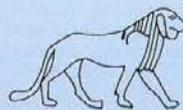


SUDAN & NUBIA

The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



Bulletin No. 11

2007





Egypt

RED SEA

Sudan

Eritrea

Ethiopia

ASWAN
1st cataract

Aniba
Qasr Ibrim

WADI HALFA
2nd cataract

3rd cataract
Tombos
Tabo

Kawa

KARIEMA
Jebel Barkal
4th cataract

ABU HAMED

5th cataract

Dangeil

Akad
ATBARA

6th cataract

OMDURMAN
KHARTOUM
Soba East

Botri

WAD MEDANI

KOSTI

SENNAR

KASSALA

GEDAREF

The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Concession

▲ Ancient sites

● MODERN TOWNS



N

0 250 km

SUDAN & NUBIA

The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



Bulletin No. 11 2007

Contents

Kirwan Memorial Lecture

- Death at Tombos: Pyramids, Iron and the Rise of the Napatan Dynasty 2
Stuart Tyson Smith
-

The Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project

- Survey and excavations in the vicinity of ed-Doma (AKSE) and et-Tereif (AKSCW), 2006-2007 15
Derek A. Welsby
- Preliminary Report on the Second Season of Excavations Conducted on Mis Island (AKSC) 20
Andrew Ginns
- The 4th Season of the SARS Anglo-German Expedition to the Fourth Nile Cataract 26
Pawel Wolf and Ulrike Nowotnick
- Rock art and archaeology: the Hadiab Survey 34
Cornelia Kleimitz
- The Value and Future Potential of Human Skeletal Remains Excavated at the Fourth Cataract 43
Tina Jakob
-

Reports

- A Century of Archaeological Salvage, 1907-2007 48
William Y. Adams
- The Nubian Cemetery at Hierakonpolis, Egypt. Results of the 2007 Season
- The C-Group Cemetery at Locality HK27C 57
Renée Friedman
- Overview of the Hierakonpolis C-Group Palaeopathology 63
Margaret Judd
- Overview of the Hierakonpolis C-Group Dental Remains 66
Joel D. Irish
- The Taharqo wall painting rescue project 72
Eric Miller, Pamela Rose and David Singleton
- Excavations in the Palace of Aspelta at Jebel Barkal, March 2007 82
Timothy Kendall and Pawel Wolf

- Bread Moulds from the Amun Temple at Dangeil, Nile State – an Addendum. 89
Julie R. Anderson, A. Catherine D'Andrea, Amanda Logan and Salah Mohamed Ahmed

- Rescue Excavation of a Late-Meroitic Tomb at Botri, South of Khartoum. Preliminary Report 94
Mahmoud Suliman Bashir

Akad Excavation Project

- Preliminary report on the 2005 and 2006 Seasons 98
Mohamed Faroug, Yassin M. Saeed and Alexandros Tsakos

- Report on the human skeletal material from Akad 107
Husna Taha el-Ata and Hwida Mohamed Adam

- Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan 112
Helen Taylor and Michal Bieniada

- The Sultan Ali Dinar Museum, el-Fasher. A window on Darfur's history 119
Pieter Tesch

- Victorian Gunboats in the 21st Century 122
Henry Keonn-Boyd

- A visit to a traditional leather tannery in Central Sudan 125
Lucy Skinner
-

Miscellaneous

Obituaries -

- Friedrich Wilhelm Hinkel (1925-2007) 127
Janice Yellin and William Y. Adams

- Patrice Lenoble (1942-2007) 128
Jacques Reinold

- Peter Lewis Shinnie (1915-2007) 129
Krzysztof Grzymiski

- Bruce Graham Trigger (1937-2006) 130
Krzysztof Grzymiski

Review -

- Włodzimierz Godlewski 2005. *Pachoras. The Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros. The Architecture* 132
Julie R. Anderson
-

Front cover: Village on the Island of Dirbi in the SARS concession above the Fourth Nile Cataract (photo: D. A. Welsby).



Excavations in the Palace of Aspelta at Jebel Barkal, March 2007

Timothy Kendall and Pawel Wolf

Introduction

In April 1996, the Archaeological Mission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, directed by T. Kendall, undertook exploratory excavations in the Napatan palace (B 1200) at Jebel Barkal (Kendall 1997). This structure, originally excavated by George A. Reisner between December 1918 and February 1919, had never been published, but a review of Reisner's data revealed that it had been built and rebuilt several times between early Dynasty 25 and the late Napatan period and consisted of multiple levels (Kendall 1991; 1997, 322-323). The excavations of 1996 exposed about half of a single large room, about a meter below ground level - under an earth layer upon which later palace walls were built. Inside this lower room were fallen columns, inscribed for Aspelta, which also bore unusual magical texts, indicating that the room had been used in ceremonies connected with the advent of the New Year. This room and presumably the entire palace of which it was a part had been destroyed by fire. Unfortunately, the 1996 excavations were severely limited by time, resources, and the team's capabilities, and it seemed that the full excavation and recording of B 1200 had to wait for future seasons.

