THE "TIRKEEN"

Was It A Napatan Dish"

Salah Mohammed Ahmed

A group of Napatan houses have been excavated during the 80's in the modern town of Kerma. A great number of jars containing fish-bones have been discovered in the first Napatan building excavated at Kerma. These jars belong to the IIInd and IIIrd phases of the house. They have been deposited in the rooms II/8 and III/8 respectively. These chambers occupied at the center of the eastern part of the habitation.

They measure 5.57m x 3.42m. and apparently, had no roofs; they had probably been accessible only from the first floor by means of the stair-case found in the south-east corner of the house. The jars were deposited along the walls. Most of them, with broken bases, were deposited up-side-down in older jars. These are big jars of about 40 cm in height and 14 cm in diameter.

A jar of the same type, with a broken base, was also found deposited in the central room is a small potter's habitation of the Napatan period excavated in the modern town of Kerma. This jar contained also a lot of fish-bones.

J. Garstang had found, during his excavation at Meroe at the beginning of this country, jars deposited along the different walls of buildings. For the first excavators of that town, these jars were linked with the practice of "Crematoria". Unfortunately, no anthropological studies were made on the discovered bones, hence it is not possible to confirm whether they contained fish bones or not. The examples of Kerma were certainly related to the storage of food. Jars with broken bases deposited in earlier recipients have been found along a wall of a Meroitic house excavated at Gezira Dobarosa and dated to the 2nd-1st century B.C.

The fish-bones were collected after the sieving of the contents of the jars found in the first Napatan building and on the site of the potters' workshop. These remains were studied by Dr. Louis Chaix, the archaeozoologist of the Swiss Mission at Kerma. Samples of salted fish prepared by the modern inhabitants of Kerma have also been analysed. They prove to belong to the same species of fish used in antiquities for the fabrication of "tirkeen".

We think that these remains could represent an ancient alimentary tradition still alive in the Nubian society. The use of conserved fish is a very strong custom in Nubia. Just a few years ago, each family used to produce its own stock of conserved fish. Today, the immigration of Nubians in the big towns and in the petrol-producing countries has transformed Nubia in a society of consumers of many imported products, previously originated in
this production comes from the great centers of commercial fabrication like Gebel Aulia and many other places on the White Nile.

In an attempt for a better understanding of the jars containing fish-bones, we turned towards the present Nubian society. An ethnoarchaeological inquiry have been conducted during the season 1977-1988. A questionnaire, divided into four sections was established. The first part deals with information concerning the questioned person (Name, residence, origin and age); the second is concerned with the means of obtaining the fish and the period of fishing; the third deals with the preparation of the "Fasikh" and the "Tirkeen", the type of recipient used and the place and duration of the conservation; the last section deals with the preparation of dishes and the consumption.

Nineteen individuals have been questioned. Those were four women and 15 men, aged 27-70 years, and they represent the three major Nubian groups: The Sukkut in the north, the Mahas in the middle and the Dongolawi in the south. They came from six different localities (Kerma, Wawa, Soleb, Sadeinga, Dongola and Gebel Barkal).

The majority of the questioned persons use old piece of textile for fishing; normally the Sudanese "toub", a women dress (sheet) of about 4.50m. In length and 1.00m large. The use of the net and professional fishing are very seldom practised in Nubia. Fishing with the "toub" gives good results to capture small fishes during the period of high flood (June-September). All the members of the family, normally, participate in this activity.

The "Faseekh" is prepared with fishes of medium size, which are entirely conserved. The technique of preparation consists of emptying the fish, cleaning and filling it with salt and to conserve it in a pottery Jar 3-6 months. Nowadays, the conservation takes place in metal or plastic containers. The fish is then consumed as it is or cooked with onions and tomato paste. Many of the questioned people do not know this product and those who use to eat it, normally, buy their needs from families of Egyptian origin in the region.

The "Tirkeen" is a product constituted by the conservation of fishes in the form of a heavy paste (Sausage). Three techniques of preparation have been noted:

a) Cleaning the fishes, mixing them with salt in a jar and continuing to turn the product with a branch of a date-Palm, during some days, until the changing of the product into a sort of a sausage. The product is then conserved under the sun, usually in the courtyard of the house.

b) To clean the small fishes and to empty the big ones; leave the fish to dry some hours in the sun; to put the fishes and the salt in superimposed
layers in the container; to turn with a branch of a date palm until the obtaining of the paste; to put the product in a pottery jar and to conserve it in the shadow.

c) Like the first technique but after obtaining the sausage, the product is seived and the fish bones are boiled to obtain a white matter (calcium) which is going to be, also, mixed with the "Tirkeen". The jar is normally conserved in the courtyard of the house. This later technique is known by only one person of the 19 questioned persons. The "Tirkeen" is normally conserved under the sun with the exception of some cases where the product is transferred to the shadow, a few hours after the fabrication.

The traditional containers used are the ceramic jars, with narrow mouths of about 40-60 cm in height. Nowadays, in the big centers of production (i.e. Gebel Aulia) the product is conserved in metal containers. In some cases, in Nubia where the family production is still maintained the "Tirkeen" is prepared in plastic or metal containers and, then, transferred into ceramic jars for the long conservation. In all cases, all the Nubian family participate in the fishing and preparation processes. The duration of the conservation of the Sausage is from 6 to 12 months depending on the quantity of salt added.

As for the consumption we noticed the existence of 3 dishes:

a) To pass the Sausage through a sieve to eliminate the fish-bones, mix it with onions, spices and lemon juice and to eat it with the "Gurrassa", a flat round and slightly cooked bread of wheat flour.

b) To cook the onions, mix them with the "Tirkeen" Sausage, wheat flour, spices, and tomatoes paste and to eat it, also, with Gurrassa.

c) To cook the onions and to boil the "Tirkeen" sausage; mix them with wheat flour, spices, tomatoes paste and to eat it with Gurrassa. A variant of this dish is to prepare it without adding the tomatoes paste.

The three dishes present a sort of evolution in the Nubian kitchen. In the past the Nubians knew only the first dish, then the second, and today the third constitutes the preferred dish of the new generation.

In spite of the uncertainty of ethnographical analogies, yet they offer a way of comparison to explain certain archaeological features. In a traditional society as the Nubian one in which people continue, for example, to pronounce the name of Mary at the birth of babies,(7) although they have been converted to Islam 6 centuries ago, we can admit that they have kept in their kitchen tradition the memory of a very old dish.

We think that the fish bones found in the jars of the Napatan houses at Kerma represent the remains of the production of the "Tirkeen" and not the "Faseekh" for many reasons: For the production of the "Faseekh" the fish is
entirely conserved and taken intact without leaving any remains in the jar; on the other hand the fish bones found and studied belonged to fishes of small size which is very convenient for the fabrication of "Tirkeen". Finally, most of the questioned persons do not know the "Faseekh", and those who eat it do not prepare it, a fact which show that the "Faseekh" is a foreign tradition in Nubia. The ancient practice consisted, probably, of preparing the sausage in a jar, putting it upside-down in a ceramic container already deposited in the ground and breaking, later on, the bottom of the jar to obtain the product. So we can admit that the Napatans were enjoying the consumption of the "Tirkeen" several centuries before the Romans did with the "garum".

NOTES


2. Ibid., Fig. 4.

3. Ibid., PP. 75-86, Fig. 6.


Preliminary Note on Excavation at El Ushara:
Site Number ne. 36-0, 9/A-1.
Shendi District February 1982

Salah Omer Al Sadig

In the general frame work activity of the Sudan National Corporation for Antiquities Museums* and French Archaeological Unit, the present writer made a limited trial digging at the archaeological site of El Ushara. The mission is under the directorship of Francis Geus, and this site was first reported by him few years ago.¹

The work continued for ten days 9th - 18th February 1982. The team of El Ushara composed of Salah Omer, Abdallah el Nazir, and ten workers. There are also two other teams at El Ghaba and El Kadada sites.

The site was indicated on the standard map of the Sudan, in the scale 1:250,000 map sheet number NE. 36-0. Coordinates as follows: Longitude 33° 32’E. Latitude 16° 43’ N. Site Number NE. 36-0, 9/A-1.

Description of the Site
The site is located on a prominent high ground about 3 km. East of the Nile where El Kadada another archaeological site is found. It is situated also on the east of the railway line going to Atbara, not far from El Taragma railway station.² The site is indicated by pottery shreds and lithic materials covering its surface.

It is worth mentioning that a number of pits on the site were made by lorries, which take sand to the new buildings at Shendi!.

Excavation Strategy
The purpose of this trial excavation is to get sequences of archaeological

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* Now National Corporation for Antiquities Services and Museums.

¹ Geus, Francis., Rescuing Sudan Ancient Culture, Khartoum, 1984. P. 11

² See the map of El Ushara area.
assemblages, which can be useful for establishing a relative chronology for the site. Moreover, we hope also to obtain organic material for radio carbon dating.

Another important purpose of this trial excavation is to determine the relation between this site of El Ushara, which seems from the surface archaeological objects to be a settlement, and the archaeological cemetery of El Ghaba. From surface observation both sites appeared to be related to the same cultural context. More and above, to know how far they are associated.

The excavation trench is located at a clear slope of the site, fortunately disturbed by recent activities. It is decided to excavate a trench of seven meter long and two meters wide, and a number of squares were excavated. Their total number is nine, and any square having one square meter dimension except squares 11, 14 have two square meter dimension. The rest of the squares are left unexcavated, their numbers are 3,9,10,12,13.

Within these excavated squares we collected the excavated and surface archaeological materials. The direction of the excavation trench was east-west, and the square have numbered in alphabetical order starting from A to N, the total number of the squares is fourteen. Square A and square 1 are one and the same, and so on for the other squares respectively.

The deposits were divided into mechanical layers, each layer had the depth of 10 cm., at the same time, the surface covered by sand and gravel of 4 cm. Depth. The soil was carefully sifted after it had been removed from the layer.

The Excavation

The material obtained include four types: shells, animal bones, pottery shreds, and lithic material. Charcoal and other finds were kept alone. The excavated squares describe as follows:-

* Square One: is excavated until depth of 34 cm., and the soil colour gradually black, the gravel are also becoming less. Pottery shreds are few, meanwhile the decoration on the pottery are zigzag line, wavy line, and basket ware. These decorations are obviously seen. There are shells, the type of which is traditionally used on pottery making. This type
was found at El Sheheinab by Arkell in 1949-50\(^3\). Isabella Caneva mentioned also this type.\(^4\) Digging is continued until depth of 41 cm., then the original ground was reached in some parts, while in the north and north-east side of the square the gravel and finds still continue: shells, animal bones, pottery shreds, and sandstone grinders besides a trace of mud structure on the north-east corner and extends towards the west.

* Square Two: After the surface deposit was cleared the soil started to become loose and black in colour. Pottery shreds in this square are numerous than in square 1; they are decorated in different patterns with incised lines. Animal and fish bones are presented and shells with different sizes are noticed. Lithic material and a fire place are identified also; in addition a small pit of yellow sand is recorded on the spot.

* Square 4: The original ground has been reached in depth of 84 cm., but in the southern side the gravel exists until the depth of one meter. In 80 cm deep a bone and sandstone grinder are found, and in the southern part of the square in depth of one meter, a pottery shred is presented and decorated with incised zigzag line.

* Squares 5,6: A similar archaeological material to square one are obtained, the original ground are reached in depth of 64 cm.

* Squares 7,8: After digging to depth of 50 cm the original ground has been reached. The archaeological material are also similar to square one although we found many pottery shreds in

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these two squares especially in square 7.

*Squares 11,14:* After cleaning the surface to depth of 4 cm, the soil was found to be very compact in these two squares. At the same time, many upper and lower sandstone grinders are discovered, some of which are in good condition. Other archaeological materials represented in the square.

**The Archaeological Material**

*Pottery shreds* are found all over the excavated trench, but in deeper layers they were less. All these pottery shreds were collected and taken for further study including all rim shreds decorated and undecorated. It is not possible at the present stage of the research to draw any conclusion about pottery, but many decorated shreds are identified as Shaheinab patterns.5

*Osteological material and shells* are found throughout the excavation trench. Most of the bones were in fragmentary and fragile state. On the other hand, one shell hook is recorded, several complete snail shells or fragments are obtained, a similar type was described by Krzyzaniak at Kadero.6 Equally important, shells of serrated Nile bivalves (Aspatharia rubens) which were used in pottery making can be distinguished and registered.

*Lithic materials* were scattered over the excavated trench, quartz, and chert fragments with few finished gouges and microlithic tools. Upper and lower sandstone grinders are also presented in a large amount.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, the site is a neolithic settlement, and associated with the archaeological cemetery of El Ghaba site. Both sites are related to the same cultural context.

According to pottery, lithic tools, osteological material and shells, which were collected from the site. There are many indications that the economic

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activities of El Ushara inhabitants during the neolithic time have been established on hunting, fishing, gathering, and animal domestication. However, there is also strong evidence from the numerous quantities of sandstone grinders, which proved that, the inhabitants at El Ushara had made their first step to food production system.  

Finally it is hoped that finds have thrown light on the importance of the site. For the sake of further comprehensive excavation.

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8 Photographs and drawings of the material are not presented in this paper. Because they are not available for the time being, due to circumstances beyond the writer's control.

9 Even though the excavated area was limited, but the obtainable materials were numerous. Consequently, the site is very rich and promising in findings. To confirm this point, here I quote from my field work diary:

   "Numbers of sags containing the archaeological material:
   42 Cotton sags containing lithic material pottery shreds washed.
   30 Cotton sags containing lithic material and pottery shreds not washed.
   34 Plastic sags medium size containing pottery shreds not washed many plastic sags in small and medium sizes containing shells, bones, fish bones, and other material."
References

Excavations at Gebel Barkal, 1996.
Report of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sudan Mission

Timothy Kendall

After a seven year absence, the Sudan Mission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, returned for a brief season at Gebel Barkal, from April 5 - 22, 1996. The team consisted of myself, director; Cynthia Shartzer, project manager; and Susanne Gänscicke, conservator; with the able assistance of Hassan Ahmed Mohammed, inspector, representing the Sudan National Corp. for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM), and twenty-two workmen from Karima and Barkal. Although the season was unavoidably short and the weather, less than ideal, the results were extremely interesting. We had three objectives: a) the exploration of the Napatan Palace (B 1200), which had been partially excavated by G. A. Reisner in 1919, b) the removal of one of Reisner's dumps, at the request of NCAM, in order to improve the appearance of the site for tourism; and c) the examination of the undocumented area B 1100.

Excavations in the Napatan Palace (B 1200)

From late December, 1918, to mid-February, 1919, George A. Reisner and his joint Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, team carried out excavations on the sprawling mud brick ruin that he named B 1200. This building, about 40 x 70 m in area, lies immediately west of the great temples B 500 and 800 (fig. 1). Reisner found that it had a vast number of rooms and a complex stratigraphy. Just as he had nearly completed exposing its top layers, however, some of his Qufti workmen exploring the site of el-Kurru found shawabtis inscribed for Shabaqo, which tempted him at once to suspend his operations at Barkal and to move to the new site. Although in his field diary he expressed the expectation of returning to B 1200 to complete his work, he

was never able to do so, and he never published what he found there.

Fifty years later, when Dows Dunham tried to report on Reisner's excavations at B 1200, he was frustrated by the fact that he could not find the excavator's survey plans of the building, which, unbeknownst to him, had become misplaced in storage at the MFA. Dunham thus could do no more than briefly describe B 1200 in his 1970 reports. Until 1989, when our own team surveyed the site, B 1200 had not appeared accurately on any map, but we were able to plot its visible remains. By extreme good fortune, however, Reisner's missing documentation was found in Boston at about the same time, and, by combining his data with our own, we were able not only to reconstruct the full plan of the building as Reisner found it, but also to place it correctly on the site map in relation to the temples.

Reisner had been uncertain about the function of B 1200, but in his diary he was tempted to refer to it once as a "palace" and later, in a preliminary report, as "the temporary coronation (?) halls" of Anlamani and Aspelta, whose names he had found in the ruins. In 1989, however, David O'Connor published an important paper in which he showed that for ritual reasons the Egyptians, at least during the New Kingdom, always built their palaces just outside and to the left of and at a right angle to the entrance of an Amun temple - or, as the texts stated, on the "starboard" side of Amun's bark as it emerged from the temple. Although the real residential and ceremonial palaces were built of mud brick and have for the most part disappeared, the surviving palaces of the mortuary temples on the west bank can still be seen to adhere to this rule. Because B 1200 also has this

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2D. Dunham, The Barkal Temples (Boston: 1970), p. 95
orientation with respect to B 800, we can safely conclude, first, that this was indeed the palace at Napata and, second, that its builders quite conscientiously followed the Egyptian model.

