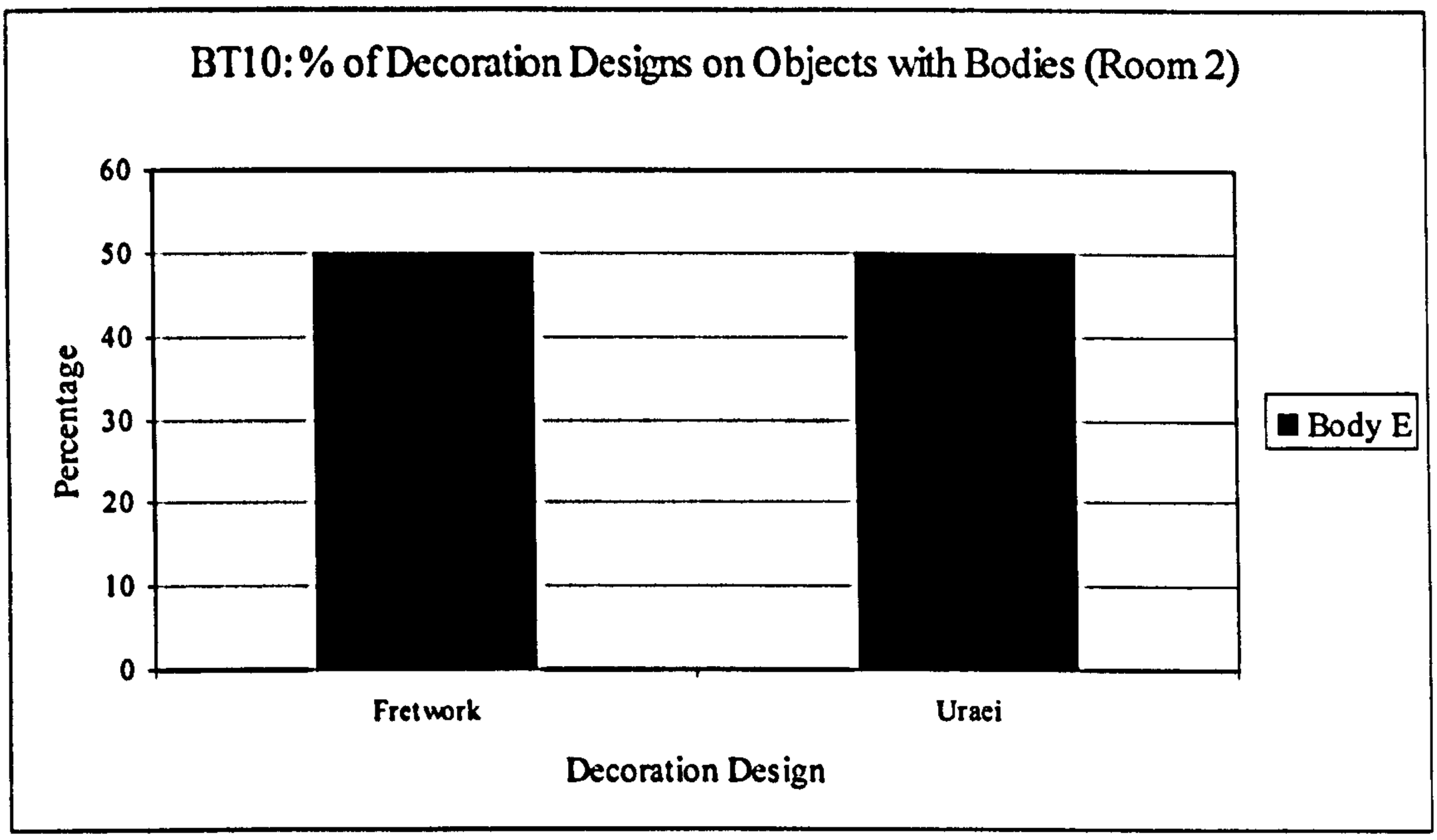


Figure C.50

Two artefacts found with Body E in BT10 were decorated. Each had one design. The fretwork and uraei motifs were only found in these artefacts associated with the Body.

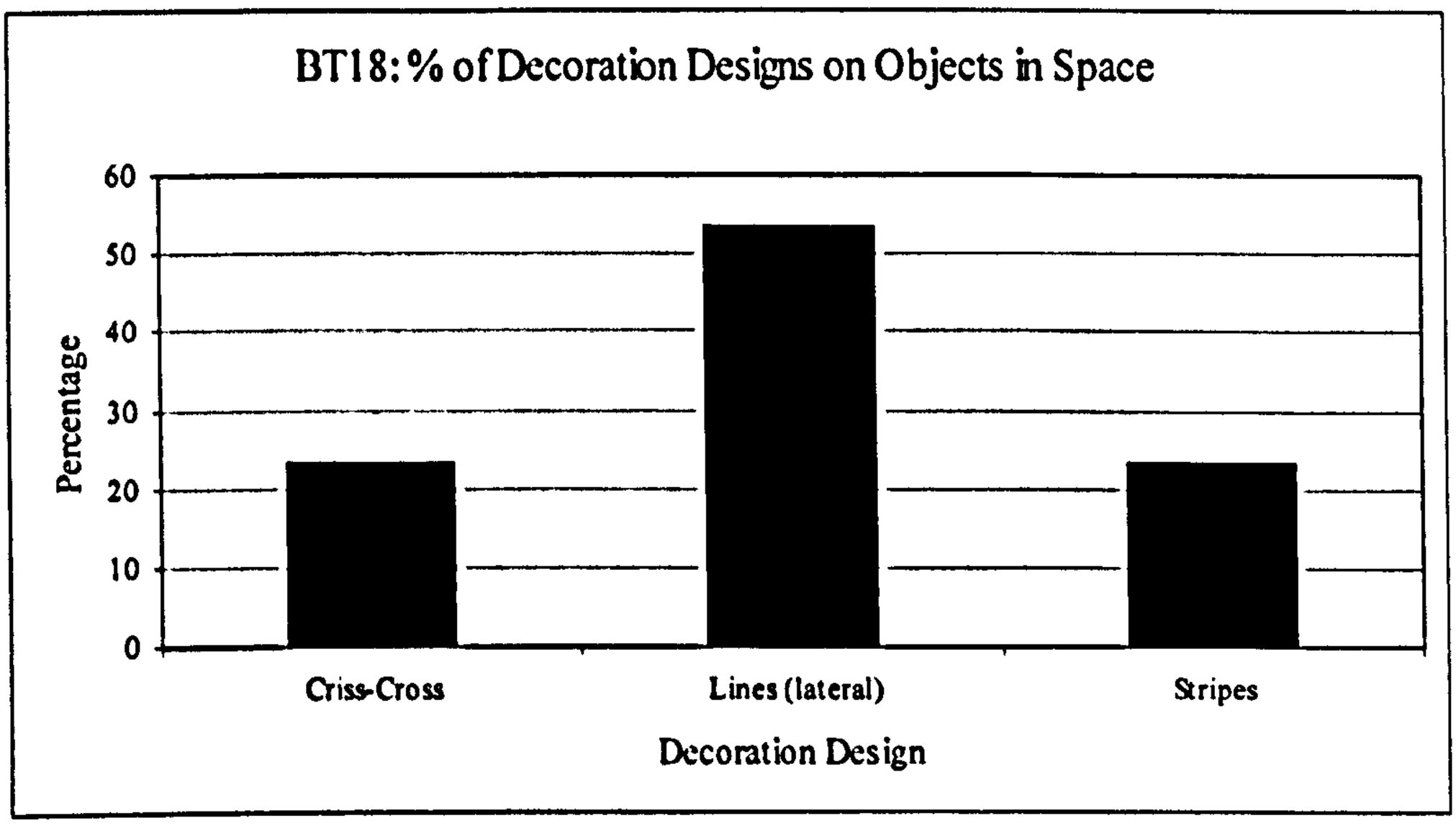


Figure C.51

Most of the 23 decorated artefacts in BT18 were decorated with lateral lines. Ten artefacts had three decorative designs, all of which were also lateral lines.

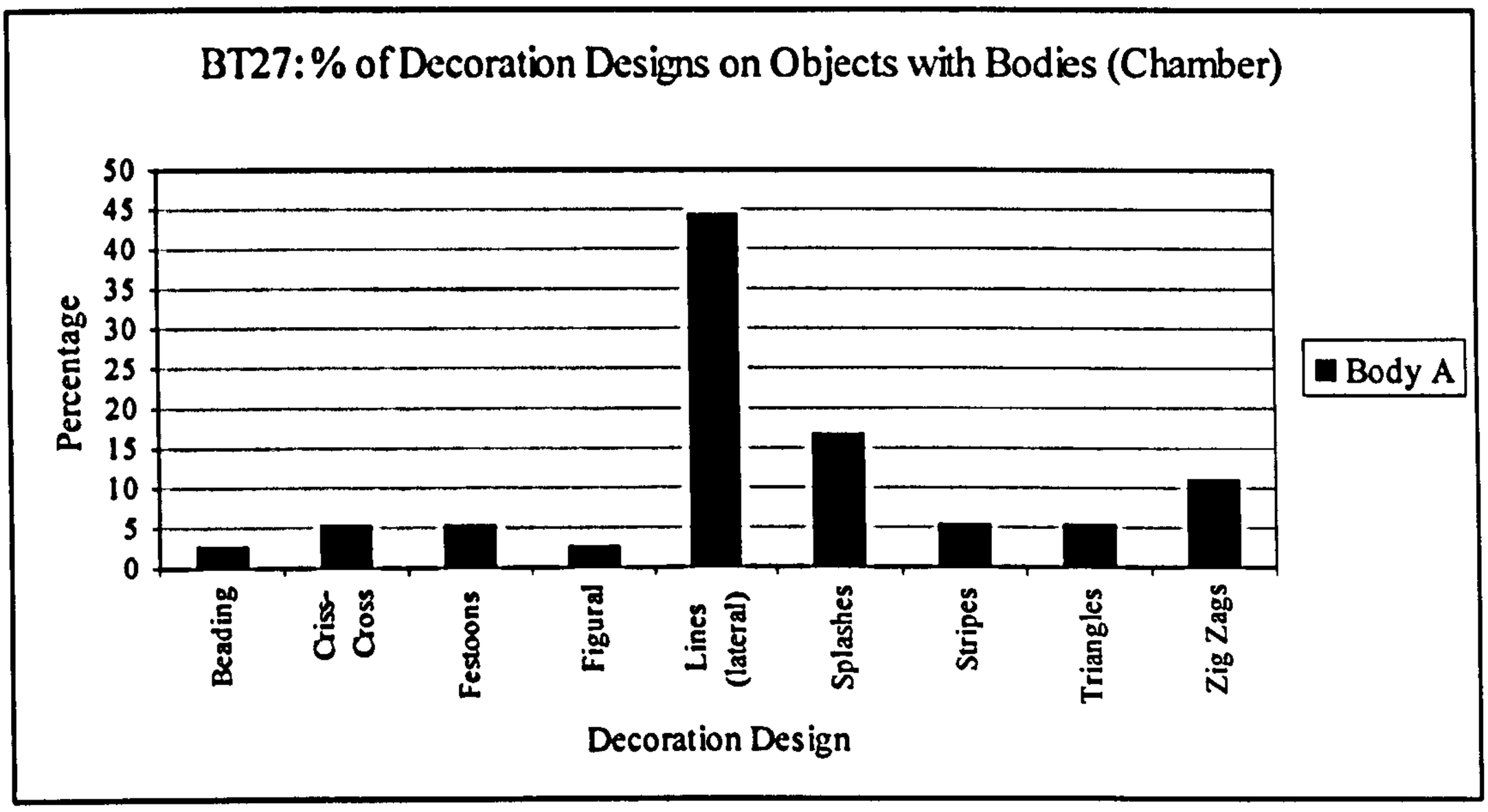


Figure C.52

Ten designs were found in the artefacts from BT27, all of which were found with Body A. Most of the artefacts were decorated with lateral lines.

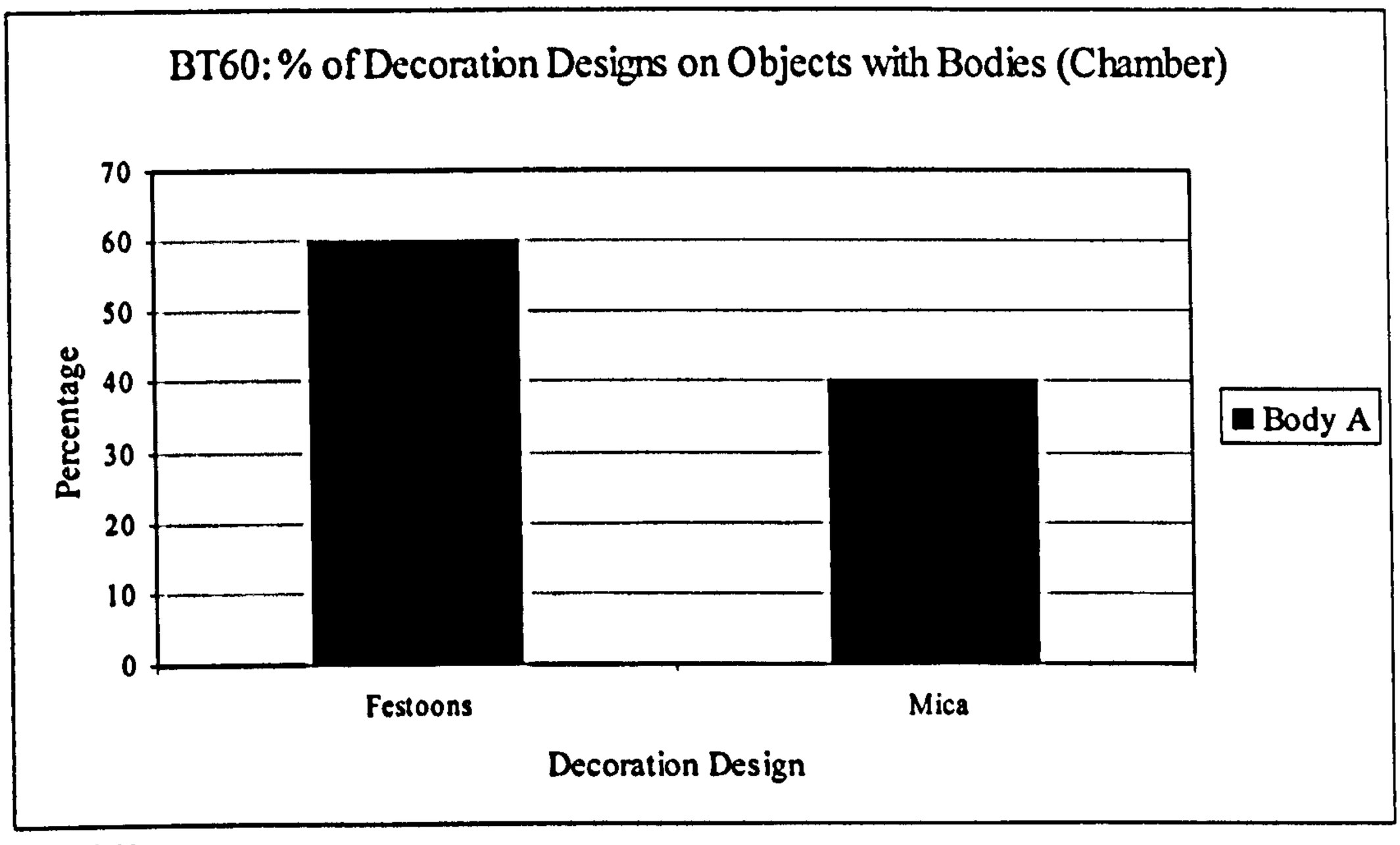


Figure C.53

All of the artefacts from BT60 were found in association with Body A. Five of them were decorated using two different schemes.

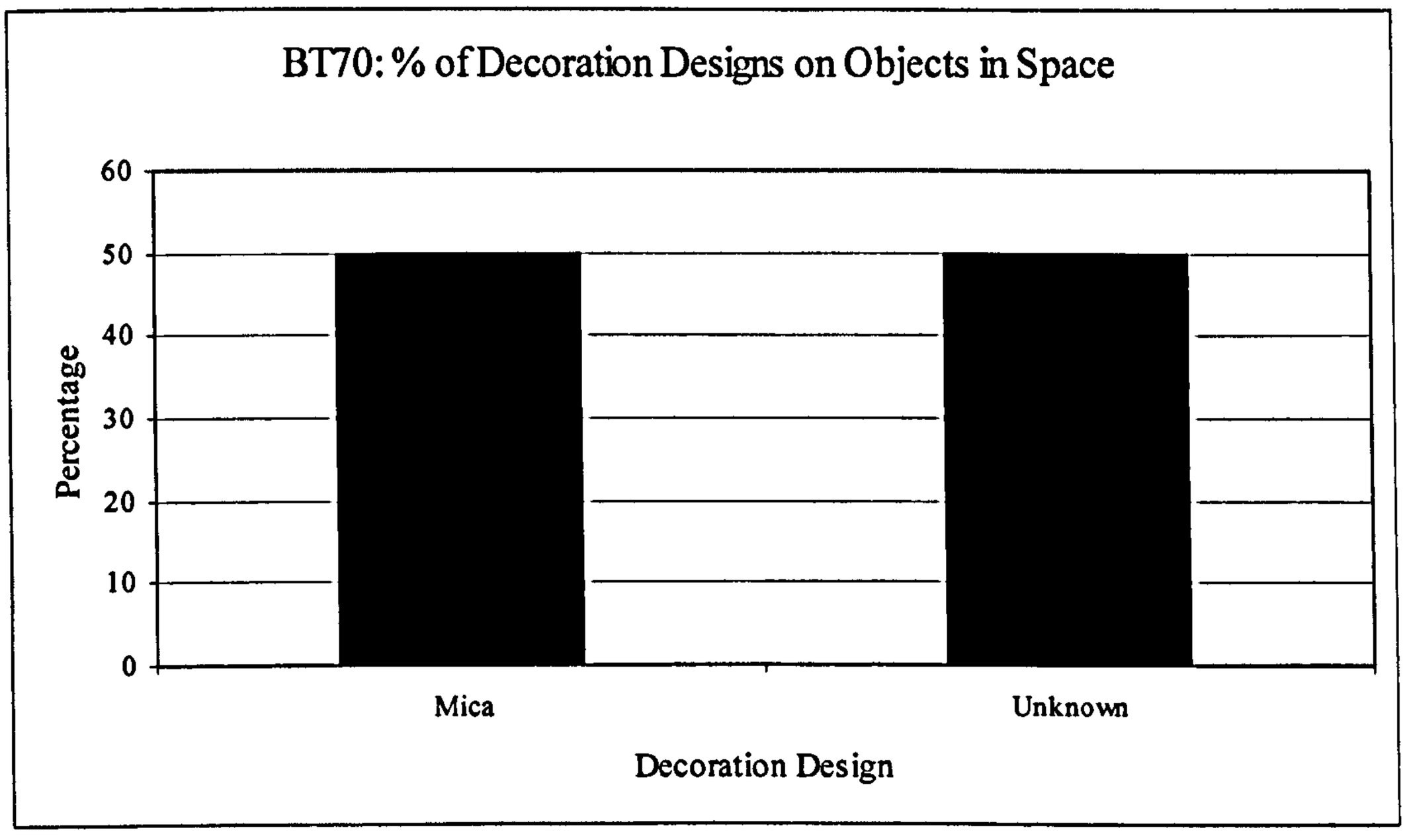


Figure C.54

Two decorative designs were used in the two decorated artefacts from BT70.

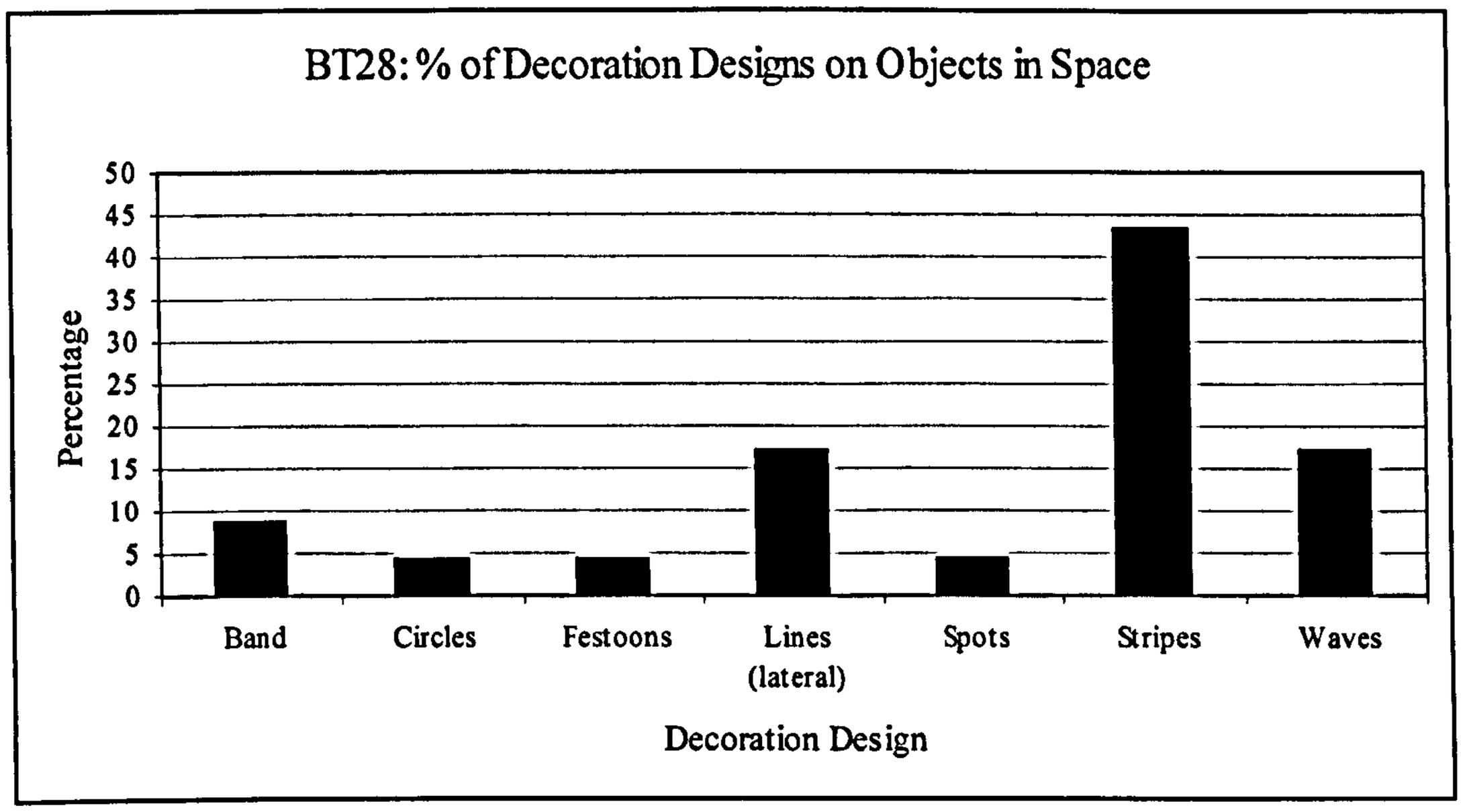


Figure C.55

Seven design motifs were exhibited in the artefacts from BT28. Most of the objects were decorated with stripes.