In 2006, Kendall, now heading the same mission for

NCAM, invited Pawel Wolf to join the team as field director and proposed to him that they continue exploring B 1200. To this Wolf readily agreed. Accompanied by el-Hassan Ahmed Mohamed of NCAM, who participated in the 1996 season, the team also included Ulrike Nowotnick as archaeologist, draughtsman, and pottery recorder, Thomas Goldmann and Ronny Wutzler, as geophysicists, and student volunteers Jana Neumann, Judith Heymach and Lukas Goldmann. From March 4 to 29, 2007, employing up to 25 local workmen, the NCAM mission again set to work on the site of the 1996 excavations and was able to expose the Aspelta room in its virtual entirety. The results of the season are summarized below. Full details of these and other excavations at Jebel Barkal will be presented on the mission's forthcoming website www.jebelbarkal.org

Excavations in B 1200ASP, March 3-29, 2007

The eroded mud-brick walls of B 1200, visible on the surface, form a complex of rooms about 45 x 70m in size. At its center are rooms numbered by Reisner 1213, 1213a, 1215, 1217, 1218, 1221, 1222, which stand upon an earth fill 800-850mm deep. Directly under these rooms and their earth foundation are the remains of a single large room, datable by inscription to Aspelta (Figure 1). From our excavations this season, it was clear that Reisner had dug through the later rooms to reach the Aspelta floor and in the process had removed the entire original earth fill except that which lay beneath the later walls and the column drums. This fortunately preserved for us some record of the original stratigraphy between the levels. In order to fully expose the Aspelta level, we realized it would be necessary to remove the later walls and their foundations. Our work,

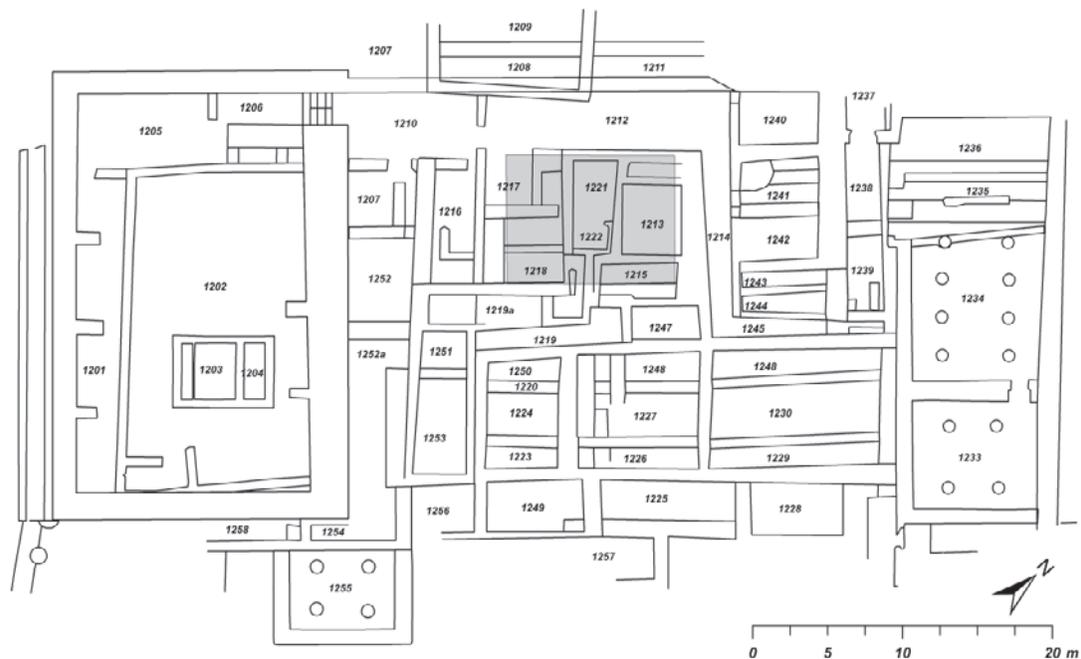


Figure 1. Schematic plan of B 1200, based on Reisner's map, with rooms numbered (after Kendall 1991, fig. 2). Shaded area indicates location and extent of underlying Aspelta room ASP-01 (scale 1:100).

