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Museums, Memory and Meaning. Politics of Identity and Representation in Sudanese Archaeological Museums

PhD Thesis submitted by Marc Bundi (born on December 6, 1966 in
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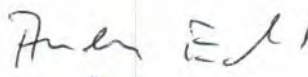
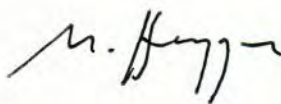
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Abstract

This thesis traces the historical developments in Sudanese archaeology – from a discipline inflected by colonial commitments to a post-colonial, more problem-oriented archaeology – and presents the creation of major heritage museums in the Sudan against the background of shifting interpretive paradigms and related discursive formations. Two case studies, one from the Sudan National Museum, opened in 1971, and the other from the Kerma Museum, inaugurated in 2008, provide insights in the processes by which these museums were constituted, and explore the interplay between politics of display and processes of identity formation. Also addressed is the question of the museums' ability to attract visitors and to adapt to processes of societal change.

Keywords

Sudan – Khartoum – Kerma – Nile Valley – Nubia – Museum – Memory – Heritage – Identity – Representation – Antiquities Service – Archaeology – Anthropology – History – Monument – Artefact – Material Culture – Colonialism/Postcolonialism

Résumé

Cette thèse retrace l'évolution historique de l'archéologie soudanaise - d'une discipline infléchie par des engagements coloniaux à une archéologie post-coloniale axée davantage sur des problématiques spécifiques - et présente la création des principaux musées du patrimoine au Soudan sur fond de changements de paradigmes interprétatifs et de productions discursives connexes. Deux études de cas, l'une du Musée national du Soudan, ouvert en 1971, et l'autre du Musée de Kerma, inauguré en 2008, donnent un éclairage sur les processus ayant conduit à la constitution de ces musées et explorent l'interaction entre les politiques d'exposition et les processus de formation de l'identité. La question de la capacité des musées à s'adapter aux processus de changement sociétal et à adopter des pratiques participatives est également abordée.

Mots-clés

Soudan – Khartoum – Kerma – Vallée du Nil – Nubie – Musée – Mémoire – Patrimoine – Identité – Représentation – Service des antiquités – Archéologie – Anthropologie – Histoire – Monument – Artefact – Culture matérielle – Colonialisme/Postcolonialisme

Abstract

Die vorliegende Dissertation bietet einen Überblick über die archäologische Forschungsgeschichte im Sudan von den kolonialen Ursprüngen als wissenschaftliche Disziplin bis hin zu einer postkolonialen, problemorientierten Archäologie und untersucht die Entstehung von archäologischen Museen vor dem Hintergrund von wechselnden interpretativen Paradigmen und damit verbundenen diskursiven Formationen. Ausgehend von zwei Fallstudien aus Khartum (Sudan National Museum, eröffnet 1971) und Kerma (Kerma Museum, eröffnet 2008) werden

Stichwörter einerseits die gesellschaftlichen und politischen Prozesse untersucht, die zum Bau dieser Museen geführt haben, andererseits aber auch Aushandlungsprozesse über Form und Inhalt der Ausstellungen sowie Prozesse der Identitätsbildung. Ebenfalls angesprochen wird die Frage nach der Fähigkeit der Museen, für Besucher attraktiv zu bleiben und sich an Prozesse des gesellschaftlichen Wandels anzupassen.

Stichwörter

Sudan – Khartum – Kerma – Niltal – Nubien – Museum – Erinnerungskultur – Kulturerbe – Identität – Repräsentation – Antiquitätenverwaltung – Archäologie – Anthropologie – Geschichte – Monument – Artefakt – Materielle Kultur – Kolonialismus/Postkolonialismus

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1 Introduction

«Tout est historique, donc l'Histoire n'existe pas» (Paul Veyne)

Veyne, Paul. 1971. *Comment on écrit l'histoire*. Paris: Seuil: 26.

«Above all, one should not wish to divest existence of its rich ambiguity»

Friedrich Nietzsche. 1974. *The Gay Science* (335 [§ 373], his emphasis).

In Leila Aboulela's 1999 novella *The Museum*, Shadia, a young Sudanese student in Aberdeen escorted by her Scottish colleague, Bryan, visits an African collection in one of the town's museums. While Bryan expresses a keen interest in the exhibition, Shadia's initial excitement quickly turns into annoyance and disappointment when she perceives the selection and presentation of the displayed objects as incoherent and inappropriate. This exhibit gives her a sense of defamiliarization and disidentification. In her view, the objects are torn out of time and context evoking all the familiar clichés about Africa:

«The tangible reminders were there to see, preserved in spite of the years. Her eyes skimmed over the disconnected objects out of place and time. Iron and copper, little statues. Nothing was of her, nothing belonged to her life at home, what she missed. Here was Europe's vision, the clichés about Africa; cold and old» (Aboulela 1999: 86).

Similarly, the unnamed protagonist in Jamal Mahjoub's 2006 short story *In the Long Shadows* expresses a deep scepticism concerning the power of enchantment and attraction of museum objects. The protagonist's considerations stem from memories of an archaeological object he once saw on display in a museum:

«It reminds me of a piece of clay I saw in a museum once; a sacred tablet with an inscription carved into it thousands of years ago by the people who used to inhabit these lands. All that remains of them and their language is a few dusty objects preserved in a corner of the museum. People take their families there when they can think of nothing better to do on holidays. They might pause for a moment and then, finding nothing of significance to themselves, they move on. Thousands of years, thousands of lives tossed casually into the well of oblivion» (Mahjoub 2006, unpag.).

Here, the critic is not directed against a particular museographic concept of selection and presentation, but more general, against the idea that a centuries old object in a museum context can convey any accurate and reliable information about a people

from the past. The beholder in Mahjoub's account cannot identify with the exhibit and is thus unable to dissolve-the Cartesian subject-object duality.

In Tayeb Salih's 1962 novella *The Doum Tree of Wad Hamid*, the myth-enshrouded doum palm (gingerbread tree) of Wad Hamid – name of both a remote village in Upper Nubia and its patron saint – is endangered by a governmental program of infrastructure development and modernization. The radical transformation of the self-contained village community is mirrored in dealing with the palm tree: In the end, the «lofty, proud and haughty» (Salih 1999: 4) tree of divine origins is not ruthlessly cut down, but becomes a fenced-off monument identified with a marble plaque which «transforms the three into a museum of heroic deed for the government» (Barbara Peters, quoted in Hassan 2003: 47):

«In the towns you have museums, places in which the local history and the great deeds of the past are preserved. This thing that I want to show you can be said to a museum. It is the one thing we insist our visitors should see» (Salih 1999: 2).

These are the words of an old villager revealing the myth of the tree to his young urban guest (the stories' first person narrator) and thus presents the tree as a relic from the past, as a 'musealized' object, «as though it were some ancient idol» (Salih 1999: 4).

This brief overview of the notion of a 'museum' in Sudanese literature provides a number of valuable insights. The museum is simultaneously a site of presence and absence, of living memory and cultural amnesia. It becomes, as Françoise Lionnet (2001: 53-55) writes «an unusual point of intersection of two axes: the axis of recovery of what is perceived as past (...) and the axis of loss of the so-called past». It is against this background that Lionnet concludes: «The display is thus both a mirror and a tomb» (Lionnet 2001: 51).

We can further see, how politics of representation and display are intrinsically linked to concepts of individual and collective identity. And since identity is constructed socially, the museum cannot be conceptualized as simply reproducing identities but rather as a field of negotiation of competing and conflicting identity claims. Identity is not just a matter of 'being' but most notably a process of 'becoming'. This entails

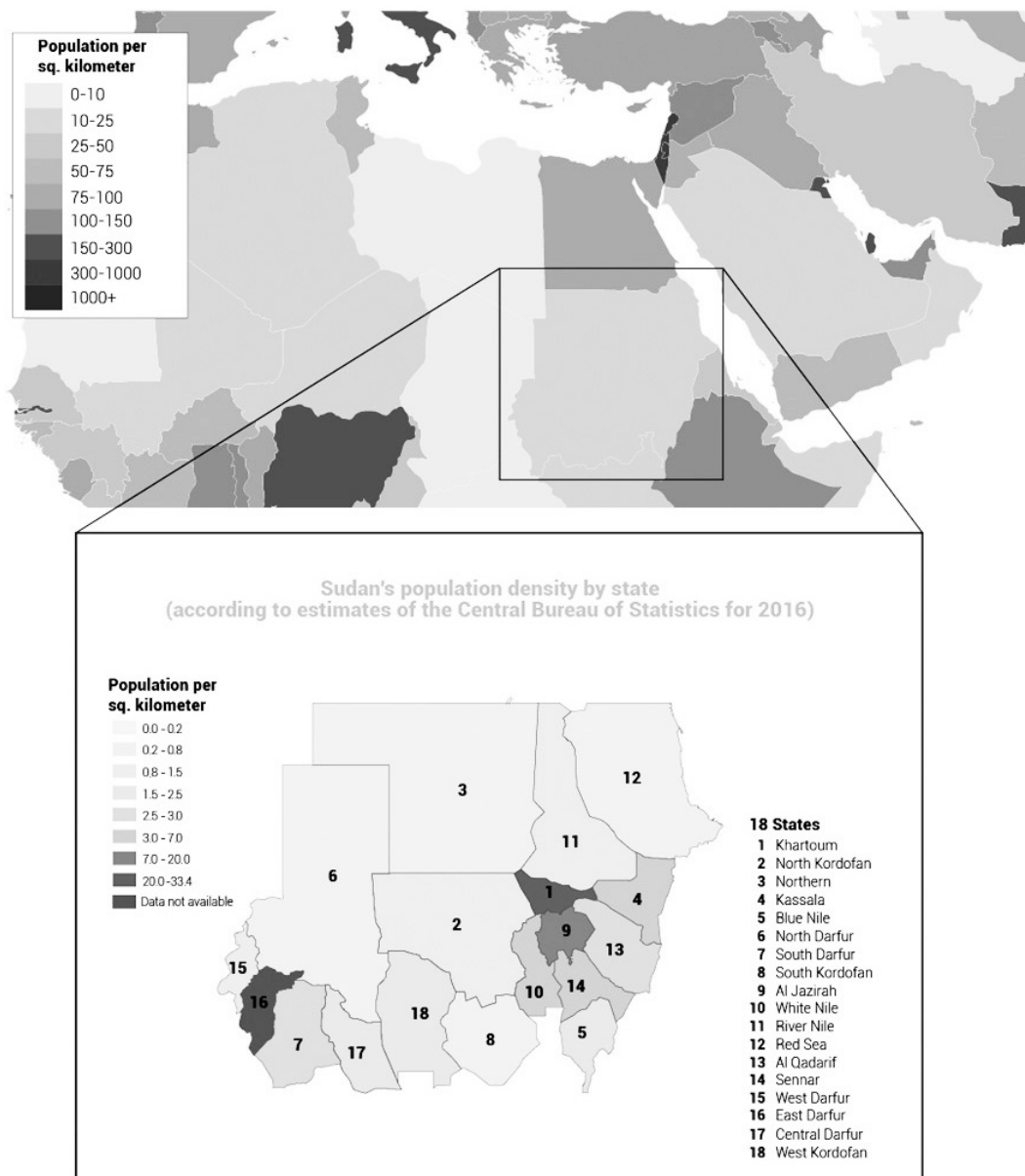
the aspects of power and authority and their application to the processes of policy making and governing.

These dynamics are well-illustrated in Tayeb Salih's novella: The villagers' repository of distinct worldview and identity, which revolves around the doum tree is challenged by «the government's aggressive interference in the affairs of the village» (Wail S. Hassan 2003: 44). By memorializing «the tree through a plaque and a railing», the government has, as Barbara D. Peters points out, «symbolically closed off the villagers from their own historical legacy» (...) «power is no longer found in cutting the tree, rather it is being able to control how the tree is viewed» (Peters, quoted in Wail S. Hassan 2003: 47).

The question raised in Tayeb Salih's novella of who exercises sovereignty over the interpretation of cultural heritage is of major importance, because it is closely related to issues of identity and belonging. In Africa, as elsewhere, archaeological, ethnographic and historical museums are powerful sites of remembrance, and their presumed role in shaping a unified national identity is often contested by different perceptions of citizenship and national belonging.

The creation of new museums, the redefinition of heritage policies and claims for the restitution of looted artefacts are simultaneously anchored in global processes and in specific local contexts. However, the specificity of the social and historical contexts makes each country an object of study presenting its own peculiarities. Sudan – one of the largest countries in Africa, made up of 18 federal states and home to multiple ethnic groups¹ – was for decades torn by ethnic and religious conflict, centered on the struggle over the definition of the Sudanese nation-state.

¹ Sudan has a total area of 1,861,484 square kilometers and an estimated 2018 population of 43,120,843 (63.29% younger than 25 years). Sudanese Arabs account for 70% of the population, with the rest of the population being Fur, Beja, Nuba, Fallata and other peoples. CIA World Factbook: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/su.html> [26.10.2019].



Population Density in the Sudan (2016).

Source: <https://fanack.com/sudan/population/#dynamic> [04.11.2019].

The Arabic-Islamic image of the Sudanese nation, sustained by people who live in the northern and central Nile Valley, tended to exclude those citizens who reside on the geographic and ethnic margins of the country and define themselves as African rather than Arab, ethnically or linguistically. The recent revolution in the Sudan, that ousted long-time President Omar al-Bashir from power in April 2019, offers the historic chance to develop alternative definitions and inclusive concepts of national identity. In this process, museums as civic spaces or 'civic laboratories' (Bennett 2005) – places in which 'culture' can be made and remade in different ways – have an important role to play.

Through this study I intend to show how modes or "politics of display" (Macdonald 1998) in archaeological museums are inextricably linked to processes of identity formation and identity politics. In this attempt, the focus will be on the study of two Sudanese museums: the first located in the capital Khartoum, intended as a national museum; and the second located at Kerma in the Northern state, with a regional vocation. Although similar regarding to their aims, the two museums are different in terms of content, presentation and discourses. The government-sponsored Sudan National Museum was planned prior to Sudan's independence with the aim of showcasing the diversity of Sudan's archaeological and ethnographical material culture and natural history collections and was eventually opened in 1971 as a primarily archaeological museum.

The Kerma Museum – inaugurated in 2008 – was implemented by an ad-hoc committee involving local and regional stakeholders to preserve, present and promote the regions past in a museum complex comprising the adjacent archaeological site of the 'lower' (western) *Deffufa*, a museum building and a cultural centre. Having worked for 25 years for the Swiss Archaeological Mission at Kerma, I was personally involved with the project for the Kerma Museum and I participated in many stages of its genesis and further development. These experiences have undoubtedly shaped my vision of the museum but may have colored my interpretations and conclusions. However, since my longtime involvement with Kerma has allowed to establish a trusting relationship with key informants including community leaders and officials, my own perspective on the museum was complemented and deepened by the inside perspective as represented by my informants.

In both cases, in Khartoum and at Kerma, the creation of the museum has entailed a move from space to place as a physical location where memories can be contained and preserved and, following Edward Casey (2000: 213) «become inwardly inscribed and possessed». In Khartoum, the site at the *Mogran* area at the confluence of the Nile chosen for the construction of the Sudan National Museum was transformed from a generic, boundless locale into an internally diversified place. At Kerma, the archaeological exploration of the site of the 'lower' (western) *Deffufa* and the construction of the Kerma Cultural Complex have likewise led to a

transformation of 'space' into 'place', internally diversified and distinct externally from other places. The museums in Khartoum and at Kerma function as sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*), in the sense given the term by Pierre Nora (1996) as places, where contemporary deficiencies of organic "lived" memory are supplemented by a prosthetic collective memory; as places where institutionalized remembering is produced and incited through a communal forgetting. Although Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* as the symbolic elements of the memorial patrimony of a given community was developed in an attempt to explore French nationhood by means of a new form of historiography, the concept – albeit not uncriticized – is now widely used as an analytical tool².

In her 2003 article "The Museum Effect: Gazing from Object to Performance in the Contemporary Cultural-History Museum", Valery Casey classifies museum practice in three overlapping categories which also appear in historical chronology: the legislating museum, the interpreting museum and the performing museum³. The legislating museum has its origins in the Renaissance and Baroque cabinet of curiosity that displays curios, rare, valuable and historically important objects. Its aim was to present the paragons of aesthetic and intellectual excellence; to create a venue for the display of selected objects who speak for themselves and whose value was legislated, by which Casey 2005:80 means «handed down unquestioningly», thus creating a distinct and distant relationship between the object and the viewer (Casey 2003:5). While the modern art museum of the early 19th century represents the "legislating" type, in Casey's typology, the pedagogically focused museum of post-World War II represents the "interpretive" mode (Casey 2003: 2). Valery Casey thus describes the difference between the legislating and the interpreting museum as follows:

² The concept of sites of memory was recently prominently discussed in a study authored by the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience – a study commissioned by the World Heritage Centre of UNESCO – as concept of global outreach. Cp. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/933/> [27.10.2019].

³ Valery Casey uses Zygmunt Bauman's (1987) terms "legislating" and "interpreting" in order to «position the shift of museum practice from display that privileged visibility to education that advanced pedagogical objectives» (Casey 2005:91). Her use of the term "performing" draws from Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's concept of "performing [in contrast to "informing"] museology" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2000); Kirshenblatt-Gimblett on her part takes the distinction between informing and performing from Johannes Fabian (1990: 3-20).

«The key difference between legislating and interpreting modes is that in the first, the objects speak for themselves (their authority lay in the belief that they are able to do so), whereas in the second, a prosthetic is required—a label, theme, or narrative facilitates meaning» (Casey 2005:83).

Referring to museologist Duncan Cameron, Valerie Casey (2005: 91) equates the shift from the legislating museum to the interpreting museum, «from display that privileged visibility to education that advanced pedagogical objectives», with «a metaphorical shift» of the museum «from the authoritative "temple" to the museum as a contextualized "forum"» (Casey 2005: 91)⁴. The performing museum, which is the successor of the two preceding models, eventually privileges display techniques over the particularity of objects to capture visitors' interest. In the performing museum, object meaning and significance is, according to Casey (2003: 16), «no longer intrinsically tied to the object, but instead created in the interaction between the viewer, the message, and the museum». In the performing museum, the aesthetic experience is orchestrated, and history re-enacted so that «space, objects, and viewer converge in a highly refined theatrical performance» (Casey 2005: 81). In Casey's typology, the contemporary living-history museum represents the "performing" type.

Casey's typology of the legislating, interpretive and performing museum is, as we will see, helpful in analyzing the modes of display adopted in the Sudan National Museum and the Kerma Museum. However, this raises the fundamental question of the universal applicability of this and other analytical or theoretical concepts. I agree with Kant, who stated that «the matter of concepts is the *object* (*Gegenstand*); their form is universality» (Aquila 1974: 6-7, his emphasis). Richard E. Aquila notes in this context:

«A concept's universality, Kant claims, rests on the fact that a concept is what he calls a "ground of knowledge" (*Erkenntnisgrund*). So according to Kant what makes a concept something universal is not the fact that what a concept *represents* is a universal. It is rather the fact that a concept functions by providing a ground for the knowledge of particular objects in general terms» (Aquila 1974: 7, his emphasis).

⁴ On closer reading however, it becomes apparent, that Duncan Cameron is not so much talking about a shift of paradigms, but rather of two concurrent paradigms (Cameron 1971: 19).

Applying a constructivist approach, I understand the museum, as a 'culturally' shaped institution; i.e. an institution shaped by discourse and ideology. I thus do not compare the concept of the museum as applied in Europe, Africa or elsewhere, but focus on the discursive formations crystallizing around the museum praxis. Discourse, according to Foucault, operates by 'rules of exclusion' concerning what is prohibited (external delimitations, 1971: 11ff), by internal systems for control and delimitation of discourse (1971: 17ff) and by the rarefaction of the speaking subject (1971: 38ff). We will see that, in the Sudan as in other places, discourses of heritage, museum practice and identity were – and still are – strategically used and promoted by colonial elites and postcolonial actors in order to advance particular political interests. Likewise, we will see, that attempts to impose particular discourses on identity and belonging often result in contradictions and thus promote the emergence of alternative and counter-discourses. The end of Omar al-Bashir's almost 30-year dictatorship in the Sudan and the drift away from an Islamic fundamentalist ideology is likely to open up a space for civil dialogue and the promotion cultural diversity.

The concept of the public museum, essentially European in origin, was successfully exported to other parts of the world through trade and colonialism (Lewis 1992: 5). Given the specificity of the respective social and historical contexts, attempts to compare museums in different countries and continents in terms of the messages they convey and the memories they institutionalize are doomed to fail. The 1990 *Directory of Museums in Africa* (Peters 1990), gave a total number of 503 museums for the whole continent (three times the size of Europe)⁵. Since, the number has undoubtedly grown⁶; but besides the growth in number, the diversity of museum approaches and practices has substantially increased.

The first museum on the African continent was the South African Museum in Cape Town, founded in 1825 by Lord Charles Somerset (1767-1831), then Governor of the Cape Town Colony, as a general museum comprising natural history and

⁵ The Swiss Museums Association in 2019 comprised 780 institutional members. Cp. <https://www.museums.ch/en/home/vms/> [26.10.2019].

⁶ The 2017 de Gruyter Saur's *Museums of the World* directory (Lochar and Meinhold 2017) lists 820 museums on the African continent. In reality, the figure is likely to be much higher.

material culture⁷. Further Museums were, according to British museologist Geoffrey Lewis (1992: 14), created in Algeria in 1884, in Tunis in 1888, in Madagascar in 1897, in Zimbabwe in 1902, and in Algeria in 1908. The creation of the first museums of Egypt, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania are explained in detail as follows:

The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, commonly known as the Egyptian Museum, opened in 1902 at its current location on Cairo's Tahrir Square. The museum, under the authority of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, houses more than 150'000 objects and is the world's largest collection of ancient Egyptian art. A first predecessor museum was established in a small building in Esbekiah Park in Cairo, when the Egyptian government founded the Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte in 1835. It was later transferred to the Saladin Fortress. In 1858, Auguste Mariette opened a new museum in Bulaq. After a flood, the collections moved to an extension of Giza Palace, where they remained until the opening of the Egyptian Museum in 1902. In 2020, the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities will be replaced by the new Grand Egyptian Museum at Giza⁸.

The history of the Uganda Museum goes back to 1902, when Deputy Commissioner George Wilson initiated the collection of objects throughout the country to set up a museum, which was eventually established in 1908 at an old Fort on Lugard Hill in Kampala. In view of the growing collections to be housed and exhibited, in 1941, it was necessary to move to a new location at Makerere University. In 1954, the museum was, once again, moved to its current location at Kitane Hill, where it was fully opened in 1959. Following Uganda's independence in 1961, the colonial museum was adopted as a national museum featuring traditional culture, archaeology, history, science, and natural history⁹.

The history of the Nairobi National Museum of Kenya dates back to 1910, when a museum was established at Nyayo House in Nairobi by the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society. As the collections grew, the museum was moved to the current site of the Nairobi Serena Hotel in 1922, before being granted a permanent location on Museum Hill. Here, in 1930, the new museum, featuring archaeological, geological, natural history and paleontological collections, opened under the name Coryndon Museum in honour of Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Uganda (1918–1922) and Kenya (1922–1925)¹⁰. After Kenya became dependent in 1963, it became the Nairobi National Museum, which is also the headquarters of the National Museums of Kenya, a state corporation that manages twenty museums and several sites and monuments all over the country¹¹.

⁷ For the history of the South African Museum, see Roger F.H. Summers' History of the South African Museum, 1825-1975, compiled from museum records (Summers 1975). For more information on the South African Museum, visit the museums website: <https://www.iziko.org.za/museums/south-african-museum> [15.08.2019].

⁸ For information of the Grand Egyptian Museum at Giza, visit the museum's website: <http://gem.gov.eg/> [11.08.2019].

⁹ For an overview of the Uganda Museum shortly after its inauguration, see Posnansky 1963 and Vowles 1963.

¹⁰ For information on the Coryndon Museum, see Carcasson 1963.

¹¹ For further information, visit the Website of the National Museums of Kenya: <https://www.museums.or.ke/> [11.08.2019].

The King George V Memorial Museum, now the National Museum of Tanzania, opened in 1940 to display archaeological and ethnographic artefacts based on an idea developed, in 1934, by Harold MacMichael, a veteran of the Sudan Political Service and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Tanganyika 1934-1938¹². Today, the National Museums of Tanzania is a consortium of five museums whose purpose is to preserve and show exhibits about the history and natural environment of Tanzania: the National Museum at Dar es Salaam, the Village Museum, opened in 1996; the National Natural History Museum, opened in 1987; the Arusha Declaration Museum, opened in 1977; and the Nyerere Museum, opened in 1999¹³.

This short overview on museums in Egypt and East Africa shows that all presented museums have a direct relationship with colonial rule and colonial practices of collecting. But even though African museums have a different context from those in Europe, they share the common concern of making themselves relevant, accountable and of service to the society. Canadian-American scholar Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has noted in this context:

«As museums look to the future they are redefining their relationship to their past. New models of citizenship, changes in knowledge formations, and competing media environments have challenged museums to rethink both what they are as a medium and their role in society» (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000).

George Okello Abungu, Emeritus Director General of the National Museums of Kenya, (Abungu 2018: 26), has pointed out that museums in Africa «have started to play a key role in national development, education and leisure». As institutional custodians of heritage, museums in Africa have, according to Abungu, become centres of power as well as attractions and are now «knowledge banks, voices of communities' pride in their heritage, redefining existing identities, creating new identities, and acting as places of communal dialogue and inclusion» (Abungu 2018: 29). The National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums of the Sudan and the directors of its associated museums are, as we will see, well aware of their responsibility in maintaining and renewing the social relevance of museums as generators of culture and as agents of social cohesion.

¹² Sir Harold MacMichael (1882-1969) served from 1905 to 1934 in the Sudan Political Service; from 1925 to 1934 in the function of Civil Secretary.

¹³ For information on the National Museum of Tanganyika, see West 1963.

The history of the creation of archaeological and heritage museums in the Sudan is deeply embedded in the history of the archaeological exploration of the country which begun with 19th century surveys of Nubia's visible monuments and was resumed in a more systematic manner in the 20th century as a response to the successive raisings of the dam at the First Cataract and in reaction to the construction of the High Dam at Aswan in the 1960s. The creation of archaeological and heritage museums is, as the establishment of the Sudan Antiquities Service and the promulgation of the first Antiquities Ordinance in the early 20th century, the result of an increasing institutionalization and professionalization of Sudanese archaeology. The history of the formative years of Sudanese archaeology has hardly been investigated¹⁴. However, in order to understand past and present discourses surrounding museums and heritage in the Sudan, a deeper knowledge of this formative period is required.

In a first part of this thesis, I therefore offer in a detailed form some perspectives on Sudan archaeology. In this effort, I present the historical developments from an archaeology inflected by colonial commitments to a post-colonial, more problem-oriented archaeology, and the creation of the Antiquities Service and heritage museums against the background of shifting theoretical and interpretive paradigms, which dominated and partly still dominate Sudanese archaeology. Thereby, I draw on the succession of paradigms suggested by William Y. Adams in his 1981 article, *Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology* (1981), and by Bruce Trigger, in his 1994 article of the same title.

While Adams's interest is on the philosophical and ideological orientations characterizing the prevailing paradigms, Trigger's focus is on the theoretical orientations and interpretive schemes of the time. Both authors demonstrate how colonial attitudes were reinforced by Egyptocentric interpretations and how the Egyptologist's viewpoint had denied the *Eigenart* of Nubian cultures. It is important

¹⁴ While E.A. Wallis Budge's (1907) provides some basic information regarding early archaeological surveys and excavations, William Y. Adams (1977) provides an almost exhaustive overview of the archaeological surveys and excavations in Nubia up to the end of the 1960s. However, there is no connection with developments on the institutional level. A synthesis of the institutionalization of archaeology is provided by Ida Dyrkorn Heierland (Heirland 2008). The BA dissertation on the History of Archaeology in the Sudan by A. Babu (1976) could not be consulted.

to recognize, as Adams points out, that paradigms are not discrete, mutually exclusive entities, but rather temporarily coexistent sets of ideas and practices:

«Moreover, paradigms do not follow one another in a rigid succession. Often they co-exist for substantial periods of time, when some researchers are working within the framework of an older paradigm while others have adopted a new one» (Adams 1981: 15).

Moreover, it should be stressed that I do not seek to place value judgments on people who have oriented their actions and decisions to the best of their knowledge and beliefs. I rather take a self-critical perspective and I am aware that intellectual humility involves an awareness and acknowledgement of one's epistemic limitations. The Egyptian anthropologist and archaeologist Fekri A. Hassan put it this way:

«(...), our ideas and practices develop experimentally as a result of scholarly dialogues and other happenings that alert us to new directions and make us increasingly aware of our past mistakes or errors. We can never be certain of the outcome of our beliefs or actions, and easy as it is to point the finger at others from a moral high ground, it is equally easy to lose sight of our own prejudices and stereotypes» (Fekri A. Hassan 1999: 398).

There are two digressions or excursus in this first part of the thesis. The first digression titled, Perspectives on Sudan Anthropology is on the emergence and development of anthropology in the Sudan since pre-independence era. The digression shows that British Southern Policy of the pre-World War II period had confirmed, reinforced and deepened a North-South dualism (Deng 1992: 71) and entailed a lasting dichotomy between archaeology and anthropology and led to a lasting de-facto dichotomization in the representation of cultural heritage.

The second digression titled From 'Barbarism' to 'Civilization' traces the shift in the representation of Nubia and the Sudan from a country devoid of ancient 'civilization' to the recognition of a genuine Sudanese past; a shift that has been reflected in the establishment of numerous museums and heritage sites throughout the country.

