

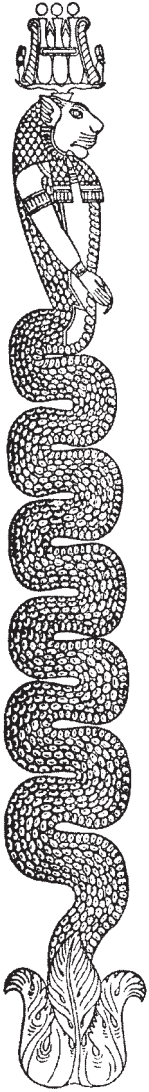


# K U S H

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
14TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NUBIAN STUDIES  
PARIS 2018

VOLUME XX  
2023





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THE PRINTING OF THIS VOLUME HAS BEEN FINANCED BY  
THE MUSÉE DU LOUVRE AND SORBONNE UNIVERSITÉ/UMR 8167  
ORIENT & MÉDITERRANÉE

PRINTED ON THE PRESS OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE  
FOR ORIENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY (IFAO)

NATIONAL CORPORATION FOR ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS  
Ibrahim Musa, Director General

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE  
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ISBN 978-2-72471-049-6

EDITORS	Marie Millet & Vincent Rondot with the assistance of Frédéric Payraudeau & Pierre Tallet
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مقدمة 1004

# 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-Genena 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)
AOAT	Alter Orient und altes Testament (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>	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen. Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin, Mainz)
<i>AREEF</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports of the Egypt Exploration Fund</i> (London)
<i>ArOr</i> (C)	<i>Acta orientalia</i> . Societates orientales batava, danica, fennica, norvegia, suecica (Lund, Copenhagen)
<i>ArS</i>	Archäologie im Sudan (Muenster)
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> (Cairo)
<i>ASEg</i>	Archaeological Survey of Egypt (London)
<i>ASN</i>	Archaeological Survey of Nubia (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>	Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Sprachenkommission (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) <a href="http://www.biorxiv.org">www.biorxiv.org</a>
<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) <a href="http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/bmsaes">http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/bmsaes</a>
<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)
- JIAA* *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>MeroitNewsL</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) <a href="https://www.oxforddnb.com">https://www.oxforddnb.com</a>
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>	<i>Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology</i> . 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 &amp; 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. <a href="https://uee.ucla.edu/">https://uee.ucla.edu/</a>
<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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## Style and Identity Symbols

An attempt to define the social meaning of the Kerma  
funerary fineware and its decorations

by MATTHIEU HONEGGER

The archaeological research of the most recent years in the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma focused on more than 400 graves of the Early Kerma period. It was the occasion to collect detailed information about pottery associated with the tombs, which was deposited on the surface next to the tumulus or in the pit close to the burial. A systematic study of the famous red and black top pottery with a thin decorative band under the rim allows us to propose an interpretation on the style of these vases as identity symbols, which show an almost infinite variety of decorations.

During his excavations in the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma, George A. Reisner had been impressed by the quality of Nubian craftsmanship and in particular by the pottery, whose delicacy and regularity had even led him to believe that it was made on a wheel.<sup>1</sup> Since then, Nubian pottery has been the subject of numerous studies, both in terms of typology and the composition of the paste.<sup>2</sup> It remains the preferred material for defining the Nubian archaeological cultures and the aesthetic quality of their most elaborate productions has been widely emphasised. Of course, not all pots are homogeneous in terms of quality. In the Kerma culture, as in that of the C-Group, one can generally contrast coarse pots with finewares, with on the one hand the large jars, with thick walls and a simply smoothed surface, and on the other hand the fine, carefully polished ware. The most elaborate examples are represented, in the Early Kerma phase, by the red vases with a black top, decorated with fine geometrical decorations under the rim, or in the C-Group by the grey or black bowls, fully ornamented. There are intermediaries between these extreme categories of fineware and coarse pottery: unpolished pots for utilitarian use, more or less polished large-sized pottery of, or polished but undecorated vases. One of the specific features of fine Nubian pottery is that it was widely used in funeral rites.

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<sup>1</sup> REISNER, *Kerma*, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> See GRATIEN, *Cultures Kerma*, 1978; NORDSTRÖM, *Neolithic and A-Group*, 1972.

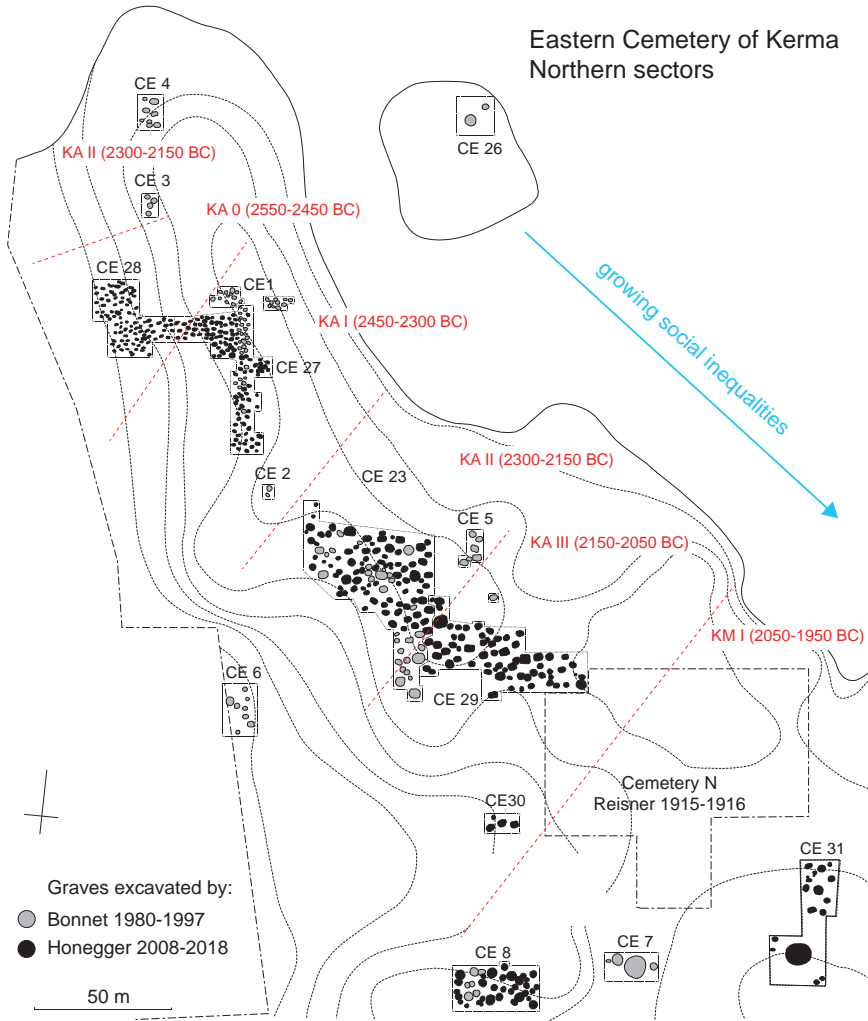
A systematic study of the oldest sectors of the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma has given a more precise idea of the position of the pottery present in the funerary area, by comparing its first five phases of use, defined in a previous publication<sup>3</sup> and whose chronology has since been fine-tuned (Fig. 1). It includes only some sectors of the excavated areas (CE28-27-23-29-31) where about 400 graves were documented by Honegger between 2008 and 2018. The graves previously excavated by Reisner and Bonnet are not taken into consideration due to the lack of sufficiently detailed data on pottery. Throughout Early Kerma, most of the pots accompanying the tombs have been found on the surface, next to the tumuli, with their mouths facing downwards. These are the most elaborate vases, i.e. fine, polished vases, comprising the decorated specimens of Early Kerma, those of C-Group, or those of the Pre-Kerma for the *Kerma ancien* 0 phase, and finally the undecorated red vases with a black top, which could belong to these three cultural groups, were also found on the surface. These vases generally show no traces of use, and often look new. They may have contained a liquid (milk or beer) to be offered or shared one last time with the deceased, and in some instances leaves of trees or shrubs were found under the upturned vases. There is clearly a symbolic dimension linked to the deposit of these vases and their contents, which appear to close the burial ceremony. No pots are present in the graves during the first phases of use of the cemetery (*Kerma ancien* 0 and I, 2550–2300 BC). These appear in small numbers in *Kerma ancien* II (2300–2150 BC) and become numerous from the beginning of *Kerma moyen* I (2050–1950 BC), at a time when pots on the surface become rarer and less well cared for. The pottery found inside the tombs are generally utilitarian pots and Egyptian imported jars, which often show traces of use (wear, chipping, burning).