therefore, required, first, that we document these walls fully before removing them, and second, that we excavate and document the underlying earth balks so they, too, could be removed. By leaving the late walls in place until the last phase of the excavations, we were able to use the Reisner room numbers of the upper level to designate sectors of the Aspelta floor below. During our final week, after surveying, photographing and selectively drawing the late walls in section (Plate 1), excavating and recording the earth balks on which they stood, and photographing all from directly above with a 5m ladder, we removed most of the later constructions in order to expose the full extent of the Aspelta level. Then, after photographing it from all angles, its floor plan was drawn at a scale of 1:50, showing all related objects *in situ* (Figure 2, Plates 2 and 3). When these tasks were completed, we had the remaining few days to lift, examine and photograph all the Aspelta blocks and column elements lying on the floor in order to record their texts and decorative information. Certain objects were moved to the Barkal Museum on March 27. If the objects were too heavy or



Plate 1. Section photograph of the north-east side of room 1218, showing the different layers of B 1200. Here, the foundation walls of the later Napatan palace can be seen rising from the surface of an earth layer (about 850mm deep) which was heaped over the ruins of ASP-01.

too fragile to move, we left them in place, and between March 27 and 29 we refilled the pit. Remarkably, all our tasks were completed on schedule, and we were blessed



Plate 2. The fallen north column of ASP-01 became the foundation for the north-west wall of later room 1213. The drums were uniformly cut down and flattened to make them level with the foundation floor of the later palace. Note that they lay on a layer of charcoal and mud from the fallen roof.

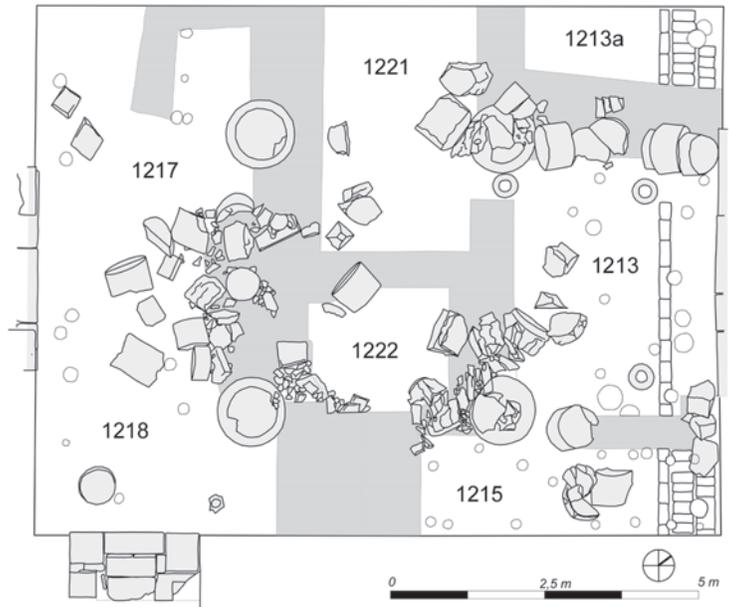


Figure 2. Plan of ASP-01. Shaded areas indicate where the walls of the upper layer remained standing prior to the excavations, and where intact layers of burned floor debris (80 to 100mm thick) still remain; these were left unexcavated to preserve the painted wall and ceiling fragments which they contain. The only area not yet excavated is the $2 \times 2.5\text{m}$ section of solid mud brick projecting from the center of the south-east wall (see Plate 3). (Scale 1:125, drawn by Ulrike Nowotnick).

with fine weather throughout the most delicate excavating and recording operations.

Since the Aspelta palace had a different floor plan from that built over it, we decided to adopt a new numbering system for the rooms of the lower level. Since we did not know which level of B 1200 it pertained to archaeologically, we designated the Aspelta palace B 1200ASP, with rooms numbered 01, 02, 03 etc. Since the great room we cleared in 2007 seemed to be the central room of the complex, we called it B 1200ASP-01.



Plate 3. Photographic overview of ASP-01, south west to north east, from above the main doorway.



Plate 4. Section photograph of the south-east wall of 1213a, showing the later palace walls, their earth foundation and, at the bottom, a layer of collapsed, burnt ceiling and roofing debris lying on the floor of ASP-01. Visible are the ends of three secondary rafters that had been laid north west to south east, across the main beam joining the north column to the north-east wall.

ASP-01 was laid out as a perfect rectangle 8.5 x 11.25m; its roof had been supported by four finely-shaped sandstone columns, 4.6m high. With the measurable remains of the burned wooden rafters still visible on the floor (Plate 4), we could estimate the ceiling height at nearly 5m.