The second part traces the long process that, in 1971, eventually led to the creation of the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum and the complex that houses Sudan's Antiquities Authority. This entails on the one hand a discussion of the considerations and developments concerning the location and profile of the museum, and, on the

other hand, a reconstruction of the building's construction and architecture history. After a presentation of the museum's archaeological collections and the underlying museographic concept, a section is dedicated to aspects of museum administration and operations. A short ensuing section describes the recent developments involving the comprehensive refurbishment of the museum complex. Subsequently, the use of Sudanese heritage items in Sudanese and foreign collections is discussed based on concrete examples using the keywords colonization, nationalization, and internationalization of heritage. It will be shown through examples, how, in the colonial period, archaeological discoveries were appropriated as regalia for the secular colonial state; how archaeology was used by the modern nation-state to shape national consciousness; and how the international circulation of archaeological objects has contributed to an awareness of Sudan's rich and varied past.

This second part is concluded by a short digression titled, Islam, Aniconism and Iconoclasm. The excursus suggests that iconoclasm of Islamic fundamentalism is less rooted in a general opposition to figuration in Islam than in a refusal of 'the secular sacralization' of antiquities as practiced by certain political movements in support of nationalism.

The third and last part of this thesis, is devoted to a presentation of the major archaeological sites and monuments in the Kerma region and to the heritage making process, which, in 2008, led to the inauguration of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' in Sudan's Northern State. A longer section is dedicated to the presentation of the Kerma Museum, currently the second museum in Sudan by size and number of visitors. Although the Kerma Museum is still a relatively young institution, it is well known in the wider region and is repeatedly visited by a predominately local audience. This section on the Kerma Museum includes information on the museum's architecture, the museum's collections, the museum organisation and the museographic concept. The next sections are dedicated to the visitor experience and the visitor reactions to museum exhibits. The latter are discussed on the basis of two case studies pertaining to a group of seven monumental royal statues discovered in 2003, probably the major attraction of the museum, and to a model of a sāqiya (Persian water wheel), a small inconspicuous and yet much noticed object.

This third part includes a digression on the monumental mud brick structures locally known as Deffufas, first interpreted by archaeologists as local manifestations of Egyptian culture. It is recalled that the 'indigenization' of the archaeological monuments at Kerma was the indispensable prerequisite for their construction as a significant heritage and thus for the inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List.

Two sections linking politics of display with processes of identity formation conclude this third part. Using concrete examples, the aesthetic and political strategies conveying particular readings of exhibits are discussed and contrasted by the visitors' ability to create their own narratives and interpretations. In this process of "secondary production" of meaning (Certeau 1984), visitors, achieve 'realizations' of their identities. However, the museum not only negotiates the identities of the 'decoders' of a representation (the visitors), but also those of the 'encoder' (the curating staff) and even of those people being represented in the museum. My presentation of examples of identity negotiation in the Kerma Museum is inspired by a categorization of the layering of identities in representational practices proposed by Fiona McLean in 2008.

This thesis lies at the confluence of the disciplines of social and cultural anthropology, museum anthropology, ethnography and history, relying on a pendular relationship between the disciplines. The thesis uses different documentary repertoires, such as written and oral sources, visual and audio-visual material, and participatory and non-participatory observation.

In a 2011 article presenting my doctoral research project (Bundi 2011), I proposed two working hypotheses concerning the positioning of museums in the Sudan. The first hypothesis was that the traditional understanding of museums as promoters of national unity is linked to hegemonic ideologies of representation and that these ideologies of colonial institutions persisted after independence and are only now challenged by scholars and activists from the civil society.

This hypothesis departed from the observation that the particular representations of Nubia's and Sudan's ancient past were used at different stages by elites for political

purposes. William Y. Adams, in his articles on the "Invention of Nubia" (1994) and on the "Misappropriations of Nubia" (Adams 1998) has outlined distinct and partially conflicting images of Nubia and has highlighted how they were embraced by different actors to impose particular interpretations on the Sudanese past. While Adams focuses on the implications of Egyptocentric and Afrocentric interpretations of Nubian history, other authors have highlighted the «northerncentric perspective» (Elamin 1999) and the «North-South dualism» (Loiria 1969, Deng 1992) which was the result of a dichotomy between 'tribal societies' in the South, studied by anthropologists, and 'high civilizations' in the North, unearthed by archaeologists, and reflected the perception, if not the reality, of cultural disparities. While Egyptocentric and northerncentric perspectives had a strong and lasting impact on the interpretation and representation of the Sudanese past, it is surprising that the pan-Islamist agenda – developed by Hassan al-Turabi¹⁵ and committed to Northern religious and cultural hegemony – had, as we will see, little impact on the politics of display in Sudanese museums, although the museum, for Louis Althusser, produces a subject as an effect of ideological interpellation.

In his 1971 article "Ideological State Apparatuses", French Marxist philosopher Althusser (1918-1990) distinguished between two overlapping, but distinct set of state institutions. While the "repressive state apparatus" (RSA), based on force and the influence of state power, functions as an organised whole, the "ideological state apparatuses" (ISAs) constitute a multitude of private, relatively autonomous institutions that in terms of the controlling ideology¹⁶ and the means of production are virtually identical, while also remaining a permanent site of conflict in the class war. At the same time, they ensure, through subjectification and the inscription of ideology in the subject, that the ruling state apparatus remains stable. In this way, the repressive state machinery ensures the political conditions for the work of the ISA. British literary theorist Luke Ferretter (2006: 84) characterizes the difference between the RSA and ISAs as follows:

¹⁵ Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi was born in 1932 in Wad al-Turabi, Kassala and died in Khartoum on March 5, 2016. He was secretary general of the opposition Popular Congress Party (PCP), long-term leader of Sudan's Islamists and mastermind behind the 1989 coup staged by Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir.

¹⁶ Ideology, in Althusser's view, constitutes the world of appearances and represents 'the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real condition of existence' while they exist materially as a set of practices within the ISAs (2006: Ferretter 78 and 94).

«The fundamental difference between the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) is that the RSA functions primarily, by 'violence', whereas the ISAs function primarily, by [the ruling] 'ideology' [in a given society]».

Among the ISAs, Althusser distinguishes several distinct and specialised institutions which interpellate individuals as subjects and simultaneously subjects them to the prevalent order. Althusser's theory of interpellation is conceptually useful to theorize the interplay of coercion exerted by the "repressive State Apparatus" and the working of the Islamist ideology within the educational/cultural ISA of the museum as key institution of the ideological state apparatus.

The second hypothesis proposed in 2011 was that the conception of the museum as an institution that shapes and manipulates cultural heritage in order to reify constructions of national culture and identity is giving way to an understanding of the museum as a 'contact zone' (Clifford 1997) or a 'zone of contact' (Hans 2018).

This hypothesis drew from direct observation in the field¹⁷; i.e. from countless visits to the Sudan National Museum and the Kerma Museum, as well as to other museums in the Sudan, from discussions with museum staffs, visitors and stakeholders, community leaders, political officials, as well as archaeologists and heritage experts. The broad consensus was, that the role of the museum is to showcase the cultural mosaic of a region / the cultural diversity of the nation, rather than to convey a shared sense of national belonging. Additionally, the distinction between the national and regional museums was perceived by many of my interlocutors as artificial.

¹⁷ In my function as a scientific collaborator of the Swiss-Archaeological Mission (2010-2018), I had, besides my other tasks, the chance to conduct extensive fieldwork at Kerma. In the context of this thesis, I have additionally conducted fieldwork in Khartoum and Kerma. In 2012 and 2013, I conducted additional fieldwork in the Sudan National Museum with the support of SFDAS research grants (in 2012, fieldwork took place for a period of three months from May 4 to July 4; in 2013, for a period of one month from September 1 to 30.). In 2013, I conducted fieldwork in the Kerma Museum, sponsored and facilitated by the University of Neuchâtel and the Swiss Archaeological Mission (the fieldwork extended over a period of five weeks from July 27 to August 31, 2013).

Siddig Mohamed Gasmelseed¹⁸, former Director of the International Relations Department at the Ministry of Tourism, Antiquities and Wildlife, for instance, stated that regional museums such as those he once directed at el Obeid (Sheikhan Museum) and El Fasher (Sultan Ali Dinar Museum), have the character of national museums. Their collections include objects transferred from the Sudan National Museum, which are related to different parts of the Sudan and represent different periods of Sudanese history and thus are custodians of national heritage and identity¹⁹. Sirr al-Khatim Fadul, founder and head of the 'High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex', stated that he considers the Kerma Museum as a national museum, because the treasures which are kept at Kerma are 'national treasures'²⁰. This view is, however, not shared by Siddig Mohamed Gasmelseed, who emphasized that the Kerma Museum houses a national collection, but since it does not showcase objects from other regions of the Sudan, it cannot be named a national museum²¹. Siddig Mohamed Gasmelseed's view that regional museums can contribute to larger national questions of identity and heritage and thus to dissolve the dichotomy between 'national' and 'regional'/'local' museums is shared by Caleb Adebayo Folorunso (1995: 144), who observed that «the dichotomy 'national' and 'local' museums is quite inadequate to describe the forms of museums required for African communities». Folorunso, in his assessment, also relies on the African politician and museologist *Alpha Oumar Konaré*²², according to whom, politically, there should be no dichotomy between the two, since «[h]e sees a global practice of museums with local and national aspects, the two not being distinct separate institutions». With a global museum policy, the local and national museums would, according to *Alpha Oumar Konaré*, «fall into the same network (Folorunso 1995: 144). Both the Sudan National Museum and the Kerma Museum were, as we will see, from the very beginning part of such an international network. The finalization and the setup of the Sudan National Museum coincided with the International

¹⁸ Siddig Mohamed Gasmelseed worked from 1977 through 2004 at the Sudan Antiquities Service / the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. Among other positions, he was Director of the Sheikhan Museum at El-Obeid, 1981-1985; Director of the Sultan Ali Dinar Museum in El Fasher, 1987-1990; and Director of the Sudan National Museum, 1993-1994.

¹⁹ Siddig Mohamed Gasmelseed, personal communication. Khartoum: September 13, 2013.

²⁰ Sirr al-Khatim Fadul, personal communication. Khartoum: September 11, 2013. Caleb Adebayo Folorunso (1995: 148) shares the view, that 'national museums' can be «"national" in their authorship/ownership but "local" in their collections and location.

²¹ Siddig Mohamed Gasmelseed, personal communication. Khartoum: September 13, 2013.

²² *Alpha Oumar Konaré* (* 1946) was President of Mali from 1992 to 2002 and Chairman of the African Union Commission until 2008.

Campaign for the Preservation of the Monuments of Nubia, which led to an increase and internationalization of archaeological activities in the Sudan. The defense of a cosmopolitan approach to heritage by Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif, Director General of Antiquities and National Museums from 1970-1983 (cp. Bundi 2018)²³, was retained by his successors at the Sudan Antiquities Service and NCAM, eventually resulted in an ethos of efficient transnational collaboration and partnership. The 'Kerma Cultural Complex' was mainly funded with contributions from the Nubian diaspora. The partnership of the Kerma Museum with the Swiss Archaeological Mission and the partial financing of rehabilitation works by the 'Nubian Archaeological Development Organization (Qatar-Sudan)' added additional layers to the museum's integration in an international network of heritage institutions and practitioners.

George Okello Abungu (2018: 29), has pointed out, that museums in Africa have started to improve «interactions between countries and regions «through joint research and cooperation, having developed some strong relations with museums in Europe over time»²⁴. The examples of the Sudan National Museum and the Kerma Museum will show that transnational cooperation offers the opportunity to bring in the voices of different stakeholders and thus to move towards multivocality in the museum practice.

²³ I refer to the term "cosmopolitan" as Ian Hodder (2008: 198) has suggested, «to refer to the complex blending of the global and the particular in ways that do not replicate Western perspectives and which do not construct the local as a product of the global».

²⁴ For an overview on the wide variety of approaches to *museum cooperation between Africa and Europe*, see Laely, Meyer and Schwere (eds.): *Museum Cooperation between Africa and Europe. A New Field for Museum Studies* (2018).

2 Part I: Perspectives on Sudan Archaeology

«Archaeology is what archaeologists do» (Clarke 1973: 6).

«As an ecology of practices, archaeology [is] clearly more than what *archaeologists* d[o]» (Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor and Witmore 2012: 56, their emphasis).

In the Prologue to his 1977 Herskovits Prize-winning book *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*²⁵ – an important synthesis of the archaeology of Nubia and the Sudan²⁶ – the American anthropologist and archaeologist William Y. Adams provides an overview on the historical and archaeological sources which inform our picture of Nubian history. Until the development of Sudanese Archaeology in the twentieth century²⁷, «whatever was known of the history of the southern land was known from textual records – most of them compiled by non-Nubians, in alien languages, and often at distant second-hand» (Adams 1977: 66). From such material, Ernest Wallis Budge (1857-1934)²⁸, compiled *The Egyptian Sudan*, the first comprehensive history at the beginning of the twentieth century (Budge 1907). The textual sources compiled by Budge fall chronologically and philologically into six distinctive groups (cp. Adams 1977: 66): Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, Nubian hieroglyphic texts, historical and geographical works by classical authors, medieval ecclesiastical histories, medieval

²⁵ The Melville J. Herskovits Prize is an annual prize given by the African Studies Association (ASA) to the best scholarly work on Africa published in English in the previous year and distributed in the United States. The prize is named in Honor of the American Anthropologist Melville Jean Herskovits (1895-1963), one of the ASA's founders.

²⁶ The first modern history of the Middle Nile Region is E.A. Wallis Budge's *The Egyptian Sūdān: Its History and Monuments* (1907). For major syntheses of the archaeology of Nubia and the Sudan besides Adams see Anthony J. Arkell *A History of the Sudan: From the Earliest Times to 1821* (Arkell 1955a); and David N. Edwards: *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan* (2004).

²⁷ According to Ernest Wallis Budge «archaeological investigations of the Sūdān did [...] begin [in] the first quarter of the nineteenth century» (Budge 1907/I: 1) and was related with «the splendid archaeological work done in the Sūdān by modern travellers, especially by Cailliaud, Hoskins, and Lepsius» (Budge 1907/I: viii). William Adams acknowledges that there was «some archaeological exploration in Nubia throughout the nineteenth century» (2008: 5) but insists that archaeology in Nubia/Sudan is «entirely the child of the twentieth century» (1977: 65) since «properly scientific investigation did not begin until the year 1907, when George A. Reisner launched the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia (Adams 2008: 5).

²⁸ Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge. Study of Eastern languages at Cambridge University (1878 -1883; Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum (1894 -1924); knighted in 1920. Wallis Budge gained the Arabic nickname of «*abu antika*, or "father of antiquities"» (Budge 1907/I: 72, his emphasis) «as a direct result of his collecting activities in Egypt and Sudan». For biographical details on Sir Ernest A. T. Wallis Budge visit the Website of the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?biold=93650 [12.03.2016].

Arab histories and geographies, and works by early modern travellers. In the context of the present chapter, as for the textual sources, the focus is on the published narratives of the early travellers who have succeeded in penetrating large portions of the Sudan, both on the east and west banks of the Nile. Their «voluminous and profusely illustrated accounts» are, according to Adams (1977: 70), still «the starting point for a continuous history of Nubia which extends down to our own times». The descriptions of the early modern travellers are useful in showing the state of the major monuments in Nubia before more settled conditions and increase in population caused significant destruction in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some archaeological sites and architectural monuments only exist in the drawings²⁹ and descriptions of these travellers, because they disappeared in the 1970s in the waters of Lake Nasser. Some monuments represented were later brought to Sudanese or foreign museums and are thus decontextualized from their usual environment. The relocated monuments acquire, through their musealization, new layers of meaning. This process will be explored in further detail in the part dedicated to the Sudan National Museum at the example of the Tabo Colossi³⁰ and the monumental statues found by George A. Reisner at Gebel Barkal.

As for the Archaeological sources, Adams (1977: 71ff) refers to archaeological remains unearthed in the successive archaeological surveys of Nubia, in the archaeological expeditions supplementing and extending the work of these surveys, in the work of the High Dam Salvage Campaign and the ensuing expeditions to the South of the Second Cataract and in other parts of the Sudan³¹. To this should be added the archaeological remains discovered during surveys and rescue excavations in the Fourth Cataract region³² and other archaeological surveys in the

²⁹ For a brief examination of the drawings of Nubian sites and monuments in the travelogues by Frédéric Cailliaud, Linant de Bellefonds, George Alexander Hoskins, Karl Richard Lepsius travellers see Fitzenreiter 2002: 13ff.

³⁰ Two statues of Meroitic Kings found unfinished in proximity of the Amun temple on Argo Island; relocated in 1971-73 to the Sudan National Museum.

³¹ The best comprehensive reference for archaeological work conducted in the Sudan is provided by J. Leclant [and Leclant et.al.] for the years 1955-2000 in his "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan", published annually in *Orientalia*. In 2000, Nicolas Grimal [et.al.] took over the editing of the "Fouilles et travaux".

³² For detailed information on the surveys and excavations conducted in the framework of the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP, 1991-2007) visit the website of the International Society for Nubian Studies: <https://nubianstudiessociety.wordpress.com/merowe-dam-archaeological-salvage-project-mdasp/> [21.04.2019].

context of dam projects³³, as well as during surveys and excavations conducted under the umbrella of the 'Nubian Archaeological Development Organization (NADO)' within the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project (QSAP).

The aforementioned archaeological surveys and excavations – whose accomplishments will be discussed in more detail in the following sections – have significantly contributed to the reconstruction of the ancient history of Nubia and the Sudan. Adams (1977: 97) emphasizes, that unlike early historians of Nubia, who have «accorded to archaeological evidence a supplementary role rather than the complementary», archaeology and textual history should rather complement another, since «[t]ogether they can furnish a more complete picture of life at any time in history than can either source by itself» (Adams 1977: 96 and 97). The British archaeologist Osbert G.S. Crawford, who took part in excavation work in the Sudan shortly before the First World War, noted on this subject, that «[t]he distinction between archaeology and history is [...] largely artificial and based upon a difference in method. Both deal with a single evolutionary process, which for lack of any other covering word must be called 'history'» (Crawford 1948: 8, footnote 8).

The following presentations of archaeological exploration, excavations and surveys aims at tracing the evolution of archaeological thought in the Sudan on the basis of the available sources; at discerning the shifting paradigms governing Sudanese archaeology, and at introducing the related concepts of heritage as well as of identity and belonging.

2.1 Narratives of Early Travellers

The period of Sudanese history from the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth century is described by historians as 'obscure' (Holt and Daly 2000: 22) or 'dark' (Holt 1963: 18; Adams 1977: 70 and 592) and as lacking historical data (Holt and Daly 2000: 22). Among the few primary sources of information on the Sudan in these three centuries are the accounts of travellers (cp. Holt and Daly 2000: 22 and Arnold 2003). But since the passage through Nubia was considered to be both difficult and

³³ For instance, the surveys conducted at Khashm El Girba 1962-1965, at Dal and Kajbar in 2008, at Rosieres in 2009-2012, at Sebaloka in 2009-2012, at Dagash and Maqarat in 2011, and on the Upper Atbara and Setit rivers in 2010. Cp. Abdelrahman Ali Mohamed 2014: 23.

dangerous, there is evidence of only three journeys through the whole length of Nubia for this period (cp. Holt and Daly 2000: 24 and Adams 1973: 217). The earliest account of a journeys through the whole length of Nubia is given by the Jewish adventurer David Reubeni (1490–1535/1541?), 1521-22³⁴, who claimed he was the guest of King 'Amara Dunqas, the first Funj ruler. The second account is given by the Ottoman official Evliyâ Çelebi (1611-1682), 1672-73³⁵, who also purports to describe a visit to the Royal Court at Sennar (Sinnar)³⁶. The third account is given by John Lewis Burckhardt (1784-1817), who, in the employ of the British "Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa", made two journeys through Nubia in 1813 and 1814³⁷.

Other distinguished travellers like Jacques Charles Poncet (1655-1706), 1698-1700³⁸; Theodoro Krump (1672-1724), 1700-1702³⁹; Frédéric Louis Norden (1708-1742), 1737-38⁴⁰; and James Bruce (1730-1794), 1768-1773⁴¹ followed either the eastern or the western desert caravan route in preference to the middle reaches of the Nile (Adams 1973: 217 and 1977: 592). William Y. Adams (1977: 70) remarks that «[a]ll of them hurried through what they considered to be the inhospitable land of the Upper Nile» and concludes that they «have left us only hasty sketches of scenes along the way». It was eventually the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) and the Turco-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan (1820-21), which opened the region up to a new wave of European interest in the Nile Valley:

³⁴ See Sigmar Hillelson 1933: "David Reubeni, An Early Visitor to Sennar" and Hillelson 1938: "David Reubeni's Route in Africa".

³⁵ Evliyâ Çelebi 1938: *Seyâhatnamesi, Misir, Sudan, Habes, 1672-80*. See also Chater Bosayley 1967: "Evliya Çelebi Travels in the Sudan in 1672/73 A.D." and Erich Prokosch 1994: *Ins Land der geheimnisvollen Func. Ein Reisebericht aus dem Sudan des 17. Jahrhunderts*.

³⁶ Sennar on the Blue Nile's west bank above its confluence with the White Nile was the capital of the Funj Kingdom, arabicized and islamicized as *al-Saltana al-Zarqa'* (the Blue Sultanate). The Kingdom emerged in the late medieval period following the collapse of the Christian Nubian kingdoms of Nobadia, Makuria and Alwa. The Funj Sultanate was founded by 'Amara Dunqas (reign: 1504-1533-34) and survived until the Turco-Egyptian conquest in 1821.

³⁷ John Lewis Burckhardt 1819: *Travels in Nubia*. For an appraisal of Burckhardt's *Travels in Nubia* see William Y. Adams 1973: "J. L. Burckhardt, Ethnographer".

³⁸ Jacques Charles Poncet 1709: *A Voyage to Aethiopia, Made in the Years 1698, 1699, and 1700*; Jacques Charles Poncet 2010: *Relation de mon voyage d'Ethiopie, 1698-1701*. On his journey from Cairo to Gondar – the Ethiopian capital – Poncet was accompanied by the Jesuit priest, Charles Francis Xaverius de Brevedent, who died on 9 July 1699 as they where a short distance from Gondar.

³⁹ Theodoro Krump 1710: *Hoher und Fruchtbare Palm-Baum des Heiligen Evangelij [...]*; Jay Spaulding 1974: *The Sudanese Travels of Theodor Krump*.

⁴⁰ Frédéric Louis Norden: 1755. *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*.

⁴¹ James Bruce 1790: *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773*.

«More professional scholarly interest in the ancient monuments and history of Egypt's southern neighbour was inspired, however, by the work of the savants accompanying the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt, which resulted in the publication of the *Description de l'Égypte*⁴² and the birth of Egyptology. The conquest of the Sudan in 1820 by the Egyptian army led by Ismail Kamil Pasha, youngest son of Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt, opened the way into the Middle Nile Region» (Török 2011b: 368, his emphasis).

Except for the ten years' period of Sudanese independence (1885-1895) under the religious leader Muhammad Ahmad ibn al-Sayyid 'Abd Allah (1844-1885), the *Mahdi*, and his successor (*Khalifa*) 'Abdallahi ibn Muhammad (1846-1899), Sudan would remain from now on accessible to travellers, explorers, and adventurers.

In 1821, the French mineralogist Frédéric Cailliaud (1787-1869) and his companion Pierre-Constant Letorzec (1798-1857) were permitted to join Isma'il Pasha's military expedition to Nubia⁴³. While Cailliaud and Letorzec travelled in parts with Ismael Pasha's army «as it moved south to subdue the area up to Sennar» (Usick 1998 I: 82)⁴⁴, an exploratory party to locate the city of Meroe led by the British traveller William J. Bankes (1786-1855) and with the young French draughtsman Louis Maurice Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds (1799-1883) travelled in the army's wake. Cailliaud («mandé de la France») and de Bellefonds («mandé par l'Angleterre»)⁴⁵ encountered at Shendi on 14 March 1822 and accompanied each other on a part of the journey. Even though they were in competition with one another for archaeological discoveries, they also engaged in a mutual exchange of information and drawings (Usick 1998). Cailliaud published an illustrated four-volume account of the antiquities and monuments of Nubia in 1826⁴⁶ whereas the mass of accurate and detailed information gathered by Bankes and his party was never arranged and published⁴⁷. Cailliaud's drawings and notices provide according to László Török

⁴² Cp. Commission des sciences et arts d'Égypte (1808-1818).

⁴³ For a contemporary account of the expedition see George Bethune English 1822: *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola [...]*.

⁴⁴ For an account of Cailliaud's participation in Isma'il Pasha's military expedition to Nubia see Philippe Mainterot 2014: "The Life, Travels, and Works of Frédéric Cailliaud", 9ff.

⁴⁵ From the inscriptional graffiti by Cailliaud (March 26, 1822) and de Bellefonds (February 22-24, 1822) chronicling their visit of the archaeological site of Musawwarat (Wenig 2009: 50-51).

⁴⁶ Frédéric Cailliaud 1826: *Voyage à Méroé, au fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fâzoql dans le midi du royaume de Sennâr, à Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis; fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822*. A volume entitled *Voyage à Méroé [...]* of 75 plates and short descriptions was first published in 1823.

⁴⁷ For a short and selective overview of William John Bankes' manuscripts and drawings see Macadam 1946. For a comprehensive overview of the Bankes' collection of drawings and

«important information about the preservation of the ancient building remains in the early nineteenth century [...] but do not match the precision of the *Description [de l'Égypte]*»⁴⁸ (Török 2011b: 368 his emphasis). A new standard for archaeological documentation was eventually set by the Prussian Egyptologist and linguist Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884), who led the 'Royal Prussian Expedition to Egypt and Ethiopia [Nubia/Sudan]' of 1842-1845⁴⁹. Lepsius and his men revisited many of the sites in Upper Nubia already described by Frédéric Cailliaud and produced a comprehensive and detailed documentation

«The sites which Cailliaud had discovered, sketched, and planned single-handed, Lepsius revisited in 1844 with an engineer, three draughtsmen and painters, a moulder, and a Counsellor of Legation. Naturally his plans and drawings, though neither exhaustive nor according to modern criterions sufficiently faithful, are far more complete and accurate than those of Cailliaud; but the expedition did not discover a single new site in the Island of Meroe, or even verify the sites reported but not visited by Cailliaud» (Crowfoot 1911: 5).

Lepsius's expedition was equipped with nine highly skilled artists, architects and draughtsmen, who remained three years in the field; travelling from Alexandria upstream to Sennar on the Blue Nile, thereby constantly engaged in surveying visible monuments and gathering objects. The expedition resulted in a twelve-volume publication *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849–59, 'Egyptian and Ethiopian Monuments') which consisted of nearly nine hundred plates. The accompanying text to this was published after Lepsius's death in a further five volumes (1897–1913) by the Swiss Egyptologist Édouard Naville and others using the notes left by Lepsius. Lepsius's monumental work – which foreshadowed the more systematic efforts of later scientists – remains a fundamental resource for ancient Egyptian and Nubian studies. The architectural plans and topographical maps as well as the archaeological drawings are of a high degree of accuracy and reliability – and are often the only record of monuments and inscriptions that have

manuscripts relating to Ancient Nubia see Usick 1998. For Linant de Bellefonds' travel journal see Shinnie 1958.

⁴⁸ For a critical analysis of Cailliaud's plates of Meroe, Musawwarat and Naqa see Usick 1998: 85-86. For negative assessments of Cailliaud's Egyptological works in British periodicals in the early 1820s see Bednarski 2014: 31ff.

⁴⁹ The 'Königlich Preussische Expedition nach Aegypten und Aethiopien' – modelled after the earlier Napoleonic mission – was commissioned by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia for the purpose of documenting the ancient monuments and collecting antiquities for the 'Egyptian Section' ('Ägyptische Abtheilung') in the Neue Museum in Berlin.

since been destroyed or later reburied. According to the late Argentine Egyptologist Ricardo A. Caminos (1916-1992) – who referred to Lepsius as the «prince of epigraphists» (1976: 4) – the high standards of scholarly accuracy set by the Prussian expedition in the field of Egyptian Epigraphy are difficult to attain, even with today's means:

«It was and remains, a superb accomplishment which no single or combined expedition to the Nile Valley matched to date. No publication offers the Egyptologists a vaster, richer, more varied, rewarding and comprehensive quarry of epigraphic sources than Lepsius's great corpus does; and moreover its standards of accuracy, draughtsmanship, and presentation are of the highest order to the extent that even today, for all our modern gadgets and copying aids, not a few of our own epigraphic publications fall short of them» (Caminos 1976: 4; cp. footnote 3.)

While some of the early European travellers defended an utopian idea of the primacy of Aithiopian⁵⁰ (Nubian) culture as it occurs in most classical literature (cp. Onasch 1977: 331ff), the work of the Lepsius expedition, according to László Török, widened the horizons of nascent Egyptology, thereby turning the utopian image of the early travellers into a colonial image:

«While contributing to the widening of the horizons of nascent Egyptology, the work of the Lepsius expedition also provided indisputable arguments for the rejection of the utopian view of Nubian culture and promoted instead an Egyptocentric perception» (Török 2011a: 6; see also Török 2011b: 370ff).

Lepsius' work marks, as French archaeologist Nicole Blanc outlines, the end of an era of European exploration and recording of archaeological sites and monuments in the Sudan.

«For a long time, travellers and archaeologists were discouraged by the rigours of the climate and the inaccessibility of the area from venturing beyond the First Cataract (Aswan); finally, in 1844, a Prussian expedition led by the Egyptologist Lepsius, the real founder of the study of Meroitic archaeology, began a methodical exploration. But all progress along these lines was abruptly cut short by the Mahdiya (1885-98) and only began again with the construction of the

⁵⁰ The term Aithiopia (literally "land of the burnt-faced people") was used in Greek and Roman literature in order to refer both to the kingdom of Kush in the borderland of Egypt and, as a collective term, to the African periphery of the known world (Török 1997b: 69). For a useful overview of the political and geographical usage of the terms Kush, Aithiopia and Nubia see Török (2014: x).

Aswan Dam and the systematic exploration, by Reisner and Firth among others, of lower Nubia, which was threatened with submersion» (Blanc 1978: 37)

It was thus – as we will see in the next section – not until the first two decades of the twentieth century, that the systematic archaeological exploration of Nubia started.

