

Was the individual buried in MOG012.4 a Christian, a pagan or both? Evidence for the appropriation of Christianity from a late antique–early medieval tumulus grave on Mograt Island

Claudia Näser, Alexandros Tsakos, Jens Weschenfelder

In 2006, two of the three authors of this paper excavated two graves at the site MOG012 on Mograt island, which was subsequently published as a Napatan burial ground (Näser 2006). A reexamination of the record in the context of ongoing research at the nearby multi-period burial ground MOG034 (Weschenfelder and Rees 2014; Weschenfelder, J. 2015a, 2015b) led to a reassessment of the findings from MOG012 – and to their redating.

MOG012 is situated at the edge of the plateau of the island's interior in the southeast of Mograt (Plate 1). The site comprises c. 50 grave superstructures, mostly in the shape of small stone tumuli with diameters between 2 and 4m dispersed in small grave groups of up to eight features, covering an area of 315 x 285m. Two structures were chosen for trial excavations in 2006. One of them, MOG012.4 (Näser 2006: 17–18, figs. 23–25), consisted of a mound of c. 0.8m height and 4.0m diameter (Plate 2). The excavation, starting with the dismantling of the superstructure, showed that the tumulus had been constructed of medium-sized stones placed around and on top of a setting of large stones (Plate 3) which in turn surrounded and covered a crevice in the rocky ground. The outermost layer of the tumulus was built of small stones and gravel.

The crevice contained the undisturbed burial of an adult individual in flexed position with the head towards south, facing west (Figure 1; Plate 4) which had been covered by windblown sand. Preliminary analysis suggests that the deceased was a man in his forties or above.¹ Minute remains of woven material indicate that the body had been wrapped in a shroud (Plate 5). The grave goods consisted of two pottery bowls which had been placed, nested one inside the other, at the right hand of the deceased (Figure 1; Plates 4, 6); the left hand rested in front of the pelvis. The smaller of these bowls is of Nile clay, wheelmade, with a light red slip on the inside which is burnished, too (Figure 2; Plate 7). The slip was also applied to the outside, in a sloppy way only covering the upper part of the vessel. Two grooves were incised beneath the rim on the outside. The larger bowl is handmade with a dark red slip (Figure 2; Plate 7). Its rim zone is unsmouldered while the lower part of the body has been blackened. To achieve this pattern, the bowl had likely been placed inside another vessel during firing.

Fragments of a third vessel (Figure 2; Plate 8) were scattered around and underneath the tumulus, indicating that the vessel had been deposited, intact or broken to pieces, before the construction of the superstructure. These fragments formed the basis for the dating of the context to the (early) Napatan period in the first instance (Näser 2006: 105–106), as they belonged to a Marl A4 Variant 2 pilgrim flask with a ribbed surface and a pale cream slip which is typical for this era. The specimen belongs to type F.i of Kilroe's classification (Kilroe 2019: 102–103, 227, 251–252, fig. 6.9, pl. 7). Numerous flasks of this type were found in the Sanam stores (Vincentelli 2018: 180, fig. 2.4, pl. 1.2). Following the evidence discussed below we can now conclude that the flask, along with some dispersed human bones in the immediate vicinity, belonged to an earlier burial which had been destroyed before or in the course of the construction of the stone tumulus MOG012.4. The earlier structure was probably a dome grave – further graves of this type are present in the northeastern part of MOG012. A similar pattern of reusing material from dome graves for the construction of later stone tumulus graves was documented in detail at MOG034 (see below and Weschenfelder, J. in preparation).²

¹ The skeletal material is currently kept at Humboldt University Berlin and was not accessible for study.

