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# EL-SIWIBA: GRAIN STORAGES OF JEBEL DAMIK IN NUBA MOUNTAINS OF SUDAN

## INTRODUCTION

The long-term storage of food represents one of the most significant human responses in the region of the Nuba Mountains, which faces many environmental difficulties. The region is characterized by a unique geographical location; it consists of isolated mountains, distributed in muddy fertile plains, and large seasonal wadis (Nadel 1947: 1). It is within the savannah summer belt, characterized by high degrees of rain during the rainy season in the area, which continues almost 6 months of the year. All these natural factors were reflected directly by the interactions between the Nuba groups and their natural environments, and resulted in their variety of material culture as reflected by the archaeological site of Jebel Damik (Abdalla 2022: 31).

The grain storage facility (el-Siwiba) is one of the material cultural elements that is characteristic of most rural settlements in Sudan, in the past as well as the present. Especially in the Nuba Mountains region, it has played a central role in the daily life of people by securing sufficient yields throughout the year, and also for times of scarcity in dry seasons, and war. This article suggests that the concentration of el-Siwiba foundations and the large number of grinding stones point to the cultural continuity of this group and to a positive interaction with their natural environment, through the cultivation of various seasonal plants, and their subsequent use as annual provisions.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCHES

In the early twentieth century, the Nuba Mountains Region was the subject of topographical (MacMichael 1920: 231–244), linguistic (MacDiarmid 1931: 149–162) and social anthropological (Bentley & Crowfoot 1924: 18–28; Crowfoot 1925; Hawkesworth 1932: 159–200; Sagar 1922: 137–156) studies. The Sudan at that time was administered by the Anglo-Egyptian condominium, whose administrative staff and associated scholars conducted such work with the ultimate aim of strengthening and extending their own control.

However, only few archaeological work was conducted in the area, particularly when compared to the efforts in the Central and Northern Sudan.<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest archaeological studies in the Nuba area was Ian Hodder's ethnoarchaeology in the late 1970s. Hodder (1982) looked at the various material culture patterns which characterized some Nuba groups in the Sudan as well as other different groups in Kenya and Zambia. Approximately ten years later, Derek Welsby and David Edwards visited the Nuba Mountains with a view to initiate archaeological research, but unrest forced the project to be shelved (Taylor & Bieriada 2006). More recently, the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums of Sudan (NCAM) and the Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology (Pultusk School of Humanities, Poland) undertook a reconnaissance in 2006 in the north-eastern region of the Nuba Mountains, in what was known as the Islamic Kingdom of Taqali. The objectives of the actual reconnaissance work were to examine remains known to locals and to investigate their state of preservation, record any associated oral traditions, identify new sites and map all locations using G.P.S. (Taylor & Bieriada 2006: 115). Recently, a short reconnaissance survey carried out by Abdalla in 2019 on Jebel Damik in the central part of Nuba Region, discovered numerous elements of material culture (Abdalla 2022: 31–36).

There are many reasons behind the neglect of this seemingly archaeologically rich part of the Sudan. Preeminently, archaeology in the Sudan has tended to be Nilotc-focused.<sup>2</sup> Second, the geography: the region is relatively isolated and the terrain is rough. Third, the area has seen little economic and other infrastructure development. Finally, the security condition has been fragile since the 1980s, with a state-sponsored policy of institutional marginalization which is still continuing. The latter in particular resulted in forced migration to Khartoum and other central Sudan regions due to pushing factors such as conflicts, and pull factors like mining.

<sup>1</sup> See Edwards 2004 for a history of archaeological research in the Sudan.

<sup>2</sup> See the December 2019 issue of *Azania*.

