

K U S H

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

14TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NUBIAN STUDIES

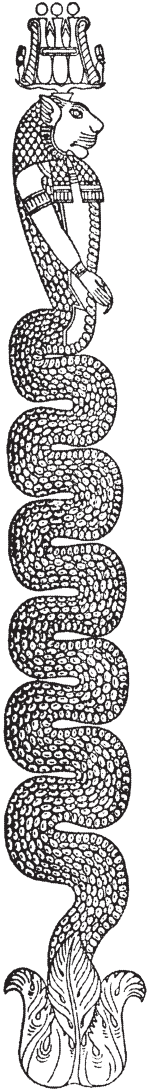
PARIS 2018

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2023

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 SORBONNE
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Preface

by SALAH ELDIN MOHAMED AHMED

General Coordinator of
the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project

When my colleague and friend Vincent Rondot called me before Christmas 2023 to ask if I would write the preface to these proceedings, we had entered the ninth month of the war in Sudan that began on the morning of 15 April 2023. Along with my colleagues and friends, I found myself in a state of shock at the destruction of our country's infrastructure, the looting of property, and the killing, rape and forced displacement of inhabitants, driven to various regions in Sudan and abroad. Vincent's call coincided with the war's sudden expansion hundreds of kilometres south of Khartoum. As archaeologists we were doubly grieved: by the loss of a country and its people and by the danger incurred by the cultural heritage of this region of the Nile Valley – what could happen, or has happened, to our museums in Khartoum, Nyala, El-Genaina and the city of Wad Madani in Al Jazirah, and the devastation threatening our archaeological sites throughout this territory so rich in remains.

In the midst of all of this fear, distress and frustration, our colleague Vincent's call provided a glimmer of hope at the end of the tunnel. It made me aware that there were still friends working for the good of this country where they had lived, mingling with its inhabitants and appreciating its history; and where they had spent decades conducting excavations of archaeological sites and research in libraries and laboratories, in an effort to discover and preserve the heritage of this part of the Nile Valley.

The focus on Sudan of the 14th International Conference for Nubian Studies held in Paris in September 2018 brought together hundreds of specialists from around the globe; and Sudan remains ever present in the minds of these friends, whose love for this country is not swayed by the current bleak situation. This conference was an extraordinary academic event. Let us note the remarkable presence of a large number of Sudanese researchers, made possible through generous financial support from the Qatar Museums Authority, which has funded over forty archaeological missions in Sudan in recent years. The conference centred on the work of the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project (QSAP), launched in the winter of 2013–2014.

Today, I am delighted to be writing the preface to the proceedings of this conference, the fruit of a successful partnership between the Musée du Louvre and Sorbonne Université. These proceedings, in two volumes, will be a tremendous addition to the bibliography of Sudanese antiquities and history. We are even more delighted that our Paris colleagues decided to publish this work in volume XX of the journal *Kush*, which, since its first publication seventy years ago, has been a precious heritage resource for the Sudanese National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. These two volumes, including contributions by more than seventy specialists, represent a major scholarly achievement in the field of Middle Nile Valley heritage, and will be accessible to hundreds of researchers and students. They encompass the results of multi-year efforts by dozens of researchers, who undertook fieldwork, laboratory and office studies covering all periods of Sudanese history, from Prehistory to the contemporary period; studies on museum collections, the management of archaeological and cultural sites and of heritage sites in general; and other additional specialised studies. This publication includes a list of references summarising the works of hundreds of researchers spanning more than a century. We are deeply grateful to the International Society for Nubian Studies, which, for more than half a century, has brought together specialists from around the world to present their latest research on the antiquities of this part of Africa to the global scientific community.

This achievement adds to the list of French contributions in Sudan, from the travels of Linant de Bellefonds and Frédéric Cailliaud in the first quarter of the 19th century, to the campaign to safeguard Nubian antiquities in the 1960s; numerous Sudanese sites at Mirgissa, Batn-el-Haggar, Sai Island, Sedeinga, Soleb and Kerma (with the Swiss mission), Kadruka and Gism Arba; and the resettlement sites related to the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (2003–2009) at El-Multaqa, Berber, Wadi El-Makabrab, El-Hobagi, El-Hassa, Muweis, Wad ben Naga, Soba, Al-Jerif East, Ariab in the Red Sea Hills, and Kordofan. A number of French institutions will live on in the memory of Sudanese archaeologists for their long-standing contributions to the discovery and preservation of the country's cultural heritage, and to training generations of Sudanese archaeologists who have gone on to manage this heritage and teach in Sudanese universities and institutes. These include the Lille and Sorbonne Universities, the Louvre Museum, the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), the International Centre for Earthen Architecture (CRAterre) at Grenoble University, the French National Institute for Preventive Archaeological Research (INRAP), the French Institute for Oriental Archaeology (IFAO), and lastly, the French Section of the Sudan Antiquities Authority (SFDAS, also known as French Unit). For over fifty five years, the SFDAS has been the only foreign archaeological institute permanently established in Sudan. Despite the war, its work has not stopped: it continues to carry out its mission from Cairo, alongside Sudanese antiquities authorities displaced to Egypt. The French Ministry

PREFACE

of Foreign Affairs and its embassy in Khartoum have been a cornerstone of this cooperation for decades.

We are confident that the current situation will not last, and that friends from around the world will come together once more in a safe Sudan, to continue to preserve the archaeological heritage of the Middle Nile Valley through major projects such as the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project.



Acknowledgments

by MARIE MILLET, VINCENT RONDOT,
FRÉDÉRIC PAYRAUDEAU, PIERRE TALLET

This publication is the culmination of a commitment made in summer 2014 when, at the concluding session of the 13th International Conference for Nubian Studies in Neuchâtel, it was announced that the conference's 14th edition would be held in Paris in four years. A partnership between the Musée du Louvre and the Sorbonne Université was sought from the outset for its organisation. Additionally, the bilateral cooperation programme between Sudan and Qatar that had been launched in 2008 was set to end after a decade, and the Qatar Museums Authority accepted an agreement in principle to fund travel to France for a number of Sudanese colleagues. Thus, from 10 to 15 September 2018, researchers from around the world gathered in central Paris at the Louvre *Michel Laclotte Auditorium*, the *Grand Amphithéâtre* of the Sorbonne and the lecture halls of the *Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art*, for the first conference of this scale ever held by our national museum. From the start, the idea of the conference was endorsed and supported by Jean-Luc Martinez, consistent with the initiative put forth by Henri Loyrette in 2006 for the Musée du Louvre to play an active role in international archaeological and museum research in Sudan. This commitment has taken two forms: firstly, the archaeological excavations undertaken in the Meroe region at Muweis (2007–2019) and, since 2020, at El-Hassa, twenty-five kilometres south of the pyramids of Meroe; and secondly, training programmes in Sudan and France for Sudanese museum personnel in the fields of collections care and conservation. This scientific collaboration with the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums resulted in exceptional loans from the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum for two exhibitions devoted to Sudan at the Louvre: *Méroé. Un empire sur le Nil*, held in 2010 and *Pharaon des Deux Terres. L'épopée africaine des rois de Napata*, held in 2022. Today, the Louvre is intent on upholding this commitment through a cooperation that is all the more important given the sudden return of instability in recent times. It is vital at this time to support our colleagues – in heritage departments, museums and universities – in order to maintain the international quality of research on collections and archaeological sites, to promote enhanced understanding of the history of the Middle Nile Valley and in this way, to participate in the preservation of heritage. Featuring fifty-five

contributions by more than sixty-five authors spanning from Prehistory to the contemporary period, the proceedings of the 14th International Conference for Nubian Studies in Paris are an exemplary representation of the Louvre's mission of international cooperation, and of the institution's pride in always striving for the universalisation of knowledge.

This publication would not have been possible without the support of our institutions, colleagues, students and volunteers. The teams from the Musée du Louvre, the Sorbonne and its *Centre de recherches égyptologiques*, the *UMR Orient et Méditerranée*, and the *Section française de la Direction de antiquités du Soudan*, were of great help in the organisation of the conference and the preparation of these proceedings for publication. We extend our heartfelt thanks to all involved in this undertaking. We are particularly grateful to the staff of Louvre's *Département des Antiquités égyptiennes*, whose involvement in 2018 was invaluable, as was their moral support during the proceedings editorial process, so vital to finalising this volume.