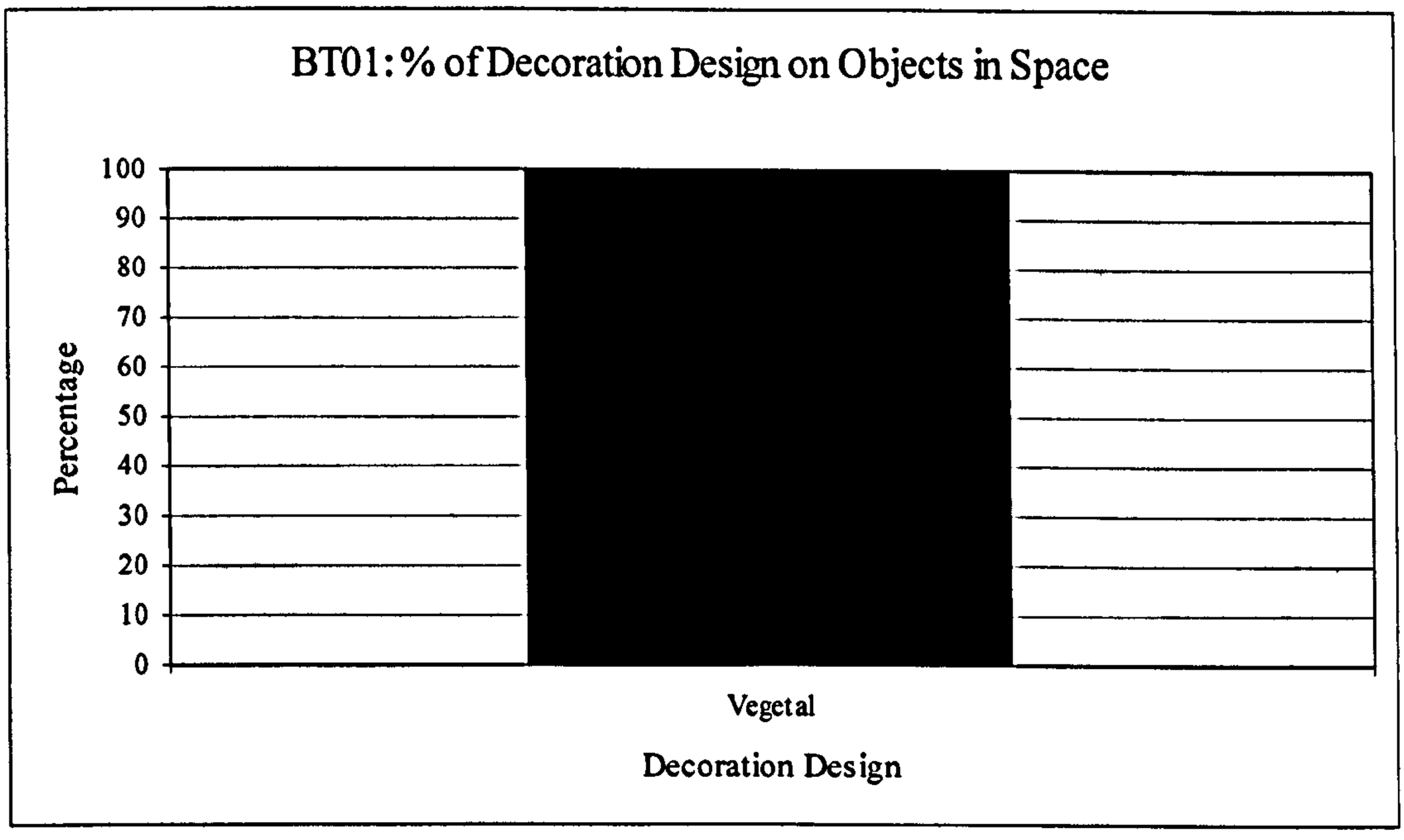


Figure C.56

A single vegetal design was found on one artefact from BT01.

There were no decorated artefacts in BT13.

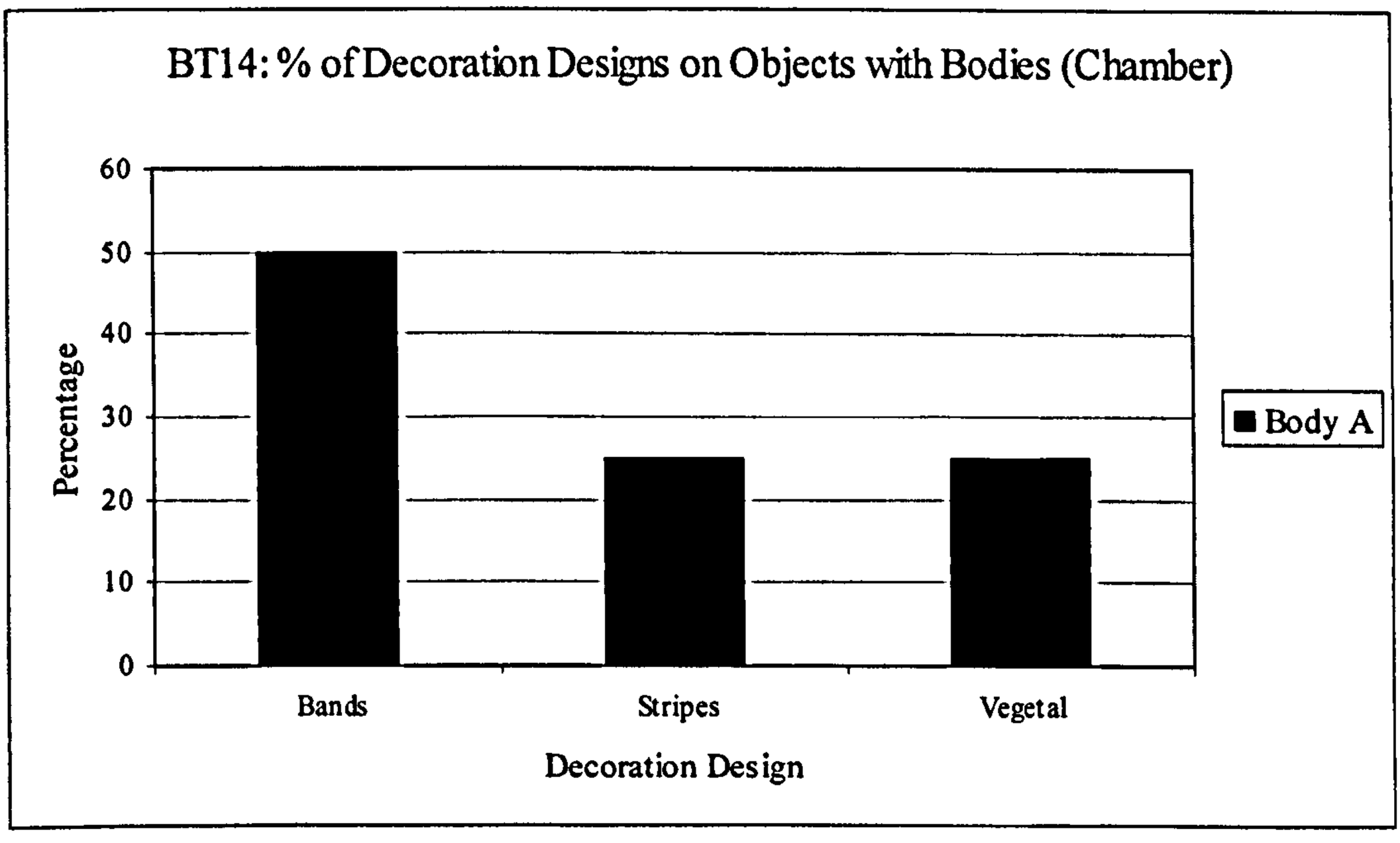


Figure C.57

All of the artefacts in BT14 were found with Body A. Most of the artefacts were decorated with bands.

The artefacts in BT22 and the single artefact in BT21 were not decorated.

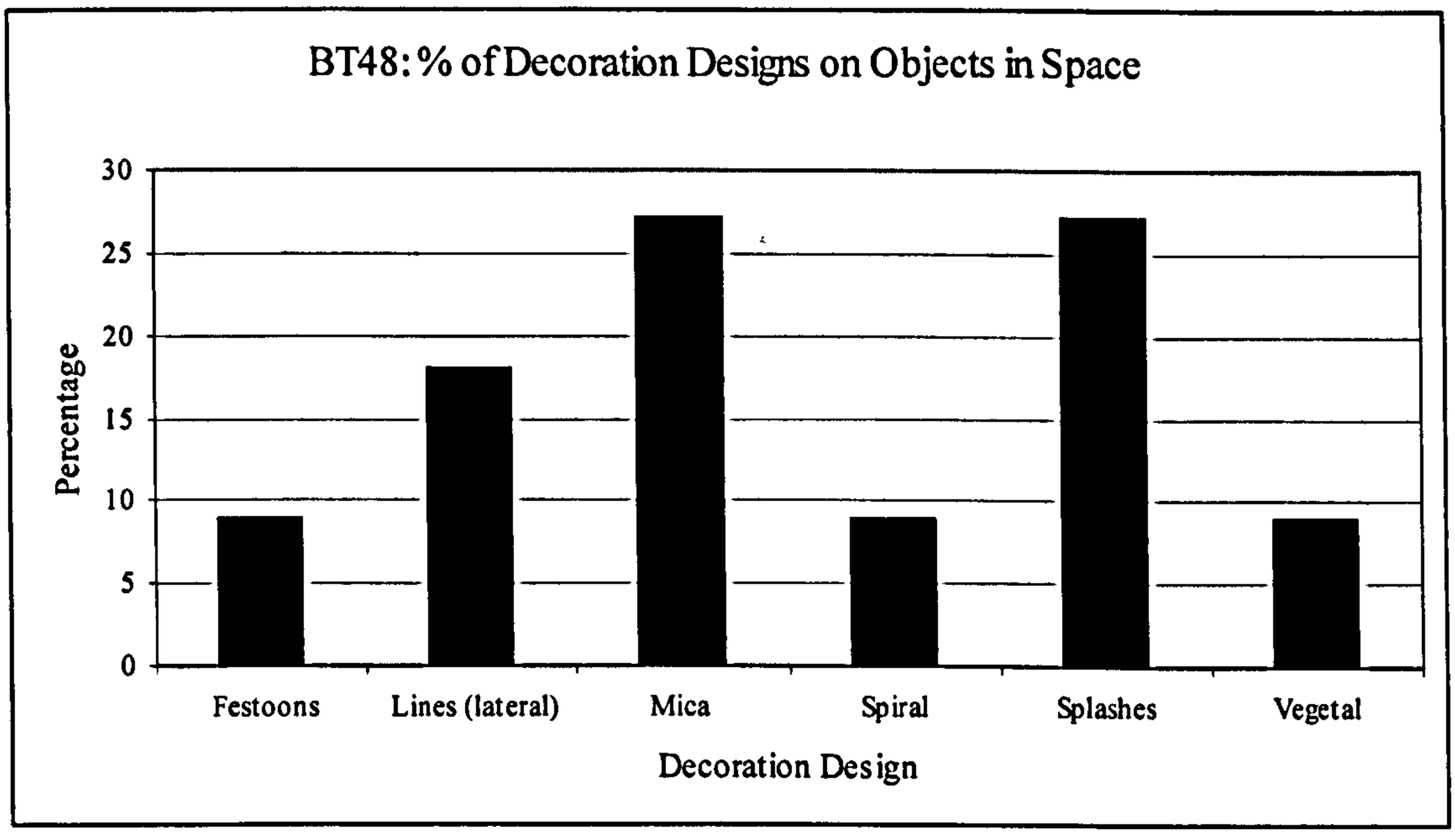


Figure C.58

There were six designs evident in the 9 decorated artefacts from BT48. A dusting of mica or a splash pattern was the most frequently occurring designs.

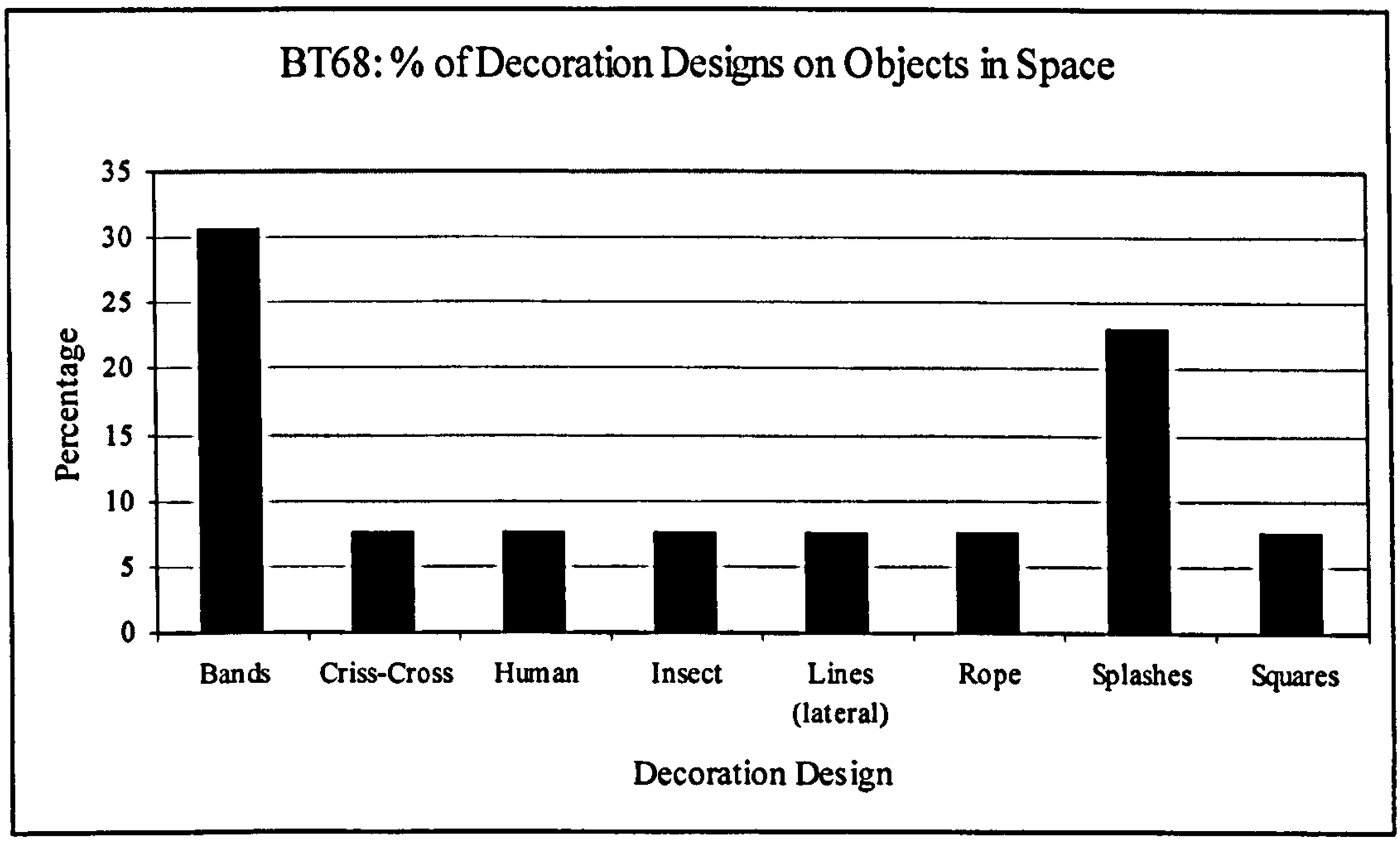


Figure C.59

Six decorative methods were used in the artefacts from BT68. Most of the artefacts that were decorated were ribbed or covered in a wash.

7.11.xi. Phase 6a (c.450-460AD).

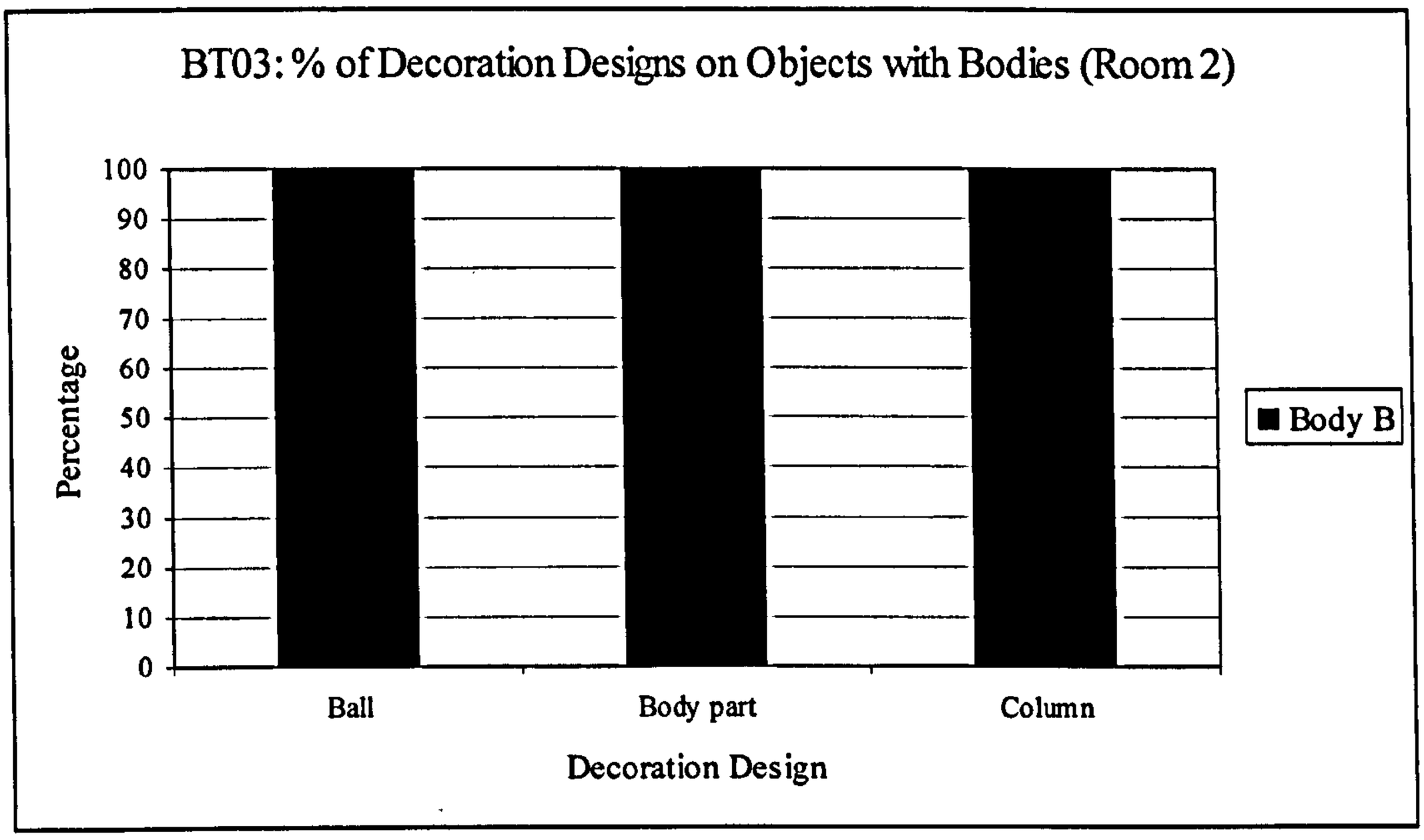


Figure C.60

One artefact found with Body B was decorated with three designs.

7.11.xii. Phase 6b (c.460-470AD).

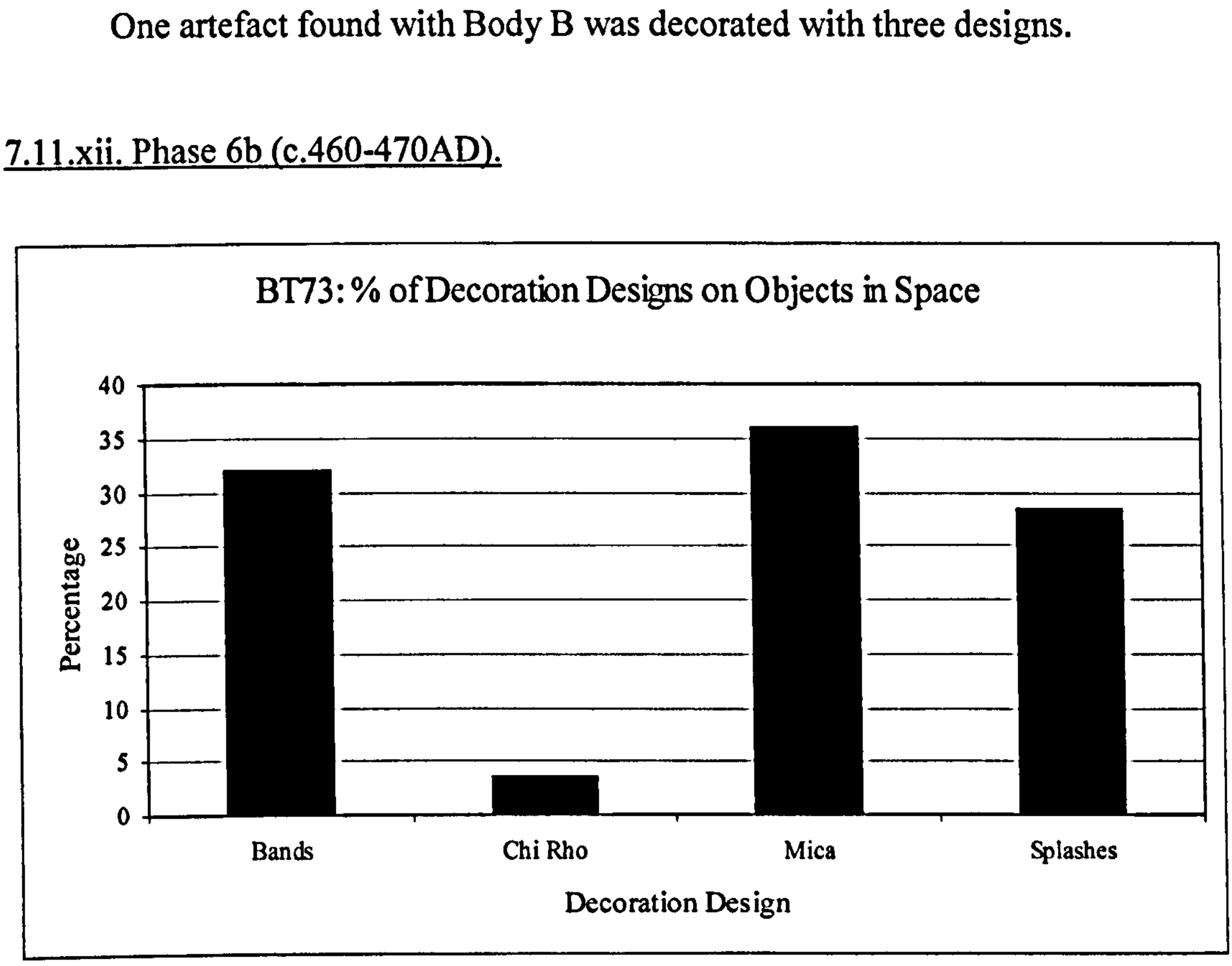


Figure C.61

Four different decorative designs were used in the 28 decorated artefacts in BT73. Most of the decorated artefacts were dusted with mica. The appearance of the *chi rho* design is unusual.

Neither of the two artefacts found with Horse A in BT72 were decorated.

7.11.xiii. Phase 7a (c.470-480AD).

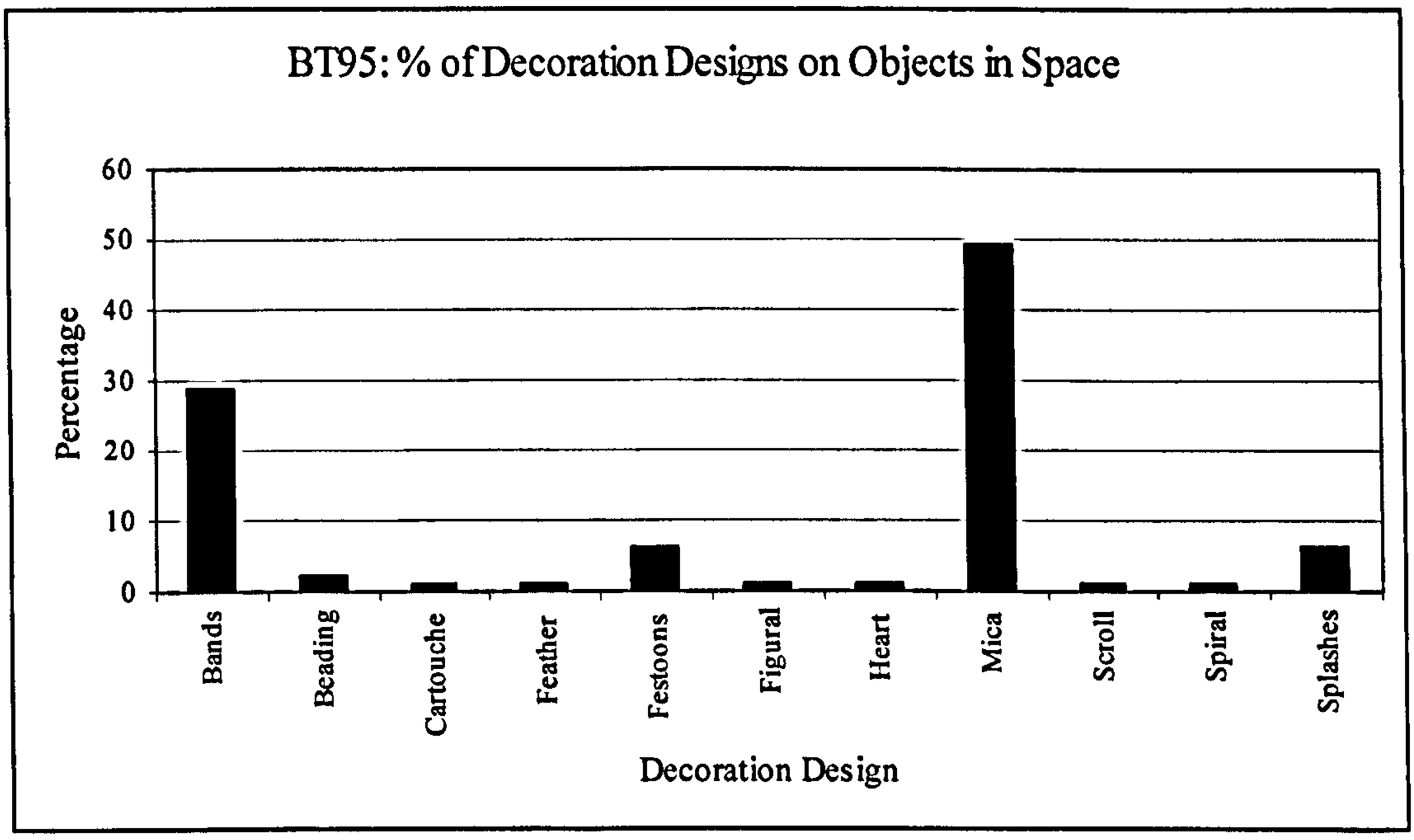


Figure C.62

11 designs were found in the 89 decorated artefacts from BT95. Four artefacts had two designs, but none of them had three design schemes. Most of the artefacts were dusted with mica, or decorated with bands. Other more unusual designs only formed a tiny percentage of the overall design repertoire.