The fineware of Early Kerma, decorated with impressed patterns, incised or even excised under the rim, is not only present on the surface of tombs, showing little or no traces of use, but has also been occasionally found in dwellings, particularly in the town of Kerma,<sup>4</sup> although the decoration is more rudimentary and the motifs are monotonous. The fine red vases with a black border and its varied and finely executed motifs therefore correspond specifically to a funerary production. They represent the diagnostic artefact of Early Kerma, whereas the red pot with black top, which can be found in Pre-Kerma, C-Group and Kerma culture, is less exclusively related to funerary rites. It is, moreover, less systematically linked to the surface of the tomb and can sometimes be found inside, just as it may also show traces of use. What attracts the most attention in the decorated pottery of Early Kerma is the extreme care taken in making the decoration and the great variety of motifs represented (Fig. 2). Detailed observation of these motifs has led

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<sup>3</sup> HONEGGER, in *Nubian Archaeology*, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> PRIVATI, in BONNET, VALBELLE, *Temple principal*, 2004, 162.



**Fig. 1.** Map of the Early Kerma and early Middle Kerma sectors in the Eastern Cemetery. From the initial installation in *Kerma ancien* 0 (2550–2450 BC) to the emergence of the first royal tomb in *Kerma moyen* I (2050–1950 BC), the dimensions of the tombs increase, the rituals become more complex and the hierarchisation of society increases until the appearance of a royalty (HONEGGER, *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise des Sciences Naturelles*, 2018). CAD M. Honegger. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.



Fig. 2. Example of impressed or incised decorations on the fine red vases with black top from Early Kerma, of which two complete specimens are presented. The one on the left dates from *Kerma ancien I* (2450–2300 BC) while the one on the right has a later form, dating from *Kerma ancien III* (2150–2050 BC). Photo M. Honegger. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.

us to identify 315 different types of decoration. The variations between motifs can sometimes be minimal, but what should be remembered is that these decorations are often designed to be unique or to be repeated in small numbers. This aspect led us to consider the hypothesis that these motifs and the vases that bore them must carry a significance relating to identity, which might express certain social affiliations or certain actions carried out during the individual's lifetime. Attempts have already been made to interpret decorative motifs in social terms, the most famous of which come from the symbolic archaeology promoted by Ian Hodder

more than 30 years ago.<sup>5</sup> These attempts opened up new directions for research, but they also showed that it was impossible to understand the significance of the symbols used or to decode a message expressed by various motifs, as long as there was no document providing us with the keys to understanding the symbols used in any given society.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore not in this direction that we wish to proceed, but rather that of better contextualising them in their spatial and chronological setting, in an attempt to propose an explanatory model.

## TWO POTTERS' GRAVES

We do not have a direct source regarding pottery producers and their status in the Kerma culture. In his recent synthesis, Emberling emphasises that from Early Kerma, pottery had to be a specialised activity and that from Middle Kerma onwards, this trend towards specialisation increased and also included the production of faience and copper alloys.<sup>7</sup> It is true that from Early Kerma, pottery production is omnipresent in the Kerma culture and that the hierarchisation of society until the advent of a royalty at the beginning of Middle Kerma, fits well with the idea of a craft specialisation. Apart from the fact that a series of potter's kilns have been discovered in the town of Kerma,<sup>8</sup> it must be acknowledged that not much information is available regarding the social organisation of crafts within the society. The 409 tombs that we excavated between 2008 and 2018 in the areas occupied from the beginning of Early Kerma to the beginning of Middle Kerma, gave us an overview of the tombs, their contents and the relationships between them.<sup>9</sup> In principle, this should give us an idea regarding how society was organised. In *Kerma ancien* 0 and I, there is little differentiation between the tombs, which contain few objects. Sometimes, the presence of a tool, such as a potter's comb or a bone punch for working leather, may evoke an artisanal activity that the deceased must have practised. We discovered 5 potters' combs in these oldest areas, 4 of which could be attributed to tombs. All of them belong to adult women of a certain age. From *Kerma ancien* II onwards, the social differences become more important and can be detected by several clues expressing the importance and wealth of a given tomb: diameter, deposition of animals and bucrania, individuals accompanying the deceased, quantity of Egyptian jars and quantity of fine and decorated vases (see below). It was at that time that an important distinction was introduced between tombs of men, all with bows and their

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<sup>5</sup> HODDER, *Symbols in Action*, 1982.

<sup>6</sup> GALLAY, *Archéologie demain*, 1986, 85-97 and 193-200.

<sup>7</sup> EMBERLING, *Origini* 36, 2014, 146.

<sup>8</sup> BONNET, VALBELLE, *Temple principal*, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> HONEGGER, in *Nubian Archaeology*, 2018.

