A Possible Monastery and the ‘Upper Maqs’ at Ukma-Akasha West?

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Abstract: This paper summarises previously unpublished records relating to a series of unusual, and perhaps associated enclosed medieval settlements in the area of Akasha and Ukma West, excavated in 1969 by the Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia. When excavated, one site, namely [21-N-11], which contained a small church, was thought likely to have been a monastery. An unusual site close by is also briefly discussed. Two other enclosed sites, and perhaps a further uncompleted example, have some features in common with the putative monastic site, although other functions may be considered. That some of these might relate to the historically recorded government ‘customs post’, the ‘Upper Maqs’, is also possible. While definitive identifications are not possible, a number of features of these sites, which cannot be easily paralleled elsewhere in Nubia, suggest their wider interest, and that they merit further study.

Keywords: medieval Nubia, monasteries, Akasha, fortifications, ‘Upper Maqs’

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The modern districts of Ukma and Akasha are located towards the southern end of the Batn al-Hajar region of Middle Nubia. This barren and rocky stretch of the Nile extends over c. 130km between the Second Cataract and the Dal Cataract. Within this region a series of rapids may present significant if variable barriers to river transport through the annual cycles of the Nile. The Ukma-Akasha area seems likely to be the location of the ‘Upper Maqs’ recorded in medieval sources, identified as the site of a ‘customs post’, controlling passage southwards but otherwise unknown. The location can be identified most specifically by the mention of the hot springs situated nearby, clearly those known in more recent times as Hammam Akasha. Ibn Salim uses the term musallaha, a term with military connotations, often understood as a ‘garrison’. While lacking precision, the references raise the possibility that there might exist a site or sites in this area with an official function, perhaps with military characteristics, of a kind not known elsewhere in Nubia. This possibility has

DOI: 10.12775/EtudTrav.32.004
already been raised on a number of occasions in more general accounts of medieval Nubia and indeed in some fieldwork reports.¹

The area is also potentially of interest for studies of medieval monasticism in Nubia. Such research has gained a new impetus in recent years with spectacular discoveries at (Old) Dongola,² new fieldwork at Ghazali, first investigated in 1953–1954,³ and a new publication programme focussed on the Lower Nubian site of Qasr el-Wizz.⁴ That medieval Nubia had a significant monastic tradition, manifested in various forms, discussed in a number of studies, and a lot of potential monastic sites have been identified, both in Lower and Upper Nubia.⁵ Ongoing work, especially in the Makurian heartlands, is likely to provide valuable new evidence for a monastic sites of different types. However, there is also much potential for further research within the archives of older fieldwork, in a large part still unpublished.

The potential interest for Nubian monastic archaeology of a number of sites in the southern Batn al-Hajar examined by the UNESCO-Sudan Antiquities Service Survey between Gemai and Dal (1963–1969) has long been recognised.⁶ Indeed, attention was drawn to some of the sites discussed here by William Y. Adams in the first major synthesis of Nubian archaeology drawing on the results of the High Dam Campaign.⁷ However, in the absence of publication, further discussion of these sites has not been possible, while this area has not seen new fieldwork since the early 1970s. This paper will revisit some of those sites, drawing on the unpublished archive of the Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia (ASSN). While a definitive identification is probably not possible on the basis of data collected in the 1960s, a monastic, as well as possibly other ‘official’ uses for some, may be suggested. It should be noted that there may also be a scope for further investigation of a number of these structures which survive above the raised water level of the High Dam reservoir.

AKASHA WEST [21-N-11]

One of the most impressive of these sites was an enclosed settlement at Akasha West, registered by the ASSN as [21-N-11] (see below, Fig. 11). Standing on the crest and upper slope of a granite ridge running parallel to the river, this lay c. 100m from the low water river bank, overlooking a narrow area of sandy floodplain which extended southwards for c. 500m (Fig. 1). Just to the north (c. 40m) of the site a steep wadi came down to the river.