In 1991 I reviewed Reisner's data pertaining to B 1200 and presented a summary report for the British Museum's publication *Egypt and Africa.* From Reisner's notes and other historical information it was evident that B 1200 had been built and rebuilt at least four times on the same spot. Level I, the earliest, was apparently built by Kashta, and must have been maintained, enlarged, and used throughout the early Napatan Period. Reisner encountered it in only two places. Level II was a complete renewal of this first palace and was built over its dismantled remains. Level II could be attributed to Anlamani and Aspelata on the basis of inscriptions bearing their names, still visible in the rubble beneath the Level III rooms 1234, 1221, and 1213. The layers of charcoal and burned timbers that Reisner noted in Level II further revealed that this palace had been completely destroyed by fire. Textual evidence, combined with archaeological evidence for massive simultaneous destruction by fire throughout the site and at nearby Sanam, suggests that this


7In Ibid., pp. 307-308, it was suggested that the builder of Level I was Piye on the strength of an inscribed abacus bearing his name in the first court (B 801) of B 800. Since the axes of B 1200 and B 800 were built in relationship to one another, it is clear that these structures were planned simultaneously and were probably erected by the same king - likely before the restoration of B 500 had begun, and certainly before the addition to it of court B 501, both of which were works of Piye. Subsequent research has revealed that the inscribed abacus of Piye in B 801 actually bears the king's latest throne name *Snfr-ryw,* which suggests that he was not the original builder but rather the first restorer of B 801. The first builder, therefore, would have been a predecessor of Piye but one fairly well Egyptianized. The most logical candidate would seem to be Kashta. (This is discussed in greater detail in T. Kendall, "The Origin of the Napatan State: el-Kurru and the Evidence for the Royal Ancestors," in S. Wenig and P. Andressy, eds. *Meroitica 15* (Berlin: 1997), in press [pagination unavailable]).
destruction was wrought by the invading Egyptian army of Psammeticus II in 593 B.C.\textsuperscript{8}

The third palace, Level III, was erected probably sometime in the mid- or late sixth century B.C. directly on top of the burned rubble of Level II without any regard for the plan of the earlier structure. Level III was surely the palace that, about 430 B.C., Irike-amanote mentions visiting for his coronation in his Kawa text.\textsuperscript{9} Nearly sixty years later, this building was again thoroughly rebuilt by Harsiotef, who reported on his stela that "the royal residence has collapsed, there not being any place into which people go. I rebuilt the king's residence and chambers at Napata, chambers, 60; I had the enclosure surround (it) as well."\textsuperscript{10} A fifth and final phase of B 1200 may be implied by the red granite lions - the "Prudhoe Lions" - that were set up just on the north side of B 1200 about the mid-third century B.C. One was inscribed by Amanisto, who may have been one of the last kings to restore or occupy B 1200.\textsuperscript{11}

In sum, B 1200 seems to have been built about the mid-eighth century B.C., and apparently remained in almost continuous use as a royal rest house or ceremonial residence at Napata until the second century B.C. Apart from its one known destruction by violence, it would seem to have required complete rebuilding about once every 150 years. Ultimately in early Merotic times it was abandoned and replaced by an entirely new palace, built about 75 m in front of it. This was the large square structure called B 100, which like B 1200, opened perpendicularly on a temple axis: this time on that of B 501, first court of B 500. B 100 is now entirely buried by dumps and also still remains largely unpublished.\textsuperscript{12}

Today B 1200 appears as a labyrinth of badly eroded mud-brick walls. Most of these walls belong to the Level III or later phases, which for the most part are indistinguishable. Since few of these walls possess doorways, they must be only foundation

\textsuperscript{8} Kendall 1991: 307-308 and notes, and see below.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 455.
\textsuperscript{11} Kendall 1991: 309.
\textsuperscript{12} Dunham 1970: 7-9.
walls, and they must have elevated the latest phases of the building considerably above the level of the surrounding plain. (In the flood of August, 1988, the sanctuary was extensively inundated, but B 1200 remained an "island.") Reisner assigned a 1200-series number to each room formed by these later walls (fig. 2).

A "New Year's Hall" of Aspelta: B 1200, Level II.

In 1996 our team began excavating in six contiguous rooms of Level III: B 1213a, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1217, and 1221 (fig. 3a). From Reisner's diaries and photographs, it was plain that he had found here pieces of sculptured architectural elements from Level II, inscribed for Aspelta.  

Some of these could still be seen partly emerging from the later floor levels: in particular, a column drum (overbuilt by the later walls) covered with texts and figures of standing goddesses, and an unusual column capital formed of addorsed rams' heads. A similar rams' head capital was long ago built into the wall of the Merowe Museum, which must have come from this site through Reisner.

Of the six rooms we probed, one (B 1214) may have served as a corridor in both the Level II and III palaces. The remaining five rooms, however, had been built over the charred ruins of about half of a single large room of Level II (fig. 3b). As we excavated, we found that the fallen stone column elements of the earlier level had in some cases actually formed foundations for the walls and floors of the later. We eventually realized that the remaining area of this large early room must lie beneath 1217 and 1218 (still unexcavated at the end of our season) and that its total size must have been approximately 8.9 x 10.4 m. (or 17 by 20 Egyptian royal cubits).

The shorter NE wall of this room had been faced with fine sandstone masonry, carved in relief and painted. This stone facing had been set upon a well-laid, stepped stone foundation; sadly, it has almost entirely disappeared. Only two of the relief

\[13\] Diary, Jan. 8, 1919: "Under the late floor in 1213 are the remains of stone masonry (wall in place, cols. displaced, etc.). On the drum marked (x) [in an accompanying sketch] is the name of Aspalta (sic) and I have no doubt a temple of that king lies underneath. One of the pieces of stone is a large ram's head (crown of a separate piece) of red sandstone, but whether this is an architectural detail on part of a statue is unclear..."
blocks remain, both belonging to the base course (visible in pl. Ia). One, which we found out of place in the center of room 1213 and covered with modern graffiti, appeared in situ in one of Reisner's photos (MFA Eg. C 8656), so we were able to set it back in its original location. This block bears the lower part of an incised figure of Aspelta, facing left (toward Gebel Barkal). The stone depicts the king's extended lower right foot and calf, still bearing traces of red paint, with the hem and hanging tassels of a long robe. There would seem to have been enough room here for a scene depicting the king, perhaps followed by a royal lady, standing before an image of Amun, standing or seated within Gebel Barkal.14 The second block, still in situ further to the right, was the left jamb of a door on the right side of the wall. This stone retains the ends of two vertical lines of text: one, ending in the name of the city of Napata, and the other, in the words "...like his [father] Re every day" (..mi [it].f R™ hrw nb). The name of the god is written as a sun disk with the head and tail of a projecting uraeus: an icon, which, as we found, had a very special significance here. A third block, visible in the original photograph but now lost, formed part of a the right jamb of a door at the left side of the wall.

If this wall had two doorways, the longer mud-brick side walls appear to have been doorless (at least on their NE ends, which we were able to expose in 1996). Both of these walls had been coated with mud plaster, and on the SE wall small traces of red and blue color still adhered, indicating that it had once carried wall paintings.

The roof of this hall had been supported by four carved and painted stone columns, now toppled (see pl. Ia). We recovered all the elements of one complete column; we were thus able to reconstruct the exact form of the columns and to determine that they had stood to a height of 4.65 m. We found the bases of three and were able to predict the location of the fourth, which we were unable to expose due to time constraints.

The columns were of unique form, and their inscriptions make it clear that the hall had been built by and for Aspelta.

14A composition probably not unlike that in B 300, room 303, east wall (C. Robisek, Das Bildprogramm des Mut-Tempels am Gebel Barkal [Wien: 1989], p. 53, fig. 1), or in the the Aspelta chapel at Sannum (F. Ll. Griffith, "Oxford Excavations in Nubia," LAAA 9 (1922), pls. 45, 47.
Each column had stood on a base approximately 110 cm in diameter, and each had been shaped and tapered and composed of nine sections (fig. 4). The lower seven sections were each approximately one Egyptian cubit (52.3 cm) in height, and the sixth and seventh formed a capital of classic papyrus bud form. Only the third through fifth, and eighth and ninth sections were carved; the remainder were left smooth for painted decoration only. Where the fallen column drums remained packed in the original rubble of Level II or in the mud brick of Level III, they retained vivid traces of their original color. Each column, we could determine, had been painted white, with details at the top and bottom added in red, light blue, and yellow. The inscriptions of the mid-sections had been light blue. The carved decoration in the center of each column consisted of figures of standing goddesses holding large "year" signs in front of them and ankh signs behind them. Unfortunately, none of the figures yet exposed retained any color. Each column apparently bore six figures of goddesses, three facing left and three facing right (fig. 4 and pl. 1b).

Each goddess had been identified by name, following the words ḫd mdw ("Words spoken by...."), indicating that what followed was her utterance. Only one name was partially visible; this was a goddess called Sekerpt ("Protection of the Year"). Unfortunately, without dismantling the later walls that still concealed large sections of the carved drums, we could not recover more, and we could not reveal a single goddess's head. The words of the goddesses - at this point still only partially recovered - were all meant to protect the king. The continuous texts below the feet of the goddesses (carved on the third drum sections: see fig. 4) are partially preserved on a single visible drum from 1221. These were not quotations but what might be called apotropaic "confirmations." Here the names of the goddesses "Southern Neith" and Bastet are preserved, but the context is unclear. At this point the texts can be tentatively read as follows:

From column drum in 1213:

[Words spoken by (named goddess)]: ".............being of the noble ished tree and vice versa" (.addr mdw in .......]
...........................................wnn ḫd ḫpps ḫs pār

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Words spoken by (named goddess): "...............[and may] you [........] all the great rulers of this land, oh king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merykare, living forever........all the kings of Lower Egypt ...(?)] ([ṣd \text{ mdw } in ..........] k ḫkʃw nbw wrw t£ pn nsw-bity Mry-k3-R\textsuperscript{TM} \textsuperscript{TM}_n\textsuperscript{∞} ḏt..........bįtyw nb(w) r is b(?tw)

Words spoken by 'Protectress of the Year': "...............[and I] shall beseech life upon the lord of the living, who arrives at (?) all......" ([ṣd \text{ mdw } in \text{ S£-rnp}t...........[in]k n£ \textsuperscript{TM}_n\textsuperscript{∞} oor nb \textsuperscript{TM}_n\textsuperscript{∞} w spr nb ...)

From column drum under wall between rooms 1215 and 1213:

Words spoken by (named goddess): "[Oh,] son of [Re], Aspelta, living forever, ........[may you be protected against] all your enemies (among?) mankind." ([ṣd \text{ mdw } in ........] s£ [R<] /splť£ \textsuperscript{TM}_n\textsuperscript{∞} ḏt..................osťyw.k nb(w) ￠nmmt .....).

Words spoken by (named goddess): "[May you be protected against] your [enemies?] north and east, oh King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merykare...............the goddess, who gives to you [......]" ([ṣd \text{ mdw } in.............k.mǝty i£btty nsw-bity Mr-k£-R\textsuperscript{TM}..............nḤrt ḏ.i.n.k r ..........)

Words spoken by (named goddess): "...............son of Re, Aspelta, living forever,........too that none can stand to oppose you." ([ṣd \text{ mdw } in.............] k[?]r i[?]p[???] nb s£ R\textsuperscript{TM} /splť£ \textsuperscript{TM}_n\textsuperscript{∞} ḏt
..............................................r (n)n \textsuperscript{TM}_h\textsuperscript{TM} m ￠s.k)

Words spoken by (named goddess) "...............[so that] there is no occasion of peace [for them]" ([ṣd \text{ mdw } in.............] ........nn sp sn n Ḩtп...)

From fragmentary inscribed column drum in room 1221:)

"[.......] Southern Neith, Bastet, [.....] does not know....his (?) in the six great halls of the the 'hill-house;' there will not come into being a high chief [who will oppose him]........ [there is] no year of the Son of Re, Aspelta, living forever, knowing (evil?) places (?), knowing .........He will not hunger; he will not thirst; he will not be seized......" ([..... \text{ N}∞b(t)- ḏbrit Bastet n

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\textsuperscript{307} \textsuperscript{HUSH}
Many of the missing details of these columns and their texts, and much more of their painted decoration, should be recoverable by excavation with more time, with a better conservation capability, and after a decision is made by NCAM about how much of the later walling should be destroyed in order to free these columns, and about what should be done with the columns once they are exposed.

The most novel feature of the columns is that the papyrus bud capital appears not to have been the top. The top was undoubtedly formed by a two-part secondary capital composed of a lower section of carved rams' heads and an upper section of sun disk crowns with Hathoric uraei (figs. 4, 5, and pl. IIa). Curiously, the rams' heads and their sun disk crowns appear to have been carved on only three of the four quadrants of each capital, leaving one corner vacant (fig. 5). This indicates that the four columns had ram heads either facing only outward to the corners of the room, or inward into the space between them.

At least three whole or partial units of these ram capitals and their crowns were identified in the area we cleared, but it must be admitted that none was found associated with the single surviving papyrus bud capital. The restoration drawing of the column type (fig. 4) has been made based on measurements of the diameters and heights of the sections. Because the rams' heads appear to fit perfectly on top of the bud capital, and because the iconography is virtually identical to that appearing on the gold cylinder sheaths from Aspelta's tomb and others at Nuri, the restoration would seem to be correct. It is also noteworthy that capitals carved in high relief with multiple rams' heads wearing sun disk crowns can still be seen, lying on the ground, in the ruins of the palace of Amanishakheto at Wad Ben Naqa.

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15I would like to thank Prof. John Baines for having a first look at these texts and suggesting their essential meanings to me. I have worked on them subsequently, but confess that many words and phrases still elude me. Obviously much work remains to be done to refine their meanings. Many of the missing text fragments, however, probably will be recovered with further excavation.

16Dows Dunham, Royal Cemeteries of Kush II: Nuri. (Boston: 1955), pls. 96-108.
We knew from one of Reisner's photographs (MFA Eg. C 8657) that he had found a well-preserved rams' head capital lying deep under the SE wall of room 1215. When we excavated this room, we found that this object was no longer there, and we could only conclude that this had been the capital later taken and installed in the Merowe Museum. As we probed this spot, however, we found the outline of a disturbed area on the floor about the size of this capital, and to our surprise, in the packed earth against the wall, we found an undisturbed fragment of this object with all of its original bright paint intact. This was a nearly complete horn from one of the rams' heads. The paint had been applied directly to the sandstone. The horn was white, with two thin yellow lines on the upper inside edge. Red brown formed the ground color from which the rams' heads emerged, and unidentifiable fragments painted light blue indicated that this color had also been used. The complete rams' head capital still lying in room 1213 bore traces of the red brown ground, and where one of the rams' heads had been pressed into the earth below, it still preserved extensive yellow on its face. These clues allowed the basic color scheme of the tops of the columns to be reconstructed with reasonable confidence: horns, white with fine yellow lines on interior; face, ears, and probably uraeus and sun disk, yellow; ground, red-brown; tuft between the horns, probably blue.

In the area where the center of the room had been, we found two base fragments of a near cubical sandstone statue or statue base of unique form (fig. 6, pl. IIb). This was a pedestal, originally 62 cm. square and, before breakage, probably about 78 cm high. To a height of 28 cm, its base was square and smooth. Above this, all four sides appear to have been carved with a large sun disk with uraeus in high relief (fig. 4). Each sun disk would have been about 50 cm. in diameter. Unfortunately, only the lowest parts of the sun disks were preserved, but we never reached the floor of 1221 where perhaps other fragments of this object may yet be found. Since the icon of the sun disk with uraeus represented any or all of the great goddesses in their apotropaic form as the "Eye of Re" (i.e the uraeus of the sun god), we can suppose that this object was either a statue of the goddess in this form, a stand for some cult offering or for a statue of the goddess in some other form, or possibly even a base for a statue of the king, which would have been symbolically protected both by the uraeiform stand and by the surrounding goddesses, all of whom were anthropomorphic forms of the "Eye." On the royal
cylinder sheaths from Nuri, the pictured goddesses on the sides
are sometimes identified by their names followed by the epithet
"Eye of Re," or they are accompanied by images of udjat eyes, all
apparently indicating their identity as the "Eye of Re." The
form of this stand would seem to be unprecedented.

The significance of all these texts and decorative elements
can be understood from related documentation in Egypt; they
surely relate to the special royal ceremonies conducted on the
occasion of the New Year. The period of transition from one year to the next was
thought to be one in which the most dangerous supernatural
forces could upset the balance of the universe by unleashing
disaster on the land or on the king. It was the one moment when
world order was considered to be most vulnerable. The disaster
might come in any form: pestilence, famine, attack by enemies,
witchcraft, killing heat waves, too little water at inundation or too
much, etc. The chief orchestrator of such calamity was thought to
be the lion goddess Sekhmet, who was remembered in myth for
nearly destroying mankind at the beginning of time. The New
Year ceremonies, thus, were largely directed toward appeasing
this savage goddess with offerings, spells, and amulets. These
rites had a dual purpose: on the one hand, they attempted to
pacify her and to prevent her from injuring the king and the
realm; on the other, they attempted to redirect her evil powers
toward the real and perceived enemies of the king, just as the sun
god had harnessed Sekhmet's powers when she became his own
uraeus and transformed into Maat, the personification of world
order. During this ceremony, the king tried to cleanse himself
magically of any troubles afflicting him so that they would not
carry over into the coming year; he then made confession of his
sins to the goddess, who was then expected to become

17 Ibid., pls. 98, 102, 108, 111b. Edw. J. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval
Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (Unpublished Doctoral
18 Cf. J. Yoyotte, "Une monumentale litanie de granite: Les Sekhmet d'Amenophis
III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse," Bulletin de la Société
Française d'Égyptologie 87-88 (1980), 47-75; Philip Germond, Sekhmet et la
protection du monde. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 9 (1981); L. V. Zabkar, Hymns to Isis
in Her Temple at Philae (Hanover and London: 1988), pp. 121-123.
sympathetic and to reconfirm him in his kingship for the same period. New Year's Day, thus, metaphorically became a re-enactment of creation, the first crowning of Horus, and the king's own rebirth and coronation, rendering him again new, strong, and pure. In exchange for her support the king then made elaborate offerings to the goddess, including the gift of a uraeus for her crown, by which he also promised to protect her.  

We should probably conclude that this hall was the place where Aspelta annually performed these rituals. On the other hand, perhaps it was a permanent shrine to the appeasement of the dangerous goddess, in which a statue of the king always stood, surrounded by her protective forms, as a substitute for Aspelta himself when he was not present at Napata. In this case palace personnel may have performed related rituals in his behalf every day to ensure his protection and that of the kingdom. In the Mut temple at Karnak, for example, over 730 over lifesize statues of Sekhmet were set up; each represented a form of the goddess thought potentially capable of bringing trouble to a specific day - apparently of both the lunar and civil calendars (365 x 2), which ran simultaneously.  

Each statue, thus, had to be separately pacified in order to ensure the safety of the duality of each day. At this point it is unclear what the 24 goddesses carved on the columns in B 1200 represented; perhaps they were the goddesses of the months of the separate calendars. Although none of their heads have yet been recovered on the column fragments, they will probably all be found to be leonine and forms of Sekhmet, who was simply one aspect of the "Eye of Re."