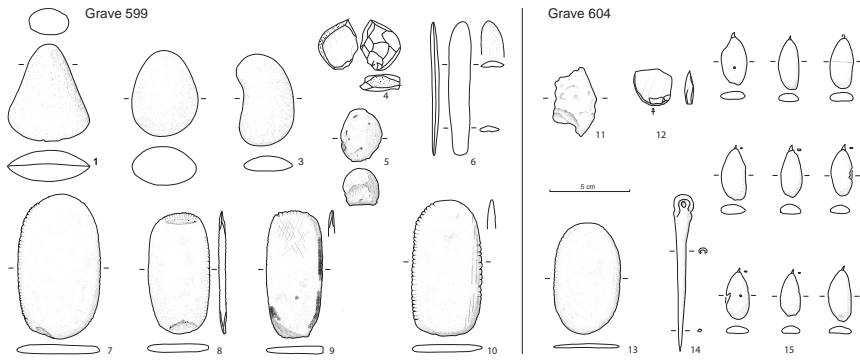


Fig. 3. Partially looted potter's north-facing tombs from Sector CE8 (*Kerma moyen I*, 2050–1950 BC). On the left, Tomb 599 belongs to a woman over 30 years old and her pottery tools can be seen on the eastern edge, next to the oxhide on which the deceased is laid. On the right, Tomb 604 contained the body of a woman over 50 years old. Her tools were also to be found to the east, between the jar with the small bowl and the larger bowl a little further north. Photo L. Kramer. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.

attributes (arrows, quivers) and tombs of women with sticks.<sup>10</sup> The clues that could reveal the presence of craftspeople are no more numerous than previously, and are limited to bone punches. The beginning of Middle Kerma is marked by the appearance of the first royal tombs and by an even more marked hierarchy. We were able to excavate 30 tombs in a somewhat peripheral sector dating from this period (sector CE8). The tombs had a diameter of between 2 and 4 metres and therefore do not belong to the category of royal tombs, with a diameter ranging between 7 and 10 metres. Two tombs looted at the upper level of the body have each yielded a whole range of tools related to pottery craftsmanship. As in the previous instances, they belong to women of a certain age and show that, in the Kerma culture, they are the ones who practiced this craft. The fact that a large range of tools was found, whereas in the previous cases only single tools were present, suggests that this craft was better valued, and also supports the idea of increased specialisation.

The looters of Tomb 599, which contained the body of a woman over 30 years old, removed her head and also disturbed the eastern and northern part of the grave where some of the deposited pots were to be found (Fig. 3). The potter's tools were found deposited on the floor of the tomb, to the south-east, next to the oxhide on which the body was lying. They were contained in a leather bag, the base of which remained, accompanied by ostrich beads that must have

<sup>10</sup> HONEGGER, FALLET, *Kerma* 6, 2015.



**Fig. 4.** Pottery tools from Tombs 599 and 604 in Sector CE8 (*Kerma moyen I*, 2050–2950 BC). 1. Axe blade of metamorphic stone; 2. Polisher made from a polished flint pebble; 3. Flint pebble used as potter's rib; 4. Quartz flake; 5. Piece of termite mound; 6. Chiselled bone tool; 7-10. Potter's combs; 11. Piece of termite mound; 12. Carnelian flake; 13. Potter's comb; 14. Bone punch; 15. Nine tools consisting of a small flake of quartz embedded in a piece of silt. CAD J. Dubosson. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.

belonged to a necklace. The tools include an axe blade made of metamorphic stone, the edge of which may have been used to regularise the inner surface of the pots or to make certain impressed decorations; a polished flint pebble used as a polisher; another siliceous pebble whose concave and convex edges must have served as a potter's rib to regularise the surfaces; a quartz flake, the edge of which may have been used to make incised decorations; a flat chiselled tool obtained from a fragment of ruminant diaphysis; a fragment of termite mound, which perhaps relates to the pottery paste, termite mound clay being often used for this purpose in Africa;<sup>11</sup> finally, 4 combs on a sandstone slab used to regularise the internal surfaces or to realize impressed decorations (Fig. 4.1–4.10).

Tomb 604 belonged to a woman over 50 years old (Fig. 3). It had been more severely looted and only the pelvis and lower limbs remained, partially mummified with a remnant of a leather loincloth covering the legs. The phalanges of the hands still in place, indicated that the deceased must have held a stick in her hands. To the east, next to three pots still in place, a set of tools was laid on the ground. It consisted of a potter's comb found, like the others, on a fine sandstone slab; a piece of termite mound; a punch that may have been used to make some of the decorations; a flint splinter and nine enigmatic objects each with a fine quartz or carnelian flake inserted into a silt handle (Fig. 4.11–4.15). It is clear that these last objects were designed to perform particularly precise work, such as making

<sup>11</sup> IROKO, *L'homme et les termitières*, 1996.

fine incisions for certain decorations or for making an initial sketch of geometric patterns. It must be realised that a detailed observation of these decorative motifs reveals that the dominant technique is the impression obtained with very small tools, often combs, which must have been made of wood because no trace of them has been found. Incisions are still rare, but depending on the complexity of the repetitive patterns composing the decorated band under the border, a sketch must have been necessary.

Comparing these tools with other archaeological or ethnographic examples,<sup>12</sup> we find some similar tools, such as potter's ribs or bone objects intended to scrape or smooth. Generally speaking, potter's ribs are among the most common tools and can sometimes make up the bulk of the collection,<sup>13</sup> as appears to be the case for Tomb 599, where a good number of tools, according to their shape, probably served to regularise the inner surface of the pots. As has already been pointed out, wooden tools probably completed the range, but have now disappeared, as has a piece of leather or cloth, frequently mentioned in ethnographic observations, whose function was to smooth the surfaces of the pots.

#### PRODUCTION OF DECORATED FINEWARE AND CLASSIFICATION OF DECORATIONS

Apart from a classical typological approach focusing on form, decoration and surface treatment, most studies on pottery, when dealing with technology, devote — by tradition — a large part of their attention to the description of the paste and its inclusions.<sup>14</sup> Without claiming that this approach is not necessary, its purpose, beyond descriptive classification, is not always obvious when it comes to local production, due to the fact that it is relatively disconnected from the *chaîne opératoire* of pottery. However, little research has been done on Nubian material, particularly with regard to the processes of hand-building, the interest of which is no longer in need of demonstration. The combination of experimental approaches, ethnoarchaeological surveys and studies of archaeological collections led, from the late 1990s onwards, to the development of much more precise studies linking the traces observable on the surfaces and sections of the sherds with stages in the *chaîne opératoire*.<sup>15</sup>

Observations carried out on a pottery sample from the Eastern Cemetery revealed a wide variety of manufacturing processes.<sup>16</sup> For fine red pots with black

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<sup>12</sup> *Outils de potier néolithiques*, 2010.

<sup>13</sup> GOSSELAIN, *BSPF* 107(4), 2010.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. WELSBY SJÖSTRÖM, in WELSBY, *Kerma Ancien Cemetery*, 2018.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. *Pottery Manufacturing*, 2005.