2.2 Archaeological Excavations and Surveys

William Y. Adams in his book *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (1977: 88ff) has observed, that in Nubia as elsewhere in the world, field investigation [surveys and excavations] has gone through three phases, «which may conveniently be designated as 'random', 'selective', and 'comprehensive'». The 'random' phase of excavation in Nubia is characterized by Adams as «haphazard and completely unscientific looting in search of *objets d' art* or treasure trove» (his emphasis). The «merciful few» activities by the «hardest dilettantes» (Adams 1977: 89) have caused much harm to archaeological sites and monuments in Nubia. The 'selective' phase is, according to Adams (1977: 89), characterized by the careful excavation of selected sites with «great artistic and imperial monuments, above all the royal temples, palaces and tombs», which preserve «the culture of a tiny élite». The majority of the excavations carried out in Nubia before 1960, belong, according to Adams to the second or selective phase of archaeological development. This formative period of Sudanese archaeology will be presented in greater detail below. While excavations in Nubia, according to Adams, have been largely of the selective kind, the same region is, in his eyes, also «the cradle of comprehensive archaeology», understood as the archaeology of an interest by archaeologists in smaller «and less dramatic sites», and in a region-wide effort «to sample sites of every type and of every historic period». According to Adams, 'comprehensive' archaeology was brought about by the requirements of salvage archaeology made necessary by projected development schemes. In his view, the 'comprehensive' stage of archaeological investigation was thus in the 1970s only reached in Lower Nubia and in the Batn al-Hajar region, between the Second and Third Cataracts, while «[t]hroughout the whole vast region south of the Dal Cataract – the ancient heartland of Nubian civilizations – we have not progressed beyond the selective stage. Since Adams' assessment, this picture has changed considerably and it was, among others,

Adams himself contributing significantly to a more comprehensive picture of the Nubian ancient history. Adams' arguing for a 'nubilological' view of Nubia in his book *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* and his rejection of misappropriations of Nubia (Adams 1998) and biased views on Nubia (cp. Adams 1994) are the best proof of this and corresponds to the move described by Bruce Trigger away «from the tyranny and limitations of a single paradigm» (Trigger 1982: 226) towards an interdisciplinary approach.

2.2.1 First Excavations

In his 1902 Report on the Finances, Administration and Condition of the Sudan Lord Cromer (1841-1917)⁵¹, in retrospect of a journey undertaken following the reconquest, noted on the situation encountered in the Sudan: «The country had been devastated. The population had been more than decimated by famine, disease, and external and civil war. It can scarcely be said that a germ of civilization existed» (Cromer, 1905: 5). The country was not full 'pacified' until 1928 when an uprising among the Nuer was suppressed (1987: 151). Dows Dunham (1890-1984)⁵² who worked in 1916 with George Andrew Reisner (1867-1942)⁵³ at Gebel Barkal, reported that even though the buying and selling of slaves became illegal under the new regime, some of the workforce at Gebel Barkal was formed by slaves (Dunham 1972: 19).

Preceding and following the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of 1898, archaeological excavations in Nubia were sporadically carried out by British military officers. The New Kingdom temples of Buhen for instance were cleared by Colonel Charles Holled-Smith (1846-1925) in 1887 (southern Temple) and excavated Captain Henry

⁵¹ Evelyn Baring, 1st Earl of Cromer. British statesman, diplomat and colonial administrator; British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt (1883–1907). Author of *Modern Egypt*; a narrative of events in Egypt and the Sudan since 1876 (Cromer 1908).

⁵² The American Egyptologists Dows Dunham studied art history at Harvard University (1909-1913) and learned field archaeology under Reisner in Egypt and the Sudan, beginning in 1914. Assistant Curator under Reisner at the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; after Reisner's death Curator (1942-1956) and Curator Emeritus (1956-1969).

⁵³ The American Egyptologist George A. Reisner studied Semitic languages at Harvard (PhD 1893) and went to Berlin, where he was, like James H. Breasted, a student of Egyptology under the German Philologist Adolf Erman. Reisner was the Archaeological Director of the Nubian Archaeological Survey by the Egyptian Government (1907-1909) and Director of the Harvard-Boston Egyptian Expedition (1910). He was the founding Curator of the Egyptian Department of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1910-1942) and Professor of Egyptology at Harvard University (1914-1942). For a personal note on Reisner, see Crowfoot 1949.

G. Lyons (1864-1934) in 1892 (northern temple)⁵⁴. Another example for excavations carried out by military personnel are those made by Edward A. Stanton (1867-1947), Colonel in the British army, *Miralai* (Brigadier) of the Egyptian army and *Mudir* (Governor) of Khartoum (1900-1908) at the medieval townsite of Soba in 1903 (cf. Stanton 1902: 23; Crowfoot 1954: 54; Budge 1907/I: 324; Shinnie 1961a: 8). In his survey of the then nascent Service of Antiquities in the Sudan ("Early Days 1903 - 31"), John Winter Crowfoot noted, that Stanton's excavations were barren of results and concludes that Stanton «rendered a more lasting service to Sudan archaeology by acquiring a copy of Lepsius' Denkmäler for a library which was then in the palace» (Crowfoot 1954: 54⁵⁵).



Governor-General Reginald F. Wingate visiting the site of Soba, the capital of the kingdom of Alodia. Photographer and date unknown. NCAM Archives, Khartoum.

The year 1898 is described by Ahmed M. Ali Hakem (1978: 38) as «a turning point in the history of archaeological research in the Sudan, [...], for it was then that the Sudan passed from its short-lived independence (1881-98) under the Mahdi [...], into a colonial period». William Y. Adams (1996: 4) referring to this turning point,

⁵⁴ Henry G. Lyons – Captain in the Corps of the Royal Engineers – was later in charge of the underpinning and excavations of the Temples of Philae in 1895/96, prior to the construction of the first Aswan Dam (cf. William E. Garstin in Lyons 1896: 5-7). The site of Buhen was later explored by David Randall-MacIver and Charles Leonard Woolley (University of Pennsylvania Expedition in 1909-1910; cp. Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911) and by a team under the direction of Walter Bryan Emery (excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society from 1957 to 1964; cp. Smith 1976 and Emery 1979).

⁵⁵ Cp. Stanton 1902: 312.

writes that «"dirt archaeology" (as distinguished from epigraphy) in Nubia and the Sudan began with a veritable land-rush following the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of 1898»⁵⁶. Adams presents three reasons for the sudden outburst of activity:

«Foremost among them, surely, was the establishment of a stable and fairly authoritarian colonial regime: the kind of umbrella under which both archaeology and ethnology have always been most comfortable. Then there was the age-old appeal of "darkest Africa" to the European imagination. evident already in the writings of Homer. Herodotus, and Strabo. Finally, the well-publicised Kitchener campaign of reconquest attracted a great deal of popular interest in Europe and America, fanned by both journalistic accounts and a number of widely read books» (Adams 1996: 4).

In 1905, John W. Crowfoot (1873-1959)⁵⁷ in Count Gleichen's compendium *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* presented an appendix on the antiquities of the Sudan wherein he concluded:

«It only remains to point out that the surface of Sudan antiquities has barely been touched. It is hoped that as money becomes available more of the ancient history of the Sudan may be brought to light, and more particularly it is hoped that the meaning of the Nubian and Meroitic hieroglyph inscriptions may shortly be discovered. The whole matter is being gradually taken up by the Sudan Government, but want of funds hampers the work» (Crowfoot and Gleichen 1905/I: 316)

Until the enactment of the first Antiquities Ordinance in 1905, the Governor-General – the supreme authority in the Sudan – retained the sole responsibility for the

⁵⁶ The single decade between 1902 and 1912 saw according to Adams (1996: 4) the launching of no less than seven major, museum sponsored expeditions: the expeditions of Budge in the Wadi Halfa area (1902); of the Eckley B. Coxe Expedition in Lower Nubia (1907-1910); of Griffith at Faras and Sanam (1910-1913); of Garstang at Meroe (1910-1914); of Wellcome at Jebel Moya (1910-1914); of Steindorff at Aniba (1910-1912); and of Junker at Toshka and Arminna (1911-1912).

⁵⁷ John Winter Crowfoot. Student of the British School of Archaeology in Athens (1897) and Lecturer in Classics in Birmingham University (1899-1900). Assistant Director of Education (1903-1908) under the guidance of James Currie (1868-1937). In this function, Crowfoot was responsible for, among other things, the Sudan Antiquities. Assistant Director of Education, Sudan Government (1903-1908). Director of Education and *ex officio* Principal of Gordon Memorial College (1914-1926). Crowfoot is the author of *The Island of Meroe* (Crowfoot 1911). For an account of his early involvement in Sudanese archaeology see Crowfoot and Addison's 1954 essay *Early Days, 1903-31*. John Winter Crowfoot is the father of the 1964 Nobel Laureate in Chemistry Dorothy Crowfoot Hodgkin.

antiquities. Both Sir Horatio H. Kitchener⁵⁸ and Sir Reginald Wingate⁵⁹, first and second Governors-General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and *Sirdārs* (Commanders-in-Chief) of the Egyptian Army, were deeply interested in archaeological work. While Kitchener's interest dated back to his involvement in the Survey of Western Palestine in the 1870s (cf. Conder and Kitchener, 1881-1883), Wingate's enthusiasm was sparked by his many field visits to archaeological sites (cp. Crowfoot 1955: 54). Wingate was, according to Budge «most anxious to preserve all the ancient remains in the Sudan, whether Pagan or Christian and declared it to be his intention to investigate the sites of the ancient cities as soon as possible» (Budge 1907/I: 323).

The Sudanese archaeologist Ali Osman Mohammed Salih characterizes Kitchener's and Wingate's interests in Sudan archaeology as "antiquarian" and thus implicitly refers to the dual status of antiquities as items of ownership and sources of science and knowledge⁶⁰:

«The first governors, Sir H. Kitchener and Sir R. Wingate, seem to have had a reasonable interest in archaeology. Theirs was a kind of European antiquarian interest, who saw the glorious antiquities of the newly conquered country and wanted to know more about them through the eyes of specialists» (Ali Osman Mohammed Salih 1981: 57).

The suitable specialist, the required 'eye opener', was found in the person of Ernest Wallis Budge a then highly respected authority within the field of Ancient Egypt and then Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum.

⁵⁸ Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850-1916), Governor-General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and *Sirdār* of the Egyptian Army from 1898 to 1899; knighted in 1894, made Baron Kitchener of Khartoum and Aspell in the County of Suffolk in 1898 for presiding over the defeat of the Mahdi, and created Earl Kitchener of Khartoum and Broome in the County of Kent in 1914.

⁵⁹ Francis Reginald Wingate (1861-1953), Governor-General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and *Sirdār* of the Egyptian Army (1899 to 1916); High Commissioner for Egypt (1917-1919); knighted in 1898 and created Baronet Wingate of Dunbar in the County of Haddington, and of Port Sudan in 1920.

⁶⁰ With reference to the origins and growth of Sudan archaeology, Ali Osman Mohammed Salih (1981: 53ff) distinguishes two distinct schools of thought which developed simultaneously in Nubia and in Central Sudan. The Egyptological school which developed in Nubia was according to Ali Osman (1981: 56) predominantly a foreign enterprise focusing on monumental archaeology and «did not generate sufficient interest among the peoples of the Sudan». The Antiquarian school of Central Sudan issued from the Sudan Antiquities Service and was according to Ali Osman (1981: 58) «more conscious about field methods and techniques of Sudan archaeology».

By arrangement of Kitchener, Budge was sent by the Trustees of the British Museum as early as 1897 on a first archaeological mission to the Sudan⁶¹. The results of this first and the ensuing three missions (1898, 1903 and 1905) form the first part of the first volume of his book on the history and monuments of the "Egyptian Sudan" (*The Egyptian Sudan, its History and Monuments*, 1907)⁶².

Like other authors of the late 19th and early 20th century, Budge is criticised for «speculative conclusions that are no longer tenable» and for the unthinkingly used expression of the racist assumptions of his time (Roth 1998: 225). Additionally, the critique points to the unsystematic and random character of Budge's field activities in Nubia, where he is blamed – correctly or not – for having undertaken «casual digging and exploration, [...], with the aim not of proper excavation but of acquiring material for the British Museum at a low cost in time and labor» (Hakem 1978: 38). William Y. Adams thus puts him in the same disparate category as Giovanni Belzoni⁶³ and Joseph Ferlini⁶⁴, whom he accuses of «almost total irresponsibility» (Adams 1981: 16) and of having committed «wholesale looting» (Adams 1981: 17) and undertaken «'extractive archaeology'» (Adams 1981: 17):

«Like the colonial powers in general, they were out to extract whatever they could, and they belonged to an age when the White Man was above the law in Africa. The lack of any kind of standards in their excavation is understandable in view of the total lack of professionalization in 19th century archaeology, and the lack of any sense of accountability toward the peoples and countries in which they worked was characteristic of the 19th century colonial mentality. But their almost wanton destruction of the monuments themselves bespeaks a contempt not only for the modern cultures but for the ancient cultures as well» (Adams 1981: 16-17).

It is against this background that William Y. Adams (1981:16), in his quadripartite classification of paradigms in Sudan archaeology ("Paradigms in Sudan

⁶¹ It should be remembered that Budge started his fieldwork activities in an essentially unpacified country under military rule. Thus for both security and logistic reasons, the excavations under the supervision of Budge at the Pyramids of Bagrawiya started only during his fourth mission (1903). Since no men were available among the civilian population, these excavations were executed with the help of 180 artillerymen under the command of two British officers, Captain William H. Drake and Captain Henry F. Lewin (Budge 1907/I: 331).

⁶² The second part – which extends into the second volume – encompasses the ancient and modern history of the *Egyptian Sudan*. Wallis Budge's two Volumes of *The Egyptian Sudan, its History and Monuments* are the first comprehensive history of the Middle Nile Region.

⁶³ Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778-1823). For Belzoni's account of his travels and discoveries in Egypt and Nubia see Belzoni 1820.

⁶⁴ Giuseppe Ferlini (c.1800-1870). For account of Ferlini's activities in Nubia see Ferlini 1837 and Budge 1907/I: 285-320.

Archaeology"), associates the field activities of Belzoni, Budge and Ferlini with the "extractive colonial paradigm". The work by Belzoni and Ferlini, who both had no pretensions to scholarship, but also Budge's unsystematic and random fieldwork clearly corresponds to the 'random' phase of Adams earlier encountered phase model of excavations in Nubia, while the work of the subsequent researchers up to the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia ('Nubian Campaign')⁶⁵ belong to the 'selective' phase of Adam's model.

The following quotes by Wallis Budge illustrate both the extractive approach towards archaeology and the paternalistic mindset of colonialism:

«At Meroe we succeeded in clearing out the shrine of one of the pyramids, and in taking down the north and south walls; the former is now at Khartûm, and the latter in the British Museum» (Budge 1907/I: viii)⁶⁶.

«Sir Reginald Wingate also decided to have the north wall from the chapel of one of the great Candace queens removed to Khartûm, and thus preserved one of the finest sculptures extant of the later Meroitic Kingdom» (Budge 1907/II: 501)⁶⁷.

While the importance of preserving the antiquities was generally recognized, preservation to Budge and Wingate meant the transfer of the antiquities to the capital: «to excavate ancient sites systematically, and, when possible, to remove all important monuments to a place of safety in Khartûm» (Budge 1907/I: 436)⁶⁸.

Among the early explorers of Sudanese antiquities after the conquest mention should also be made of Philip David Scott-Moncrieff (1882-1911) of the British Museum, who carried out research and works of conservation in Musawwarat and Buhen in 1905⁶⁹, and of John W. Crowfoot from the Sudan Civil Service, who had

⁶⁵ The "International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia" was officially launched on March 8, 1960 and ended on March 10, 1980, after the successful transferring of the five monuments on a new site on the island of Agilkia (Cf. UNESCO 2004).

⁶⁶ At Meroe, Budge was assisted in his excavations by two British Officers and 180 gunners (Crowfoot 1954: 54).

⁶⁷ The transfer of the chapel walls took place in 1905 (Hinkel 1992a: 170). For a detailed account of Wingate's and Budge's considerations referring to the preservation of the reliefs in the queen's chapel see Budge 1907/I: 500 ff. The relief from the north wall is now exhibited in the entrance hall of the Sudan National Museum opposite of the ticket desk. The chapel from the south wall was moved to the British Museum in 1905 where it is registered with the museum number EA719.

⁶⁸ A similar quote is delivered by Budge in Vol. II of *The Egyptian Sûdân: Its History and Monuments*: «to excavate other sites, and to remove their antiquities to a place of safety in Khartûm» (Budge 1907/II: 501).

⁶⁹ For Musawwarat see Scott-Moncrieff 1907: 39-46. For Buhen see Scott-Moncrieff 1908: 192-203.

assisted Budge in his fourth mission and Scott-Moncrieff in his investigations in Musawwarat and Buhen (cf. Budge 1907/I: 329/583; Crowfoot 1954: 55).

In 1905, the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago sponsored an Expedition to Egypt and the Sudan under the direction of the American Egyptologist, archaeologist, and historian James Henry Breasted (1865-1935)⁷⁰. The reconnaissance survey was conducted in two seasons (1905-06 and 1906-07) and aimed at surveying all the monuments of Nubia (Breasted 1908b: 1). Breasted's Nubian expedition resulted in a two-volumes report of the work of the Egyptian Expedition (Breasted 1906b and 1908a) and in a collection of 1055 photographs of Lower Nubia and the Sudan⁷¹.

Two years later, in 1907, then Chief Inspector of the Department of Antiquities of Upper Egypt, Arthur Edward Pearse Brome Weigall (1880-1934) published a book on the condition of the monuments between the First Cataract and the Sudanese Frontier, intended as «a preliminary description of monuments and ancient remains which require to be thoroughly studied at a later date» (Weigall 1907: Preface)⁷².

2.2.2 Surveys of Nubia

The more thorough study of monuments and ancient remains suggested by Weigall was eventually conducted as from 1907, when a first Archaeological Survey of Nubia (1907-1911) was initiated by the raising of the original Aswan Dam (built 1898-1902, and first enlarged 1908-1910). The survey was directed in the first season by George Andrew Reisner and in the three subsequent seasons by the British Egyptologist Cecil Mallaby Firth (1878 – 1931). It was financed by the Egyptian Survey Department and covered 95 miles of the Nile Valley between Shellal (above the First Cataract) and Wadi es-Sebua (150km south of Aswan). 151 cemeteries and 8239 individual graves were investigated; thereof 1625 graves in a

⁷⁰ James H. Breasted was the founder of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. He was the first American to earn a PhD in Egyptology, which he completed in 1894 at the University of Berlin under the German Philologist Adolf Erman (1854-1937).

⁷¹ For the photograph catalogue of the 1905-1907 Breasted Expeditions to Egypt and the Sudan by sites see: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/collections/photographic-archives/breasted-expeditions/photograph-catalogs-sites> [25.08.2018].

⁷² Arthur E. P. Weigall, 1907: *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia* [...].

single Christian cemetery near Shellal (Adams 1977: 72). The definitive publications of the survey were the six volumes of Reports of the *Archaeological Survey of Nubia* (A.S.N.); for 1907-08 by George A. Reisner and for 1908-09, 1909-10, and 1910-11 by Cecil M. Firth.

A Second Archaeological Survey (1929-1934) – undertaken in response to a further enlargement of the Aswan Dam in 1932 – was directed by Egyptologist Walter Bryan Emery (1902-1971)⁷³ who was assisted by archaeologist Archibald Laurence Patrick Kirwan (1907-1997)⁷⁴. This survey was financed by the *Service des Antiquités d’Egypte*. It extended the survey coverage as far south as the Egyptian-Sudanese border. The survey also concentrated on cemeteries and the methods used were similar to those of the first survey. The survey resulted in the 1935 publication *The Excavations and Survey Between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan* by Walter B. Emery and Laurence P. Kirwan. Concurrently with the Second Archaeological Survey, the Italian scholar Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881-1954) – at his own suggestion and at his own expenses – undertook a survey and elaborated an inventory of Christian antiquities over the whole region of the Upper Nile from Aswan to Khartoum (Adams 1996)⁷⁵. William Y. Adams recalls, that the archaeological surveys of Lower Nubia were the world's first organized salvage campaigns (Adams 1977: 2) and points to the central paradox of archaeological practice, after which discovery involves destruction [and investigation requires intrusion]:

«Archaeologically, [...] Lower Nubia is undoubtedly the best-known region in Africa, [...]. This state of affairs has come about, paradoxically, through its successive destruction as a result of the dams built at Aswan in the present century. The first Aswan Dam, built between 1902 and 1910, submerged about 160 km. of the Nile Valley, between Aswan and Wadi es-Sebua. [...]. This was the first of the great salvage programmes which have become the dominant

⁷³ As a boy, Walter Bryan Emery was able to hear the public lectures of Professor John Garstang on his discoveries in Egypt, the Sudan and the Near East. Studies in Egyptology at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Liverpool; Field Director of Sir Robert Mond's excavations at Thebes for the University of Liverpool; Director of the Mond Expedition at Nubia, Luxor and Thebes; Field Director and Director of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia; service as Diplomat during World War II; Chair of Egyptology at University College London in 1951-1970 (Smith 1971).

⁷⁴ Besides being an archaeologist, Kirwan was also a geographer, although not by training. He was named the director and secretary of the Royal Geographical Society in 1945, knighted in 1972, and continued as the director and secretary of the Society until 1975.

⁷⁵ For the results of his survey see Monneret de Villard's 1935-1937 publication in four volumes *La Nubia medioevale*. For his subsequent archival researches on the history of Roman and Christian Nubian see Monneret de Villard 1938 and 1941.

feature of archaeology in the middle of the 20th Century, and in many ways it set the pattern for those which followed.'» (Adams 1967: 2).

Archaeologist Krzysztof Grzymski, points to the fact that the regional scale fieldwork conducted in Nubia in the context of salvage projects «represent the very foundation of Nubiology», since:

«[t]he very concept of recording and/or salvaging ancient heritage, now taken for granted all over the world, was born in Nubia with credit usually given to Reisner, although the actual idea was conceived by the Government of Egypt and the Egyptian Antiquities Service (Weigall, 1907)» (Grzymski 2004: 18, his parenthesis).

Even though the foundations of Nubiology might well have been laid by Reisner – referred by William Y. Adams as «Father of Nubiology» (Adams 1977, dedication) – Nubiology, as a scientific discipline, evolved only in the wake of the work of the UNESCO International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia ('Nubian Campaign', 1960-1980; cp Török 1972: 20 and Adams 1992: 26-27); a campaign which, according to Török (1995: 13), promoted «the "liberation" of Middle Nile studies from Egyptology».

2.2.3 Pioneering Expeditions

The archaeological surveys of Nubia were followed by a series of major archaeological expeditions⁷⁶. Mention should be made of the excavations under the direction of British archaeologists David Randall-MacIver (1873-1945) and Charles Leonard Wooley (1880-1960) at the Meroitice cemeteries of Shabul and Karanog and at the townsite of Karanog⁷⁷. The excavations conducted from 1907 to 1910 were sponsored by the the American philanthropist Eckley Brinton Coxe Jr. (1872-1916) of Philadelphia and conducted under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania.

⁷⁶ For a chronology of excavations to Nubia 1907-1958, see Adams 1977: Table IV (pages 78-80); for a chronology of expeditions to Nubia, 1959-69, see Adams 1977: Table V (pages 83-86).

⁷⁷ The excavations at Karanog were published in 1901 in a four volumes monograph (Wooley and Randall-MacIver 1910).

In 1908, a certain «Herr Deiber⁷⁸ and M. d'Allemagne of Nancy and the Sorbonne» (Griffith 1922a: 77; cp Griffith 1922b: 115 and Shinnie 1954a: 3) had carried out excavations at Saman from January to April; thus being the first French expedition to work in the Sudan.

From 1910 onwards, Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1862-1934)⁷⁹ conducted a series of expeditions under the title Oxford University Excavations in Nubia to explore ancient sites in the northern Sudan. Work was carried out between 1910 and 1913, and again from 1929 to 1931 at sites such as Faras in Lower Nubia, as well as Kawa and Sanam in Upper Nubia. After Griffith's death in 1934, Laurence Kirwan directed the Oxford excavations at Firka in Lower Nubia (1934–1935) and Kawa (1935–1936). The results of these consecutive expeditions were published by Griffith from 1921 to 1928 in a series of eight reports under the title "Oxford Excavations in Nubia" in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*⁸⁰.

In a contribution to *KUSH*, William Y. Adams in 2008 presented a top twenty list of expeditions conducted so far in Nubia. The above-mentioned expeditions by Reisner/Firth, Randall-McIver/Wooley, and by Griffith lead the list – and Adams grants the to Reisner the title of «the father of Nubian archaeology in general»; to Randall-McIver/Wooley the title of «the fathers of Meroitic archaeology»; and to Griffith the title of «the father of Christian Nubian archaeology» (Adams 2008: 6).

At the suggestion of his mentor and friend, Oxford Assyrologist Archibald Henry Sayce (1845 -1933)⁸¹, John Garstang (1876-1956)⁸² – Professor of Methods and Practice of Archaeology at Liverpool University – transferred his activities from Egypt to the Sudan and started in winter 1909-1910 excavations on the site of the

⁷⁸ Father Albert Deiber, author of *Clément d'Alexandrie et l'Égypte*, published in 1904 in Cairo

⁷⁹ Francis L. Griffith was the first Professor of Egyptology at Oxford (1924 – 1932) and founder of the eponymous Griffith Institute.

⁸⁰ Francis L. Griffith 1921-1928: "Oxford Excavations in Nubia"; Vols. VIII to XV. In: *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*.

⁸¹ Sayce [as well as Egyptologist Frederick William Green (1869-1949)] had accompanied architect Somers Clarke (1841–1926) on an exploratory mission to Sudan in early 1909. For the results of the mission see Clarke 1912.

⁸² John Berges Eustace Garstang initially studied mathematics at Oxford University but then turned his attention to Archaeology. He was Professor of Methods and Practice of Archaeology at Liverpool University (1907-1941), founder of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology (1904), first director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1919 – 1926), founder of the Antiquities Department of the British Government in Palestine (1920-1926) and founder and first director of the British Institute at Ankara; formerly British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (1947).

City of Meroe; a site rediscovered in 1772 by the Scottish traveller and explorer James Bruce (1730-1794) on a trip down the Nile River, from Ethiopia (Garstang, Sayce and Griffith 1911: 5).

William Y. Adams critically remarks that the campaign directed by Garstang «produced little for posterity but a series of brief interim reports which appeared at the end of each season» (Adams 1977: 255-56)⁸³. One of the most striking artefacts which Garstang found in Meroe is a well-preserved bronze statue head from an over-life-sized statue of Emperor Augustus, buried symbolically below the entrance of a small temple (M 292) in the Royal City⁸⁴. Today, Garstang is particularly noted for his early use of photography as a method of recording archaeological excavations, artefacts and surveys⁸⁵.

An early archaeological expedition outside the Nile Valley is the archaeological exploration of the South Lybian desert conducted in 1927 by Douglas Newbold and William Boyd (Bill) Kennedy Shaw [Newbold and Shaw 1928], «who ranged far and wide outside the Nile Valley recording the presence of abundant remains of prehistoric occupation in what is now barren desert» (Welsby 2004: 12).

Adams' abovementioned top twenty list of expeditions conducted in Nubia also includes the excavations of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, sponsored jointly by Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. From 1913 to 1932, Reisner and his team excavated most of the monumental sites of Nubia including the townsite and the necropolis of Kerma (Reisner 1923), the Egyptian fortresses in the Second Cataract region (Dunham and Janssen 1960-1967), a complex of Kushite temples at Napata (Dunham 1970), and the Kushite royal tombs at Napata and Meroe (Dunham 1950-1963). The excavations conducted by Reisner at Kerma

⁸³ For an account of a first season's excavation see Garstang, Sayce and Griffith 1911. For a comprehensive documentation of Garstang's archaeological activities at Meroe see Török, Hofmann and Nagy 1997.

⁸⁴ The Meroë Head or Head of Augustus – excavated by Garstang in December 1910 - was acquired by the British Museum in 1911. It is on free display at the museum and also presented in the Museum's online collection: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=466397&partId=1 [25.08.2018].

⁸⁵ The photographic archive of John Garstang's excavations in Nubia is held in the Garstang Museum of Archaeology Archives, University of Liverpool under the reference GB 3431 JG/K. An overview of the collection is available online: <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/f77f20df-9e11-358f-a12c-07c06ac5dcbb?component=add16bd4-7e04-311b-8f5a-5e3d8acfdaaa> [25.08.2018].

(1913-1916), as well as the excavations conducted by the Swiss Archaeological Mission at Kerma (1965-present)⁸⁶ – also ranked in Adams' top twenty list – will be presented in more detail in the part dedicated to the Kerma Museum.

The abovementioned pioneering archaeological expeditions have substantially contributed toward creating a broad synthesis of Nubian cultural development and have set the excavation and recording standards for subsequent expeditions to Nubia. These standards were further refined by the expeditions participating in the 'Nubian Campaign', to which a special chapter will be devoted.

2.2.4 Excavations South of Khartoum

At Lord Kitchener's personal invitation, the American-born pharmaceutical magnate Henry Solomon Wellcome (1853-1936)⁸⁷ came to the Sudan in 1900 «as a member of one of the earliest parties of civilian visitors to enter the country after the overthrow of the Khalifa Abdullahi by the Anglo-Egyptian forces» (Addison 1949/I: 1). Wellcome helped establish the Tropical Research Laboratories at Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum in 1903⁸⁸ and decided in 1910 – in a time when no other excavation were conducted south of Meroe – to finance and direct an archaeological expedition to Jebel Moya and the surrounding region of the Gezira Plain between the Blue and White Niles in the south-central Sudan. For this purpose, he was granted a special excavation licence, under the terms of which he was authorised to "conduct archaeological excavations at Jebel Moya and elsewhere in the regions of the Blue and White Niles" (Addison 1949/I: 4).