² The second grave investigated in 2006, MOG012.3 (Näser 2006, figs. 26–28), also consisted of a stone tumulus, constructed above a packing of large stones which had been arranged around a rock formation at surface level. Three burials were associated with this structure. The skeletal remains of an infant and a child were undisturbed, but only isolated bones remained of a third adult individual. The only other finds were sherds of a rough

It was only during the recent reexamination of the evidence that an incision made after firing on the wheelmade bowl from MOG012.4 was identified as a Christian box monogram (Figure 2; Plates 7, 9). The main element of this monogram is an axe-shaped form with what is possibly a cross above. Two fainter lines are visible at the bottom right of the 'axe', but they seem to be secondary or accidentally incised during the marking process. Leaving aside the cross, this axe-shape has been interpreted as a monogram of the archangel Michael (e.g. Weschenfelder, P. 2015: 140, figs. 2n, o, with an example very similar to the present one; Tsakos forthcoming a, for a systematic presentation of this material) based on the way the lines forming the 'axe' can be analyzed as the letters forming the archangel's name:

- The vertical lines and the upper half of the diagonal in the centre of the 'axe' can be read as a μ (Figure 3.a: red)
- The diagonal in the centre can be read as χ (Figure 3.a: blue).
- The lower half of the diagonal can be read as a λ (Figure 3.a: yellow).
- The ι , iota, could be any of the two vertical lines, but the α and the η would be missing, unless the fainter lines extending the diagonal below the 'axe' were actually an attempt to render the α .

There are several examples from Nubia of the 'complete' monogram of Michael, with the α 'hanging' from the χ (Figure 3.b: green) and the η formed by a horizontal line in the middle of the 'axe' (Figure 3.b: orange) – the tattoo on the body of a woman buried at et-Tereif (Vandenbeusch and Antoine 2015) is probably the best-known. However, the combination μ - χ - λ can also be understood as a monogram of the archangel Michael, based on an abbreviated spelling omitting all vowels, i.e. $\mu\chi\lambda$, which is also attested in Nubia (e.g. Jakobielski 1991: e.g. 283: no. 31, 287: no. 175, 288: no. 195).

Conversely, the 'axe' can also be analyzed as a monogrammatic rendering of the numerical cryptogram of another archangel's name, i.e. Raphael. Numerical cryptograms are formed by adding up the value of the letters of a given name according to the ancient Greek arithmetical system, where α is 1, β is 2, γ is 3, ι is 10, μ is 50, ρ is 100 and so on. The value of the name $\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\eta\lambda$ would thus be: $\rho=100$, $\alpha=1$, $\phi=500$, $\eta=8$, $\lambda=30$, adding up to $100+1+500+1+8+30=640=600+40=\chi(=600)+\mu(=40)$ (Figure 3.c: blue and red respectively).

χ and μ are the two letters which form the main elements of the axe-shaped form we see on the Mograt bowl as well as in representations from many other sites in Christian Nubia (e.g. Tsakos and Kleinitz 2018: 134). The way contemporaneous viewers understood the axe-shaped monogram is very difficult to ascertain given its various attestations. But there is no doubt that such monograms had more of an iconic value functioning as grapho-linguistic techniques, i.e. things written to be *seen* rather than read (Goody 1987: 274; for Nubia, Łajtar and van der Vliet 2017: 251), and as invocations of the superhuman agents guaranteeing the communication of the mortals with the divine realm (Tsakos forthcoming a). In that sense, the 'axe' may have been 'seen' differently again and interpreted as a pair of wings symbolizing the angelic apparition and presence. Whether the 'axe' was first seen as an 'icon' of angelic figures or as assembled by its constitutive elements, i.e. the letters of the archangelic names, is a question that remains open for the time being. A path into further investigating this question could lie in identifying the 'axe' among signs used on vessels or other objects and surfaces in pre-Christian times. Their existence might show that the first Christian communities invested an ancient sign with new meaning in the context of the new belief system.