In earlier reports I have shown that the 80 m high pinnacle on Gebel Barkal was venerated as a naturally occurring statue of a uraeus. When seen from the west, the rock appears as a rearing uraeus crowned with an orb or sun disk, the very form of the "Eye of Re." The pinnacle is represented thus in reliefs in temple B 300 at Barkal, the Aspelta chapel of the Sanam temple, the Lion Temples at Musawwarat es-Sufra and Naga, and on a seal ring in the Ferlini Treasure, for example; it is also represented in

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this manner in a hieroglyph symbolizing Gebel Barkal, used repeatedly in the Nastasen stela. The uraeiform rock must therefore have been conceived as a statue of the all the great goddesses identified as daughters and protectresses of the sun god and who, individually or combined, could become the serpent entity known as the "Eye of Re," worn by the sun god on his forehead. Most commonly identified with the "Eye" were the leonine goddesses Tefnut, Sekhmet, and Bastet, as well as the (usually) anthropomorphic goddesses Hathor, Mut, Isis, Maat, etc. The temples B 200 and 300, directly beneath and to the west of the pinnacle, were sacred to these deities. It is hardly surprising that B 1200, the royal residence at Gebel Barkal, was placed in front of this rock or that it was rebuilt over and over again on this same spot. Here it would have been thought to lie under the protection of these goddesses.

It is evident that this "New Year's Hall" of Aspletta - and, judging from Reisner's records, the whole building of which it was a part - had been consumed by fire. Like Reisner, we found here much charcoal, large pieces of charred palm roofing beams, blackened or partially fired brick, and baked mud bearing impressions of reeds that would seem to have been material fallen from the roof. How long this room had been used by Aspletta before its destruction is unclear; but on the floor of 1213 there was a grindstone still stained with red, possibly suggesting that the artisans may still have been putting the final painted details on the room when disaster struck. We have thus far found little on the floor, except a few potsherds and a single inlay of orange glass.

There seems little reason to doubt that the disaster in question was the sudden arrival at Napata of the Egyptian army of Psammeticus II, who in 593 B.C. sent his troops into Kush, probably in response to increased Kushite pretensions to his throne from the late seventh century on. According to the king's Shellal stela, his army met and defeated a large Kushite force at the Third Cataract and took 4200 prisoners. His Tanis stela,

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which completes the story, states that his troops then marched to a place called "the capital of the qore," which was said to be next to a town called D$n "the Cliff." The text continues: "Then the army of His Majesty smote them so that a great carnage was made out of them. Then they burned the qore who was in ... their midst with him ... of his residence..."25 Here, "the Cliff" would seem to be Gebel Barkal; the "burned" qore, Aspelta; and "his residence," B 1200. Note that the text, if accepted as credible, seems to state that the qore himself perished in the fire! The archaeological record reveals that the Barkal temples were extensively damaged by fire at the same time; the colossal statues of the kings, set up in B 500, were pulled down and broken up - and the last king in the series was Aspelta.26 The Taharqa temple at Sanam, with its chapel of Aspelta, as well as the nearby royal warehouse were also burned, seemingly simultaneously, and the local cemetery was abandoned.27 Always in these contexts the latest royal name in evidence is Aspelta's. Sekhmet, it seems, had not been entirely appeased that year.

We found that Aspelta's columns in B 1200 had either fallen when the building collapsed, or they were pulled down afterwards. The column lying between 1213a and 1213, for example, had fallen so that its fourth through seventh sections lay to the NE, while its second and third sections lay to the SW - suggesting it had been toppled in two episodes, the second certainly by deliberate human action, perhaps by those seeking to level off the Level II ruins in order to commence building Level III. It is interesting that some of these fallen column drums partly formed the flooring of the later level. Some had been cut down or flattened so as to form a level surface. In room 1221, two of the column drums appear to have been left embedded in the floor, with their original rounded shape slightly projecting above the floor level. Where this occurred, the exposed surface of each block is gouged or scraped, leaving one or several deep, smoothed grooves. This suggests that elements of the destroyed

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Level II palace were still visible in the later periods of the palace and that either they - or the images of the goddesses carved thereon - were so venerated by its occupants that from time to time they took scrapings of the stone, believing it had curative or magical powers.

Examination of Debris from the Palace Kitchens (B 1200, rooms 1201-6)

As representatives of Reisner's sponsoring institution, we were asked by NCAM to begin clearing his dumps away from the site in order to improve its appearance for tourism, but not before each mound was carefully re-examined. Since we had no previous experience clearing dumps, we did not know how long the re-examination of a given amount of dump material could take. We thus selected for removal a small dump on the west edge of the site, just beside B 1200. This was not only conveniently located for access by a dump truck, which was needed to carry the earth to another location, but it was also of considerable interest for us, since we could determine from Reisner's own photographs (MFA Eg. B 3583, B 3584, A 2736, and A 2739) that this dump had been formed by his excavation of rooms 1201-1206. Because Reisner reported finding here numerous fire pits, coals, and charred and broken cattle bones, there could be little doubt that these rooms had comprised the palace kitchen area.

Fifteen to eighteen men were put to work on the dump. Initially we made an effort to consider the stratigraphy of the mound, since we assumed that the material near the top would have been excavated from the lowest levels of the excavation, and the material at the bottom would have come from the highest levels. The material, however, seemed so well mixed that no obvious distinction could be made between the levels, and since we did not know if and where Reisner's men had excavated horizontally, the usefulness of a stratigraphic approach seemed minimal. We thus ultimately decided to have the men dig vertically along the southern side of the dump.

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28 These rooms are shown fully cleared in Dunham 1970: pl. 61 A.
29 Diary, Jan. 11, 1919 (p. 650): "The space 1202 was manifestly used for fires for cooking purposes. Four hearths are distinctly visible, one in the 'NW' corner which has burned the walls. The debris to the lowest depth all over the site contains coals, bones of cattle, ashes and potsherds - other than the burnt layer over the Aspetla floor." See also Kendall 1991: pp. 303, 306.
On the first day (April 7), we had the workmen dump their baskets of earth in front of us, and we examined the soil by hand. On the second day, however, we obtained a screen sieve from a local builder and from then on we sifted every basket of earth. This made the examination of the material extremely easy, and resulted in the recovery much debris of just the sort described by Reisner. Through the generosity of NCAM, we were able to bring a good sampling of the material back to Boston. Although detailed analysis of this material has not yet been undertaken, the following types of objects may be cited:

a) a large quantity of animal bones, identified (tentatively) as those of cattle, caprids, and fowl; and other food debris, including river shellfish and date pits. A single dog tooth was also found. Many of the animal bones were charred, presumably from cooking fires; and much charcoal was also recovered.

b) a large quantity of small, sharp flakes of quartz, chert, flint and agate - apparently for skinning slaughtered animals or for cutting meat. These flakes were obtained by smashing natural smooth pebbles, found everywhere on the site, probably with round palm-sized hammerstones, of which we also found several. Pebble cores and wasters were likewise recovered in abundance. All of these flakes and cores, if found out of context, might normally be called "Neolithic," but the stratum here is certainly Napatan, and they were surely connected with the activities of the palace butchers and cooks.

c) many potsherds made into round disks, which might have been used for burnishing or scouring pottery, but their function in this context is unclear.

d) a variety of faience and shell beads of tubular and disk shape and many fragmentary amulets: esp. faience _udjat_ eyes and a single natural cowrie, pierced for stringing; these must have been the simple ornaments worn by the palace domesticus.

e) fragments of bronze, sheet bronze, and copper slag.

f) fragments of faience vessels, and fitting fragments of a single large faience _sé_ symbol, which may have been an architectural ornament.
g) an enormous quantity and variety of pottery, including 1) a spout from a BP or BTRP Classic Kerma spouted vessel, 2) obviously intruded from an earlier stratum, 2) several rim sherds from one or more thin-walled BTRP vessels with micaceous inclusions, perhaps from a peripheral Classic or Late Kerma ware, although a Napatan ceramic cannot be ruled out, 3) large numbers of sherds of imported Upper Egyptian marl-ware amphorae, 4) many mat-impressed and finger-impressed sherds of Napatan type, and 5) a huge number of sherds of a distinctive handmade mold-impressed ware, including plates, bowls, and beakers, characterized by red-painted bands on their exterior and interior rims. To these the paint was carelessly applied and frequently exhibits drip patterns. This red-rimmed pottery appears to be similar in style to an Upper Nubian wheelmade ware of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, such as was found, for example, at Sai in FDs of Thutmose III. But fragments of derivative red-rimmed ware have also been noted extensively in Napatan contexts at Sanam and Kerma, for example; others appear in the Dynasty 25 royal grave material from Kurru, now stored in the Museum of Fine Arts. One would have to conclude from the enormous quantities found in B 1200 that this ware, perhaps imitating or descending from a local New Kingdom pottery, had become the standard royal tableware in the Napatan period. A few sherds were also recovered from the floor of the Aspetella Hall, room 1213.

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32 For example, Ibid., pl. 17, IIIa-k.
33 For example, Salah ed-Din Moh. Ahmed, L'agglomération napatéenne de Kerma (Paris: 1992), pp. fig. 17
35 Cf., for example, Griffith 1923: p. 100, 102; Ahmed 1992, p. 61, nos. IE7, IE9; and a rim sherd of a large plate from Ku. 16 (Tanwetamani) from el-Kurru. I thank Lisa Heidorn for pointing out these parallels to me. Reisner found three intact red-rimmed bowls of this type inside room 1203, together with sherds of many more. Two whole vessels were brought back to Boston and have the field numbers 19-1-25, 26. A third, from 1205, bears the number 19-1-9.
Surface examination of unexcavated area B 1100, and evidence that it may contain shrines of the royal uraeus goddesses.

Between B 300 and B 700 there is a very large, seemingly vacant area, 80 x 80 m, that has never been excavated. Today it is a rolling field of low sand heaps, scattered baked bricks, fragments of decayed sandstone and column fragments. It is apparent from the most casual observation that this had been an important and heavily built part of the sanctuary and that the large blank here on the published site maps provides an entirely misleading impression of the ancient reality. Reisner, like Lepsius, had recognized that there had been at least one large structure here; Reisner had numbered it B 1100.36

It will be seen (fig. 1) that this area lay behind B 1200 and directly in front of the Gebel Barkal pinnacle, which, as noted above, was venerated as a naturally occurring colossus of a uraeus.37 Immediately to the left (W) of the pinnacle are the well-known temples B 200 and 300, built by Taharqa to honor the goddesses Hathor, Mut and Tefnut, among others, which, as we have seen, were all anthropomorphic forms of the sun god's uraeus, "the Eye of Re." In mythology, the unacified leonine form of this goddess is said to have dwelt in Nubia and to have been brought to Egypt by her brother, the god Shu-Onuris in order to be the protectress of her father the Sun.38 During this journey she changed form many times, from leonine, to feline, to human, thus accounting for her many identities and many different names. It is evident, thus, that Gebel Barkal must have been interpreted as the place in Nubia where this goddess dwelt in all her manifestations.

One ancient relief image of Gebel Barkal, however, illustrates that the mountain must also have been perceived as the residence of the goddesses of the royal crowns and uraei, the

36 G. A. Reisner, "The Barkal Temples in 1916," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 4 (1917), 214-215: "B 1100 was one of the early temples. Our trenches showed that the back part was entirely destroyed, but, while clearing B 800, we came on a pavement and a column which must belong to B 1100, probably from the hall of columns in front of the destroyed sanctuary."
37 See note 22.
"Eye of Horus."\(^{39}\) For example, on the interior south wall of the temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, the mountain is shown from the east, with the pinnacle appearing - as it in fact looks from the same angle - as a giant uraeus crowned with the White Crown.\(^{40}\) This would explain why Gebel Barkal became such an important coronation center and site of royal pageantry, and why B 1200 was positioned directly in front of the pinnacle; it would have been thought to be under the protection of the royal uraei. One would thus naturally predict that B 1100, lying immediately in front of the uraeiform rock and behind the palace, would have been related to the service of these goddesses.

In 1989 we noticed three visible column bases emerging from a low mound of architectural rubble in the approximate center of this sector, suggesting the axis of a building aligned almost precisely on the pinnacle.\(^{41}\) This season, behind the back slope of this mound on the same axis we noticed faint traces of a wall, parallel to the cliff, with a gap, presumably the remnant of a doorway. Eight meters beyond, traces of another parallel wall could be observed, apparently with an opening for yet another doorway. Just beyond this is a steep mass of water-washed debris from the hillside, containing a column drum and one finely cut architectural fragment. Just where this rubble flow joins the scree, a partially buried wall of well-cut sandstone blocks can be seen just to the right of, and parallel to, the axis. The blocks, set with mortar, are each one Egyptian cubit (52.3 cm) in length. They are obviously the remains of the east wall of a temple in the B 200/300 series, partly built into the slope of the mountain. At some point in the past this temple had been buried by a sudden fall of rocks from the cliff above. Much debris and many large boulders now lie precisely where one would expect to find its sanctuary.

A possible identification of the building or buildings in B 1100 may be provided by a text surviving on a pair of fragmentary stone doorjambs discovered by Reisner in the eastern end of B 1200. These doorjambs, now collapsed and ruined, were


found in good condition by the excavator and were recorded in several photographs (MFA Eg. A 2763, C 8859, 8668, 9297, 9298, 9311). The door, found blocked by a mud brick wall of Level III, had served as the main entrance to the two important rooms 1233 and 1234, which, like the Aspelta New Year hall, had belonged to Level II. As may be seen on the plan (fig. 2), the inner room, 1233, had had four columns. Four stone sockets still in its floor between the columns suggested the place where a canopy had been erected, doubtless over a platform on which the king stood or sat enthroned during important ceremonial occasions. This room gave access to room 1234, a larger outer chamber or "reception hall" with eight columns. The doorway with the inscribed jambs, marking the W corner of that room, led from 1234 to the corridor 1237-1239. A right turn from that doorway would have led one down the corridor to a rear exit from the palace, later marked by the Prudhoe lion statues, set side by side surely to symbolize the rwy lions. A look at the map will reveal that, although this exit is still unexcavated, it would have opened directly upon a full view of the great "uraeus," framed by the lions. The king, passing between the lions, would have followed a pathway, still faintly apparent as a sunken depression, to B 1100.

Each of the jambs of the door in 1234 bore two partially preserved vertical lines of text. Reisner did not attempt to translate them, but careful examination of the photographs can allow one to reconstruct most of the words. The texts on the left jamb are somewhat ambiguous, but the cartouche of Anlamani can clearly be seen, revealing that this part of B 1200 had been built just prior to the New Year's Hall, inscribed for his successor. The texts on the right jamb, however, preserve the words: ......wēptw t r pr wr sw(?) t t t puts tw pr nnsr ("...one goes out to the Great House...and one enters [?] the House of Flame."). The second line continues: .... s m ētp sp sn(?)...tn wēpt twēpt R T@ spoo r wēpt twēpt wēpt/jr Hr @s.pr. ("...in peace, in peace..... your (fem. s.) wholeness/prosperity is the wholeness/prosperity of the Eye of Re and vice versa; your

42 See Dunham 1970, pls. 61B, 62B-D
44 Diary, Jan. 31, 1919 (p. 685): "The name of Anlam (sic) on the doorway leading towards the Aspelta (sic) apartments is clear but the rest of the inscription was too dusty to make out."
wholeness/prosperity is the wholeness/prosperity of the Eye of Horus and vice versa." Since the subject of the second line is feminine singular, likened to the Eyes of Re and Horus and able to supply prosperity, she would seem to be a uraeus goddess and, thus, the probable speaker of the first line, which may have contained her words addressed to Anlamani (As, for example, "[Words spoken by {goddess}]: 'You shall pass through this door, through which] one goes out to the Great House.... and one enters (?) the House of Flame.' ") The king, then, may have answered her in the second line. It is of great interest, then, that the two named shrines - the Pr-wr ("Great House") and the Pr-nsr ("House of Flame") - are those specifically associated with the royal uraeus goddesses, and were the shrines known to have been visited by Egyptian kings, during their coronations, to receive their crowns and urael.

The name Pr wr was generally applied to the temple of Nekhbet, goddess of the White Crown, at el-Kab in Upper Egypt, while the name Pr nsr was applied to the shrine of Wadjet, mistress of the Red Crown, at Buto in Lower Egypt. In the coronation text of Horemheb, however, shrines at Karnak bearing these same names played an important role in the ceremonies; they were obviously local substitutes for the great temples in which the uraeus goddesses dwelt in their respective cities.

In the Horemheb text, the god Amun is said to have "proceeded to the palace" to fetch the waiting royal candidate; next he is said to have accompanied the king-to-be to the Pr wr, in which dwelt the divine personification of the royal crowns, the goddess Weret-Hekau ("Great of Magic"). Here, it is said, the goddess embraced Horemheb and "established herself upon his forehead." The king, probably still in company with Amun, next passed to the Pr nsr and was also acclaimed by its divine occupants: Nekhbet and Wadjet, the two royal uraeus goddesses, who were there with Neith, Isis and Nephthys, and the gods Horus and Seth. These all then cried out in unison: "Behold, Amun is come, his son in front of him, to the Palace in order to establish

his crown upon his head... Give him the jubilees of Re and the years of Horus as king.”

The coronation ritual was said to have commenced at dawn, as did all daily rituals, so that the king’s "rising" would simulate the sun's and thus recreate the moment of Creation. The king's ablutions and robing, metaphorically compared to the rising of Atum from the watery Nun, took place in a palace chamber called the Pr-dwēt ("The House of Morning"). One can easily imagine the choreography of the Egyptian coronation simply transferred to Gebel Barkal. The king awoke and performed his "purifications" and "risings" in the Pr-dwēt, which might well have been room 1233, or some other closely connected room in B 1200. We can easily imagine 1233, in any case, as the room in which the royal candidate awaited the arrival of Amun from B 800 or B 500. When the god arrived, the king would have departed the palace (through room 1234 and through the inscribed doorway) and proceeded down the corridor 1237-39 and out of the palace through a rear door facing B 1100. (In early Meroitic times the same route would have led the candidate between the rwt-y/prudhoe lions.) Now in company with the god he visited the Pr wr and Pr nsr to meet the goddesses Weret-Hekau, Nekhbet, and Wadjet, and to receive from them his crown.