¹ E.g. Dinkler 1985: 15–16; Welsby 2002: 82, 94. For the medieval references in Ibn Salim al-Aswani (as preserved by al-Maqrizi) and Abū al-Makārīm/Abu Sālih, see: Vantini 1975: 325, 603–604.
² Jakobielski, Scholz (Eds) 2001; Godlewski 2013.
³ Shinnie, Chittick 1961; Obłuski et al. 2015; Obłuski 2018; 2019.
⁵ Jeuté 1994; Anderson 1999; Obłuski 2018.
⁶ Following the initial reconnaissance survey of 1963–1964, the west bank was further examined by the Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia during the final fieldwork season which ended in May 1969. By that time the east bank was under investigation by a Swiss expedition, active in the region between 1967 and 1972; see: Maystre 1980: 5–7.
No medieval Nubian toponyms can be identified in this area but in more recent times the toponyms of Meeltawwo and Kisseentawwo have been recorded in this locality.8

This prominent structure is clearly one of those that was indicated on the Sudan Survey map sheet 35-I. It was first registered in April 1964 during the ASSN reconnaissance survey between Gemai and Dal, and was later excavated between March and April 1969, in the final months of the ASSN fieldwork.9 Most of the fieldwork at the site was supervised by James Knudstad and this account is based on his field notes and site plans.10 He understood the site as a monastery, comprising a small church at the north end, two larger multi-room structures, probably with two storeys, and several cell-like rooms towards the south end, within a semi-fortified enclosure.

The enclosure ran along the top and the eastern slope of the north-south ridge. The enclosure east wall was c. 36m long, while the western one was slightly longer (c. 37m), while its width at the north end was c. 10m, and c. 16m at the south end (Fig. 2). Except for a number of interior mud-brick features, stone, generally with a patchy mud mortar, was the main building material throughout. The enclosure walls were fairly well preserved. Their dimensions varied, but were commonly 130–160cm broad at the base, rising to a slab-paved parapet wall 60–80cm thick and up to 156cm high. The level of the bedrock at the walls’ foundation was quite irregular and although the parapet walls along the west and east sides had a fairly level top, this was not the case for the north and south walls,

8 Bell 1970: 67, 112.
9 Mills 1965: 10. The discovery of an altar at the site was reported in Leclant 1971: 248–249.
10 The field records are notebooks of A.J. Mills (AJM) and J.E. Knudstad (JEK): AJM IV, 87; JEK IV, 1–60.
the bases of which fell considerably from west to east. The north wall parapet walk sloped down to the east but may have needed stairs or a ramp to meet the much lower east wall parapet walk. The south wall parapet was very fragmentary, but appeared to have been ramped from end to end to match the differing heights of the east and west walls.

At least three stair positions provided access to the parapets, one rising northward approximately midway along the west wall, a second rising both north and south about 5m from the southwest corner, and a third rising both east and west in the south wall; both the latter stairs were accessed from passageways between interior rooms. It was presumed that the parapet along the east wall had crossed the denuded main gateway in the way that the north parapet crossed over a small doorway inserted into that wall.

Onto the original enclosure had been added two heavy rectangular structures on its eastern side. That at the north end of the wall was c. 7m north-south and 4m east-west, and was added following the removal of about c. 4m of the east wall, virtually to the level of the bedrock. The second addition enclosed the main gateway and measured c. 9m north-south and 6m east-west, with an outer gate set in its south wall. The wall tops of the eastern additions were too heavily eroded to preserve any evidence of parapet construction.

The main east gate of the settlement was 110–120cm wide with heavy buttresses to each side of the inner jambs, the latter in this case not recessed. A single leaf gate was presumed, but no pivot positions remained. The sill was integrated with the jambs and its height necessitated steps outside. There may have been a further stairway to the parapet by the northern buttress of the inner gateway. In addition to the main east gate there were two other small doorways through the outer enclosure, one in the north wall and one in
the south wall of the northeast salient. The small doorway in the north wall was thought to have been a later addition, most likely to provide external access to the church.

The style of stonework used in construction of the enclosure wall had some interesting features, although the character of the available local stone probably determined its distinctiveness. While this form of construction appears quite unusual, it seems likely that the wall surfaces were originally covered with a mud plaster. While none survived on the exposed wall surfaces, it was noted that at the (unbonded) junctions of the two additions to the east wall, a mud plaster was preserved on the existing surface of the original enclosure. More traces of mud wall plaster survived in a number of rooms within the complex.

**The Church**

The northern end of the enclosure held a small church (Figs 3–4), of unusual form (Rooms 1–4, 45–46). This clearly had a quite complex construction history with evidence of several significant modifications, linked with a series of floor levels. Whether this part of the enclosure

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contained a church before the addition of the eastern annex was uncertain. Rooms 1 and 2 formed the body of the church, further divided in a secondary phase following the insertion of a pulpit built against a stone and brick pier; further brick piers were also inserted in later phases. At its west end were two rooms (3–4). The doors to Room 3 were later blocked, and the room itself remained unplastered. Room 4 contained two mastaba benches and had at least three layers of plaster. Fragments of painted decoration as well as incised inscriptions were recovered amongst fallen plaster fragments found in the room fill (Fig. 5). There was a door leading south from Room 4 into a narrow passage, which was also later blocked off along with this doorway.