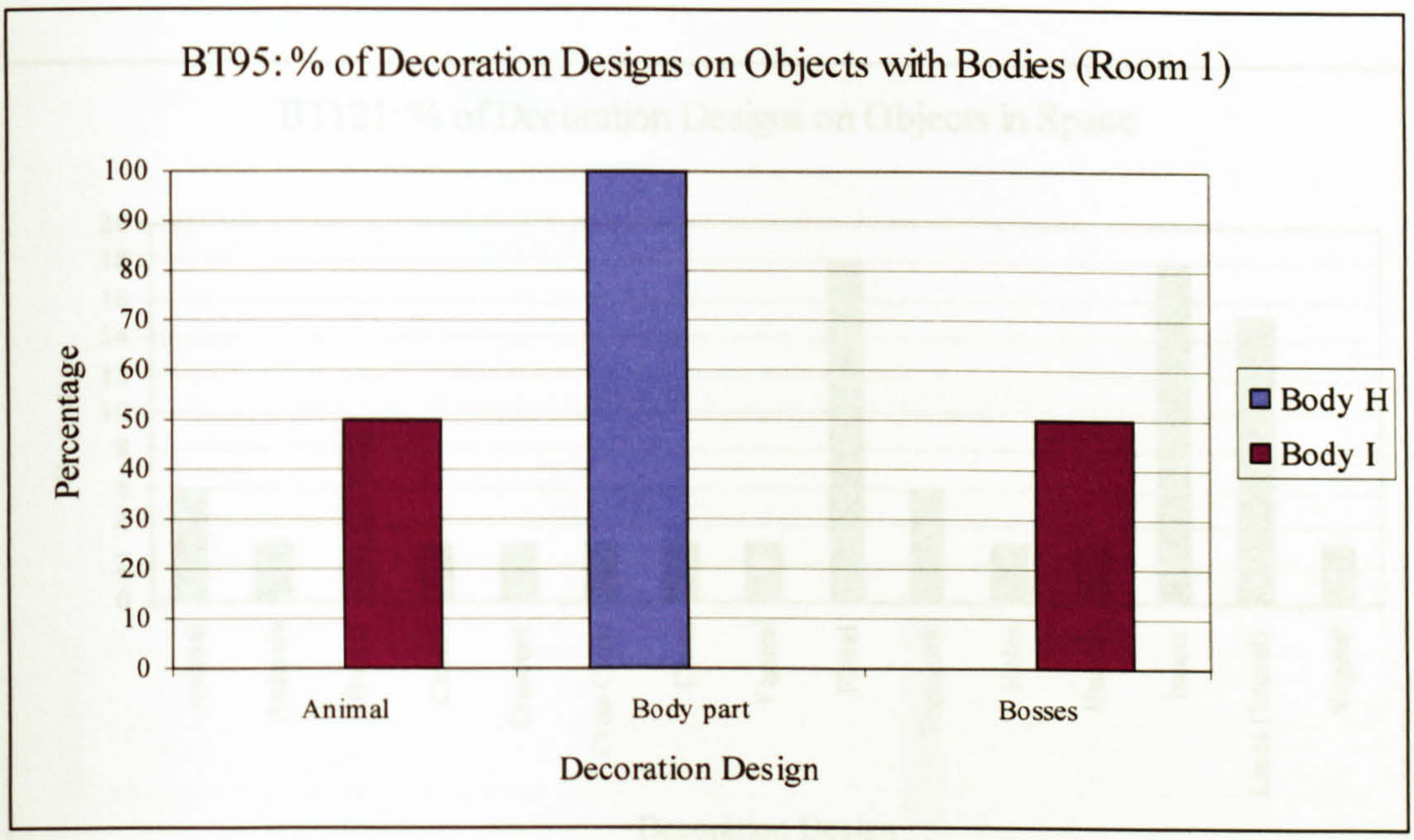


Figure C.63

The design of body part, bosses were found exclusively with humans in Room 1of BT95. The single artefact found with Body H was decorated with a single design. One of the two artefacts found with Body I had a design.

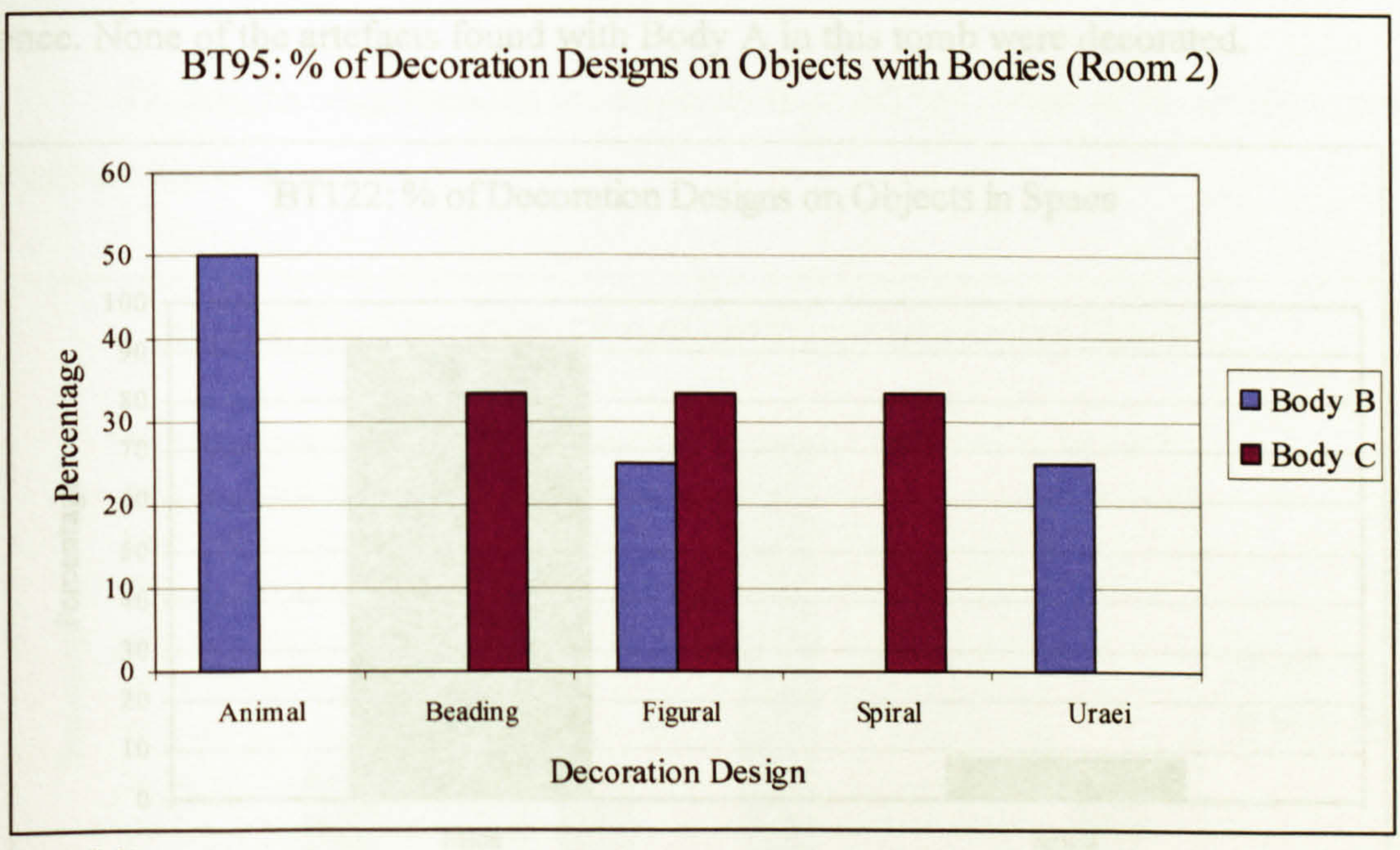


Figure C.64

The animal, figural (Isis) and uraei designs were found exclusively with human remains. Two of the 23 artefacts found with Body B were decorated (8.5%). The single artefact found with body C was decorated with three designs. Overall, eight designs were found in the artefacts associated with the bodies in BT95.

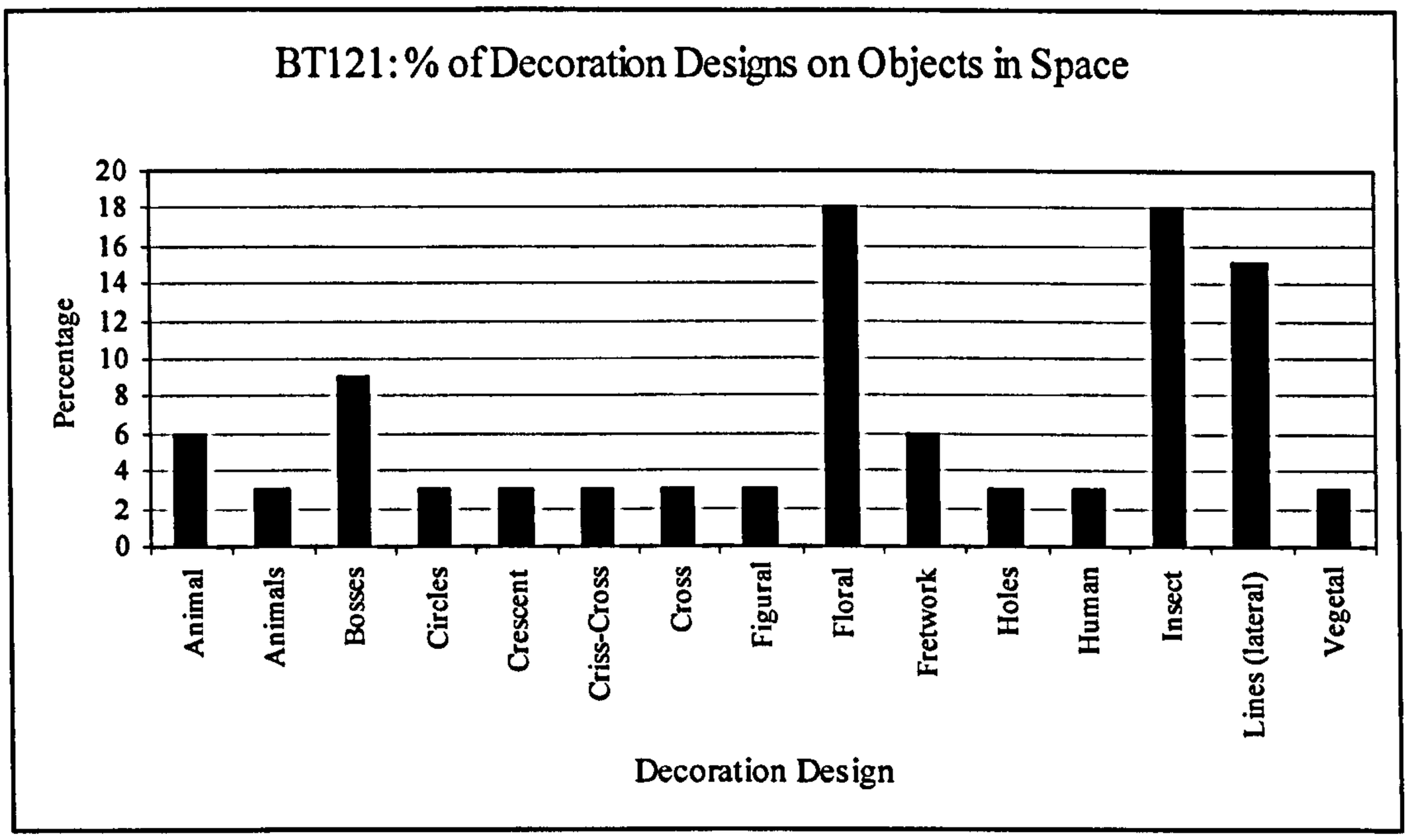


Figure C.65

15 decorative designs were used in 17 decorated artefacts from this tomb. Floral and insect motifs were the most frequent decorative designs. Animals, circles, crescents, criss-cross, cross, figural, holes, human and vegetal designs appear only once. None of the artefacts found with Body A in this tomb were decorated.

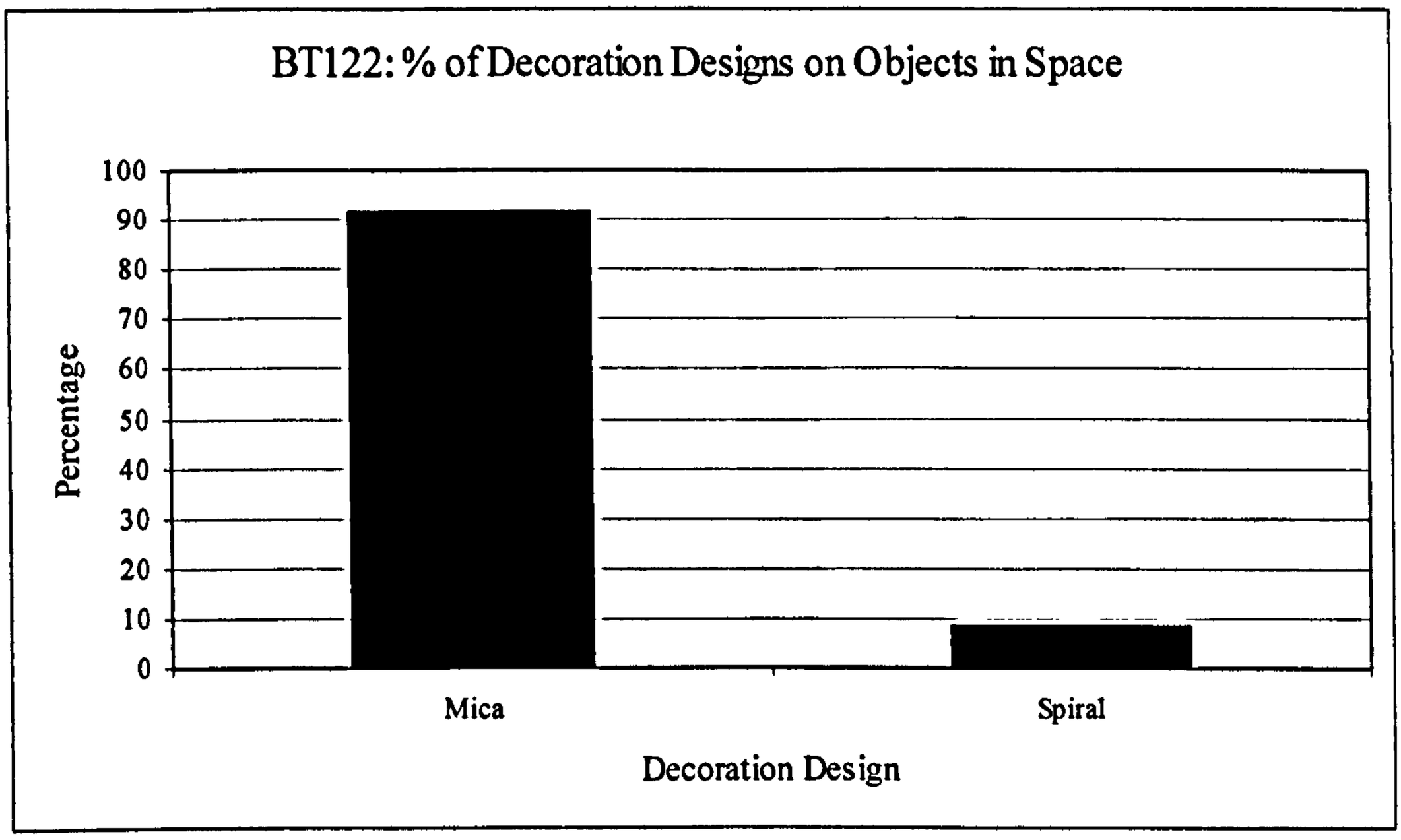


Figure C.66

Most of the 12 artefacts that were decorated were dusted with mica. None of the artefacts had secondary or tertiary decorative designs.

There were no decorated artefacts in tomb BT76.

7.11.xiv. Phase 7b (c.480-490AD).

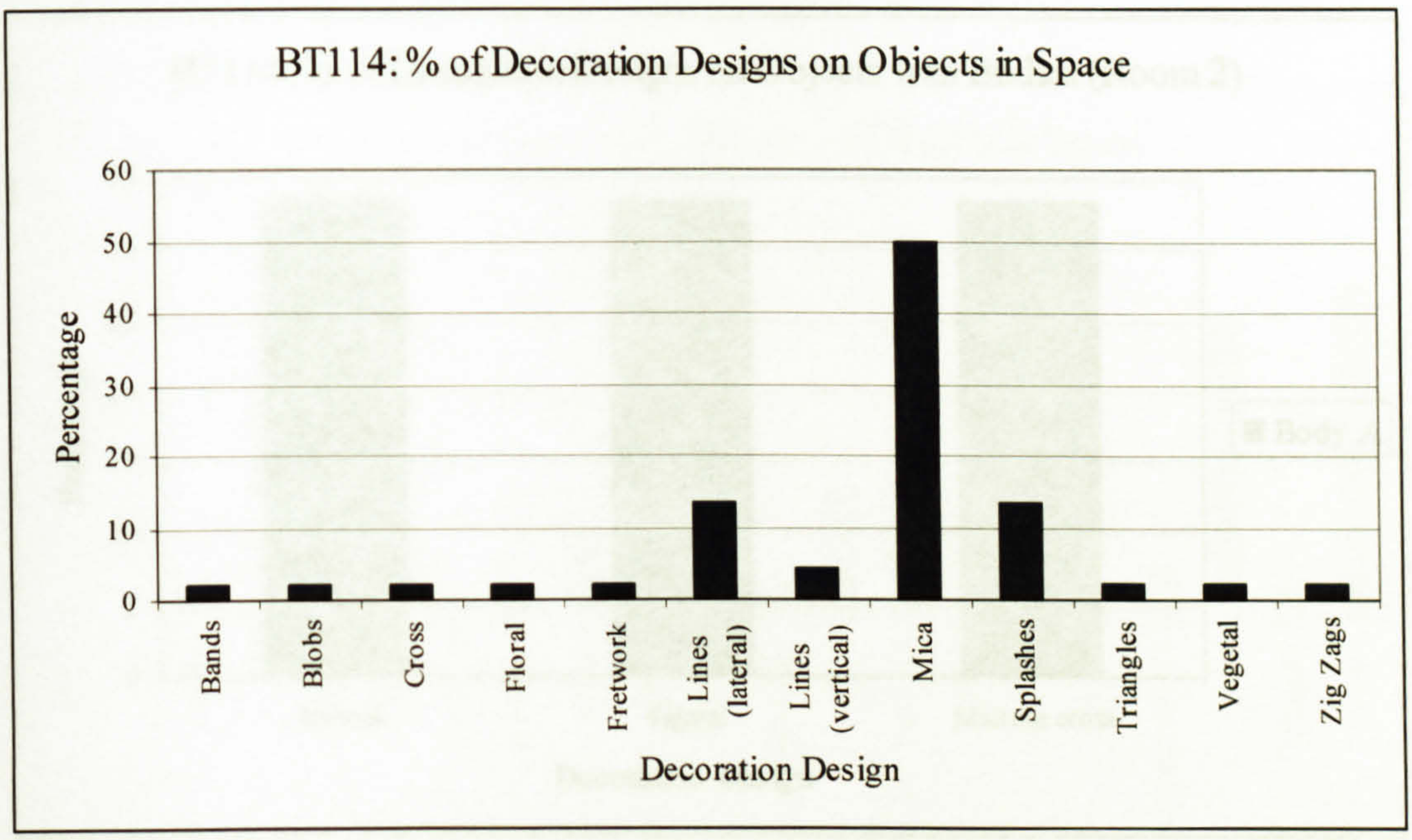


Figure C.67

12 designs were found in the artefacts from BT114. Most of the artefacts were dusted with mica.

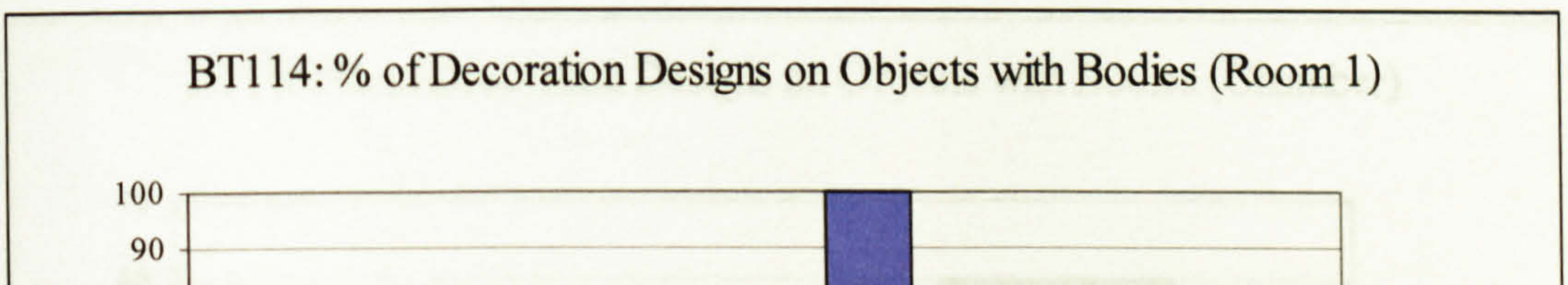


Figure C.68

Four designs were used to decorate the artefacts found with bodies in Room 1 of BT114. The designs found in these artefacts were exclusively associated with the human remains. One artefact with Body G had one design, and the artefact with Body H had three designs.