Although none of the Napatan royal stelae explicitly describes the ceremony at Gebel Barkal in which the king received his crown, they are unanimous in stating that he received it from, or in the company of, Amun. The Year 1-2 stela of Irike-amanote, however, does reveal that the king went "to the royal

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residence" to receive his crown. Harsiotef further states that "from the moment I desired my crown, his [Amun's] eye looked favorably on me," in which case, the word jrt ("eye") can also be understood to mean "Eye" in the sense of jtmrt ("uraeus goddess"). More interesting still is the remark in the Nastasen Stela that his mother Pelkha gave him the crown, perhaps an indication that she was here acting in the role of, or as the embodiment of, Weret-hekau and the uraeus goddesses, the king's divine mothers. That the king of Kush did indeed go from his palace to these shrines to receive his crown and uraei is confirmed by Taharqa's coronation reliefs at Kawa, in which the king, after being selected by Amun, appears being led by Horus and Thoth to a Pr wr, into the presence of Weret-Hekau. Behind her the two gods place the Double Crown upon Taharqa's head.

It appears that the grand coronation ceremony held at Gebel Barkal was re-enacted in some form at every Amun temple in the realm. In the Sanam temple, Griffith found fragments of a large cobra statue (Wadjet) and a large vulture statue (Nekhbet) in Chamber J of that shrine; also at Sanam an official in the Madiken stela was called "Overseer of the Palace (Pr nsw) of Wadjet." It is interesting that Chamber J has precisely the same relationship to the temple sanctuary at Sanam as B 1200 and 1100 have to the Amun temples at Barkal, suggesting that Chamber J was indeed the "Palace of Wadjet" because it lay to the

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51 Ibid. 1996, p. 441.
52 Troy 1986, p. 21, 23-25, passim; Walker 1991, pp. 139-149
54 Troy 1986, pp. 68-72
left and at a right angle to the sanctuary. This room, thus, may have served as the symbolic and functional equivalent for B 1200 and/or B 1100 at Barkal, and was perhaps the room where the king stayed, in company with the "Two Ladies," during the equivalent aspects of his coronation at Sanam. It is thus no surprise to find that in Temple T at Kawa, Room H, in which the reliefs depict the Pr-wr, the crowning of the king, and related events, is similarly located in this temple. This would suggest that the provincial temples reproduced in microcosm, room by room, the grandiose ritual landscape of Gebel Barkal, where the ceremonies were played out in macrocosm, temple by temple. With further excavations, this theory can probably be confirmed and much elaborated, with the preserved texts and reliefs of the smaller temples helping us to understand better what rituals were carried on in the great temples at Barkal, where one would also hope to find supporting evidence.

Whatever unknown temple lies up against Gebel Barkal in B 1100, directly in front of the "uraeus" colossus, it is clear that its sanctuary still lies buried, perhaps from the same rock fall that crushed the sanctuary of nearby B 700, found by Reisner in 1916 with all its statuary still inside. Hopefully excavation here will also reveal one or more statues, still in their original place. If so, we will expect that they are those of one or more the goddesses from whom the kings of Kush received their crowns and uraei.

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58 See notes 4 and 5.
Figure Captions:


3a. Plan of B 1200, rooms 1213-1221, Level III, showing later mud-brick walls (stippled) overlying the fallen and scattered stone architectural elements of Level II.

3b. Plan of the same area, Level II, revealing the single large "New Year's Hall" of Aspelta, partially excavated in 1996.

4. Reconstructed column type and cult stand (?), from the "New Year's Hall" of Aspelta (B 1200, Level II).

5. Plan and cross section of the rams' head capital and crown element from the Aspelta "New Year's Hall," B 1200, Level II (room 1213).

6. Drawing of two fragments, found in 1996, of the cubical cult stand (?) from the Aspelta "New Year's Hall," B 1200, Level II (top: room 1221, bottom: room 1213). The four sides of the object were apparently carved as sun disks with uraei in high relief.

Plate Ia: N view of room 1213, as excavated, showing fallen column (left), relief block on stepped stone foundation (rear), and rams' head capital, all from Level II debris, with mud brick walls of Level III.

Plate Ib: Column drum carved in low relief with images of "year goddesses" and apotropaic texts in the name of Aspelta: B 1200, Level II, room 1213.
B 1200 Excavations, April, 1996

Plan showing walls of Level III built over fallen columns of Level II
a. rams head capitals     c. column drums bearing texts of Aspelta
b. sun disk capitals     d. fragments of four-sided stand carved with sun disks
Plate Ia: N view of room 1213, as excavated, showing fallen column (left), relief block on stepped stone foundation (rear), and rams' head capital, all from Level II debris, with mud brick walls of Level III.
Plate Ib: Column drum carved in low relief with images of "year goddesses" and apotropaic texts in the name of Aspelta: B 1200, Level II, room 1213.
Plate IIa: W view of 1213 toward 1221, showing fallen column (right) with inscribed drum (in pl. Ib), rams' head capital with displaced crown element beside it (left), and fragment of cult stand (?) (center): B 1200, Level II.
Plate IIb: Corner fragment of cubical cult stand (?) with sides carved as large sun disks with uraei in high relief, B 1200, Level II, room 1213.
The Spanish Archaeological Work at the Blue Nile (Khartoum Province), 1989-1996.

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1.- Introduction

In January 1989 the Spanish Archaeological Mission in Sudan resumed its work in the country, after being interrupted since 1981. From 1978 to 1981 a Spanish team, then directed by the late Prof. Almagro, had excavated extensively at Abri (Northern Province). The results of the excavations at the big Early Meroitic cemetery of Amir Abdallah, and at the small Middle-Classic Kerma at the same location, were published by Fernandez (1982, 1984, 1985), and the anthropological analysis by Trancho (1982, 1987).

The 1989 campaign was dedicated to the excavation of the Neolithic site of Haj Yusif, near Khartoum North (Fernandez et al. 1989). The following seasons were devoted to the survey and excavation of the area immediately to the South of the former site, the East bank of the Blue Nile from Gereif East/Haj Yusif to Umm Duwwanban. The complete survey of the area and test excavation of the main prehistoric sites were undertaken and completed in the 1990, 1992 and 1993 campaigns (Menendez et al. 1994, Fernandez et al. 1993, 1994, Jimeno et al. in press, Lario et al. in press). Afterwards, wider excavations were carried out at some of the Mesolithic sites previously discovered (Fernandez et al. in press). The next seasons will be dedicated to the excavation of the last of the surveyed sites, the Neolithic settlement of Sheikh el Amin.1

2.- The excavation at Haj Yusif (1989)

During the month of January, the Spanish team excavated several test-pits on a site of Neolithic age between the villages of Haj Yusif and Gereif East. The site was discovered by A.J. Arkell in 1942 (Arkell 1953: 108, fig. 57, Khartoum

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Antiquities Catalogue No. 4580), and briefly surveyed in February, 1981, upon the recommendation of the Sudan Antiquities Service. It is located about 8 Km south-east of Khartoum North, near the new asphalted road to Soba, in the area administratively known as Haj Yusif New Extension, and about 4 Km east of the Nile river; the coordinates are 32°, 37°, 30° E; 15°, 35°, 7° N (positioning by GPS system in 1992 and therefore more accurate than the published in Fernandez et al. 1989). In recent years the zone has become urbanized, and numbers of new houses have been erected, sparsely distributed. Possibly as a result of the building activities, a large area was excavated for quarrying just in the middle of the site before our arrival in 1981, destroying a great deal and seriously menacing the rest.

A previous planimetric survey marked the outer limits of Neolithic pottery distribution, the two heaps of red bricks (possibly the remains of Christian buildings), and the quarrying hole. A quick inspection of the sherds picked up from the different areas did not reveal significant differences, but special concentrations were clearly detected and were taken into account when deciding where to dig. The distribution of Neolithic sherds covers 300 X 150 mts., the complete surface of the site thus amounting to about 4.5 hectares. The subsequent excavation, however, revealed this figure to be an exaggeration of the real size of the settlement. No doubt due to water and wind erosion, and to later activities in Meroitic and Christian times, the Neolithic sherds and lithic implements had spread beyond their original distribution. This seems to have been located in the middle of the area and, consequently, most of it had been destroyed by the modern quarrying activities. A total of nine trial pits were dug in the more promising zones, but only those in the middle area unearthed enough artifacts, more or less in their original position for the place to be considered a part of the actual settlement. One of the trenches revealed the top of a plundered tumulus of Meroitic or (more probably) post-Meroitic date.

Two kinds of deposits, below the loose sand on the surface, were recorded during the dig: a light brown mixture of sand and small watered quartz pebbles and ferric pisolites, and a deeper and much darker gray/black, fine grained clay of harder consistency. Both form the Umm Ruwaba or Gezira formation, and were ubiquitously found during the survey of the prehistoric sites, carried out by the mission in the following years.

The Neolithic strata were only 10-20 cm thick, and yielded a big number of sherds and grinders, and a few lithic tools and waste. These deposits were
thinner than usual in the area (60-70 cm were attested at Shaheinab and Kadero; 40-50 cm at El Geili; Caneva 1988: 24). The Christian sherds, usually thick, black burnished with some incised decoration, were collected in small numbers, usually in the upper sand layer above the Neolithic stratum, but in one trench the remains of two hearths found well under the Neolithic level, were radiocarbon dated at the 7th and 8th centuries AD. In the most central part of the site, an almost superficial, thin layer of Christian remains, consisting of small hearths, bones and sherds, suggests temporary activity linked to the nearby buildings. In some places the irregular, discontinuous lenses overlaid small patches of intact Neolithic deposit, with sherds, broken manos and grinders (one of them curiously associated to a piece of red ochre), and a fairly large number of mollusk shells. Although the remains appeared to constitute a horizontal "living floor", the pottery sherds came from a lot of different vessels, as it is astonishingly usual in the prehistoric sites of the area.

As to the pottery classification, the decoration typology elaborated by Isabella Caneva (1988: 67-114), hierarchically based on the sequence of decorative technique, implement used to perform the impressions, motif and structure, and not merely on the visual impression of the final result by the classifier, seemed to us the most culturally significant and simple to apply, and so has been the system followed in the analysis of our ceramic material (fig. 2).

A total of 1833 pottery sherds were recovered from the excavated areas, the overall percentages of the types being as follow: impression of rocker stamp resulting in packed zigzags, with evenly serrated edge (33.7%) or with unevenly serrated edge (26.7%); rocker stamp, evenly serrated, but resulting in spaced zigzags (17.2%); rocker stamp of plain and curved edge (2%); impression of alternately pivoting stamp with double pronged implement, resulting in paired lines of single dots (8.1%), and of opposed triangles (4.7%); simple impression of dotted lines, with serrated edge (0.3%); incision of simple and double lines (6.7%) or scraping comb (0.2%); red burnished black topped ware, with black triangles on the rim (0.4%). Only a small fragment of dotted wavy line, too eroded for the technique be conspicuous, was picked up on the surface of the central area. The rim decoration was mostly of oblique impressed dotted lines.

If we compare these percentages with data from El Geili (Caneva 1988: table 2), the differences are in the rocker comb technique (77.2% in Haj Yusif and 44.8% in Geili), the simple impression of comb (0.3% as opposed to 7.9%) and undecorated sherds (14.1% in Geili; negligible number in Haj Yusif).
In Geili, however, the sherds from two occupations (some of them are Late Neolithic) were mixed up and so the data are hardly comparable. Another problem comes from the fact that the excavators in Geili did not sort out the spaced from the packed zigzags in the rocker stamp technique, a distinction of probable chronological significance in our site.

The table of frequencies and percentages of types in the trenches was analyzed by several statistical multivariate techniques (namely Cluster, Principal component and Multidimensional Scaling) and a significant clustering of trenches and correlation of pottery types were clearly apparent in all the results. The central area is characterized by a relatively higher frequency of spaced zigzags (30.7 %), alternately pivoting stamp (14.4 %, 10.8 for the dots), and by a lower quantity of packed zigzags (52 %) and incision (2.6 %). In contrast, the outer parts had less spaced zigzags (10.6 %) and alternately pivoting stamp (5.9 %, 3.9 for the dots), and more packed zigzags (72.5 %, the increase being higher in the unevenly serrated edge, from 18.4 % to 35.5 %) and incision (10 %). The chronological significance of these differences is suggested not only by the increase of incised pottery (a continuous trend during the Neolithic) in the periphery of the site, but also by the fact that the only dotted wavy line sherd occurred in the central part, and the only black topped sherds in the outer area, which suggests that the first area is older than the second (very probably because the first is a relative primary deposit, corresponding to the lower levels of the site, still intact and not yet eroded; the finds in the peripheral area are a secondary deposit coming from the erosion of the upper levels of the original kom).

The fall in the percentage of spaced zigzag pottery has not been observed up to now in other sites of the area, but this kind of decoration, as opposed to the packed zigzag (where the rocker technique is not so evident at first sight), seems to be more frequent in the Mesolithic sites such as Saggai (where it was not counted apart from the whole rocker comb technique, Caneva 1983: fig. 13, 1-3,6), and Khartoum Hospital (Arkell 1949a: Pls. 65, 70-2 and possibly 90-2). The alternately pivoting double tooth decoration was already present in the Mesolithic (Caneva 1983: fig. 16; Arkell 1949a: Pls. 83-84), and apparently increased in frequency until it eventually replaced the rocker comb technique in the Late Neolithic (Caneva 1988: 112), this being in contradiction with the
decrease observed in Haj Yusif. The rise in percentage for the unevenly serrated edge pottery, unknown in the Mesolithic and typical of the Early Neolithic (Ibid.), is in accordance with the supposed typological trend in the Central Sudanese Neolithic sites.

The lithic assemblage was extremely scarce, the raw material being rhyolite (60.8 %), basalt (9.8 %), fossil wood (9.8 %), and others (including quartz, gneiss and a type of caramel colored flint). Retouched flakes and blades were very few, and bifacially retouched or polished implements included six worn or fragmentated gouges, one complete, bifacially retouched celt; and three broken, completely polished axes. On the contrary, ground stone implements were abundant, and the list is coincident with the published typologies of the Sudanese Neolithic, with the exception of rings and mace-heads, absent in our site. Querns were scarce and always in a very fragmentary condition, the contrary being the case with milling stones, which included circular and oval shapes, pestles, rubbers and spheroids. The raw material was usually sandstone with some examples made on gneiss. No bone or shell implements were found in the excavation.

As with the lithic tools, the animal bones recovered in the dig were very scanty, so that calculating their percentages would appear unsound. The preliminary identification of the different species is coincident with many of the remains from other Neolithic sites (e.g. Gautier 1983; 1988), yet the diversity looks considerably lower. Freshwater mollusks include Pila wernei, Aspatharia (possibly A. rubens and A. hortmanni) and Etheria elliptica. The landsnails group consisted of very abundant remains of Limicolaria cailliaudi, ubiquitous in every part of the site including the surface. As far as fish are concerned, only a single bone of catfish (Siluro ind.) was found, from a very big specimen. The mammal bones were very eroded and fragmented, the identity being dubious in most cases: the big antelope Tragelaphus strepsiceros was present, as well as several remains of Capra aegagrus (or possibly Ovis ammon in one case). Also several bones were found of a large bovine, yet the identification of Bos was not possible.

3.- The archaeological survey (1990-1993) (fig. 1)
Starting in March, 1990, we set about the surface survey of the East bank of the Blue Nile from Khartoum southwards until the village of Umm Duwwanban. Our ultimate goal was to record all the archaeological evidence in the area, available from surface observations; limited subsurface digging or sondages were carried
out only in the most important discovered sites. In this way, we have tried to follow recent theoretical and methodological trends affecting archaeology, which primarily emphasize the need for a large amount of data before any general inference about behavioural patterns in the past (socio-economic organization, regional networks, demography, subsistence activities, etc.) can be made (Caneva, Marks 1993). At the same time, we hoped to spread our present knowledge of the rich archaeological heritage in Central Sudan, in order to make its preservation feasible in the near future.

A total of seven find spots of Palaeolithic age were recorded in the survey, all of them roughly following a perpendicular line to the river in the Wadi Soba direction. The concentrations were fairly small, the maximum dimension being usually less than one hundred metres, and the artefact densities on surface were very low. Apparently at least, no feature, faunal remains or stratigraphical conditions were appreciated on surface. In every site a significant sample of tools and debitage was collected (Menendez et al. 1994)

At Gala el Haddadia, at about 20 km north-east from the Nile, two sites were recorded belonging to the Early or Middle Palaeolithic. At both places the most abundant find was a special type of flake, short and wide, the distal end (often with cortex) being characteristically bigger than the platform (mostly flat, of obtuse angle) and perpendicular to the striking direction. The only indication of tool-making was the presence of uneven denticulate or notch retouching on about a third of the flakes, but it could have been caused by natural causes. The raw material was dark Nubian sandstone in G.H.-1 and in one group of flakes of G.H.-2; a second group of flakes (bigger, more intensively eroded and with no retouch, thus suggesting an earlier dating) was made up of a lighter coloured sandstone. Neither bifaces nor cleavers were found (as in the nearby Acheulian site of Khor Abu Anga: Arkell 1949b), and the generally atypical appearance of the industry makes its cultural and chronological attribution very difficult.

Several small sites of clear Middle Palaeolithic appearance were found closer to the river, at 5 km north-east of Soba: Al Sambra and Umm Aushush-1 and 2. The industry is made of yellow mudstone from local outcrops, and consists of denticulates, notches and side scrapers; some flakes were of thermal origin and a few of them came from Levallois cores. The assemblages included some "Upper Palaeolithic" tools: simple and nosed end-scrapers, raclette and "sur fracture" burin. Even though the sites and collected surface samples were very small, both the overall character of the technology and the tool percentages
strongly remind us of the Denticulate Moustarian of Lower Nubia (Marks 1968: 205-15), as yet unrecorded in the Central Sudan.