<sup>16</sup> C. Jeanbourquin, pers. comm.

tops, it is in most instances impossible to detect inclusions in the paste due to the high degree of finishing of the pots, as well as their very fine paste. The junction between the base and the belly often coincides with the maximum diameter of the pot. This is often the only visible sign of shaping on this category of very regular, fine polished pottery; in fact, the very careful finishing work has, in most cases, erased the traces of the previous stages of hand-building. In addition, the base-belly junction is often marked by a slight change in the orientation of the profile: opening up to the maximum diameter and slightly re-curving beyond that. The regularity of the internal surface of the containers, the thinness of their walls, the mosaic-like breaks in the bases, as well as the occasional presence of facets (flats) on their external surface tend to favour shaping by hammering on a convex shape (moulding of the bottom by hammering). The addition of coils above the maximum diameter was used to make the upper part of the pot and the frequent breaks observed at the junction point confirm this observation.

As we have already pointed out, the production of decorations on fine Early Kerma pottery presupposes the dominant use of impression using very fine instruments, probably made of wood, whether notched (comb) or not. Incision remains discreet in this process, while excision was mostly practised on C-Group pottery but is sometimes found on red pots with black top with exactly the same patterns, in the form of a band under the border. Of the 753 decorated red vases with black top, we counted 315 different designs, some unique, others more frequently used. As these vases came from 349 tombs, many of them have a unique decoration while others have decorations found in more or less distant tombs.

We tried to note all possible variations in decoration, some of which are based on minimal modifications. These decorations have been classified according to geometry, following a principle which could be discussed and which does not claim to be the most appropriate classification, insofar as the categories we have created are not necessarily based on the logic of the producers and users of this pottery in the Kerma period. Moreover, there are borderline cases of designs that could fall into either category. In the same way, certain groupings between decors which are close in appearance could be made. Finally, other approaches could be developed, without being certain that they would lead to convincing results. One would be to create a form of grammar of decorations to translate the articulation between basic motifs, which has for example been attempted for Early Neolithic Linear pottery decorations in Europe.<sup>17</sup> The underlying idea is of course that the combining of motifs makes sense. Another approach would be to attempt a classification according to the complexity of the decorations. Indeed, it is noticeable

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<sup>17</sup> HOUBRE, *BSPF* 10(1), 2013.