The floor of the room consisted of a layer of mud about 20mm thick. Directly below the floor, the building stratum was exposed in some places – a muddy layer with chipped sandstone pieces and some potsherds. On the floor, we also observed traces of post-holes, either randomly placed, or arranged in rows, which suggested the placement of the scaffolding used by the various builders (i.e. bricklayers, stone masons, plasterers, painters, etc.) The walls of ASP-01 were 1.35m thick, and were built of sand/gravel-tempered mud bricks, 320 x 160 x 90mm in size. In some places, they remained intact up to a height of 2m.

This room has all the appearance of an audience hall. It is apparent by its décor that the room functioned as the ritual setting for ceremonies connected with the advent of the New Year and for “pacifying” the dangerous goddess associated with the five epagomenal days, which in our calendar would have occurred during the first days of August (Yoyotte 1980; Germond 1981; Zabkar 1988, 121-123; Kendall in press, Table 2). The columns were decorated with double registers of ‘year goddesses’ and were inscribed with their magical utterances, designed to protect the king for the New Year (Colour plate XXXV).¹ The focus of the room was the north-east (i.e. upstream = ‘south’) side, where

¹ Preliminary translations of the texts appeared (with misprinted transliterations) in Kendall 1997, 326-328, but we recovered many more fragments in 2007. These texts will be published on www.jebelbarkal.org as soon as they are drawn and properly studied.

there were four red sandstone sockets set into the floor,² each 400mm in diameter, with well-cut circular holes in their centers, 150mm in diameter and 400-420mm deep. Having been spaced to form a rectangle 2.3 x 3.01m, they either held wooden columns for a canopy, or baldachin under which the king sat, or they supported legs of a platform on which he sat, facing the south-west (i.e. downstream = ‘north’) wall, in the center of which there was a formal large doorway.³ The décor and arrangement of the room reminds us of Piye’s stated unwillingness, expressed in his Victory Stela, to start for Egypt until he had celebrated the New Year festival at Napata (FHN I, 77). The fact that the king would have faced downstream in this room may have anticipated his imminent association with the rising Nile, which was thought to begin on New Year’s Day – which was also the day when he celebrated his coronation (and its probable annual re-enactments) (Török 2002, 18).⁴

The central 4.65m of the north-east wall, directly behind the two rear sockets in the floor, was faced with stone, carved with reliefs and painted – unfortunately, today, almost entirely disappeared. Each end of this stone screen was framed by a vertical round moulding (“*Rundstab*”) (Plate 3). Probably, as it neared the ceiling, its upper edge was topped by a torus and cavetto. When a visitor entered the room through the doorway in the south-west wall, he would have beheld this stone facing wall perfectly framed between the two farther columns. In front of it, rising from the floor, he would have seen the apparatus set into the stone sockets. Presumably under it, or on it, he would have seen the king himself with his attendants.

There were two doorways in the room. The primary door, as stated, was in the center of the south-west wall. The base blocks of the jambs remain *in situ*, suggesting a door width about 1.92m – thus surely a double door. Fragments of four squared blocks inscribed on two faces with hieroglyphic texts were recovered nearby. Probably all came from the

² We excavated only three of these sockets, since the fourth lay under a layer of undisturbed burned debris, which we suspected preserved painted plaster fragments fallen from the ceiling. We felt it prudent to leave such deposits intact for the future, since we did not have the capability of removing the fragments whole or of preserving them.

³ A mud-brick pavement, about a meter wide, appears at floor level between the north-east wall and the nearest sockets, separating the two (see Figure 2). Because it has a slightly different orientation from the north-east wall, it may be part of an earlier level, which was removed for the construction of B 1200ASP. However, it was evidently white-plastered in the Aspelta period and may have served a function in ASP-01, although what that was is hard to fathom.

⁴ Various texts suggest that part – or sometimes all – of the coronation ceremony was conducted within the palace (see FHN II, 406; Kendall 1997, 339-343).

inscribed jambs. The highly fragmentary texts bear references to the various aspects of Amun: eg. Amun-Re, Bull of Ta-Seti, Re-Horakhty-Atum-Khepri and Amun-Kamutef (with ‘sportive’ writing emphasising ‘ka’ and ‘phallus’) (Plate 5).⁵ Some fragments bear repeated references to Heliopolis, apparently an alternate name of Jebel Barkal.⁶ Associated with these were two pieces of a cavetto cornice and a large fragmentary lintel carved with a winged sun disk with double *uraei*. Of the two doors, this one has the look of the formal entrance, through which officials probably entered to greet the king, or through which the king himself exited the palace to proceed to the temples. The smaller door, at the south end of the south-east wall, was only 1.26m wide. This was likely the door that gave access to the royal apart-