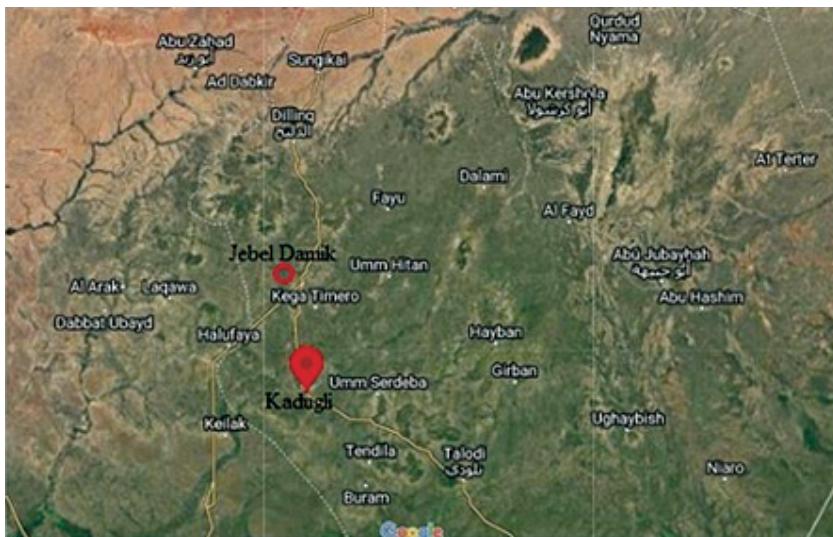


Fig. 1: Area of Nuba Mountains, Google Earth (2022).

#### GEOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

Geographically, the Nuba Mountains are located between N 35. 09 – E 13. 30 and N 28. 18 – E 32. 25 in South Kordofan (Sudan), with an area range of ca. 90 000 km<sup>2</sup>. Its peak height is more than 1280 m. Jebel Damik is located in the central part of the range at co-ordinates N 11. 09. 18. – E 29. 27. 51, and is ca. 600 km south-west of Khartoum, about 30 km northwest of Kadugli, about 45 km east of Lagoua. The capital city of the region is Kadugli (Abdalla 2022: 32) (Fig. 1).

The mountains differ in size and height. They are comprised of Basement Complex granitic stone breaking through their in-between plains' cover of younger, unfolded sediments (Sadig & Vial 1986: 56). Jebel Damik consists of granitic and syenite, a coarse-grained intrusive igneous rock with a general composition similar to that of granite, but deficient in quartz. It is a steep formation, extending longitudinally from west to east for ca. 5 km, and for ca.



Fig. 2: General view of Jebel Damik (photo by the author, 2019).

3 km north to south. Its height varies between 600–800 m from the rest of the surrounding plain (Fig. 2).

The plains are intersected by wadis, which are active, particularly during the rainy season. The surface of the plain, therefore, is dominated by black fertile mud. One of the most important wadis is El-Batha, which changes direction at Jebel Damik and continues on to flow into Lake Kela ca. 30 km distant.

There is an average annual rainfall of ca. 731 mm, with an average fluctuation of 15 mm.

The rainfall season averages six months. This persistence of water enables horticultural practices and provides vital sustenance for mobile communities within a region. (Abdalla 2022: 32) (Fig. 3).

The ecology of the Nuba Mountains belongs to the low rainfall woodland savanna (Harrison & Jackson, 1958). There are numerous types of trees dominated across the plain and wadis in the study area, which play an important role in the population life. Agriculture is the economic mainstay of the inhabitants, whose crops include corn, millet and sesame. There is also a diversity of domestic animals: dogs, mules, donkeys, cows, mountain goats, sheep, and chickens. Additionally, there is management of mountain bees and select bird species and wild animals.

Historical literature on Nuba history asserts that the Nuba people were the first to settle in the region, before any other group. They, therefore, identify themselves as indigenous to the region (Lloyd 1908: 55; MacMichael 1912: 197; Trimingham 1949: 6).

Some parts of the region have witnessed many ethnical migrations since medieval period and later times (cf. Gandul 2015: 50). But other parts of the mountains – especially the groups which have been fortified by the rough mounds – continued without migrations. Anyhow, Damik or Ka-Rophic group took its name from the Jebel Damik (cf. Gandul 2015: 53). At the present time, little is known about the cultural history of the region, and its setting



from the general context of the Sudanese occupation sequence.