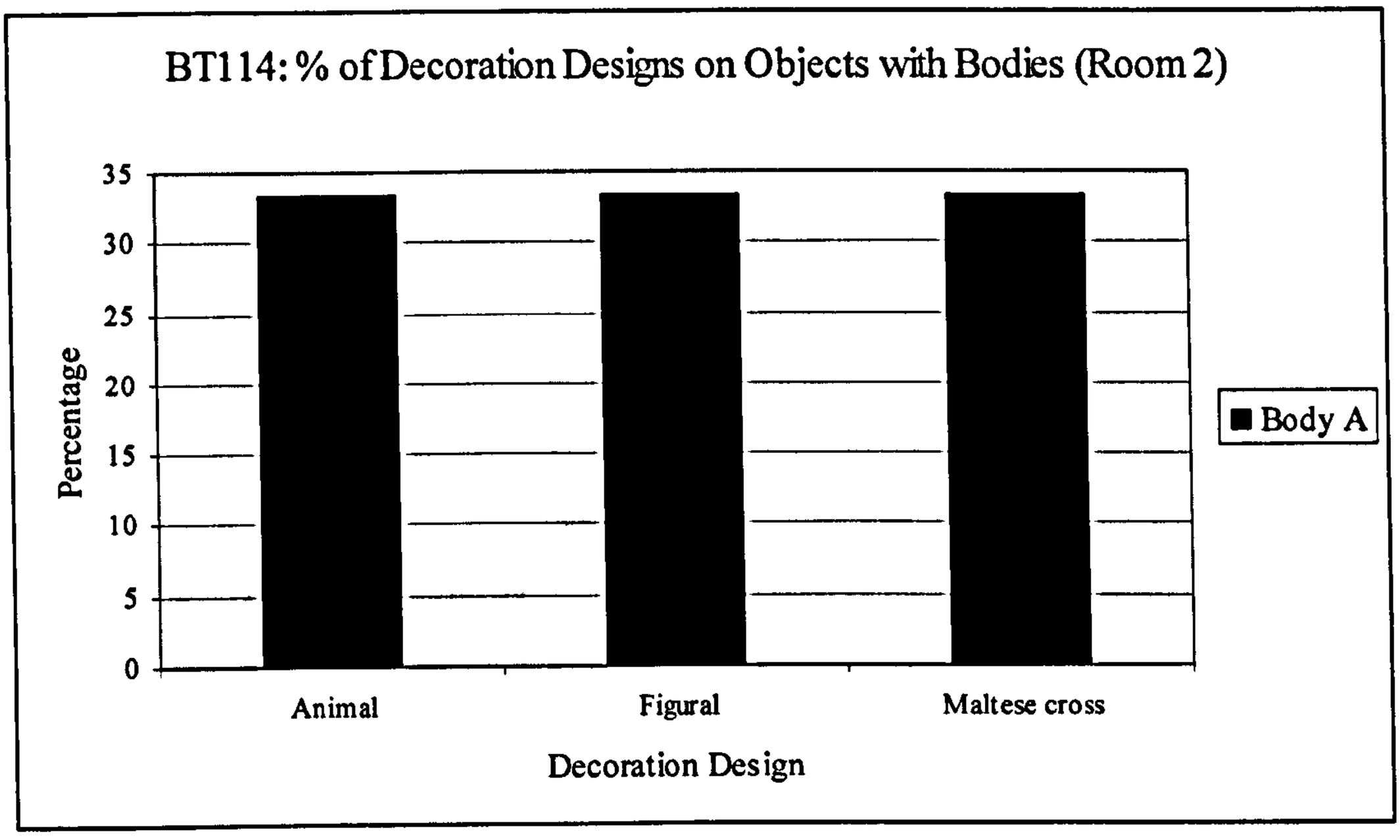


Figure C.69

The artefact with Body A had three designs. The Maltese cross is particularly unusual.

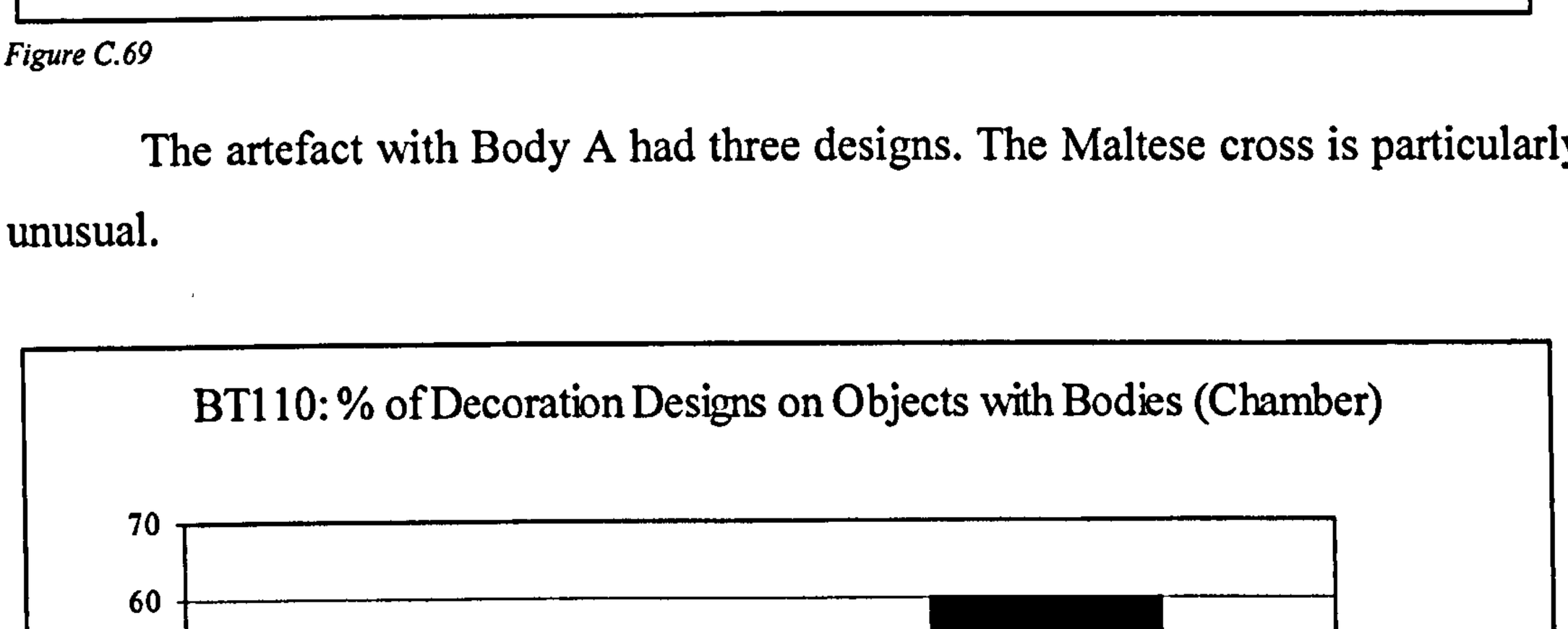


Figure C.70

Five of the 38 artefacts found with Body A in BT110 were decorated (13.1%). Most of the artefacts from BT110 that were decorated were decorated with a splash pattern.

7.11.xv. Phase 7c (c.490-500AD).

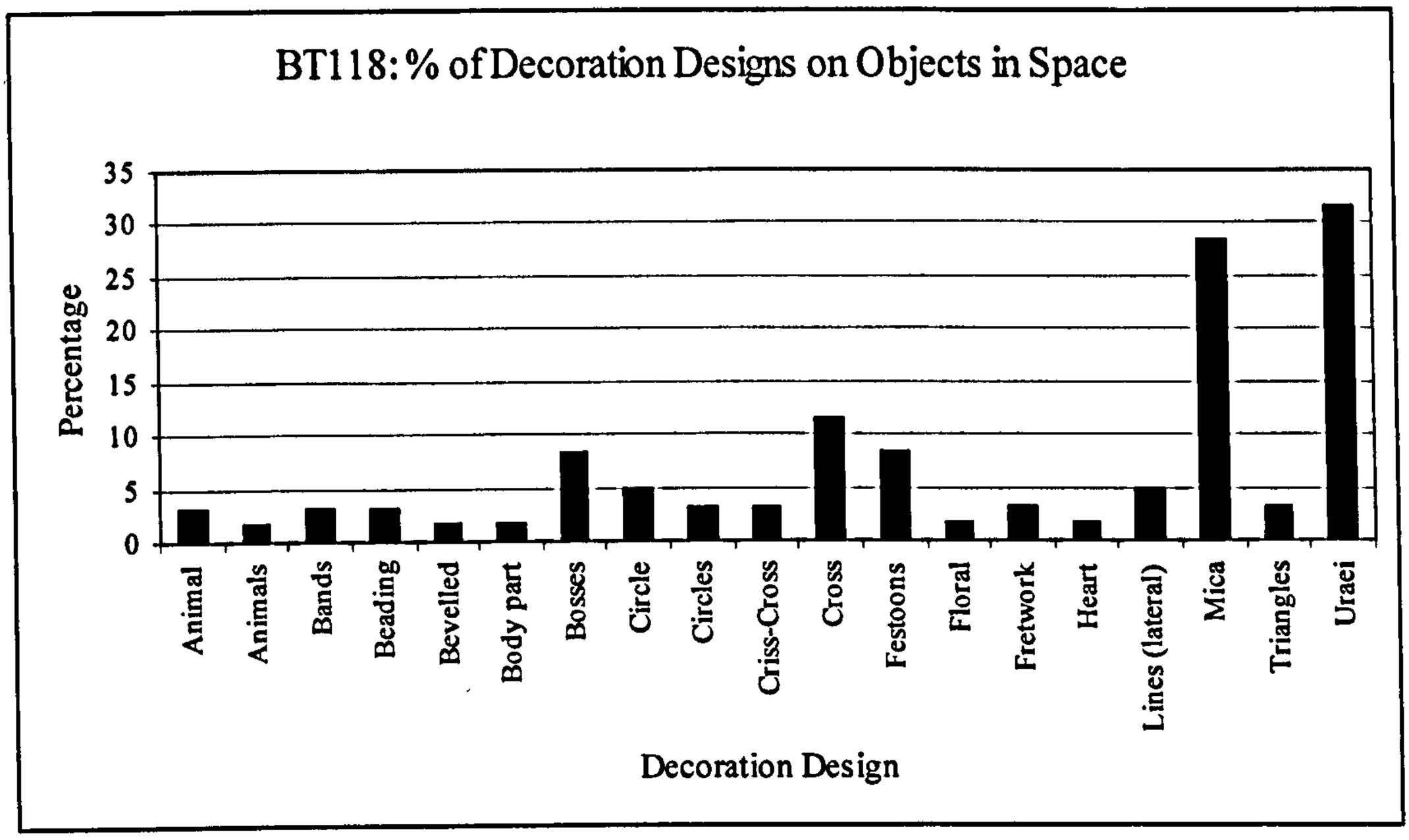


Figure C.71

19 decorative designs were used to decorate 43 artefacts from BT118. Animals, bevelling, body part, floral, heart and triangular designs occurred once. The most frequently occurring decorative design was a dusting of mica.

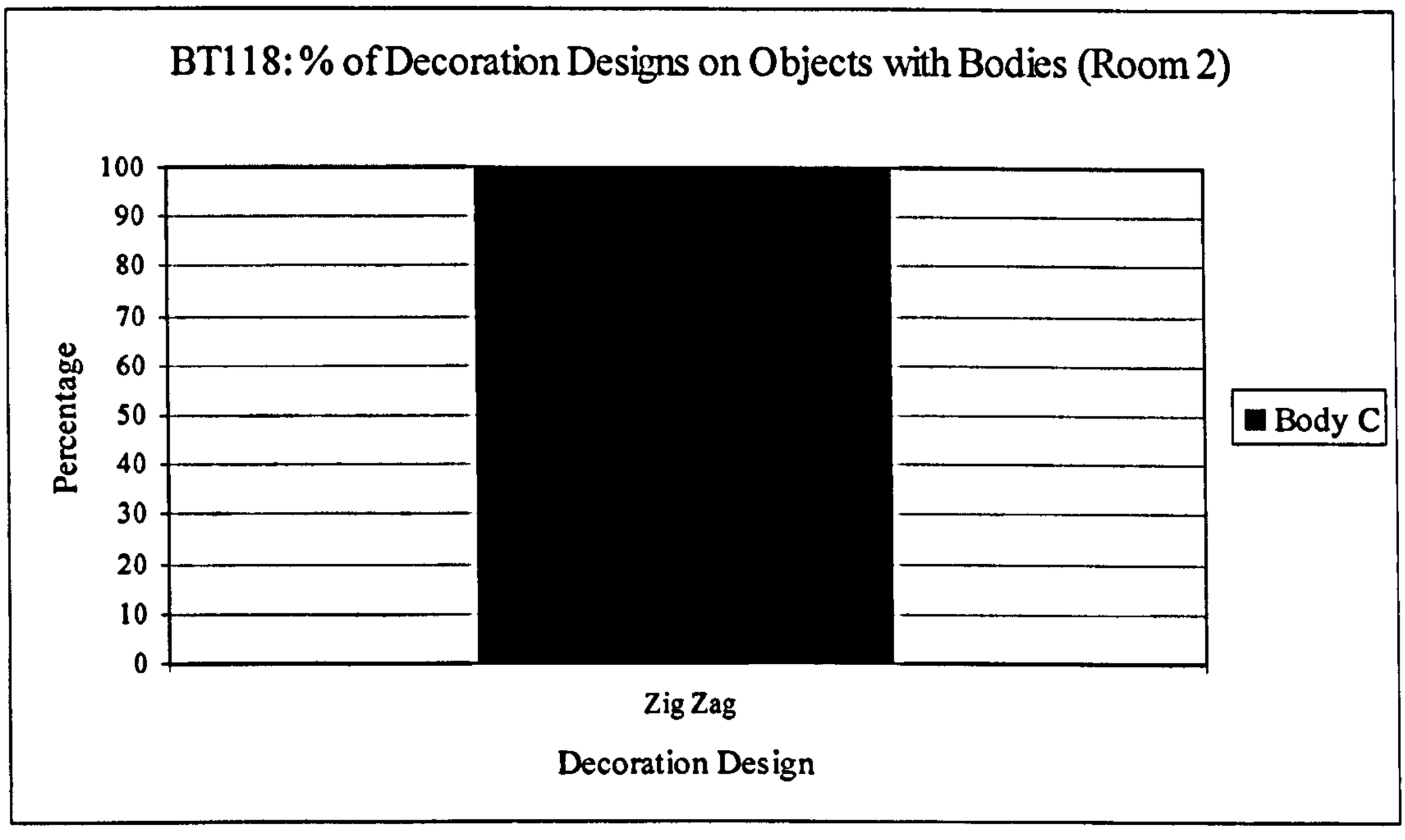


Figure C.72

One of the artefacts associated with Body C in BT118 was decorated with a single design. The zigzag design was exclusive to this artefact.

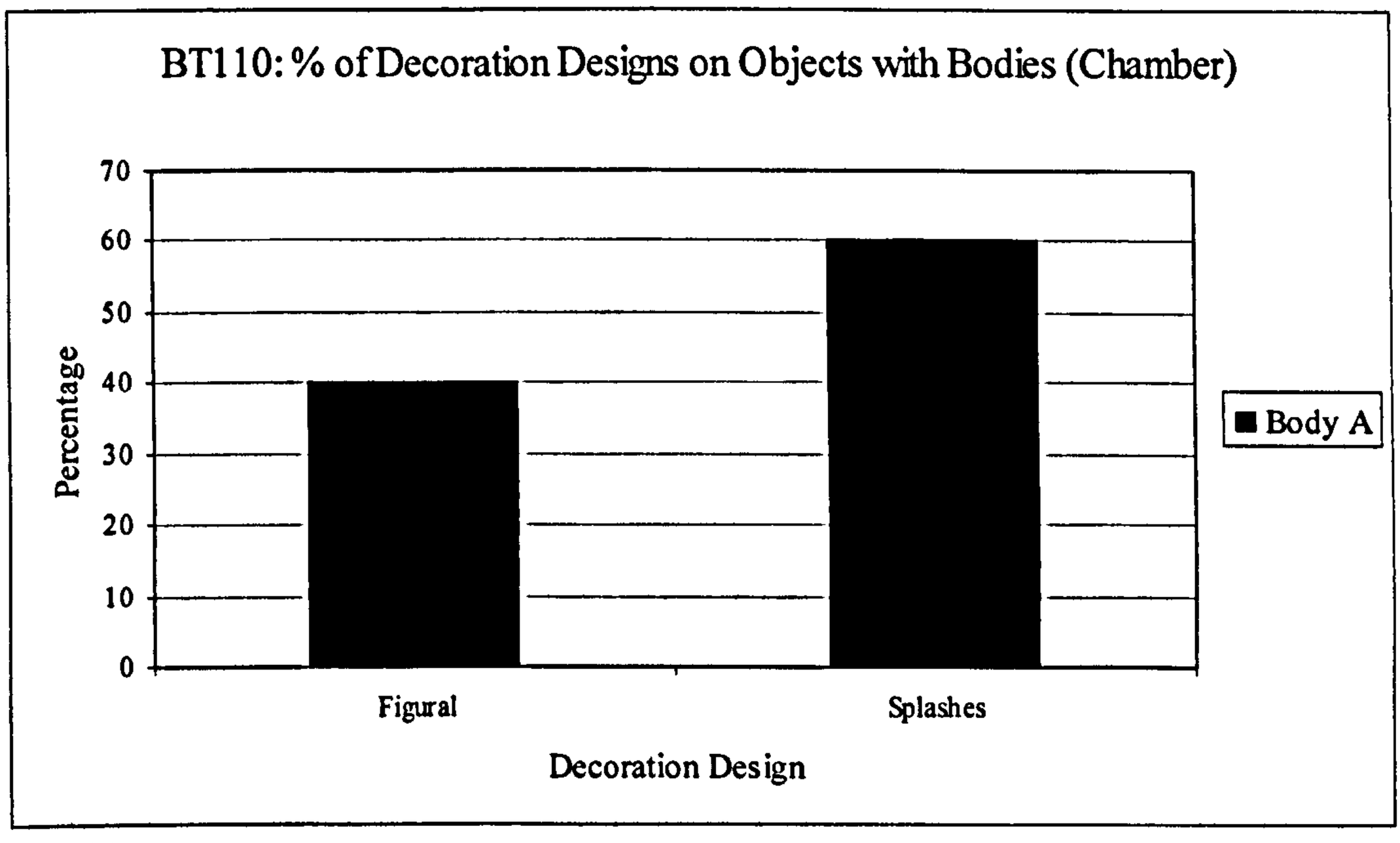
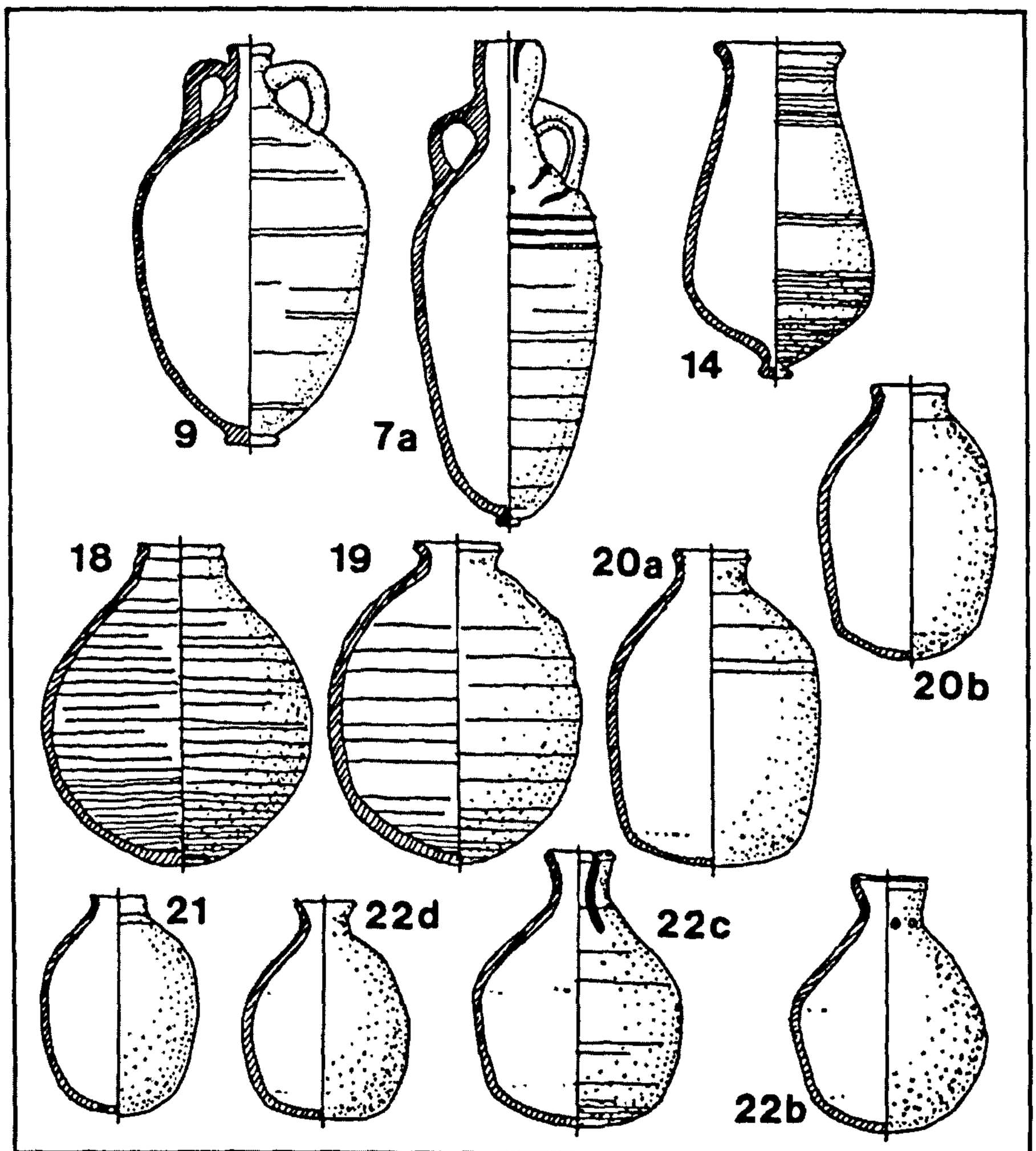


Figure C.73

Five of the artefacts from BT110 were decorated using two designs. Most of the artefacts from BT110 that were decorated were decorated with a splash pattern.

Appendix D

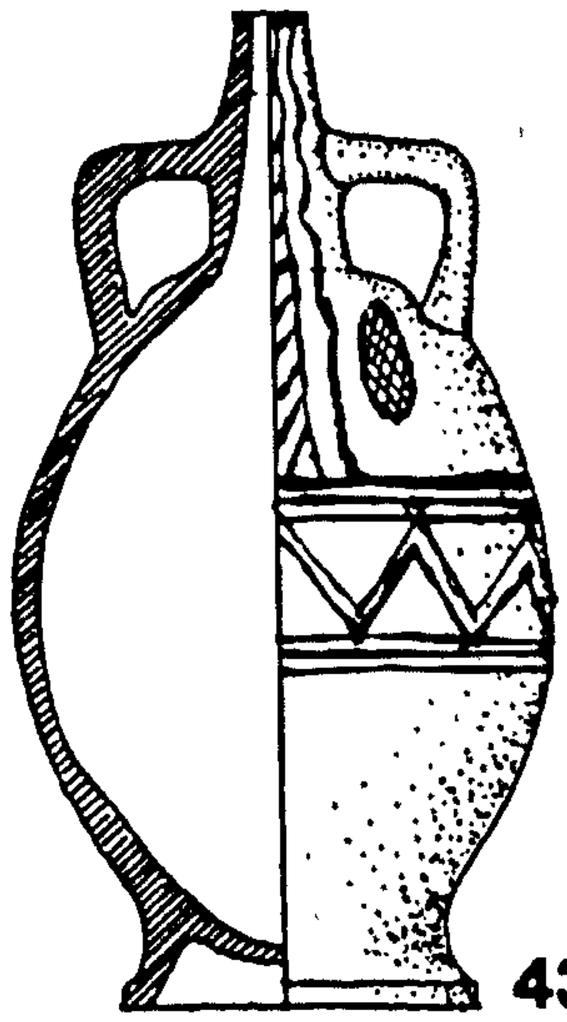
Illustrative Material



Type / Gen.	7a	9	14	18	19	20a	20b	21	22d	22c	22b
1											
2											
3											
4											