The east end of the church originally comprised two rooms (45–46) forming a sanctuary and sacristy, divided by a narrow brick wall. Room 45 was later remodelled when the dividing wall was rebuilt, and what may have been a small brick altar(?) against its east wall was added, as well as a small mastaba against the south wall. There was no evidence of painted decoration in this room. Some constructional elements in the north wall suggested an east-west aligned vault covered this room.

The sanctuary (Room 46) was also remodelled significantly through the use of the church (Figs 3–4). The original room has a small mud-brick bin in the southwest corner and a jar set in the floor in the northeast corner. At this level there was a low narrow door...
leading outside through the stone enclosure wall. With no traces of any external rooms its purpose remained uncertain. A new floor level was then laid, and small mastabas built against the west and north walls of the sanctuary. The external doorway was blocked, creating a low niche. No traces of a built altar survived at this level, but there was some evidence for painted wall decoration. Following a further reflooring a mud-brick altar was constructed at the east side of the sanctuary; its mud plastered surface having a red-painted four line text, in the form of a prayer (Fig. 6). No altar top survived although fragments of marble slabs were found in the room fill and it was suggested that similar material may have covered the altar.¹¹

On the south side of the church, and connected to it, were two additional rooms (26, 11). Room 26 in its original form had stone mastabas against its north and east walls as well as what was interpreted as a separate seat on the north wall. At later levels, probably associated with the latest remodelling of the church, the eastern doorway into Room 11 was closed and new mastabas were built against the east and south walls at a higher level. Room 11

¹¹ This decorated altar was the one reported by Leclant 1971: 248–249. During the last days of the ASSN fieldwork in mid-May 1969, the front of the altar was consolidated and reportedly transported to Khartoum. The painted text is published in: Van Gerven Oei, Łajtar 2019.
had fewer internal features but at one time a large jar was set in the centre of the floor. Its doorways were later both blocked and some stone masonry was added to the north wall, perhaps to provide further support to the church wall. The room then seems to have been abandoned and accumulated c. 130cm of sandy stony debris including ash.

The other internal structures within the northern half of the site, largely built in stone (Figs 2, 7), probably formed two separate units, both with several rooms and possibly with upper floors. The first unit, on the west side, was based on Rooms 6 and 7 with 8, 9 and 27 as additions. The inner room (6) was built of mud-brick along with part of Room 7. This had two stone mastabas on the west and north walls. On its south side was a small chamber (8) thought likely to be the lower part of a latrine, accessed from a second storey. It was suggested that a narrow stairway could have been built into the stone facing of the east side of Room 6. An outer area (27) formed an irregular terrace and/or enclosure wall. To the south were two rooms (9, 10) against the west enclosure wall. In the southeast corner of Room 9 was a series of three mud basins, at least one likely to have held a grindstone. A well-preserved circular grindstone seat and a mud basin, for a rotary quern, overlay this in a later phase.
On the east side was a second unit formed of Rooms 12, 13A/B, 14 and 28. Evidence for two stairways, one in Room 28 and one in the north wall of the corridor 13B suggested the existence of a second storey, presumably in mud-brick. There were few features or fittings in these rooms. To the south of the second unit there were three smaller rooms (15, 44, 40). The eastern one (15) had an entry to Room 13A, and may have served as an inner store room for it. The northern half of the floor of Room 44 was raised on stone slabs, but no purpose for this was identified. The entrance to this poorly-preserved room was not determined.
The southern half of the site was occupied by a complex of what may have been monastic cells, as well as some ancillary structures (Fig. 2). These may have formed one block of perhaps six cells in the southwest corner, and perhaps a further three or four along the east wall. In the southwest corner the remains of what may have been mastabas and/or storage bins were found in Rooms 22, 23 and perhaps 24. In an adjoining room (25) there was at least one oven in a corner, with a grindstone basin/emplacement constructed over this at a later phase. Another oven was located in Room 19, in the southeast part of the enclosure. Another feature of the southeast corner of the site was a possible latrine located in the space (42) between Rooms 19 and 20, again indicative of the use of a second storey. Room 18 was notable for an exceptionally thick west wall (77cm) and a low entrance (105cm to lintel). This had two superimposed mud grindstone basins against its east wall and later a low stone mastaba was added in the southeast corner. Room 37 just inside the gate had a stone pit cut c. 60cm into the bedrock, later infilled and sealed by a floor.