Some indirect historical information about the Nuba Mountains comes from the medieval and post-medieval periods, such as the Keira Kingdom in Darfur and the Funj in Sennar, as well as from the period of Egyptian-Turkish occupation between 1821 and 1898.

#### JEBEL DAMIK SITE

In October 2019, a short archaeological survey was carried out on the top of Jebel Damik. The survey focused on a limited area of ca. 1 km<sup>2</sup> located on the western edge of the mountain. The northern edge of the mountain overlooks the town of Damik. This work is the first archaeological survey conducted in this area. The pedestrian survey did not include a grid because of the terrain, which comprises several rock terraces. All visible archaeological remains have been recorded. The information noted included a general description, feature dimensions, the state of preservation, GPS coordinates and the proximity to or the relationship with other material cultures (cf. Abdalla 2022: 32–33). Throughout this survey, two main archaeological components were identified: the first was the old cemetery area, the second was the settlement.

#### CEMETERY

Dozens of graves are located on the western hill slope. According to the villagers in the region, Jebel Damik graves go back to their predecessors. The graves are characterized by a circular superstructure of medium-sized, white and brown sandstone with diameters ranging from 160–60 cm. The superstructures are generally intact due to their relative isolation (Fig. 4). The circular shapes are similar to graves made in the local Nuba tradition.



Fig. 3: General view of savannah plain, and Wadi el-Batha, Damik (photo by the author, 2019).

#### SETTLEMENT

The settlement comprised the remains of stone buildings scattered across the terraces on the surveyed area (Fig. 5). The main concentration for the housing in the core settlement area consisted of the remains of house buildings, the grain storage (el-Siwiba) and the grinding stones. The terraces are a limited space of about 300 m<sup>2</sup>, starting at the bottom of the mountain and ending at the top of the Jebel. Depending on the remains of the foundations, and the heaps of stones, they suggest that two types of buildings were most common; dwellings and storage structures. Both types were founded on the flat and semi-flat places in the mountain terraces starting from the foothills upwards to the top.



Fig. 4: Cemetery of the Archaeological site of Damik (photo by the author, 2019).



Fig. 5: Heaps of house buildings and Siwiba, Jebel Damik Terraces (photo by the author, 2019).

#### HOUSE BUILDINGS

The remains of the stone walls are scattered on the natural rocky terraces in variable preservation conditions: completed walls, semi-completed, and foundations, the heights ranging between 10–170 cm and the width 40–70 cm; while the length varies from one wall to another. Both the remains of the walls and the foundations indicate a variety in the shape and interior space of the dwellings, although the circular shape is the most frequent. The majority of the buildings remain hidden under a thick cover of green trees, shrubs, and seasonal grasses along the stretch of rocky terraces, so that most of the walls and foundations of the dwellings seem invisible in the general landscape of the site (Fig. 6).

The rocky nature of the archaeological site of Damik has allowed them to make the maximum use of the elements of cut stones and use it as a basic material in construction. The rocks represent the main component of all walls and foundations. The

convergence of housing and storage spaces are situated on the flat areas of the terraces. The remains of the walls in the upper parts are better preserved than below, where only foundations and rock heaps remain.

By comparing the remains of building walls with the local ethnographic evidence, it is possible to conclude that the brush wood, the fabric of dry straw, and the rocky stones were the main local natural elements that were used in the construction. However, it remains difficult to determine a

specific date for these buildings, due to the continuity of their exploitation until recent periods. According to the accounts of some of the people of Damik, they mentioned that the expansion of the dwellings from the top to the foothills was gradual across time.

#### EL-SIWIBA FOUNDATIONS

El-Siwiba is a medium structure, it is about 2 m high and 2 m wide, and it used to store the crops away from pests and moisture.