Figure D.1 after Török, 1987, figure 15

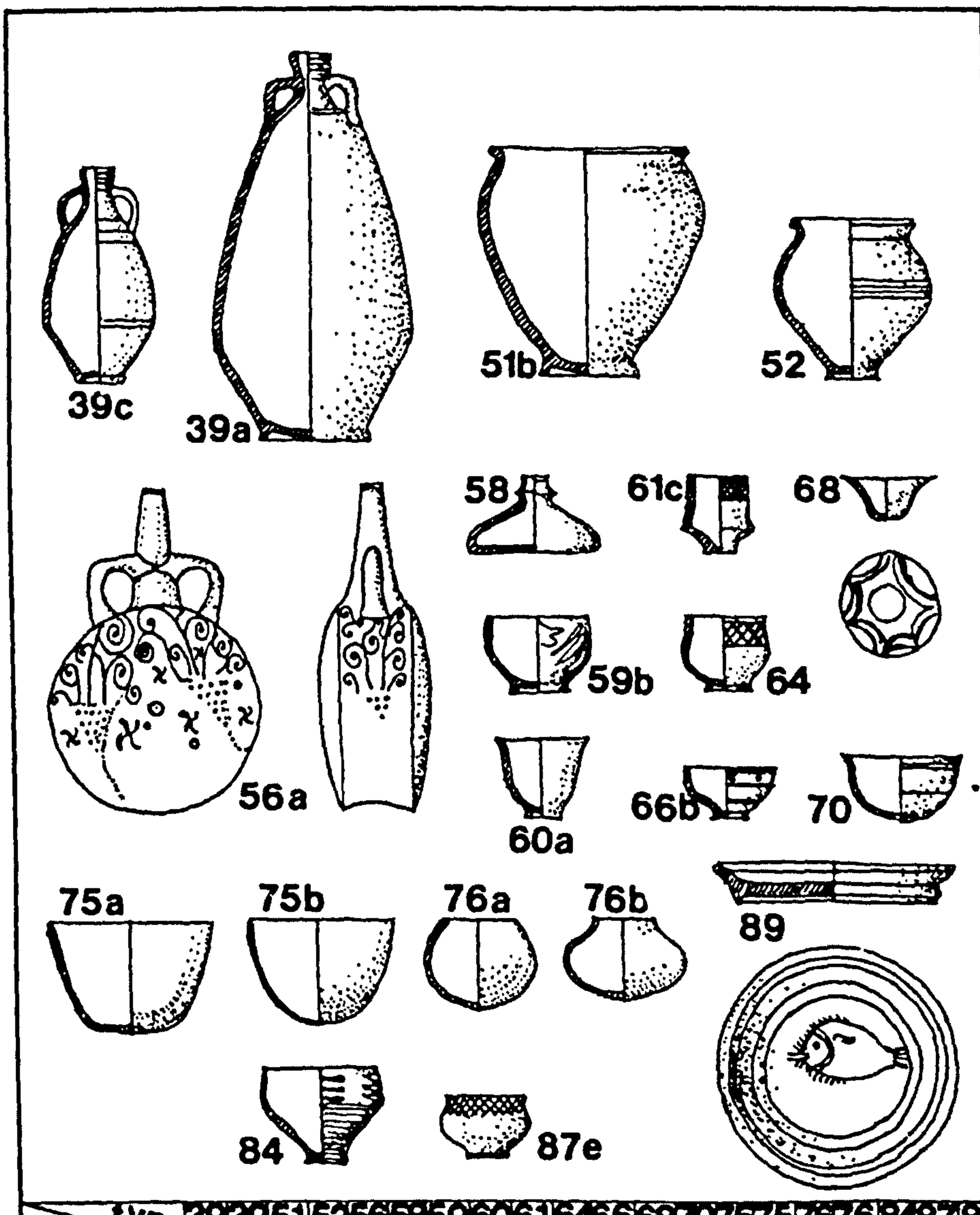
43a



43b

type / gen.	43 a		43 b	
1				

Figure D.2 after Török, 1987, figure 16



gen. \ type	39c	39a	51b	52	56a	58	59b	60a	61c	64	66b	68	70	75a	75b	76a	76b	84	87e	89
1																				
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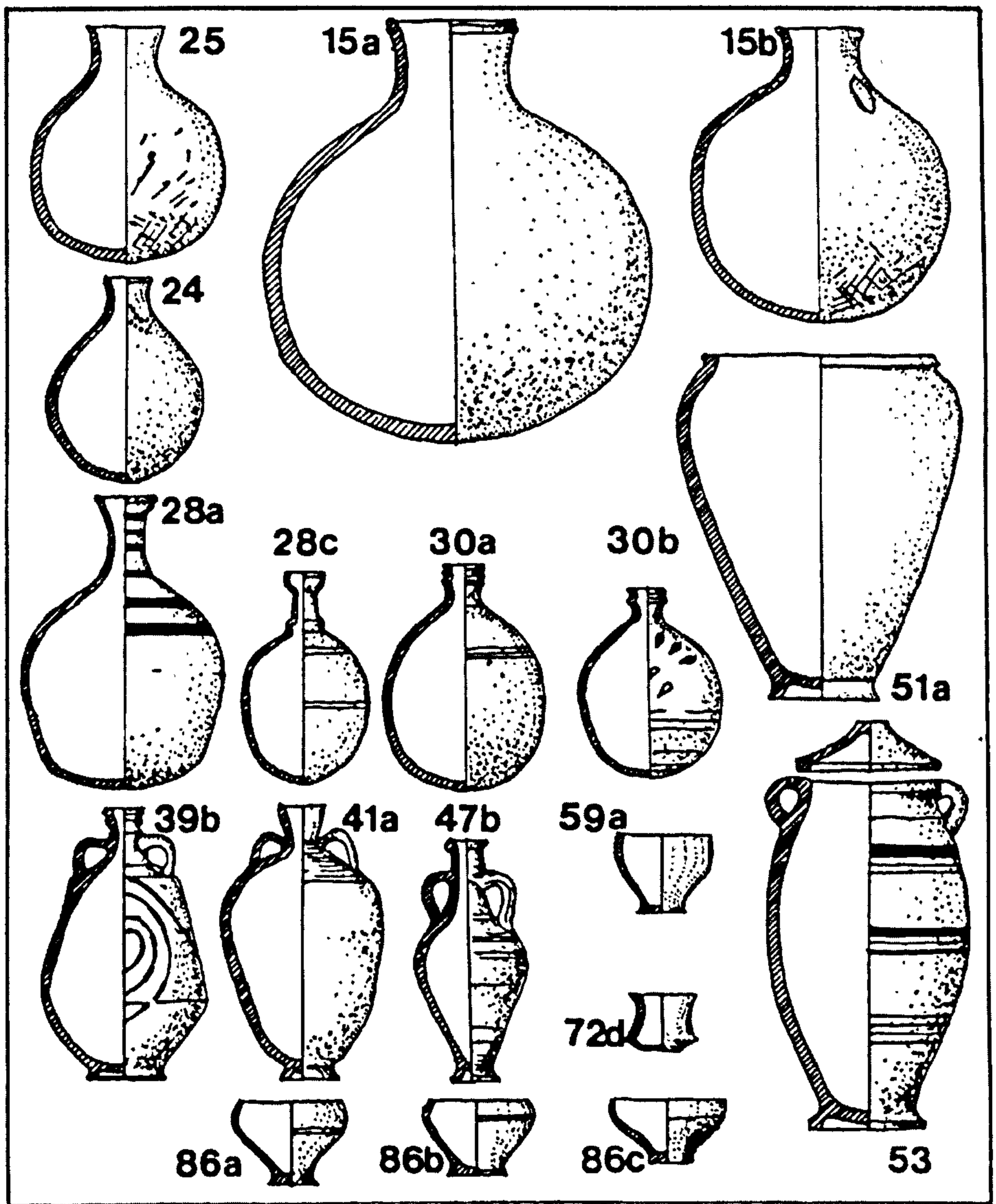
4																				

Figure D. 3 after Török, 1987, figure 17



Type / Gen.	15 a	15 b	24	25	28 a	28 c	30 a	30 b	39 b	41 a	47 b	51 a	53	59 a	72 d	86 a	86 b	86 c
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Figure D. 4 after Török, 1987, figure 18

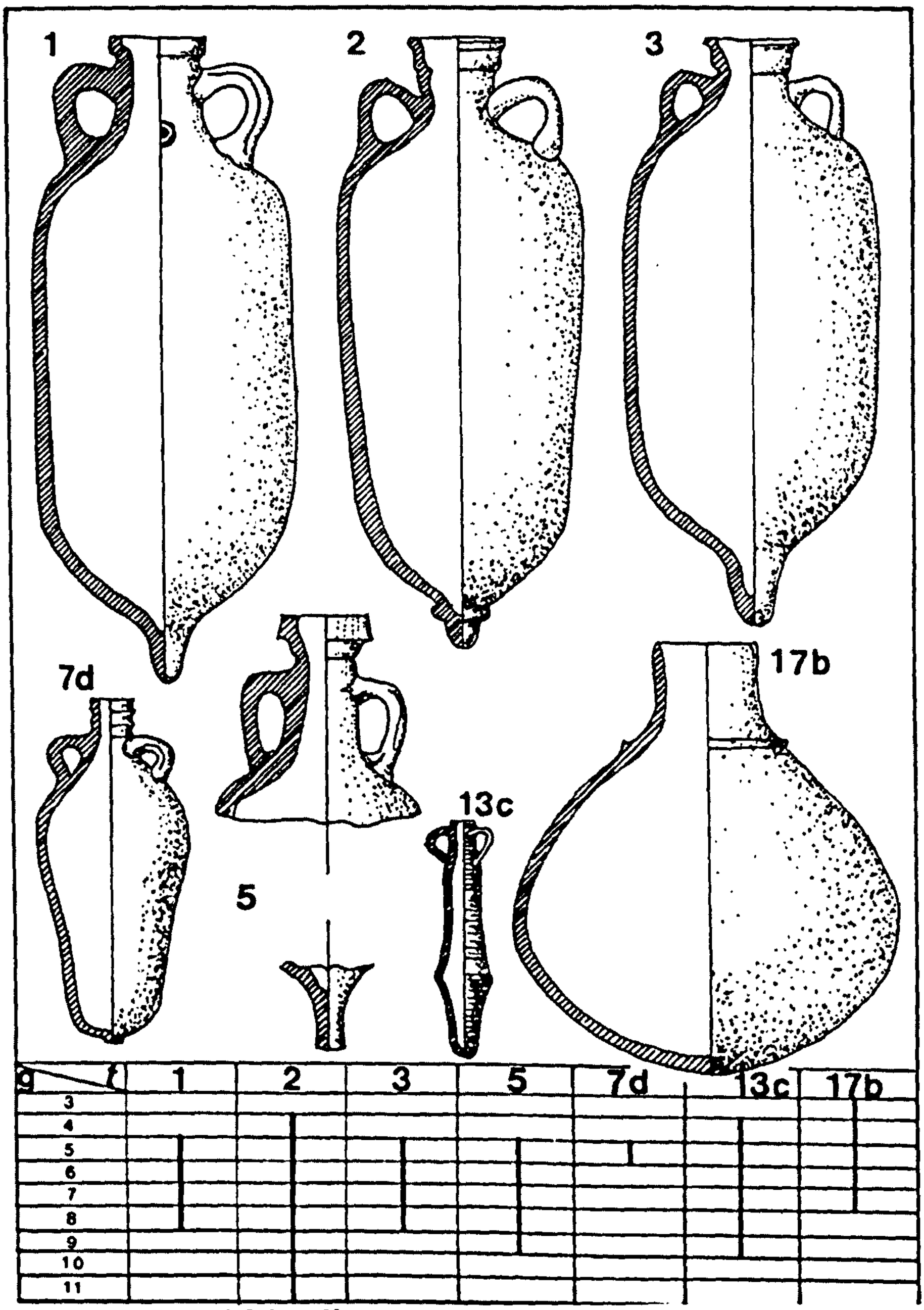
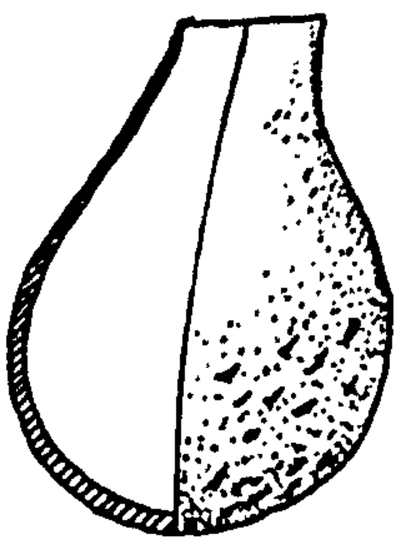
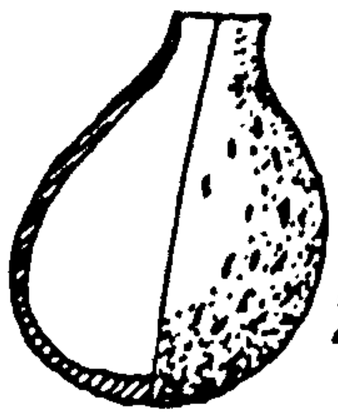
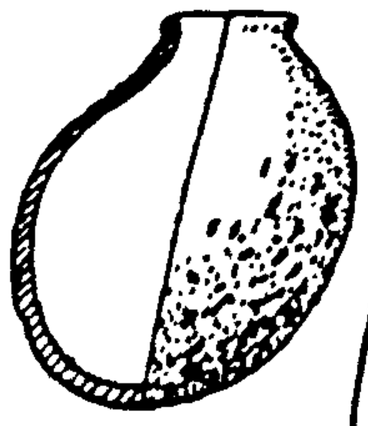
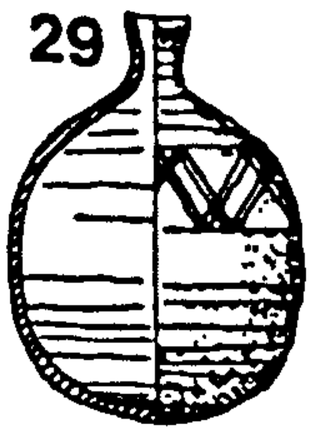


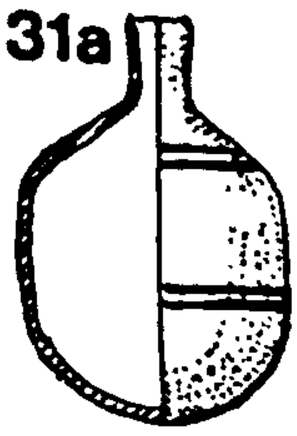
Figure D. 5 after Török, 1987, figure 19

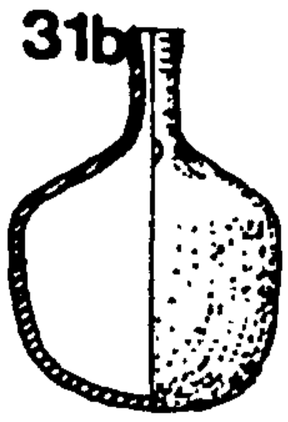


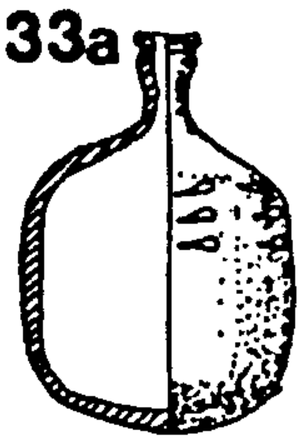


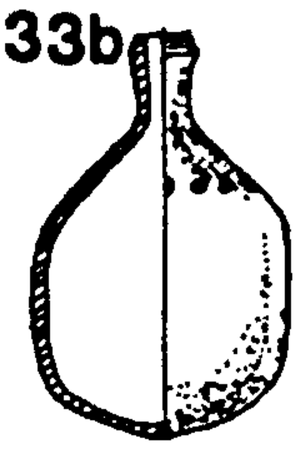


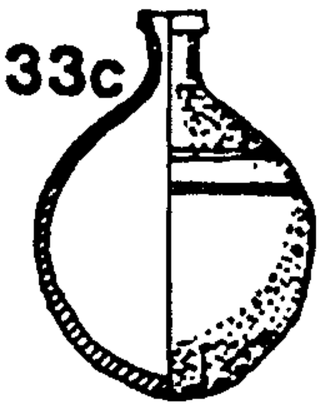


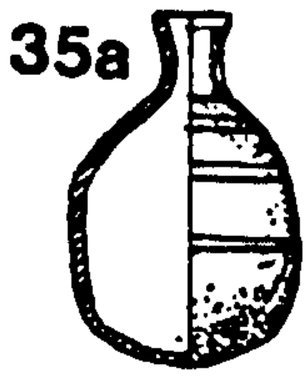


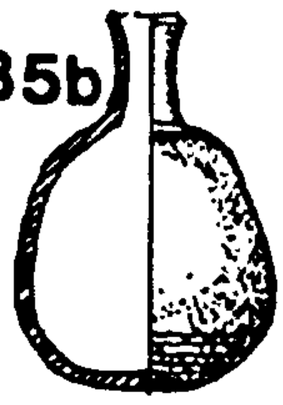


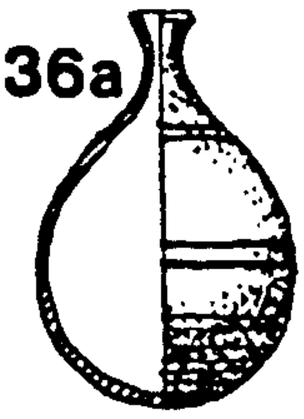


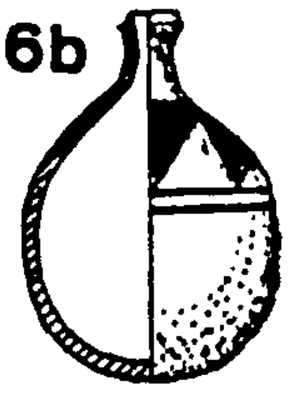


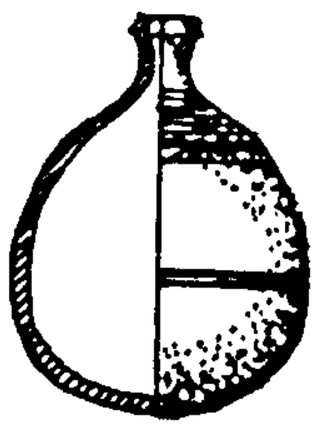


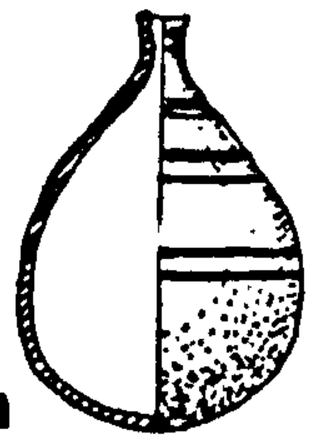












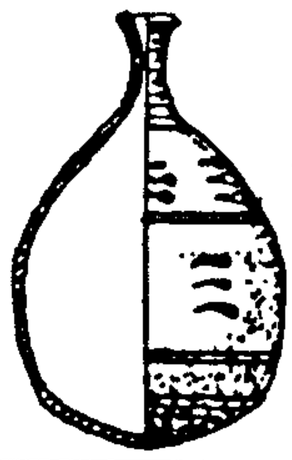


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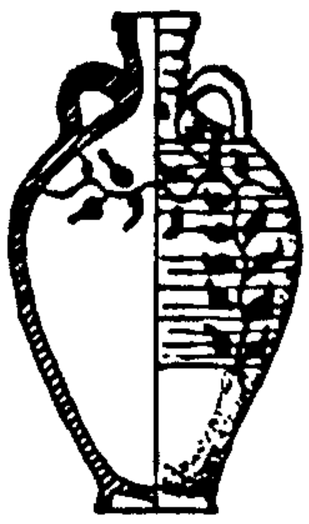
Figure D. 6 after Török, 1987, figure 20



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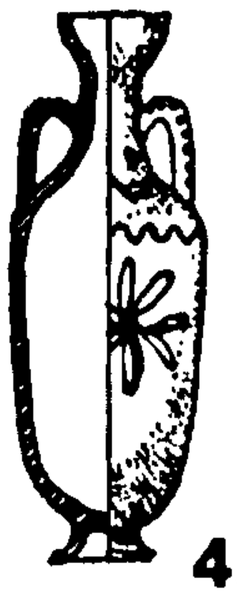
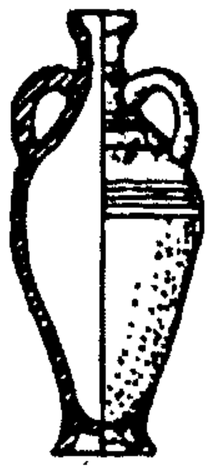
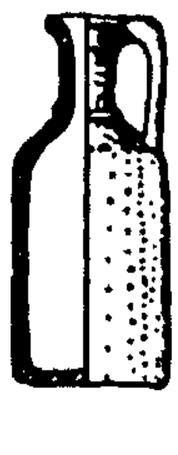


45

46



47a



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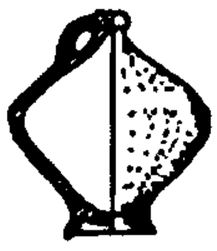

50c

57c

60b

65a

65b

71a

72a

72b

72c

79

87a

gen. \ type	42 a	45	46	47 a	49	50 c	57 c	60 b	65 a	65 b	71 a	72 a	72 b	72 c	79	87 a
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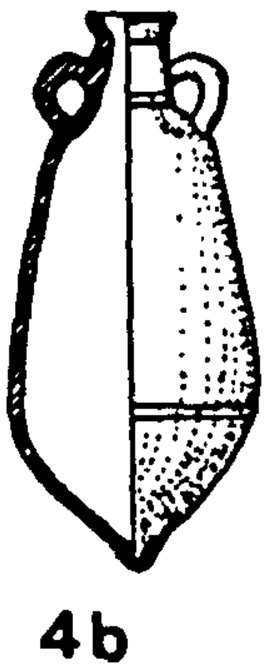
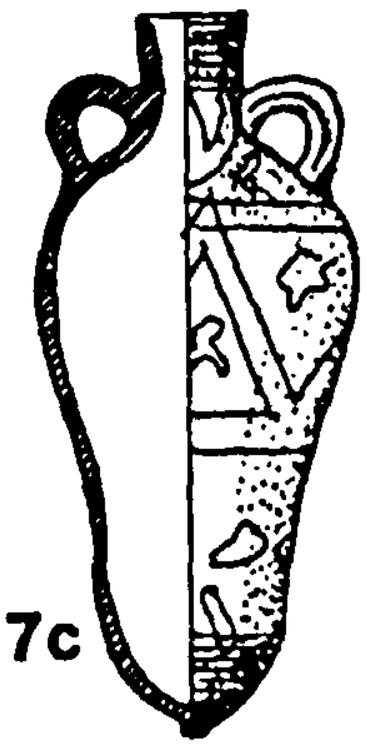
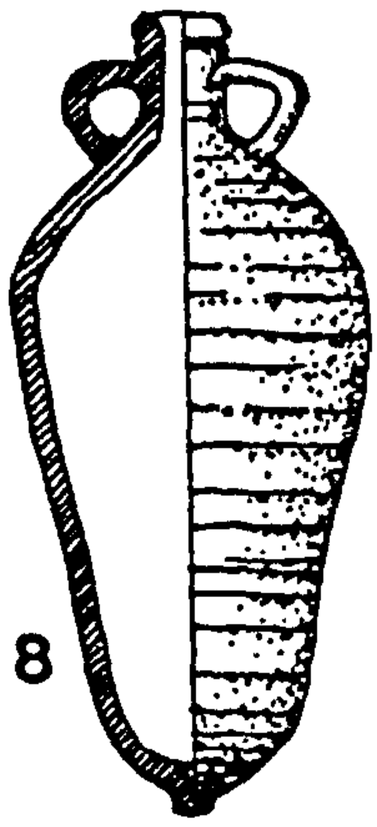
Figure D. 7 after Török, 1987, figure 21



4b



7c



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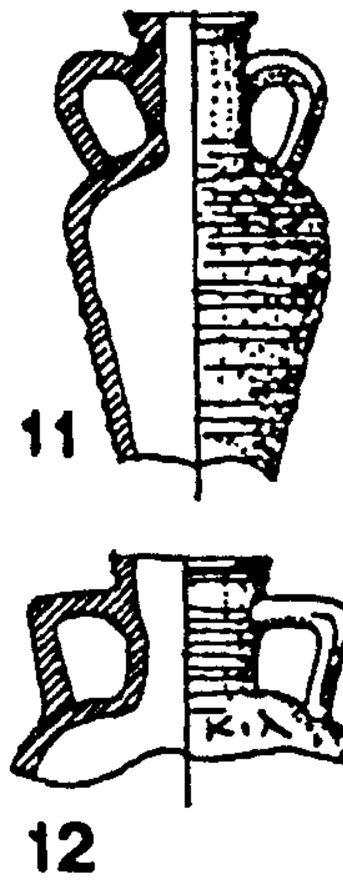

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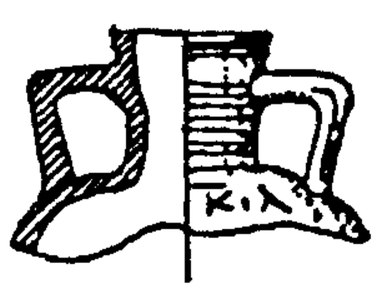