Salah Eldin Mohamed Ahmed, our interlocutor at the Qatar Museums Authority, and the author of the preface, was one of the architects of the conference, and the link enabling Sudanese museum and heritage service professionals to be present at the Paris conference. Ibrahim Musa, Director-General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, was consistently encouraging, despite the circumstances, during the final stages leading up to the publication of these proceedings, and throughout their preparation; Violaine Bouvet-Lanselle, Head of the Publications at the Musée du Louvre, provided the unwavering support so necessary to the publication of these proceedings. The *Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, as well as its printing house, which had produced volume XIX of the journal *Kush*, responded very favourably to the proposal for the publication of this XXth volume.

Abbreviations & General Bibliography

The bibliographic system adopted for this volume is adapted from that of *PRIMIS*, 2018; the abbreviations follow those of IFAO which are available on line (MATHIEU, *Abréviations*, 2023, <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/uploads/publications/enligne/IF1324.pdf>). The “Harvard System” has not been used, but the indication of the date of publication for each reference is maintained, and the references relating to each author are arranged according to the date of publication in order to facilitate navigation between the two systems.

In the same spirit, we have chosen to maintain the individual bibliography of each contribution within which the titles of articles and other works are given in extenso when the reference publication is only cited once, and in abbreviated form with the full reference title given in the general bibliography for references appearing at least twice. Museum and exhibition catalogues are classified separately at the beginning of the general bibliography.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAALiv</i>	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (Liverpool)
<i>AAR</i>	<i>African Archaeological Review. University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> (Cambridge)
<i>ABK</i>	<i>Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen</i> (Berlin)
Achet	Achet. Schriften zur Ägyptologie (Berlin)
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament (Wiesbaden)
<i>Aegyptus</i>	<i>Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia</i> (Milan)
<i>Aeragram</i>	<i>Aeragram. Newsletter of the Ancient Egypt Research Associates</i> (Boston)
<i>Afriques</i>	<i>Afriques. Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire</i> (Institut des mondes africains, Aix-en-Provence, Aubervilliers)
AfrPraehist	Africa praehistorica (Cologne)
<i>ÄgLev</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachgebiete</i> (Vienna)
<i>AJHIS</i>	<i>Athens Journal of History</i> (Athens)
<i>AJHB</i>	<i>American Journal of Human Biology</i> . Onlinelibrary.wiley.com
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> (Baltimore)
<i>AJPA</i>	<i>American Journal of Physical Anthropology</i> (Philadelphia)

ABBREVIATIONS & GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>AmAnt</i>	<i>American Antiquity</i> . Society for American Archaeology (Washington)
<i>AmAnthr</i>	<i>American Anthropologist</i> (Lancaster)
<i>AmJHG</i>	<i>American Journal of Human Genetics</i> (Chicago)
<i>AnHB</i>	<i>Annals of Human Biology: Journal of the Society for the Study of Human Biology</i> (London)
<i>AncEg</i>	<i>Ancient Egypt (and the East)</i> (London, New York)
<i>AnIsl</i>	<i>Annales islamologiques</i> . IFAO (Cairo)
<i>ANM</i>	<i>Archéologie du Nil Moyen</i> . Association pour la promotion de l'archéologie nilotique (Lille)
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Berlin, New York)
<i>Anthropologie</i>	<i>L'Anthropologie</i> (Paris)
<i>AnthrAnz</i>	<i>Anthropologischer Anzeiger</i> (Stuttgart)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity. Quarterly Review of Archaeology</i> (Newbury, Cambridge)
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und altes Testament</i> (Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn)
<i>Apocrypha</i>	<i>Apocrypha. Le champ des Apocryphes</i> (Paris)
<i>ARA</i>	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i> (Palo Alto)
<i>Arabica</i>	<i>Arabica. Journal of Arab and Islamic Studies</i> (Leiden)
<i>ARAM-Period.</i>	<i>ARAM Periodical</i> . ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies (Leuven)
<i>Archaeology</i>	<i>Archaeology. An Official Publication of the Archaeological Institute of America</i> (Boston)
<i>Archaeometry</i>	<i>Archaeometry. Bulletin of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art</i> . Oxford University (Oxford)
<i>ArchAnz</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger. Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> (Berlin)
<i>Archéo-Nil</i>	<i>Archéo-Nil. Revue de la Société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil</i> (Paris)
<i>ArchPol</i>	<i>Archaeologia polona</i> . Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw)
<i>ArchVer</i>	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen</i> . Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin, Mainz)
<i>AREEF</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports of the Egypt Exploration Fund</i> (London)
<i>ArOr (C)</i>	<i>Acta orientalia</i> . Societates orientales batava, danica, fennica, norvegia, suecica (Lund, Copenhagen)
<i>ArS</i>	<i>Archäologie im Sudan</i> (Muenster)
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> (Cairo)
<i>ASEg</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Egypt</i> (London)
<i>ASN</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Nubia</i> (Cairo)
<i>ASN Bull.</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of Nubia Bulletin</i> (Cairo)
<i>Azania</i>	<i>Azania</i> . British Institute in Eastern Africa (Nairobi)
<i>AWWS</i>	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Sprachenkommission</i> (Vienna)

ABBREVIATIONS

BÄBA	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Cairo, Wiesbaden)
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> . Macquarie University (Sydney)
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique. Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth (Paris)
<i>BAM</i>	<i>Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine</i> . Institut national des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine (Rabat)
<i>BAOM</i>	<i>Bulletin of Ancient Orient Museum</i> (Tokyo)
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series (London)
<i>BCE</i>	<i>Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne</i> . IFAO (Cairo)
<i>BCMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</i> (Cleveland)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> (Paris)
BCH-Suppl.	Supplément au BCH (Paris)
<i>BDJ</i>	<i>British Dental Journal</i> (London)
<i>BEPHE</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études</i> (Paris)
BeitrÄg	Beiträge zur Ägyptologie. Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Vienna)
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> (New York)
BESud	Brown Egyptological Studies (Providence, Rhode Island)
BiEtud	Bibliothèque d'étude. IFAO (Cairo)
BiGen	Bibliothèque générale. IFAO (Cairo)
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i> . Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (Leiden)
<i>BioRxiv</i>	<i>BioRxiv. The preprint server for biology</i> (Cold Spring Harbour Laboratory) www.biorxiv.org
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> . IFAO (Cairo)
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i> (Boston)
BMOP	British Museum Occasional Papers (London)
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> (London) http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/bmsaes
<i>BMSAP</i>	<i>Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris</i> (Paris)
BMPES	British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)
<i>BSF</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Sudanforschung</i> (Vienna)
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i> (Paris)
<i>BSNSN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société neuchâteloise des sciences naturelles</i> (Neuchâtel)
<i>BSPF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française</i> (Paris)
<i>CahAARS</i>	<i>Cahiers de l'Association des amis de l'art rupestre saharien</i> (St-Benoist-sur-Mer)
<i>CahKarn</i>	<i>Cahiers de Karnak</i> . Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak – CFEETK-CNRS (Paris)