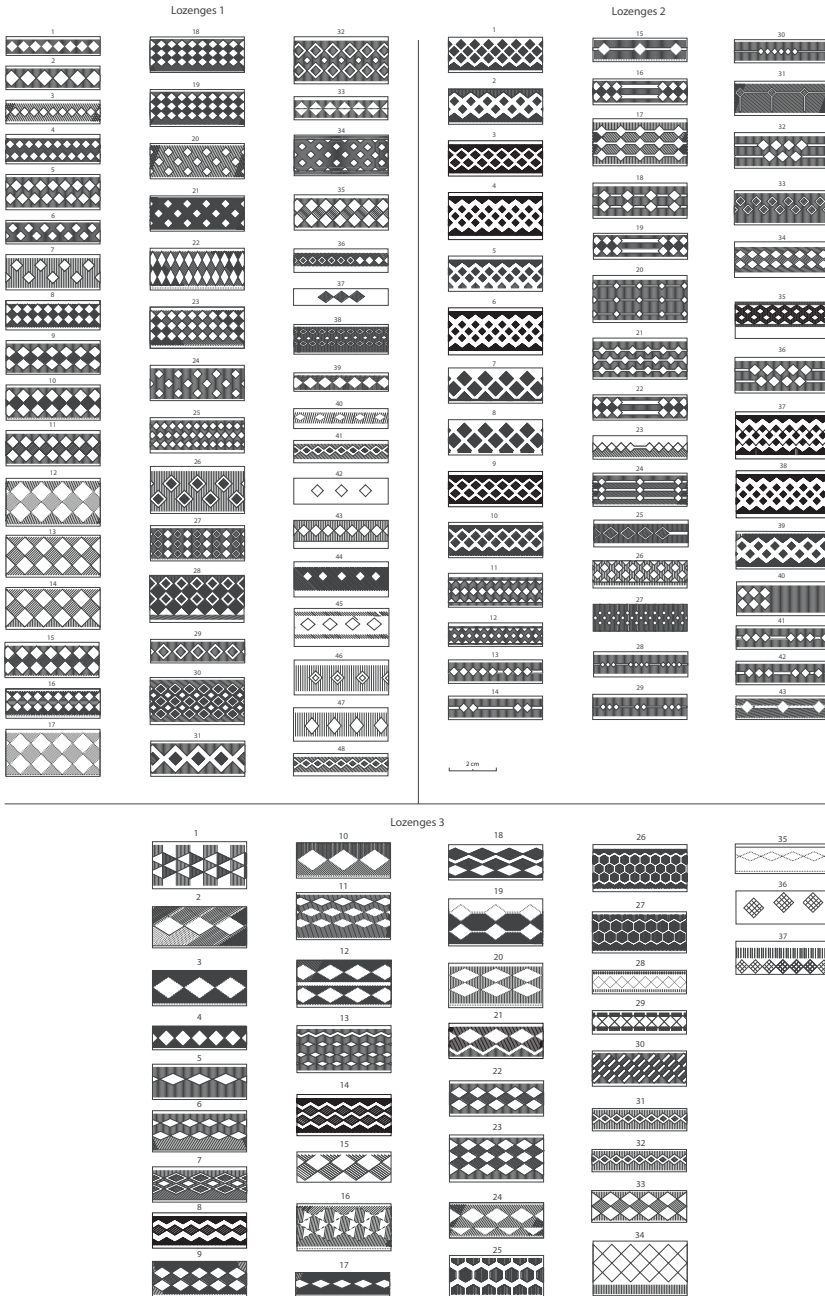


Fig. 5. Inventory of lozenge-shaped decorations. CAD M. Honegger.  
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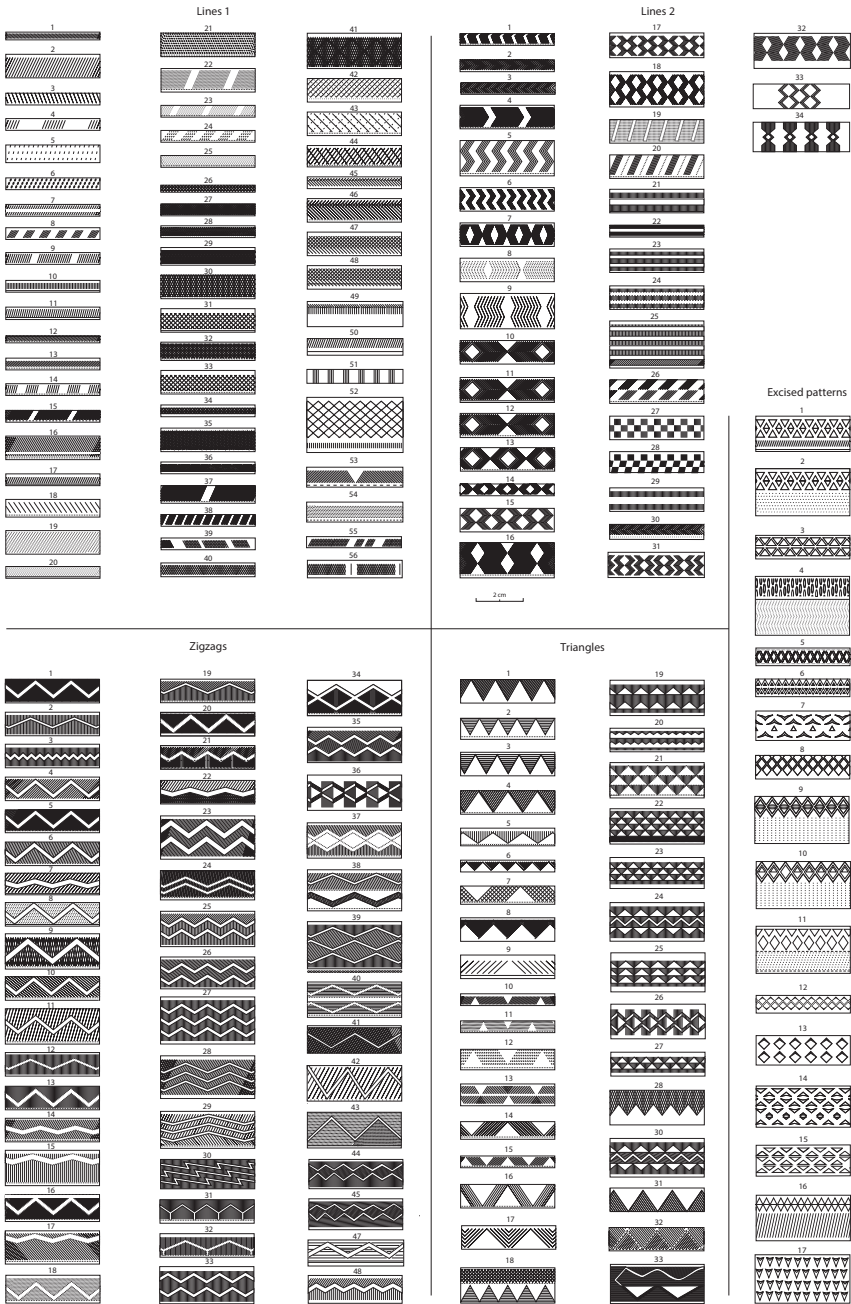


Fig. 6. Inventory of line, zigzag, triangle and excised decorations. CAD M. Honegger.  
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that some of them develop through a combination of motifs on a single strip, while others operate on the articulation of basic motifs organised on several strips.

Our classification has made it possible to distinguish five categories (Figs. 5 and 6):

– Category 1. Lozenges. Decorations composed of lozenge patterns are arranged repeatedly in one or more strips (128 patterns). They are divided into three sub-groups created for convenience during the observation phase, but which nevertheless seek to group certain types of patterns together;

– Category 2. Lines. The decorations are composed of patterns in parallel, horizontal, oblique and/or vertical lines, which may intersect and, in the most complex cases, form other geometric figures by their arrangement (90 patterns). Two groups have been created, the first one gathering simpler patterns than the second one;

– Category 3. Zigzags. The decorations are made up of zigzag patterns (47 patterns). Depending on the arrangement of the zigzags, they can form patterns similar to lozenge or triangle patterns;

– Category 4. Triangles. The decorations are formed by triangular patterns organized in one or more strips (33 patterns);

– Category 5. Excised patterns. The majority of this group consists of excised patterns that are similar to those applied to C-Group vases. These designs are moreover mostly present in *Kerma ancien I* at the time when the influence of C-Group is the most important (17 patterns).

Of all the designs listed, 159 are unique, 60 are present twice, 59 on 3 to 5 vases and 24 on more than 5 vases. The two most frequent decorations are each found on 30 vases and correspond to décor 1 of the category “Lozenge 1”, and décor 28 of the category “Lines 1”. In view of the very large number of unique cases, it is difficult to clearly determine whether certain types of decoration are reserved for men, women or children only. We will confine ourselves here to an initial approach relating the general trends, but a more detailed study will be carried out, this time using a slightly more sophisticated analytical tool, involving in particular a statistical approach.

#### STATUS OF THE FINE WARE

The evolution of funeral rites has been reconstructed from the initial installation in the Eastern Cemetery (*Kerma ancien 0*) to the emergence of the first royal tomb (*Kerma moyen I*).<sup>18</sup> The tombs, which were small in *Kerma ancien 0* and I, became larger from *Kerma ancien II* onwards, more richly endowed and

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<sup>18</sup> HONEGGER, in *Nubian Archaeology*, 2018; HONEGGER, *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise des Sciences Naturelles* 138, 2018.