⁸⁶ The excavations of the Swiss Archaeological Mission in the ancient town of Kerma (since 1979) and in the eastern necropolis (since 1979) were set up by Charles Bonnet under the auspices of the University of Geneva. Since 2002, the mission has been under the directorship of Professor Matthieu Honegger of Neuchâtel University. It now encompasses the whole Kerma region south of the third Nile cataract and covers a research period of 10'000 years.

⁸⁷ Henry S. Wellcome was born in a pioneer town in the American Midwest; he settled to England in 1880 where he became a naturalized British subject in 1910 and was knighted by King George V in 1932. Wellcome was the co-founding partner of the pharmaceutical firm Burroughs Wellcome & Co., which became Glaxo Wellcome in 1995 and GlaxoSmithKline in 2000. Wellcome's death in 1936 brought about the birth of the Wellcome Trust, which is a global charitable foundation dedicated to achieving extraordinary improvements in health. For Henry Wellcome's association with the Sudan Robert Kirk 1956: "Sir Henry Wellcome and the Sudan".

⁸⁸ For an account of the history of the Wellcome Laboratories in Khartoum see A.A. Abdel-Hameed 1997: "Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories in Khartoum (1903–1934): An Experiment in Development".

Wellcome aimed at answering to the eternal enigma of man's beginning – and the profusion of stone implements in Jebel Moya, according to Robert Kirk (1956: 84-85), encouraged his belief, which he never entirely abandoned, «that he had found there the relics of a prehistoric white race» (Kirk 1956: 84-85).

The excavations on the sites of Jebel Moya, Abu Geili, Jebel Saqadi and Dar el-Mek were carried out during four seasons from 1910 to 1914. They halted by the onset of World War I and were never wholly completed despite Wellcome's hope to start them up again⁸⁹. The camp at Jebel Moya was in fact kept open and maintained every year until 1938 by Wellcome's camp leader Major J. S. Uribe⁹⁰. The excavations were eventually published by Frank Addison (1885-1958; Chief Inspector of Schools and Acting Conservator of Antiquities 1929-1931) in a three-volumes monograph⁹¹. Henry Wellcome is credited for the invention of box-kite photography and it is claimed by the British archaeologist Osbert G. S. Crawford (1886-1957)⁹² – who worked for Wellcome during the final Jebel Moya season in 1914 – that the Jebel Moya site «was the first time that air-photography had been used in the service of archaeology» (Crawford 1955: 102).

To the present day, the knowledge of the archaeology of the Sudan is almost totally confined to the northern third of the country (Welsby 2004: 12)⁹³. Except for the Wellcome enterprise early in this century archaeological excavations were not carried out in southern Sudan until the late 1970s/early 1980s (Kleppe 1986b: 120; cp. Mack and Robertshaw 1982). The American historian Douglas Hamilton Johnson (1981: 33) laconically noticed that «the history of the Southern Sudan has

⁸⁹ Henry Wellcome was also the chief supporter of the Wellcome-Colt / Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East (1932-1938) which excavated in Palestine at Tell ed-Duweir, presumably the site of the Biblical city of Lachish.

⁹⁰ Julius Sergio Uribe, 1882-1974.

⁹¹ Frank Addison, Osbert G.S. Crawford et al. 1949, 1949 and 1951: *The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan*. For the study of the human remains see Ramkrishna Mukherjee et al. 1955: *Ancient Inhabitants of Jebel Moya (Sudan)*. For re-interpretations and re-investigations of Henry Wellcome's 1911-14 excavations at Jebel Moya see Addison 1956, Gerharz 1994 and Brass 2016.

⁹² Osbert Guy Stanhope Crawford is himself best known for his pioneering work with aerial photographs in archaeology and as the founder of *ANTIQUITY – A Quarterly Review of Archaeology* (now: *A review of World Archaeology*). Crawford founded the journal in 1927 and was its editor for thirty years from 1927 to 1957. For a biographical approach on Crawford see Kitty Hauser's 2008 study *Bloody Old Britain: O.G.S. Crawford and the Archaeology of Modern Life*; for his autobiography *Said and Done* see Crawford 1955.

⁹³ Similarly, until very recently, also historians, according to Yousif M. Elamin (1999: 2), «concentrated their efforts on studying the culture history of the riverine regions of the central and northern Sudan» and thus promoted a northerncentric perspective of the history of the country.

suffered for some time from the assumption that it does not exist». In this tradition, so Johnson, it was assumed, that if the South had a past, it was not worth or not possible to know it. Others did not even believe that the South had a past. Anthony J. Arkell⁹⁴ for instance claimed that before 1821 (the year of the Egyptian conquest of the Sudan) the southern Sudan had no history. In his comprehensive history of the Sudan, Arkell writes:

«But we must admit at the start that at present all that part of our area south of parallel 10° N., i.e. what is known as the Southern Sudan to-day, has no history before A.D. 1821, although a study of the archaeology and tribal traditions of the area, particularly the Azande in the south-west, the Shilluk and Dinka in the centre, and Beni Shangul and Kaffa in the south-east, will no doubt render it possible one day to reconstruct its past to some extent» (Arkell 1935: 2)⁹⁵.

Arkell's assertion must be seen against the backdrop of his own time. The Canadian anthropologist and archaeologist Bruce Trigger, in his article on the paradigms in Sudan archaeology, pointed out that Arkell was very attached to the Sudan and its people and that he had stressed the importance of archaeology «for creating a national history to which the Sudanese people could relate». But Arkell, according to Trigger, was also biased by a colonial perspective according to which the Sudanese people were unable to create or maintain cultures (Trigger 1994: 334)⁹⁶. Trigger thus concludes:

«Archaeologists who thought of themselves as friends of the Sudan and its peoples and who believed that they were using archaeology to serve these peoples' interests adhered to its tenets [the tenets of a paradigm that both reflected and justified a colonial policy] no less than did those who were indifferent or hostile to the Sudanese» (Trigger 1994: 335).

⁹⁴ Anthony John Arkell (1898-1980). 1921-1924 Assistant District Commissioner for the Province of Darfur; 1926-1929 District Commissioner at Kosti and Sennar; 1932-1937 Acting Governor of the province of Darfur; 1939-1948 Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology; 1948-1953: Lecturer in Egyptian Archaeology at University College London; 1953-1963 Honorary Curator of the Petrie Collection; 1960 ordained into the Holy Orders; Minister at Great Missenden and Vicar of Cuddington with Dinton in Buckinghamshire.

⁹⁵ Twenty years later, Arkell noted with more caution, that «[n]othing is known of the archaeology of the Southern Sudan south of Bahr el Arab and Jebel Ahmed Agha» (Arkell 1955b: 72). Jebel Ahmed Agha lies at latitude 11° N; the Bahr el-Arab flows west to east, around the latitude-line of 10° N.

⁹⁶ William Y. Adams in contrast, in his 1981 typology of paradigms in Sudan archaeology ("Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology"), describes Arkell as the «founding genius» of the 'post-colonial paradigm'; an era of increased accountability toward the Sudan and appreciation of local cultures for their own sake. Adams (1981: 21).

Arkell's position respective to the lack of history south of parallel 10° N. was soon challenged by Osbert G.S. Crawford, a geographer-turned-archaeologist with field experience at Jebel Moya

«On the banks of the White Nile, [...] some 20 miles south of Jebelein, are many ancient mounds called 'debbas'. [...]. Here is a magnificent opportunity! These mounds represent the accumulation of centuries of occupation-debris. A mound of such debris that is 40 feet thick must surely have begun to be formed before the Christian era» (Crawford 1948: 9-10).

Crawford even presented some concrete suggestions for sites where excavations should be carried out. Among those suggested, «merely from the map» (Crawford 1948: 19), is the *Debbat el Eheima*, an habitation mound immediately opposite of Er Renk, eventually excavated by a joint mission from the Universities of Khartoum and Bergen and from the Sudan Antiquities Service under the direction of Else Johansen Kleppe in 1977 and in 1981-1982⁹⁷. With the dating around 1600 B.C (Gauthier and Ven Neer 1997: 51) the age of the settlement roughly corresponds with the estimation made by Crawford in 1948 (10), which was 2000 B.C. «for such a mound».

The described research focus on the Nile Valley must be understood against the history of archaeological exploration in the Sudan. Since most of the early archaeologists working in the Sudan were trained as Egyptologists, they were, according to Daniel Habtemichael (2007: 225), «more inclined to explain the cultural developments in Sudan in terms of Egyptocentrism and Egyptian influence rather than local dynamism». Jean-Gabriel Leturcq confirms this view when stating that «[d]uring the British colonial occupation, archaeological data had been used to confirm the historical power of Egypt over Nubia» (Leturcq 2009: 313).

⁹⁷ For an overview of Kleppe's research programme on the *Debbas* of the former Upper Nile Province see Kleppe 1979. For general information on the *Debbas* on the White Nile see Kleppe 1982. For approaches to the Prehistory of the Sudan made before 1950 see Kleppe 1986b. For an outline on the the prehistoric settlement at *Debbat El Eheima* see Kleppe 1986a. For general considerations on the protection and conservation of the cultural heritage of South Sudan, see Hassan Hussein Idris 2007. For a reflection on the problems of archaeology in the Sudan South of Khartoum, see Khidir Adam Eisa 1992. For interpretations of the culture history of the southern Sudan see Mack and Robertshaw, 1982.

But the geographical focus of archaeological research on the Nile Valley must also be understood against the background of British 'Southern Policy'⁹⁸. In 1902, the Anglo-Egyptian administration decided to treat the six Northern and three Southern provinces as separate problems (Sarkesian 1973: 3). In seeing themselves as 'civilizing agents' (Akol Ruay 1994: 35), the Condominium rulers, after the defeat of the Mahdi in 1898, attempted to extend the *Pax Britannica* over the Southern territories. Here, the Nuer were the most difficult tribe to pacify and it was not until the early 1930s that they were eventually submitted (Mohamed Omer Beshir 1968: 19). 'Pacification', the drive against domestic slavery, as well as 'care and maintenance' became the basis for the British policy in these initial years (Sarkesian: 1973: 3) and resulted in a policy «of maintaining the distinction between the Northern and Southern regions of the Sudan» (Wai 1980: 377). With the enactment of the 'Passport and Permits Ordinance' in 1922, southern Sudan became a closed district «offlimits to all non-African Sudanese» (Wai 1980: 377) until the 'Southern Policy' was abandoned in 1946. The short decade until the outbreak of the first (1955-1971) and the brief period of peace before the second Sudanese civil war (1983-2005) were not sufficient to foster, promote and conduct broader archaeological research in the South. The nearly total absence of archaeological data from southern Sudan must be seen against this background.

In conclusion, it can thus be noted that the traditional research focus on Nubia as the presumed core region in the cultural history of the Sudan still prevails today. Although attempts were occasionally made to systematically record the archaeology of other parts of the country, these attempts remained rather marginal⁹⁹, and there is little engagement by archaeologists working in the Middle Nile Region with broader African archaeology. But the interest of "African Archaeologists" in Nubian/Sudanese archaeology is likewise limited and often the (Egyptian and Sudanese) Nile Valley is perceived as somehow peripheral to the "real" Africa,

⁹⁸ From 1930 to 1946 the 'Southern Policy' was theoretically, the primary guide for government activity in the South. The outlines of the policy were codified in the corresponding memorandums of 1929, 1930 and 1946 (cp. Sconyers 1978).

⁹⁹ For a short overview of the archaeological exploration of peripheral areas see Edwards 2004a: 6. Edward's overview can be supplemented by the work of the archaeological Mission of Gism el-Arba (University of Lille III) under the direction of Brigitte Gratien in Western Kordofan (Gratien 2013). For an overview of research themes in the archaeology and cultural heritage of southern Sudan see Edwards 2005; for a note on the protection and conservation of the cultural heritage of southern Sudan Hassan Hussein Idris Ahmed 2005.

rather than an integral part of it (cp. Morkot 2005). It is thus laudable that the Society of Africanist Archaeologists at its 24th biannual meeting under the theme "Building Bridges to the African Past" has devoted a session to ancient "Greater Egypt" (encompassing «all of the country of Egypt today plus the Nile south to Khartoum, areas east of the Nile to the Red Sea and west of the Nile to Jebel Uweinat and Wadi Howar, the Sinai, and portions of Israel») and its relation to its neighbours, thereby focusing on «the exchange of peoples, materials and ideas across the shifting frontiers»¹⁰⁰.

Bruce Trigger pointed to the fact that «Sudanese history cannot be understood without substantial archaeological evidence of what is happening in areas of the Sudan that lie outside the Nile Valley» (Trigger 1994: 337). This view is now shared by many archaeologists and scholars. Rachel Jane Dann for instance criticizes the disengagement of Nubian Archaeology from broader theoretical and methodological debates:

«Nubian archaeology has remained largely disengaged from the theoretical and methodological debates that have gained currency within the wider discipline. The development of conceptual frameworks with which to approach the Sudanese past, therefore, has been limited. Furthermore, this is compounded by the fact that the archaeology of the Sudan is a relatively untapped resource within the wider intellectual and pedagogic discipline of archaeology. As such, Nubia is often known only to students, for example as a colony of Egypt, rather than as a country with its own dynamic heritage and cultural history» (Dann 2009: 81-82).

David Edwards agrees that the knowledge of the archaeology of the Sudan is «very variable, and in many areas still non-existent». In the same time, he is confident, that it will soon be possible to assemble «a picture of a larger whole» which comprises these disparate regions (Edwards 2004a: 6-7)¹⁰¹. Edwards (2004: x) thus believes to see a new 'Sudanese' archaeology emerge; an archaeology whose

¹⁰⁰ Quotations from the detailed program of the 24th Biannual meeting: Building Bridges to the African Past of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists: <http://www.safa2018conference.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/WelcomePlenaryPanels.pdf> [20.01.2019].

¹⁰¹ The two most frequently cited examples for archaeological research outside the Nile Valley are the projects initiated by Rudolph Kuper in the Wadi Howar in 1980 (cp. Kuper 1986) and by Brigitte Gratién in Western Kordofan in 2002 (cp. Gratién 2013). In both cases, the problem arises, that cultural connections with the Nile Valley are difficult to identify. This in turn contributes again to the isolation of these research orientations from the dominant research traditions in the Middle Nile Valley.

potential has barely begun to register within the wider discipline. Archaeologist Michael Brass in a 2018 Call for Papers for *Azania*¹⁰² noted in this context:

«14 years on from David Edwards stating that a “new ‘Sudanese’ archaeology is struggling to emerge [as] it has traditionally tended to be quite introspective and isolated from archaeologies elsewhere, not least from other fields of African archaeology”, the situation has marginally improved but serious deficiencies remain. As before, there has been little engagement by archaeologists working in the Middle Nile Valley with broader African archaeology, with those few doing so the exception rather than the rule».

The special issue of *Azania* on the theme 'Sudan and Beyond', slated to come out March 2020, aims at evaluating the potential contribution of Sudan to African archaeology and to diminishing the previous isolation of the archaeology of Sudan from the larger field of African archaeology.

2.2.5 Post-World War II Excavations

Archaeological Excavations in the Sudan halted by the onset of World War II and restarted only in 1947 when in a joint undertaking the Egypt Exploration Society and the Sudan Antiquities Service resumed excavations in Amara West – a Pharaonic site located south of the Third Cataract and first excavated in 1937-1939 – in 1947¹⁰³. In 1953-1954, a French team under the direction of the French Egyptologist Jean Vercoutter (1911-2000)¹⁰⁴ started excavations at the New Kingdom site of Kor (Buhen South) and in 1954 on Sai Island¹⁰⁵. In 1957 the British Egyptologist Walter Bryan Emery started investigation of the ancient Egyptian fortress of Buhen (1957-1963; previously partially explored by Randall-Maciver and Woolley for the

¹⁰² The journal *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* was founded in 1966 with the aim in publishing papers on the archaeology and precolonial history of Eastern Africa. The journal now covers all aspects of African archaeology, regardless of temporal or spatial boundaries. For the website of the journal see: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/raza20/current> [20.01.2019]. For Michael Brass' Call for Papers see: <https://nubianstudiessociety.wordpress.com/tag/sudan-beyond-nubia/> [20.01.2019].

¹⁰³ The 1937-1939 and 1947-1948 excavations were directed by Herbert Walter Fairman and the last two seasons (1948-1949 and 1949-1950) by Peter Lewis Shinnie. For a comprehensive presentation of the work carried out by the Egypt Exploration Society at the site see Patricia Spencer 1997, 2002 and 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Jean Vercoutter studied history and geography at Sorbonne University and Egyptology at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Diploma 1939). Docteur ès lettres from the Sorbonne in 1953; Professor of Egyptology in Lille (France), 1960-1976.

¹⁰⁵ For the excavations at Kor, see Vercoutter 1955, 4-19; for the excavations at Sai, see Vercoutter 1958b, 144-169.

University of Pennsylvania Expedition in 1909-1910) and of the fortress of Qasr Ibrim (1961), before the reservoir created by the construction of the High Dam at Aswan would submerge the remains forever. Mention should also be made of the excavations of the University of Pisa under the direction of Michela Schiff Giorgini (1923-1978) at Soleb (1957-1977) and at Sedeinga (1963-1970)¹⁰⁶.

The International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia of the 1960s, shortened 'Nubian Campaign', to which a separate chapter is dedicated, called for archaeologists and anthropologists from all over the world to engage in the safeguarding of the monuments of Nubia. Nineteen foreign archaeological missions followed the call and participated along with teams from the Sudan Antiquities Service in the salvage operations under the auspices of UNESCO¹⁰⁷. Following the inundation of Lower Nubia by the waters of the High Dam at Aswan, several of the foreign missions took up concessions in Upper Nubia or in other parts of the Sudan. William Y. Adams wrote in this context:

«Through their participation in the salvage campaign many archaeologists got their first look at the intriguing lands to the south of the Second Cataract; several of them have now taken up concessions in other parts of the Sudan. The Meroitic cities of Musawwarat and Meroe, the old medieval capital of Dongola, the temples of Soleb and Seddenga and the great fortress of Sai have all been under excavation in the years since the High Dam Campaign, and other expeditions are in prospect for Upper Nubia» (Adams 1977: 88).

The excavations at the Meroitic site of Musawwarat es-Sufra¹⁰⁸, mentioned by Adams, started in 1960 under the direction of the German Egyptologist and Linguist

¹⁰⁶ Both sites were later further explored by French teams and are now within French concessions. For the discovery, the archaeological exploration and a bibliography of the two sites see: Francigny, David and de Voogt 2014.

¹⁰⁷ Sudan became a member of UNESCO in November 1956. As a specialized agency of the United Nations, UNESCO (founded in 1945) aims at contributing «to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms (...), by the Charter of the United Nations» (Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Art. 1, § 1. The convention was signed on November 16, 1945 and came into force on November 4, 1946 after ratification by twenty countries). For the rise of heritage within UNESCO see Brumann and Meskell 2015. For an assessment of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention at its fortieth anniversary see Meskell 2013.

¹⁰⁸ The valley of Musawwarat is situated in the Keraba ca. 160km north of Khartoum and ca. 35km east of the river Nile. The excavations at Musawwarat es-Sufra were successively directed by Fritz Hintze (1960-1968); Fritz Hintze and Karl-Heinz Priese (1969-1970); Steffen Wenig (1995-2004), Claudia Näser (2005-2015); by Cornelia Kleinitz und Alexandra Verbovsek (2016-present). The Archaeological Mission to Musawwarat is sponsored by Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project.

Fritz Hintze (1915-1993)¹⁰⁹ from Humboldt University in Berlin, who had previously directed the Butana Expedition of the Institute for Egyptology of the Humboldt University of Berlin (1957-1958)¹¹⁰. The post World War II excavations at Meroe (1965-1972) – endeavoured to fill the gaps left by the previous excavators – were conducted by a joint expedition of the Universities of Khartoum and Calgary under the direction of Peter L. Shinnie (Commissioner for Archaeology, 1948-1955)¹¹¹. The excavations of the old medieval capital of Dongola, mentioned by Adams, are the Polish excavations at Old Dongola¹¹², the capital of the Christian Kingdom of Makouria (7th - 14th century), which started in 1964 under the direction of Kazimierz Michałowski (1901-1981)¹¹³. The dynamic of the 'Nubian Campaign' set, according Ali Osman Mohammed Salih (1981: 59), the stage for Sudan archaeology «to venture into new areas of fieldwork, research, and exhibition» whereat «[t]his was going to be based on three major footholds: the Sudan Antiquities Service, the Department of Archaeology, University of Khartoum, and the Foreign Missions». The 'Nubian Campaign' also prepared the grounds for interdisciplinary research and international collaboration.

¹⁰⁹ Fritz Hinze studied Egyptology, Semantics and Ethnology (1933 to 1940) at the University of Berlin, received his doctorate in 1944 and obtained in 1947 his habilitation at Humboldt-Universität, where he was appointed lecturer in the same year and professor in 1951. In 1957 he founded the Institute for Egyptology, which was renamed the Institute for Sudan Archaeology and Egyptology in 1968. In 1980 he became Emeritus Professor.

¹¹⁰ Fritz Hintze had also intended to excavate the Meroitic site of Naqa for which in 1972 he had already obtained an excavation licence. But for financial reasons, the excavations were cancelled by the government of the former German Democratic Republic before they started. The excavations at Naga eventually started in 1995 (State Museums Berlin) and have continued since 2013 under the auspices of the State Museum of Egyptian Art, Munich and with the support of Qatar Sudan Archaeological Project. With Meroe and Mussawarat, Naqa is known as the Island of Meroe, listed as UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2011.

¹¹¹ For the Meroe excavations 1965-1972, see Shinnie and Bradley: 1980; for the Meroe excavations 1973-1984, see Shinnie and Anderson: 2004.

¹¹² The excavations at Old Dongola uncovered, among other buildings, a fortified town area, palaces, 15 churches and a monastery with more than a hundred wall paintings. The site of Old Dongola is listed on the World Heritage Tentative List (1994). The current works of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology at Old Dongola are sponsored by Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project.

¹¹³ Kazimierz Michałowski studied classical archaeology and art history at the universities of Lviv, Berlin and Heidelberg and at the French School at Athens. He was appointed Professor of Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Warsaw in 1933 and was also Deputy Director of the Warsaw National Museum (1945 to 1981). In 1959, Michałowski founded a Research Station of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo (now Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, PCMA Cairo). Michałowski led several excavations on Egyptian soil and, in the context of the 'Nubian Campaign', the excavations at Faras (1961 to 1964).

2.2.6 Current Research

In the excavation season 2018-2019, 62 national and foreign missions from 16 countries were conducting archaeological research in the Sudan¹¹⁴. Their activities were largely concentrated on the Nile Valley and no mission was working south of parallel 15° N. 42 missions hailing from 25 institutions from a dozen countries operated under the umbrella of the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project; a five-to-seven year project of 135 million US Dollars was initiated in 2012 by the states of Qatar and Sudan «with the aim to support the exploration of Sudan's rich ancient heritage, to contribute to its preservation for the future and to promote domestic and international tourism to sites of cultural interest» (QSAP, 2018)¹¹⁵. The Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project is modelled on a similar project planned but then abandoned by the Qatar Museum Authority in Yemen¹¹⁶. The QSAP aims, according to its website, at a «transformative paradigm shift in cultural resource management in Sudanese Nubia in the tradition of UNESCO's 1960-80 International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, but this time not with a focus on the rescue of Sudan's heritage in an emergency situation but as a tool for consolidating Sudan's heritage and lift it onto a modern level» (QSAP, 2018). Through its engagement with numerous missions working there, QSAP is also engaged with two Sudanese sites inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List: the "Archaeological Sites of the Island of Meroe" and "Gebel Barkal and the Sites of the Napatan Region"¹¹⁷. Since 2014, a particular focus is given by the Qatari Mission for the Pyramids of Sudan (QMPS), to the stabilization of some of the over 250 Sudanese pyramids¹¹⁸. The QSAP is, at present by far the most important platform for the promotion of archaeology and cultural heritage in the Sudan. However, the scope of the QSAP is limited to the

¹¹⁴ Email communication from NCAM Director of Fieldwork El-Hassan Ahmed Mohamed, January 13, 2019. In the early 1980s, according to Ali Osman Mohammed Salih (1981: 59-61), about twenty foreign expeditions from ten nations and five Sudanese teams carried out excavations in the Sudan.

¹¹⁵ The Qatar Sudan Archaeological Project (QSAP) is implemented by the 'Nubian Archaeological Development Organization (NADO)', registered in the Sudan as a non-governmental organisation. The project is implemented in close cooperation with the Sudanese National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) and its Qatari counterpart, the Qatar Museums Authority. For background information on the QSAP visit the projects website: www.qsap.org.qa [20.01.2019].

¹¹⁶ The Qatar International Archaeological Project in Yemen was announced in a workshop at Doha in 2007. The project, which aimed at the preservation of archaeological sites in Yemen, was supposed to run in a first phase until 2012. The reasons for the failure of the project are unclear.

¹¹⁷ For detailed information on Sudan's World Heritage sites see: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1336> and <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1073> [20.01.2019].

¹¹⁸ The QMPS is embedded in the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project (QSAP) and closely cooperates with the Sudanese National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) and the German Archaeological Institute (DAI).

archaeology of the Middle Nile Region and the opportunity to extend the research focus beyond the Nile Valley is once again missed.

It should be noted, that several foreign archaeological missions have a long-term and partially continuous presence in the Sudan (French Mission at Sai since 1954; German Mission at Musawwarat es-Sufra since 1964; Polish Mission at Old Dongola since 1964; Italian Mission at Gebel Barkal since 1973; Swiss Mission at Kerma since 1977; French Mission at Sedeinga since 1978) and that the Sudan Antiquities Service always encouraged foreign missions to work in the Sudan and offers them all possible help and assistance.

2.3 The Making of an Archaeological Discipline

Elaborating on the different components to the making of archaeology, Bjørnar Olsen, Michael Shanks, Timothy Webmoor and Christopher Witmore in an essay on the history of archaeology ("The Making of Archaeology", 2012: 36-57) propose a different perspective to the «acumen of the "big men"¹¹⁹ or the "social" context»¹²⁰; a perspective which draws attention «to the many things involved in the making and "ontologizing" of the archaeological discipline» (2012: 37). This entails, according to the authors the strive to produce «richer alternative accounts of how the discipline of things came into being, and how it has been stabilized into the ecology of practices¹²¹ (scientific and grounded) now recognized worldwide as archaeology». Archaeology, according to the authors came into being, «when it became "visible" as a distinct "ecology of practices"» (Olsen et- al. 2012: 38), within a new political economy of knowledge. The following section aims at investigating the "ecology of practices" – the environment of processes under which archaeological knowledge was produced in the Sudan.

¹¹⁹ The authors refer to the presentation of the birth of archaeology and its subsequent development «as primary the product of gifted individuals; of great minds struggling for truth and order» (Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor and Witmore 2012: 36).

¹²⁰ Here, the authors refer to the positioning of social and political macro processes «as the primary movers» in the development of archaeology (Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor and Witmore 2012: 37)

¹²¹ An 'ecology' is a self-sustaining, self-regulating system. The notion of the 'ecology of practices' was proposed by Isabelle Stengers in her 2005 essay "Introductory Notes on an Ecology of Practices". For the usage of the notion by Olsen et. al., see Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor and Witmore 2012: 38. Cp. Witmore and Shanks 2013.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, archaeology as a new discipline of science grew out and away from antiquarianism¹²². Fundamental to this process was the incorporation of principles from biology and geology such as classification and stratigraphic excavation techniques. The emergence of archaeology as a distinct discipline – as a professionalized practice «with accredited specialists, institutional support, defined methodologies, and a coherent knowledge base» (Perry 2014: 6150) – is described by archaeologist Sara Perry as a process

«[...] typically appreciated as a cumulative and iterative exercise, as people came together through shared concerns and then began to articulate distinctive social and behavioral identities (both spoken and unspoken) linked to specific environments (both formal and informal) that ultimately worked to determine and advance future membership in the group» (Perry 2014: 6150).

In the case of the Sudan, the majority of the practitioners concerned with ancient antiquities were employees of the colonial administration who introduced archaeology «as a discipline and as an idea» (Shepherd 2002: 192). Nick Shepherd's following statement on the evolution of archaeology in Africa can thus be used as an explanatory frame for the development of archaeology in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as well:

«Beginning in the 1920s – and in some cases, slightly before – archaeology in Africa increasingly fell into the hands of trained professionals working within institutionalized contexts. They brought a sense of order and systematization to archaeology, founded professional bodies, and established the institutional spaces within which the discipline was to be practiced» (Shepherd 2002: 194).

The improvements introduced by trained professionals in the three fields mentioned by Shepherd (ordering and systematization, foundation of professional bodies and establishment of institutional spaces) will be described with respect to the Sudanese situation in the following three subchapters.

¹²² Antiquarianism is – according to Tim Murray – a «*continuing* body of thought and practice» (Murray 2007a: 14, his emphasis). The definition of *antiquarianism* recently provided by Lothar von Falkenhausen is particularly useful because it emphasizes intertemporal continuity: «Antiquarianism is the systematic preoccupation with the material remains of the past, motivated by an interest in the past as such, and attempting to bridge a rupture in transmission» (von Falkenhausen 2015: 128).

2.3.1 Ordering and Systematization

Although first tentative steps towards the systematization of archaeology as a science took place in Europe during the Enlightenment era in the 17th and 18th centuries, significant efforts of ordering and systemizing archaeology eventually started in Europe in the late 19th century. They entailed the elaboration and application of carefully developed techniques and methods of fieldwork and thus the use of standardized forms for recording archaeological data. In the Sudan, systematic archaeology began according to William Y. Adams in 1907 with George A. Reisner and the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia:

«At that time the challenge of salvage archaeology (i.e. the systematic and non-selective excavation of all sites which are threatened with destruction) was unprecedented. Reisner was obliged to develop his methodology as he went along; some of his procedures, such as the use of standard forms for data recording, have since found worldwide acceptance» (Adams 1977: 71).