**Finds**

The finds recorded in the field included an interesting range of material, some relating to the church as well as its likely monastic(?) occupation. The brick altar was associated with the latest phase of the church and had, as mentioned above, the text of a red-painted prayer on its whitewashed plaster surface (Fig. 6), but little else seems to have survived of any painted wall decoration from the church. Some fragments of painted plaster were found within the sanctuary (Room 46), in fills below its third floor level. No evidence for decoration was found in Room 45, but, as noted above some fragments, accompanied by inscribed graffiti was found in sub-floor fills in Room 4 (Fig. 5). A few traces of red paint were also found on the latest plaster of the rebuilt south wall of the nave (Room 2).

The general character of the ceramic finds provided some dating evidence for the site. The field notes record the presence of sherds identified by recognised wares but were otherwise unquantified. The most readily datable finewares were dominated by ‘Classic Christian’ and ‘Late Christian’ wares, the earlier material perhaps dominating in the deposits of ash and other burned debris. The majority of ‘Late Christian’ material within stratified contexts was found in the northern part of the complex, in the area of the church. The excavator interpreted this as suggesting that the church may have remained in use for some time after the abandonment of the rest of the complex. The most common and widespread ‘Classic Christian’ pottery wares seem to have been Adams’ Ware R7 with a range of white-slipped vessels mainly in Wares W6, W5, W7 and W10. There seem to have been a few sherds of ‘Post-Classic’ wares (mainly identified as R21 and possible W23), likely to be products of Dongola kilns, and more ‘Late Christian’ pottery (Wares R11, R17, W15, W16). Few sherds of ‘Early Christian’ wares were documented, most apparently outside but close the east wall, but also mixed with sherds of later date in interior deposits. No stratified levels containing exclusively ‘Early Christian’ pottery were identified and it
was thought likely that the site was constructed close to the period when ‘Classic Christian’ production started, in the (mid?) nineteenth century.\(^{12}\)

A number of elements of church equipment were recovered within the complex. A copper alloy censer (Fig. 8a) on a wrought iron chain was found in Room 1.\(^{13}\) This may perhaps be associated with some unworked fragments of what was identified as ‘amber’, recorded in both Room 2 and the sanctuary (Room 46), but which might have been pieces of resinous incense, as found at Qasr Ibrim.\(^{14}\) Other finds included parts of a large ceramic

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\(^{12}\) Adams 1986: 604–605. Ware designations were based on this work.

\(^{13}\) The censer was registered as small find (21-N-11/26) and subsequently in the Sudan National Museum (SNM) collections as SNM.18845. Rim diameter: 81mm; H: 35mm. The chain was c. 185mm long.

\(^{14}\) Registered as (21-N-11/1) = SNM.21365; (21-N-11/46) = SNM.21364 and (21-N-11/49) = SNM.22686. For the identification of frankincense in medieval Nubia, at Qasr Ibrim, see: Evershed et al. 1987.
basin (Fig. 9a), of uncertain form, decorated with a large cross.\textsuperscript{15} Part of a similarly decorated basin was found at the nearby site [21-N-9] (see below) and others are known from sites such as Meinarti.\textsuperscript{16} Another fragmentary inscribed ceramic basin (Fig. 9b-c), now in the Sudan National Museum collections, was published by Jacques van der Vliet.\textsuperscript{17} He suggested that the fish motif on the vessel might link this basin with baptism while the text was tentatively reconstructed to include a dedication to Saint Epimachos, whose

\textsuperscript{15} (21-N-11/34) = SNM.23035.
\textsuperscript{16} Adams 2001: Pl. 31c.
\textsuperscript{17} Registered as (21-N-11/48A-B) = SNM.23038a, b. The inscription is discussed in: Van der Vliet 2003: 83–84. See also: Tsakos 2012.
name might then be associated with this church/monastery. A potentially similar inscribed vessel is known from Abdallah Nirqi, downstream of the Second Cataract. Part of another rectangular ceramic tray also with an incised fish design, was found in Room 45 (Fig. 9d). This tray had a cream slipped surface.\textsuperscript{18}

At least 28 inscribed sherds were recovered at the site (Fig. 10), mainly monograms of ΧΠΘ, and ΘΠΧ. Combining what may be apotropaic inscriptions as well as the names and titles of clerics, these may be compared with similar finds that seem particularly common in monastic contexts, as at Ghazali and more recently documented in the sets of often quite elaborately inscribed tablewares from the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Old Dongola.\textsuperscript{19} A large decorated bowl found in Room 11 (Fig. 8b), broken in ancient times and repaired was also inscribed in three places with ΧΠΘ.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18} For the vessel at Abdalla Nirqi, see: Török 1974: 374, Fig. 40. The second basin was registered as (21-N-11/53) = SNM.20862.