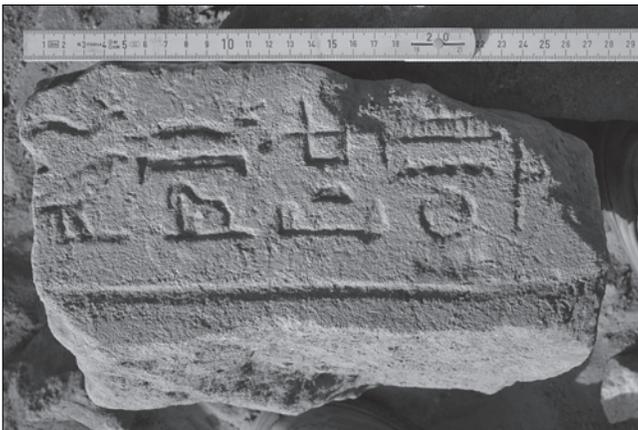


Plate 5. Fragment of an inscribed jamb from the main door in the south-west wall, ASP-01.

ments and may have been used primarily by members of the royal family and palace personnel.

The main feature of Egyptian private houses of the New Kingdom and of early Napatan houses like those discovered at el-Meragh was a central room supported by four high columns (Kendall 1982, 30 and refs; 2006-2007). This type of room, sometimes referred to in the literature as a loggia, was the central living room of all such houses and seems to have been the place where the owner entertained guests, took his meals, or could lounge comfortably in a cool darkened space lit only by clerestory windows. The rooms leading off this chamber would have been bedrooms and other private apartments. ASP-01, with its four columns and elaborate decoration, appears to have been the palace equivalent of the loggia. Despite its ritual décor, we may perhaps assume that this room was the main formal living room of the palace. The apotropaic spells on the columns would have probably been intended to serve the king well throughout the year, or whenever he was in residence at Napata.

The columns were extremely well made and finely deco-

rated. Their bases were 1.1m in diameter and 260mm high; they were composed of two semi-circular sections cemented together. These were not secured by dovetail joints, but their installation was so perfect that none showed signs of spreading. Above, each column consisted of nine drums. The lower seven formed a column of typical Egyptian papyrus bud form. The first, second, sixth and seventh drums were not carved but simply smooth-faced and painted. The third, fourth and fifth drums were carved with two registers of standing “year goddesses” (each holding a year sign) accompanied by their spoken utterances. A curious feature of these goddesses is that each is crowned with two sun disks - one apparently symbolizing the previous year and the other the coming year (Colour plate XXXV). Above the papyrus bud capital were two more sections: the eighth representing four adorsed ram heads and the ninth, their sun-disk crowns with *uraei* (Plates 6 and 7). Due to the highly fragmentary nature of the surviving pieces originally found, it was proposed in 1997 that the ram-head capitals bore only three heads per column (Kendall 1997, 328, fig. 5). This was an error; it is now clear that there were four ram-heads per column, each facing outward at 90°. While most of the



Plate 6. The ram-head capital from the west column of ASP-01.

fallen column elements preserved no trace of paint on their upper surfaces, we found, during the final days of the excavations, that wherever these stones lay embedded in the mud-roofing debris, their color was preserved in all its dazzling freshness (Colour plate XXXVI).

The room contained other, more enigmatic, painted-stone elements. The original report described two fragments of what appeared to be a single cubical object having a base 610mm square and 320mm high, carved with a sun disk on each face, in the center of which a *uraeus* emerged (Kendall 1997, fig. 6 and pl. IIb). Each *uraeus*, however, widened rapidly beyond normal *uraeus*-width, suggesting that it terminated in a human head. Unfortunately, no trace of the heads could be found. In 2007, the heads still eluded recovery, but we determined that at least two such objects had existed

⁵ For Amun of Jebel Barkal as Kamutef/Ka/Bull/Phallus, see Kendall in press, notes 24, 56-60, 89, 91, 93.

⁶ For Jebel Barkal as Heliopolis, see Kendall in press, note 32.