In any case, the closed context renders this discovery interesting, not least since it demands, and enables, a re-dating of the assemblage and potentially of the other structures at MOG012, too. Bowls with a similar decoration of one or two straight grooves below the rim are typically associated with the

handmade jar and a wide bowl, both unslipped, but with a wet-smoothed rim zone (Näser 2006, fig. 28). Both vessels were made of Nile clay which had been heavily tempered with (burnt-out) chaff. We thank Ulrike Nowotnick for confirming that the latter as well as the wet-smoothing around the rim are typical characteristics of Napatan pottery. This suggests that also MOG012.3 comprises material from two phases of use, i.e. a Napatan one and, based on the morphology of the extant grave superstructure, a later one (for its dating see the discussion of MOG012.4).

Early Christian Period in Lower Nubia (Adams 1986: 219, 480–482: NIII). Specimens with this decoration and related shapes were found at Old Dongola (e.g. Bagińska 2008, 361, 367–368, fig. 5.b: seventh century AD; Danys-Lasek 2012, 323, fig. 5: M2B1: sixth to seventh centuries AD; Danys 2016, 764, 767, fig. 2: M2B1, fig. 3: C1A2: end of the sixth to the seventh centuries AD). With an increasingly shallow profile, they represent a phase *succeeding* what Mahmoud el-Tayeb (2012: 93–94, fig. 33) discussed as Early Makuria Phase II. In sum, currently available comparative evidence suggests a date in the mid-sixth to mid-seventh centuries AD for the bowl from MOG012.4. This chronological range is further substantiated by the findings from the nearby multi-period burial ground MOG034 (see below with Figure 4).

In the case of the Mograt bowl, the archangelic monogram had been incised after firing and can therefore be understood as an intentional addition by the vessel's owner and/or user who, however, is not necessarily identical with the deceased buried in MOG012.4. The reason for this addition can perhaps be elucidated by the bowl's functional properties and reconstructed use-life. The bowl shows heavy traces of use with massive uneven abrasions around the rim (Figure 2; Plate 7). They look like it had been used to scoop a solid substance or scrape something from a container or a surface, in the process abrading the majority of the rim. The scale of the wear indicates that the bowl was intensely used before it was selected as a grave good. Perhaps mirroring its previous function, it was again deposited as the inner piece of a nested assemblage, with the intact section of the rim close to the hands of the deceased, ready to be grasped, while the abraded portions dip into the handmade bowl which is slightly larger and thus easily accommodates the bowl with the monogram. But what does this arrangement signify?

It is impossible to determine the *raison d'être* of either this arrangement or the carving of monogram on the bowl, but there are some *comparanda* for the latter that can direct our interpretation. First and foremost, eating and drinking vessels are frequently marked with the name of the archangel Michael in its various attestations, i.e. complete or abbreviated name, monogram or cryptogram. This has been interpreted as a marker of the users' wish to have these vessels protected by the archangel's powers against evil or disease entering their body through the consumption of food (for a first reference to this topic, see Tsakos forthcoming b). Additionally, the archangel Raphael is considered, among other things, a guarantor of health in medieval Nubia (Żurawski 2012: 363–383). In view of this, the bowl might even have been part of a context in which medicine was produced or consumed. Conversely, given the role of the archangel Michael in acts of magic and ritual power, it is possible that incising the monogram was actually (part of) such an act. Either way, what we can safely assume is that the bowl comes from a context in which Christian ritual practices were deliberately exercised, based on the belief in the efficacy of the invocation of the angelic powers. These observations tell us that we look at a constellation in which the Christian faith had reached daily life and the material culture associated with it.