\textsuperscript{20} This was an orange slipped bowl with red and black painted decoration: rim diameter: 249mm, H: 66mm. Repaired with drilled holes and ties in antiquity. Registered as (21-N-11/25) = SNM.20876.
Similar apotropaic purposes may perhaps be served by the commonly found stamped designs found on bowls, here represented by an example of a medallion (Fig. 10) cut from the centrepiece of a white ware bowl, similar in style to one found at Baganarti with a Raphael monogram. Only one ostraca seems to have been recovered (Fig. 8c), an inscribed sherd with four complete lines of text, found built into the east wall of Room 4, on the south side of the doorway, at the level of its lintel. This predated the (three) plastering episodes apparent in this room and so is likely to date to early in the history of the site.

Other unusual finds included a large glass bead, with a dark red and black body and white herringbone, and a near complete pig mandible found in Room 27. This latter would seem likely to date to a late phase of occupation when the interior was increasingly accumulating rubbish deposits. The latest phases of occupation were marked by 30–40cm deposits of sheep/goat dung covering much of the complex, often obscuring any internal walls. These accumulations were associated with ephemeral stone walls, many likely to be animal pens.

THE WIDER CONTEXT

This unusual site was part of a more extensive medieval landscape (Fig. 11). Most directly, it may be associated with a cemetery [21-N-12], just to the west of the enclosure, which held at least 57 graves, 51 of which were oriented east-west and six, north-south. The west bank in the Akasha-Ukma area also included a number of small hamlets and scattered settlements, although the majority of the larger cemeteries, as well as the known churches seem to have been on the wider flood plain on the east bank. Many seem likely to represent small farming settlements, combining generally small mud-brick and rough stone buildings. However, in addition to these there were a number of other settlement sites with some similarities to [21-N-11], which mark them off as likely to have more specialised functions, and also as having been parts of more substantial construction projects.

The closest of these lay c. 125m to the north-northwest where a rather enigmatic, unenclosed mud-brick building complex [21-N-45] was investigated, although with rather inconclusive results. It was heavily disturbed and lacked stratified deposits, the limited pottery found there was composed mainly of ‘Late Christian’ or later wares. Its plan was unlike that of any other sites in the area although appearing to the excavator to have ‘an institutional or formal’ character (Fig. 12). The original structure appeared to be a walled compound c. 10.5 x 11.5m, possibly divided into two parts. Later, two ranges of rooms were constructed within this, along its west and south sides. Two further blocks were later added on the west and south sides. In the absence of other evidence its function remains

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21 (21-N-11/2) = SNM.21506. For a similar medallion, see: Żurawski 2014: Fig. 4a.
22 Van Gerven Oei, Łajtar 2019.
23 Bead (21-N-11/29) = SNM.21362. For trail-decorated beads, see: Then-Obłuska 2013: 696, Fig. 7. For pigs in medieval Nubia, see: Osypińska 2016.
24 Excavations on the east bank revealed c. 2,500 medieval (Christian) burials; see: Maystre 1975: 91; and individual site records in Maystre 1996a; 1996b.
unknown, if different in plan from most other medieval buildings in the region. It was thought likely that, in at least its most developed form the heavier walls may have supported an upper storey, the lower rooms served as storerooms, along with an open courtyard. One of the few very finds from the excavations was an Islamic coin, probably of later Ayyubid date, along with a few pieces of glass. There was still later post-medieval occupation in the locality; at least three small buildings c. 20m to the east were also exposed. Decorated handmade pottery and some clay smoking pipes suggest a likely ‘Ottoman’ date for those.

If the nature of that site remained uncertain, two other settlements with more direct similarities with [21-N-11] lay downstream, in modern Ukma West. The first of these, [21-N-7] was c. 4km from [21-N-11]. This site was a substantial sub-rectangular enclosure (Fig. 13) measuring c. 24 x 26m, with a simple gateway on the east side. The modern settlement of four or five houses, known as Meshantawwo, lay c. 300m to the south. Its dimensions seem to have been determined largely by those of the rock outcrop on which it was perched. The enclosure wall varied in thickness at its base (c. 150–200cm), and survived up to 250cm high. No remains of parapets or walkways along its top survived but parts of stairways were preserved at two places in the north wall.

The remains of 21 rooms or chambers were traced within the enclosure, as well as some additional rooms outside the enclosure, near the east end of the north wall (Rooms 11–12, 24) and against the west wall (Room 25). The preservation was variable, in places some walls surviving up to 200cm high, while in other areas, especially towards the centre of the enclosure, the remains were almost entirely denuded down to exposed bedrock.