The few excavations conducted in Nubia prior to 1907¹²³ have in contrast been summarized by Adams (1977: 71) as «either clearing operations designed to reveal hieroglyphic inscriptions, architectural stabilizations, or out-and-out treasure hunts».

Osbert G.S. Crawford who worked with Reisner in 1913 in Egypt in order to learn the principles of systematic excavation (Hauser 2008: 24) confirms the use of standardized forms for the description of objects and tombs by Reisner (Crawford 1955: 92)¹²⁴. Reisner's methodology – which involved «the systematic use of section drawings and stratigraphic records, and the deployment of multidisciplinary teams» (Murray 2007b: 342) – constitutes a development and refinement of the principles of scientific methodology as introduced by the British Egyptologist William M. Flinders Petrie (1853-1942)¹²⁵ in his *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (1904). Reisner had summarized the general principles of his own field methodology in 1908

¹²³ The date 1907 refers to the beginning of the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia (1907-1911) and the related introduction of new, more systematic methods of archaeological fieldwork.

¹²⁴ According to the American archaeologist John H. Rowe (1918-2004), Reisner was even the first archaeologist ever «to use printed forms for archaeological recording» (Rowe 1961: 1380). Reisner is also considered to be the first archaeologist «to successfully use photographic documentation as a standard component of fieldwork» (Thomas 1995: 50).

¹²⁵ William Matthew Flinders Petrie was the first chair of Edwards Professor of Egyptian Archaeology and Philology at University College London, 1892-1933; he was knighted in 1923. He inaugurated the first systematic archaeological work in the Near East and developed pioneering excavation methods such as sequence dating and seriation.

(Reisner 1908: VII-VIII) in five points. In point two he strongly criticises a museum-based and object-driven archaeology and (re-)positions archaeology as a quest for (scientific) knowledge:

«The discovery of beautiful objects is, of course, greatly to be desired; but the search for Museum specimens is an offence against historical and archaeological research which is utterly unworthy of any institution which pretends to be devoted to the advancement of knowledge» (Reisner 1908: VIII).

The changing attitude of archaeologists (and anthropologists) towards archaeological objects (as well as towards archaeological collections and sites) is also reflected in a contemporary statement by Roland Dixon (1875-1934), President of the American Anthropological Association (1913-1914):

«The time is past when our major interest was in the specimen, the collection the site as the thing itself. [...]. We are today concerned with the relations of things, with the whens and the whys and the hows; (...) in attempting to reconstruct the life of the past from its all too scanty remains» (Dixon 1913: 565).

However view of the thousands of objects¹²⁶ registered by Reisner (Kendall 1999: 7) and shipped as the museum's legal half-share of his finds to the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Reisner's statement might appear to be contradictory – and indeed, in an article on "New Acquisitions of the Egyptian Department" in the Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Reisner sought to clarify his position by pointing to the historical record value:

«It might appear from an inspection of the statues and reliefs sent to the Museum of Fine Arts that the search for works of art was the only object of the Egyptian Expedition; and yet, however important these things are from the Museum point of view, they can never be the sole object of an expedition which represents Harvard University as well as the Museum of Fine

¹²⁶ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which incorporated in 1870, houses an extensive collection of more than 60'000 ancient Egyptian and Sudanese artifacts (Gänsicke et al. 2003: 167/168)., most of which were excavated by the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition (a title since shortened to the Harvard-Boston Expedition) from 1905 to 1942 and came to Boston as a division of finds (Bailey 2004: xii; Haynes 1992: 7). The Nubian material was excavated by Reisner and his assistant Dows Dunham between 1906 and 1932. A permanent gallery dedicated to the art and culture of ancient Nubia showcasing a selection of approximately 500 objects opened in May 1992. The Nubia Gallery is accompanied by the catalogue *Nubia: Ancient Kingdoms of Africa*, authored by Joyce L. Haynes.

Arts. They are a partial product of field work aiming also at historical record» (Reisner 1914: 9).

Elsewhere Reisner likewise insisted that the main purpose of his expedition was – first and foremost – to enhance the knowledge of history:

«The main purpose of the expedition has always been historical research. The objects found, although necessary for the continuation of subscriptions, have always been regarded by the expedition as a by-product of historical research» (Reisner 1930: 242).

Osbert G.S. Crawford, who worked with Reisner in Egypt in 1913, in his 1948 article «People Without History» emphasized, that the aim of archaeology consists «in the reconstruction of history *by the establishment of types based upon stratification*» and confirmed that Reisner dug with the aim «to discover not objects but history» (Crawford 1948: 8, his emphasis)¹²⁷.

The American archaeologist and former associate curator of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts Timothy Kendall supports this view by emphasizing that Reisner was not only interested in the exhibitable objects but essentially in the information value inherent the archaeological material:

«Reisner had not only brought back to Boston the exhibitable objects received as the Museum's half-share, but he had also saved and brought back every other find, no matter how seemingly insignificant, for, with typical meticulousness and farsightedness, he recognized that these objects would have a scientific value far into the future and would be a boon to later generations of researchers» (Kendall 1999: 9).

By his example of «responsible field work and imaginative scholarship» (Adams 1981: 18), Reisner had influenced many other scholars and is today considered as «one of the most meticulous excavators of the early twentieth century» (Trigger 2006: 280). But given the paternalistic stance towards local people and the «persistence of 19th century racism and of colonial mentality» (19), Adams, in his typology of paradigms in Sudan archaeology, refers to Reisner as the «outstanding

¹²⁷ Crawford further elaborates on this point and reiterates that the pioneers of modern archaeology including Reisner and Breasted «all dug for knowledge, not loot». Crawford further points to the fact that the work of the leading archaeologist has been overshadowed by the work of treasure hunters «who have come to stand for archaeology in the eyes of the public» (Crawford 1948: 9).

figure» and «mythological father» (18) of what he calls the "enlightened colonial paradigm" in Sudan archaeology»¹²⁸.

In terms of theory, the beginnings of archaeology in the Sudan – placed by the late Canadian anthropologist and archaeologist Bruce Trigger (1937-2006) in the early nineteenth century, «when the paradigm of evolutionary archaeology was in the ascendant» (Trigger 1994: 325) – were essentially based on Spencerian biosocial evolutionary ideas, embodied in the concepts of progressive and unilinear evolution. Evolutionary thought in archaeology progressed in the second half of 19th century with the work of Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) in Great Britain and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) in the United States who were both concerned with classifying developmental stages of human society. Tylor in *Primitive Culture* (1871), and Morgan in *Ancient Society* (1877), divided the evolution of human society into the same three basic stages of 'savagery', 'barbarism', and 'civilization'¹²⁹ which were believed to form a universal, «natural as well as a necessary sequence of progress» (Morgan 1877: 3).

By the end of the 19th century, the classification of human groups became increasingly racialized, especially with the distinction between the 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' races whereby the dark-skinned peoples were considered as racially inferior. In the interpretation of Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, racism was combined with hierarchisation expressed through terms of culture:

«Embedded in this cultural ranking is the notion of the darkest races being the most inferior, while biocultural evolution proceeded from dark to lighter to white races. Two other major anthropological founding figures [along with Morgan], Edward Burnett Tylor and Herbert

¹²⁸ It is important to note that Adams draws attention to the fact that almost all archaeologists of the «enlightened colonial period» were Egyptologist and that thus «their outlooks, their interests, and their deficiencies were those characteristic of the field of Egyptology in general» (Adams 1981: 19). His proposed "enlightened colonial paradigm" thus strongly correlates with what Török calls the paradigm of Egyptocentrism (Török 2011a: 9). For the view of Nubia determined by late 19th-early 20th century Egyptocentrism see Török 2009: 122, footnote 6. For a change of perspective, away from Egyptocentrism see Trigger 1984b: 367 and 380, Blanc 1978: 38 and Edwards 2004a: 7-9). For a warning against a shift to the other extreme see Török 2011a: 9-10.

¹²⁹ These stages (which are further divided in Morgan's model in lower, middle and upper levels) were primarily defined in terms of technological inventions such as the use of fire, bow and pottery in the savage era; the domestication of animals, agriculture, and ironwork in the barbarian era; and development of the phonetic alphabet and literary writing in the civilization era (cf. Morgan 1877: 11-12).

Spencer in England, paralleled this racial determinism with explicit or implicit renderings of the idea that civilization is a white European achievement». (Fluehr-Lobban 2006:81)¹³⁰.

The presumption of white European racial, cultural and moral superiority was invoked by the European imperial powers in the late 19th century to rationalize colonial rule and foreign domination. In this setting, «the classification of races and specification of their attributes» served – as Wyatt MacGaffey remarks – «directly or indirectly, to sanction the colonial enterprise» (1966: 7). Racial determinism and Social Darwinism thus not only provided the legitimizing ideologies for colonial expansion but also part of the rationales for colonialist archaeology (Trigger 1984a) archaeology, supplemented with a great esteem for the "High Cultures of the Past". With regard to the Sudan, László Török remarks that 19th century interpretations of the history of the Middle Nile¹³¹ were offered «in the spirit of Darwinian evolutionism as a series of interactions between the "superior" Egyptian ("Hamitic") civilising force and the "inferior", "inert", and "primitive" "Negro" population of the Middle Nile Region.» (Török 2002: 484; similar Török 1997: 12)¹³². A degrading and egyptocentric image of the inhabitants of the Middle Nile Region was particularly propagated by Ernest W. Budge in *The Egyptian Sudan: its History and Monuments* (1907) and was in the following perpetuated by many of his fellow scholars¹³³. Referring to the Egyptocentric bias in colonial archaeology, Bruce Trigger remarks that «[c]olonialist attitudes were reinforced in the Sudan by the tendency of Egyptologists to view the country as a theatre of ancient Egyptian exploitation and colonization rather than as a region that was of interest in its own right» (Trigger 1994: 330). It is interesting to note with the Sudanese historian Amir Idris that the egyptocentric narrative imposed by the colonial discourse was at times used and

¹³⁰ Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban draws attention to the fact that Morgan did not address race explicitly, «although the categories of human advancement he developed became racialized» (2006:81). Before, Léon Poliakov (1974: 228) has elaborated on an interpretation suggesting that Tylor rejected racial categories, «while continuing to use the language of race nonetheless» (Beasley 2010: 169).

¹³¹ The Middle Nile is the 1700km-long stretch of the River Nile between the confluence of the Blue and the White Niles at Khartoum and Aswan.

¹³² The view that the indigenous populations of Africa could be reduced to two stocks, the Hamitic in the north and the Negro in the south and that the Sudan represented a zone of intermixture was suggested by Karl Richard Lepsius, in his *Nubian Grammar* (Lepsius 1880) and later expanded by Carl Meinhof (1912), who developed it into the full-blown Hamitic hypothesis.

¹³³ David S. Carlson and Dennis P. Van Gerven draw attention to the fact that both William Y. Adams and Wyatt MacGaffey – influential scholars in Nubian Studies – have stressed «that the subjective and even racist views of human biology and culture should be blamed on the social climate of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, not on the individuals whose names are now associated with the elaboration of such views» (Carlson and Van Gerven 1979: 576).

popularized by nationalists and historians of the Sudan who «have never seen Sudan as a source of its own history and civilization» and who refused «to accept that rich ancient histories and cultures had existed in other regions south of the Nubian region» (Amir Idris 2013: 69).

Nicole Blanc has pointed out, that the deveoppment of Sudanese archaeology in the post-Second World War period had in consequence, that it was for the the first time possible, to contest the Egypt-centred view of the history of the Nile Valley:

«The results of excavations led research workers to start considering to what extent African influence had shaped the civilizations along the Nile, and to contemplate, [...], the hypothesis that there had been a reverse current of influence from Black Africa towards the Mediterranean. Although there was no attempt to minimize the influence of Egypt south of the twenty-third parallel, the evidence from excavations increasingly demonstrated that that influence was not the only one to have left its mark on the more southerly regions and that the physiognomy of these regions might be, not a pale imitation of a foreign model, but rather something new springing from an encounter of cultures» (Blanc 1978: 38).

According to David Edwards (2004: 7), «Egyptocentrism has proved remarkably resilient» until today and Rachel Dann observes a persistence of stereotypical assumptions and explanations of the Nubian past. Dann (2009: 80-81), drawing on an argument put forward by Patrice Lenoble and Negm ed-Din Mohammed Sherif (1992: 630), explains the persistence of such stereotypical assumptions and explanations with the lack of careful interpretation of Nubian remains. The lack of interpretation in turn, is, according to Dann (2009: 80), related to the «specific conditions surrounding the development of archaeological interest in the ancient Sudan» and with the wider development of the archaeological and other disciplines such as anthropology and philosophy. Dann (2009: 81) concludes her analysis with the observation «that Nubiology has yet to fully shake off the characteristics of the culture-historical approach».

By the end of the 19th century, unilinear evolutionary archaeology had, according to Bruce Trigger (2006: 209), become «too integral a part of anthropology and too dependent on ethnology». Under the impetus of nationalism, a new generation of archaeologists realized that evolutionary stages could not account alone for the variations in the archaeological record (Trigger 2009: 95). The primary focus on evolution was thus abandoned and replaced by an approach aiming at the

understanding of the archaeological record as the history of specific peoples (Trigger 1995: 269). This gradual shift resulted in the development what Bruce Trigger calls culture-historical archaeology or ethnic prehistory¹³⁴ (1994: 326). Under this paradigm archaeological cultures were defined «as prehistoric manifestations of historically known peoples, whose development and movements could be traced in archaeological record» (Trigger 1995: 269). In contrast to the notion of independent development inherent in the evolutionist paradigm, culture-historical thought¹³⁵ inferred that difference, change and variation in material culture was caused by the migration of peoples and the diffusion of ideas.

The culture-historical paradigm was first applied to Sudan and Lower Nubia by George Reisner in the context of the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia (Trigger 1994: 331). On the basis of his Lower Nubian excavations Reisner established a framework of a cultural typology of the Middle Nile Region whereby interpreting the archaeological record in strongly racial terms as series of 'groups' or 'archaeological cultures' that he identified with different people. The «Egyptocentric culture-historical diffusionism» (Trigger 1994: 342) in the tradition of Reisner survived well into the late 1960s¹³⁶.

An early champion of Sudanese archaeology «as distinct from Egyptian archaeology» was Osbert G.S. Crawford, who in his 1948 article "People without history" claimed that «the excavation of a Nilotic mound-site is more suitable to be undertaken at the present moment than that of yet another Egyptian temple» (Crawford 1948:8 / 12). However, six decades later, David Edwards ascertains that «no more than a few trial trenches have been excavated in any such mounds (Edwards 2005: 24).

¹³⁴ The ethnic approach to interpreting prehistory – described by Géza Komoróczy as «the wilful reflection of tribal consciousness back into the past» (cited in Bojtár 1999: 237) – identified artefacts with a specific ethnic group and attributed the achievements of Ancient Nubia to migrating tribes.

¹³⁵ Culture-historical archaeology – a term used to describe a broad range of archaeological approaches that use historical explanatory principles to examine changes in culture – is characterized by Siân Jones «as the empiricist extraction, description and classification of material remains within a spatial and temporal framework made up of units which are usually referred to as 'cultures' and often regarded as the product of discrete social entities in the past» (Jones 2003: 5).

¹³⁶ According to Andreas Kronenberg (1987: 397) the culture-historical paradigm was maintained in Sudan archaeology until the publication of William Y. Adams' 1968 article "Invasion, Diffusion, Evolution?" (Adams 1968a) in which he criticized culture-historical notions of migration and diffusion. See in this context the 1978 article by Adams et al. calling for a "retreat of migrationism" (Adams, Van Gerven and Levy 1978). An alternative albeit sketchy approach is Ali Osman Mohamed Salih's model of «Cultural Dialogue» as a major factor in cultural change (Ali Osman Mohamed Salih 1992a: 228-229).

William Y. Adams sees it as sign of Reisner's genius «that a theory which he was able to propound before the end of his first season in the field should remain sixty years later the standard interpretation of Nubian history». But in opposition to Reisner, he rejects the assumption of migration and invasion as driving cultural change: «The idea that culture change in antiquity resulted primarily from invasions and migrations owes more to folklore than it does to science. Such theories were once widely current, but they have rarely stood the test of critical examination in the light of archaeological evidence» (Adams 1970: 270)¹³⁷.

The culture-historical approach to archaeology – established throughout Africa in the wake of the European division of the continent at the end of the nineteenth century – came to be supplanted as the dominant theoretical paradigm, with the rise of the 'New Archaeology' (now: processual archaeology) during the 1960s. The 'new' or processual archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s had a strong impact on theoretical and methodological approaches adopted in the 'Nubian Campaign' and thus on the new discipline of Nubian studies (Török 1997: 20-23 and 2011b: 379)¹³⁸. The new processual archaeology opposed itself to traditional 'normative' archaeology as a social science grounded in logical positivism¹³⁹ and modelled on the scientific method¹⁴⁰. The distinction between the normative and the processual perspective is aptly described by the American archaeologist Kris Hirst:

«The processualists rejected the cultural-historical notion that culture was a set of norms held by a group and communicated to other groups by diffusion and instead argued that the archaeological remains of culture were the behavioral outcome of a population's adaptation to specific environmental conditions» (Hirst 2018).

American Archaeologist Anna L. Boozer confirms that the 'Nubian Campaign' helped «to create new paradigms within the archaeology of Sudan» (Boozer 2017:

¹³⁷ For a more detailed and developed criticism of the migration theory see Adams 1977: 666-667.

¹³⁸ In the Sudan, the 'New Archaeology' approach is associated with the North American prehistoric archaeologists D. Fred Wendorf (1924-2015) and Anthony E. Marks; and to a lesser extent with the European archaeologist Randi Håland and the prehistoric archaeologists Isabella Caneva and Víctor M. Fernández.

¹³⁹ Logical positivism (aka logical empiricism, neopositivism) is a theory in epistemology and logic that developed out of positivism, and which campaigned for a systematic reduction of all human knowledge to logical and scientific foundations.

¹⁴⁰ For a criticism of that opposition and a for an antipositivist critique of the 'New Archaeology', see Adams 1984a: 9-10a.

234) and especially points to the perspectival shift initiated by representatives of the 'New Archaeology' which eventually put an end to the Hamitic Hypothesis, thereby paving the way for the start of research «that would focus upon the archaeology of Sudan in its own right» (Boozer 2017: 235).

However, Boozer stresses, that it still took several years until a Sudan-focused research agenda could emerge and observes that the Egyptocentric bias persists among scholars:

«Despite such positive developments, it would be some years before a Sudan-focused research agenda would emerge from the shadows of colonialist interpretation. Barring the work of the American archaeologist William Y. Adams (1927–), the major works from the Campaign continued to reflect Egyptocentrism in archaeological research in Sudan. Even today, scholars still look almost exclusively to Egyptian influences to explain developments and shifts found in Sudanese states when the explanations for change might be internal, sub-Saharan or multiplex» (Boozer 2017: 235).

Bruce Trigger, in his 1994 article on the paradigms of Sudan archaeology, associates the 'new' or processual archaeology with the postcolonial phase in the development of Sudanese archaeology. This phase is, according to Trigger, characterized by a strengthening of the ecological perspective (336)¹⁴¹ and by the systematic study of archaeological settlement patterns (337)¹⁴². Trigger himself warned against the danger of environmental determinism and of the limitations of positivist thoughts and pointed to the inherently subjective nature of archaeological interpretations. Clare Fawcett and her co-authors thus highlight that Trigger questioned the objectivity of interpretations, which should rather always be seen as the product of the social, political and historical contexts. In their view, Trigger not fundamentally questioned the need to strive for objectivity but rather believed «that archaeologists needed to move toward objectivity by carefully analyzing archaeological findings as well as by constantly keeping in mind the socio-political

¹⁴¹ The need to view Sudanese history from an ecological perspective was according to Trigger (1994: 334 and 336) first brought forward by Arkell (1949a) in the context of his studies of the Khartoum Mesolithic culture and then confirmed by the Combined Prehistoric Expedition starting in the 1980s (Wendorf and Schild 1981) and the 1980 and 1984 B.O.S. (Besiedlungsgeschichte der Ost-Sahara) campaigns conducted by Rudolph Kuper (Kuper 1981 and 1986).

¹⁴² The systematic study of archaeological settlement patterns was according to Trigger (1994: 337) pioneered by American anthropological archaeologists who wanted to «learn more about changing patterns of social and political organization» and who «tended to emphasize continuities rather than discontinuities in the archaeological record».

context of research and interpretation» (Fawcett, Habu and Matsunaga 2008:2). Else J. Kleppe (1990: 78, referring to Olsen 1987: 15) argues in the same line by stressing the socio-political dimension of archaeology: «[m]ore than anything else», is «a contemporary socio- political practice, and any reconstruction of the past is at the same time a political statement about the present, even if it generally is disguised as neutral and scientific language». William Y. Adams «a self-avowed "recue archaeologist"» (Wylie 2002: 243) with extensive experience in Nubian salvage archaeology has, as Alston Wiley sets forth, also strongly argued against the positivism/scientism of the 'New Archaeology':

«In the early 1980s [William Adams] argued against the scientism associated with North American archaeology objecting that while archaeologists have been clear about their responsibility to sciences and their own discipline, "they do not seem to be aware that they have any other responsibilities" [...]. They betray "a moral myopia not much different from that of the 19th century treasure-seeker [...]... both engaged in excavation – which is to say destruction – of archaeological sites for the narrowly defined objectives of their own, disregarding any interest which other scholars, or the lay public may have in the same sites". He concludes that "in truth, [archaeologists have] many publics with many interests, and most of them are as legitimate as ours"» (Wylie 2002: 243).

However, it should be emphasized, that the division between the "old" versus the "new" in archaeology (Dumont 1975) is a rather schematic one, since a diversity of archaeologies has proliferated around the world and «any archaeology that is developed [...] in response to the problems and challenges of the modern society – instead of its myths – is by definition "new" in the oldest and most valuable archaeological sense». (Silberman 1986, his underlining).

The archaeology of the 1980s was, according to Bruce Trigger, characterized by major changes, although it is not clear to Trigger, «whether these are best described as leading to the formulation of a new paradigm, which is tentatively being called postprocessual archaeology, or represent the broadening and maturation of processual archaeology» (1994: 340)¹⁴³. Archaeologists had, so Trigger, increasingly developed awareness of the complexity of human behaviour and

¹⁴³ Similarly, Timothy Earle and Robert Preucel (1987) have suggested that post-processual archaeology constitutes more a radical critique of the once so dominant 'New Archaeology' than a unified research programme or a disciplinary paradigm in its own right.

abandoned ecological determinism as a too simplistic explanation for cultural change. Instead, archaeologists now adopted the contextual approach¹⁴⁴; a post-processual approach to archaeological interpretation proposed by Ian Hodder, in which emphasis is placed on methods of identifying and studying contexts in order to understand meaning. Hodder distinguishes contextual relations on two levels: the level of the context in which the archaeological record originated and the contemporary contexts, which encompass the historical and cultural location of the archaeologist himself – because there is, according to Hodder (2004: 28) «a dialectical (dialogical) relationship between past and present and between object and subject» (Hodder 2004: 28)¹⁴⁵.

Hodder (1986: 106) thus invites archaeologists to be self-critical in the imposition of meaning and to avoid "intellectual colonialism"¹⁴⁶. Both the double focus on the historical contemporary context as well as the warning of intellectual colonialism are also reflected in the final lines of Bruce Trigger's 1994 article on the paradigms in Sudan archaeology:

«Intellectual integrity requires an awareness of the social and political conditions in which archaeology is practiced as well as a commitment to truth, which for an archaeologist requires, first and foremost, being willing to use available evidence to challenge all preconceptions in an effort to learn more about what the past was really like».

Contextuality, according to Ian Hodder (1996: 6), leads to multivocality, interactivity and reflexivity through reflexive research methods which involve «doing archaeology differently» (Hodder 2008: 196) i.e. «practicing it differently at all levels from the phase of research design to field methods to writing, publishing, and

¹⁴⁴ The contextual approach was proposed by Ian Hodder in the mid 1980s (cp. Hodder 1982 and 1987) as an interpretative strategy based on the claim that all understanding is historically and culturally situated. The use of the term "contextual approach" goes back to Karl W. Butzer, who understood it, however, in the sense of the integration - for instance of a settlement - into an ecosystem (Butzer 1978 and 1982).

¹⁴⁵ The dialectical relationship between the past and the present is aptly described in the following sentence by Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson (2003: 223): «the past is subjectively constructed in the present [and] the subjective past is involved in power strategies today».

¹⁴⁶ 'Intellectual Colonialism' is defined by Ian Hodder in the sense of 'mental colonialism' «as the capacity to impose on the [other society] our own [...] concepts, explain *their* culture in *our* terms, without trying to understand them, to let *them* teach *us* (Hodder 1986: 106, his emphasis).

presenting the past»¹⁴⁷. Such reflexive approaches to archaeology – which have increasingly emerged in the Sudan in the context of emergency archaeology due to the construction of the Merowe Dam at the forth Nile cataract¹⁴⁸ – are essentially resulting from a generational change, but also from a controversy between archaeologists and local people (cp. Amal Awad Mukhtar Nasir and Webber Ndoro 2018: 199-202). Archaeologists (self-) critically scrutinized the ethical implications of salvage archaeology and dam building (cp. Hafsaas-Tsakos 2011; Kleinitz and Näser 2011 and 2013; Näser and Kleinitz 2012), tested new and innovative forms of community involvement and community participation¹⁴⁹. Such approaches to self-reflexivity and community engagement were also being explored in the context of the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project (cp. Humphris and Bradshaw 2017; Tully 2014 and 2015; Tully and Näser 2016). However, approaches to community engagement in the sense of an ongoing two-way dialogue between archaeological facilitators and their host communities are – as the following statements made by archaeologists following this approach illustrates – only at the very beginning:

«[A]rchaeology in Sudan has lately seen a surge in community outreach programmes. These – contrary to the 'traditional' top-down approach to archaeology and heritage practice in the country – appear to support dialogic, if not bottom-up, heritage practices. Encounters between archaeologists and members of local communities are now often documented and promoted within the expert community, and to the wider public, in form of photos showing experts and locals engaged in apparent dialogue». (Kleinitz and Mohamed Farouq Abdelrahman; announcement AHKR round table discussion, 2014¹⁵⁰)

¹⁴⁷ Reflexivity is defined by Hodder as «the recognition and incorporation of multiple stakeholder groups, and the self-critical awareness of one's archaeological truth claims as historical contingent» (Hodder 2003: 56). For Hodder's understanding of the concept of multivocality see Hodder 2008.

¹⁴⁸ The Merowe Dam (initially named 'Hamdab Dam') – built between 2003 and 2009 – created a reservoir of 170km. It displaced 70'000 people from the fertile Nile Valley to arid desert locations and flooded an area rich in cultural heritage and archaeological remains. In 2001, the Merowe Dam Implementation Unit (now: Dams Implementation Unit) in cooperation with the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums announced the comprehensive Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP) for the salvage of archaeological remains along the Nile. For an official presentation of the MDASP visit the project's website: <http://www.merowedam.gov.sd/en/archaeological.html> [20.01.2019]. On the work of the Dams Implementation Unit see <http://www.diu.gov.sd/en> [20.01.2019].

¹⁴⁹ For a more defensive position see Welsby 2008; for a view of archaeologists as passive bystanders see Hildyard 2008.

¹⁵⁰ The statement is extracted from the invitation text to the round table discussion "Community Archaeology – With fieldwork in Sudan as Case-Studies" held at the Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion (AHKR) at Bergen University in November 2018. https://medievalsaiproject.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/community-archaeology_cornelia-kleinitz-version-2.jpg [20.01.2019].

«Like in many countries with a colonial history, collaborative work between archaeologists and communities is still in its infancy in Sudan. While a number of projects have begun to engage in this process, few have reached a stage to carry out detailed evaluations of the impact of active engagement and knowledge sharing between stakeholder groups» (Tully and Näser; Nubian Studies 2018¹⁵¹).

In the field of museums and heritage management, community engagement initiatives are only recently emerging in the Sudan and the concept of community museums as a "new museum paradigm" (Simpson 2011: 71ff) is not yet clearly defined. The project "Community Museums of Western Sudan" (announced in 2018) for instance, aims at restoring/conserving «three community museums in Omdurman, El Obeid, and Nyala, located in Western Sudan» and at providing «for the educational and cultural needs of their communities, visitors and tourists»¹⁵². However, the three museums are not community museums in the strict sense since they were initiated by the Sudan Antiquities Service and its successor body NCAM in 1926 (Khalifa House), 1965 (Sheikan Museum) and 2006 (Nyala Museum) under very different paradigms. The three museums focus on traditional values of curatorship, preservation and interpretation and the needs of the population are not located at their core¹⁵³.

In 1994, Bruce Trigger came to conclude that «[m]odern archaeology seems to provide a more complete and objective account of the past than did its colonial predecessor and because of that ought to serve better the interests of the Sudanese people» (Trigger 1994: 334). In the same article, he raised the question as to the relevance of archaeological findings for the modern Sudanese and came to the

¹⁵¹ Conference Abstract, page 150. The abstracts of papers are available at: https://www.louvre.fr/sites/default/files/medias/medias_fichiers/fichiers/pdf/louvre-brochure-14eme-congres-international-des-etudes-nubiennes-2018-en-anglais.pdf [20.01.2019].

¹⁵² The project is funded by the British Council's Cultural Protection Fund, in partnership with the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, United Kingdom in the amount of £997'000. Project partners include – according to the British Council's website – the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums in Sudan (NCAM), the Centre for Heritage Studies, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, and Mallinson Architects. <https://www.britishcouncil.org/arts/culture-development/cultural-protection-fund/community-museums-western-sudan> [06.07.2019]. Additionally, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) through its ICCROM-ATHAR (Architectural and Archaeological Tangible Heritage in the Arab Region) Regional Office is involved in the project: <https://www.iccrom.org/news/community-museums-western-sudan> [06.07.2019]

¹⁵³ For Camarena and Morales (2006: 328) for instance, a community is «a platform for a wide variety of actions that respond to community needs». In their understanding, a community museum «rebuilds community from within», but «also strengthens community resistance to pressure from without» (Camarena and Morales 2006: 328).

conclusion, that «[th]e time when the findings of archaeology will be of interest to most Sudanese seems far off» (Trigger 1994: 345). However, the realization of major festivals dedicated to the Sudanese archaeological heritage in Wadi Halfa and at Gebel Barkal, the broadcasting of archaeological documentaries, and the interest in archaeological publications testifies to the growing interest of the Sudanese for their past. There is a good chance that the aforementioned community-based approaches might additionally contribute towards a broader and deeper interest of the Sudanese in their own archaeological heritage¹⁵⁴.