Before referring to the Mesolithic sites in more detail, a mention is to be made about the few Neolithic finds. Only four sites dating back to the Neolithic were found in the survey, three near the Nile and one in Wadi Soba. The first were badly destroyed by modern quarrying activities, but, interestingly enough, they are aligned parallel to the modern river together with the site of Haj Yusif. The site of Umm Dom is just beside a big, deep, recent quarry hole, and merely consisted of a few rockers impressed sherds scattered on the surface. The two sites of Soba, some several hundred meters from the historical ruins and the modern village, is located on a very small elevation of sand and gravel (the same kind of deposit as in Haj Yusif and Umm Dom). Although, after an intensive inspection, only some fifty sherds could be gathered, they proved to be very interesting. Most of them were impressed with the rocker technique, typical of the Shaheinab phase, but a few showed other types of decoration: simple impression of dots forming triangles, a combination of impressed dots and incised lines, and one single sherd with a thick overted rim decorated with incision and impression (Menendez et al. 1994). This compound of old and new decoration attributes seems to be typical of the Late Neolithic phase, as yet only known in an area 200 km south of Khartoum (mainly in the site of Rabak: Haaland 1987a: 45-7, fig. 14; Haaland 1987b: 57-9, figs. 8-9). Finally, the Neolithic site of Sheikh el Amin in Wadi Soba (of the Shaheinab type), at 18 km from the main river, has surface remains occupying some 60,000 square metres, which, if this distribution is confirmed in the sub-soil (the area with koms only amounts to 10,000 m2), would make it the largest known prehistoric settlement in Central Sudan. The test-pit excavated in the highest part revealed a deposit depth of 1.30 metres.

The model deduced from the Neolithic data available is reminiscent of that advanced some time ago by Krzyzaniak (1978) and Haaland (1987a, b), and it is possible that Sheikh el Amin was a large stable settlement (base site) on the alluvial plain, occupied throughout the year and mainly used for cultivating crops (yet still in their wild form), like Kadero, and the sites of Haj Yusif and Umm Dom were temporary winter settlements, used for fishing and herding in the dry season, like Zakiab. The two Soba sites demonstrate that the Middle Nile around Khartoum was not entirely without human occupation between 5000 and 2500 bp, regardless of the origin of these pastoral groups (Haaland 1992: 55).

A total of 26 Mesolithic sites were recorded during the survey, 11 of them
were aligned parallel to the Nile at 4-8 km from the river, and 15 were located on both banks of Wadi Soba, between 15 and 30 km from the Nile. In the most important sites, the surface analysis has provided certain micro-spatial information concerning post-depositional processes, and test-digging has made it possible to select a few sites with sufficient depth of deposit for large-scale excavation. In the same way, the quantitative surface data and test-pit data have been analysed statistically, obtaining a tentative chronological seriation for the most important sites that could cover the whole of the Mesolithic period.

A larger part of the sites, however, had a very low density of surface artefacts, so they were not analysed after they had been discovered. Therefore only eleven sites were investigated in greater depth, of which nine were excavated using 1x1 m test-pits; in two others this was not necessary because quarrying work being carried out permitted their deposits to be examined. But unfortunately only two had sufficient stratigraphic depth for higher quality information to be extracted in extensive excavations (Al Mahalab in Wadi Soba and Sheikh Mustafa-1 in the Nile). The rest displayed a similar pattern of erosion: the original mound had been totally deflated, scattering the materials horizontally until they occupied an area considerably larger than the original site (in the site of Al Karnus-2, for instance, a radiocarbon analysis of a peat sample from the bottom deposit, below the superficial layers with Mesolithic artefacts at the central part of the site, yielded a modern date: 555 + 85 bp, T-10952). In the case of Sheikh Mustafa, where a substantial part of the site was preserved from erosion, a preliminary estimate of the settlement dimension after excavation is of around 150-200 m², whereas the area of the surface remains amounts to about 1500 m².

After a statistical analysis of the surface data from seven sites -obtained by systematic sampling and subsequent quantification of the artefact types in each sampling unit- a consistent model of type clustering was apparent, with lithic flakes and tools (in the central areas of the sites) being spatially opposed to grinders and pottery (in the outer parts). The preliminary functional interpretation of this fact (Jimeno et al. in press), however, has subsequently proved to be much too optimist, the dissociation being more probably caused by differential dragging depending on the artefact sizes (cf. Allen 1991).

With the quantitative surface data (percentages of pottery decoration), obtained from systematic collection and corrected in part by the data from the test-pits when considered necessary, we tried a final type of statistical analysis:
chronological seriation of the sites using a model of gradual variation of pottery decoration types, using the multivariate analysis model known as Multidimensional Scaling (Kendall 1971). A two-dimensional representation of the sites gives an ordering of sites showing a fairly gradual variation for the Wavy Line type (WL), which diminishes at a constant rate, the Rocker Stamp (RK) type increases in the same way, Alternately Pivoting Stamp (APS) pottery emerges toward the centre of the sequence and then disappears, while the Dotted Wavy Line (DWL) type tends to appear at the end of the ordering.

Although this chronological ordering is obviously tentative and will have to be confirmed by radiocarbon dating, it is promising that the pottery variation model coincides with what is known in the only multi-stratified site in central Sudan for this period, the Shaqadud cave (Caneva, Marks 1990; Marks, Mohammed Ali 1991) and also with the model deduced from an analysis of the Mesolithic sites surveyed to the north of Khartoum by the Italian Mission from Rome University (Caneva 1988; Caneva et al. 1993). The division of the deep deposit at Shaqadud into artificial levels displays a pattern of gradual variation of the pottery decorations from bottom to top, which then permits its arbitrary division into four phases: the first with WL and RK pottery, the second with APS and RK, the third with RK and DWL, and the fourth with different decorative types that correspond to the Neolithic (Caneva, Marks 1990: 21, fig. 2). The model only differs from the one detected in the Mesolithic of the Blue Nile in the greater preponderance of WL type – a specifically Nilotic decoration (Ibid.: 22) – and the earlier appearance of the DWL in our sites.

As to the settlement patterns during the Mesolithic period, an analysis of the site distribution reveals their surprising abundance and differing relative importance. This phenomenon of alternating large and small sites is also found on the Nile north of Khartoum (Caneva 1988: 337-43) and is possibly explained by the alternation of periods of longer or shorter occupation, since they are located in very similar areas and it seems unlikely that they would have suffered different degrees of erosion.

In contrast with what appears to happen in the northern area, in the Blue Nile area an entire system of settlements exists following the banks of the Wadi Soba for at least 30 kilometres from the main water-course. The Wadi settlements are smaller and, with the exception of Al Mahalab, where the archaeological deposit is nearly one metre deep, have been almost entirely eroded. The spatial distribution itself is different, with the Wadi sites being
farther apart (2.9 km on average) than those on the river, which are closer together (1.6 km). The seriation seen previously suggests the existence of contemporary settlement on the Wadi and on the river, and the analysis of the cultural remains provides some indications of functional differences between the settlements in the two areas.

In the first place, an analysis of the total frequencies of the various types of artefact found on the surface and in the test-pits (Principal Component Analysis and Correspondence Analysis) demonstrates a clear separation between the Wadi and river sites. The first tend to have far fewer grinders and pottery than the second (in Arrehana, after several visits to the site, only four decorated sherds were found: two WL, one RK and one APS; it was classified as Palaeolithic after its first inspection, see Menendez et al. 1994). In the case of lithic tools, there is a rather greater variety on the Wadi, with a larger proportion of retouched flakes, end scrapers, notches, denticulates, burins and truncations. On the other hand, the Nile sites have far more pottery and grinders, and a proportionately greater number of lunates, cores and unretouched flakes.

In the settlements near the river grinders would be related with vegetal processing (Haaland 1987a: 80-1), and pottery with the preparation of vegetable food and fishes (Caneva 1983: 263; Haaland 1992: 48). Although we have not yet found any harpoon remains, nets and boats were also used in deep waters (Peters 1991; Haaland 1992: Fig 3; a pottery "net-sinker" was found in Sheikh Mustafa), so fishing would have been possible throughout the year and not just in the wet season; evidence for hunting is provided by lunates (Haaland 1987a: 73-6). This all suggests permanent rather than seasonal occupation, with a broad spectrum subsistence economy, which is also indicated by the data from the Saggai 1 excavation (Caneva 1983: 265). In contrast, the Wadi sites offer a different image of functional specialization, perhaps exclusively hunting (some of the most abundant lithic tools are associated with the treatment of skins; Haaland 1987a: 69-73), carried out by small groups during the rainy season (Clark 1984: 116).

4.- The excavation at Sheikh Mustafa-1 and Al Mahalab (1994-1996)
In the last seasons, the work of the Spanish team concentrated on the two important Mesolithic sites, Al Mahalab and Sheikh Mustafa. In Al Mahalab, a site located on the North bank of Wadi Soba at 18 km from the Nile (15°36' 12"/32°48' 24"), several test-pits were excavated (17 m² in total), while at Sheikh Mustafa, on the East bank of the Blue Nile at 6 km from the river (15°29'
01°/32° 45' 26"), several diggings were made, systematically sampling the central and peripheral parts of the site, up to a total of 73 m². The results of this work, though not yet completely analyzed and therefore of preliminary character, will be summarized in the next paragraphs.

From the three archaeological levels recognized at Al Mahalab, numbered 1 to 3 from the surface downwards, three organic samples have been analyzed at the Trondheim Radiological Dating Laboratory with the following results: 7705 ± 145 bp for level 3 (T-10946, shell, calibrated by the laboratory at 6860-6450 BC), 7470 ± 60 bp for level 2 (T-10948, shell, cal. 6375-6190 BC), and 6940 ± 85 bp for level 1 (T-10949, shell, cal. 5930-5690 BC). The three dates are correctly ordered according to the stratigraphical levels, which also show a gradual variation of pottery decoration types and lithic tools that could be confidently interpreted as a chronological variation. Moreover, the percentages of pottery types are similar to other sites north of the area with approximately the same dating (the site of Umm Singid, for instance, with decoration values between the figures of level 1 and 2 of Al Mahalab, is dated at 7240-7300 ± 90, Caneva et al. 1993).

For the site of Sheikh Mustafa, because of the complete lack of shell material (see infra), a sample of animal bone was sent to the Trondheim laboratory, but as it was expected from earlier experience with bone materials from Sudan, there was not collagen left in the sample and therefore the dating was not possible (S. Gulliksen, personal comm.). Later a small charcoal piece (1.6 g) from the site was analyzed, with the result of 6295 ± 215 bp (T-11920, cal. 5440-4950 BC); several other charcoal samples are now being analyzed in order to check the previous dating, considered to be too late for the site, as we will discuss later in this paper.

The excavation of the two sites was made following a system of arbitrary levels of 10 cm, and all the earth extracted was sieved through a 2 mm mesh. The extremely big amount of artefacts recovered with this method were classified according to the artefact type category. Only in the thick second level of Sheikh Mustafa, and during the second 1994 season (26 m²), a total of 46,721 lithic pieces were detected, which were assorted into primary flakes (14.1 %), secondary flakes (33.5 %), tertiary flakes (42.8 %), bladelets (2.9 %), cores (2.5 %) and retouched tools (4.2 %). The retouched tools (fig. 3) do not display a great diversity, with only lunates (24.6 %), backed points and bladelets (58.8 %), equilateral triangles and trapezes (5.5 %), scalene triangles (4.4 %) and a few
other categories including scrapers, burins, denticulates or retouched flakes (6.7 %). From the test-diggings of Al Mahalab in the same season a total of 17,767 stone artefacts were extracted: primary flakes (20.7 %), secondary flakes (42.9 %), tertiary flakes (25.8 %), bladelets (1.2 %), cores (7.3 %) and retouched tools (2.2 %), which in turn were classified into lunates (41.2 %), backed points and bladelets (19.2 %), triangles and trapezes (11.1 %), and other categories (28.5 %). The raw material in the two sites is the usual white quartz, the percentages of other kinds of stone (esp. sandstone) being practically negligible.

The lithic data from the two sites deserve a first and important commentary, because the great percentage of backed tools, especially in Sheikh Mustafa (nearly 60 %), is in great contrast with the known evidence from other Mesolithic sites of Central Sudan: only about 3 % at Saggai (Caneva 1983: 225), or even less in other sites of the same region North of Khartoum (Caneva et al. 1993: table 6), around 5 % at Sorourab or 10 % at Khartoum Hospital (Mohammed-Ali 1982: 70), around 10 % or less at Shaqadud (Marks, Mohammed-Ali 1991: 121, 180). We need to look at more northern sites, in the Western Desert of Sudan and Egypt, to find comparable amounts of backed pieces, for example in the Selima Sandsheet (Schuck 1993; Idris 1994). The great variability of Khartoum Mesolithic cultural assemblages, however, and the difficulties felt in its interpretation, have been already emphasized in several important studies (Marks, Mohammed-Ali 1991: 246-7; Caneva et al. 1993: 246).

Turning to the pottery (fig. 2: 1-3), the major decoration types in the two sites are the Wavy Line and the Rocker impression (most usually the packed zigzag variant), the percentages of the sherds counts being of 66.1 and 33.4 % for the two types at Sheikh Mustafa, and of 31.7 and 50.9 % at Al Mahalab. Also a small quantity of sherds decorated with the Alternately Pivoting Stamp technique were found at Sheikh Mustafa (0.5 %) and a bigger amount at Al Mahalab (14.2 %); Dotted Wavy Line sherds in measurable quantities were only found in the Al Mahalab site (3.2 % in one of the test-pits of 1994, 10 % in the other). The almost absence of DWL at Sheikh Mustafa, together with the greater abundance of WL and of a lesser amount of Rocker impression, strongly suggest an earlier dating for this site -in spite of the later radiocarbon date-, according to the stratigraphic data from Shaqadud (Caneva, Marks 1990), and the aforementioned seriation of the surface data from our survey (Jimeno et al. in press).

The quantitative analysis of the lithic tools and pottery types at the
different artificial levels (of 10 cm) at the two sites has also given some interesting results. Both at Sheikh Mustafa and Al Mahalab there is clear indication of a constant decrease in the percentage of WL and a consistent increase of Rocker decoration; also a trend is apparent for the backed pieces to be gradually replaced by the lunates, until these become the most characteristic tool in the Mesolithic sites of the VIII millennium bp, as Saggai 1 or the first phase of Kabbashi (Caneva 1983; Caneva et al. 1993).

A preliminary analysis of the micro-spatial data from the second 1994 field season at Sheikh Mustafa has been possible to be included in this report. As it was detected during the first test-pits at the site, the archaeological deposit was more or less intact, almost approaching the 'living-floor' category in some small areas. A system of 'cell frequency' recording was used for the contextual assignation of the artefacts (Johnson 1984), i.e. instead of plotting the co-ordinate data of all the findings (lithic tools and waste, sherds and bones), a rather unrealistic task that would have been far too time-consuming, we used small, but high-resolution collection units ('cells' or earth slices of 50 x 50 x 10 cm). The level of accuracy thus obtained is supposed to be enough for most archaeological purposes, the extra-precision of an exact location probably representing nothing more than 'noise', such as post-depositional disturbance (very intense at the site because of burrowing). This practice is also in accordance with recent ethnoarchaeological claims for digging "larger areas and record less individual detail" (Gamble 1991: 14).

Several statistical analysis were made with the contextual and the lithic/pottery typological data, namely Principal Component Analysis of the stratigraphical cell data and of the clustered data by square meter. The results show that in general all the type categories are more or less proportionally represented in each context, the 'size' factor accounting for more than 50 % of the total variance. This fact probably reflects that most tasks were carried out in more than one place and, conversely, that in any single area, one can find the remains of many activities jumbled together, as a consequence of repetitive occupations of the site during a long time without a replication of the spatial patterning. The resultant image is therefore of a 'base' camp associated with a day-to-day foraging economy, such as in the case of the !Kung San studied by Yellen (1977: 85, 134), rather than a special-purpose site in a storage economy as the Nunamiut example analyzed by Binford (1978), a case where the usual assumption of spatial segregation of activities is more probably met.
Several functional evidence, however, was detected in the analysis, the most important being the spatial opposition of backed points and bladelets on the one hand, and lunates and triangles on the other; the first are more frequent in the central part of the site and the second tend to appear more abundantly in the periphery. Also a difference in spatial patterning is apparent between the inner and the outer part of the site: while the centre has a uniform distribution of artefacts with occasional concentrations of bones, the excavation at the periphery showed a model of artefact and bone clusters surrounded by areas almost void of findings. In a zone interpreted as the transition between the central and the peripheral areas, two partially destroyed human burials were recorded (a feature already observed at other Mesolithic sites; Haaland, Magid 1995). Special findings related to functionality were a quite big number of unburned clay fragments (such as those recorded at Saggai, Caneva 1988: 18), several fragments of bone points and one potsherd 'net-sinker' (Haaland 1992: fig. 3), and several pottery sherds with impressions of vegetal grains, possibly coming from the processing of wild plants (Magid 1989). A significant quantity of incision-decorated bone fragments (usually small ribs) were also found, of the type recorded at the Khartoum Hospital (Arkell 1949a: pl. 52).

The faunal remains from the first campaigns at the two sites have already been preliminarily identified by Louis Chaix of the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle at Geneva. The assemblage from Sheikh Mustafa was especially rich (9376 fragments from a five square meters excavation) but very fragmented (only 18.9% of the bones could be identified at the genus or species level). Large antelopes (Damaliscus, Tragelaphus and Hippopotamus) were dominant, followed by some gazelles (G. dorcas); large animals as giraffe, hippopotamus or buffalo were very scarce, as well as leopard and fox. The Monitor lizard is well represented, and the same is the case with the fish bones, more frequent in the lower than in the upper levels of the site. A curious aspect of the Sheikh Mustafa site is the complete absence of shell remains. The faunal sample recovered from Al Mahalab was smaller in size, the animal class range being practically identical to Sheikh Mustafa except for the mollusk remains, which are very abundant at this site (especially Pila). This difference may possibly be explained because the two sites were occupied during different parts of the year (see Peters 1994: 418; Jimeno et al. in press).