This structure is built upon a group of stones, and it is built from mud in a circular shape with variation in size and height. The familiar name of these buildings is el-Siwiba in Sudanese Arabic, but in the Damik language they are called Nutto (cf. Gandul 2015). El-Siwiba associates the culture of Nuba communities with traditional agricultural activities in the whole region.

It has a central role in population life, mainly in their agricultural activities, and it overlaps with their socio-economic systems, which depended on mixed farming by breeding animals and cultivating land. But right now, we do not know what kinds of cultivating techniques have been used, and which kinds of crops people have planted.

In addition to the houses' foundations, the remains of eight el-Siwiba were recorded on the flat and semi-flat surfaces of the mountain slope from the plain to the top. All of them



Fig. 6: Houses remains at Damik (photo by the author, 2019).



have circular shapes, and range between 1–2 m in diameter. Only the circular foundations of granitic stone remain (Fig. 7a). These stone foundations are the base for another circular structure, built of mud. The structures range between 1–2 m above the ground, and their tops are covered by grass in a conical shape in order to prevent rainwater from damaging the grain inside (Fig. 7b).

The el-Siwiba foundations are distributed in specific portions within the surveyed area which extend for ca. 1 km<sup>2</sup>, and are mostly covered by dry seasonal grass. More survey efforts are necessary to shed light on the distribution patterns of this feature in the whole region.

The reconstruction (Fig. 7b) explains the completed form for the circular foundations of el-Siwiba which is found in the Jebel Damik site. It is based on the modern sample still used in the Damik community, and in Nuba's region as a whole. Mud and grass decompose quickly, but the stone foundations remain for a long time, and they can be reused for generations.

#### GRINDING STONES

Three types of grinding stones cut from granite, rhyolite and sandstone rocks are concentrated beside el-Siwiba foundations and houses in the surveyed area. They are still used by some villagers today to grind the crops such as beans, sesame, and corn. The first type is medium size, ranging between 30–60 cm in length, 20–40 cm in width (Fig. 8a). The second type is a larger size ranging between 60–140 cm in length, 50–90 cm in width (Fig. 8b). The third type which is most significant are elliptical and semi- elliptical pits in the rock surfaces. These were grinding basin 'holes' of different sizes, with lengths between 15–20 cm, widths of 10–15 cm and depths of 1–3 cm. They are found in closely spaced groups, centered on the surfaces of flat granite protrusions (Fig. 8c).

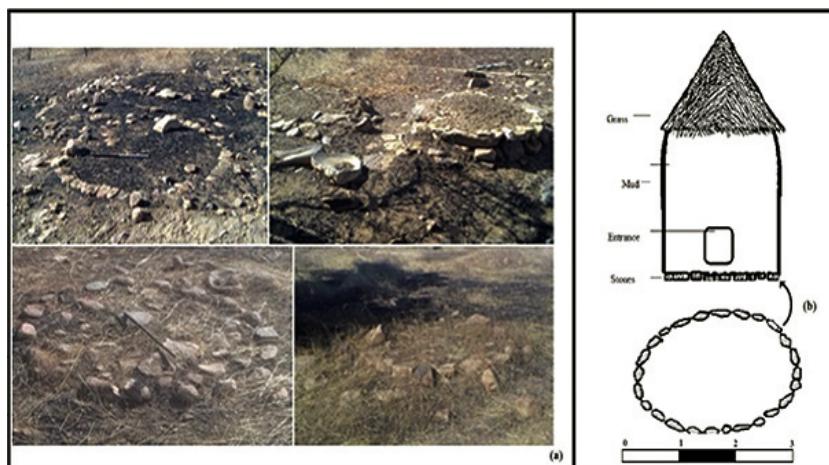


Fig. 7: (a) Remains of el-Siwiba foundations, Damik site (photo by the author, 2019), (b) Reconstruction of el-Siwiba Building (drawing by the author, 2022).