2.3.2 Foundation of Professional Bodies

The historians Jay Spaulding and Lidwien Kapteijns (1991: 140) and Rex S. O'Fahey (1999: 3), independently associate the beginning of the modern academic study of the Sudan with the Anglo-Egyptian conquest at the turn of the past century and share the view that the scholarly journal *Sudan Notes and Records* (SNR) was an important early platform for the integration of the Sudan into western conceptual schemata of the twentieth century¹⁵⁵. The journal was established and sponsored by the colonial government in 1918 «as an "encyclopedia" of scientific information on the country and its people» (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 266)¹⁵⁶. It aimed at promoting collection, exchange and publication of information about the Sudan in every aspect of its history, its people and its institutions, including not only the social but also the natural sciences. Francis R. Wingate, in the first volume on the foundation of *Sudan Notes and Records* in 1918, touched on the nexus between knowledge and development – or knowledge and power:

¹⁵⁴ For a more pessimistic view see Rebecca Bradshaw, who in her PhD thesis collected data in non-descendent communitis in the Hamadab-Begjrawiya area (Bradshaw 2017: 242).

¹⁵⁵ *Sudan Notes and Records* was the leading African scholarly journal on Sudanese studies established by the British administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. From 1918 until 1952 SNR was the first and only regularly published journal in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Bushra 1995: 239).

¹⁵⁶ The idea for the journal originated with Milo Talbot (1854-1931), former Director of Surveys, and was eventually implemented by John Winter Crowfoot (1873-1959) «who formed a committee under his chairmanship, and brought out the first volume in 1918» (Johnson 2007: 319). The journal was patronized by several Governors-General, while – as a general rule – the Editorial Committee was headed by the succeeding Civil Secretaries (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 247; cp. Johnson 2007: 319). Until the foundation in 1954 of the archaeological journal *KUSH*, SNR was the only regularly published journal in the Sudan. The publication of SNR ceased in 1999. For the index of Volumes 1-74, see Abdel Rahman el Nasri, 1980.

«Knowledge is power, in Africa and elsewhere, and if, as I confidently hope, this journal will be the means of recording and disseminating information that will conduce to a clearer outlook on the country and a better understanding of its natives, their past history, social conditions and future development, [...]» (Wingate 1918: 1; for a reiteration of Wingate's ideals see Arkell 1946b: 1).

Bushra J. Hamad in his paper "Sudan Notes and Records and Sudanese Nationalism, 1918-1956", emphasizes, that *Sudan Notes and Records* was established by the colonial administration «to foster the concept of nationalism among the Sudanese through archaeological research» (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 239), as a part of the broader aim of British Indirect Rule Policy in the 1920s to shift Sudan away from revolutionary Egyptian ambitions, by developing Sudanese identity against Egyptian claims of sovereignty.

Initially, most of the contributions to *Sudan Notes and Records* journal were made by British officials of the Sudan Political Service¹⁵⁷. O'Fahey (1999:3) emphasizes in this context that, «while much of what was published was amateurish, much was recorded that would otherwise have been lost». However, from the outset, also academic experts contributed to the journal and made it «a vehicle of research on the Sudan» (Sanderson 1964); academics of current or future professional eminence, whose contributions laid the foundations for the disciplines within which subsequent formal study of the Sudan would be conducted» (Spaulding and Kapteijns 1991: 140)¹⁵⁸.

In their post-2011 manifesto on Sudan Studies, historians Heather Sharkey, Elena Vezzadini and Iris Seri-Hersch point to the once-common tendency by practitioners of Sudan Studies «to describe the Sudan and Sudanese states as having been unique and incomparable relative to other places and polities» (2015: 2). *Sudan Notes and Records*, according to Sharkey, Vezzadini and Seri-Hersch, perpetuated and reinforced this «sense of Sudanese exceptionalism that translated into a consciousness [...] among scholars of the region who came to see the Sudan as a

¹⁵⁷ The Sudan Political Service was the administrative arm of the Sudan Civil Service. No history of the Sudan Political Service has been published. For an overview of the available literature see Daly and Hogan 2005: 16 / footnote 34. On the Sudan Civil Service see Warburg 1971: 81ff.

¹⁵⁸ The authors mention as examples: George A. Reisner, «the Egyptologist and ancient historian»; Anthony. J. Arkell, «the founding father of Sudanese prehistory», and Edwards E. Evans-Pritchard, «the distinguished anthropologist».

stand-alone region, neither fully "African" nor fully "Arab"» (2015: 2)¹⁵⁹. The authors (2015: 2) refer to the late Kenyan political scientist Ali Al'amin Mazrui (1933-2014), who in a 1968 conference paper delivered at the University of Khartoum «diagnosed and gave name to this condition» by arguing that «the Sudan was a site of "multiple marginality" along an Arab-African frontier»¹⁶⁰. In their manifesto, the authors question this view of the Sudan as a «*special* relative to Africa and the Middle East» and rather suggest to look upon 'Sudan' «as a zone (which the term Bilād al-Sūdān had historically implied) rather than as a fixed and sharply-bordered place» (2015: 2) and thus open new perspectives for Sudan Studies¹⁶¹.

The close cooperation between dedicated amateurs and fully-fledged professionals in the making of *Sudan Notes and Records* was also characteristic of the functioning of the antiquities administration in the first decades of the 20th century. In his conclusion to the "Report on the Antiquities Service and Museum 1950-51", Peter Shinnie – then Commissioner for Archaeology – reflected on the role of amateurs in archaeological research and addressed the contribution of those «who have made the study of the past a fascinating hobby» to the knowledge of «the life of man in other ages» (Shinnie 1952: 10). Shinnie further noticed that even though there was no professional archaeologist in the service of the Sudan Government for nearly forty years (i.e. until Anthony J. Arkell's and his own appointment as Commissioner for Archaeology) much work was done with the help of dedicated amateurs:

«For nearly forty years of this Government there was no professional archaeologist in Government service – yet owing to the enthusiasm and skill of officials and others much work was done, and much material and information collected» (Shinnie 1952: 10).

In this context, Shinnie made particular mention of the District Commissioners and other officials of the Sudan Government «who patiently collected information and

¹⁵⁹ This sense of alleged Sudanese and /or Nubian exceptionalism is reflected in statements as: «The Sudan, by its intermediate position between the Near East and Central Africa has a peculiarly important position in archaeology» (Shinnie 1954b: 1; cp. Vercoutter: 1958a: 5) and «Since the dawn of history Nubia has been the connecting bridge between the civilized lands of the Mediterranean Basin and the primitive world of trans-Saharan Africa. For five thousand years it has lain upon the frontiers of the civilized world, never fully a part of it and yet never entirely out of contact with it» (Adams 1964: 1).

¹⁶⁰ Ali Al'Amin Mazrui: "The Multiple Marginality of the Sudan", 1968; for an abstract see Abdul Samed Bemath 2005: 198.

¹⁶¹ For further critical reflection on the field of Sudan Studies see Spaulding and Kapteijns, 1991; O'Fahey, 1999; and Hale, 2009.

recorded ancient sites». The British historian George N. Sanderson noted in the same context that «[t]he wealth of visible sites in northern Sudan inspired many officials to become amateur field archaeologists» (Sanderson 1964: 164). British historian Anthony H. M. Kirk-Greene, in an article on the Sudan Political Service, also highlighted the scholarly achievements of government officials who contributed to *Sudan Notes and Records* and referred to Anthony J. Arkell who started as an interested amateur and whose numerous contributions on archaeology to scholarly and scientific journals are considered to be an outstanding example (cp. Kirk-Greene 1982: 42). It was in fact not until 1938 that Arkell became formally involved in archaeology and anthropology this being the year when he was appointed Commissioner; and in the same time he took a Diploma in Anthropology¹⁶² and obtained a Bachelor of Letters for a thesis on the history of Darfur¹⁶³ at Queen's College in Oxford (Shinnie 1981a: vi). Until the appointment of Arkell and Shinnie, the nascent Antiquities Service was made up of British officials working full-time for other government departments whereas «[n]one of them were trained archaeologists, but all of them had had a classical education at public schools and Oxbridge» (Thornton 2013: 6). Conversely, the pioneer protagonists who conducted excavations in the Sudan, were formally trained in archaeology and members of professional associations in their respective countries. James H. Breasted (in 1993) and George Andrew Reisner (in 1994) were the first American to receive a doctorate in Egyptology; Francis L. Griffith the first Professor of Egyptology at Oxford, and John Garstang the first professorship in the methods and practice of archaeology at the University of Liverpool. In order to finance their research activities, they had to rely on collective sponsorship. James H. Breasted's 1905 and 1907 expeditions to Egypt and the Sudan were sponsored by the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, established in 1903 (cp. Breasted 1906a). George Andrew Reisner's 1913 to 1916 excavations at Kerma (Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts) were sponsored by Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Francis L. Griffith's memoirs on Meroitic inscriptions (1911a and b) appeared under the auspices of the Egypt

¹⁶² Arkell received his diploma in anthropology under the tutelage of Edward Evan (ultimately Sir Edward) Evans-Pritchard (1902-1973), then research lecturer, and newly arrived Professor Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955), (Boddy 2007: 93).

¹⁶³ Arkell's History of Darfur 1200-1700 A.D. is published in four parts in *Sudan Notes and Records* 32/1-2 (Arkell 1951) and 33/1-2 (Arkell 1952).

Exploration Fund (since 1919 Egypt Exploration Society¹⁶⁴), established in 1882, while the Oxford University Excavations in Nubia (1910 and 1913 and 1929 to 1931) were founded and largely funded by Griffith and officially recognized by the University in 1934. John Garstang's excavations at Meroe (1909-1914) were supported by the Sudan Excavations Committee of the Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool University. Historian Amara Thornton in her 2013 article on collective sponsorship in late 19th and early 20th British archaeology (Thornton 2013, cp. Thornton 2011) presents the Meroe excavations as a notable example of a (traditional) donor-receiver relationship which yields benefits for both, the archaeologists and their funders. For the excavations at Meroe, Garstang established annual 'ad hoc' Committees of industrialists and museum curators, whereas some Committee members even were recruited at Meroe during excavation visits (Thornton 2013: 5). The following description of the 1910 Committee by Thorsten Opper, Senior Curator in the Department of Greece and Rome at the British Museum, provides an exemplary insight in the general functioning of Garstang's annual Committees:

«Somewhat unusually in an era of increased nationalism and competition between the Great Powers, this committee was an international consortium of museum professionals, academics, and wealthy individuals, united by a desire to partake in the thrill of archaeological adventure and a share in the prospective finds. The museums represented were the Musées Royaux of Brussels, the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen and the Royal Scottish Museums in Edinburgh. The bulk of sponsorship, however, was provided by an assorted group of British individuals, along with the German scholar and collector Baron von Bissingen. The eleven members of the committee had paid in a total of £ 1700 towards that year's season, with the biggest single contribution of £ 500 provided by the American-born Henry Solomon Wellcome, a successful pharmaceuticals entrepreneur, but also an avid collector and a generous benefactor» (Oppen 2014: 8).

The development and the maintenance of international networks behind research projects was essential for the funding of archaeological work and for the dissemination of scientific results to the public. Even though the Sudan Government was unable to support archaeological research financially, it was fully committed to providing the best possible framework for archaeological research. In 1911, the

¹⁶⁴ The Egypt Exploration Fund was established in 1882 by Amelia Edwards (1831-1892) and Reginald Stuart Poole (1832-1895), with the intention to explore and excavate ancient sites in Egypt and Sudan. For information on the Society, see: <https://www.ees.ac.uk>.

Sudan Government, with a minute of the Governor-General dated February 9, appointed an Archaeological Committee which was regularized in a letter signed by the Civil Secretary in 1913 and whose terms of reference were given as follows: «To advise His Excellency the Governor General on the policy to be pursued in respect of questions of special Archaeological importance» (Drummond 1920 / Annex I). A Museum Board already existed since shortly after the formal opening of the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum (November 8, 1902), when «[b]y desire of His Excellency the Governor-general, a Board for the creation and management of a Government Museum at Khartoum was formed» in 1903 (Currie 1904: 13)¹⁶⁵. In 1920, the question arose, whether it would not be better to «amalgamate the Archaeological Committee and the Khartoum Museum Board» under the Archaeological and Museums Board (Drummond 1920 / Annex I). The Governor-General concurred in the proposal so that the first meeting of the new Board could be held at the Gordon Memorial College on Sunday, 4th April 1920. The available minutes of the Museum Board provide an insight in the excavation and museum policy of the Sudan Government¹⁶⁶.

An important addition to the knowledge of the country was made in 1946 with the foundation of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan. The Society was founded «to promote discussion and research in moral, political, and natural philosophy»¹⁶⁷. Anthony J. Arkell, then Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, was a founding member and the first President of the Society. At the inaugural meeting, Arkell stressed the wide possibilities of local research in the various fields of archaeology, geology and geography for piecing together the history of the Sudan, and also the need for research on modern aspects of Sudanese life, such as focal

¹⁶⁵ The 'Archaeological and Museums Board' (from 1950 onwards the 'Museums Board') consisted of members of the Sudan Government with the successive Directors of Education serving as *ex officio* presidents and the successive directors of the Antiquities Service serving as secretaries of the Board. In his 1905 Memorandum, Governor General Francis R. Wingate, mentioned a proposition «to considerably enlarge the scope of the present Museum Board by adding to its members the Heads of Scientific and Productive Departments and to gradually work it up into a representative and consultative body of the Government» (Wingate 1905/Part II: 37).

¹⁶⁶ The detailed analysis of the 1920 to 1962 minutes of the 'Archaeological and Museums Board' (available at the NCAM Archives) is planned for publication at the occasion of the 120th anniversary of the Sudan Antiquities Service in 2024.

¹⁶⁷ Unknown author. 1950. "Notes and News: Philosophical Society of the Sudan". *Africa*. Vol. 20, Issue 2, 149.

industries and crafts, place-names, languages, customs, etc.¹⁶⁸. In a contribution to *Nature*, an unknown author in 1949 elaborated on the relationship between learning and development and thereby highlighting the crucial role of learned societies such as the Philosophical Society of the Sudan in this process:

«A NATION is judged not only by its resources and productivity but also by its standard of scholarship and culture; and an indication of this may be estimated by its number and quality of learned societies. In company with the present-day awakening throughout Africa, the Sudan is, and has been, making great progress in the field of economic development and towards a larger measure of self-government. It is pleasant to report that learning is keeping pace with this development, and that the Philosophical Society of the Sudan, which was founded on February 2, 1946, is flourishing and setting a high standard»¹⁶⁹.

Since its foundation, the Philosophical Society became the leading learned society of the Sudan. In 1968, a member of the Society's Council suggested a federation of all societies «in which the Philosophical Society would be the pivot» (Mustafa Mohammed Khogali and Abdalla Ahmed Abdalla 1969: 184-185). The representatives of all other professional societies eventually agreed on the proposal so that the 'Sudanese Association for the Advancement of Sciences' had become reality in 1971/72 (Abbas Ibrahim Muhammad Ali and Mohed. el-Hassan el-Jack. 1972: 227).

Since the 1970s, several new learned societies and professional associations have come into existence in the Sudan:

- The International Society for Nubian Studies was officially founded in 1972 in Warsaw by the late Polish archaeologist Kazimierz Józef Marian Michałowski (1901-1981) who was also the Society's First President (Plumley 1982a: Dedication). The Society provides, according to its website, «a focus for those interested in the archaeology and history of Nubia and Sudan and seeks to promote awareness of the rich cultural heritage of this region»¹⁷⁰. Every four years, the Society hosts an international conference (International Conference

¹⁶⁸ The proceedings of the Society were regularly published in the *Sudan Notes and Records* or as offprints at McCorquodale & Co. in Khartoum. For an overview of the proceedings of the first thirteen annual conferences of the Society see: Mustafa Mohammed Khogali. 1968: 200.

¹⁶⁹ "Philosophical Society of the Sudan" 1949. In: *Nature* (March 26, 1949): 475-476.

¹⁷⁰ For information on the Society, see <https://nubianstudiessociety.wordpress.com/>.

for Nubian Studies) that covers the whole field of the Nubian studies¹⁷¹. The last (14th) conference was held in Paris in fall 2018. A biannual Newsletter was published between 1983 and 1994 under the auspices of the Society for Nubian Studies and the Department of Early Christian Art at the University of Leiden, the Netherlands.

- The Sudan Studies Association of North America (SSA-US) emerged from the 1980 meeting of the African Studies Association, where three panels were independently organized on Sudan. The professional association for scholars of Sudan and South Sudan was founded in 1981 in order to pursue knowledge about all aspects of life in the Sudan (and now South Sudan) and to foster closer ties among scholars in the Sudan, North America, Europe, the Middle East, and elsewhere. The Society issues the *SSA Bulletin*¹⁷².
- The Sudan Studies Society of the United Kingdom was established in 1987. In order to reflect the continuing interest in South Sudan after its independence, the Society has changed its name in 2016, to become the Society for Study of the Sudans (SSS-UK). The Society's overall aim is to promote the study and understanding of the South Sudan and Sudan in all their aspects. Since its foundation, the Society has published the biannual journal *Sudan Studies*. The US and UK Sudan Studies Associations cooperate in the organisation of International Sudan Studies Conferences¹⁷³.
- The Sudan Archaeological Research Society (SARS) was founded in 1991 to provide a focus for the study of the archaeology and history of the Sudan and of Egypt south of the First Nile Cataract. Through lectures, seminars, publications and its bulletin *Sudan & Nubia*¹⁷⁴ the Society aims to promote interest in the

¹⁷¹ Previous conferences have been held in Essen (1969), Warsaw (1972), Chantilly (1975), Cambridge (1978), Heidelberg (1982), Uppsala (1986), Geneva (1990), Lille-Paris 1994, Boston 1998, Rome (2002), Warsaw (2006), London (2010), Neuchâtel (2014) and Paris (2018). For the proceedings of the 13th conference at Neuchâtel see Honegger 2018.

¹⁷² The SSA bulletin replaces the previous SSA Newsletter, which appeared in 21 issues between 1981 and 2001. For information on the Society, see <https://www.sudansstudies.org>.

¹⁷³ Previous conferences have been held in Khartoum (1988), Durham (1991), Boston (1994), Cairo (1997), Durham (2000), Washington DC (2003), Bergen (2006), Pretoria (2009) and Bonn (2012).

¹⁷⁴ The annual bulletin replaces the previous biannual *SARS Newsletter*, which appeared in eleven issues between 1991 and 1996. For information on the Society, see <http://www.sudarchrs.org.uk/> [28.04.2019].

Sudan's cultural heritage. The Society also mounts expeditions to excavate and record threatened sites before they are lost to knowledge forever.

- The Sudan Archaeological Society of Berlin (Sudanarchäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin; SAG) was founded in 1993 with the aim of spreading knowledge on the ancient cultures of the Middle Nile Valley and of preserving endangered archaeological monuments in the Sudan. The SAG publishes the annually journal *Der Antike Sudan – Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (MittSAG) on the archaeology, history and culture of ancient Sudan¹⁷⁵.
- The Sudan Archaeological Society (SAS) in Khartoum was founded in 1989 with the aim to protect, promote and restore Sudan's unique archaeological treasures. Among the founding members were the artist Ahmed M. Shibrain (1931-2017), one of the leading figures of Modernism in the Sudan¹⁷⁶.

Besides the abovementioned Societies and Associations, mention should be made of the following journals dedicated to the Sudan and/or Nubian Studies:

- *Sudanic Africa* was an international academic journal devoted to the presentation and discussion of historical sources on the Sudanic belt, published in sixteen volumes between 1990 and 2007. For information on the journal, see <https://org.uib.no/smi/sa/sahome.html>
- The open-access journal *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*, was established in 2014 with the aim of providing a cross-disciplinary platform for historians, linguists, anthropologists, archaeologists, and other scholars interested in all periods and aspects of Nubian civilization. For information on the journal, see <https://digitalcommons.fairfield.edu/djns/>.

Since 1956, Sudan is a member state of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) – and several cultural and natural sites are

¹⁷⁵ A list of all volumes of the journal is available online on the website of the society under: <https://www.sag-online.de/der-antike-sudan-mitteilungen-der-sag-e-v-mittsag/mittsag-titel-inhalt-und-download/> [28.04.2019].

¹⁷⁶ Ahmed M. Shibrain, personal communication, Khartoum: June 24, 2006.

since inscribed on the World Heritage List or World Heritage Tentative List¹⁷⁷. In 1960 Sudan joined the Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)¹⁷⁸, but Sudan is neither a member of the International Council of Museums (ICOM)¹⁷⁹, nor of the International Council of African Museums (AFRICOM)¹⁸⁰, nor of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)¹⁸¹.

It should be noted, that the establishment of local learned societies and scholarly associations under the initiative of British officials and administrators has significantly shaped the development of the emerging discipline of archaeology. But the experience abroad has, according to Amara Thornton, in turn influenced the creation and promotion of an archaeological identity at home:

«British archaeology was not only concerned with the material remains of the United Kingdom, however. It was the societies, organisations and schemes that facilitated British research abroad that strongly influenced the creation and promotion of an archaeological identity. In so doing, they continued to shift the perception of archaeology from a largely desk-bound, antiquarian, 'dryasdust' [sic] pursuit (despite the 'heroic' archaeologist-diplomats of the mid-nineteenth century) to an alluring, dangerous, exotic adventure» (Thornton 2018: 20-21).

Bruce Trigger, in an article on the history of African archaeology (1990), has highlighted the openness of African archaeology to metropolitan influences as especially characteristic of colonial archaeologies. The ideology of European

¹⁷⁷ Inscribed Cultural World Heritage Sites: Gebel Barkal and the Sites of the Napatan Region (2003); Archaeological Sites of the Island of Meroe (2011). Inscribed Natural World Heritage Sites: Sanganeb Marine National Park and Dugonab Bay – Mukkawar Island Marine National Park (2016). Cultural Sites on the World Heritage Tentative List: Kerma (1994); Old Dongola (1994); Suakin (1994). Natural Sites on the World Heritage Tentative List: Dinder National Park (2004); Wadi Howar National Park (2004).

¹⁷⁸ ICCROM aims at contributing to the worldwide conservation and restoration of cultural property by initiating, developing, promoting and facilitating conditions for such conservation and restoration.

¹⁷⁹ The International Council of Museums (ICOM), created in 1946, is a non-governmental, non-profit organization committed to promoting and protecting natural and cultural heritage, present and future, tangible and intangible. The ICOM's Secretariat is housed in the UNESCO building in Paris.

¹⁸⁰ AFRICOM is a non-governmental, autonomous and pan-African organization of museums (NGO) created in October 1999 in Lusaka, Zambia. It seeks to contribute to the positive development of African societies by encouraging the role of museums as generators of culture and as agents of cultural cohesion. For further information see Abungu 2018: 33, 35 and 36-37 and visit the archived ICOM-website: <http://archives.icom.museum/africom.html> [26.10.2019].

¹⁸¹ The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), a non-governmental organization headquartered in Paris, was founded in Warsaw in 1965 after the adoption of the Charter of Venice, in order to promote the doctrine and the techniques of conservation. In 1970, Sudan was invited to establish a National Committee of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), however, the idea did not materialize.

colonial expansion and the influences of the social and political conditions in Africa profoundly shaped the development of the discipline. But Trigger also pointed to the consequences of some of the research that the colonial state promoted:

«While African archaeology has been powerfully influenced by its social and political milieu, its often unanticipated findings have altered entrenched interpretations of African history. Because of this, archaeology has played a significant role in helping to promote the decolonization of Africa. It is more than a passive reflection of social, political and economic conditions, but must be seen as a discipline that plays an active role in helping to bring about social changes» (Trigger 1990: 309-310).

In conclusion, it should be noted with the Norwegian archaeologist Bjørnar J. Olsen (2001b: 47) that archaeology as both a scientific discipline and a socio-political enterprise is «inextricably linked to the modernist project that emerged out of the 19th century». The modern, anthropological episteme (Foucault 1970) opened up a new epistemological and ontological space in which «new conditions of possibility stimulated and dictated new ways of constructing and classifying knowledge». The 'epistemological rupture' (*obstacle épistémologique*, Bachelard 1938; *rupture/coupure épistémologique*, Althusser 1965), according to Olsen, not only radically changed our perception and evaluation of the world and the past but also produced a new historical consciousness and sense of belonging. Archaeology has thus –as Julian Thomas (2004) emphasizes at once been made possible by modernity and contributed to the formation of the modern world.

2.3.3 Establishment of Institutional Spaces

On November 30th, 1898, Lord Kitchener, on his return from the Sudan, issued an appeal to the British public «in the name and memory of General Gordon¹⁸² for funds to erect and endow a College at Khartoum "as a pledge that the memory of Gordon

¹⁸² Charles George Gordon (1833-1885), also known as Chinese Gordon, Gordon Pasha, and Gordon of Khartoum was a British Army officer and administrator. In China, Gordon and his men were instrumental in putting down the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864); a revolt against the Qing dynasty by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In the Sudan, Gordon, in his function as Governor General (1877-1879 and 1884-1885) aimed at suppressing the slave trade and at the "regeneration of Africa" (i.e. redressing the damage done to the African continent by the slave trade (cp. Manchuelle 1996: 559). Sent to suppress the Mahdi's revolt, Gordon died at the siege of Khartoum on 26 January 1885.

is still alive [...]»¹⁸³. In less than two months, the sum of 100'000 pounds which had been asked for, was subscribed, so that the building operations started in January 1899 with the laying of the foundation stone by Lord Cromer in the name of Queen Victoria¹⁸⁴. James Currie (1868-1937)¹⁸⁵, who held the position of Director of Education, was appointed Principal of the College at the beginning of the year 1900¹⁸⁶. The college – built as part of Kitchener's wide-ranging educational reforms – officially opened on November 8, 1902 by Kitchener, although it was not until 1903 that the buildings completed and an Industrial School, a Training College and the Primary School at Khartoum were housed there (El Subki Mohamad el Gizouli 1968: 29). To this were added instructional workshops for apprentices in 1904. In 1901, Henry Wellcome offered to donate bacteriological and analytical laboratories to be part of the Gordon College whereon the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories were established in 1903 at the Gordon Memorial College under the direction of Dr. Andrew Balfour (1873-1931)¹⁸⁷.

On the recommendation of James Currie, an Economic Museum «to assist the commercial development of the country»¹⁸⁸ was established at Gordon Memorial College in 1901. The Museum was intended to house and investigate the various raw products such as «samples of cotton, tobacco, gum, and other Sudan products» (Sudan Government: Reports on the Finance 1905/A: 34), but also curiosities like the manuscript journal kept by General Gordon during the Taiping rebellion (Sudan Government: Reports on the Finance 1904/III: 46). Wallis Budge, who visited the Economic Museum in 1905, described his impressions in the first volume of *The Egyptian Sûdân*:

¹⁸³ Gordon Memorial College. Reports and Accounts to December 31st, 1901, 4.

¹⁸⁴ The plans of the College were drawn up by Dimitri Fabricius Bey (1848-1907), the chief architect of khedivial buildings in Egypt.

¹⁸⁵ James Currie, Currie knighted in 1920. Civil servant and collector of antiquities. Educated in Edinburgh and Oxford Universities. Joined the Egyptian Education Department in 1899 and was selected in 1900 by Lord Cromer to be the first Director of Education in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a post he held until 1914. His collection of Egyptian antiquities was purchased by Liverpool Museums in 1956.

¹⁸⁶ On the opening of the Gordon Memorial College and for the inauguration addresses see: Sudan Gazette, Special Issue, 8th November 1902.

¹⁸⁷ Andrew Balfour remained in Khartoum until 1913 and his work was published in four *Reports from the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories* (Balfour 1904, 1906, 1908 and 1911).

¹⁸⁸ Gordon Memorial College. Reports and Accounts to December 31st, 1901, 12.

«I visited the Economic Museum and found the exhibits well displayed, and labelled in a clear and instructive manner. The collection is one of very considerable interest, and it is so arranged that a great deal of information may be gained about the products of the Sudan in a comparatively short time. [...]. In and about the Museum are many objects of interest, and among them visitors will note with interest the printing press and the lithographic stones from which General Gordon's proclamations were printed» (Budge 1907/II: 494).

The Economic Museum was under the management of a representative Board consisting of Mrs. Hilda M. Broun (Honorary Secretary)¹⁸⁹, Mr. Alfred F. Broun¹⁹⁰, Andrew Balfour, James Currie and Lord Edward Cecil¹⁹¹. The Economic Museum was integrated in 1904 into a general Museum alternately called the Sudan Museum¹⁹² or the Sudan Government Museum¹⁹³. However, the designation 'Economic Museum' for a general museum including also archaeological and ethnographic objects was still used sporadically¹⁹⁴. The museum, according to the corresponding reports¹⁹⁵, consisted in 1904 of a 'General Museum' featuring 'economic exhibits', geological specimens, timber specimens, archaeological remains, natural history specimens, ethnographic objects¹⁹⁶, a 'modern historical' collection, and a herbarium and of a 'Laboratories Museum'¹⁹⁷. Since the room allotted for the Museum on the second floor in the east wing was considered too small for the increasing number of exhibits, James Currie in his function as Director of Education and *ex officio* Principal of the Gordon Memorial College, allowed «the

¹⁸⁹ Emily Hilda Mahala Broun (1864-1927), born Howard, was an expert botanist and entomologist (Budge 1907/II: 494).

¹⁹⁰ Alfred Forbes Broun (1858-1953), Director of Woods and Forests under the Sudan Government.