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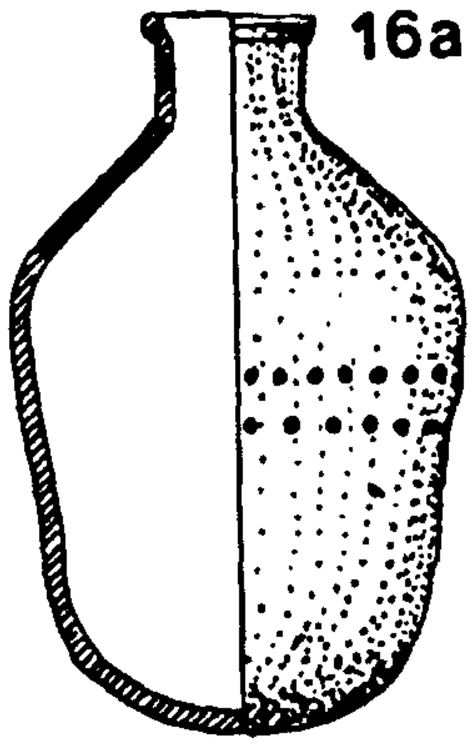
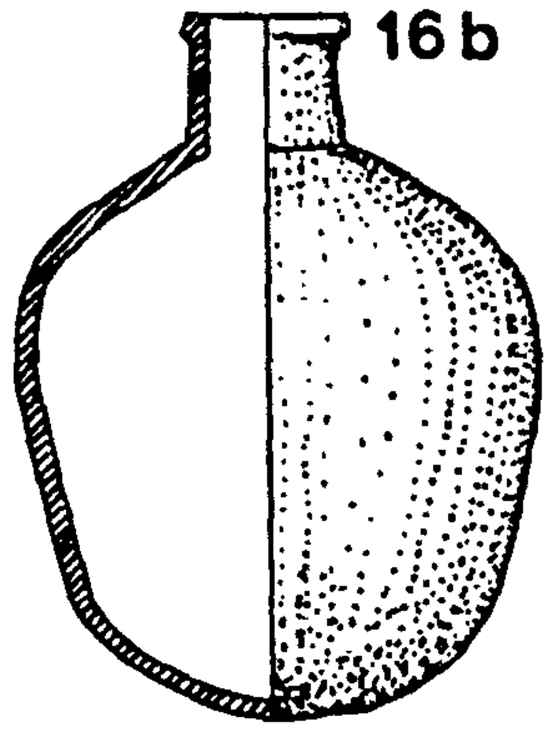


16a



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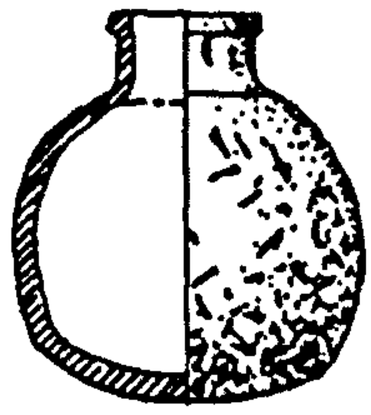

27

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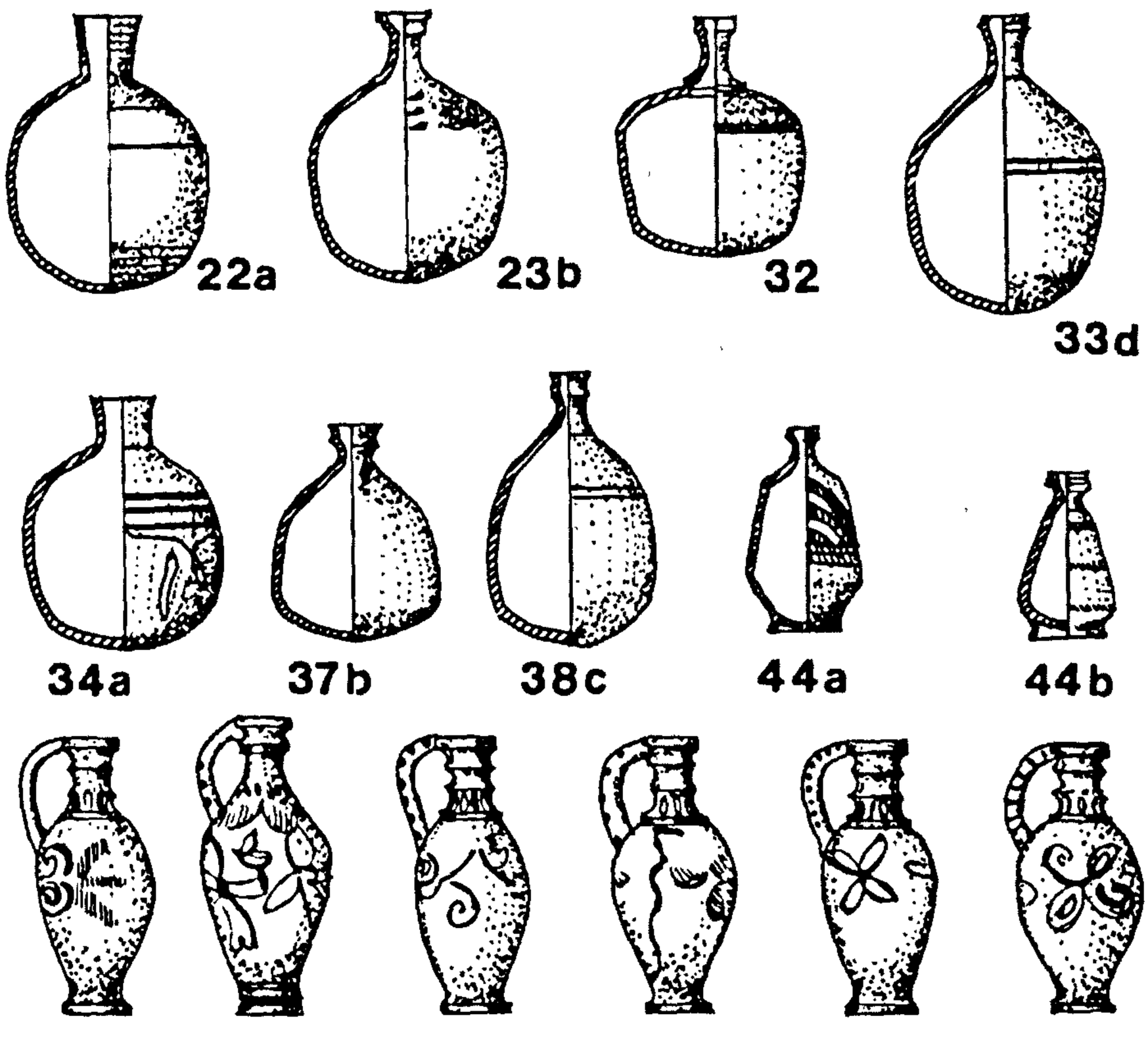
8								
9								
10								
11								

Figure D. 8 after Török, 1987, figure 22



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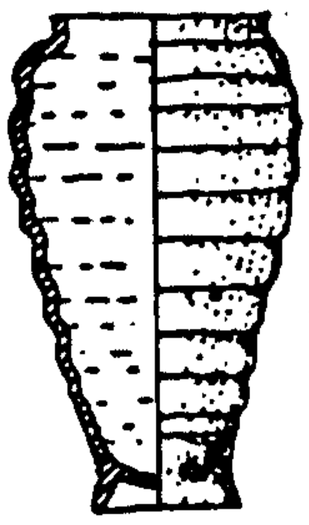
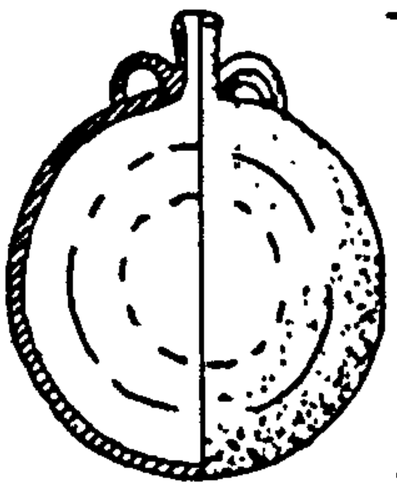
9		?													
10		?													
11		?													

Figure D. 9 after Török, 1987, figure 23

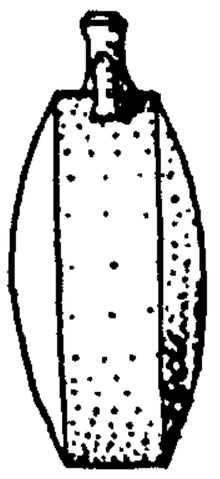


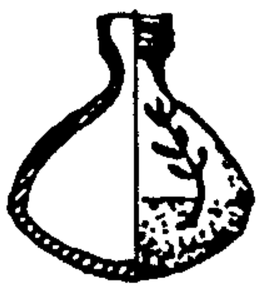
54

77

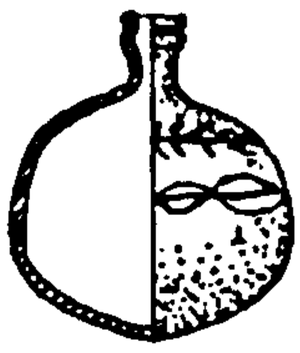


56b





57a



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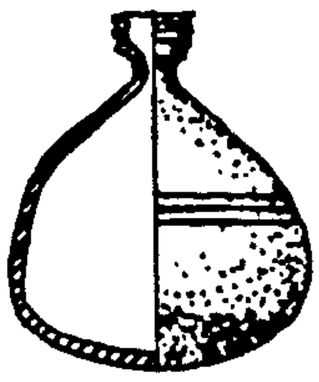

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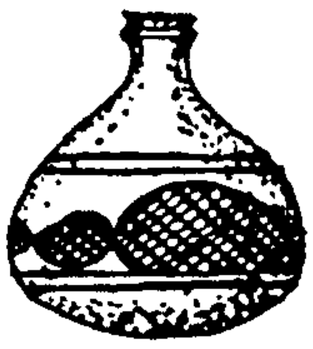

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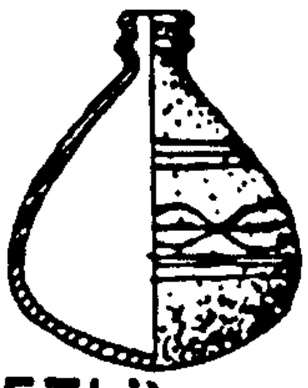

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90a

90b

81

88b

88c

88a

type / gen.	54	56 b	57 a	57 b	57 d	57 e	77	81	88 c	88 b	88 a	90 a	90 b
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9				?									
10													

Figure D. 10 after Török, 1987, figure 24

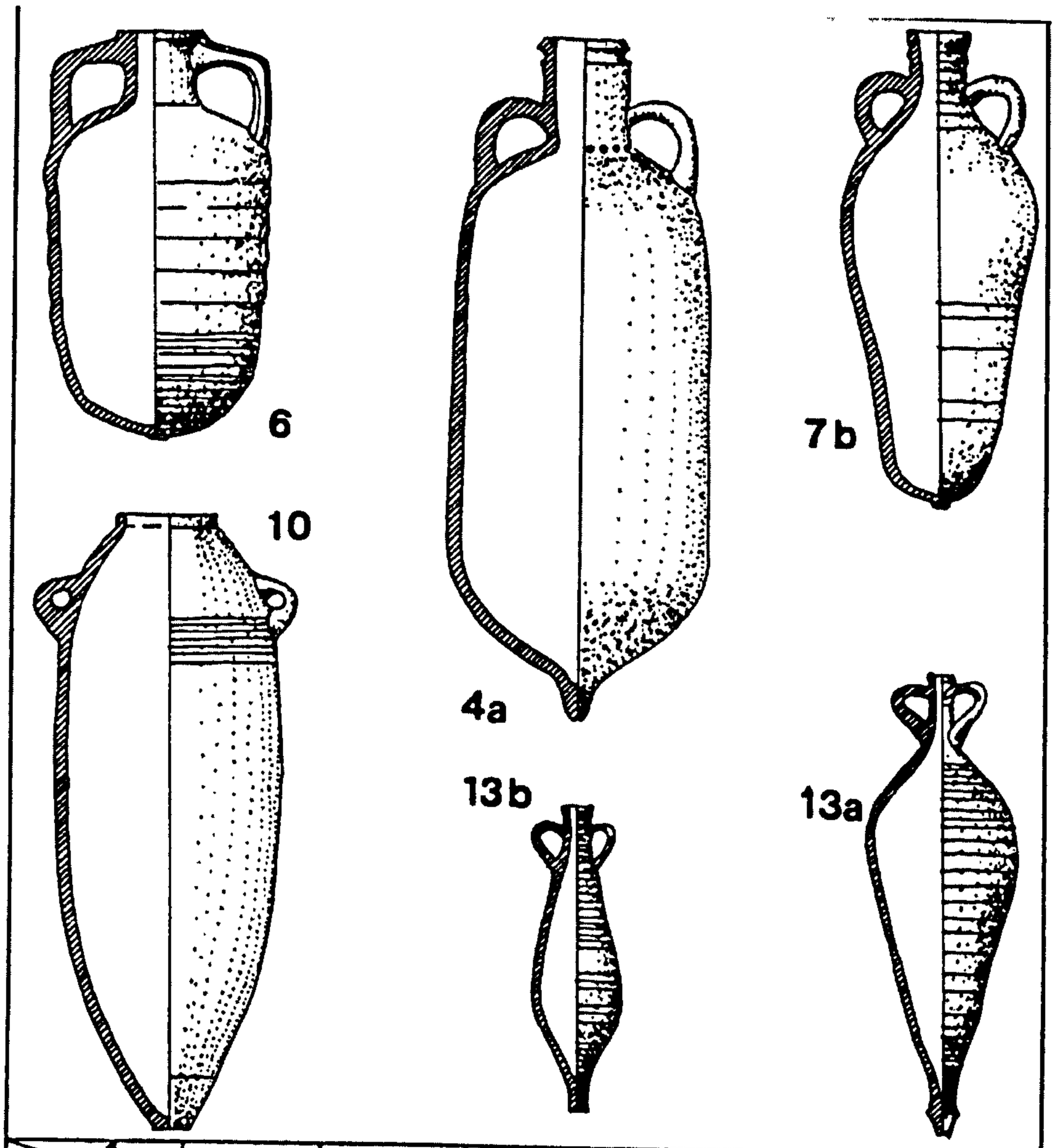

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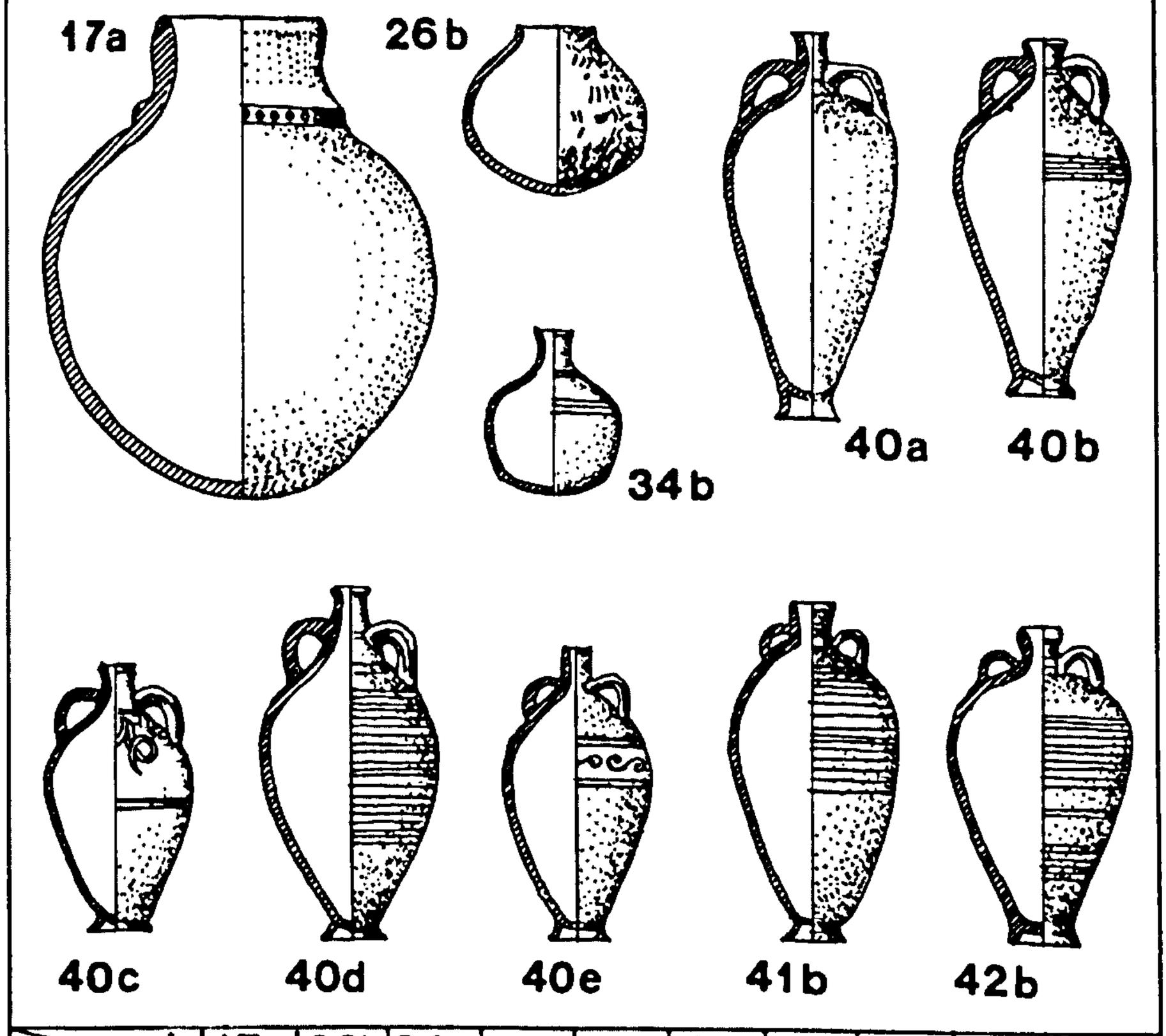
Figure D. 11 after Török, 1987, figure 25



g \ t	17a	26b	34b	40a	40b	40c	40d	40e	41b	42b
1										
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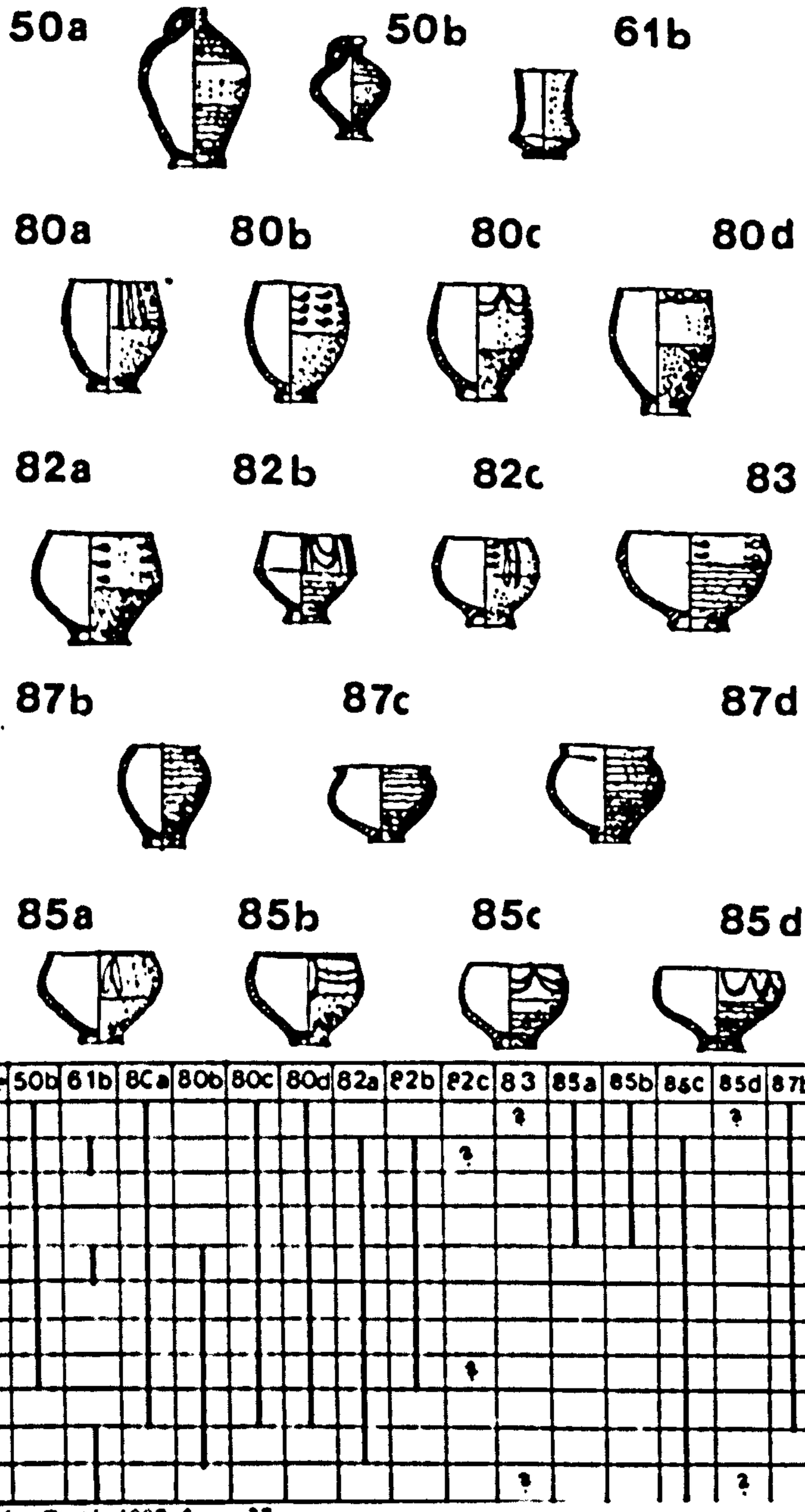
Figure D. 12 after Török, 1987, figure 26



gen. / type	50a	50b	61b	80a	80b	80c	80d	82a	82b	82c	83	85a	85b	85c	85d	87b	87c	87d
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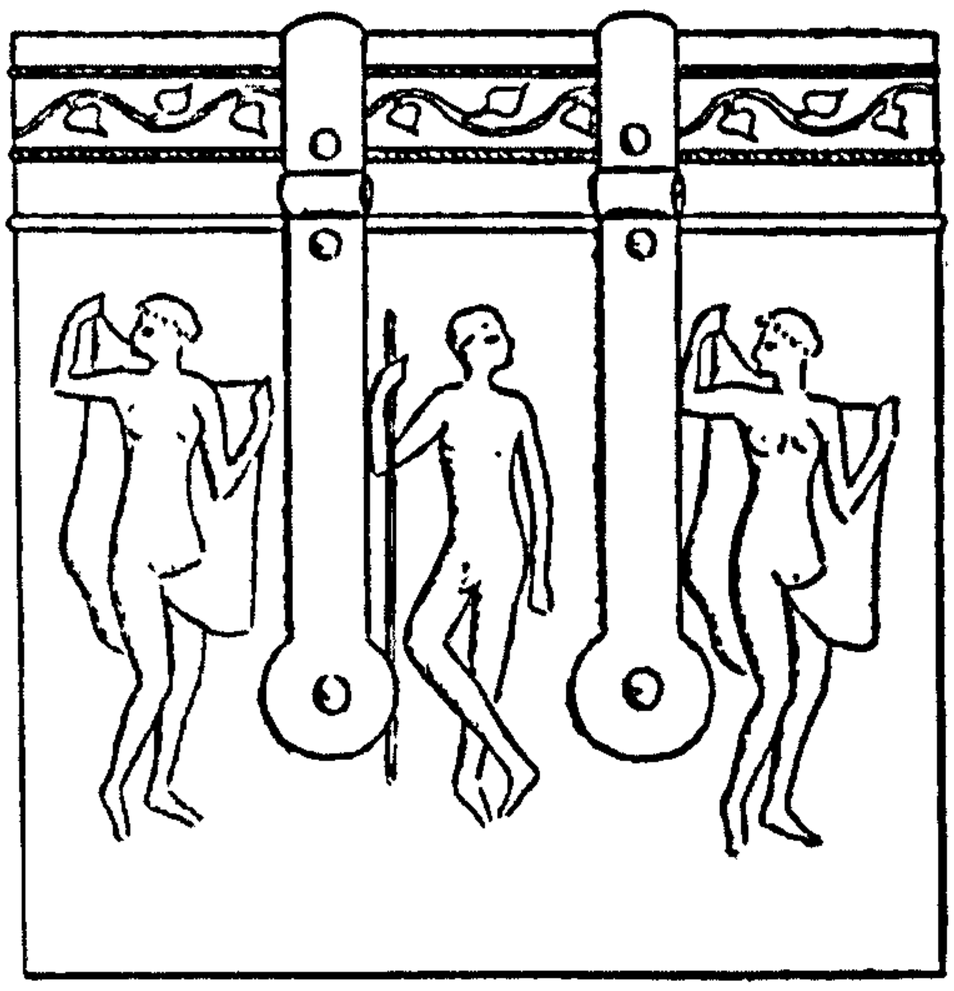
Figure D. 13 after Torok, 1987, figure 27