ABBREVIATIONS & GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>CArchJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i> (Cambridge)
<i>Caesarodunum</i>	<i>Caesarodunum</i> . Bulletin de l'Institut d'études latines et du Centre de recherche A. Piganiol (Tours)
<i>CCE</i>	<i>Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne</i> . IFAO (Cairo)
<i>CCoptEnc</i>	<i>Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia</i> , Torjesen K. J., Gabra G., Takla H. N. (eds.), Claremont Graduate University (Claremont)
CENiM	Cahiers d'Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne. Institut d'égyptologie François Daumas, université Paul-Valéry (Montpellier)
CFEETK	Centre franco-égyptien d'études des temples de Karnak (Egypt)
CHANE	Culture & History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden, Boston)
<i>CHRB</i>	<i>Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines</i> (Besançon)
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, 1862 (Berlin)
CMMA	Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology (Oxford)
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique (France)
CNWS	Centrum voor Niet-Westerse Studies. Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (Leiden)
<i>CoptEnc</i>	<i>The Coptic Encyclopedia</i> , Atiya A. S. (ed.), New York, 1991.
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i> (Paris)
<i>CRE</i>	<i>Current Research in Egyptology</i> (Oxford)
<i>CRIPeL</i>	<i>Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille</i> . Université de Lille (Lille)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Université catholique de Louvain (Leuven)
<i>CSSH</i>	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i> . Cambridge University (The Hague)
CT	Egyptian Coffin Texts
<i>CTA</i>	<i>Cahiers techniques de l'art</i> (Strasbourg)
<i>CurrAnthr</i>	<i>Current Anthropology</i> (Chicago)
<i>DentAnthr</i>	<i>Dental Anthropology</i> (Cambridge)
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> (Washington, New York)
<i>DossArch</i>	<i>Dossiers d'archéologie</i> (Paris)
<i>Dotawo</i>	<i>Dotawo. A Journal of Nubian Studies</i> (Fairfield)
<i>EAO</i>	<i>Egypte, Afrique et Orient</i> . Centre vaclusien d'égyptologie (Avignon, Paris)
EES-OP	Egypt Exploration Society-Occasional Papers/Publications (London)
EES-TE	Egypt Exploration Society-Texts from Excavations (London)
<i>EgArch</i>	<i>Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i> (London)
<i>EgToday</i>	<i>Egyptology Today</i> (Warminster)
<i>EgUit</i>	<i>Egyptologische uitgaven</i> (Leiden)
<i>EtudTrav</i>	<i>Études et travaux. Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences</i> (Warsaw)
<i>EvAnthr</i>	<i>Evolutionary Anthropology</i> (New York)

ABBREVIATIONS

ExcMem	Excavation Memoirs. Egypt Exploration Society (London)
<i>FelRav</i>	<i>Felix Ravenna</i> (Faenza)
Festch.	Festschrift
Forsch.	Forschung(en)
<i>FHN</i>	Eide T., Hägg T., Pierce R.H., Török L., <i>Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD</i> , 4 vol., Bergen, 1994-2000.
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. IFAO (Cairo)
<i>Gallia</i>	<i>Gallia. Archéologie des Gaules</i> . CNRS (Paris)
<i>GAMAR</i>	<i>Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports</i> (Gdańsk)
<i>Genava</i>	<i>Genava. La revue des Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève</i> (Geneva)
<i>GeoJour</i>	<i>The Geographical Journal</i> . Royal Geographical Society (London)
GHP Egyptology	Golden House Publications. Egyptology (London)
<i>GöttMisz</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i> (Göttingen)
HAS	Harvard African Studies. Harvard University (Cambridge, Massachusetts)
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden, Boston)
HES	Harvard Egyptological Studies
<i>Homo</i>	<i>Homo. International Zeitschrift für die vergleichende Forschung am Menschen</i> . Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie (Amsterdam)
Homm.	Hommages
<i>Hugoye</i>	<i>Hugoye Journal of Syriac Studies</i> . Beth Mardutho – The Syriac Institute
IAEES	Italian Archaeological Expedition to the Eastern Sudan of the University of Naples “L'Orientale” (Naples)
<i>IANSa</i>	<i>Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica. Natural Sciences in Archaeology</i> (Olomouc)
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (Berlin)
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo)
<i>IJAHS</i>	<i>International Journal of African Historical Studies</i> (New York)
<i>IJO</i>	<i>International Journal of Osteoarchaeology</i> (Chichester, New York)
<i>Islam</i>	<i>Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients</i> (Berlin)
<i>JAA</i>	<i>Journal of Anthropological Archaeology</i> . University of Michigan (Ann Arbor)
<i>JAEA</i>	<i>The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture</i> (South Burlington, Vermont)
<i>JAEl</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</i> . University of Arizona (Tucson)
<i>JAHS</i>	<i>Journal of African History</i> (Cambridge)
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> (Boston, New York)
<i>JASR</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports</i> . Online. Elsevier.com
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . Egypt Exploration Society (London)
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i> . Th. Schneider ed. Board (Leiden)
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i> (Leiden)

ABBREVIATIONS & GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- JCA* *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*. Centre for Battlefield Archaeology, University of Glasgow (Glasgow)
- JFA* *Journal of Field Archaeology*. Association for Field Archaeology, Boston University (Boston)
- JLA* *Journal of Late Antiquity*. Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore, Maryland)
- JHE* *Journal of Human Evolution* (London)
- JIA* *Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology* (Rome, Heidelberg)
- JJP* *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*. Warsaw University, Institute of Archaeology, Department of Papyrology (Warsaw)
- JJP-Suppl.* *Journal of Juristic Papyrology. Supplements*. Warsaw University, Institute of Archaeology, Department of Papyrology (Warsaw)
- JMEMS* *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (Durham, N.C.)
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago (Chicago)
- JÖAI* *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts* (Vienna)
- JournAfr* *Journal des africanistes*. Société des africanistes, musée de l'Homme (Paris)
- JKult* *Jahrbuch preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin)
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies* (London)
- JSA* *Journal of Social Archaeology* (London)
- JSSEA* *Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities* (Toronto)
- JWP* *Journal of World Prehistory* (Dordrecht, New York). Online. Springer.com
- Kémi* *Kémi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et copte* (Paris)
- Kerma* *Kerma. Documents de la Mission archéologique suisse au Soudan*. Université de Neuchâtel (Neuchâtel)
- KMT* *KMT. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* (San Francisco)
- KRITA* KITCHEN K. A., *Rameside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Series A: Translations*, Oxford, 1993-2008.
- KSG* *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen* (Wiesbaden)
- Kush* *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* (Khartoum)
- LÄ* *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden)
- LCI* *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Kirschbaum E., Braunfels W. (eds.), Rome, Freiburg, Basel, Vienna, 1968-1976.
- LD* LEPSIUS K. R., *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Berlin, 1849-1859.
- Libyca* *Libyca*. Bulletin du Service des antiquités (Alger)
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zürich)
- MAAT* *MAAT. Nachrichten aus dem Staatlichen Museum Ägyptischer Kunst München* (Munich)
- MÄS* *Münchener ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, Munich)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>MÄSB</i>	<i>Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> (Berlin)
<i>Mansueto Res Pap</i>	<i>Mansueto Institute for Urban Innovation Research Paper</i> (Chicago)
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> (Wiesbaden, Mainz)
<i>MedMus-Bull</i>	<i>Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin</i> . Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Stockholm)
Meroitica	Meroitica (Berlin)
<i>MeroitNewsI</i>	<i>Meroitic Newsletter</i> (Paris)
Mél.	Mélanges
MIFAO	Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. IFAO (Cairo)
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i> . Metropolitan Museum (New York)
<i>MittSAG</i>	<i>Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e. V.</i> (Berlin)
MRE	Monographies Reine Élisabeth. Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles)
<i>Muséon</i>	<i>Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales</i> (Leuven)
<i>NAR</i>	<i>Norwegian Archaeological Review</i> (Oslo)
<i>Nature</i>	<i>Nature</i> . Nature Publishing Group (London)
<i>NatCommun</i>	<i>Nature Communications</i> . Nature Publishing Group (London)
<i>NeHeT</i>	<i>NeHeT. Revue numérique d'égyptologie</i> . Université Paris-Sorbonne, Université Libre de Bruxelles
<i>Nekhen News</i>	<i>Nekhen News. The Hierakonpolis Expedition's Newsletter</i> . The Friends of Nekhen (London)
NS	Nova Series
<i>NubLett</i>	<i>Nubian Letters</i> (The Hague)
<i>NyAk</i>	<i>Nyame Akuma. Newsletter of African Archaeology</i> . Society of Africanist Archaeologists, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary (Calgary)
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , Kazhdan A.P. (ed.), New York, Oxford, 1991.
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (online edition) https://www.oxforddnb.com
OI	Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago)
<i>OIJR</i>	<i>Online International Interdisciplinary Research Journal</i> (Kolhapur, Maharashtra)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. University of Chicago (Chicago)
OINE	Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago)
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta. Département d'études orientales, université catholique (Leuven)
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> (Berlin)