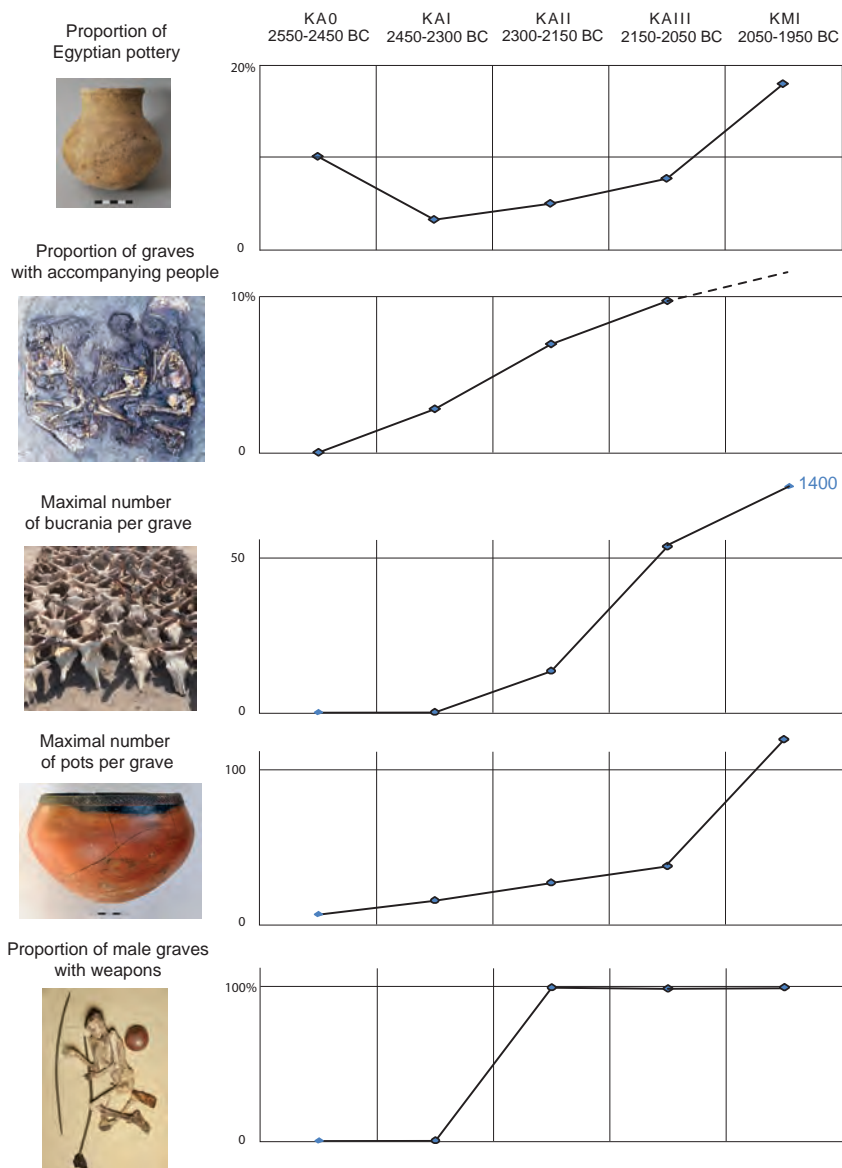


Fig. 7. View of the first royal tomb of Kerma at the end of its clearing (*Kerma moyen I*, 2050–1950 BC). One can see the edge of the burial tumulus composed of earth and stones, the post holes of the wooden architecture inside the burial pit and the bucrania to the south of the tomb. Photo M. Honegger. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.

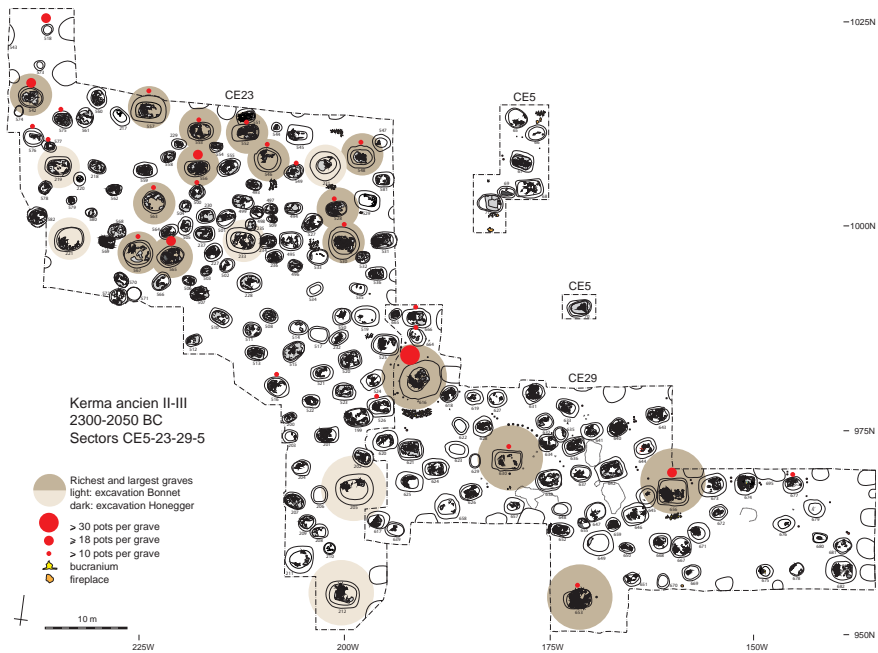
display greater social distinctions. This trend becomes more pronounced in *Kerma ancien III*, finally leading to the appearance of the first royal tombs in *Kerma moyen I*, around 2000 BC. These are distinguished by their much larger than average dimensions, of the order of 10 metres in diameter, and are accompanied by several hundred bucrania located to the south of the tumuli. In January 2018, one of the first royal tombs from the cemetery was excavated in sector 31 (Tomb 691). Like all these richly endowed tombs, it was severely looted. Nevertheless, the number of bucrania in front of the tomb has been estimated at 1400, the number of pots still present on the surface or in the filling total 117. There were sacrificed animals in the tomb, which could not be counted, and there were probably accompanying deceased. Wooden architecture was also present in and around the tomb (Fig. 7).

The expression of greater wealth in some tombs can be summarised, beyond their above-average dimensions, by a number of criteria, of which pots are one (Fig. 8):

- Egyptian imports are represented in the tombs by jars or vases which must have contained the products acquired. The evaluation of their proportion gives an idea of the intensity of trade with Egypt, one of the factors of enrichment of the



**Fig. 8.** Competitive lavish funerals are evidenced by the increase of deposits in or next to the grave. The selected categories of gravegoods are: Egyptian pots, accompanying deceased, bucrania, funerary fineware and weapons. The proportions were calculated on the basis of the total number of pots associated with the graves of each phase for Egyptian imports and on the basis of the number of graves of each phase for the accompanying deceased. The total number of tombs taken into account is 409 graves excavated between 2008 and 2018. CAD M. Honegger, © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.



**Fig. 9.** Plan of Sectors CE23 (*Kerma ancien* II, 2300–2150 BC) and CE29 (*Kerma ancien* III, 2150–2050 BC). The most important graves are shown in light brown with an estimate of the diameter of their tumulus. The presence of bucrania is indicated and the number of pots reported when data was available (graves excavated by Honegger). The increase in the dimensions of the richest tombs between Sectors CE23 and CE29 reflects the increasing hierarchisation of society. CAD M. Honegger and J. Dubosson. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.

Kingdom of Kerma. If imports declined in *Kerma ancien* I, probably because of the troubles in Lower Nubia, their volume subsequently increased over time;

– Accompanying deceased, people who were killed to accompany their master into the afterlife also increased gradually, underlining the emergence of powerful individuals;

– The number of bucrania recorded from *Kerma ancien* II in front of the mounds of the most important tombs is indicative of a certain wealth. If in *Kerma ancien* II the number of these bucrania is of the order of 10 to 20, it exceeds 50 in *Kerma ancien* III and reaches 1400 in front of the first recently excavated royal tomb;

– The number of pots associated with each tomb is also linked to the wealth of each ensemble. In *Kerma ancien* 0, the average number of vases per tomb is 3, with a maximum of 8; in *Kerma ancien* I it is 5, with a maximum of 15 and in *Kerma ancien* II, 7 with a maximum of 23. In *Kerma ancien* III, the pottery deposits on the surface are a little less abundant with an average of 5 vases per grave,

with a maximum of 38. Finally, at the beginning of Middle Kerma, 8 pots are on average associated with each tomb, whereas the royal tomb alone yielded 117.