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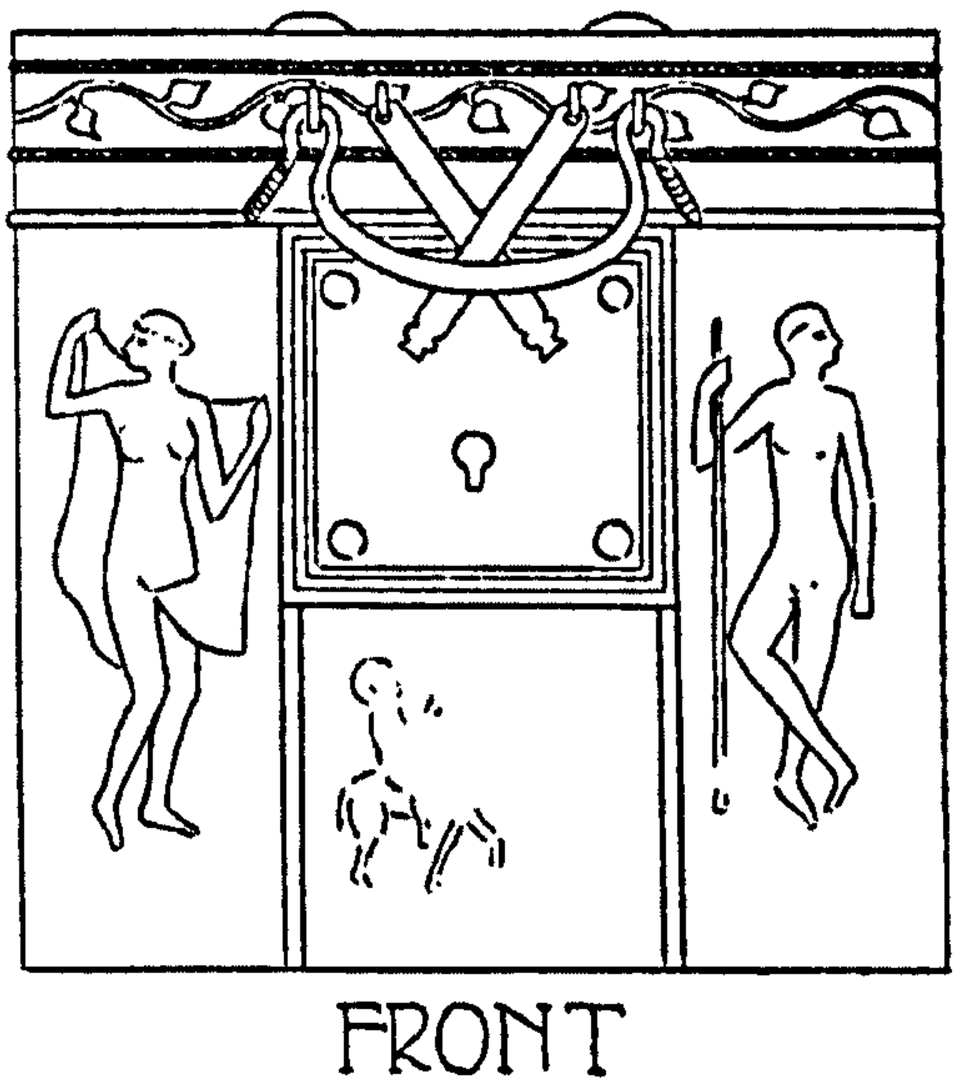
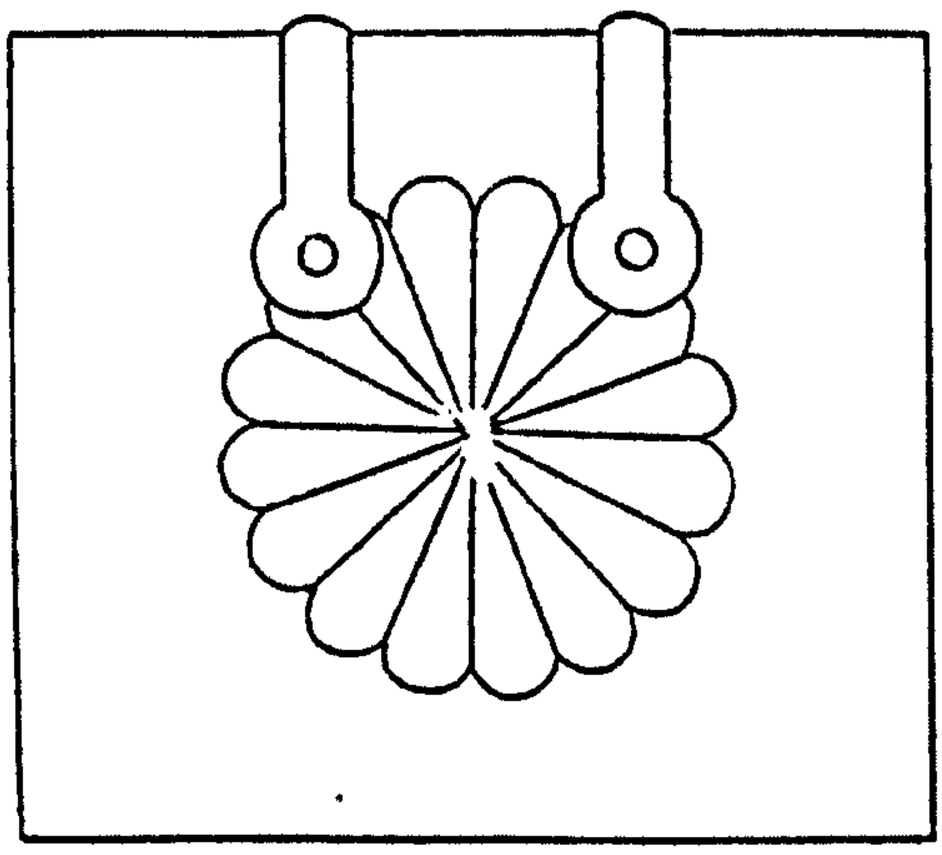


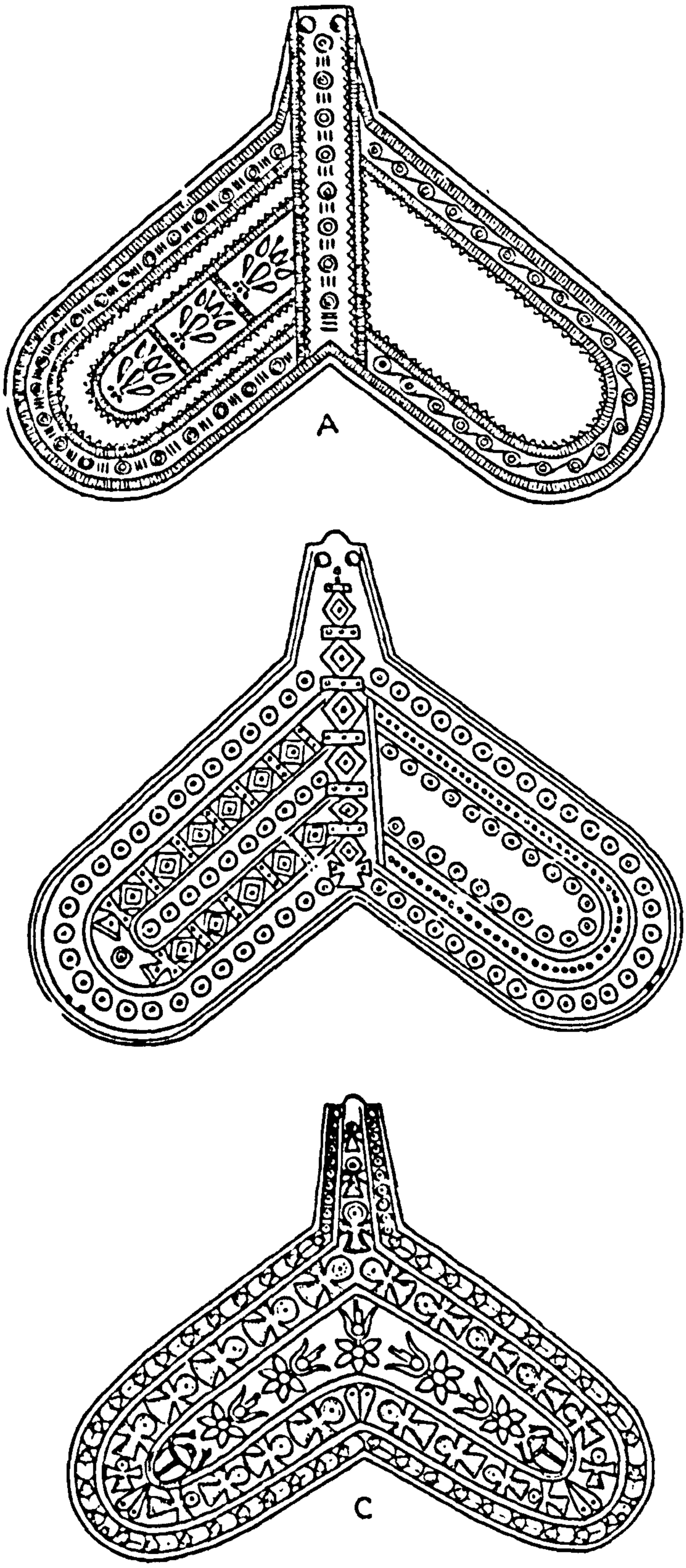
FRONT



TOP

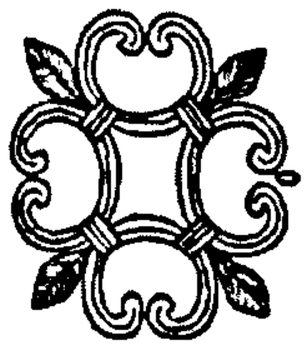
WALTER B EMERY

Figure D. 14 Decoration on casket from BT04 after Emery and Kirwan 1938a, figure 98

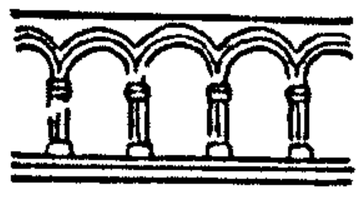


DECORATION ON ARCHERS BRACERS

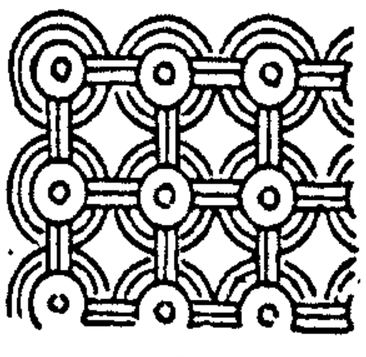
Figure D. 15 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 86



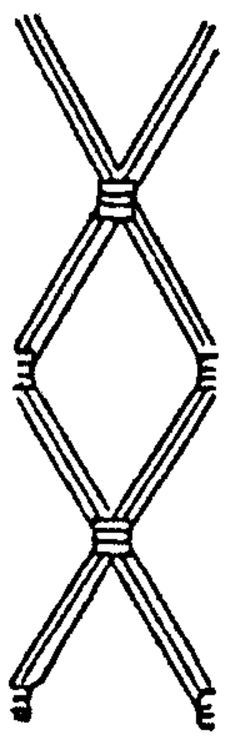
A



B



C



D

Figure D. 16 certain decoration design identified by Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 81