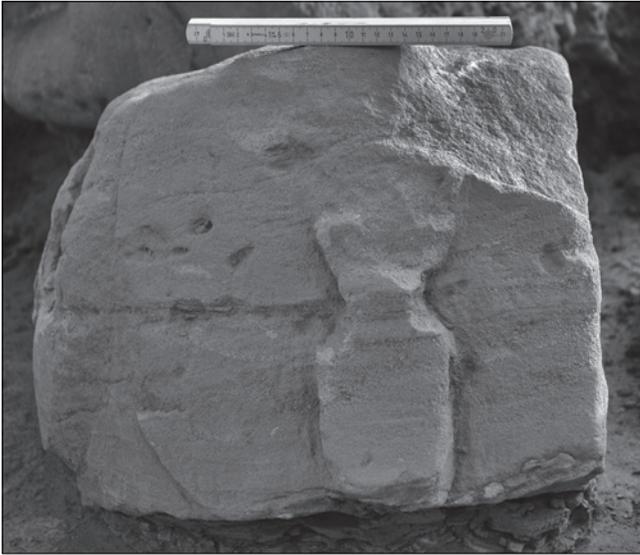


Plate 7. The sun disk capital that surmounted the ram-head element in Plate 6.

in the room and that they had each been brilliantly painted. On the final day of excavation, we recovered numerous painted fragments of these objects, revealing that the ‘sun disks’ were painted with necklaces, which had obviously girded the necks of the goddesses’ heads emerging from the *uraeus* bodies (Colour plate XXXVII). Since the room was associated with year-goddesses, and since these goddesses were associated with the ‘Eye of Re’ (the leonine/*uraeus* goddess whose anger had to be appeased for the New Year to begin), and since the ‘Eye of Re’ was thought to be embodied in the uraeiform pinnacle on Jebel Barkal, it seems that these odd cubical monuments related to the local cult of the “Eye”-*Uraeus* and the various goddesses associated with it (Kendall in press, notes 35, 46-54, passim).

All the walls of ASP-01 had evidently been plastered with mud, tempered with chopped organic material, and brightly painted. This plaster, about 20mm thick, still adhered to the walls only near the floor, and not surprisingly, almost everywhere it was scorched by the fire that had consumed the room. Within the debris of the excavations, however, we found many small fragments of painted mud. These appeared to be pieces of painted wall plaster from higher up on the walls that had obviously fallen into the room during the fire. Typically, these fragments were backed with mud plaster 13mm thick. The colors were red, white, light blue, grey, black, and yellow; sometimes two or three colors appeared on the same fragment. Sadly, no coherent designs could be recovered, but the fragments suggested fine work.

Most of the painted fragments we recovered came from plaster that had been applied to the ceiling. As we excavated near the floor, areas of painted surface appeared lying face up over others lying face down. Painted ceiling fragments could easily be distinguished from wall fragments by the fact that the former preserved impressions on the reverse of the parallel reed bundles, up to 35mm in diameter, which

had been laid across the secondary rafters of the ceiling. These impressions also revealed that the bundles had been bound by string. Once the ceiling material had caught fire, its underlying plaster surface fell to the floor in large fragments, landing face down, or face up (Colour plate XXXVIIIa).

Excavation of an area about 500mm² of floor debris in sector 1217 resulted in the recovery of several fitting fragments of a single design, which were lying face down. Piecing them together was aided by the uniform direction of the reed impressions on the reverse. The restorable motif appears to be a large *udjat* eye, about 400-450mm in size, the ‘whites’ and pendant elements painted in red, with the pupils painted in black, surrounded by two concentric circles of grey (blue?) (Colour plate XXXVIIIb). Fragments of several other such eyes, all of similar size and color, were found in different parts of the room, suggesting that the ceiling was entirely adorned with *udjat* eyes, again evocative of the cult of the “Eye of Re”-*Uraeus*-Pinnacle at Jebel Barkal (Kendall in press, n. 46). Other sections of ceiling decoration were colored with bright orange bands, intersecting at 90°.

The floor of ASP-01 had been entirely covered with a layer of coals and ash, 100 to 200mm deep, capped by a hard layer of mud, fallen from the roof or ceiling. Although largely removed by Reisner, this layer remained intact under the later walls, where we could still observe charred palm (and other wood) rafters well preserved and lying across the floors, especially in sectors 1215 and 1213a (Plate 4). Similarly, an extensive area of charred reed bundles, from under which the painted *udjat* eye fragments were extracted, still lay intact on the floor in 1217. From these two contexts we took carbon samples, two of which were analyzed by Beta Analytic Labs in Miami, Florida. The results are:

Beta 229825: sample of a burned roofing beam from the south-west end of sector 1215:

840-760 BC (2 sigma calibrated, 95% probability).⁷

Beta 229826: sample of reed bundles from the roof from sector 1217:

760-400 BC (2 sigma calibrated; 95% probability).⁸

Since both samples originate from building materials, they reflect a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the palace building. Whereas the first sample might reflect the use of aged wood in a new beam or the reuse of an old beam, the reed sample is more likely to be of the same age as the construction.