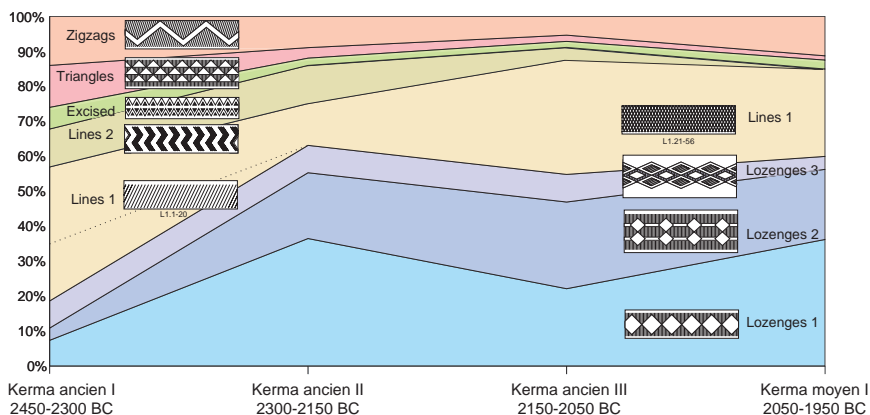
The quantity of pots is therefore an indicator of the richness of a tomb, and as a result, the finely decorated ware of Early Kerma is also more abundant in these tombs. This is evident when we look in detail at sectors 23 and 29 (Fig. 9), two contiguous sectors where the first rich tombs appear. These latter ones can be distinguished by their larger size, the abundance of their contents when not too looted, the presence of bucrania on the surface and the space available to erect a tumulus above it. The picture that emerges clearly shows that these are the burials that are best endowed with pottery. It also shows the evolution of the concentration of power between *Kerma ancien* II and III, with an increase in the dimensions of the most important tombs and tumuli in phase III, as well as a decrease in their number.

It should also be noted that in a number of cases we observed that two identical specimens of finely decorated Kerma vases were placed next to the tomb. It is difficult to assess the frequency of this kind of situation, but this was clearly not systematic. The example of Tomb 656 in sector 29, the largest and richest of this area, is exceptional in out of 38 pots, 9 pairs of vases had identical decorations. Although it is difficult to explain why, the presence of these vases in pairs reinforces the idea of their symbolic value.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

In terms of chronological evolution, a few trends emerge when considering the different categories of decorations we have defined. A precise typological chronology has not yet been established; to achieve this would require slightly different groupings which would insist more on the similarities between sets, rather than on what distinguishes them. Looking at the main categories that have been established, we can already highlight some trends (Fig. 10). Lozenge-shaped decorations are rare in *Kerma ancien* I, later becoming more frequent; the most complex of these, with several rows and patterns are to be found mainly in *Kerma ancien* II (especially C3.21 to C.3.34), while they become simpler in *Kerma moyen* I with a return to simple rows of patterns (C1.1 to C1.3 and C1.40 to C1.48). Regarding the category of line decorations, those which are relatively simple are mainly found in *Kerma ancien* I (L1.1-L1.20) while the others, involving crossing lines, are present in all 4 phases (L1.21 to L1.48); regarding the slightly more complex in-line sets (Lozenges 2), many of them are found in *Kerma ancien* II (L2.10-L2.33). As we have already pointed out, the presence of edges decorated with excised patterns is a little more abundant in *Kerma ancien* I, at the same time as C-Group vases are also more abundant. Triangular decorations are mostly present in *Kerma ancien* I, but subsequently become much less common. As for zigzag decorations, their greatest variety is also found in *Kerma*

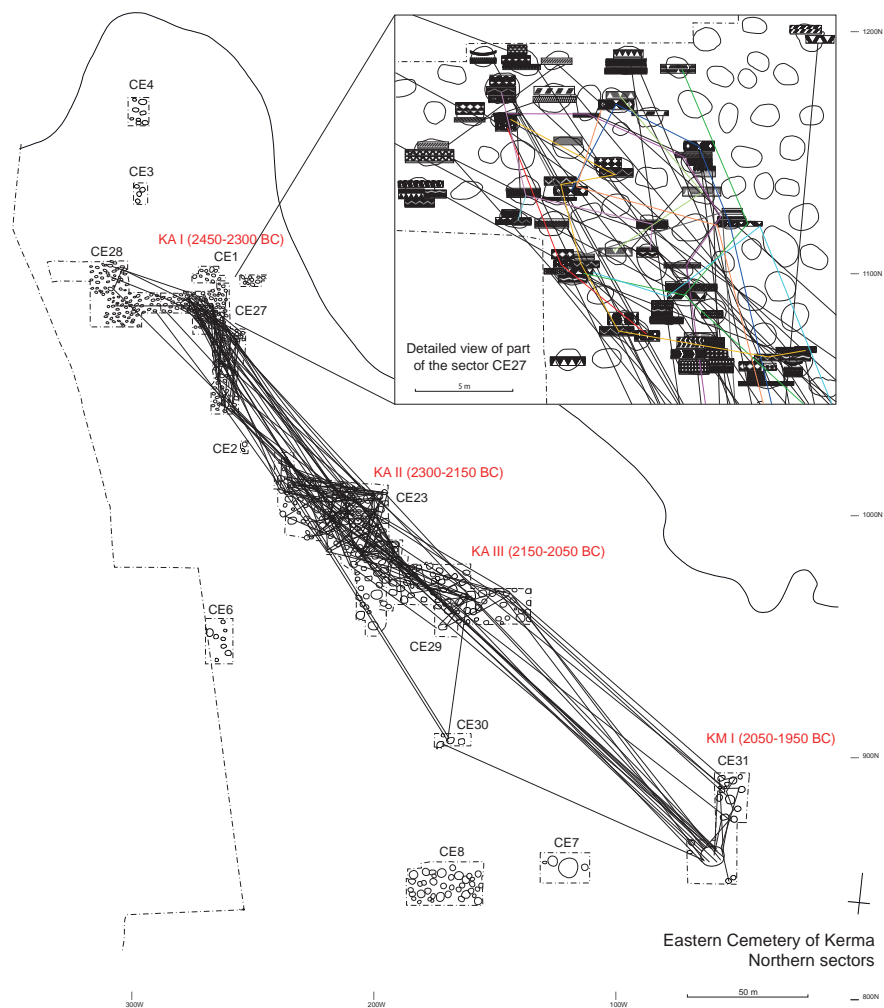
## STYLE AND IDENTITY SYMBOLS



**Fig. 10.** Evolution of decoration categories and sub-categories from the beginning of Early Kerma to the beginning of Middle Kerma. *Kerma ancien 0* phase is not present because it contains almost no decorated fineware with black top. CAD M. Honegger. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.

*ancien I*, but their presence is maintained throughout the evolution. Each tomb with several finely decorated vases is generally characterised by a single decoration that distinguishes it from the others (about half of the 349 tombs analysed), and whose decorations can be linked to other tombs, belonging either to the same phase or to an earlier or later one.