With MOG012.4, we literally have evidence 'at hand' for the entanglement of pagan and Christian traditions in a period which defies being labelled in overly broad historical categories (Edwards 2001): The deceased was buried in flexed position wrapped in a shroud in a near-surface crevice on a rocky crest above the floodplain. As location for the burial, his community chose a time-honoured mortuary landscape (Weschenfelder, J. 2015a, 2015b). Following the examples surrounding them, they built a stone tumulus to mark the grave. As grave goods they deposited two pottery bowls with the body. One of them shows the mark of a new time – the incised archangelic monogram. However, the bowl was embedded in a burial assemblage which we would have labelled 'pagan' save for this one piece of evidence. This suggests that the community who frequented MOG012 hedged their bets on both sides. They accommodated Christian symbols in their daily life, likely for protection (cf. Vandenbeusch and Antoine 2015). And they were happy to transfer them into the mortuary sphere, too. But otherwise they adhered to, and relied on, pagan traditions and practices in this context: the flexed body position, the near-surface crevice burial, the stone mound as a grave marker and, above all, the integration of the dead in a mortuary landscape which clearly signaled earlier ways of living and dying – however they were conceptualized at that point.

With this, MOG012.4 is 'culturally earlier' than the burial of a woman, 14C-dated to c. 655–775 AD, from et-Tereif in the Fourth Cataract, some 120 km downriver from Mográt (Vandenbeusch and Antoine 2015). Featuring a tattooed Michael monogram on her right thigh, this woman was interred in dorsally extended position in a rectangular grave pit covered with stone slabs in a cemetery close to the floodplain which comprised tumulus as well as box graves (Carpio and Guillen 2005; Vandenbeusch and Antoine 2015). Though (micro)regional variation rather than chronological sequence may be at play here, findings from MOG034, a multi-period burial site on the rocky ridge directly east of MOG012 (Plate 1), indicate otherwise. MOG034 features 20 graves of the type under discussion here, i.e. a small, but high stone tumulus with a slightly convex shape (Weschenfelder, J. in preparation). Eight of these graves, all located in small groups in the centre and northern part of the ridge, were excavated. They all displayed a similar mode of construction. At surface level, big stone slabs cover the shallow grave pit above the ancient site surface. On top, large and medium-sized stones were piled up. A final layer of small stones and gravel was used to produce the even outer shape of the tumulus. Spaces in-between the stones are filled with loose sand, presumably a result of aeolian processes. In the shallow subcircular grave pits, the deceased were mostly placed in flexed position on the right-hand side with the head to the north or northwest. The bodies were wrapped in or covered by a leather or textile shroud. Grave F085 in the northern part of MOG034 was slightly disturbed, but still contained the remains of a small child, adorned with two delicate iron anklets. In the lower part of the superstructure and the robber cut, fragments of a red-slipped bowl with two incised grooves which resembles the specimen from MOG012.4, though it still has a slightly deeper and less open shape, were found (Figure 4). Three radiocarbon dates of leather remains and woven fabrics from graves F029, F063 and F083 span a period from c. 550–655 AD; a fourth grave, F033, was slightly earlier (Weschenfelder, J. in preparation). Further graves of this type are present in MOG020, a burial ground on an elongated ridge northeast of MOG012 (Plate 1). Following a different concept in the use of space, a later medieval cemetery, MOG001, is situated in the lowland 130m southwest of MOG012 (Plate 1). It features graves with mastaba superstructures built of mudbrick, some of them with a red brick lining and a coating in white plaster (Näser 2006: 109–111, figs. 30–36). The occupation history of this cemetery has not yet been ascertained, but a fragmentary pottery grave stela (Tsakos 2010: 686, fig. 3a) and the morphology of the superstructures indicate that at least the graves which were recorded so far date from the Classic Christian period (for comparisons see Adams 1998, 21, figs. 2–3, 8). By its location, the grave architecture and the layout of the burials, this cemetery clearly represents a 'culturally later' phase in medieval burial practices.