ABBREVIATIONS & GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>OrAnt</i>	<i>Oriens antiquus. Rivista del centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente</i> (Rome)
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens christianus. Halbjahreshefte für die Kunde des christlichen Oriens</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>Orientalia</i>	<i>Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti biblici</i> (Rome)
<i>Origini</i>	<i>Origini. Preistoria e protostoria delle civiltà antiche</i> (Rome)
<i>OrSuec</i>	<i>Orientalia suecana</i> (Uppsala)
<i>OW</i>	<i>Old World: Journal of Ancient Africa and Eurasia</i> . Online. Brill.com
<i>P. QI 3</i>	BROWNE G. M., <i>Old Nubian texts from Qasr Ibrīm</i> , vol. 3, London, 1991.
<i>P. QI 4</i>	RUFFIN G. R., <i>The Bishop, the Eparch and the King, Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim IV</i> , Warsaw, 2014.
<i>PAM</i>	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i> . PCMA (Warsaw)
<i>PapCol</i>	<i>Papyrologica coloniensi</i> (Cologne)
<i>PatrOr</i>	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i> (Turnhout, Paris)
<i>PCMA</i>	Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology. University of Warsaw (Warsaw)
<i>PES</i>	<i>Pražské egyptologické studie</i> . Charles University (Prague)
<i>Phoenix</i>	<i>Phoenix. Bull. uitgegeven door het vooraziatisch-egypt. Genootschap. Ex Oriente Lux</i> (Leiden)
<i>PM</i>	PORTER B., MOSS R. L. B., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , 7 volumes, Oxford, 1927-1995.
<i>PLOS Gen</i>	<i>PLOS Genetics</i> (San Francisco). Online. Journals.plos.org
<i>PLOS One</i>	<i>PLOS One</i> (San Francisco, Cambridge). Online. Journals.plos.org
<i>PNAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America</i> (Washington)
<i>PPP</i>	<i>Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology</i> (Amsterdam)
<i>ProblÄg</i>	<i>Probleme der Ägyptologie</i> (Leiden)
<i>PTRS B</i>	<i>Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London B. Biological Sciences</i> (London)
<i>QI</i>	<i>Quaternary International</i> (Oxford)
<i>QSR</i>	<i>Quaternary Science Reviews</i> (Amsterdam)
<i>RAHAL</i>	<i>Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain</i> (Leuven)
<i>RAPH</i>	<i>Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire</i> . IFAO (Cairo)
<i>RCK</i>	<i>The Royal Cemeteries of Kush</i> (Boston)
<i>RCRF</i>	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> (Oxford)
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i> . Société française d'égyptologie (Paris)
<i>RdO</i>	<i>Routes de l'Orient. Revue d'archéologie de l'Orient ancien</i> . Association Routes de l'Orient (Paris)
<i>REM</i>	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique. Corpus des inscriptions publiées</i> , Leclant J. (ed.), Paris, 2000.
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> (Paris)

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RevArch</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i> (Paris)
<i>RevLouvre</i>	<i>Revue du Louvre et des musées de France</i> (Paris)
<i>RevPaléobio</i>	<i>Revue de paléobiologie</i> . Muséum d'histoire naturelle (Geneva)
<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i> (Strasbourg)
<i>RSE</i>	<i>Rassegna di Studi Etiopici</i> (Rome)
<i>SAAC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization</i> . Jagiellonian University (Krakow)
<i>SAArch</i>	<i>Studies in African Archaeology</i> . Poznan Archaeology Museum (Poznan)
<i>Saeculum</i>	<i>Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte</i> (Fribourg, Munich)
<i>SAGA</i>	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
<i>Sahara</i>	<i>Sahara. Preistoria e storia del Sahara</i> (Milan)
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> (Hamburg)
<i>SAOC</i>	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations (Chicago)
<i>SARS</i>	Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)
<i>SARS-Publ.</i>	Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publications (London)
<i>SASOP</i>	Sudan Antiquities Service, Occasional Papers (Khartoum)
<i>SAWW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse (Vienna)
<i>SDAIK</i>	Sonderschrift des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Mainz)
<i>SFDAS</i>	Section française de la Direction des antiquités du Soudan (Khartoum)
<i>SGKAO</i>	Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)
<i>SGUA</i>	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten (Strasbourg, Berlin, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Wiesbaden)
<i>SEP</i>	<i>Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia</i> . Rivista internazionale (Pisa, Rome)
<i>Sieglin Exp.</i>	Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten (Leipzig)
<i>SJE</i>	Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (Odense)
<i>SNM</i>	Sudan National Museum (Khartoum)
<i>SNRec</i>	<i>Sudan Notes and Records</i> (Khartoum)
<i>SRAT</i>	Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)
<i>StudAeg</i>	<i>Studia aegyptiaca</i> (Budapest)
<i>StudEgypt</i>	Studies in Egyptology (London)
<i>StudPohl</i>	<i>Studia Pohl</i> (Rome)
<i>SudNub</i>	<i>Sudan & Nubia</i> . Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)
<i>SymbOsl</i>	<i>Symbolae osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies</i> (Oslo)
<i>Syria</i>	<i>Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i> (Paris)
<i>TAVO</i>	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswiss.), no. 1, Beihefte (Wiesbaden)
<i>TT</i>	Theban Tomb
<i>UEE</i>	<i>UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology</i> , Wendrich W. (ed.), Los Angeles. https://uee.ucla.edu/
<i>UNESCO</i>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Paris)

<i>Urk.</i>	<i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> (Leipzig, Berlin)
<i>VicOr</i>	<i>Vicino Oriente. Annuario dell'Instituto di studi del Vicino Oriente dell'Università di Roma</i> (Rome)
<i>Wb</i>	ERMAN A., GRAPOW H., <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 5 volumes, Leipzig, Berlin, 1926-1931.
<i>WorldArch</i>	<i>World Archaeology</i> . University College (London)
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen)
WZB	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> (Berlin)
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> (Leipzig, Berlin)
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> (Bonn)

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Natakamani Palace at Jebel Barkal

Old information and news on B1500*

by EMANUELE M. CIAMPINI

During the 2016 and 2017 seasons, the focus of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan at Jebel Barkal, has been the monumental Palace of Natakamani (B1500), whose structure represents the core of the whole Meroitic district of Napata. The general plan and the architectural features of the palace are now clear enough. Year by year our understanding of the complex has been enriched by new data unearthed during the excavations in a new sector of the building, as well as in an area already investigated. Thus, during these two seasons, and as a result of the 2015 excavations, the Italian Mission has focused not only on the structure of the palace, but also on new data, represented by evidence of a pre-palatial period widely dispersed across the Meroitic sector of Napata.¹

The discovery of architectural remains, most of them characterized by an impressive monumental nature, forces us to write the history of this part of the site anew; what we could state in the conclusion of this text represents a preliminary attempt to reconstruct the use of the area, with its complex stratification of buildings and their uses.

* The Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal, is supported by several institutions: the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, the Italian Ministero degli Affari Esteri, the Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia and the Qatar–Sudan Archaeological Project (project number: QSAPA.34). The activity of the mission was presented in the Exhibition: *Il Leone e la Montagna. Scavi Italiani in Sudan* (October 2019 – February 2020: Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco – Venice, University Ca' Foscari, Ca' Bottacin) with the main financial support of the Qatar–Sudan Archaeological Project.

¹ This new data has already been announced at the Congress of Meroitic Studies, held in Prague (CIAMPINI, SALVADOR, BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER, *The Meroitic Royal District at Napata: Perspectives in the Digging of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal*). For a new update of the palace of Natakamani, and more generally, of the Meroitic royal city, Cat. ex. *Il Leone e la Montagna*, 2019.