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It was thought that most of the surviving structures related to a late re-occupation of the site, if on occasions incorporating some fragments of medieval buildings. The majority were built in dry-stone construction. Of these, Rooms 7–12 and 24 may have formed one unit in the northeast corner and Rooms 17–19 a three-room structure in the southeast corner. One feature of these late structures was a number of plastered emplacements and bins for both saddle and rotary querns, the quernstones having been removed. Traces of earlier medieval structures, with some use of mud-brick were found in the area of Rooms 5–6 and 13, while wall-lines along the south and east walls (Rooms 14–16, 21–23) seemed most likely to also relate to the original construction. However too little survived otherwise to suggest the nature of the original medieval settlement within the enclosure. It appeared
that virtually all undisturbed deposits within the enclosure dated to a late (post-medieval) re-occupation and little or no undisturbed medieval layers survived. The mixed pottery material included both ‘Classic Christian’ and ‘Late Christian’ wares, the latter probably most common. Eight sherds with incised graffiti were also recovered (Fig. 14). The character of the archaeological deposits suggested the possibility that the interior of the site had been heavily disturbed and perhaps quarried for organic deposit at some later date.

A second, potentially quite similar structure [21-N-9] lay an additional c. 1.3km beyond [21-N-7], at Sarigo. From ground level this was not visible from the sites to the south, but the enclosure again occupied a prominent position overlooking the river bank. It was excavated by a team directed by James Knudstad in March 1969. This substantial stone-built site was quite similar in form and size to [21-N-7] being c. 21–22m wide and with its longest wall measuring c. 27m, with a single gate facing the river (Fig. 15). Here the local bedrock was of a light highly laminated stone which was easily split for regular stonework construction. The walls were commonly c. 180cm wide at their base rising to a slab-paved parapet walk c. 200cm high, shielded by a parapet wall c. 60cm thick and up to 195cm high. In places there was evidence for some rebuilding of an earlier (original?)

26 This late occupation was marked by the presence of a number of clay tobacco pipes as well as a range of handmade pottery including wares associated with ‘Ottoman’ sites in this region, such as Wares H7, H8, schist-tempered H15, H16: Edwards, El-Zein 2012: 202–207.

mud-brick parapet. The parapets were reached by three stairways set in the north, west and south walls. A number of irregular mud-lined bins were found set below the parapet paving, particularly near the corners of the north wall. Evidence for a second storey to some structures with walls bonded to the parapet walls indicates the parapet walkways were not continuous and access to the parapets was through rooms below. A curious constructional feature of the outer wall was a near continuous layer of large stone slabs stacked vertically. This was only interrupted in the middle of the east wall to allow the construction of the east gate jambs and buttresses with horizontally laid slabs. The gate was c. 125cm wide, but no indications of its doors survived. It had later been narrowed and reinforced at least twice.

The extensive spreads of collapsed stone inside the enclosure (Fig. 16) proved on excavation to cover little in the way of deposits, but ‘a fair amount of unstratified sherds’. The filling, typically comprised 10–20cm of fallen stone rubble, over c. 20–40cm of mixed stone, sandy ashy deposits and c. 5–15cm of more or less disturbed floor deposit with ash, dung and sherds. Some 30 rooms were identified with very little evidence for significant

28 Potentially similar features were noted at Kulb West (see below).
rebuilding or other modifications. Here again there was a striking lack of intact stratified occupation debris, which suggested to the excavator that (if it had existed) such deposits had been systematically removed prior to the final collapse of the upper walls. The pitted state of some areas of surviving stratified floor deposits in Rooms 1 and 26 provided some support for this interpretation.

While little occupation levels remained, a number of features survived in some rooms. In Room 1 some mud-plastered grinding basins were preserved in the corners at successive floor levels. There was also a stone bin in the corner of Room 3, one or more grindstone settings in Room 5 and in Room 6 what may have been storage bins, or possibly latrines. There was some indications that there may have been an upper storey over Room 7 and perhaps other rooms in that area of the enclosure. To the east there was what may have been the base of a mud plastered bin cut into the bedrock below Room 14 and two more grinding emplacements in Room 15. On the other side there were also indications of a two storey structure over Rooms 20 and 25, and a further series of at least three successive grindstone settings were found within Room 26 and two more in the corner of Room 30. Knudstad interpreted the internal structures as forming perhaps two main units Rooms 1–8.
and 19–25, both likely to have a second storey, at least in part. There were then perhaps three further groups of rooms. The numerous grindstone settings spread throughout the enclosure were a striking feature of the complex.