#### DISCUSSION

Unfortunately, the archaeology of the Nuba Mountains is still in the bud. The Nuba region is scarce one in the Sudan in terms of the archaeological data, where a limited number of archaeological investigations have been conducted. So far, it is too early for the archaeologists to contribute to the data which defines the Nuba past or their cultural history.

The Damik or Ka-Rophic group, like the other indigenous branches of the Nuba, consider their origin back to the Jebel Damik. But, this contentment characterizes most of the Nuba while they speak about their origins, where the natural places play the role of creator in their oral narratives (cf. Seligman & Seligman 1932; Nedal 1947; Gandul 2015). Gandul (2015), in his important contribution "Introduction to Studying the Rophic tribe", mentions three main local oral narratives that speak about the origin of Damik group (cf. Gandul 2015: 53). Anyhow, the



Fig. 8: (a) medium size grindings, Jebel Damik, (b) large size grindings, Jebel Damik, (c) rock grinding holes, Jebel Damik (all photos by the author, 2019).

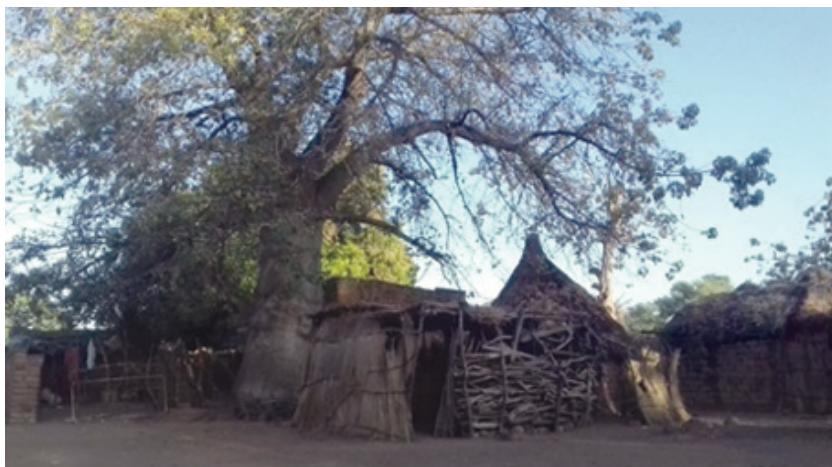


Fig. 9: Qotteia in a house from Damik village (photo by the author, 2019).

absence of archaeological research in this area does not allow to state who were there, before the migration of Damik group.

Whatever the reasons that led this group to migrate to Jebel Damik, the genius is clear in the option of this location for the settling, characterized by the series of natural fortified mounds. The terraces allowed them to build permanent housing and food storage. The rocky stone had been the base of the building structures. The extended plains below the Jebel gave the possibility for various economic activities, such as collection through the forest savanna cover, and wild animal hunting. The groups of fertile wadis were allowed to exploit the water for cultivating the important seasonal crops to fill up the needs in a time of aridity.

The design of traditional housing units in the Damik community consists of a group of composite huts called Qatati, singular “Qotteia” in Sudanese

Arabic. The Qotteia structure consists of two parts, an upper and a lower part. The wall is built of fermented clay in circular form, 2 m high. The upper part is made after the drying of the clay wall. Usually it is made from straw, sticks, and branches in conical form. Then it is raised above the circular clay wall (Fig. 9). El-Swiba storage is being built the same way, but it requires a smaller number of men (Gandul 2015: 113–114). The house designs in the Damik area, such as in other Nuba dis-

tricts, take into account the requirements of adapting to the local climatic conditions. The conical form in the upper part is built from weeds and branches to rain water flow. Clay is used in the lower parts to resist fire. In general, they used the animal remains mixed with grasses and soil as plaster to protect it from the rain (Gandul 2015: 114). These present day designs are quite similar to structures remaining in the reported ruins, in terms of that the lower parts were built circularly, but that they used the rocks instead of clay (Fig. 10a).