¹⁹¹ Gordon Memorial College. Reports and Accounts to December 31st, 1903, 11 / Sudan Government: Reports on the Finance 1904/III: 91). Lord Edward Herbert Gascoyne-Cecil (1867-1918), agent-general of the Sudan Government in Cairo and director of intelligence, 1904-1905.

¹⁹² Cp. Report for the Year 1903 on the Sudan Museum. In: Gordon Memorial College. Reports and Accounts, to December 31st, 1903, 13-15.

¹⁹³ Cp. Annual Report Sudan Government Museum. In: Sudan Government: Reports on the Finance 1904/III: 90-94. In Count Gleichen's 1905 compendium *The Anglo Egyptian Sudan*, the museum is called 'Gordon College Museum' (Crowfoot and Gleichen 1905/I: 311 and 315).

¹⁹⁴ Karl Baedeker's 1908 and 1914 editions of the *Handbook for Travellers for Egypt and the Sûdân* for instance mention «an *Economic Museum* (with interesting archaeological and ethnographical collections)» / (with interesting archaeological, ethnographical and natural history collections)», Baedeker 1908: 413 and 1914: 428, original emphasis).

¹⁹⁵ Report for the Year 1903 on the Sudan Museum. In: Gordon Memorial College. Reports and Accounts to December 31st, 1903, 13-15 / Annual Report Sudan Government Museum. In: Sudan Government: Reports on the Finance 1904/III: 90-94.

¹⁹⁶ Mention is made of «[n]atives' weapons, household utensils, musical instruments, and ornaments» presented by the Governor-General, as well as by Governors and District Commissioners of the Provinces.

¹⁹⁷ Six years later, in 1910, the museum had been divided into eight sections: «Economic Products, Ethnology and Anthropology, Archaeology, Geology and Mineralogy, Zoology, Botany, Historical and General, and, Library» (Butler 1910: 572).

utilization of the walls of the wide passage to the east wing for the exhibition of the collections of ethnological and natural history specimens and the putting up of show cases along the sides, as the expansion required it»¹⁹⁸.



Gordon College, Khartoum c. 1930. Sudan Archive – University of Durham Postcard.

The first archaeological remains received in the museum had been collected by order of the then Governor-General, Francis R. Wingate:

«The first specimens received, and which had been collected by order of His Excellency the Governor-General, consisted of antique urns, fragments of encaustic tiles with raised patterns and engraved Meroitic writing, and bones from the Hamadab Pyramids near Kabushia. One of the tumuli, said to be graves of the Anaks¹⁹⁹, was also by order of his Excellency the Governor-General, opened at Berber by Bimbashi Ryan, who discovered the skeleton of a

¹⁹⁸ Annual Report Sudan Government Museum. In: Sudan Government: Reports on the Finance 1904/III: 91.

¹⁹⁹ The word Anak was according to Standon (1911: 277) used by «the natives all over the Sudan when referring to inhabitants of ancient times, about whom they know nothing». Jackson (1926: 24), who mentions a grave opened at Berber by Bimbashi Ryan (yet in 1906), equates «all the so-called "Anag" remains with post-Meroitic culture.

woman lying in spherical cavity worked out of granite. This skeleton, together with strings of beads found on the body, and earthenware vessels, were sent to the Museum»²⁰⁰.

Likewise, the idea of establishing an archaeological museum in Khartoum goes back to Wingate, who in a 1904 memorandum expressed his wish for a suitable site for an archaeological museum being set apart²⁰¹. But since the funds for the construction of such an edifice were not forthcoming, the respective objects were deposited in a room in the Gordon College.

In the 1903 Report on the Sudan Museum, Hilda M. Broun, then Honorary Secretary of the Museum Board, outlined the situation regarding the Museum as follows:

«It will be seen from the above Report [Report of the Year 1903 on the Sudan Museum] that the beginnings of the Museum are humble, but that given contributions from different parts of the Sudan it will soon be a great attraction. In order to make the Museum interesting to visitors, collections of arms and of arts and manufactures are greatly needed, and it is hoped that by the end of 1904 our requirements in this respect will have been more fully satisfied»²⁰²

The task of building up the collections was assigned to Wallis Budge, who in 1905 was sent by the Trustees of the British Museum to the Sudan «to assist Sir Reginald Wingate in collecting antiquities for the newly established Museum at Kharṭûm» (Budge 1907/I: vii; cp. 1907/I: 437). Under the auspices of John W. Crowfoot, then Assistant Director of Education, Budge collected a number of antiquities from the country between the Second and Third Cataracts; objects which were eventually brought to the Museum at Khartoum (Budge 1907/II: 501). In retrospect, Crowfoot in 1954 commented on the collecting tour:

«The object of this journey, which had been arranged in London the previous summer, was the collection of some monuments which Budge had seen in 1897 and 1898 lying about on various sites in the cataract country and their removal for erection ultimately in a museum at Khartoum (see *The Egyptian Sudan*, vol. I, p. 436) [Budge 1907/I: 436; Crowfoot's emphasis]».

²⁰⁰ Report for the Year 1903 on the Sudan Museum. In: Gordon Memorial College. Reports and Accounts, to December 31st, 1903: 13.

²⁰¹ Memorandum by Major General Sir R. Wingate. In: Sudan Government: Reports on the Finance 1904/II: 39.

²⁰² Report for the Year 1903 on the Sudan Museum. In: Gordon Memorial College. Reports and Accounts, to December 31st, 1903: 15.

When Crowfoot retired in 1926, with his active interest and encouragement, a not unattractive antiquities museum had been formed with his active interest and encouragement, «large enough to display a representative selection of objects from all the sites which had been excavated, yet not so large as to intimidate the casual visitor, who not infrequently had travelled through Egypt and reached Khartoum thoroughly sated with antiquities» (Addison 1954: 58).

Ida Dyrkorn Heierland (2008: 28) has pointed out, that the centralized area in and around Khartoum was «from the very beginning of [the] institutionalization of archaeology looked upon as a natural centre for conservation, research and exhibitions». Interestingly, even Wallis Budge, who worked for the British Museum, found that it was far better to preserve the objects in Khartoum «than in some continental Museum» (Budge 1907/I: 477).

The establishment of colonial museums in the provinces in contrast was – as we will see later – not born out of a desire to evoke local interest in the remains of the past. It was rather a makeshift solution for monuments, which could not be brought to Khartoum; be in view of the logistic impracticality or in view of the excessive costs of such an endeavour²⁰³.

The continuous influx of archaeological material from the provinces resulted in serious storage problems in Khartoum. In 1910, Peter Drummond, then Acting Conservator of Antiquities made an appeal «for more room in the College in which to have and store exhibits» (Currie 1910: 15). James Currie, in the 1910 report on the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum, quotes Drummond on this topic:

«Previous to the advent of accredited excavators, a certain amount of material had been gradually collected. Small objects, such as scarabs, beads, potsherds, &c. were effectively shown and protected in a single case in the room at the College devoted to the Economic Exhibits. Larger objects such as stelae, sculptures and architectural fragments, have had to be stored in a small shed at Khartoum North. Some of these are of considerable value and interest, and they certainly merit a better fate» (Currie 1910: 27).

²⁰³ In other cases, regional museums were born out of individual initiatives of administrative officers in the provinces. These museums were usually incorporated at a subsequent date into the administrative apparatus of the Antiquities Service and were thereon managed from local curators and supervised from the Khartoum headquarters.

The Reports on the Gordon Memorial College antecedent to the First World War regularly contain an appeal for more room in the College «in which to have and store exhibits» (Currie 1910: 25; cp. Currie 1911: 22, 1912: 41 and 1913: 26)²⁰⁴. Additionally, the heavy workload of Peter Drummond and the urgency of appointing a full-time curator is repeatedly addressed (cp. Currie 1911: 22-23, 1912: 34).

When James Currie retired in 1914, his assistant John Winter Crowfoot – a trained archaeologist became his successor²⁰⁵. Crowfoot's interest in the antiquities of the Sudan²⁰⁶ was, according to Shinnie (1961b: 293), «well maintained and he continued to give great support and help to all those who were trying to look after the monuments and built up the Museum collection». In his spare time, Crowfoot made several tours of inspection of sites to record and assess the work under his charge (Crowfoot 1954). However, due lack of time and funds, he was not able to conduct archaeological excavations:

«I had neither the time nor the means to make regular excavations, and very limited space in which to store such objects as might be found, as the development of the country entailed many calls upon the Treasury far more urgent than the provision of a Museum» (Crowfoot 1911: 8-9).

In the early 1920s, Crowfoot, according to Addison (1954: 57-58), succeeded in extending the nucleus of the Gordon College Museum «housed in a room in the Gordon Memorial College originally designed as a class-room» and was able to «to make available as a museum a much larger room at the end of the west wing of the building». The room was fitted with steel and plate glass showcases obtained from England under a transaction with George A. Reisner who in exchange obtained a Greek rhyton, discovered at Meroe, for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1954: 57-58). In 1925/1926, a guide had been prepared by Frank Addison for the use of

²⁰⁴ Similarly, the annual *Reports on the Finance, Administration, and Condition of the Sudan* regularly expressed the hope that a suitable site for an archaeological museum will be set apart in Khartoum.

²⁰⁵ However, Crowfoot was already responsible for the archaeological collection of the Gordon College Museum since 1905 (cp. Broun 1905: 60 and 65). Mohamed Omer Beshir, who wrote that Currie was «followed by Crawford, an archaeologist» (1969: 56), confused Crowfoot with Crawford. The same confusion is found in Abdalla and Sconyers 1993: 8.

²⁰⁶ During his tenure as Assistant Director of Education, Crowfoot – in collaboration with Albert Edward W. Gleichen – compiled a first overview report on the antiquities of the Sudan, which along with Count Gleichen's contemporaneous historical overview (Gleichen 1905) provides a detailed picture of Sudan's past.

visitors to the museum at the Gordon College» (Sudan Government 1926: 75; cp. Sudan Government 1925: 48) of which an Arabic translation was published by the end of 1938 (Sudan Government 1938: 88). According to the revised and enlarged second edition of 1934 of the *Short Guide to the Museum of Antiquities, Gordon College, Khartoum* (Addison 1934), the museum collection was arranged in chronological order, grouped in five periods (Middle Empire Period, New Empire Period, Ethiopian Period, Meroitic Period, Christian Period), and displayed in 24 museum cases.

With the outbreak of the First World War, all European excavations in the Sudan were suspended (Adams 1996: 5) and «[n]either Mr. Wellcome's excavations at Gebel Moya and elsewhere nor Dr. Garstang's at Meroe have been resumed» (Crowfoot 1916: 23)²⁰⁷. Since America did not enter the war until late in 1917, George Andrew Reisner and his team were «in sole possession of the Nubian and Sudanese fields»²⁰⁸ (Adams 1996: 5). Peter Drummond, the Acting Conservator of Antiquities was engaged in censorship duties during the war and was thus not able to further develop the museum.

It is important to stress that the foundation of the Gordon Memorial College in 1902 provided the basis for the development of two key institutional spaces of modernity: the university and the museum. Both the university and the museum are spaces in which universal concepts such as knowledge, humanity, reason and truth are perused and safeguarded through scholarship and research and in which associated beliefs, social norms and values are passed on to those interested²⁰⁹.

²⁰⁷ After the interruption of John Garstang's excavations in 1914, Garstang, according to Sinnie and Anderson (2004: 3), never returned to the Sudan after 1914. He worked in Palestine, where he served as the Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and from 1920 to 1926 also as the Director of the Palestine Department of Antiquities. Henry Wellcome likewise never returned to the Sudan, and his excavations were not resumed, even though the excavation licence reverted only in 1938 – two years after Wellcome's death – to the Sudan Government.

²⁰⁸ According to Adams (1996: 4), Reisner and his expedition in that time obtained «one of the most generous excavation concessions of all time».

²⁰⁹ Interestingly, the universal concepts are reflected in the motto of the University of Khartoum on the University's emblem which reads: Allah - al-hagīga - al-watan - al-insaniyya; God - Truth - Country – Humanity, and mean «[t]he culmination of knowledge i[n] the Omniscient God, the secrets of whose creation man has been and shall for ever remain pursuing; the basis of knowledge i[n] truth; [whose] purpose is the elevation of man, our countrymen and fellow-men at large» (El-Nazeer Dafalla 1969: 173).

The University of Khartoum was formally established in 1956 from the University College of Khartoum, which itself dated from a merger in 1951 of the University College embracing the Faculties of Agriculture, Arts, Engineering, Law, Science and Veterinary Science and the Kitchener School of Medicine²¹⁰. The University of Khartoum actually consists of 23 Faculties, 12 Research Centres and 12 Institutes. Archaeology became a part of the Department of History in 1964 and initially offered a Postgraduate/Higher Diploma in Egyptology under the supervision of Egyptologist Mustafa el Amir (Boozer 2017: 236), before it became a department of its own in 1969 (Heierland 2008: 46). Subsequently, with Peter Shinnie as Head of Department (1966-1969), the Department taught Archaeology to Honours students of the Department of History. Abdel Gadir Mohammed, the next Head of Department initiated a BA in Archaeology, which was successfully continued by his successor Ahmed Mohammed Ali Hakem²¹¹. However, Sudanese archaeologists were «still routinely sent abroad (mostly to England)» for graduate training; a practice strongly criticized by William Y. Adams who believed that «[t]here they are firmly indoctrinated in the colonial or post-colonial traditions» (Adams 1981: 23). Shinnie in the same volume countered Adams' arguments and declared that «the benefit obtained from the greater exposure to methods and techniques and diversity of views not as yet available in Khartoum outweighs the [alleged] "ideological" disadvantages» (Shinnie 1981b: 30) and concluded:

«[N]ow there is a flourishing Department of Archaeology in the University of Khartoum, largely staffed by Sudanese scholars, and training increased numbers of Sudanese students, some of whom go on to further training - usually abroad - and return to their own University as teachers, or to posts which are being established in the new Sudanese Universities, or to staff the Antiquities Service - or in a few cases go as a valuable export to other countries» (Shinnie 1981b: 27; cp. page 30).

David Edwards has reminded us that the beginnings of teaching archaeology at the University of Khartoum were essentially courses in Egyptology and that even today, 'Nubian' archaeology is often still treated as an appendage of Egyptology:

²¹⁰ For a brief historical overview of the University of Khartoum see Taha and Bjørkelo 2016: 2005ff, and visit the website of the University: <https://uofk.edu/index.php/en/about/history> [22.05.2019].

²¹¹ Today, the Department of Archaeology belongs to the Faculty of Arts and offers B.A, M.A, and PhD degrees in a wide range of topics.

«When archaeology was first taught in the post-Independence University of the 1960s, it was essentially a course in Egyptology which was provided. Similarly, within North America and much of Europe, Sudanese – if still largely represented as 'Nubian' – archaeology remains inextricably bound up with university and museum departments of Egyptology» (Edwards 2003: 138).

However, the Sudanese are well aware and proud of their own indigenous traditions and their message for the present. This is also reflected in the emblem of the University of Khartoum created by the Sudanese artist Ibrahim El Salahi²¹² in 1966 – and first brought to public view at a graduation ceremony on March 1967 – which features as «a symbol of indigenous Sudanese history and civilization» (El-Nazeer Dafalla 1969: 173) a vignette depicting a tablet of offering from the remains of the Meroitic Kingdom in which the original Meroitic inscription has been replaced by the four Meroitic letters (right to left) kh. r. ṭ. m.²¹³.



Khartoum University Crest – emblem of the University of Khartoum created in 1966 by the renowned Sudanese artist Ibrahim El Salahi.

We have seen with Shepherd (2002: 194) that the institutional spaces within which the discipline of archaeology was to be practiced were established in Africa by trained professionals working within institutionalized contexts. The same holds true for the Sudan, where trained professionals laid the foundations for the development of the first university and the first museum. The relation between colonialism and

²¹² Ibrahim El-Salahi (born in Omdurman, Sudan in 1930) is one of the most important figures in Arab-African Modernism. He studied painting at the School of Design at Gordon Memorial College from 1949 until 1951 before moving to London where he studied at the Slade School of Art in the 1950s. Ibrahim El-Salahi now lives and works in Oxford.

²¹³ For the genesis of the emblem ('Khartoum University Crest') and interpretative declarations see El-Nazeer Dafalla 1969.

the development of archaeology was direct, all the more since several of the colonial administrators were themselves archaeological practitioners. Shepherd emphasizes that colonialism and its associated processes provided «the dominant formative contexts in the development of the discipline». But at the same time, he recognizes nationalism «as a moving force in anticolonial and postcolonial archaeologies» (Shepherd 2002: 191). And indeed, nationalism was, as Bushra J. Hamad (1995) has shown, also in the Sudan the moving force towards a postcolonial archaeology²¹⁴. However, Olsen et.al. (2012) have warned against seeing political macro-processes (or the acumen of key figures) as the primary movers in the development of archaeology and have proposed a different perspective, in which the focus is on the "ecology of practices" as a tool for making present «what cause[d] practitioners to think and feel and act» (Stengers 2005: 195). The account of how disparate practitioners and practices have contributed to the institutionalisation of archaeology and the emergence of the first museum in the Sudan is thus a crucial element of this part.

2.4 Excursus I: Perspectives on Sudanese Anthropology

Since the beginning of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1889, British administrators of the Sudan showed a great interest in anthropology, and several British officials conducted extensive research on the peoples they governed. John Winter Crowfoot, during his tenure as Assistant Director of Education compiled in 1905 a first overview report on the ethnology of the Sudan (Crowfoot 1905) which appeared in Count Gleichen's first official survey of the country following the Reconquest (Gleichen 1905). Harold A. MacMichael (1882-1969)²¹⁵, who worked for the Sudan Political Service from 1905 to 1934, also combined his administrative duties with ethnographic research. His book on the tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan (Mac Michael 1912) is considered to be the first major ethnographic work

²¹⁴ A strong impetus to this move was given by Anthony J. Arkell, the first Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology for the Sudan, who stressed «the importance of archaeology for creating a national history to which the Sudanese people could relate» (Trigger 1994, p. 334). Arkell is described in William Y. Adams' typology of *Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology* as the founding genius of the post-colonial paradigm (Adams 1981).

²¹⁵ Harold Alfred MacMichael worked from 1905 to 1934 for the Sudan Political Service; occupying the position of Civil Secretary of the Sudan Government (1925-1934). MacMichael was also the author of the two-volume work *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* (MacMichael 1922). Knighted in 1932.

on the Sudan. Further mention should be made Jack H. Driberg (1923-1946),²¹⁶ who worked on the Didinga of south-eastern Sudan (Driberg 1927); Leonard F. Nalder (1888-1958),²¹⁷ who provided an overview of the tribes of the Mongalla Province²¹⁸ (Nalder 1937); Paul P. Howell (1917-1994),²¹⁹ who worked on Nuer Customary Law (Howell 1954); Andrew Paul (1907-1984),²²⁰ who wrote a history of the Beja Tribes (Paul 1954); and Bazett A. Lewis (1907-1964 or 1970),²²¹ who worked on the Murle of the south-eastern Sudan (Lewis 1972). Both, Paul P. Howell and Bazett A. Lewis were trained anthropologists who, according to Johnson (2007: 324), «took further degrees at the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford under Evans-Pritchard's supervision».

The first mention of fieldwork by a trained anthropologist in the Sudan is that of Carnegie Research Scholar in Anthropology Alexander MacTier Pirrie (1882-1907) who worked «among the Baruns and other primitive negroid peoples on the White Nile»²²². James Currie, in the report on the Gordon Memorial College for the year 1906, remarks on MacTier Pirrie's investigations²²³.

«From an anthropological standpoint the need of such investigation is most pressing. With the situation as it is now in the Sudan, and with the rapid opening-up of the country, customs

²¹⁶ Jack Herbert Driberg worked from 1923 to 1925 for the Sudan Political Service. Upon his return to Britain, he enrolled as a student of anthropology at London University and later at Cambridge, where he began to lecture in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1931 and was appointed to a fulltime Faculty Lectureship in 1934.

²¹⁷ Leonard Fielding Nalder worked from 1912 to 1936 for the Sudan Political Service. He was Governor of Fung Province (1927-1930), Mongalla Province (1930-1936) and Equatorial Province (1936).

²¹⁸ During the colonial era, Mongalla Province reached south to Uganda and east towards Ethiopia. In 1956, Mongalla and the surrounding province was absorbed into Equatoria Province; today the Mongalla region is part of South Sudan's Equatoria Region.

²¹⁹ Paul Philip Howell worked from 1938 to 1955 for the Sudan Political Service; 1953-1955 in the rank and status of Deputy Governor.

²²⁰ Andrew Paul worked from 1929 to 1955 for the Sudan Political Service. He was Governor of Kassala province (1954-1955).

²²¹ Bazett Annesley Lewis worked from 1930 to 1954 for the Sudan Political Service; 1952-1953, in the function of Deputy Governor of Equatorial Province.

²²² The name Barun or Burun was according to Tucker and Bryan (2018: 101) used by the Arabs and had been adopted by Europeans to refer to a number of tribes in the Gezira Province. However, according to their understanding, the name refers to the Nilotic languages or dialects spoken in this area, and to some of the people speaking them.

²²³ During his expedition, Pirrie contracted a severe illness (*kala-azar*, leishmaniasis), from which he died some months later, on his return to Scotland. His only report on the Burun had been published in 1907 (Pirrie 1907). The data that he had collected in the form of notes, measurements and photographs were published posthumously by his Edinburgh colleagues Waterston of Edinburgh University (Waterston 1908), and Vallance of the Royal Scottish Museum (Vallance 1908). Cp. Johnson 2007: 313, 317 and 322.

change and vanish, and even races disappear. The spread of either Christianity or of Mohammedanism will inevitably obliterate many customs and traditions well worthy of being recorded, customs and traditions, which if not now recorded, will vanish beyond recall» (Currie 1907: 11).

Here, the interest of anthropologists in the 'indigenous peoples' seems to be limited to the preservation of 'a dying culture' for posterity. However, elsewhere, Currie insisted, that «it is evident that knowledge of this nature must materially aid the administrator» (1908: 20). But in this regard, Pirrie's expedition to measure the physical traits of Southern tribes was – according to Douglas H. Johnson, far from being successful: «While the Sudan government wanted a shortcut to understanding native thinking, the anthropologists at this time were more interested in measuring the primitive cranium than in penetrating the primitive mind» (Johnson 2007: 313).

Ethnographic inquiries were mainly encouraged in the southern Sudan, where the British officials, according to the Canadian anthropologist Janice Boddy (2007: 92), confronted «a confusing array of 'primitive' peoples who, ruthlessly exploited by prior regimes, were inclined to defend themselves against this latest invasion of 'Turks'²²⁴». The commissioning of anthropologists to study tribal societies reflected the belief that «'[g]ood administration' «was largely a matter of applied social anthropology» (Sanderson & Sanderson 1981: 179.). In the same time ethnographic research was neglected in the colonial Muslim north, «where inhabitants were deemed semi-civilized and already well-understood» (Boddy 2008 n.p.). Adams (1996: 11) notes in this regard: «In the first half of the 20th century Nubia and the northern Sudan were almost wholly ignored by ethnographers and ethnologists»²²⁵.

The lead in promoting ethnographic knowledge was according to Johnson (2007: 312) taken by the Education Department of the Sudan Government which recommitted itself in 1908 to support the anthropological work in two ways (Johnson 2007: 313f):

²²⁴ In the early years of the Condominium many Sudanese did not distinguish between the British and the Turks who had previously ruled and thus referred to the Condominium simply as *al-Turkiya al-Thaniya*; the second Turkiya (Collins 1984: 11).

²²⁵ The first comprehensive ethnography filling this lacuna was according to Adams (1996: 11), Rolf Herzog's 1957 monograph *Die Nubier: Untersuchungen und Beobachtungen zur Gruppengliederung, Gesellschaftsform und Wirtschaftsweise*.

Firstly, the Anglo-Egyptian Administration hired Charles and Brenda Seligman to conduct a survey of the Nilotic tribes in order to gather knowledge about their laws and social organisation. In an article in *Nature* of October 21, 1909, British anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon gave notice of this survey thereby pointing to the relationship between anthropological knowledge production and governance²²⁶:

«The Anglo-Egyptian Administration, as is well known, fully recognises the far-reaching interest which attaches to the natural and human history of Egypt and the Sudan, and directly and indirectly it has done a great deal to extend our knowledge of the meteorology, geology, geography, zoology, botany, and archaeology of these regions. In continuance of that enlightened policy, arrangements have been made to organise an ethnographical survey of the Sudan. Those in authority realise that it is impossible to educate or govern a people without some knowledge of their psychology, and no mere facility with their language will suffice without a knowledge of native customs, ceremonies, ideas, and ideals» (Haddon 1909: 491).

Secondly, the Sudan Government conducted an experiment in anthropological training of probationary civilian recruits to Sudan Government Service in Oxford and Cambridge (Currie 1908a: 21, 1909b: 18 and 1911: 19). With the implementation of the Lugardian principles of Indirect Rule and Native Administration²²⁷ in the 1920s, the necessity of having university-trained ethnologists to advise the District Commissioners and to inform the Headquarters increased. Anthropology was thus, as Johnson (2007: 322) writes, «no longer being seen as something which could be crammed into an administrator's probationary training (...), but as an altogether more complex subject requiring its own specialisms». In view of the need for specialist expertise, Harold MacMichael in 1929 and his successor James Angus Gillan (1885-1981)²²⁸ in 1937 proposed to hire a permanent government anthropologist (Boddy 2007: 92). Gillan, according to Boddy, advised that a serving member of the Sudan

²²⁶ The association between the discipline of anthropology and the Sudan Government is described by Douglas H. Johnson (2007: 309) as symbiotic and is reported to have continued «right through the Condominium until the middle of the twentieth century».

²²⁷ The policy Native Administration derived from Frederick J. D. Lugard's theory of Indirect Rule which appeared in his book *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, published in 1922. Indirect rule involved, according to southern Sudanese historian Deng D. Akol Ruay (1994: 40), «ruling, as far as possible, through existing political and social structures and the use of tribal chiefs as agents of the colonial power». Thereby, the ability «to lead through tact and patience rather than to rule through the sanction of power» was considered as «the first essentials of successful native administration» (Archer 1924).

²²⁸ James Angus Gillan worked from 1909 to 1939 for the Sudan Political Service; occupying the position of Assistant Civil Secretary of the Sudan Government (1932-1934) and Civil Secretary of the Sudan Government (1934-1939). Knighted in 1939.

Political Service would be appointed "Anthropological Adviser and Conservator of Antiquities to the Government", so as «to coordinate the various anthropological, ethnological and linguistic studies» (Gillan cited in Boddy 2007: 93; cp. Gillan 1939: 1) conducted by officials and missionaries. The choice eventually fell on Anthony J. Arkell who in 1939 was appointed Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology. In a letter to his one-time colleague in Northern Kordofan and Darfur written in October 1937, Douglas Newbold (1894-1945)²²⁹ advised Arkell to put the emphasis on the archaeological aspect of his future employment and to leave the anthropological work to anthropologists such as Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard and Siegfried Frederick Stephen Nadel (Newbold in Henderson 1953: 79) In the same letter, Newbold advised Arkell to concentrate in his forthcoming study leave in Oxford on excavation and museum work. Even though he did not follow this latter advice (he took a Diploma in Anthropology and earned a Bachelor of Letters), once in office, Arkell actually put the focus on archaeology (and history) and widely published in this field²³⁰. From the late 1940s, the research activities of the anthropologists working in the Sudan were governed by an Anthropological Board staffed with members from the Civil Secretary's office and the Education Office (Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed 1982: 69)²³¹.

In his analysis of the intimate historical connection between anthropology and colonialism, Sudanese anthropologist Abdel Ghaffar Mohammed Ahmed asserts, that anthropology played «a major role in introducing to the administration the people of the colonies and in showing ways by which their social system could be controlled and hence exploited» (Abdel Ghaffar Mohammed Ahmed 1973: 264)²³². Historian Douglas H. Johnson in contrast writes that «[t]he case of the Sudan would argue the opposite», since «[m]ore often, administrators introduced their 'people' to

²²⁹ Douglas Newbold worked from 1920 to 1945 for the Sudan Political Service, occupying the position of Governor, Kordofan Province (1933-1938); Deputy Civil Secretary (1938-1939); Civil Secretary (1939-1945).

²³⁰ However, already during his tenure as Assistant District Commissioner, District Commissioner and Acting Governor of the Province of Darfur, Arkell published a series of contributions to *Sudan Notes and Records* regarding anthropological topics (Arkell 1926, 1936a-d, 1937a-d). With his appointment as Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, Arkell published at least five more articles on anthropological topics in SNR (Arkell 1939a-c, 1945a and b, and 1947c).

²³¹ According to Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed (1982: 69) and El Wathing Kameir and Zeinab Bashir Elbakri (1989: 27) the board was instituted in 1940. However, from the 1948 editorial notes of *Sudan Notes and Records*, it appears that the Anthropological Board held its first meeting only in 1947 (SNR Vol. XXIX, 1948. Part I: iv).

²³² Bushra J. Hamad (1995: 255-257) similarly presents anthropology (and archaeology) «as disciplines that could be utilized for administrative purposes».

the anthropologists» (Johnson 2007: 328). Douglas thus rejects the view, that anthropology was 'the handmaiden of colonialism' (cp. Lewis 2014: 73ff). «Anthropologists were», according to Johnson, on the contrary «both unnecessary and useless in providing the type of political intelligence administrators needed on a daily basis» (Johnson 2007: 328). But «the very existence of social anthropology in the colonial period» constituted according to Wendy James (1973: 42) «a source of potential radical criticism of the colonial order itself»; a criticism which had, of course, to be expressed in an indirect form. Raymond Firth similarly portrays the role of anthropology in colonial contexts as «to supply ammunition for the forces of contradiction within the system» (Firth 1984: 44), while Alex de Waal (2002: 253) more generally argues that anthropology is «perhaps the only discipline that is inherently subversive». Wendy James, characterizes the «questing and even critical» (James 1990: 102) tradition of ethnographic inquiry in the Sudan as 'investigative' – grounded in the «practical confrontation with the geography, economy, vernacular languages and patterns of authority (James 1990: 131, her emphasis), promoted by the «colonial encounter [...] of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan» (James 1990: 102) and resulting in an «'engaged' and ultimately more acceptable style»²³³ and in the emergence of 'social anthropology' as an academic subject in the Sudan. James highlights the subversive potential of anthropology, probing, questioning and dissolving received images and orthodoxies and points to the irreducibly literary nature of ethnographic writing:

«The establishment of the investigative tradition was intimately linked with the British imperium; but it has moved from being simply a reflection of imperial concerns to being a source of re-evaluation and the reconstruction of images and orthodoxies. In this matter, social anthropological monographs can be said to have much in common with the character of some fictional writing on the country, and ethnographers to share with the novelists the ambivalent status of insider/ outsider» (James 1990: 121).