Discovering that such a building had been destroyed by burning forces us to ask how it might have caught fire. Buildings of mud brick and stone are not flammable, other

⁷ Conventional: 2620 ± 50 BP; intercept of C¹⁴ age with calibration curve: 800 BC.

⁸ Conventional: 2450 ± 40 BP; 1 sigma calibrated: 660-640 BC and 590-410 BC (68% probability); intercept of C¹⁴ age with calibration curve: 530 BC.

than their ceilings, which are made of reeds and palm logs. In the case of ASP-01, even the ceiling was coated with mud plaster, making it largely fire-resistant. Furthermore, we found neither pottery nor any trace of charred objects or furniture on the floor of ASP-01, which suggests that all moveable or valuable objects had been removed before the fire – either removed for safety or looted. The idea of an accidental fire, thus, seems highly unlikely particularly in view of the following data:

1. Reisner found that the main Amun temples had suffered fire damage contemporaneously
2. Ten royal statues that had stood in B 500 had all been vandalized and buried with fire debris, the latest member of the statue series being Aspelta himself.

This suggests that the fire was deliberately set, probably with great effort, in Aspelta's reign or soon afterwards and was spread all over the site so as to destroy the sanctuary and to leave it a ruin (Kendall 1991, 308; 1996, 468-476). The most likely agent of this destruction, and the one with the clearest motive, would seem to have been the Egyptian army of Psamtik II, which invaded Kush in 593 BC (Goedicke 1981; Bonnet and Valbelle 2005, 164-171). However, lacking explicit textual evidence from Psamtik's known stelae that his army ever ventured as far as Napata, some remain skeptical of this attribution (Török 1997, 366, 371-374). Unfortunately, the evidence from our excavations and from the radiocarbon dates in 2007 has produced nothing with which to resolve the issue.

After the destruction, no attempt was made to restore the Aspelta palace or to reuse its columns – perhaps because the protective spells of the goddesses had proven so ineffective. The columns were thus deliberately pulled down so that the sections fell on top of the mud layers of the fallen roof. That this felling of the columns occurred soon after the fire was evident by the fact that all the drums rested partly within the burned debris, and wherever their surfaces were embedded within it, their original bright painted colors were well preserved (Colour plates XXXV and XXXVI) This suggested that the paint had not long been exposed to the wind and elements and that the columns may have been pulled down within days or weeks of the fire.

Following this, some time passed before any new construction or restoration was undertaken. This is evident by the fact that the upper surfaces of the fallen columns were quite worn and had obviously been exposed to the elements for some time. A floor level or walking horizon of gravel and hardened mud debris within the south part of ASP-01 is associated with that intermediate period, since in those cases where column drums were protruding from that level, their relief decoration had completely worn away, and some stones had been rubbed and gouged by people scraping the stones to obtain *baraka* (blessings).

The evidence of these worn columns strongly suggests

that many years passed before construction of a new palace was undertaken over the old site. The first step in that process was the creation of a level earth foundation, up to about 850mm above the floor level of ASP-01, which was intended to cover all the Aspelta ruins and to provide clean ground on which to erect the walls of the new palace, configured to a new ground plan.⁹ Within the surviving traces of this earth foundation, we recovered many crude wheel-made beakers and jars, most intact or nearly so, indicating that debris and waste from another area nearby had been dumped here to create the fill. Alternatively, it is possible that these jars had been used as drinking vessels for water by the workmen hauling and dumping the earth - who had simply tossed them in the fill when they became cracked or broken.

An extraordinary chronological indicator of when this earth layer might have been laid down – and of how many years may have passed between the destruction of the Aspelta palace and the construction of its replacement - was found by us within this debris, under the wall separating 1221 and 1217. This was the head of a broken royal *shabti*. Oddly, this figure is unlike any found at Nuri, but certain stylistic affinities with the *shabtis* found in tombs Nu 10, 7, and 2, suggest that it probably dates to within the last three decades of the 6th century BC (Plate 8). This would seem to give us a *terminus post quem* for the building of the post-Aspelta palace.¹¹

Bibliography

- Bonnet, C. and D. Valbelle 2005. *Des pharaons venus d'Afrique: La cachette de Kerma*. Paris.
- FHN I. Eide, T., T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce and L. Török (eds) 1994. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD. Vol. I. From the Eighth to the Mid-fifth Century BC*. Bergen.
- FHN II. Eide, T., T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce and L. Török (eds) 1996.