A sedimentological and mineralogical (X-ray diffraction) analysis has been made of seven earth samples, stratigraphically arranged, from the site of Al Mahalab, the resulting data being coincident with which is known about the
climatic sequence of the Egyptian Western Desert between 8000 and 6900 bp (Lario et al. in press). Finally, the remains of red ochre were observed (by optic and electronic microscopy) on the surface of two grinding stone fragments from Sheikh Mustafa (Juan n.d.)

5.- Conclusions

To sum up, the Spanish survey and excavation on the Blue Nile area has brought to light settlement patterns during the Mesolithic (Early Khartoum) and Neolithic (Shaheinab) that are similar in part to those recorded by the Italian Mission in the Saggai-Geili area. However, there are differences worthy of attention in the Mesolithic, the investigation of which could help to provide an answer to certain unresolved problems: indications of functional distinctions at a micro-spatial level within the sites, and at a macro-spatial level seasonal movements between the river and the desert area along the Wadi Soba.

Our work in the future could thus help to explain the mechanisms of transition to the Neolithic in the area, and evaluate the relative influence on them of climatic changes, the arrival of pastoral groups from the Sahara (Hassan 1987) and the increasing complexity of social relationships within the groups as a result of the prolonged period of establishing a settled way of life that preceded this important change in the Middle Nile (Caneva 1983).
Figures;


2 - Main pottery decoration types: 1, Rocker impression (packed) and Dotted Wavy Line, 2 and 3, Wavy Line (Mesolithic), 4, Rocker impression (evenly serrated, packed), 5, Incision (Neolithic from Haj Yusif).

3 - Main types of retouched lithic tools at the Mesolithic sites: A, lunates of different types and sizes, totally or partially retouched, B, backed points, C, meches de foret, D, scalene triangles, E, isosceles triangle, F, equilateral triangles, G, burin, retouched blade, H, end scraper, truncation, I, trapeze, scraper. Scale in cm.
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Juan, J (u.d.) Estudio preliminar de los materiales procesados en el utillaje de molido y triturado de Sheikh Mustafa-1, Sheikh Mustafa-2 y Al Karnus 1 (Nilo Azul, Sudan Central).


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"All that is on earth will perish: But will a bide (for ever) The Face of the Lord, Full of Majesty, Bounty and Honour".

This is an acknowledgement and a word of gratitude to those who contributed to the field of Sudanese Archaeology and Museums, held the position of commissioners for archaeology and editors of KUSH Magazine after the Sudanization until 1994.


Thabit Hassan Thabit was the first Sudanese expert in the field of archaeology. He participated and directed the campaign of Salvage Nubian monuments which were threatened by Aswan High Dam. Thabit led Wad Banga palace excavation in the Nile State, he also participated in excavations in Netherlands and Jordan. He was appointed as commissioner for archaeology on 11.11.1961.

Professor Nigm el Din Mohammed Sharif the second Sudanese Commissioner for Archaeology, participated in the Nubian campaign for transferring the endangered monuments to Sudan National Museum. He played a great role in the field of excavation in the Sudan, beside his contribution in training many Sudanese in the field of archaeology and museums.

Professor Ahmed Mohammed Ali Hakem was first appointed as professor of archaeology in Archaeology Department University of Khartoum. In 1990, he was delegated to the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. He became chairman of the National Board of Antiquities and Museums following the transformation of the Sudan Antiquities Service to a corporation. He was editor in chief of KUSH Magazine and supervised the issue XVI. Hakem had many contribution in the field of archaeology in general and Meroitic Studies in particular.
The three directors participated in many international Conferences in the field of archaeology and museology. They honoured their country in the International Arena; their contributions played a considerable role in developing Sudan archaeological studies.

May Allah bestow his mercy upon them and aid us to convey the message they have started.

Hassan Hussein Idress
Director General for NCAM

Sayid Thabit
Hassan Thabit

Professor Nigm eldin
Mohammed Sharif

Professor Ahmed
Mohamed Ali hakim


*هوامش:

رسومات وصور المواد لا توجد في هذه الورقة لأنها غير متوفرة نسبة لظروف خارجية عن إرادة الكاتب.

حتى ولو أن المنطقتة المخصصة محدودة ولكن المواد التي يمكن استخراجها كانت عديدة. وهكذا فالموقع غني جداً ويبين بالكثير، ولتأكيد هذه النقطة أنقل هنا بعض النقاط من مفكرتي اليومية.

42 كيس قماش تحتوي علي أدوات حجرية وقطع فخار، مغسولة

30 كيس قماش تحتوي علي أدوات حجرية وقطع فخار، غير مغسولة

44 كيس بلاستيكي ذات حجم متوسط تحتوي علي قطع فخار غير مغسولة

عدة أكياس بلاستيكية بأحجام صغيرة ومتوسطة تحتوي علي قطع وعظام وعظام أسماك ومواد أخرى.
مجلة الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف

العدد السابع عشر

١٩٩٧

رئيس التحرير
حسن حسین إدريس

تصدرها سنوياً
الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف - الخرطوم
الفهرس

kos - العدد السابع عشر
1997 م

کلمة التحرير .................................................................
حسن حسين إدريس

معرض حضارات السودان القديمة

11 - إكتوبر - سبتمبر 1998 م ی ممالك أعالي النيل

18 - التركين ی هل هو وجهة نبتية؟ ی
صلاح محمد أحمد

23 - تقرير أولی لحفريات العشرة
موقع رقم 11-0,9/A-36.
صلاح عمر الصادق
اللواء م. س. ر. الختم محمد فاضل
بروفيسور / يوسف فاضل
دكتور / خضير أمين علي
اساتذة / محمد إبراهيم أبوسليم
دكتور / جبريم ديغني
استاذة / انتصار صغيرون الزين
الاستاذ / مهدي سباعات

السكرتير
عبد الرحمن علي محمد
إسماعيل حامد عبد الرحيم
الطاهر آدم النور
جمهورية السودان
كوش (17) 1997م
كلمة التحرير
يسر الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف أن تقدم للقاضي الكريم العدد السابع عشر من مجلة كوش والذي يتضمن أنشطة الهيئة والبعثات الأجنبية التي تعمل بالسودان وفقاً لقانون الآثار للثلاثة أعوام الماضية وتعتذر لعدم تمكن الهيئة من إصدار هذا العدد في موعده.
يتضمن هذا العدد على مقالات البعثات الأجنبية باللغة الإنجليزية والفرنسية بجانب بعض المقالات باللغة العربية عن أنشطة الهيئة في مجال المسح والتنقيب عن الآثار والمعارض الداخلية والخارجية ومشاريع الترميم والصيانة.
بكل الفخر والإعراز تتفقد بالشكر والعرفان للأمير سعادة السمو الإمبراطوري تاكاهيتو ميكاسا وأعضاء مركز ثقافة الشرق الأوسط وأعضاء البعثة اليابانية للآثار وللعون المقدر والتمواصل لطباعة هذا العدد من مجلة كوش.
الشكر لكل الذين ساهموا في هذا العدد من الأساتذة والعلماء ورؤساء البعثات الأثرية والباب مفتوح لهم والآخرين للمساهمة في العدد القادم.
لقد شهدت الهيئة خلال الأعوام الثلاثة الماضية نشاطاً مكثفاً في مجال المسح والتنقيب عن الآثار والمتاحف والمعارض الداخلية والخارجية ومشاريع الترميم والصيانة. فقد تم توقيع عدة إتفاقيات ثقافية مع بعثات أجنبية صديقة للعمل في مواقع أثرية للإنقاذ والحماية والتعمية والتأهيل للجذب السياحي وتشجيع البحث العلمي. أما في مجال الترويج والتعريف بحضارة السودان العريقة للمواطن السوداني والأجنبي فقد أعدت الهيئة معرض سنوياً لعرض المقتنيات الأثرية التي يتم الكشف عنها بمعرض في قاعة البروفيسور نجم الدين محمد شريف بمتحف السودان القومي.

كوش

تمشياً مع سياسة الحكم الإتحادية وضعت الهيئة في استراتيجيةها للعشرة أعوام القادمة متحف لكل ولاية بجانب متاحف المواضيع الأثرية كمتحف البركل ومتحف الطرابلس بالبجراوية ومتحف كرمجة وفج مكاتب للآثار بالقطاعات الشمالية والجنوبية والغربي والشرقي والأوسط لكي تساعد في تنفيذ مشروع المسح الأثري والأثنوغرافي الذي سيمكننا من وضع الخارطة الأثرية للسودان ومن ثم تبنى البرامج الإقليمية والتأهيلية.

تواصل البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية عملها بالسودان بجانب أعمال الهيئة وبعثات الجامعات السودانية وقد بلغ عدد البعثات سبع وعشرين بعثة أثرية تعمل في مجال المسح والتنقيب والحماية وهي:

1. البعثة الفرنسية لجامعة ليل برئاسة د. فرانسيس فويس. الموقع صاي. الولاية الشمالية.

2. بعثة أبحاث صادنقا الفرنسية برئاسة لب. جان ليكلايند وكاثرين بيرمر. الموقع صادنقا. الولاية الشمالية.

3. البعثة الفرنسية لجامعة ليل برئاسة د. بريجيت قراشان الموقع قسم أربعة الولاية الشمالية.

4. بعثة جامعة جينيفا السوييسرية برئاسة د. شارلس بوني. الموقع كرمة. الولاية الشمالية.
(5) الوحدة الفرنسية التي تتبع للهيئة القومية للآثار برئاسة د. جاك رينولد الموقع كدركة الولاية الشمالية.

(6) بعثة جمعية الآثار السودانية البريطانية للبحث. المتحف البريطاني. برئاسة د. درك ولنبي
الموقع وادي الخوى دنقلا الولاية الشمالية.

(7) بعثة جامعة كالفورنيا - لوس أنجلوس برئاسة د. آدم سميث الموقع ما بين الخندق وحند.
الموقع الولاية الشمالية.

(8) بعثة جامعة وارسو البولندية برئاسة ب. إستيفان جاكوبيلسکي.
الموقع دنقلا العجوز بالولاية الشمالية.

(9) بعثة متحف أونتاريو الملكي الكندي برئاسة كريستوفر قريمسكى.
الموقع همبالو الادوارية الشمالية.

(10) بعثة جامعة روما الإيطالية برئاسة ب. الأكساندرو روكاتا.
الموقع جبل البركل الولاية الشمالية.

(11) بعثة مؤسسة كلوز الأسبرانية للآثار برئاسة د. أدولف لو ود. فرانسيسكا
الموقع البركل الالواية الشمالية.

(12) بعثة متحف بوسطن للفنون الجميلة الأمريكية برئاسة د. كندل.
الموقع البركل الالواية الشمالية.

(13) بعثة جامعة كاسينو الإيطالية وهي بعثة مشتركة مع الهيئة برئاسة د. إريني ليفرانى ومفتش آثار.
موقع البركل - الزومة. بالولاية الشمالية.
(1) بعثة متحف قدانسك البولندية برئاسة د. هنريك بانر.

الموقع (خزان مروى) الولادة الشمالية.

(15) البعثة المشتركة بين الهيئة وجامعة دنفلإ لإنشاء آثار خزان مروى (الحمداب)

الموقع: جبل كلفيلى. الولادة الشمالية.

(16) بعثة جمعية الآثار السودانية البريطانية - المتحف البريطاني برئاسة د. ديفيد إدوارد و

م. مالينسون الموقع طريق التحدي الجيلى عطبرة ولاية نهر النيل.

(17) بعثة جامعة هامبولت الألمانية برئاسة بروفيسير استيفان فينيخ.

الموقع المصورات الصفراء ولاية نهر النيل.

(18) بعثة متحف برلين الألماني برئاسة بروفيسير ديرتش فيلدنج.

الموقع النقية بولاية نهر النيل.

(19) بعثة جامعة روما الإيطالية برئاسة ب. أزابيلا كانيفا.

الموقع الجيلى بولاية الخرطوم.

(20) بعثة متحف بوزنان البولندى برئاسة ليش كرزنياك.

الموقع الكدرو - بولاية الخرطوم.

(21) بعثة جامعة مدريد الأسبانية برئاسة د. فيكتور فرانيدرز.

الموقع الحاج يوسف بولاية الخرطوم.

(22) بعثات جامعة الخرطوم لموقع العشيرة ومدينة مروى والمحس

بولاية الخرطوم ونهر النيل الشمالي.
23 بعثة جامعة نابلي الإيطالية برئاسة د. رودولف فاتوفتش.
الموقع مدينة كسلا ومنطق دلنا الفاش. بالولاية الشرقية.
24) بعثة مركز ثقافة الشرق الأوسط اليابانية للآثار برئاسة ب. منسو كاتوكي.
الموقع عيداب ولاية البحر الأحمر.
25) بعثة جامعة بيرجن النرويجية برئاسة د. أنور عبد الماجد.
الموقع جنوب تلال البحر الأحمر ولاية البحر الأحمر.
26) بعثة جامعة كولون الألمانية برئاسة ب. أدولف كور.
الموقع وادى هور الولاية الشمالية - ولاية دارفور.
27) بعثة مركز دراسة الصحراء الشرقية الإيطالية برئاسة د. كريم صدر والفريد كاستليوني. العاملة.
الموقع منطقة درهب بالصحراء الشرقية. بولاية البحر الأحمر.
من أهم المشاريع التي وضعتها الهيئة وبدأت في تنفيذها في الأعوام الماضية:
أ) مشروع إنقاذ آثار خزان كجبور بالتعاون مع جامعة الخرطوم.
ب) مشروع صيانة مقبرة الكرو.
ج) مشروع تكملة متحف إبركل بالتعاون مع مؤسسة كلوز الأسبانية للآثار.
د) مشروع إنقاذ آثار خزان مروي (الحمدان).
ه) مشروع ترميم إهرامات البحراوية تحت إشراف د. فريدريك هنكل.
و) مشروع صيانة وتأمين متحف السودان القومي ومتحف التراث الشعبي ومتحف بيت الخليفة.
ز) مشروع الصالة الإسلامية بمتحف السودان القومي.
ج) إعداد وتنفيذ معرض الآثار المتجول في أوروبا تحت إسم (ممالك على النيل) للمرة من أكتوبر

كوش
 مشروع صيانة مدينة سواكن بالتعاون مع ولاية البحر الأحمر ولجنة تأهيل مدينة سواكن ودعم من وزارة البيئة والسياحة والشركة السودانية الكويتية.

وختاماً نتقدم لكل من ساهم في إنقاذ أو صيانة أي موقع أثري أو الأعداد لمعرفة الآثار والإعداد لهذا العدد من مجلة كوش بكل الشكر والعرفان والتقدير للسيد وزير البيئة والسياحة والسيد وكيل الوزارة للإهتمام والمتابعة لكل أعمال الهيئة ومتابعة صدور هذا العدد من مجلة كوش وتمنيني أن يصدر العدد القادم في عام 1998 إن شاء الله.

حسن حسين إدريس
رئيس التحرير
معرض حضارات السودان القديمة "إكتوبر 96 - سبتمبر 1998م"
(ممالك على النيل)

حسن حسين إدريس


ان الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتحف منذ نشأتها عام 1904م كإدارة يحكمها قانون الأثار لعام 590 ومصلحة الأثار عام 1939م يحكمها قانون الأثار الأول والثاني لعام 1952م وتعديلاته اللاحقة وقانون الهيئة القومية للأثار والمعارض لعام 1991م اختصت بمهام محددة في حماية الآثار وتشجيع البحث العلمي وإقامة المعارض لعرض هذا التراث وإقامة المعارض المؤقتة داخل وخارج السودان. وقد إهتمت الهيئة ووضعت البرامج والخطط لتنفيذ هذه السياسة والإهتمام بالجانب التعليمي والترفيهي والثقافي حيث أن المتاحف والمعارض تمثل الرسالة المتفردة في نشر الثقافة بين شعوب العالم قاطبة.

إن الثقافة من الأمور التي لا يمكن الاستغناء عنها فهي جزء لا يتجزأ من طبيعة الإنسان، وواجنبا هو توجيه وتقويم مسار ثقافتنا بالبحث والتنقيب والحماية والمعرض المتاحف. إن المعارض هي الوسيلة الإعلامية الأكثر نجاحاً في تبث المعلومة الحضارية والتاريخية للجمهور بجميع ثقافاته وأعماهم وهي عنصر هام ومؤثر من عناصر الثقافة والحضارة التي تساعد على تطوير التفاهم والتعاون بين شعوب العالم مما يزيد عري الصداقة والمحبة والأخوة ويساعد على تطور السياحة.

السودان دولة إنضمت فيها مكونات الأعراف والثقافات واللغات وتم فيها التعايش بين الإسلام والديانات المشتركة، وعرضت في اللغة العربية ولهجة أفريقية ولهجة أفريقية، حتى لا ننسى أنها مجتمع توحيد في إصوله الفكرية والروحية. وقد تميزت الهوية السودانية بأنها نتاج التنوع والتماسك والرتباط بين كوش···
المحلية والقومية والإستفادة من ثمرات الحضارات المجاورة كالحضارة الفرعونية والأثية واليونانية.

السودان القطر القارة الذي تبلغ مساحته حوالي مليون ميل مربع وتحده تسع دول هي جمهورية مصر وليبيا وتونس وجمهورية أفريقيا الوسطى والكونغو الديمقراطية ورواندا وكينيا وأثيوبيا وآريتريا. غني بآثاره التاريخية الشيء الذي جذب عدة متاحف وجامعات عالمية مهتمة بالتنقيب عن الآثار ودراسة تاريخ الشعوب وربطها ببعضها للعمل بالسودان، وقد أكسب السودان أهمية كبيرة ولموقعه الجغرافي المتميز من البحر الأحمر شرقًا إلى أوساط غرب أفريقيا غربًا ومن الحزام الإستوائي جنوبًا إلى البحر المتوسط حيث أن السودان يمثل الجزء الأكبر من وادي النيل وربطه ربط أفريقي عن طريق وادي النيل مرورًا بجمهورية مصر العربية إلى أوروبا. لقد أثرى التنوع التاريخي والحضارات المتعاقبة منذ قرون من قبل التاريخ حتى الحضارة الإسلامية أرض السودان بالعديد من المخلفات الأثرية الهامة والمتنوعة على ضفاف النيل وأرض النوبة في شمال السودان وعدة مواقع بولابات شرق وغرب السودان.