The connections that can be built between the tombs, based on similar decorations, were visualised on a plan of all the sectors taken into consideration in this analysis (Fig. 11). The network that emerges from these connections is particularly complex. The overview shows the connections between the sectors, which show that a number of decorations are maintained over time, being transmitted from one generation to the next. The detail of a part of sector 27, dated of *Kerma ancien I*, allows a better visualization of the richness of the connections between nearby tombs. Among these, a few have been highlighted to show the network of relationships that can be woven between the tombs. If the variation in decoration was indeed linked to the identity of the deceased, then the variety of decorated vases associated with each tomb would reflect the specific characteristics of the individual, links with contemporaries (kinship, clan) and links with successive generations (filiation).



**Fig. 11.** Links between fine vases with identical decoration in the studied sectors of Early Kerma in the Eastern Cemetery. At this scale of reading, the links highlight primarily the decorations present in several sectors and therefore during several phases. The detailed plan of part of the Sector 27 highlights the links that can unite nearby tombs. CAD M. Honegger and L. Honegger. © Mission archéologique suisse à Kerma.

## INTERPRETATION AND SYMBOLIC DIMENSIONS

The question of style in archaeology and its potential symbolic significance has been the subject of much debate in archaeology.<sup>19</sup> In particular, its relationship to the notion of ethnicity or tribe has been most often discussed. Considerations of style are still often based on pottery and especially on their decoration, but it is clear that other areas of material culture may be involved, such as the lithic industry, adornment, etc. In his promotion of symbolic archaeology, Hodder has provided interesting ethnoarchaeological examples which analyse variations in style and decoration in various situations.<sup>20</sup> Some of them allow us to define ethnic oppositions, especially in border areas marked by tensions between groups, others social distinctions within the same group. Finally, some examples show the difficulty of interpreting the meaning of certain motifs when little is known about the social context, which is often the case in archaeology. Sackett has attempted to propose a broader definition of style.<sup>21</sup> He describes many approaches to style as iconological, such as those of Hodder, Binford<sup>22</sup> and a number of other authors.<sup>23</sup> The style should be seen as a kind of iconography created and manipulated on purpose, if not necessarily consciously, by craftspeople for social purposes. It would be invested in material culture as a means of transmitting symbolically coded information on ethnic belonging and identity to various target populations. To this approach, which could be described as classical, he contrasts an “isochrestic” reading, which considers that ethnic style potentially resides in any variation of material culture, whether it concerns the decoration or the shape of an object. Starting from the premise that there is usually a substantial range of alternatives for achieving a given goal in the manufacture of craft products, style enters the equation when it is recognised that the choices made by artisans tend to be specific and consistent, and that they are largely the result of the craft traditions in which artisans have been trained as members of social groups. In this context, it is to be expected that style will be banal and pervasive in material culture as a whole. The iconological approach, which considers that a particular variation of decoration symbolises belonging to a community, would represent only one particular case among a multitude of cultural expressions. It needs to be argued in detail, so as not to bring the settings studied into the “isochrestic” universe of possible variations on a basic iconographic theme, the meaning of which would be provided above all by the potter’s belonging to a given culture.

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<sup>19</sup> E.g. *The Use of Style in Archaeology*, 1990; *Style, Society, Person*, 1995.

<sup>20</sup> HODDER, *Symbols in Action*, 1982.

<sup>21</sup> SACKETT, *AmAnt* 42, 1977; SACKETT, in *The Use of Style in Archaeology*, 1990.

<sup>22</sup> BINFORD, *AmAnt* 31, 1965.

<sup>23</sup> SACKETT, *AmAnt* 50, 1985.

In our situation, the debate of an ethnic belonging can be set aside, knowing that the black top and red pots with a fine decoration under the rim represent one of the main markers of the Kerma culture. The question of whether this culture corresponds to a specific ethnic group or tribe is another issue that is not discussed here but which we have introduced elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> So this pottery already carries a certain significance in terms of social belonging. Moreover, we have shown that it was the result of a specific production oriented towards funerary rites. Similar specimens present in the habitation area (the town of Kerma) are few in number, with less skilfully executed and less varied decorations. These funerary vases were placed next to the tumulus, in the form of little or unused vases, to complete the burial of the deceased. It is therefore an object specifically invested in funerary rites and not any element of material culture. Furthermore, we have shown that the quantity of pottery associated with each tomb was proportional to its wealth and importance, hence the fact that it is considered to represent a socially significant object.

The very wide variety of decorations and the fact that many of them have a unique character led us to consider that they had characteristics relating to the expression of identity. We believe that the variety of finely decorated vases associated with each tomb expresses a part of the individual's social relations (belonging to a lineage, a clan, or certain individuals as a result of alliances, etc.) and, for unique decorations, some of an individual's particularities. The chronological and spatial distribution of these decorations shows that some of them are present throughout the sequence studied, expressing the durability of certain relationships (lineages?) while others are specific to certain periods and perhaps express the network of relationships woven during the life of the buried person. Of course, the situation is difficult to analyse when it comes to interconnecting the 315 types of decoration present on 753 vases associated with 349 tombs, without counting what could be said about the 1258 other pots present in this excavated part of the Eastern Cemetery. Our analysis here represents only a preliminary stage, which will have to be developed by statistical means, by making certain groupings between similar decorations, and considering the complexity of the motifs. However, our hypothesis appears convincing because the antithesis would be to accept that these symbolically invested vases played a major role in funerary rites, whereas their decoration would only have consisted of multiple variations of large categories of motifs, without these having any symbolic and social significance. This would lead to a somewhat paradoxical conclusion, which would assert that the distribution of the decorations was only the result of chance, whereas all the information collected on this pottery, typical of the Kerma culture, shows that

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<sup>24</sup> HONEGGER, Vol. 2, 904-907.

it is the object of very particular attention and that it carries a strong symbolic value in funerary rites. Moreover, these decorations have an additional peculiarity in that they present such variation and refinement only during the phases of Early Kerma and during the first phase of Middle Kerma. They are therefore synchronous with the period of social hierarchisation leading to the constitution of a royalty where power is attained by a lineage or a specific segment of society. Then, during Middle Kerma, this mode of cultural expression disappears to make way for repetitive and crudely realised patterns. It is as if the multiplication of decorative patterns was a mode of expression of the extent of the relationships of individuals in a context of social competition. Once the monarchical structure became well established, this mode of expression would disappear to make way for other forms of expression of relations between individuals or groups.

*Acknowledgments.* This project was supported by the Swiss National Fund (SNF 100011\_163021/1), the State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation of the Swiss Confederation, the Kerma Foundation and the University of Neuchâtel (Switzerland). We also thank the National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums of Sudan (NCAM) for his support.

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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 و صلب وكرمة (مع البعثة السويسرية) وكدركة وقسم أربعة ومواقع إعادة التوطين المرتبطة بحملة إنقاذ آثار سد مرووي (٢٠٠٣ - ٢٠٠٩) في الملتقي وفي بربير وفي وادي المكابراب وفي الهوجي وفي الحسا 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 المحقة 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 الأساسيتان 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 والصدیق 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 العصبية. 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

باريس ٢٠١٨

العدد العشرون

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