The presence of grinding tools beside el-Siwiba and house buildings may indicate a stable residence or it could be an indicator of a kind of division of labour which relates to the role of women, in particular, organizing the insure food exploitation and in preparing food for the family members. This type of manual grinding has receded recently with the emergence of machines, which are characterized by speed and efficiency. Anyhow, all these issues can be clearer when supported archaeologically by the systematic excavation in the settlement place and cemetery.

It is notable, that buildings used to store the grain in the Sudan vary from one place to another according to the determinations of the local environment. In the Nuba Mountains, which are characterised by a high degree of rain, the el-Siwiba is built from the clay on its base and weeds on its roof (Fig. 7b). But in the North of Sudan, the environmental conditions are drier. The grain storage or



Fig. 10: Construction of house on Damik Terraces: (a) Qotteia building (drawing by the author, 2022), (b) Nuba ladies grind the grains in the rock holes grindings (drawing by Mokhtar A., 2022).



Qusayba is usually built of mud mixed with the dung in high and oval form (Fig. 11). In central Sudan, in areas of open plains, grain storage is established by digging the Matmora, and it is equipped with a wide and deep hole to store large crop quantities for a long time (cf. Tahir, et al. 2015: 84–90; Ibrahim 1987: 29; Abdalla 2002: 170–175).

On the other hand, the distribution of the oval rock holes for grinding on the archaeological site, indicates the spirit of collective work in milling (see fig. 10b). The holes may have been used to grind grains, nuts, or other food products. Their groupings indicate that people gathered to perform these activities. Similar concentrations of rock-hole grindings are found at Sabaloka dated to the Mesolithic and early Neolithic (Varadzin et al. 2017). They are also present in the Third Cataract region in Northern Sudan (Tahir 2015), and in numerous locations elsewhere in Northeast Africa (Bednarik 2008).

The concentration and variety of grinding tools at the archaeological site of the Jebel Damik also indicate the sequence and continuity of the habitation process. This may be due to the geographical location of the Jebel, and its natural fortification in an open plain environment, which is exposed to many types of human and natural threats. It seems clear the natural environment is an essential determinant. The series of rocks provides a natural source of safe and elevated housing from the rest of the surrounding plain for long periods, allowing residence stability over many generations. Especially in this region where there has not been a stable political situation for a long time.

The present day environment of Damik seems generous; the people depend on various natural resources, mixed farming, hunting and gathering. But it is also too difficult because volatile climatic seasons have an effect on agricultural production from time to time. Therefore, people are always eager to secure enough corn stock in their storage, in order to exploit and rationalize it during the year. It seems to be an ongoing process, and part of their local economic traditions passed down through the generations. Anyhow, the role of traditional grain storage used to be an effective mechanism to combat famine in these areas (Ibrahim 1987: 29–35). Moreover, the extensive remains of el-Siwiba in the study area could be taken as an indicator of this custom.



Fig. 11: Sudanese grain facilities. Qusayba Storage, North Sudan (photo by the author, 2019).

The traditional farming of the present Damik people indicates the importance of crops in their lives, such as the other Nuba communities. The spirit of teamwork is present in all the cultivating stages, starting with plowing the land, and ending with harvesting and storing the crop. All of these stages take place in a symbiotic context known locally as the Konja, because everyone participates in preparing the land, cultivating it, and harvesting the crop the men, women, relatives and neighbors (see Gandal 2015: 117). The cultivated corn and millet and sesames were the basic product in the abundance seasons. The corn has been an essential component of the diet, not only for the Nuba of Damik, but also for most Sudanese societies, both in the past, as well as the present. The classical writer Strabo, in his account, mentioned the corn as a main production of the Ethiopians, who make their food and drink (Strabo, Geography: 119).