لقد شهد النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر الإهتمام بالمتاحف في أوروبا وأصبحت مؤسسات قائمة ذاتها تعمل في مجال العمل الثقافي والتعليمي والترفيه والإجتماعي وقد ساعد ذلك على تطوير علم الآثار وعلوم المتاحف وعلوم الصيانة والترميم وظهرت المتاحف المتخصصة وأصبحت المعارض الدائمة والموقعة المتنقلة من أهرام وسائل المعرفة والثقافة وربط الشعوب بتاريخها وتعريفها بتاريخ الشعوب الأخرى وساعد ذلك على حركة التنقل ومن ثم تطورت السياحة في السودان بدأ الاهتمام بالآثار ومتاحف عن طريق كتابات الرحالة والعلماء الذين زاروا السودان وتبوعوا متابعة النيل وبصورتها خاصة الذين رافقوا حملة محمد علي باشا للسودان عام 1821م وقد كتبوا عن آثار كرمة وجبل البرك وإهرامات نوبة ومقابر الكرو والرومة وإهرامات البجراوية والمدينة الملكية والتقية والمصتروات الصفراء... وكانت نقطة الأساس التي اعتمدت عليها الحساس والتنقيب الأثري في السودان في بداية القرن العشرين وإنشاء مؤسسة تهتم بالآثار عام 1902م ومتحف السودان عام 1904م والذي أصبح متحف السودان القومي عام 1971م بعد إضافة آثار حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة وثبتته المتاحف الأخرى بالسودان كما اثرى عدة متاحف بأوروبا وأمريكا.

كوش
دلت كل الإكتشافات والدراسات التي تمت في تلك المرحلة والتي تلتها على أن السودان قد عاصر بدايات الإنسان الأولي. فقد تم العثور على أثار العصر الحجري القديم في موقع خور أبوعونجة بأم درمان بولاية الخرطوم ووادي هور بولاية شمال دارفور والتي يرجع تاريخها للفترة بين 18000 - 10000 ق.م تقريباً، كما تم الكشف عن موقع للعصر الحجري الحديث بموقع الشهيناب والكدرو والسقان والجيلي بولاية الخرطوم ودنشلا ووادي حلقة بالولاية الشمالية وكسلا وخشمة القرية بولاية كسلا في الشرق ووادي هور بولاية دارفور ويرجع تاريخ هذه الحضارة للفترة بين 8000 - 4000 ق.م تقريباً.

تأتي بعد ذلك مرحلة إنتقالية تطورت فيها الحضارة في منطقة بلاد النوبة شمال السودان عرفت بحضارة المجموعة الأولى والثانية وحضارة مملكة كرمة. إن منطقة النوبة السودانية تالت شهرتها وأهميتها في أفريقيا منذ أقدم العصور التاريخية وقد دلت الدراسات التي تمت في هذه المنطقة على أهميتها في تطور الحضارة لمعمرها الهام وقد كانت مناطق الزراعة والصنادم الرئيسية في العالم القديم من أجل الوصول للسياحة على شمال أفريقيا مما ساعد على إزداد فرونتها وثقافتها وموررتها وصناعتها. فكانت حضارة المجموعة الأولى التي يرجع تاريخها للفترة بين 3000 - 2100 ق.م تقريباً والجماعة الثالثة التي يرجع تاريخها للفترة بين 2250 - 2150 ق.م تقريباً وقد عاصرت هاتان الحضارتان الأسر الأولي في مصر. في منطقة كرمة دلت حفريات البروفسور شارلز بوني (البعثة السويسرية) والتي شملت بقايا مدينة كبيرة بها قصور لملوك ومعابد ومساكن على إثبات أن مملكة كرمة كانت تقوم على مجتمع متقسم استخدم تقنيات وتسمى م المتقدمة في ذلك الوقت. الشيء الذي جعلهم يقيمون علاقات مع الدول المجاورة كمصر الفرعونية شمالاً وإمتدت جنوباً حتى الشلال الرابع وغرباً إلى الوهان التي كانت تمر بها دروب التجارة الأولى داخل القارة الأفريقية وتراجع حضارة مملكة كرمة في تاريخها للفترة بين 3000 - 1500 ق.م تقريباً.

في القرن الثامن قبل الميلاد قامت مملكة نبتا وعاصرتها بجيل البركل بالقرب من الشلال الرابع. وقد إستطاع بعانخي في عام 725 قبل الميلاد من تأسيس دولة تمتد من البحر المتوسط وحتى بلاد البادية وقد عرفت في التاريخ المصرى بالأسرة الخامسة والعشرون وكانت مراكز حكمها الرئيسية في جبل البركل. وقد دلت إهراماتهم في نورى والبركل ومعبتر الكرور على عظمة
هذه الملكة وتقديمها وإزدهارها وقد ظهرت هذه النهضة الحضارية في معمارهم وفنونهم وصناعة التعدين في المعادن كالذهب والفضة والنيهاس التي استخدمت في الحلي والمعدات الحربية والمنزلية بجانب أدوات الزراعة والحرف الأخرى والأواني الفخارية. وخلال القرن الرابع قبل الميلاد دخل السودان مرحلة جديدة وتكون له كيان سياسي واجتماعي حيث تم تقل العاصمة من نبتا إلى مروي بأرض البطانة وأصبحت نبتا عاصمة دينية. وامتدىت مملكة مروي بعد الإنشاب من مصر لأسباب أمنية واقتصادية من وادي حلفا شماليًا حتى ستار وجبيل موية في أواسط السودان، وقد استمر حكام مملكة مروي بدفع ملوكيهم في مدافن نبتا في البرك والتي تحوّلوا منها إلى إهرامات البحراوية وأهمها الإهرامات الجنوبية والشمالية التي تضم أشهر ملوك مروي. ويهي إهرامات البحرائية التي تضم النبلاء في العصر المروي.

تقدر معظم الأدلة على أن عدد الإهرامات المكتملة وشبه المكتملة التي تم الكشف عنها تتألف من سبعين إلى ثمانون إسمًا مختلفًا في أشكالها وأحجامها إثنا عشرة بالكرو وسبعة عشرة تحصينات في مروي وعشرون بالبرك وأربعة وعشرون بعشران إهرامات البجاوية الجنوبية وإناثًا وثمانية إهرامات البجاوية الشمالية. تقوم الهيئة القومية للأثار والمتاحف بمساعدة من الحكومة الألمانية وبقيادة المهندس فريدريك هنكل بمشروع ترميم وإعادة تأهيل الإهرامات البجراوية منذ عام 1975م. تبع المدينة الملكية عاصمة مملكة مروي حوالي 40 كيلومتر شمال مدينة شندي بولاية نهر النيل وتضم العديد من المعابد كمعبد آمون والحمام العموي "الرومانى". ومن آثار مملكة مروي الهامة قصر ودبيطا وهو موقع يبعد 127 كيلومتر شمال الخرطوم وقد بني في عهد الملكة المرودية المشهورة أماني شبختو. يتكون القصر من 40 غرفة صغيرة ملحقة بالقصر كانت تستخدم كمخازن للغلال.

على بعد 40 كيلومتر شرق موقع ودبيطا يوجد موقع النقطة الأخرى الهام الذي يضم معبد الأسد والكسك المرموي "الرومانى" ومعبد آمون بجانب مقبرة وبقايا مدينة مروية وتعمل في هذا الموقع بعثة المانيا من المتحف برلين بقيادة البرفسور ديرتش فيلدونج بمقتضى إتفاقية مع الهيئة القومية للأثار والمتاحف. يقع موقع المصورات الصفراء الأخرى على بعد عشرين كيلومتر إلى الشمال من النقطة وهو من آثار مملكة مروي الهامة ويكون من معبد الأسد والحوش الكبير وتعمل الهيئة مع بعثة جامعة هامبورغ للإرهاج الحماية اللازمة لهذا الموقع ومواصلة
البحث الأخر ويرى بعض المؤرخين بأن هذا الموقع كان عبارة عن مركز ديني للحج وانتشار مملكة روى بعدة سمات محلية بجانب استفاداتها من الحضارات الأخرى كالحضارة المصرية القديمة والرومانيّة والإغريقية فقد ابتعدت ديانة خاصة بها على رأسها الإله أبادامك كما ابتعدت اللغة العروبة والمعمار المروي كما ظهرت صناعة الحديد والزجاج والنسج ومن أكبر الأدلة على عظمة هذه المملكة التكنولوجيا التي استخدمت في بناء تلك الأهرامات والمعابد والحقوار بجانب الحلي الذهبي الخاصة بملكية مملكة مروي والتي تعرض بمتحف السودان القومي وتتكشف ببرلين وتتكشف ميونخ والتي سيسعد الجميع رؤيتها في هذا المعرض.

إن المعارف العالمية من أهداف الهيئه القومية للآثار والتراث للتعرف بمراتب السوان منذ حضارات ماقبل التاريخ وحتى الحضارة الإسلامية. يحقق الله لابن هذا الهدف بإقامة معرض بعدة دول أوروبية تحت اسم معرض حضارات السودان القديمة (ممالك على النيل) والذي يشمل فترات من قبل التاريخ والمجموعات النوبية وحضارة مملكة كرمة نبتة ومروي وذلك بالتعاون مع معهد العالم العربي باريس. لقد تم الاتفاق بين السودان ممثلًا في مجلس الإعلام الخارجي ومعرض العالم العربي والذي بدأ في فبراير عام 1994م وزيارة البروفيسور أحمد محمد على الحاكم رئيس مجلس إدارة الهيئة إلى معهد العالم العربي باريس للتراكب حول قيام معرض للاحوار بأوروبا للتعريف بحضارة السودان. وتتلي ذلك تكوين لجنة بقرار من وزير الثقافة والإعلام السوداني في إكتوبر 1994م. في نوفمبر 1994م بدأ الإعداد باللهجة القومية للآثار والتراث للمعرض. في مارس 1995م وصل وفد معهد العالم العربي المكون من السيد/ محمد بنونة مدير عام المعهد وعين مولينارك رئيس قسم الآثار بالمعهد وعينا شيرنان نائب رئيس قسم الآثار بالمعهد. وبدأت الخطوات العملية ببماني الهيئة القومية للآثار والتراث. لإختيار وتجهيز القطع الأثرية للمعرض. في نهاية الزيارة وبعد أن تم الاتفاق على نوع ومقدار المقتنيات الأثرية والفعاليات الثقافية الأخرى لمساعي السودان بفرنسا تم توقيع اتفاقية تنظيم على قيام معرض للحضارات السودانية القديمة يغطي الفترة من حضارات ما قبل التاريخ والمجموعات النوبية وحضارة مملكة كرمة ومملكة نبتا ومملكة مروي على أن يضم الآثار السودانية والكنوز بالمتاحف الأخرى بالدول الأوروبية والأمريكية. وأن يكون المعرض في كل من ألمانيا وفرنسا وهولندا وينظر في إتمام المعرض في دول أخرى على أن تتم إتفاقية

كوش.
منفصلة مع الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف لزيادة في التفاصيل الخاصة بالتأمين والترحيل والكلاسيكية وإشراف الهيئة في كل مراحل العرض مع معهد العالم العربي باريس الذي يتحمل جميع النفقات بمشاركة المتاحف التي تستضيف المعرض. وأن يستمر المعرض لمدة عامين في الفترة من أكتوبر 1996 م حتى سبتمبر 1998 م.

بناءً على بروتوكول الاتفاق المبرم في الخرطوم بين حكومة السودان ومعهد العالم العربي والخاص بتنظيم معرض الآثار السودانية بأوروبا بجانب فعاليات ثقافية أخرى بفرنسا فقد تم توقيع إتفاقية بين الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف ومعهد العالم العربي وقائمة السيد / حسن إدريس مدير عام الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتحف ود. بدر الدين عردوكي مدير المعارض الكبرى بمعهد العالم العربي.

تم الإتفاق على إجراء عدد 186 قطعة أثرية من الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتحف إلى معهد العالم العربي بهدف عرضها بجانب قطع أخرى من متاحف أوروبية وأمريكية عن التاريخ والحضارة السودانية (معرض حضارات السودان القديم في الفترة من أول أكتوبر 1996 م إلى نهاية سبتمبر 1998 م حسب البرنامج التالي :

1 - ميونخ (الكوستنهايطة) (ألمانيا) 2 أكتوبر إلى 1 يناير 1997 م.
2 - باريس (معهد العالم العربي) (فرنسا) 4 فبراير 1997 م إلى 7 أغسطس 1997 م.
4 - تولوز (متحف الأوغستال) (فرنسا) أول فبراير 1998 م إلى نهاية أبريل 1998 م.
5 - مانهاييم (الوتحف البلدي) (ألمانيا) فبراير - أغسطس 1998 م.

تم الاتفاق على تكوين لجنة من الجانبين تقوم بالإشراف والإعداد للمعرض بالخرطوم والواقع الذي سيعرض بها حتى عودة المقتنيات الأثرية للسودان. تتكون اللجنة من الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتحف:

المدير العام
السيد / حسن حسين إدريس

أمين أمانة المتحف
السيد / صديق محمد قسم السيد

كوش
السيد / د. صلاح الدين محمد أحمد
السيد / حيدر حامد مختار
معهد العالم العربي يتكون من:
مدير المعارض الكبرى
أمينة متحف العالم العربي
مدير عام المعرض
مستشار عام

د. جاك رينولد (مدير الوحدة الفرنسية)

نص الاتفاق على إعارة 186 قطعة أثرية من مختلف الفترات الحضارية لهذا المعرض على أن يتولى معهد العالم العربي مهمة التأمين والتحليت ويلتزم بإتخاذ كافة الإجراءات المفروضة لضمان أمن المقتنيات وإحترام القواعد المتبعة في الحفاظ عليها. على أن تتؤمن الهيئة القومية للأثار والمتاحف كل الإجراءات وتقدم كافة المساعدات الإدارية اللازمة لتسهيل خروج المقتنيات الأثرية من السودان حسب البرنامج المعد للمعرض.

بحمد الله ونباههم تام بين الإخوة بمعهد العالم العربي والهيئة القومية للأثار والمتاحف وبصورة خاصة بين أعضاء اللجنة الفنية تم إنجاز هذا المشروع بكل همة ونشاط متجاوزاً البرنامج الذي أعد، وكلما تتم بصورة تنازل رضا الجمعية خاصة موطنى القارة الأوروبية والمهتمين بالثقافة والتراث. وينبغي عليهم إقبالاً يشجعهم لزيارة السودان لمعرفة الكثير عن حضارته وعن شعبه الذي يحب كل شعوب العالم ويرحب بهم في شماله وبين إبرامات وعابدار وآثار مملكة جربور ورثيا وبين أشجار النخيل الباسقة والمانجو والبرتقال على ضفاف النيل وفي شرقه على ساحل البحر الأحمر ومدينة سواكن التاريخية وقرية عروس وأركوتي وكسلا وغرباً في جبل مرة وجبال النوبة وآثار دارفور وجنبًا حيث المناخ الاستوائي والغابات الطبيعية الساحرة وأواسط السودان والعاصمة القومية حيث متحف السودان القومي و(CONFIG_1)تحف التراث الشعبي وآثار المهدي وفتح بيت الخليفة ومقبرة النيلين خاصة وأنه ولأول مرة تكون هناك ووزارة تهتم بالسياحة والأثار في السودان.
«التركن»: هل هو وجهة نبتية؟
صلاح محمد أحمد

لقد تم في خلال الثمانينات حفر مجموعة من المنازل في فترة نبتا في داخل مدينة كرمة البلد الحالية. وقد تم العثور على العديد من آية الفخار التي تحتوي على كميات من عظام السمك داخل المنزل الأول في كرمة (1). وتشمل هذه الجرارة الفخارية الثلاثية وثلاسة من فترات سكينة المنزل وقد تم وضعها في الغرف 8 و 8 و 8 على التوالي (2). هذه الغرف كانت تحتل نفس الموقع خلال فترة سكينة المبنى في الجزء الشرقي من المنزل. ومقياسها 7.5 × 4 متر ومن الواضح أنه لم يكن لهما سقف وكان يمكن الوصول إليهما من الطابق الأول عن طريق السلالم الذي يوجد في الروكن الجنوبي الشرقي من المنزل. وقد تم وضع الجرارة على طول الحيطان. ومعظم هذه الجرارة وضعت مكسورة القواعد في وضع ملقوب داخل آنية أخرى وضعت مسبقاً داخل الأرض. وهذه جرارة كبيرة الحجم، ارتفاعها حوالي 80 سم ومحيط فوتها حوالي 14 سم.

وقد وجدت جرعة من نفس النوع ومقاسة مكسورة في الغرفة المركزية في أحد منازل صانعي الفخار من فترة نبتا تم حفره كذلك داخل مدينة كرمة البلد الحديثة (3). وقد إحتوت هذه الجرعة كذلك على كميات من عظام السمك.

وقد وجد قارئان أثناء حفرياته في مدينة مروى في بداية هذا القرن عدداً من الجرارة المتفوقة على طول حيطان المبنى. وبالنظر إلى الاكتشاف الأول الذي حفروا مدينة مروى فإن هذه الجرارة ترتبط بعامة (حرق الموتى) (4). ولسوء الحظ فإنه لم تجري دراسات أثرية على العظام المكتشفة تساعد على اثبات وجود عظام سمكة في هذه الجرارة. وتمت كذلك جرارة مكسورة القواعد موضوعها داخل آنية أقدم منها في منزل من الفترة المروية تم حفره في جزيرة ديرومة ويرجع
تاريخه إلى القرنين الثاني والثالث قبل الميلاد.