A COOKING COMPOUND AND OTHER PRE-PALATIAL EVIDENCE IN B1500

In the 2015 season, the investigations brought to light the first evidence of pre-palatial structures. We were dealing with massive walls, built with the same masonry and the same technique recognised in the architecture of the palace.² In the following season (2016), the investigations moved along the western perimeter wall. The aim of the excavations was to reach the inner area of the monumental western gate, where previous excavations had brought to light, in the debris of the casemate foundations, several tokens and clay-sealings. Here, the building structure is ruled by two large N/E–S/W mud brick walls, that enclosed a wide casemate. This area, already present in the old plan of the palace, was supposed to have been the foundation level of an open court; nevertheless, deeper digging offered us some more information about its features and use. Indeed, just under

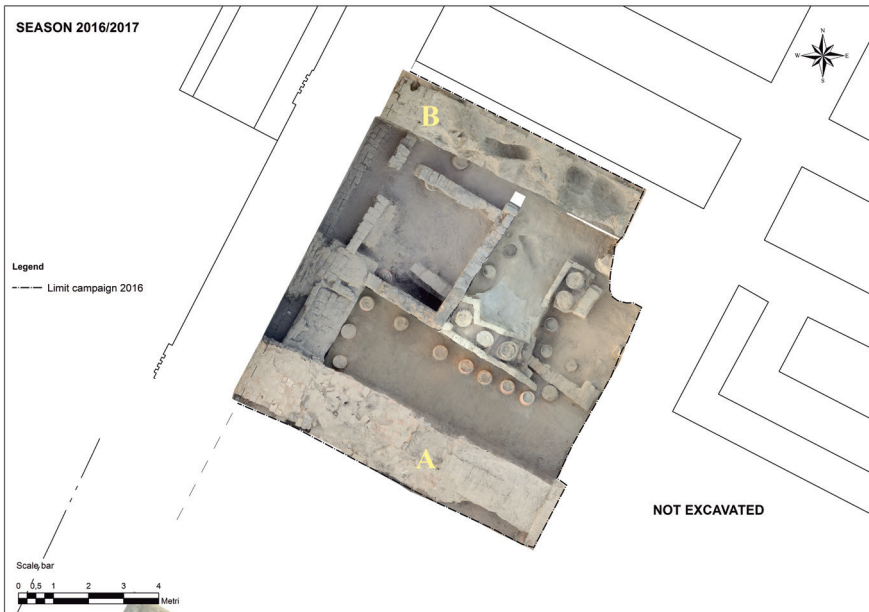


Fig. 1. Palace B1500, 2016 season: the kitchen compound, with the massive walls that outline the casemate (A: south; B: north). © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal–Martino Gottardo.

² We can also note that the size of the bricks is perfectly coherent with the traditional ones used in the palace B1500. Technical and architectural features let us suppose a little bit earlier date of the pre-palatial foundation, maybe less than a couple of centuries, before the Natakamani royal city.

the ground level, excavations identified an area for cooking, probably connected with the storage sector of the palace. The small structure, comprising an oven (see below), is probably dated to a late phase of the palace, as testified by its foundation levels, coherent with the casemate walls of the foundations (Fig. 1).

The empty interior of the room still preserves a layer of ash, which testifies to the presence of fire. The evidence for cooking is given by a smaller compound, directly added to the corner of the room. Here, a thin wall encompassed a narrow space, where multiple hearths were located (Fig. 2). It consisted of three large, upside down jars, with three other smaller pots in the interior, and some more pots were added beside the main hearth. In close connection with this hearth complex, the investigation found massive evidence of charcoal and ash mixed with sand and furthermore, the surface of the pots show traces of fire. Despite this clear evidence of use, the total lack of any animal bones or vegetal seeds mixed with the remains of the fire (i.e. charcoal and ash) is noteworthy, and on the contrary, a massive presence of stone fragments probably belonging to millstones or other similar tools.

The chronology of this cluster, comprising the open room and the three-fire hearth, seems to be coeval with the palace. More precisely, the arrangement of the area outlined by the casemate walls probably belonged to a second period



Fig. 2. Palace B1500, 2016 season: the three-fire hearth, view from south. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

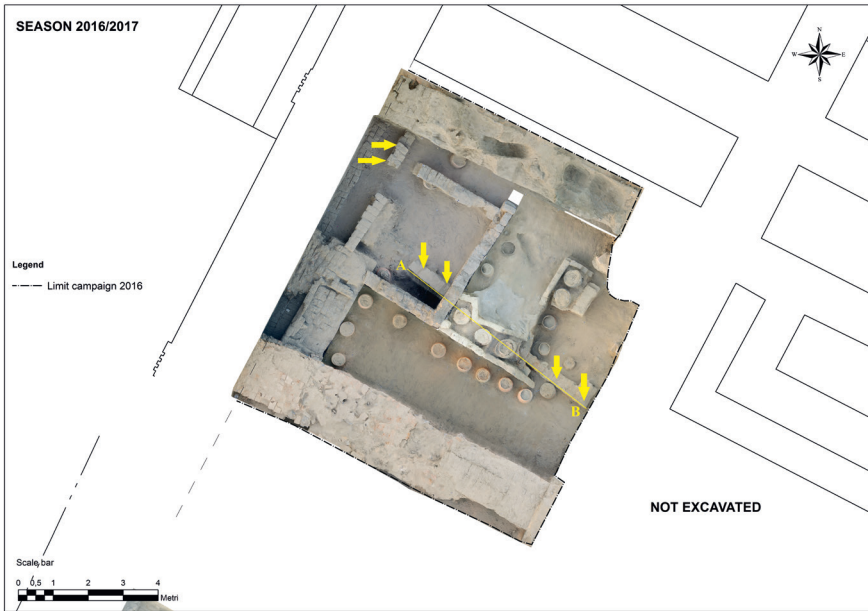


Fig. 3. Palace B1500, 2016 season: the phase I, with the small walls under the foundations of the kitchen compound. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal–Martino Gottardo.

of the palace's use, as confirmed, for instance, by the masonry of the hearth's walls, which were smaller and probably built in the inner area of the already existing casemate. If this interpretation is correct, we can suppose at least two main periods in the use of the palace, with a second one that could represent a new arrangement of specific clusters of the palatial structure, such as the storage of goods and cooking. We may be dealing with a service compound close to the western entrance, clearly separated from it by means of the wall, built in correspondence with the massive northern foundation of the casemate. The same small wall of the aforementioned compound also defined the passage to the inner part of the main western gate. In the same area, we recognised evidence of the remains of another smaller structure, whose date is older than the palace (phase I) (Fig. 3).³ Its (very poor) masonry, does not fit with the monumental pre-palatial walls unearthed in the 2015 season, and may represent another phase in the use of that area, before the development of the new plan of the Natakamani architects (see below).

³ It is noteworthy the alignment of the small wall of this structure, marked as A–B in the Fig. 3, which testifies to the coherence of this high probably smaller building, sealed by the later foundations.



Fig. 4. The pre-palatial row of jars, south of the kitchen compound. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

The archaeological context of this small room with its three-fire hearth fits with the interpretation of the palace of Natakamani as a temporary residential place.⁴ From this perspective, the Napatan–Meroitic palace should represent a fundamental support in royal propaganda, being at the same time a place for official ceremonies, as well as a seat for the presence of the king and his court. The use of the room as a cooking compound, just south of the western gate, should testify to a continuity of use in that area. Indeed, during the same season, and besides the evidence of the cooking room, other interesting structures were brought to light. Under the ground level of the cooking room, excavations unearthed a double row of pots (Fig. 4), which seem to be partially coherent with the plan of the service area. The typology and size of the pots are similar, with a maximum diameter of about 30 cm. which means that we are probably dealing with a storage sector, dated to the pre-palatial period. The date of these pots is probably the same as the small wall of the phase I (see Fig. 3), and the lack of any evidence of fire might

⁴ The function of the royal palaces in the main cities of the kingdom, at first Meroe and Napata, has been stressed by MAILLOT, *BIFAO* 115, 2015, partic. 290-291; for a wider presentation of the palaces in the Meroitic kingdom, see MAILLOT, *Palais et grandes demeures*, 2016.

confirm their use for storage. However, a careful analysis of the archaeological data led us to suppose a long history of use and organization of the area and of the pots rows as well. Indeed, beside them, other similar pots were discovered in other locations in the same small room and in other areas (see, for instance, the pot found in the sounding undertaken north of the western gate).⁵ All these other pots had a particular position, being left under the foundations of the casemates of the palace, in correspondence with the northern wall, and under the foundation of the small room as well (Fig. 5).

The use and the date of this storage installation is far from sure: with our current knowledge, the information seems to connect it with the monumental pre-palatial foundation, already identified under other parts of the platform foundation. We should also note that the area retained a service function in the second Natakamani period, when this cluster was reorganized for cooking. Coeval to this last phase could be the transformation of a mud brick wall, aligned with the southern wall of the casemate (Fig. 6): it might belong to the first plan of the palace, later transformed into a new structure. Part of it was destroyed in order to create a flat surface with an unknown use, perfectly covered with fragments of red bricks, still clearly recognisable.

In conclusion, the information derived from the 2016 season testifies to at least two phases of the palace, with the new organisation of a service cluster, represented by the cooking area. At the same time, this compound is located in an area that was probably used for storage in the pre-palatial period.⁶ We are dealing with a particular connection between the use of the area before Natakamani, and the foundation of the royal city, a connection which is still to be well defined and studied, but that could represent a kind of architectural *continuum*.