The existence of el-Siwiba remains within the settlement quarters could shed light on the continuity of some old Nuba ritual habitués that usually take



Fig. 12: Small family from Damik- Al-Miseery, local farmer (photo by the author, 2019).



place when storing their crops and food stuff. Nuba groups have looked to agriculture throughout different spiritual rites, led by special spiritual chiefs called “Kugur” or the men who are supposed to lead the spiritual guidance for people in different life aspects, include in that the agricultural activities (Nadel 1946: 25–28). Anyhow, the Kugur supervises the cultivating process in most stages: it begins with praying to the god of the rain, through certain customary rituals determined by the Kugur himself, preparing land to cultivate, reaping, and transferring the production to the storage of el-Siwiba, where grains are received isolated there. On the other hand, Kugur men supervise the ceremony of el-Siwiba opening at the time of filling el-Siwiba with grain, which means allowing people to use it again, according to the special ceremonial rites called locally Sippr of el-Siwiba (Gandul 2015: 284).

### CONCLUSION

Jebel Damik is a Nuba settlement that was in continuous use by groups until recent times. Therefore, it is important to note that most of the archaeological components recorded during the survey cannot be dated without systematic excavations, as many of these items could have been used over several generations. This poor situation requires, first, the systematic archaeological survey for this neglected region. Second, ethnographical and ethno-archaeological aspects of the area are huge, and it will be necessary to contribute to studying and documenting the unknown cultural history of the region. I hope the future excavations in Damik settlement and cemetery give detailed answers to these questions like: who are the Damik group? How did they live in the Jebel Damik? And what kinds of crops were produced based on the high concentration and diversity of grinding tools?

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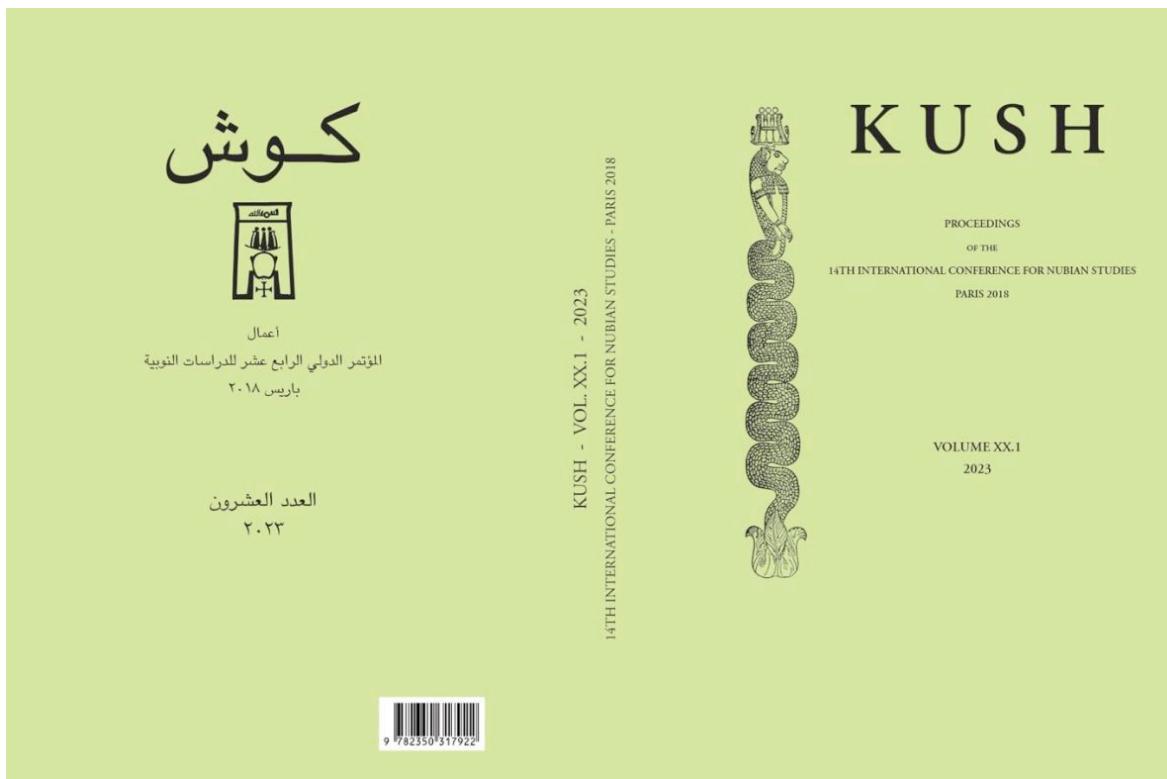
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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dieser Artikel beleuchtet einen Aspekt der materiellen Kultur, der mit der Anpassung an die Umwelt in der Region der Nuba-Berge zusammenhängt. Der Getreidespeicher (el-Siwiba) stellt eine der wichtigsten Einrichtungen dar, die die Beziehung zwischen den Nuba-Gemeinschaften und ihren Ernährungsbedürfnissen organisieren. Er wird genutzt, um Trockenzeiten und geringe Produktion bei schwankendem Regen zu bewältigen. Durch Beschreibung und Analyse versucht dieser Artikel, die wichtige Rolle von el-Siwiba im Leben der Nuba zu erklären. Die Nuba ist eine der sudanesischen ethnischen Gruppen, die ein großes Gebiet im Südwesten des Sudan bewohnt und sich durch kulturelle Vielfalt auszeichnet. Es wird argumentiert, dass die Überreste von el-Siwiba-Fundamenten, die an der archäologischen Stätte am Jebel Damik verteilt sind, auf eine Kontinuität für diese Art von Lagereinrichtungen schließen lassen. Dies deutet auch auf eine wichtige Rolle des traditionellen Anbaus für die Gemeinschaft der Damik hin.