وقد تم جمع عظام الأسماك بعد غزارة محويات الجرار في المنزل البقاء الأول وتمت دراستها بواسطة لويس شيلمس المتخصص في علم الحيوان التابع لبعثة الآثار السويسرية بكرم. هذا بالإضافة إلى تحليل الأسماك الملمحة التي يستخدمها سكان كرمة الحاليين. وقد دلت المقارنة أنها تتنتمي لنفس فصيلة الأسماك القديمة التي وجدت داخل الجرار.

إذا نعتقد أن هذه البقايا يمكن أن تمثل وجبة قديمة لاتزال حية في المجتمع النوبى. إن استخدام الأسماك المحفوظة عادة رائحة في بلاد النوبة. ولسنوات خلت فقط، كانت كل عائلة نوبية تقوم بإعداد حافتها من الأسماك المحفوظة. ولكن اليوم فإن هجرة النوبيين إلى المدن الكبيرة وإلى الدول المنتجة للبترول قد حول بلاد النوبة إلى منطقة مستهلكين للعديد من البضائع المستوردة والتي كانت تصنع سابقاً في المنطقة. فقد استمر الناس في استهلاك الأسماك الملمحة ولكن معظم الإنتاج يتم استيراده من مناطق الإنتاج الكبيرة كالجبال الأولى ومواصفات أخرى على النيل الأبيض.

وفي محاولة لفهم أدق لهذه الجرار التي تحتوي عظام الأسماك، فقد تحولنا للمجتمع النوبى. وقد تم القيام بعمل إستبيان غرث – آثار في الموسم 1987 – 1988 وقد قسمت هذا الإستبيان إلى 4 إجزاء. يحتوي الجزء الأول على أسهلية تخصص معلومات عن الإنسان المستقل (الاسم، السكن، الأصل والعمر)، والجزء الثاني يختص بوسائل الحصول على الأسماك وفترة الصيد، والجزء الثالث يتعامل مع صناعة (الفايسب) و (التركين)، أنواع الأولى المستخدمة والمكان، وفترة الحفظ، بينما يتعامل الجزء الرابع مع الواجبات والاستهالة.

وقد تم سؤال 19 شخصاً ويشملون 4 نساء و15 رجلاً، أعمارهم تتراوح بين 27 - 70 سنة، ويمثلون المجموعات النوبية الرئيسية الثلاثة: السكوت في الشمال، المحس في الوسط، والدناقلة في الجنوب. ويتوزعون على 6 مناطق في بلاد النوبة (كرمة، واوا، صلب، صادنقا، 

كوش
وقامグラフسترالسيم تستخدم في قطع القماش القديمة للصيد وهذا عادة ما يكون (الثوب السوداني) الذي تلبسه النساء، فالشبكة نادراً ما تستخدم في بلاد النوبة. وتعطي طريقة الثوب هذه نتائج جيدة في الحصول على الأسماك الصغيرة في فترة الفيضان (يونيو- سبتمبر) وعادة ما تشارك كل الأسرة في عملية الصيد.

وتم صناعة (الفسيخ) من الأسماك متوسطة الحجم التي تحفظ بكاملها وتلهى بذلك بفتح الأسماك ونظامها وملحها بالملح وتركها لتحفظ في إبقاء من الفخار من 3-6 شهور. وفي الفترة الأخيرة أخذت عملية الحفظ تتم داخل آنية من البلاستيك أو المعدن. وعادة ما تؤكل الأسماك كما هي أو يتم طهيه مع البصل وصلصة الطماطم. معظم الذين تم سؤالهم أو عمل الاستبيان معهم لا يعرفون صناعة (الفسيخ) والذين يأكلونه يشترونه من أسر ذات أصل مصري في المنطقة (التركين) عبارة عن منتج من حفظ السمك في شكل (عجينة) ثقيلة. وقد تم ملاحظة ثلاث مروحة وهي على النحو التالي:

1- نظافة السمك والخلط بالملح داخل إناء فخاري. الخلط بجريدة نخل حتى تحويل السمك في شكل (عجينة). ثم حفظ المنتج في الشمس وعادة في فناء المنزل.

2- نظافة الأسماك الصغيرة وفتح الحبة. تترك الأسماك لتجف عدة ساعات تحت أشعة الشمس. وضع الأسماك والملح في شكل طبقات والخلط بجريدة نخل لصغرة (العجينة) ووضع المنتج داخل الة وتركه للتحفظ في الظل.

3- نفس الطريقة الأولى ولكن بعد الحصول على (العجينة) يتم تصنيف المائدة وتعبئ عظام الأسماك إلى حين الحصول على مادة بيضاء (الكالسيوم) والتي يتم إضافتها (للتركين) و يتم حفظ الجرة عادة في فناء المنزل. هذه الطريقة يعرفها شخص واحد فقط من أشخاص الذين تم استجوابهم. وتم عادة حفظ (التركين) في الشمس وفي بعض الحالات النادرة

كونش 2
تحويل آنية الحفظ للظل بعد عدة ساعات من إتمام عملية الصناعة.

الآنية التقليدية المستخدمة هي جرار الفخار ذات الأفواه الضيقة وارتفاعها حوالي 40 - 60 سم. أما الآن وفي مناطق الإنتاج الكبيرة (كجميل أولياء) فإن (التركين) يحفظ داخل آنية معدنية وفب بعض الحالات في بلاد النوبة في المناطق التي لاتزال فيها بعض الأسر تواصل هذا الإنتاج فإن (التركين) يتم إعداده داخل آنية من البلاستيك أو المعدن ثم يتم تحويله لحفظ داخل جرار من الفخار. وفي كل الحالات فإن كل الأسرة النوبية تساهم في عملية الصيد والصناعة. وعملية الحفظ تستغرق من 6 - 12 شهر حسب كمية الملح المضافة للأسماك.

أما فيما يخص عملية الإستهلاك فإننا قد لاحظنا وجود ثلاثة أنواع من الأطباق:

1- تصنيفة (العجينة) من أشواك السمك، خلطها بالبصل، البهارات، عصارة الليمون، وأكلها مع (القرصاة) وهي خبز دائري الشكل ضعيف الحرق تصنعه الأسرة من دقيق القمح.

2- طهي البصل، خلطه مع (التركين) قليل من دقيق القمح، البهارات، عصارة الطماطم وأكلها مع (القرصاة).

3- طهي الطماطم وغلى (التركين) وخلطها مع قليل من دقيق القمح والبهارات وعصارة الطماطم وأكلها مع (القرصاة). ولهذا طبق آخر مأخوذ من هذا النوع وهو طهيه بدون إضافة عصارة الطماطم.

وهذه الطرق الثلاث تمثل نوعاً من التطور في المطبخ النوبى ففي الماضي كان النوبيون يأكلون فقط (التركين) المعد على الطريقة الأولى ثم الثانية والآن فإن الطريقة الثالثة هي المحببة عند الجيل النوبى الجديد.

على الرغم من عدم القطع بصحة التفسيرات الأنثروبولوجية إلا أنها تعطي وسيلة هامة للمقارنة لفهم بعض المظاهر الآثارية. ففي مجتمع تقليدي كالمجتمع النوبى، والذي لازال فيه البعض يذكر اسم السيدة العذرا عند ميلاد الأطفال رغم تحول المنطقة للإسلام منذ ستة قرون، فإنه من كوش
الممكن التسليم ببقاء وجبة قديمة في ذاكرة هذا المجتمع.
ولذلك فإننا نعتقد بأن أشواك السمك التي وجدت داخل الجرار في المنزل النبتي بكرمته تمثل
بقايا منتج (التركيين) وليس (الفسيخ) لعدة أسباب:

إنه في حالة (الفسيخ) فإن السمكة تحفظ وتؤخذ بكاملها بدون ترك بقايا داخل الإناء ،
بالإضافة إلى أن معظم البقايا التي تخرجت تتسم لأسماء كن الحجم الصغير التي تناسبه مع
صناعة (التركيين) ، وأخيراً فإن معظم الذين تم إستجوابهم لا يعرفون (الفسيخ) والذين يتكلمون لا
يصعونه مما يدل على أن صناعة (الفسيخ) تتمثل عادة غريبة على منطقة النوبة . وتكون الطريقة
القديمة على الأرجح من صناعة (المجهينة) داخل جرة من الفخار ووضع هذه الجرة في شكل
مقلوب داخل جرة قديمة مثبتة أصلا في الأرض ثم كسر مؤخرة الجرة الأولى للحصول على
(التركيين) . وعلى فإنه يمكننا القول بأن سكان نبتي في السودان قد استمتعوا بأكل التركين عدة
قرن قبل أن يصنع الرومان وجبة (القاروم).
تقرير أولى لحفريات العُشرة
موقع رقم(1-0.9/A.36 - 1982)
منطقة شندي - فبراير
صلاح عمر الصادق

في إطار النشاط العام للهيئة القومية للآثار والمعتقلات، قام الكاتب
بإجراء حفريات أثرية محدودة في موقع العشيرة. والجدير بالذكر أن البلدة تحت قيادة فرانس
جيوس (Francis Geus) وقد كتب تقريراً عن موقع العشيرة قبل عدة سنوات وهو أول التقارير
المكتوبة عن هذا الموقع.

لقد استمر العمل لمدة عشرة أيام من 9 - 18 فبراير 1982 وضم فريق العمل في هذا الموقع
كلاً من صلاح عمر الصادق، عبد الله النذير وعشرة عمال، وهناك فريقان آخرين يعملان في
موقع الكدادة والغابة.

والموقع موجود في خريطة السودان، بقياس الرسم 1:500,000 خريطة رقم 36-0
ويحدها كلاً من خط طول 32°33° شرقاً وخط عرض 16°43° شماليًّا، موقع رقم
NE.36 - 0.9/A.1

وصف الموقع:

يقع الموقع في أرض مرتفعة على بعد 3 كيلم شرق النيل، حيث وجد موقع آخر عرف
باسم الكدادة. كما يقع شرق خط السكة حديد المنتجة لطبرة على مسافة قريبة من محطة
التراجع، وكاتب قطع الفخار والأدوات الحجرية التي تغطي سطحه محلي اللدге على وجوده.

ومن الجدير بالإشارة أن بعض الناقلات (اللوارية) التي تنقل الرمال إلى المباني الجديدة في
شندي قد أحدثت عدداً من الحفر في سطح الموقع.

1. تسمى الآن الهيئة القومية للآثار والمعتقلات (ملصقة الآثار في ذلك الوقت).
3. أنظر خريطة منطقة العشيرة.
استراتيجية الحفريات:

إن الغرض من هذه الحفريات التجريبية هو الوصول إلى سلسلة من التجمعات الآثارية والتي يمكن أن تكون مفيدة في تحديد التاريخ النسبي للموقع. كما أننا كنا نأمل في الحصول على مواد عضوية لاستخلاص التاريخ الكربوني منها.

غرض آخر هام لهذه الحفريات التجريبية وهو تحديد العلاقة بين موقع العشيرة، والذي يبدو من خلال المواد الآثارية الموجودة على سطحه أنه مثبت موقعًا سكنيًا، وبين الجبانة الآثارية في الغابة (موقع مجاور).

ومن خلال الملاحظة السطحية يبدو أن كلا المواقعين مرتبين بنفس السياق الثقافي. وزيادة على ماسبق، نحاول معرفة: إلى أي مدى يتصل هذين الموقعين.

يقع مربع الحفر في اتخاذ واضح للموقع، وله أنظر أنه غير متثر بالنشاط الحالي الذي يتعرض له الموقع. وقد تم اختيار المنطقة التي تقع في الجانب الغربي للنليل المرتفع وترقب حفر خندق بطول سبعة أمتار وبعرض مترين. وبذلك حفر عدد من المربعات كان مجموعها الكلي هو تسعة مربعات. وكل واحد منها مساحته متر مربع ما عدا المربعين 11 و 14 والتي تبلغ 2 متر مربع. أما البقية فقد تركت بدون حفر وأرقامها هي 3 و 9 و 10 و 11 و 12 و 13.

داخل هذه المربعات المحفرة جمعنا المواد الآثارية السطحية والمستخرجة. وقد كان اتجاه مربع الحفر هو شرق غرب، وتم ترقيم المربعات بتجمع هجري ابتداءً من الهدف A إلى N. وكان العدد الكلي للمربعات هو 14 مربعاً. فالمربع A هو المربع 1، والمربع B هو المربع 2 وهكذا.

لقد قسمت الترسبات إلى طبقات محدودة أو ما يعرف بـ (Mechanical Layers) كل واحدة منها عمقها 10 سم. وفي نفس الوقت كان السطح مغطى بالرمل والحبص بعمق يصل إلى 4 سم. وقد تم غريلة التربة بعد إزالتها من الطبقة.
الحفرية:
تشتمل المواد المكتشفة على أربعة أنواع وهي القواقع، العظام الحيوانية وقطع الفخار والأدوات الحجرية وقد حفظ القطع البدية والموجودات الأخرى بمفردها.
أما المربعات المحفورة فأوسعها كالتالي:

المربع رقم (1): 
تم حفره حتى عمق 34 سم، وقد بدأت التربة في التحول إلى لون أكثر سواداً وكذلك قلت كمية الحصى وقطع الفخار. وقد ميزت هذه القطع الفخارية بالزخرفة المتعرجة (Zigzag) والخطوط المتموجة وزخارف السلة. وكان من الممكن رؤية هذه الزخارف بوضوح هناك قواقع من النوع الذي يستخدم في صنع الفخار التقليدي. هذا النوع كان قد وجد في الشهيناب بواسطة آركل 1949 - 1950.1 كم سجلت إيزايلان كنابا هذا النوع أيضاً.

وقد استمر الحفر حتى عمق 4 سم ثم ظهرت ا لتربة الأصلية في بعض الأجزاء. بينما استمر وجد الحصى والموجودات الأخرى أي القواقع وعظام الحيوانات وقطع الفخار والرحي في الجانبيين الشمالي والشمالي الشرقي للمربع بجانب وجود آثار بناء طيني في الركن الشمالي الشرقي يمترب جداً.

المربع رقم (2): 
بعد تنظيف التربة السطحية بدأت التربة في التفكك والتحول لللون الأسود. وقد كانت قطع الفخار هنا أكثر مما وجد في المربع رقم 1. وقد زخرفت بأنماط مختلفة مع خطوط مجززة. كما وجدت عظام الأسماك والحيوانات وقد لوحظ وجود القواقع بمختلف الأحجام.

المربع رقم (4): 
بدأت التربة الأصلية في الظهور على عمق 84 سم، ولكن في الجزء الجنوبي وصل الحصي إلى

عمق متر واحد. على عمق 8 سم وجدت عظام وأدوات رصي، وفي الجزء الجنوبي من المربع إلى عمق متر واحد وجدت قطع فخار ممزقة بخطوط متعرجة ومحززة.

المراعات رقم (5 و 6): لوحظ وجود مواد آثارية معينة كما وجدت في المربع 1. وقد ظهرت الترية الأصلية على عمق 14 سم.

المراعات رقم (7 و 8):- بعد الحفر إلى عمق 5 سم وصلنا إلى الأرض الأصلية. وقد كانت المواد الآثارية مشابهة لما تم العثور عليه في المربع 1 بالرغم من أننا وجدنا العديد من قطع الفخار في هذين المربعين خاصة المربع 7.

المراعات رقم (11 و 14):- بعد تنظيف الترية إلى عمق 4 سم، وجدنا أن الترية متفرقة جداً في هذين المربعين، وفي نفس الوقت اكتشفنا عداً من أدوات الطحن (السفلى والعليا) وبعضها كان لا يزال في حالة جيدة، كما وجدت المواد الآثارية الأخرى في هذين المربعين.

المواد الآثارية

قطع الفخار:

وجدت في كل مربعات الحفر. ولكنها كانت قليلة في الطبقات العميقة. إن كل قطع الفخار هذه تم جمعها وأخذها للدراسة. وتشمل جميع الحواف التي وجدت ممزقة أو غير ممزقة. إلا أنه من غير الممكن في المرحلة الحالية للبحث بناء أي نتيجة عن الفخار. ولكن كثيراً من القطع الممزقة قد صنعت بأنها مماثلة لنمط الشاهيناب.

المواج العظمية والقوافل:
وجدت في كل مربعات الحفر. وأغلب العظام مكسرة وهشة وفي الجانب الآخر وجدت إحدى السرايا المصنوعة من القواقع، كما تم تسجيل العديد من المحار (القوافل) المهشمة أو الكاملة. وقد وصف نوع مشابه بواسطة ليش كريزياناك (Kryzianiak) في الكدرو (Serrated Nile Bivalves) أو (Aspatharia Rubens) وهي كائنات نهرية ذات صدفتين، يمكن تمييزها وتسجيلها.
الأدوات الحجرية:
تنشر في كل مربع الحفر وهي من الكوارتز والصخور، وتواجد مع قليل من الأزاميل المكتملة مع chest وندرة في كل موقع. كما أن أدوات الطحن (العليا والسفلية) كانت موجودة (Goages) بكميات عالية.
خاتمة:
ككلاً فإن الموقع هو موقع سكني ينتمي للعصر الحجري الحديث، ويتصل مع الجبال الآدارية في موقع الغابة. وإن كلا الموقعين يمثلان نفس السياق الثقافي. وبناءً علي وجود الفخار والأدوات الحجرية والمواد الآدارية والقوافل، التي جمعتها من الموقع فإن هناك كثيراً من الإشارات التي تدل علي أن النشاطات الاقتصادية لسكان موقع العصر逍遥 خلال العصر الحجري الحديث. كانت معتمدة علي القنص، وصيد الحيوان وجمع النباتات واستناد الحيوان. وهما ينفق فإن هناك دليلاً قوياً من خلال الكمية الضخمة من أدوات الطحن على أن سكان العصرة قد بدأوا خطواتهم الأولي نحو نظام إنتاج الطعام.