THE FOUNDATIONS IN THE CENTRE OF THE PALACE

One of the most characteristic and impressive features of the Natakamani palace in Napata is the monumental system represented by the northern entrance court, the hypostyle hall and the peristyle court. The three structures have often

⁵ This pot discovered during the season 2013 in the south-western area of the palace platform and supposed at the first sight to have been part of a post-meroitic phase (CIAMPINI, in *Nubian Archaeology*, 2018, 403-404 and fig. 18), might better belong to the same (or to a similar) storage compound; this should testify to a wider pre-palatial storing area, reused in the foundation of the building. In a long period programme, the mission should aim to plan a sounding in some sectors of the platform, in order to outline the profile of other remains of this older storing compound.

⁶ We may wonder whether this coherence in using during the two phases (pre- and palatial period) could depend on the natural feature of the sector, which could ensure the safety of the storage structure.



Fig. 5. Some pre-palatial jars sealed in the kitchen compound and in the foundation of the palace casemate. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.



Fig. 6. The double level of foundations in wall A of the casemate dug in the 2017 season. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

been analysed as example of a Meroitic *interpretatio* of some specific architectural patterns, such as the Hellenistic model of the royal palace.⁷ The history of its study is entirely connected with the activity of the mission: indeed, the central court was already visible on the ground during the first steps of the investigation. In recent years, the central part of the palace has become a new focus for research. The discovery of the pre-palatial structures under the foundation of the western perimeter wall, and the necessity of investigation just at the south-west of the peristyle, led us to plan an excavation in the area corresponding to the massive perimeter wall of the central court.

⁷ CIAMPINI, in *Nubian Archaeology*, 2018, 405.

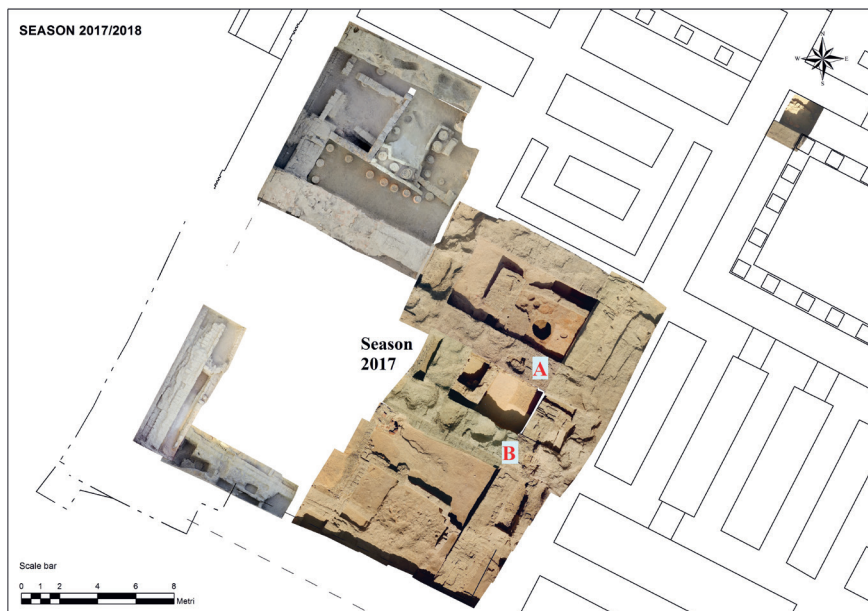


Fig. 7. Palace B1500, 2017 season. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal–Martino Gottardo.



Fig. 8. The double level of the foundations in the casemate wall at north of the field 2017. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

The new excavation was begun in the 2017 season, with a trench in the south-western corner of the platform (Fig. 7). Here, the main feature is a couple of foundation walls (A and B in the plan), connected to each other by a system of other walls, creating the typical net structure of the casemate; their regular size, about 135 cm wide, confirms the organic unity of the plan, also evident in the use of the traditional building technique using vertical mud bricks. This typical Meroitic masonry can alternate with the oblique foundations in the pre-palatial walls, found in the same context. The foundations show a particular arrangement in the vertical mud brick of wall A, which seems to have joined at least two different sections (Fig. 8): a first, eastern section (Fig. 8, A), where the foundations are in a higher level, and a second, western section (Fig. 8, B), just after the cut of the pre-palatial wall (see below), where the foundations are in a deeper level. This architectural arrangement may testify to the careful plan of the Meroitic architects, who built the foundations not in a flat area, but rather on sloping ground. The original topographical context was marked by a small hill, maybe a result of the pre-palatial structures that were removed during the work for the royal city. This small hill corresponds with the central peristyle court, whose foundations make us suppose a system of massive walls in order to ensure stability to the structure. Indeed, as well as the double level in the foundation walls of the casemate just mentioned, the investigation brought to light other pre-palatial evidence used in strengthening the basement of the central platform.

The evidence for the pre-palatial foundations at the south-west of the peristyle represent another result of the 2017 season. Right next to the central court, the masonry preserves the evidence of a massive older structure, framed in the system of the palace walls (Fig. 9, wall C). The foundation levels of the pre-palatial walls are deeper than those of the palace, with the first layer of bricks in a vertical or oblique position. The result of this pre-palatial and palatial plan is a unique net of walls, with the aforementioned double-level foundations. Besides these architectural features, the investigations revealed the regular cut of the pre-palatial wall during the building of the palace (Fig. 10). This could mean that the new walls had no direct connection with the old ones: thus, the sections of the pre-palatial structures may not have been preserved as foundations, but rather as reinforcement in the sloping side of the mound. If this suggestion is correct, we are dealing with a refined architectural project for the palace, whose basement was strengthened by means of the casemate system, as shown by the different levels of the vertical layers of mud bricks, and with the use of the older structures as well.

According to this reconstruction, the plan of the great palace sealed an architectural situation, whose main features can also be recognised by means of the archaeological investigation. The evidence of the walls under the foundation of the western perimeter enclosure fits with the similar structures encapsulated in the casemates just described, and which are only a part of a probably more complex history. In the middle of the northern casemate, for instance, excavations discovered a massive mud brick structure, which does not seem to have been



Fig. 9. The profile of the pre-palatial wall (yellow lines) framed by the palatial walls. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

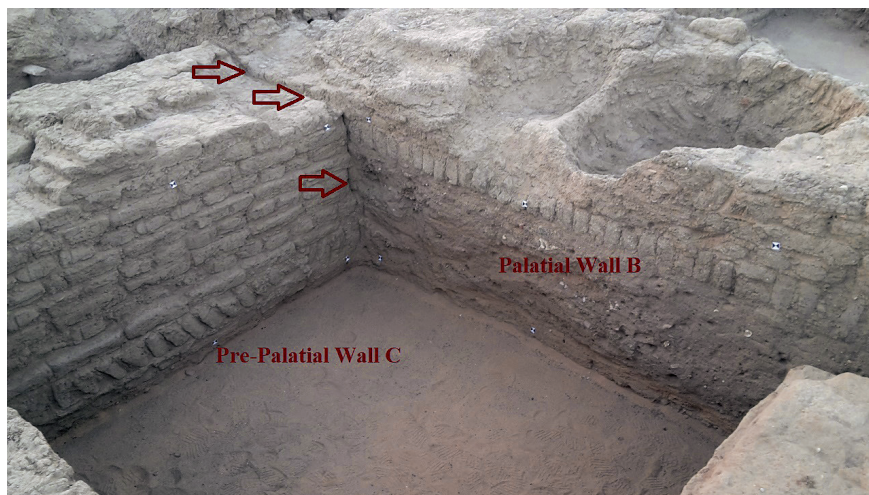


Fig. 10. The cut in the joint of the pre- and palatial foundations. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.



Fig. 11. The pre-palatial platform, encased by the casemate foundations. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

part of the pre-palatial wall system: it is an isolated element (something similar to the small platforms, well known in the Natakamani architecture), built on at least two small hearths in correspondence with its two corners at the western side (Fig. 11), that resemble a sort of foundation. Its nature has not been defined, but if its designation as a platform is correct, it could have played some ceremonial role in the context of the pre-palatial organization of the area.