In sum, the evidence from MOG012.4 suggests that the Christian faith and accompanying practices had arrived in some spheres of life of the local communities on Mográt island by the sixth to seventh centuries AD. But contrary to Adams' (1998: 36) observations from Lower Nubian evidence, there was no "immediate and marked change from earlier traditions" with regard to burial practices and grave architecture. This change was only effected later – if we follow the evidence from et-Tereif, in the seventh to eighth centuries AD. Obviously, this reconstruction is only a snapshot, confined to the region of the Fourth Cataract and Mográt, or even narrower, to just the communities burying their dead in the mortuary landscape of MOG012, MOG020 and MOG034.³ But based on the evidence discussed above we can suggest a scenario perhaps most effectively grasped through the concept of appropriation, i.e. "the way in which the intended receivers – or even the not intended receivers – make things, ideas, symbols their own through their transformation and their adaptation to the receivers' standards, whatever these may be" (Frijhoff 1998, 104). The people who buried the deceased in MOG012.4 integrated an object testifying to the belief in the power of the archangels in a set of what we would otherwise identify as pagan mortuary practices. Seen from this perspective, we could label the individual from MOG012.4 both a pagan and a Christian. The presented evidence

³ For another local scenario see the discussion of the late antique–early medieval cemeteries Jebel Ghaddar North by Bogdan Żurawski and Mahmoud El-Tayeb (1994). Note that the authors suggest the same date range, namely the second half of the sixth to seventh centuries AD, for the last tumuli at the site. Note that one excavated example produced a burial "in a contracted position [...] wrapped in a linen shroud, but otherwise not accompanied by any grave goods" (Żurawski and Mahmoud El-Tayeb 1994, 299).

indicates that both dimensions were not mutually exclusive and that members of the communities frequenting MOG012, MOG020 and MOG034 attributed meaning to objects and practices taken from both belief systems, merging them in one context at least in the mortuary sphere.

We do not (yet) know how Christianity as a "cultural impulse" (Frijhoff 1998, 104) reached Mograta and how local communities came to appropriate it in the way evidenced in MOG012.4. In order to learn more about these aspects, it will be interesting to further scrutinize the patterns of material culture distribution in future research. Filling in the evidence from other sites may confirm that Christianity reached Mograta from the north, and not from the south, as seems to have been the case at Akada, where vessels decorated with Christian symbols and belonging to the Soba Ware tradition were found in an otherwise pre-Christian post-Meroitic burial context (for the discovery, see Mohamed Farouq and Tsakos 2005; for the interpretation as evidence for a late Christianization of the region coming from the south, see Tsakos in preparation).⁴ For the time being, what has become clear is that studying the stone tumulus graves which dot the rocky ridges above the floodplain on the banks of the Nile all the way between the Fourth and the Sixth Cataracts can help us learn more about religious change and strategies of cultural appropriation at the turn from the late antique to the medieval period in the region.

Bibliography

- Adams, W. Y. 1986. *Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia*. 2 vols. Memoirs of the UNESCO Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia. Lexington.
- Adams W. Y. 1998. 'Toward a comparative study of Christian Nubian burial practice', *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* 8: 13–41.
- Bagińska, D. 2008. 'Christian pottery from Old Dongola (Kom H)', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 18, 361–375.
- Carpio, G. and S. Guillen 2005. 'Excavations at site 3-J-23', *Sudan & Nubia* 9: 14–16.
- Danys-Lasek, K. 2012. 'Dongola 2009: Pottery from Building I (Kom A)', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 21, 315–329.
- Danys-Lasek, K. 2016. 'Pottery from Dongola: A stratigraphic assemblage from Unit B.I.41', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 25, 761–779.
- Edwards, D. N. 2001. 'The Christianisation of Nubia: some archaeological pointers', *Sudan & Nubia* 5: 89–96.
- Frijhoff, W. 1998. 'Foucault reformed by Certeau: Historical strategies of discipline and everyday tactics of appropriation', *Arcadia* 33, 92–108.
- Goody, J. 1987. *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*. Studies in Literacy, Family, Culture and the State. Cambridge.
- Jakobielski, S. 1991. 'The inscriptions, ostraca and graffiti'. In: Welsby D. A. and C. M. Daniels (eds). *Soba. Archaeological Research at a Medieval Capital on the Blue Nile*. London: 274–296.
- Kilroe, L. 2019. *Pilgrim Flasks: Chronological and Cultural Transformations in Nubia from the New Kingdom to the Napatan Period*. 2 vols. PhD thesis. Oxford University.
- Łajtar, A. and J. van der Vliet 2017. *Empowering the Dead in Christian Nubia. The Texts from a Medieval Funerary Complex in Dongola*. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 32. Warsaw.
- Mahmoud El-Tayeb 2012. *Funerary traditions in Nubian Early Makuria*. Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports 9. Monograph Series 1. Gdańsk.