Datable pottery appears to have been predominantly ‘Classic Christian’ with some ‘Late Christian’ material. Small quantities of ‘Early Christian’ pottery was perhaps to be linked with some external buildings on the south side of the enclosure, perhaps an earlier occupation of the area. There were few (twelve) registered finds, with five of these being inscribed sherds along with one fragment of a large cross-stamped vessel, and a few beads and glass fragments.

In addition to these two enclosed settlements, the apparently uncompleted foundations of what may have been a third stone enclosure [21-N-38] were also identified in the same area. It was near square with sides measuring c. 43m long, and a gate on the east side. Its general resemblance to the above-described sites was noted by the ASSN but in the absence of any associated material finds, whether it was in fact linked to those structures cannot be determined. Attention may also be drawn to the small cemetery [21-H-9] which was located c. 3km downstream of [21-N-9]. One excavated grave proved to be an unusual communal tomb decorated with apotropaic texts. Of a kind also found in a number of ecclesiastical centres,29 its presence is perhaps also suggestive of religious communities in the vicinity, if not directly linkable to the enclosed sites.

Taken together, it may be suggested that the three enclosed sites, and perhaps some others, may be linked. Their stone enclosures distinguish them from other settlements in the region. The predominantly stone architecture is also unusual, although this choice of building material clearly makes good use of the locally abundant and easily worked stone. That rather more use may originally have been made of mud-brick is also certainly possible, if largely lost to the forces of erosion. The evidence that at least [21-N-11] may originally have had mud-plastered walls may also be noted. The heavy disturbance and erosion of [21-N-7] provides little basis for suggesting its original internal organisation, although the few remnants perhaps suggest it may have been similar to the better preserved Sarigo site [21-N-9].

On the west bank there were also a number of more typical medieval hamlet/village sites. Not far to the south of [21-N-11] was a settlement [21-S-4], with another small cemetery [21-S-5] nearby. There were further settlements (and associated cemeteries) overlooking the rapids at the Akasha bend and a larger settlement a little to the west, towards Kulb. While the number of identified medieval sites on the west bank is rather greater, the east bank seems likely to have been more densely populated.30 All the previously identified churches were located on the east bank of the river, with one at the north end of the area.

29 Lajtar, Van der Vliet 2015.
30 Later fieldwork and excavations recorded many further sites not recorded by the ASSN; see: Maystre 1980; 1996a; 1996b. Poorer conditions of site preservation on the east bank, also seem likely.
at Sonki East-Kidinkony [21-I-5], one in Ukma East [21-I-10] and the unusual church within a large enclosure at Kajeras [21-N-1]. This lay c. 2.15km to north-northeast of [21-N-11], on the opposite bank to the hot spring known in more recent times as Hammam Akasha. The potentially long history of occupation and reuse of that site remains poorly understood, but the enclosure seems likely to have been contemporary with the central church. The presence there of an additional chapel on the south side of the core church repeats a pattern seen in the monastery complex of Ghazali.

One should also take into consideration the small, but richly decorated church at Sonki West (Sonqi Tino) [21-D-5], c. 5km downstream from the northern end of the Ukma-Akasha plain. This site is notable for a painting of King Georgios and numerous inscriptions and, as recently discussed, one enigmatic inscription perhaps to be linked with an Ethiopian archbishop. The rather elaborate tombs beside the church are perhaps also suggestive that this was not an isolated rural church serving local farming communities. That this part of Middle Nubia may have held a number of monastic communities seems not unlikely and their proximity may be relevant to this site.

Further comparisons may perhaps also be suggested, namely with another large enclosed settlement at Kulub West [21-R-3], located c. 7km upriver of the Akasha bend (Fig. 17). Excavated by a team from the German Archaeological Institute/University of Heidelberg in 1969, following some preliminary publications it has seen little further attention in the literature. It was located on a hilltop c. 500m upstream from the western end of Kulubnarti and southwest of the plain on which stood the church [21-R-1] and a large medieval cemetery [21-R-2]. There were further churches on Kulubnarti as well as on the west bank nearby. Attention may be drawn to a few notable features. The rather irregular plan of [21-R-3] seems likely to have been determined by the topography of the sloping hilltop. The most important entrance leads to the northeast, in the direction of the main areas of medieval settlement in Kulub West and the adjoining island of Kulubnarti. While more irregular in plan, this large enclosure shared with those at Akasha-Ukma a similar form of parapet construction, noted as incorporating a number of chambers built into its fabric. The densely packed stone structures within the enclosure again contrast markedly with the more common pattern of scattered mud-brick or stone-built houses which constitute the vast majority of medieval settlements in Middle Nubia.