POSITION OF OBJECTS
TOMB 14

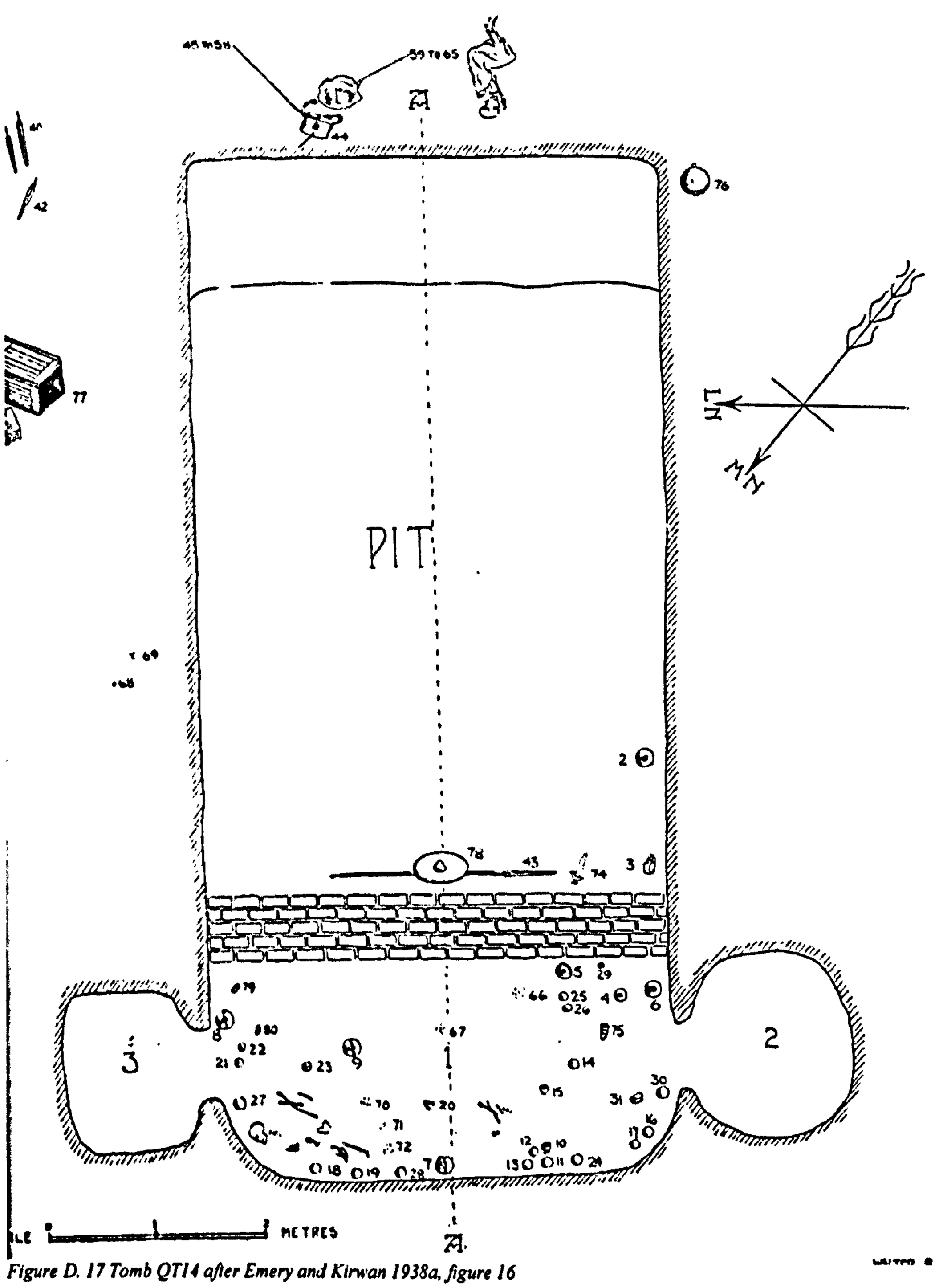


Figure D. 17 Tomb QT14 after Emery and Kirwan 1938a, figure 16

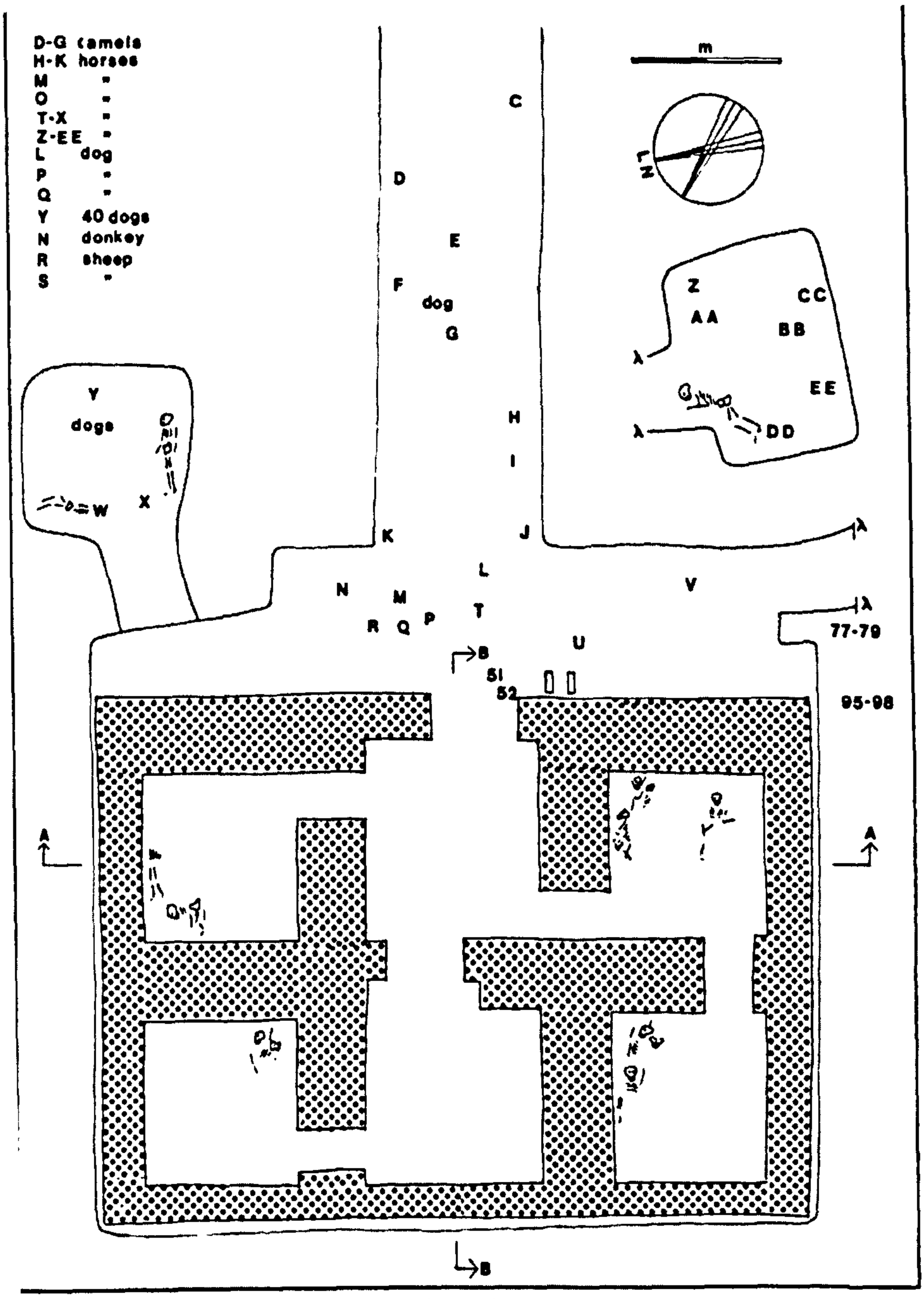


Figure D. 18.Tomb QT03 after Török, 1987a, figure 43

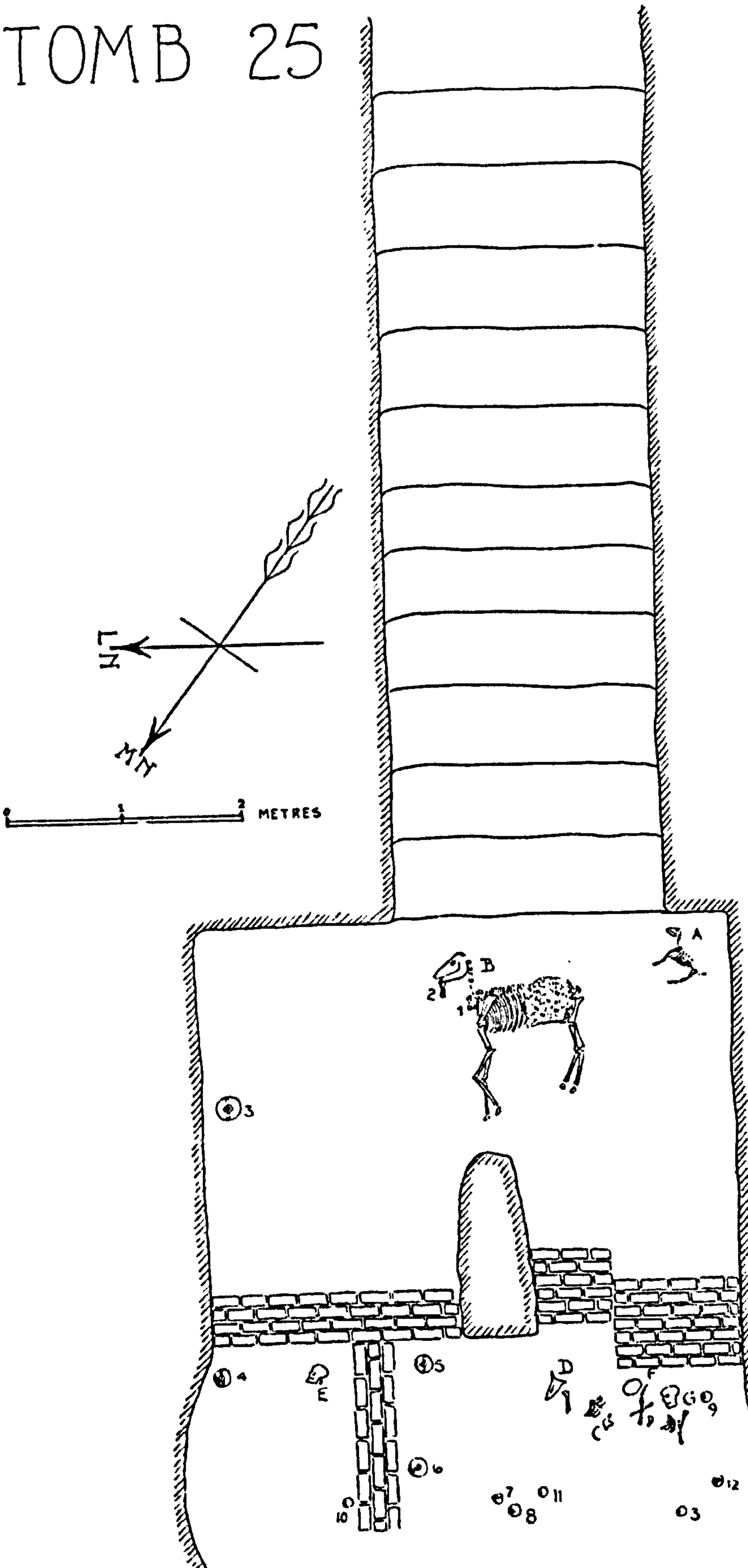


Figure D.19 Tomb QT25 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 24

POSITION OF OBJECTS
TOMB 17

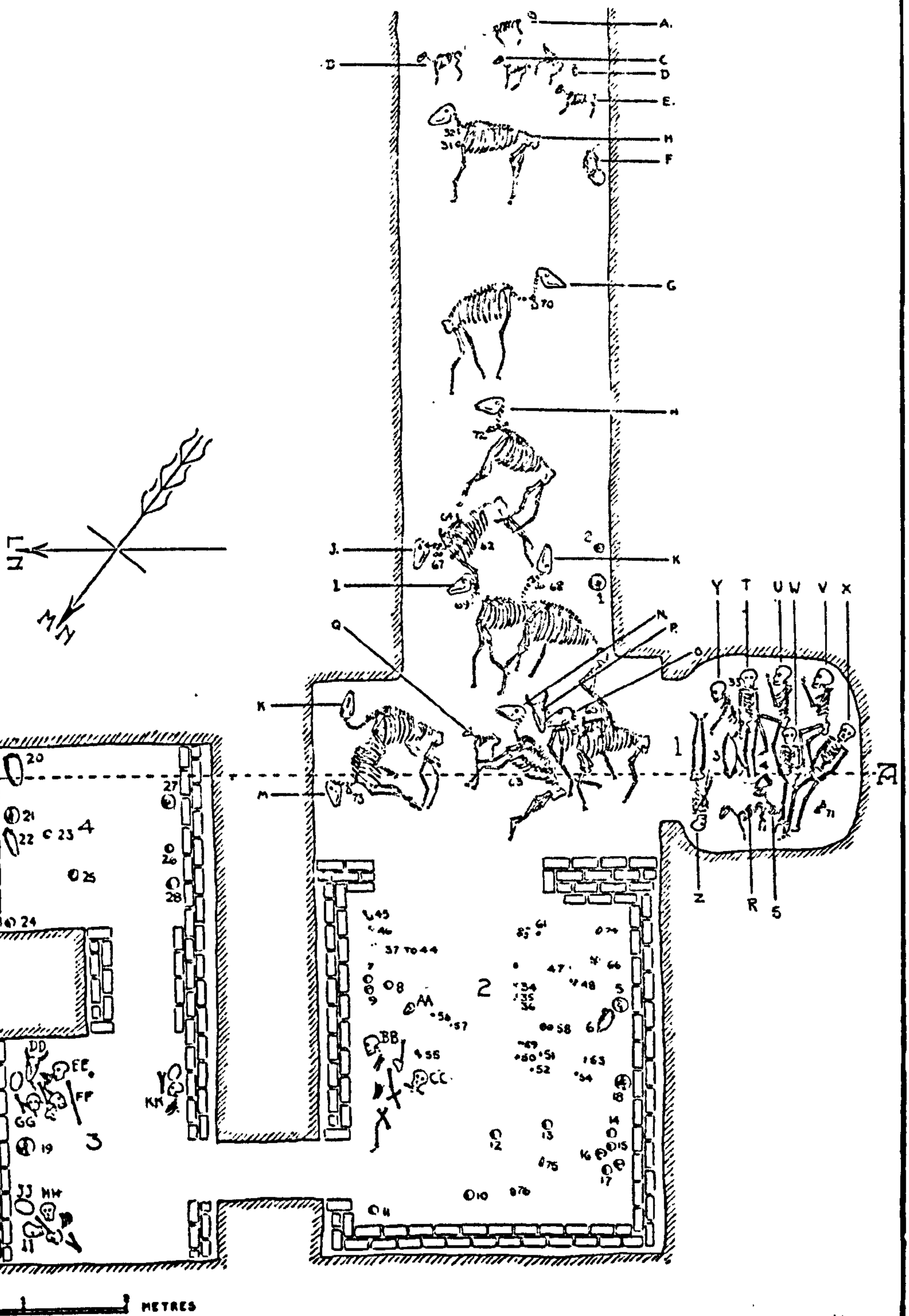


Figure D.20 Tomb QT17 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 19

POSITION OF OBJECTS TOMB 31

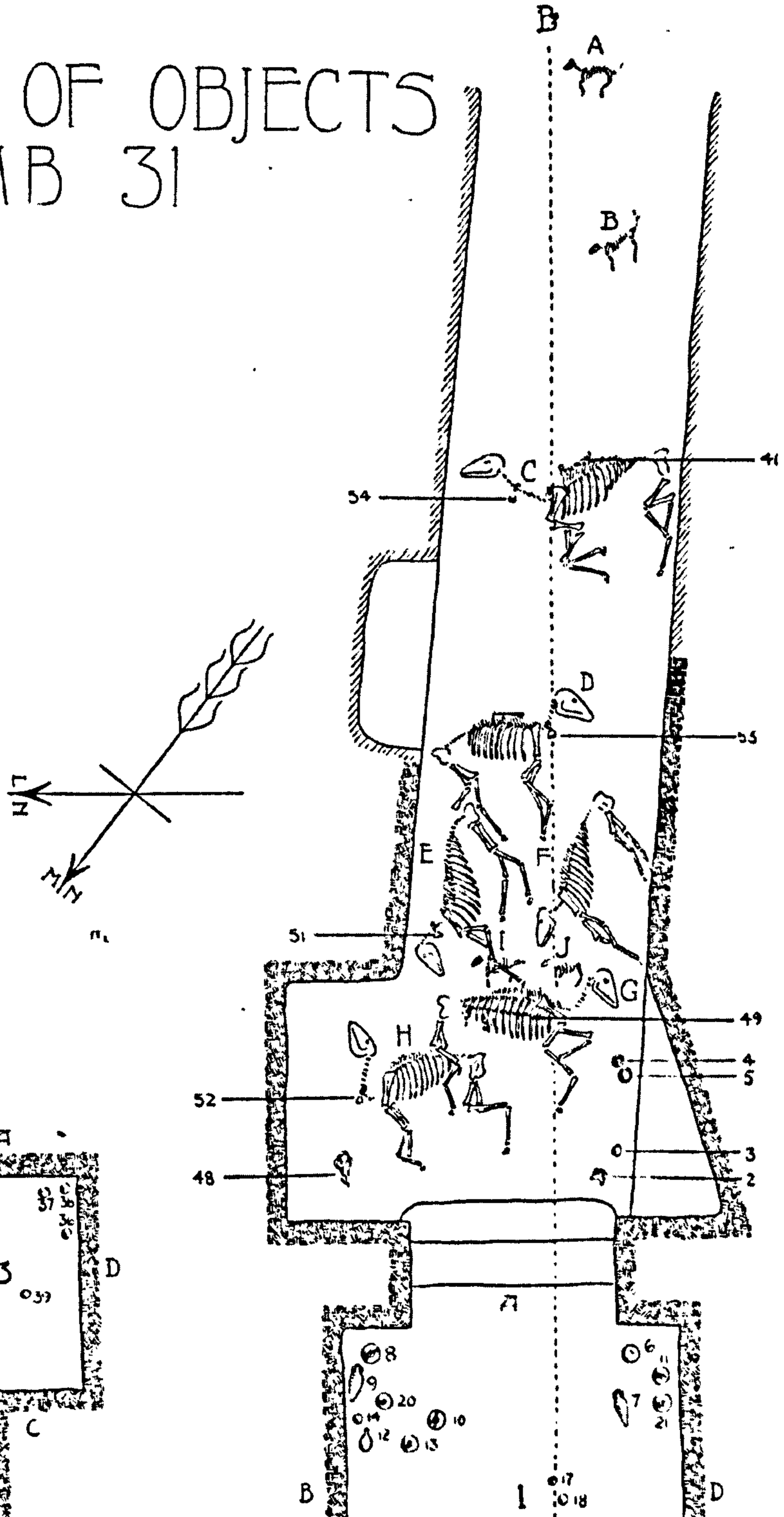


Figure D.21 Tomb QT31 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 26

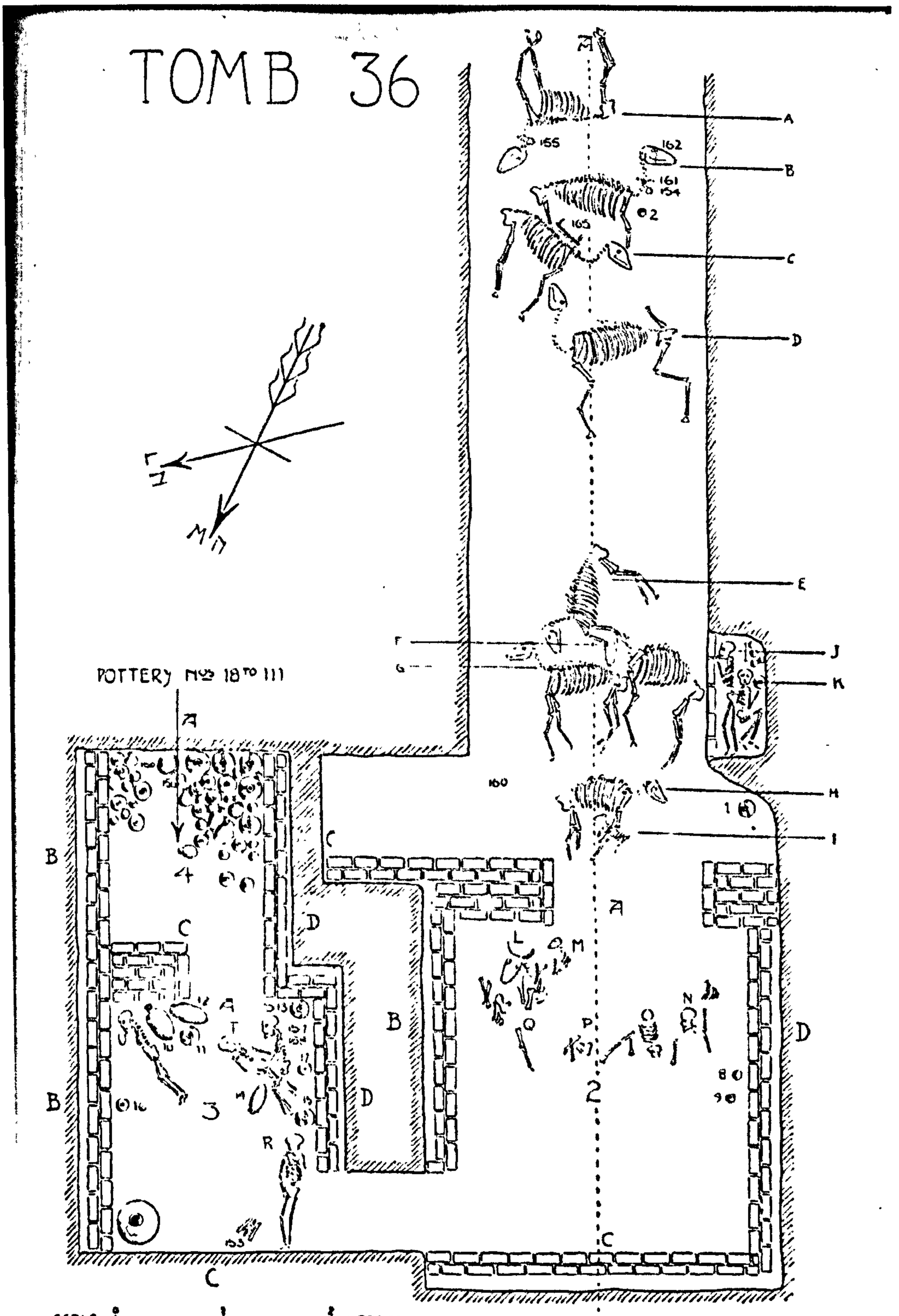


Figure D.22 Tomb QT36 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 28

POSITION OF OBJECTS
TOMB 95

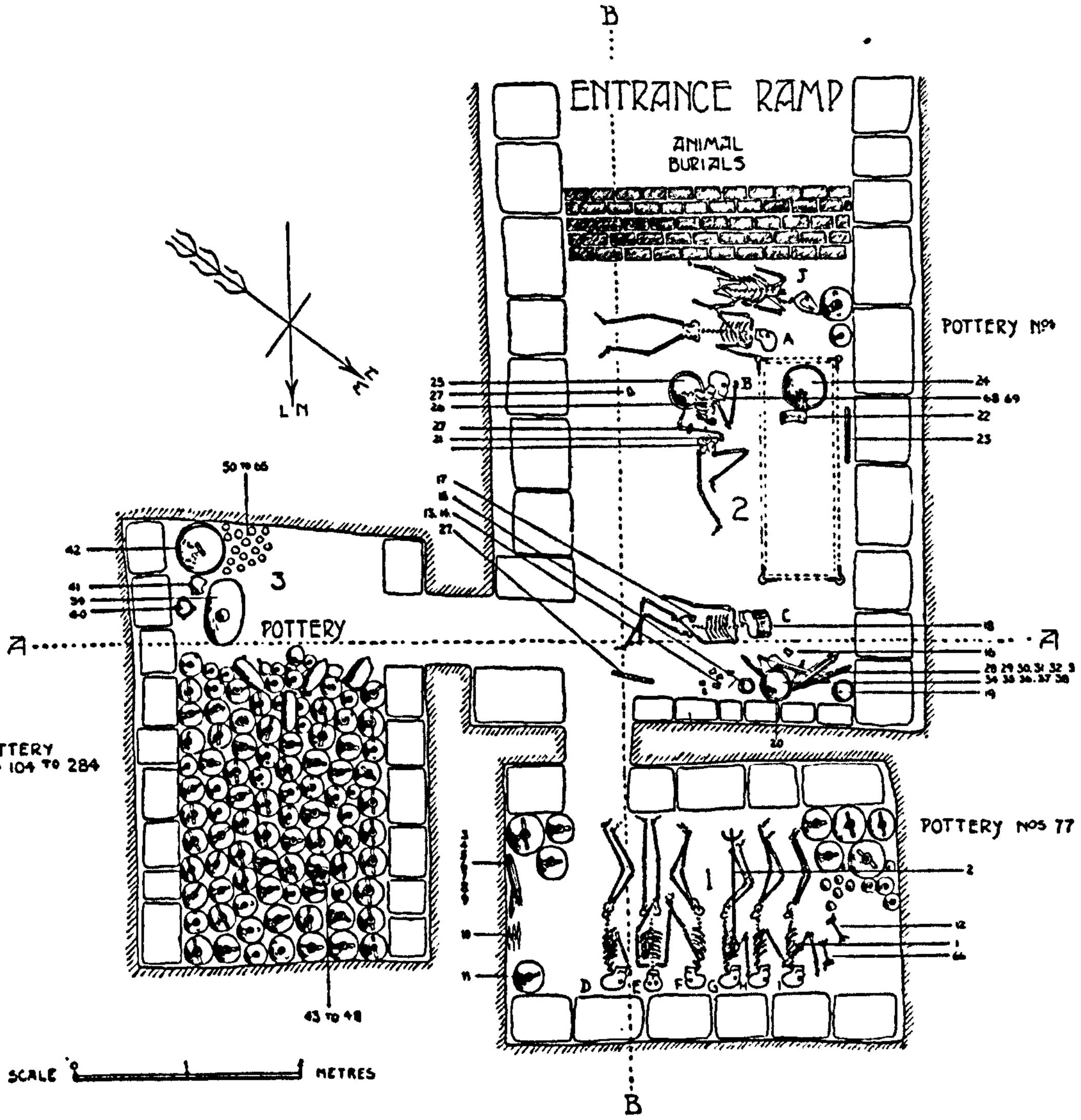


Figure D.23 Tomb BT95 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 68

POSITION OF OBJECTS
TOMB 114

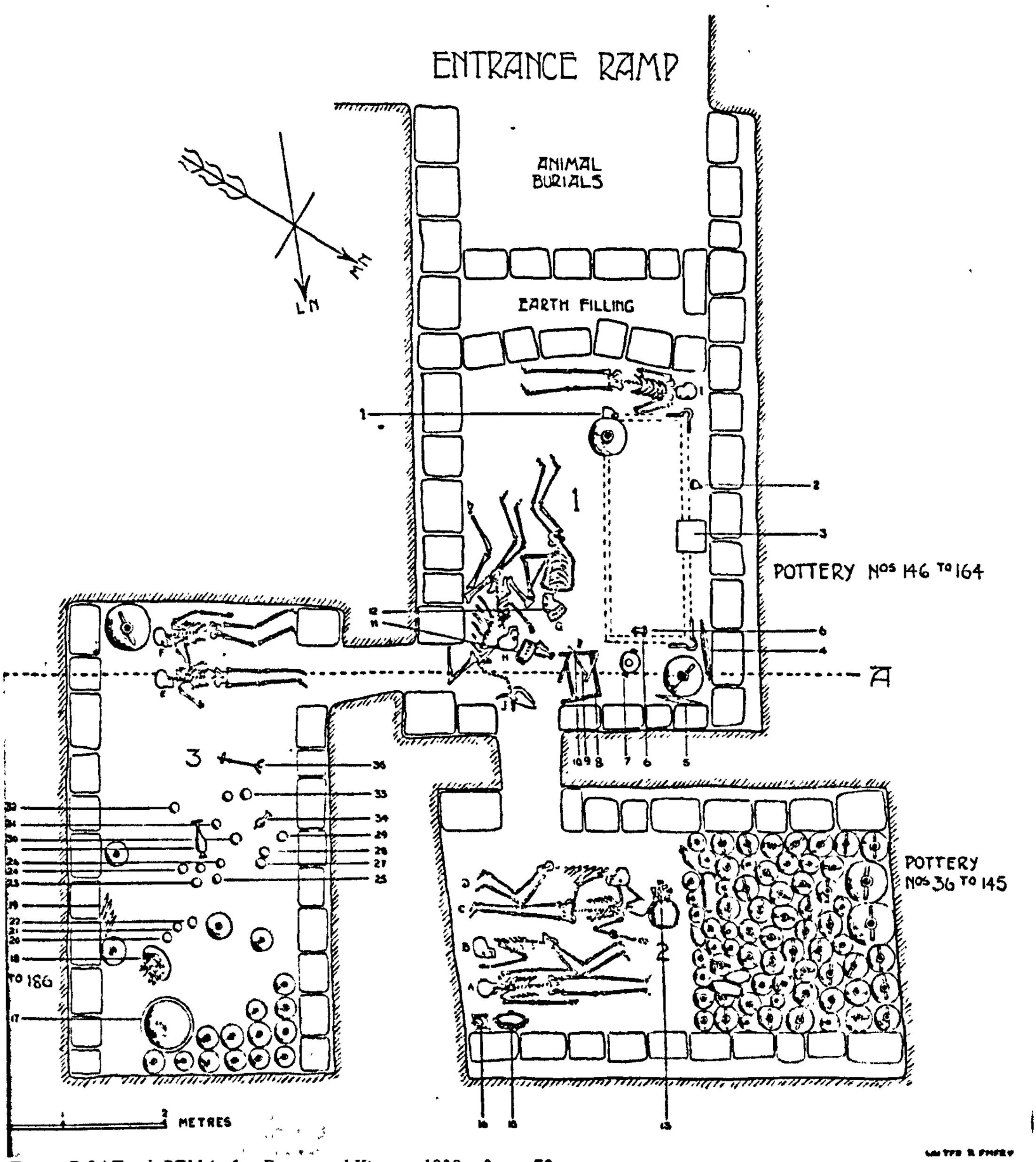


Figure D.24 Tomb BT114 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 72

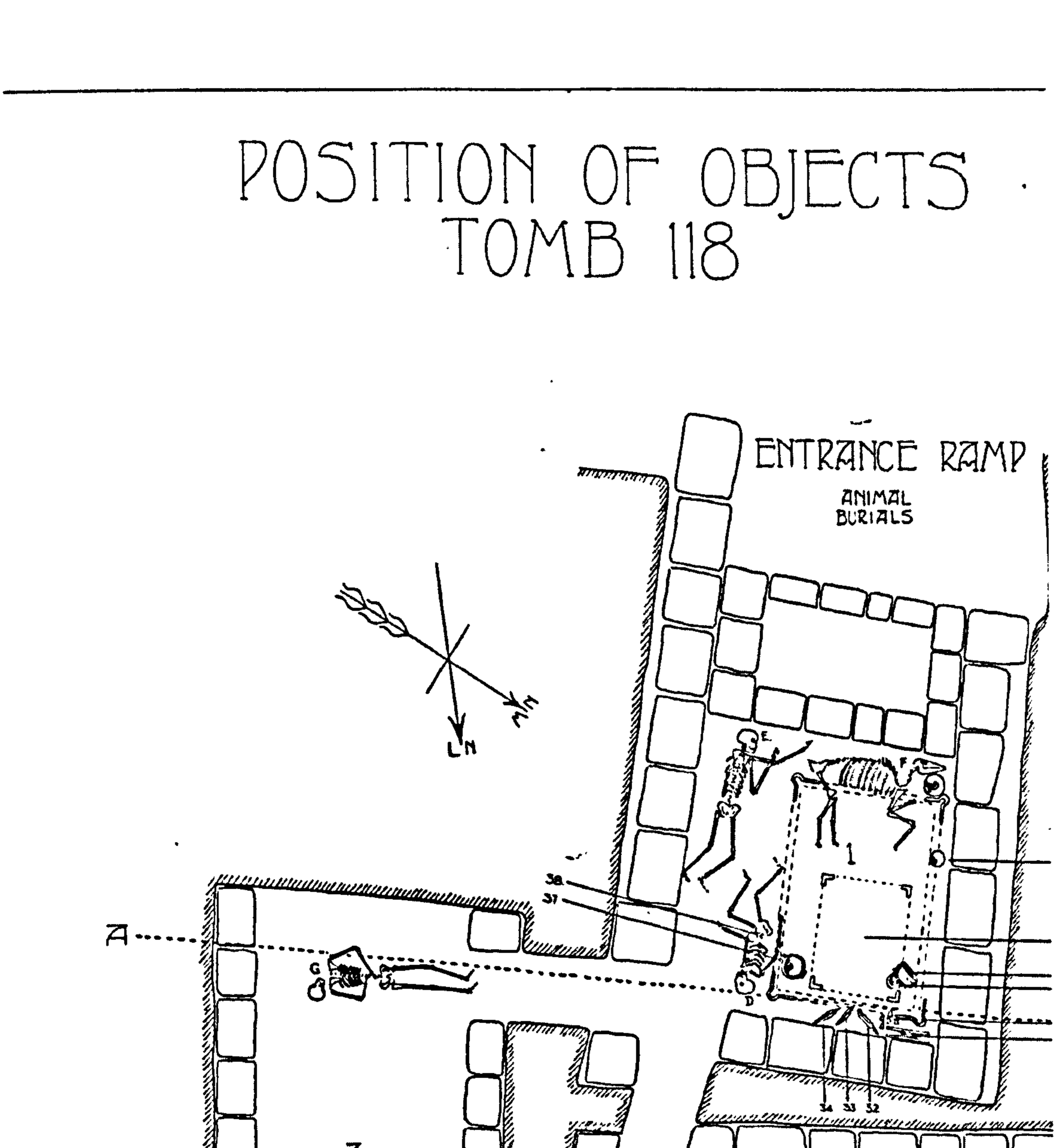


Figure D.25. Tomb BT118 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 74

POSITION OF OBJECTS
TOMB 80

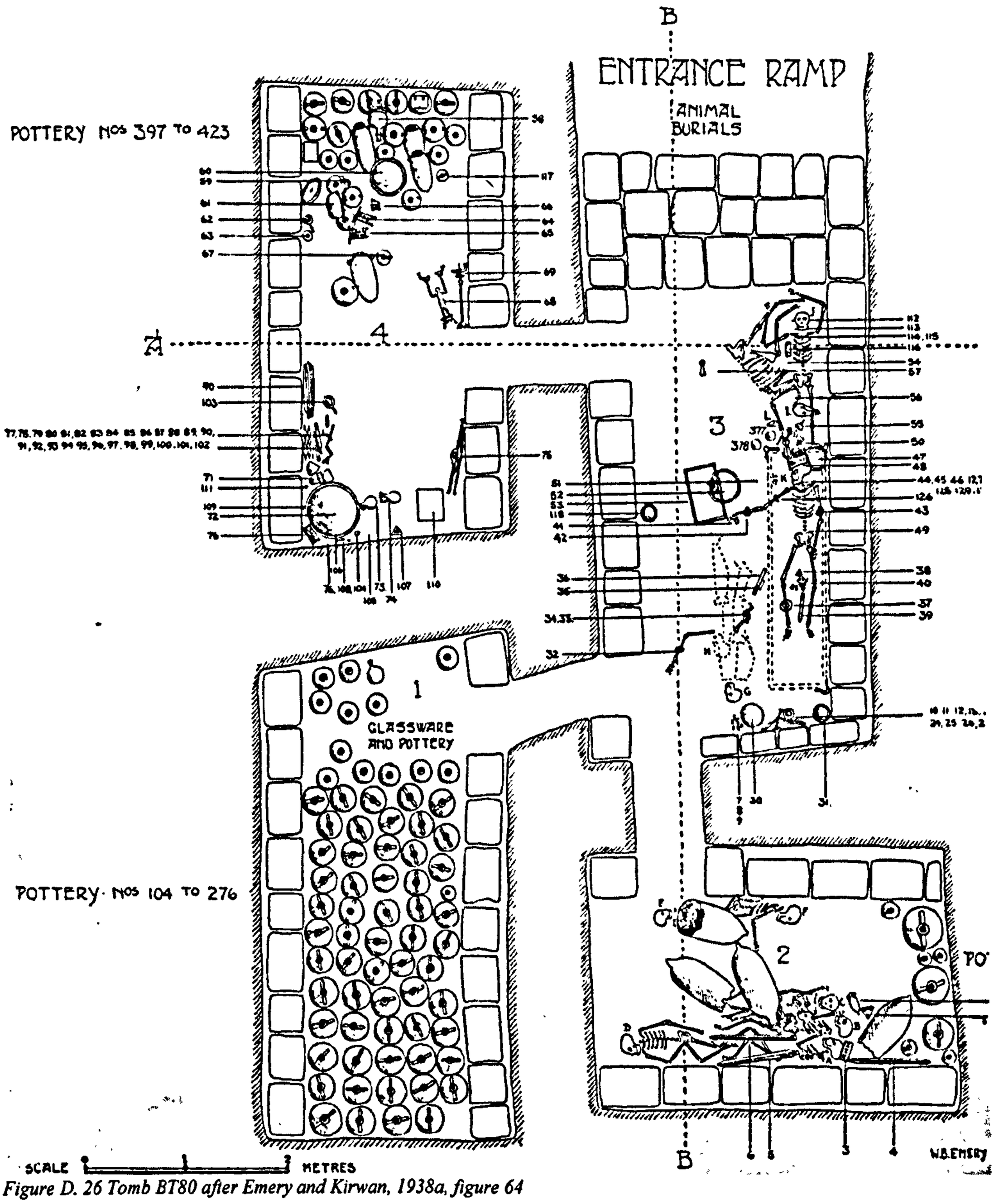


Figure D. 26 Tomb BT80 after Emery and Kirwan, 1938a, figure 64