⁴ A movement of Christianity into the most upstream regions of Nubia from the south is also suggested by the presence of Christian Axumites at Soba when the Byzantine missionaries arrived there (Vantini 1975: 19–21).

- Mohamed Faroug and A. Tsakos 2005. 'A preliminary report of rescue excavations at Akad: The 2004 season', *Sudan & Nubia* 9: 62–71.
- Näser, C. 2006. 'Die Humboldt University Nubian Expedition 2006: Arbeiten auf Us und Mogrät', *Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 17: 89–116.
- Tsakos, A. 2010. 'Terracotta funerary stelae from Christian Nubia'. In: Godlewski, W. and A. Łajtar (eds). *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*. Part Two: Session Papers, Fasc. 2. Warsaw: 683–694.
- Tsakos, A. and C. Kleinitz 2018. 'Medieval graffiti in the sandstone quarries of Meroe: texts, monograms and cryptograms of Christian Nubia'. In: Cech, B., T. Rehren and Abdelrahman Ali Mohamed (eds). *The Quarries of Meroe, Sudan*. Part 1: Texts. UCL Qatar Series in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage 2: 127–142.
- Tsakos, A. forthcoming a. 'Invoking archangels graphically: The archangel Michael in Nubia as a case study'. In: Lauritzen, D. (ed.). *Inventer les anges de l'Antiquité à Byzance*. Paris.
- Tsakos, A. forthcoming b. 'Sources about the cult and persona of the archangel Michael in Nubia'. In: Rondot, V. (ed.). *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Nubian Studies*. Paris.
- Tsakos, A. in preparation. 'The Christianization of Nubia'. In: Derat, M.-L. and A. Tsakos (eds). *Christianization Processes along the Nile: Texts, Monasticism and Ecclesiastic Structures in Egypt, Ethiopia and Nubia*. Paris.
- Vandenbeusch, M. and D. Antoine 2015. 'Under Saint Michael's protection: A tattoo from Christian Nubia', *Journal of the Canadian Centre for Epigraphic Documents* 1: 15–19.
- Vantini, G. Fr. 1975. *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*. Warsaw/Heidelberg.
- Vincentelli, I. 2018. 'Egyptian pottery in the Sanam royal stores'. In: David, R. (ed.). *Céramiques égyptiennes au Soudan ancien: importations, imitations et influences*. Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 11: 177–188.
- Weschenfelder, J. and G. Rees 2014. 'Preliminary report of the first field season of the Kerma cemetery MOG034 on Mogrät Island, Sudan', *Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 25: 145–154.
- Weschenfelder, J. 2015a. 'The Terminal Neolithic cemetery in the funerary landscape of MOG034, Mogrät Island, Sudan', *Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 26: 145–152.
- Weschenfelder, J. 2015b. 'Preliminary report of the second and third field seasons at the Bronze Age cemetery MOG034 on Mogrät Island, Sudan', *Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 26: 153–168.
- Weschenfelder, J. in preparation. *The Multi-Period Cemetery MOG034 and the Bronze Age Funerary Landscape of Mogrät Island, Sudan*. PhD dissertation, Humboldt University Berlin.
- Weschenfelder, P. 2015. 'Ceramic's. In: Ginns, A. 'The 2015 season of excavations at Kurgus', *Sudan & Nubia* 19: 132–142.
- Żurawski, B. 2012. *St Raphael Church I at Banganarti, Mid-Sixth to Mid-Eleventh Century. An Introduction to the Site and the Epoch*. Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports 10. Monograph Series 2. Gdańsk.
- Żurawski, B. and Mahmoud El-Tayeb 1994. 'The Christian cemetery of Jebel Ghaddar North', *Nubica* III/1, 297–318.