### Proceedings of the 14th International Conference for Nubian Studies Paris – 2018

The 14th International Conference for Nubian Studies was held in Paris September 10th-15th 2018 in collaboration between Musée du Louvre and Sorbonne Université. The current status of research in site management, cultural heritage and museums, was particularly emphasised during the conference by the completion of the bilateral *Qatar Sudan Archaeological Programme*, thanks to which many Sudanese colleagues were able to attend the Paris gathering.

The Proceedings are now published in the 20th issue of the journal *Kush*. Fifty-five contributions present the advances of international research on Middle Nile Valley archaeology and history. In the tradition of the previous conferences (Neuchâtel in 2014), the richness and importance of Sudanese sites is highlighted along the different phases of its Prehistory and History (Kingdoms of Kush: Kerma, Napata and the 25th Dynasty in Egypt, Meroe), Medieval, Post-Medieval and Modern Periods. Archaeology, archaeometry, bio-anthropology, linguistics, art-history and museum studies are among the disciplines involved.

• **Editors:** Marie Millet and Vincent Rondot, with the assistance of Frédéric Payraudeau and Pierre Tallet. An archaeologist at the Département des Antiquités égyptiennes of Musée du Louvre, Marie Millet participated in many excavations in Egypt and Sudan as an archaeologist and ceramicist. She now leads the excavations of the Louvre in Sudan.

Vincent Rondot is the Director of the département des Antiquités égyptiennes of Musée du Louvre. Former Director of the French Archaeological Unit in Khartoum (SFDAS, 2004-2009), President of the International Society for Nubian Studies (ISNS, 2010-2018), he was in charge from 2000 till 2020 of the archaeological mission at el-Hassa.

Frédéric Payraudeau is an assistant professor at Sorbonne Université and a specialist of Third Intermediate Period in Ancient Egypt. His research focuses on the history and archaeology of the sites of Tanis and Karnak.

Holder of the chair of Egyptology at Sorbonne Université, Pierre Tallet has directed or co-directed numerous excavations in Egypt and Sudan, among which Wadi el-Jarf.

- **Collection:** *Kush* XX
- **Price:** 120 €
- **Keywords:** Nile Valley, Antiquity, Prehistory, History, Soudan, Nubia, Egypt, 25th Dynasty, Archaeology.