Amongst finds from the site were at least four fragments of a Coptic parchment, identified as a legal text. Apparently relating to landed property, a monastery and a cleric

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32 Adams 2009: 273–274. A link to the healing springs seems likely, as Adams suggested.
33 Obluski 2018.
34 Fanfoni 1979; Donadoni 1970; Laisney 2012; Łajtar, Ochala 2017; Sist 2012: Figs 8–12.
35 For a recent review of monastic sites, see also: Obluski 2019.
36 Mills 1965: 11; Dinkler 1970: 268, Fig. 37.
37 Müller 1970.
were mentioned. The ceramic finds were published in some detail and provide a valuable record of a substantial assemblage.\(^{38}\) Like the other sites discussed above these included a small but significant group of inscribed sherds. As Erich Dinkler was already aware, similar graffiti were encountered at sites such as Ghazali, Faras, Meinarti and Sonki, and the possibility that this site contained a monastic community was also explicitly proposed.\(^{39}\)

**SOME CONCLUSIONS**

This series of enclosed sites on the west bank of Akasha-Ukma clearly represent unusual and distinctive settlements, quite unlike the more usual form of farming settlements found in this region. Their form and layout certainly suggest that these represent planned constructions, and quite possibly were part of a single project. That, as James Knudstad proposed, [21-N-11] was indeed a monastery seems very likely. The function of the other stone-walled enclosed sites is less clear. It is certainly possible such sites were associated, although how the communities may have been linked must be clarified. If also monastic the church

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\(^{38}\) Rodziewicz 1972.

\(^{39}\) Dinkler 1970: 270; 1985: 15. Here may be emphasised that elsewhere in Nubia, such inscribed sherds are by no means ubiquitous on medieval sites. For potentially rather different inscribed sherds at Meinarti, for example, see: Adams 2001: 91, Fig. 37; 2002: 70–72, Figs 21–22.
within [21-N-11] could perhaps have provided a focus for a number of sites? The form of the church itself is also an interesting addition to the known corpus of medieval Nubian churches. That they had other (beside monastic) ‘official’ functions is however also quite possible, if perhaps being linked as part of a more extensive construction project within this region. The often much disturbed and poorly preserved deposits within the enclosures provide few clues as to their use or the nature of the communities which occupied them. Their location on the bare hillsides of the west bank would certainly have made them quite prominent (especially if they included structures with two storeys), while also enjoying good views over the river. Their position, away from what seem likely to been the main agricultural hamlets and villages of this area is perhaps also suggestive of a deliberate separation from other local communities.

The unenclosed site [21-N-45] near to [21-N-11] is perhaps also worthy of special note, if remaining enigmatic, raising further questions. Is, for example, the apparent sparsity of finds from the site significant? Might this be a further indication of an unusual function? The available evidence is certainly inadequate and some further investigation would be very desirable, with a particular concern to clarify the character of the artefactual record associated with it. The field notes record the presence of a heavy scatter of medieval pottery and other indications of further medieval settlement in the sandy plain (in 1969) below this site. Further work there, as well as around the excavated structure, may well be able to throw new light on the site and its local context. The recovery of an Islamic coin at the site, one of a very small number ever recovered from Nubian sites south of the Second Cataract, is perhaps also suggestive. Might this site relate in some way to the ‘Upper Maqs’, reportedly located in this area, but to date otherwise unidentified? Might we expect such an official post to perhaps have a number of components, to accommodate officials, merchants and others? Might it comprise a number of inter-related sites?

While the evidence recovered in the 1960s remains inconclusive, it is hoped that this may provide a basis for further consideration of this area and the group of unusual sites discussed above. These also raise additional questions about how we might be able to better understand the functions of such distinctive, if enigmatic structures. That these include at least one monastic site seems likely. But what form might take royal garrisons/outposts, such as historical sources suggest may have existed at the ‘Upper Maqs’, is a question we might also pose? How else might we interpret these unusual enclosed settlements at Akasha-Ukma?

Acknowledgements
Thanks are due to Anthony Mills for his assistance and encouragement with the ASSN archive; also to all those who carried out the fieldwork of the 1960s, especially James Knudstad, the creator of so many excellent site drawings in the the ASSN archive.

40 The church was not included in those listed in Adams 2009.
I am also grateful to Artur Obluski for sharing much useful information concerning his research on Nubian monasteries and to anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions. All photos and drawings are from the ASSN archive, currently held at the University of Leicester, UK.

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