Figure 1 Burial, MOG012.4 (drawing: Ralf Miltenberger, Alexandros Tsakos)

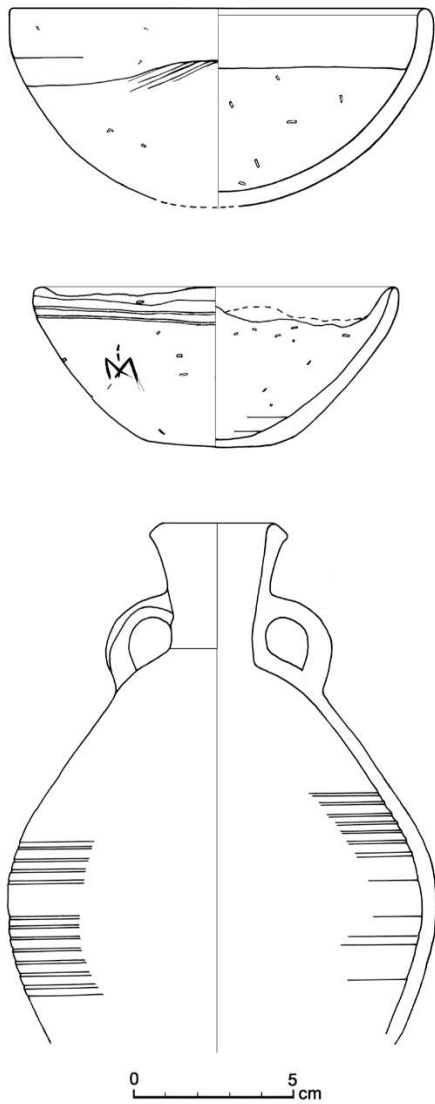


Figure 2 Pottery from MOG012.4 (drawing: Ralf Miltenberger, Claudia Näser)



Figure 3 a. A schematic interpretation of the carving on the bowl from MOG012.4 as a monogram of the archangel Michael (drawing: Alexandros Tsakos, Jens Weschenfelder)
 b. A schematic presentation of a complete Michael monogram (drawing: Alexandros Tsakos, Jens Weschenfelder)
 c. A schematic interpretation of the carving on the bowl from MOG012.4 as a monogrammatic rendering of the cryptogram of the archangel Raphael (drawing: Alexandros Tsakos, Jens Weschenfelder)

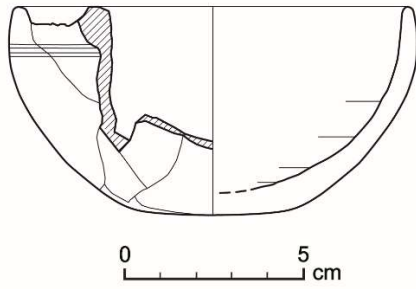


Figure 4 A bowl reconstructed from fragments found in the lower part of the superstructure and the robber cut of Grave F085 in MOG034 (drawing: Jens Weschenfelder)