THE PALACE OF NATAKAMANI: AN ARCHITECTURAL PALIMPSEST

All the information derived from the previous seasons lead us to suppose a careful work in planning the whole structure by the Meroitic architects. The plan of the edifice clearly testifies to at least two different pre-palatial phases (see above, the small structures in the kitchen compound, season 2016) and several palatial periods of use. All of these data represent the relative chronology of the buildings of the Natakamani royal city. This archaeological evidence suggests a use of the area before, during and after the reign of Natakamani. Indeed, excavation has recovered evidence of a constant presence on the site of scattered people who irregularly dwelt in the remains of the royal city (hearths, post holes, etc.), exploiting what survived of the ancient structures after the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom.

OLD EXCAVATIONS AND NEW INFORMATION

In this part of the paper, I would like to report on some data that emerged during the 2017 season, that provides an update in our comprehension of the palace and a confirmation of the necessity of a new approach to the investigations. During that season, the mission made two surveys (Fig. 12): the first was undertaken in correspondence with the northern façade of the palace, just east of the “Lion Gate” (A), while the second investigated the north-western corner of the peristyle (B).

The small platform joining the northern façade of the palace. On the northern façade of the palace, the excavations undertaken by Sergio Donadoni brought to light a small platform with stairs, lying just west of the “Lion Gate” (Fig. 13). The structure was supposed to have been a secondary access to the palace, close to the monumental northern entrance. The new excavations posed several questions concerning the use and the date of the platform: it consists in a square building, with a narrower lateral ramp of stairs, open to the east. Absolutely remarkable is the absence of the typical vertical mud brick foundations, while all the structure was built with red bricks, in part removed from older buildings, as proved by some plaster covering on some of them.

The original interpretation of the platform as a secondary entrance, proposed by Donadoni, is now difficult to accept. The lack of any evidence for an entrance in the perimeter wall of the northern façade, despite the severe destruction of it, and also the new platform discovered in front of the western entrance (2012 season), make us suppose a different use. This platform and its staircase seem to have been built after the decoration of the façade, and could belong to a second phase of the palace, even though all the platforms of the four monumental gates were added after the complete decoration of the building. Probably, this small structure was part of the ceremonial arrangement of the northern façade, being the most representative part of the building open to a kind of dromos. The arrangement of this wide area is confirmed by the presence of a monumental pavillion (B3200), just north-east of the “Lion Gate”. If this interpretation is correct, we could suppose that the platform was used as a ceremonial place for the royal appearance, connected with the decorative programme of the monumental entrance, ruled by the presence of lions.

The sondage in the north-western corner of the peristyle. A second noteworthy result of the same season has been a small excavation in the north-western corner of the central court. This part of the palace represents the core of the edifice, joining the several clusters that formed the architectural unity of the building. The new sondage aimed to confirm the setting of the foundations in the area of the peristyle, but its result was more significant. Indeed, the excavation brought

NATAKAMANI PALACE AT JEBEL BARKAL

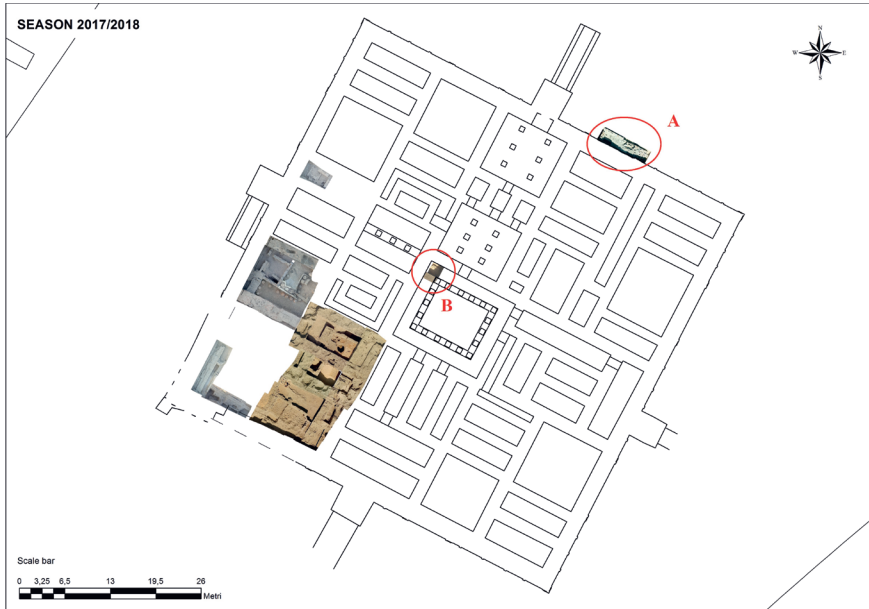


Fig. 12. The two soundings in the palace of Natakamani, 2017 season.
© Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

Fig. 13. The platform built in relation to the northern façade of the palace.
© Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

to light a massive foundation wall (Fig. 14), which represents a new element in the plan of the court. This wall was not seen during the previous investigations, and its position lets us suppose a foundation joint between the eastern and western side of the court: the new plan stresses the compact foundation net of the peristyle court. The reason for this architectural system obviously depends on the necessity of strengthening the central part of the palace, built at the top of a small hill. It means that we must approach the peristyle's architectural structure from a new perspective (Fig. 15). The east-west orientation of the colonnade foundation (Fig. 15, A, marked in red), is probably the same as that which is found in the southern part of the court (Fig. 15, B, marked in blue), and denotes a careful structure of the masonry. This new perspective must also involve other areas of the palace, namely the hypostyle hall and the open court, just north of the peristyle. In this sector of the building the mission is planning new surveys in order to complete the plan of the central part of the palace.

IN QUEST OF DATING

The chronology of the palace and of the pre-palatial structures in the area of the excavations is a crucial issue for the Italian Mission. The unique epigraphic information concerning the owner of the palace consists in the stela, now kept in the museum of Karima, mentioning the queen Amanitore and the prince Arikankharor, while the royal name Natakamani which was at the top of the inscription, has now disappeared.⁸ At the end of the 2017 season, some organic samples were exported and processed by the Poznan Radiocarbon Laboratory. The results of this analysis confirmed the general dating proposed for the reign of Natakamani, with the time span 1st century BC–1st century AD, with a higher probability of the later date (two of the three processed samples). The chronological data derived by the analysis fits perfectly with the Meroitic cultural trend, represented by the coeval royal city at Napata. We are dealing with a productive period, during which the Meroitic mind flourished, creating that “eclectic style” marking the reign of Natakamani.⁹

⁸ First edition of the text: TIRADRITTI, *VicOr* 8, 1992; for the chronology of Natakamani and his family, now dated to the 1st century AD, see *FHN* III, 1998, 896-907; on the royal couple Natakamani and Amanitore, and the relationship with the other members of the family, see RILLY, in *Hist. civil. Soudan*, 2017, 270-274.

⁹ In a broader perspective, the style of the royal city of Natakamani in Napata fully corresponds with the concept of “Meroitisation”; the contributions that have sedimented over time, from the Pharaonic to the Kushite period, are enriched with a strong southern imprint, a reflection of State *decorum* with several Mediterranean and Hellenistic contributions: YELLIN, in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia*, 2021.



Fig. 14. The new wall in the foundations of the colonnade of the peristyle. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal–Silvia Callegher.

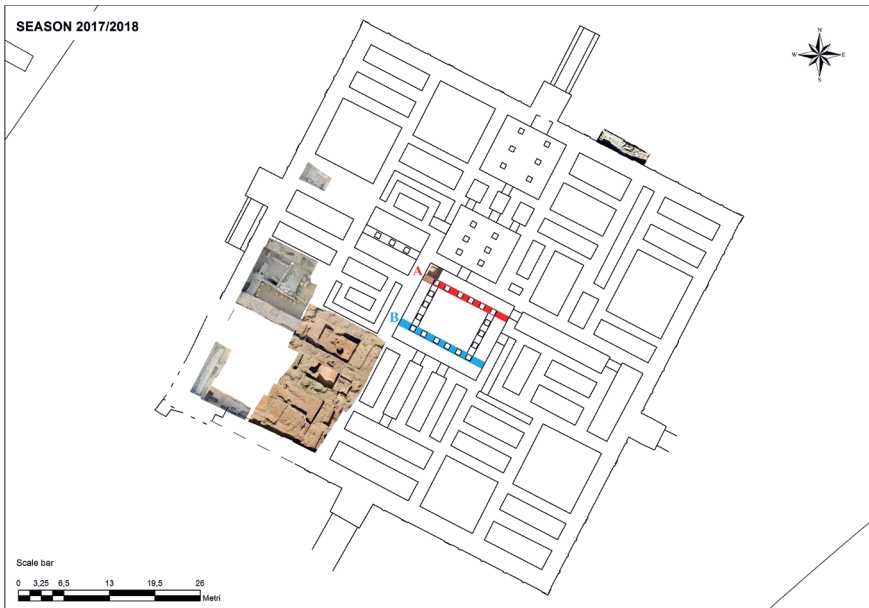


Fig. 15. Hypothetical reconstruction of the foundations of the peristyle colonnade. © Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan–Jebel Barkal.