⁹ It was probably this palace to which Irike-amanote went during his coronation at Napata in the later 5th century BC (FHN II, 406), and it was probably the same structure which Harsiotef described as having “collapsed” in his day, about 50 years later (FHN II, 455).

¹¹ The *shabti* head from B 1200 is larger and flatter than any found at Nuri. The face, 35mm wide and 52mm long, is abnormally long and has a square-cut beard. The head, 40mm thick, is also abnormally flat. The ears are very high; the sides of the *nemes* are strongly vertical, and the tail of the *uraeus* is modeled and passes over the top of the crown and down the back. By contrast, the *shabtis* from Nuri have smaller heads, usually nearly equal in height and width - seldom more than 30 x 30mm. They also have much greater depth, have longer, rounded beards, and more flaring *nemes* sides. Very few *shabtis* from Nuri have *uraei* with modeled tails. If dating by style is inexact at best, it must be said that some *shabtis* from Nu. 10 (Amani-nataki-lebte), Nu. 7 (Karkamani), and Nu. 2 (Aman-iastabarqo) have *uraeus* tails on the tops of their heads; those from Nu. 7 and Nu. 4 (Si'aspiqo?) also have faces longer than they are broad. Likewise, the modeling of the B 1200 face seems closer to these types than to those of the earlier 6th century. We are grateful to Dr Rita Freed for giving us access to the Nuri *shabtis* in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston.



Plate 8. Head of a royal shabti of the later 6th century BC, found in the earth fill beneath the north-west wall of 1217.

- Yoyotte, J. 1980. 'Une monumentale litanie de granite: Les Sekhmet d'Amenophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse', *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 87-88, 47-75.
- Zabkar, L. 1988. *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*. Hanover and London.

Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD. Vol. II. From the Mid-fifth to the First Century BC. Bergen.

- Germond, P. 1981. *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 9. Geneva.
- Goedicke, H. 1981. 'The Campaign of Psammetik II against Nubia', *MDAIK* 37, 187-198.
- Kendall, T. 1982. 'The House', in E. Brovarski, S. K. Doll, and R. E. Freed (eds). *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558-1085 B.C.* Boston, 25-34.
- Kendall, T. 1991. 'The Napatan Palace at Gebel Barkal: A First Look at B 1200', in W. V. Davies (ed.) *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, London, 302-313.
- Kendall, T. 1996. 'Fragments Lost and Found: Two Kushite Objects Augmented', in P. D. Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 2. Boston, 461-476.
- Kendall, T. 1997. 'Excavations at Gebel Barkal, 1996. Report of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sudan Mission', *Kush* 17, 320-354.
- Kendall, T. 2006-2007. 'Evidence for a Napatan Occupation of the Wadi Muqaddam: Excavations at Al-Meragh in the Bayuda Desert', in B. Gratien (ed.), *Hommages offerts à Francis Geus*. CRIPEL 26, 197-204.
- Kendall, T. (in press). 'Why did Taharqa build his tomb at Nuri?', in W. Godlewski (ed.). *Nubian Studies 2006: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August-September 2, 2006*. Warsaw.
- Török, L. 1997. *The Kingdom of Kush. Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization*. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, Band 31. Leiden, New York, Köln.
- Török, L. 2002. *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art: The Construction of the Kushite Mind (800 BC-300 AD)*. Leiden, Boston, Köln.



Colour plate XXXV. Jebel Barkal. Inscribed drums from fallen north column in ASP-01, preserving a complete figure of a “year goddess” with colour largely intact. Note that she wears twin sun disks on her head.



Colour plate XXXVI. Jebel Barkal. The fallen papyrus-bud capital from the north column of ASP-01, showing the excellent preservation of its painted surface where it was buried in the debris of the fallen roof.



Colour plate XXXVII. Jebel Barkal. Corner of a cubical sandstone object in which each face was apparently carved with a sun disk and uraeus (Kendall 1997, pl. IIIb). In 2007 more fragments of these objects were recovered with the paint well preserved, revealing that the lower halves of the sun disks had been painted with necklaces, suggesting that the “uraeus” beads were female and anthropomorphic. Unfortunately no trace of the heads was found.



Colour plates XXXVIIIa, b. Jebel Barkal. Conjoining fragments of painted plaster fallen from the ceiling of ASP-01. These were found face down in 1217, covered by a layer of charred reeds running north west to south east. Colour plate XXXVIIIa illustrates their reverse sides, showing the parallel impressions of the reed bundles of the ceiling, while XXXVIIIb illustrates their obverse sides, painted with what appear to be elements forming a large udjat eye.