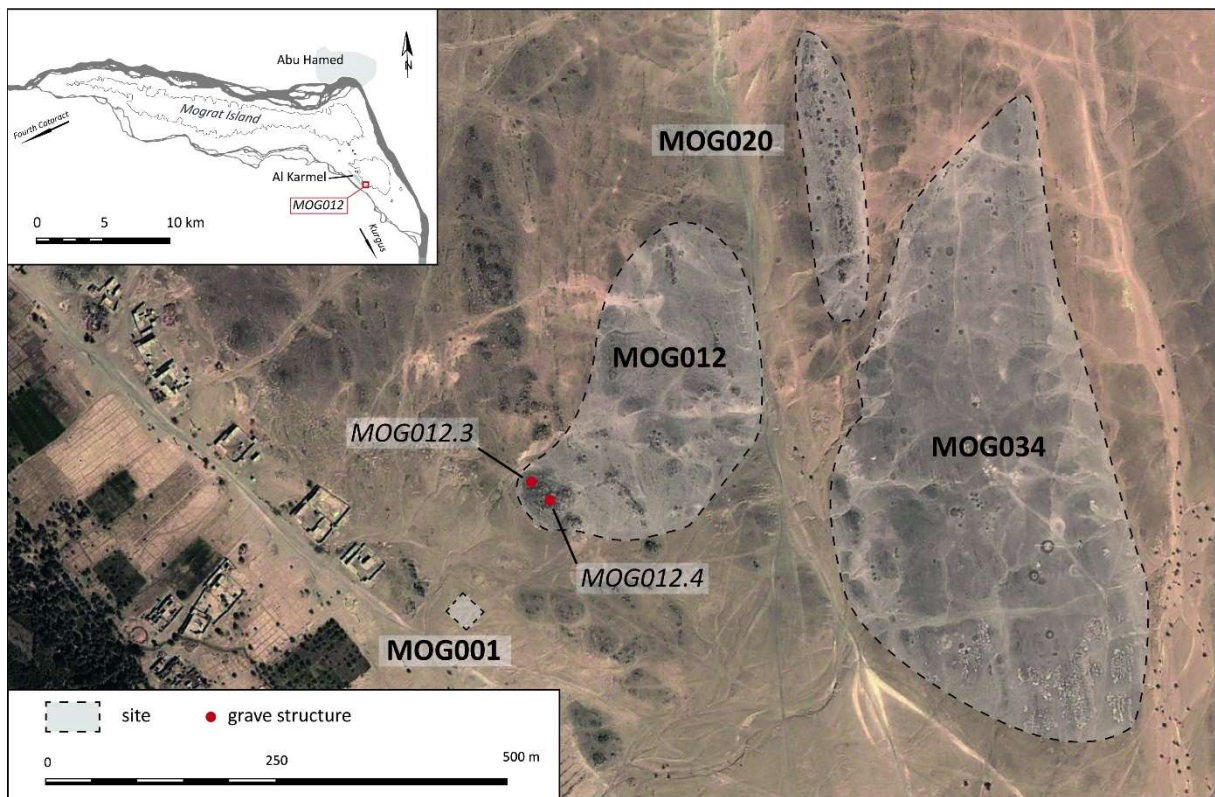


Plate 1 Mograt Island with location of MOG012 and MOG034 (mapping: Jens Weschenfelder)



Plate 2 Stone tumulus, MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser)



Plate 3 Stone setting, after the removal of the stone tumulus, MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser)



Plate 4 Burial, MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser)



Plate 5 Remains of woven material, MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser)



Plate 6 The two bowls placed at the hands of the deceased, MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser)



Plate 7 Pottery bowls from MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser)



Plate 8 Pottery flask from MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser)

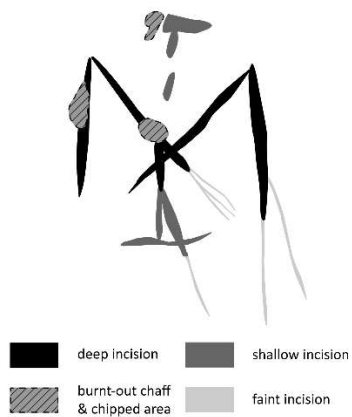


Plate 9 The monogram on the bowl from MOG012.4 (photograph: Claudia Näser; drawing: Jens Weschenfelder)