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مكتبة آثار وتاريخ السودان. وسعداء أكثر أن قرر الزملاء في باريس نشر هذا العمل باسم العدد ٠٢ من مجلة كوش (Kush XX) ، هذه المجلة التي أصبحت إرثا لهيئة الآثار السودانية وقد مضى علي إصدارتها الأولي نحو سبعين عاما. ويعتبر هذان المجلدان اللذان يحتويان علي مساهمات أكثر من سبعين متخصصا انجازا أكاديميا عظيما في تراث وادي النيل الأوسط و سوف يكون في متناول مئات الباحثين والطلاب إذ يحتوي المجلدان علي نتائج عدة سنوات من الجهد لعشرات الباحثين الذين قاموا بالأعمال الحقلية والدراسات العملية والمكتبية في كل فترات تاريخ السودان منذ فترات ما قبل التاريخ حتي العصر الحديث ودراسات الجامعات المتحفية وإدارة المواقع الأثرية والتراث الثقافي بشكل عام والدراسات المتخصصة المساعدة الأخرى. ويحتوي هذا العمل علي قائمة مراجع تعتبر عصاره أعمال مئات العلماء عبر أكثر من قرن من الزمان. فالشكر والإمتنان للجمعية العالمية للدراسات النوبية والتي ظلت وعبر أكثر من نصف قرن تجمع المتخصصين من شتي أنحاء العالم ليقدموا للمجتمع العلمي العالمي أحدث أبحاثهم حول آثار هذا الجزء من أفريقيا.

سوف يضاف هذا الجهد إلي إنجازات المهتمين بالسودان من الفرنسيين منذ رحلات لينانت دو بلفوند و فريدريك كايو في الربع الأول من القون التاسع عشر وحملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة في الستينات من القرن الماضي والكثير من مواقع السودان في مرقسا وأرض الحجر وجزيرة صاي وصادنقا وصلب وكومة (مع البعثة السويسرية) وكدركة وقسم أربعة ومواقع إعادة التوطين المرتبطة بحملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروى (٢٠٠٣ - ٢٠٠٩) في الملتقي وفي بربير وفي وادي المكابراب وفي الهوجي وفي الحصا والمويس وود بانقا وسوبا والجريف شرق وأرياب في جبال البحر الأحمر وفي كردفان. هنالك قائمة من المؤسسات الفرنسية سوف تبقى علي الدوام في ذاكرة الأثاريين السودانيين حيث أسهمت علي الدوام في الكشف والحفاظ علي إرث البلاد الحضاري وتدريب أجيال من الأثاريين السودانيين الذين تحملوا مسؤولية إدارة هذا التراث وتعليمه في الجامعات والمعاهد السودانية. وفي هذه السانحة لا بد لنا من ذكر جامعة شارل ديغول - ليل ٣ وجامعة السوربون ومتحف اللوفر والمركز الفرنسي للبحث العلمي (CNRS) والمركز العالمي للعمارة الطينية (CRAterre) بجامعة جرونوبل والمعهد الوطني للبحوث الأثرية الوقائية (INRAP) والمعهد الفرنسي للآثار الشرقية (IFAO) وأخيرا وليس آخرا وحدة الآثار الفرنسية الملحقة بمصلحة الآثار (SFDAS) والتي ظلت علي مدي أكثر من أربعين عاما المعهد الأثاري الأجنبي الوحيد المقيم في السودان بشكل دائم ولم يتوقف عطاءه حتي بعد إندلاع الحرب إذ واصل أداء رسالته من مدينة القاهرة جنبا إلي جنب مع مسئولي الآثار السودانية الذين نزحوا لجمهورية مصر العربية. وتبقي وزارة الخارجية الفرنسية وسفارتها في الخرطوم هما الدعامتان الاساسيتان لإستمرار هذا التعاون عبر عشرات السنين.

كلنا ثقة في أن ما يحدث الآن سوف ينجلي وسوف يلتقي الأصدقاء من كل أنحاء العالم في السودان أمن لمواصلة الحفاظ علي الإرث الأثاري لوادي النيل الأوسط تحت مظلة مشروع عملاق كالمشروع القطري - السوداني للآثار.

مقدمة

صلاح الدين محمد أحمد

المنسق العام / المشروع القطري السوداني للآثار

عندما إتصل بي الزميل والصديق فانسا روندو (Vincent Rondot) قبيل أعياد الميلاد للعام ٢٠٢٣ طالباً مني كتابة مقدمة هذه الوقائع، كنا قد دخلنا في الشهر التاسع لحرب السودان التي بدأت في صبيحة ١٥ أبريل ٢٠٢٣. وقد كنت وكل زملائي وأصدقائي تحت صدمة الدمار الذي أصاب البنية التحتية في بلادنا وما أصاب أهل البلاد من نهب للممتلكات وتقتيل وإغتصاب ونزوح قسري من الديار لشتي أنحاء السودان وخارجه. وتزامن إتصال الزميل فانسا مع إتساع الحرب بشكل فجائي لمئات الكيلومترات جنوب الخرطوم. لقد كانت حسرتنا نحن قبيلة الأثاريين مضاعفة فهي حسرة علي ضياع البلاد وأهلها وحسرة علي الإرث الحضاري لهذه المنطقة من وادي النيل وخوفنا علي ما يمكن أن يحدث أو يكون قد حدث بالفعل لمتاحفنا في الخرطوم وفي نيالا وفي الجنيينة وأخيراً في مدينة ود مدني في الجزيرة والخراب الذي يمكن أن يحل بمواقعنا الأثرية في شتي أنحاء هذه الأرض الغنية بمخلفاتها الأثرية.

وسط كل هذا الخوف والتوجس والإحباط كان إتصال الزميل فانسا خيط من ضوء وأمل في نهاية النفق. شعرت بأنه لا زال هنالك أصدقاء يعملون من أجل هذه البلاد التي عاشوا فيها وإختلطوا بأهلها وإحبوا تاريخها وظلوا يعملون تنقيبا في المواقع الأثرية وبحثا في المكتبات والمعامل لعشرات السنين من أجل الكشف والمحافظة علي إرث هذا الجزء من وادي النيل.

السودان الذي تجمع من أجله مئات المتخصصين من شتي بقاع العالم في باريس في المؤتمر الرابع عشر للجمعية العالمية للدراسات النوبية في سبتمبر ٢٠١٨ لا زال في وجدان هؤلاء الأصدقاء الذين لم يتخلوا عن حبههم لهذه البلاد رغم الظروف العصيبة. لقد كان ذلك المؤتمر تظاهرة أكاديمية إستثنائية. وقد كان حضور عدد كبير من الباحثين السودانيين أمراً لافتاً وقد تحقق هذا بفضل مساهمة مالية كريمة من متاحف قطر والتي ظلت عبر السنوات الماضية تقوم بتمويل أكثر من أربعين بعثة أثرية تعمل في السودان وقد كان جزءاً كبيراً من أعمال هذا المؤتمر مخصصاً لأعمال (المشروع القطري - السوداني للآثار) والذي بدأ في شتاء ٢٠١٣/٢٠١٤.

واليوم نحن سعداء بكتابة مقدمة وقائع هذا المؤتمر والذي كان شراكة موفقة بين متحف اللوفر وجامعة السوربون. هذه الوقائع التي تجيء في مجلدين سوف تكون إضافة مقدره

كوش



أعمال

المؤتمر الدولي الرابع عشر للدراسات النبوية

باريس ٢٠١٨

العدد العشرون

٢٠٢٣

كوش



أعمال

المؤتمر الدولي الرابع عشر للدراسات النوبية

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