Ian Cunnison, in his 1977 analysis of the relationship between anthropology and administration, has distinguished «three fairly distinct periods of social anthropology

²³³ In contrast, Wendy James labels the Ethiopian tradition as «'representative', based on Orientalist and fictional images deriving from a 'culture-history' school of German ethnology and a 'folkloristic' Italian school» (Pankhurst 2006: 52).

in the Sudan» (Cunnison 1977: 4)²³⁴. In the first period, anthropological research was carried out by expatriates under an expatriate government. This period – which was characterized by an "academic" approach (Cunnison 1977: 9) – started with the work of the husband-and-wife team of Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873 –1940)²³⁵ and Brenda Zara Seligman (1882-1965)²³⁶, who, on an invitation from the Sudan Government «to fill in the gaps in African Anthropology» (Hill 1967: 335)²³⁷ conducted an ethnographic survey of the indigenous groups of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1909-1910, 1911-1912, and 1921-1922; see Seligman and Seligman 1932). For at least one (the first) season, William H. R. Rivers²³⁸ had associated himself with Seligman's expedition (Currie 1909b: 18). Due to illness, the Seligmans were unable to complete their fieldwork, whereon Charles G. Seligman arranged for his student Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard (1902-73)²³⁹ to complete the survey of the Nilotic Sudan and for Siegfried Frederick Stephen Nadel (1903-56)²⁴⁰ to study the peoples of Dar Nuba through the sponsorship of the Sudan. The work by Evans Pritchard's students Ronald Godfrey Lienhardt (1921-1993)²⁴¹, and Ian George Cunnison (1923-2013),²⁴² who conducted anthropological research on government

²³⁴ Cunnison's periodization is generally accepted and used among Western and Sudanese anthropologists (cp. Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed 1982 and 2002, Braukämper 1988 and Idris Salim al-Hassan 2002).

²³⁵ Charles Gabriel Seligman qualified in 1896 at London's St Thomas's Hospital in medicine (pathology) and got first involved in anthropology through the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait in 1898. In 1910 he became a lecturer in ethnology at the London School of Economics and part-time Professor in 1913, a position from which he had to resign due to increasing ill-health in 1934.

²³⁶ Brenda Zara Seligman, born Salaman, left school when she married in 1905. Although never educated in anthropology/ethnology, she became thoroughly involved in the subject; accompanied her husband on several expeditions and co-authored many scholarly publications with her husband. After his death, she continued her independent research and served as the editor of the revised (and revived) *Notes and Queries in Anthropology* (cp. Fortes 1965).

²³⁷ Cp. Currie 1908a: 21: «Seligman [...] who is to [...] fill up one of the many lacunae in the original anthropology of the Sudan».

²³⁸ William Halse Rivers (1864 –1922), medical psychologist and anthropologist; like Charles G. Seligman member of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait in 1898.

²³⁹ Evans-Pritchard's extensive fieldwork in the Sudan (1926-1936) among the Anuak, the Azande, the Nuer, and the Shilluk led to seven major monographs (*Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, 1937; *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian*, 1940; *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1948; *The Nuer*, 1949; *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, 1951; *Nuer Religion*, 1956; *The Azande: History and Political Institutions*, 1971a, several collections of essays and texts, and numerous papers. For a short overview on Pritchard's Sudan expeditions see Cunnison and James 1972: ix-xii).

²⁴⁰ Nadel's fieldwork in the Sudan (1938-1941) among the Nuba of Kordofan resulted in the 1947 monograph *The Nuba: An Anthropological Study of the Hill Tribes in Kordofan*.

²⁴¹ Lienhardt's fieldwork in the Sudan (1947-1950) among the Dinka people resulted in his 1952 published doctoral thesis *The Dinka of the Southern Sudan. Religion and Social Structure* and in the 1961 monograph *Divinity and Experience, the Religion of the Dinka*. His fieldwork among the Anuak in 1952-54 resulted in several scholarly publications.

²⁴² Cunnison's fieldwork-based research in the Sudan (1952-1955) among the Messiriya Baqqarah of western Sudan led to the 1966 monograph *Baggara Arabs: Power and the Lineage in a Sudanese*

grants in the southern Sudan (Lienhardt) and in Kordofan (Cunnison), also relates to this period. Mention should also be made of Evans Pritchard's and Lienhardt's students John F. M. Middleton²⁴³, Jean Carlie Buxton²⁴⁴ and Conrad C. Reining²⁴⁵. Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmad (1982: 69) emphasizes the fact, that before Cunnison, all studies «were concentrated in the Southern Sudan or the Pagan tribes of the central Sudan».

The second period began according to Cunnison in 1958, when the Department of Anthropology and Sociology (now Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology) was established within the Faculty of Economics and Social Studies, and anthropology started to be taught by expatriates «in a Sudanese institution, under a Sudanese government» (1977: 4)²⁴⁶. The University replaced the administration as the prime mover in research discipline that increasingly focused on specific practical problems central to the development of the nation and thus soon gained general acceptance.

However, Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmad (1982: 71) emphasizes, that «[b]ecause of the past use of anthropology in the colonial administration, the members of the anthropology departments declined to participate directly in research in those areas where national political issues were involved». Since most of the research had been done previously in the southern Sudan and because of the disturbances there, research mainly focused on the northern Sudan. Among the expatriates teaching at

Nomad Tribe (Cunnison 1966). In 1959 (-1965), Cunnison became the first Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Khartoum and editor of *Sudan Notes and Records*. Upon his return to Britain, he set about building up the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Hull University.

²⁴³ The fieldwork by British anthropologist John Francis Marchmont Middleton (1921-2009) among the Lugbara of Uganda and Sudan (1949-1952) resulted in the 1960 monograph *Lugbara Religion: Ritual and Authority Among an East African People*.

²⁴⁴ Jean Carlie Buxton (1921-1971) was introduced to Sudan anthropology by her cousin Paul P. Howell from the Sudan Political Service. Her initial fieldwork among the Mandari of Central Equatoria was undertaken during 1950-1952, with a brief return visit in 1958. Her B.Litt thesis, 'The Social and Political Organization of the Mandari' (1953) was ultimately published as *Chiefs and Strangers: A Study of Political Assimilation among the Mandari* (1963). Her D.Phil thesis, 'The Religion of a Southern Sudan Tribe: The Mandari' (1957) was substantially revised and became *Religion and Healing in Mandari* (1973).

²⁴⁵ The American anthropologist Conrad Copeland Reining (1918-1984) undertook a fieldwork-based study of the colonial Azande Scheme in the southern Sudan (1952-1955) which was published in 1962 as *The Zande Scheme: An Anthropological Case Study of Economic Development in Africa*.

²⁴⁶ The Department of Anthropology and Sociology was founded and headed by Ian G. Cunnison who held the function of the head of department upon his return to Britain in 1966. Anthropology as an academic discipline started to be taught in 1955 in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Khartoum (El Wathing Kameir and Zeinab Bashir Elbakri 1989: 28).

the University of Khartoum in this period was the Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth²⁴⁷ (1928-2016) who then held a UNESCO-funded professorship (1963–1964). During his stay in the Sudan, Barth undertook ethnographic fieldwork in Darfur in 1964 where he advanced his thesis on ethnic groups and boundaries²⁴⁸ (Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf. 2016: 84). Mention should also be made of the American anthropologists Farnham Rehfisch²⁴⁹, Talal Asad²⁵⁰ and James Faris²⁵¹; of the British anthropologists Lewis Hill²⁵², Charles Jedrej²⁵³ and Wendy James²⁵⁴; and of the Czech anthropologist Ladislav Holý²⁵⁵ who all taught at the University of Khartoum and conducted extensive fieldwork in the Sudan²⁵⁶.

The appointment of a Government Anthropologist in the person of Andreas Kronenberg²⁵⁷ (1931-2016) from the University of Vienna also fell in the second

²⁴⁷ Thomas Fredrik Weybye Barth was educated at Chicago (M.A. in anthropology in 1949) and Cambridge (Ph.D. in 1957) Universities. He had taught at as a Professor of Anthropology at the Universities of Bergen and Oslo in Norway and was visiting professor at several American Universities.

²⁴⁸ For Barth's 'situational' approach to ethnicity see his introduction to the edited volume *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Barth 1969).

²⁴⁹ Farnham Morse Rehfisch (1922-1990) was Lecturer and Professor of Anthropology at the University of Khartoum in the 1960s with a research focus on urban anthropological studies.

²⁵⁰ Talal Asad taught at the University of Khartoum in 1961-1966 and conducted fieldwork research for his PhD on the Kababish Arabs (*The Kababish Arabs: Power, Authority and Consent in a Nomadic Tribe*, 1970).

²⁵¹ James Chester Faris conducted fieldwork in the Nuba Mountains (1966-1969 and again in the 1970s) and taught at the University of Khartoum (1966-1969 Lecturer; 1978-1979 Visiting Professor). His fieldwork among the South-Eastern Nuba resulted in a dense structural analysis of their art concentrated on body painting/body decoration (*Nuba Personal Art*, 1972).

²⁵² Lewis G. Hill conducted urban anthropological research on Tutti Island/Khartoum (1963-1964) and fieldwork among the *Dar Hamid* of Kordofan (1964-1968).

²⁵³ Marian Charles Jędrej (1943-2007) taught at Khartoum University in 1969-1973 and conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the Ingessana hills and among Ingessana migrants in Sudan's 'Triangular Capital' resulting in his 1995 monograph *Ingessana: The Religious Institutions of a People of the Sudan-Ethiopian Borderland*.

²⁵⁴ Wendy Rosalind James was a lecturer at the University of Khartoum (1964-1969) and carried out fieldwork among the Uduk speaking people of the Sudan/Ethiopian borderland (1965-1969) which resulted in a first ethnography of the Uduk (*'Kwanim Pa': The Making of the Uduk People: An Ethnographic Study of Survival in the Sudan-Ethiopian Borderlands*, 1979).

²⁵⁵ Ladislav Holý (1933-1997) undertook two lengthy field expeditions to Sudan in 1961 and 1965 to study the Berti people of Darfur whom he eventually visited on no fewer than six separate occasions over a period of 25 years. His fieldwork among the Berti resulted in the monographs *Neighbours and Kinsmen: A Study of the Berti People of Darfur* (1974) and *Religion and Custom in a Muslim Society: The Berti of Sudan* (1991).

²⁵⁶ For a more comprehensive list of expatriate anthropologists teaching and researching at the University of Khartoum in the post-independence period see Idris Salim al-Hassan 2002: 32; Hale 2009: 22-23; and Munzoul A. M. Assal / Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil 2015: 3.

²⁵⁷ Andreas Kronenberg studied Ethnology, African Studies and Philosophy in Vienna where he received his PhD in 1955. In 1965, he became research assistant at Frobenius-Institute at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University in Frankfurt, where he gained his habilitation in 1969 and became Professor at the Institute of Historical Ethnology. His wife Waltraud – who also studied ethnology in Vienna – has worked along her husband in the field and is co-author of many of his articles and

period of social anthropology in the Sudan. Kronenberg's appointment «to the newly created post of Ethnologist» was announced by Jean Vercoutter in the 1957-1958 report of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Vercoutter (1958c: 1). In early July 1958, Kronenberg took up his duties and conducted field work in 1958-59 in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province where he collected tales of the Jo-Luo²⁵⁸ (see Kronenberg 1960) and analysed aspects of the supernatural among the Bongo (see Kronenberg and Kronenberg 1962). Kronenberg was already acquainted with the Sudan from his 1957 fieldwork among the Nyimang of the Nuba Mountains (see Kronenberg 1959). Kronenberg's 1959-1960 fieldwork was conducted in the framework of the Antiquities Service Programme for Anthropological Research in the southern Sudan and devoted to the study of the Didinga people (see Kronenberg 1961). In 1961-1964, Andreas and Waltraud Kronenberg had to abandon their research program in the southern Sudan in order to carry out fieldwork in that part of Sudanese Nubia that would become inundated by the waters of the Aswan High Dam (see Kronenberg and Kronenberg 1963, 1964 and 1965a). Apart from Anthony J. Arkell who held the title of a Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology (1939-1948), Kronenberg was the only holder of the position of Government Anthropologist in the Sudan (cp. Cunnison 1977: 14, Johnson 1982: 243, footnote 43 and Johnson 2007: 329, footnote 1)²⁵⁹. However, in the 1970s/80s, three German anthropologists held consultant positions with the Government of the Republic of the Sudan: Lothar Stein (Director of the Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, 1980-1990), advised the Sudan Government in 1972-1973 in matters of ethnographic research and in issues of museography²⁶⁰. Ulrich Braukämper (1944-2018) served from 1985 to 1988 as a consultant to the Sudan Government, advising on the improvement of scientific research in ethnography and on the rearrangement of the Ethnographic Museum. In this function, Braukämper was succeeded for two years by the Andreas Grüb (life data unknown), who had previously conducted fieldwork in southern Sudan in 1981-

publications on the Sudan/ on Nubia. In 1962, she was awarded a doctorate for a dissertation on selected aspects of the Bongo society in the Bahr-el-Ghazal Province.

²⁵⁸ The Jo-Luo are, according to tradition, part of the larger Luo family made up of Shilluk, Anyuak, Acholi and the Luo in Kenya. Source: Gurtong, Peoples Profile. <http://www.gurtong.net/Peoples/ThePeopleandDemographicsofSouthSudan/JurcholLuo/tabid/199/Default.aspx>[21.02.2018].

²⁵⁹ The British administrator and social anthropologist Bazett Annesley Lewis (1907-1964 or 1970) shortly occupied the position of a Government Sociologist at the Ministry of Interior in 1953-1954 (cp. Lewis 1962: 1, footnote 1 and Durham University Library 2014: 2).

²⁶⁰ Lothar Stein, in the Festschrift for his colleague and friend Ulrich Braukämper, presented an account of his work in Khartoum and on the eventful history of the Sudan Ethnographic Museum (Stein 2010).

1983 (Grüb 1992).

The third period of social anthropology in the Sudan, recognized by Cunnison, started in 1971 with the return of the first anthropology students from abroad and with the staffing of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology with Sudanese members under a Sudanese direction²⁶¹. While the expatriate anthropologists of the second period were «in but not of the society», for now the leading anthropologists were «both in and of the society» (Cunnison 1977: 8). They shared Arabic as their common language and participated in the process of nation-building. The interest in specific problems of the practical kind continued into the third period, but more emphasis was placed on the analysis of the dialectics between locality with nation (Cunnison 1977: 19). This shift of emphasis entailed according to Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmad (1982: 78) a major methodological change; namely «from participant observation to participant intervention»²⁶². By 'participant intervention' Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmad understands the attempt «to do something for the local people by means of our [anthropological] research» (Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmad in Nordenstam 1985: 157). The shift described by Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmad opened up the critical interrogation of categories such as 'local peoples' or 'indigenous peoples', and the observation made by Eddie Rodrigues and John Game in the Canadian context is likewise true for the development in the Sudan:

«From being subjects of the desultory interest of anthropologists to preserve 'a dying culture' for posterity, as well as constructing an 'other' against which the merits of progress and civilisation could be contrasted, the problem of indigenous peoples had unexpectedly metamorphosed into a subject of pressing contemporary concerns, both theoretical and political» (Rodrigues and Game 1998: 2709).

The establishment of the Economic and Social Research Council in 1970 gave according Cunnison (1977: 4) further scope for the employment of Sudanese anthropologists, since it allowed researchers with interest in applied anthropology opportunities for fieldwork and adequate financing. With the establishment of the

²⁶¹ For a list of Sudanese nationals who took over teaching and research in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology see Munzoul A. M. Assal and Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil 2015: 4. The Sudanization of the Department was according to (El Wathing Kameir and Zeinab Bashir Elbakri 1989: 28) completed in 1978.

²⁶² The method of participant intervention was first described by the American anthropologist Allan R. Holmberg (Holmberg 1955. On the role of the «participant interventionist» see p. 26).

Universities of Juba and Gezira in 1975, the expatriate researchers continued to play an important role in terms of anthropological teaching and training²⁶³. Many of them kept strong ties with the Sudan well beyond their departure, and initiated student and staff exchange programs and cooperation agreements between their home universities and the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Khartoum²⁶⁴. However, over the last two decades, the academic collaboration agreements at the institutional levels were affected by political currents in the country and the negative image of Sudan at an international level (Munzoul A. M. Assal and Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil 2015: 4-5). External relations were substantially reduced or ceased to function. Currently, the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology maintains academic cooperation agreements with several European Universities (especially with the Anthropology Departments in Bergen, Bayreuth and Halle) and fosters regional cooperation (e.g. with the Anthropology Departments in Addis Ababa²⁶⁵ and Makerere/Kampala).

Referring to Cunnison's analysis of the relationship between anthropology and administration, Sudanese anthropologist Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed adds as a final period (seen as an extension of the third) the applied anthropological research undertaken on a consultancy basis by "established" experts and graduate students of various western universities, whose main interest was «to do research of an exotic nature in the shortest possible time» (Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed 1982: 75). According to Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed, the involvement of visiting experts and students with little contextual knowledge fostered dependency and scientific colonialism²⁶⁶ (cp. Ntarangwi 2019: 427-428). However, Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed (1982: 77) acknowledges that the move towards interdisciplinary collaboration could be seen as one positive impact of the visiting experts.

²⁶³ In this context mention should be made of the American anthropologists Jay O'Brien (1947-2013), who taught at the Universities of Khartoum (1974-1978) and Gezira (1978-1979), and of his wife Ellen Gruenbaum, who held teaching and research positions at the University of Khartoum and at Sudan's Economic and Social Research Council (1974-1979).

²⁶⁴ Fredrik Barth initiated an exchange agreement between Bergen and Khartoum which was continued under Gunnar Haaland; Ian Cunnison and Talal Asad an exchange program between Hull and Khartoum; and James Faris an informal exchange between Connecticut and Khartoum (James 1990: 116-117; Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed Ahmad 2015: 29-30; Munzoul A. M. Assal 2015: 163-164).

²⁶⁵ The MA program in Social Anthropology of the Department of Anthropology at Addis Ababa University was established in 1990 following funding provided from the Christian Michelsen and support from the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Khartoum (Getaneh 2018: 76-77; cp. Munzoul A. M. Assal and Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil 2015: 6).

²⁶⁶ 'Scientific colonialism' is, according to Johan Galtung (1967: 39) a process «whereby the centre of gravity for the acquisition of knowledge about the nation is located outside the nation itself».

To summarize, it should be noted, that the British administrators encouraged ethnographic inquiries in the «'backward' Southern provinces», while they neglected ethnographic research in the colonial Muslim north where the Arabic speaking and predominately Muslim inhabitants were considered «civilised in some degree» (Mawut 1995: 7). With a clear-cut presupposition of cultural and social differences in the two parts of the country, the British policy instituted a system «of differential incorporation and unequal treatment» and thus enhanced cultural, linguistic and religious aspects which already marked the «historic dualistic condition of the Sudan» (Loiria 1969: 131). The North-South dualism and dichotomy observed by Loiria (1969: 308) entailed a dichotomy between archaeology and anthropology:

«Enormous advances were [...] made, but almost exclusively in regard to the areas to the north of Khartoum. South of the Sudanese capital, the banks of the White Nile and the Blue Nile, deserts and savannahs were still practically unexplored; only a few studies had been made of the shores of the Red Sea, whose links with the Nile valley are obvious. As for the population inhabiting the swamp or woodland areas in the extreme south of the Sudan, or the areas near the sources of the Nile in Uganda, they were traditionally regarded, until quite recently, as having no history, and these regions were visited only by anthropologists» (Blanc 1978: 38).

While Nubia and the northern Sudan were almost wholly ignored by anthropologists up to the first half of the 20th century, only a few archaeologists excavated areas outside the Nile Valley. With the arrival of independence in 1956 and the appointment of Ian Cunnison as Director of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in 1958, anthropologists also started working in the northern parts of the country. Given the Egyptocentric and northerncentric bias in Sudan archaeology and in view of the fragile political and security situation in parts of the south, very few archaeologists have developed research programs South of Khartoum. The strong bias in the direction of colonial scholarship towards social anthropology and ethnography in the southern Sudan and an even heavier emphasis upon archaeology in the northern part of the country is, according to George N. Sanderson (1964), also reflected in the scholarly contributions to *Sudan Notes and Records*.

Wendy James (1990) has emphasized, that the interests of colonial administration in the Sudan encouraged an 'investigative' mode of ethnographic enquiry grounded

in field observation; a mode that holds a subversive potential, in the sense, that it allows for probing, questioning and dissolving received images and orthodoxies. As mentioned before, James contrasts the 'investigative' mode of ethnographic characteristic of the Sudanese tradition with the 'representational' mode of the Ethiopian type of ethnographic fiction; a mode «echoing established images and often matching the evocative themes of writing which does not claim social-scientific status, (James 1990: 97).

It is tempting to transfer Wendy James' distinction between an 'investigative' and a 'representational' mode of ethnographic enquiry to the field of archaeology. In such a perspective, the Egyptological view of Nubia clearly followed a 'representational' mode of inquiry that constructed Nubia as the shadow of Egypt, based largely on the Egyptians' own views (Adams 1994: 18; cp. Adams 1998: 2-3). It is thanks to noted archaeologists and anthropologists such as William Y. Adams and Bruce Trigger, amongst others, that an 'investigative' mode of archaeological inquiry was introduced to the Sudan; a mode that challenged existing orthodoxies and disciplinary constraints and opened up new areas of inquiry.

2.5 The Sudan Antiquities Service

In an effort to stop the plundering of the antiquities, in 1835 the Wāli (Governor) , and self-declared Khedive (Viceroy) of Egypt and Sudan Mohamed Ali Pasha (1769-1849) issued the Vice-Regal Ordinance²⁶⁷ which is considered as «one of the first pieces of legislation passed by a country to preserve its cultural heritage» (Jasanoff 2005: 300)²⁶⁸. The decree cut according to the American scholar Elliot Colla in two directions:

«On the one hand, it was prohibitory, forbidding the export of all antiquities from Egypt. And on the other hand, it was constructive, establishing a "special place" (*mahall khass*) [...], for the collection and display of antiquities for Egyptians, but "particularly for European visitors". These two principles – of prohibition and construction – came together most explicitly in the Third article, which stipulated that the State expressly sees fit "not only to prevent hereafter

²⁶⁷ *Dār al-Withā'iq*; Vice-Regal Ordinance of August 15, 1835. Cp. Colla 2000b: 212 and 304.

²⁶⁸ For a detailed presentation of the foundations of antiquities authorities in Egypt and in the Near East, see Magee 2012.

the destruction of ancient monuments in Upper Egypt, but also to make measures to insure their conservation throughout"» (Colla 2000a: 120, his emphasis).

However, the terms of the 1835 Ordinance were according to Colla not effectively realized so that the excavation and export of antiquities continued apace. In 1857, the French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette (1821-1881) was commissioned to prepare a collection of antiquities to be "found" by Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor of France, during a projected Egyptian tour (which was eventually cancelled by the Prince). As a result of his important discoveries Mariette was appointed the first *mamur al-antiquat*, "Director of Antiquities" by the then ruler of Egypt and Sudan, Mohamed Sa'id Pasha (1822-1863) in 1858 (Dodson 2013: 489 and Tyldesley 2005: 123). This was the birth of the *maslahat antiqat* (or *maslahat al-athar*), the Antiquities Service of Egypt²⁶⁹.

In the Sudan, the ruthless plundering and exploitation of antiquities went on up to 1905 when a first law on the protection of antiquities was issued ("The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905") and an Antiquities Service came into being and an official was appointed Conservator of Antiquities. James Currie, in a letter to Reginald F. Wingate dated 29th November 1908, noted in retrospect: «By the Antiquities Ordinance of 1905, the Sudan Government definitely recognised its responsibility as guardian of the Antiquities of the country, and vested certain executive functions, implying special knowledge, in an official called Conservator of Antiquities (Currie 1908b).

In contrast to Egypt, where the Antiquities Service was set up with the appointment of an experienced expert (Mariette) at a precise date (June 1, 1858), the Sudan Antiquities Service came into existence in 1904-1905 under the administration of the Educational Department. For the first 35 years, the Sudan Antiquities Service was according to Peter L. Shinnie (1953: 11) «a Service in name only, with no full time staff and an exiguous budget, and with only the interest and enthusiasm of [the acting conservators] Crowfoot, Drummond, Addison and Grabham». However, the

²⁶⁹ For a short history of the Antiquities Service of Egypt see Dodson 2013. The Antiquities Service of Egypt was renamed the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation in 1971, and the Supreme Council of Antiquities in 1994. In 2011, it became shortly an independent ministry (the Ministry of State for Antiquities) from January to July and was again renamed the Supreme Council of Antiquities in August.

terms 'antiquities service' and 'antiquities section' do according to Ida Dyrkorn Heierland (2008: 18) only appear in official reports as from 1907. It is thus appropriate to look with Heierland (2008: 18) and following Shinnie (1953: 10-11) upon the institutionalization of archaeology in the Sudan as a gradual process²⁷⁰.

Even though the Sudan Antiquities Service was created almost half a century after the Antiquities Service of Egypt, it is nevertheless one of the early Archaeological Services/Archaeological Departments in the region, and remarkably, two of its former members were instrumental in developing antiquities authorities elsewhere in Africa (Peter L. Shinnie in Uganda; Neville H. Chittick in Tanzania).

The Ottoman Antiquities Service was founded in **1881** and operated under the direction of the trained artist Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) who, in the same year, was also appointed Director of Istanbul's Imperial Museum (Reid 2015: 59).

The Department of Antiquities, Fine Arts and Historical Monuments of Tunisia (French Protectorate 1881-1956) and the Bardo National Museum of Tunis were established in **1882** under the control of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* and the French Ministry of Education (Mahjoubi 1997: 20). In 1885/1886, a Department of Antiquities – shaped on the model previously defined by Mariette in Egypt – was detached from the Department of Antiquities, Fine Arts and Historical Monuments (Oulebsir 2011: 360) and René-Marie Moulin Du Coudray de La Blanchère (1853-1896) was appointed Director of the Department (Gutron 2006: 28, Oulebsir 2011: 358), which was renamed the National Institute of Archaeology and Art in 1957, and the National Heritage Institute in 1993.

The Department of Antiquities of Morocco (French Protectorate 1912-1956) was created in **1918**. The first Director of the *Service des Antiquités du Maroc* was Louis Chatelain (1883-1950), former member of the *Ecole française de Rome* (Euzennat 1962: 129).

The Department of Antiquities of Syria and Lebanon (French Mandate 1920/1922-1946) was founded after the First World War and the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire in **1920**. The initial Director of the French-instituted *Service des Antiquités* was the French archaeologist Joseph Chamonard (1866-1936) who was succeeded in the same year by the French archaeologist Jean Charles G. Vioilleaud (1879-1968) (Ouahes 2018: 43) who, for his part, was succeeded in 1929 by the French archaeologist, historian and numismatist Henri Arnold Seyrig (1895-1973) as Director of Antiquities of Syria and Lebanon²⁷¹.

The Department of Antiquities of Palestine (British Mandate 1920-1948) and the Archaeological Museum of Palestine (now Rockefeller Museum) were established in Jerusalem in **1920**. The First Director of the Department (and also Director of the British

²⁷⁰ Heierland (2008: 18ff) divides the institutionalization of archaeology into three phases, «constructed analytically but still grounded in a real process»: phase I: Discovering Sudan; phase II: Early institutionalization; and phase III: Sudanization.

²⁷¹ The scientific library of Henri Seyrig is today the property of the University of Neuchâtel.

School of Archaeology, established in 1919 in Jerusalem; presently the Kenyon Institute) was John Garstang (1876-1956), well known for his excavations at Meroe (1909-1914). The first Antiquities Service of Iraq (British Mandate 1919-1932) was founded in **1922** by Gertrude Bell (1868-1926), then Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy. The following year, Bell founded the Iraq Museum with Abdul Qadir al-Pachachi – an Iraqi civil servant who worked at the Turkish Archives in Istanbul – as its first Director and helped to establish the first comprehensive Iraqi antiquities law (Magee 2012: 75).

The Jordanian Department of Antiquities was established in **1923** as part of the Department of Palestinian Antiquities run by the British architect and archaeologist George Hornefield (1882-1956) (Corbett 2014: 107ff). It became independent from the Palestinian Department of Antiquities in 1928. In the same year, Ridha Tawfiq (life data unknown) –first Director General of the newly independent Department of Antiquities – transferred the offices of the Department from Jerash to the capital Amman.

The Department of Antiquities of Algeria (French Colony 1830-1962) was created in **1923** as an outgrowth of the Department of Historical Monuments (*Service des Monuments Historiques de l'Algérie*, led since 1889 by the architect Albert Ballu (1849-1939)). The first Director of the new department was Eugène Albertini (1880-1941) (Oulebsir 2011: 360).

The Antiquities Service of Nigeria was created in **1943** under the direction of Kenneth Murray (1903-1972). In 1953, the Service was converted into a department with, Bernard Fagg (1915-1987) becoming its Director (Kense 1990: 141 and 145)

In Ghana, task of preserving the antiquities was assigned in **1948** to the newly created Monuments and Relics Commission, which was merged in March 1957, on the eve of Ghana's independence, with the National Museum (temporarily housed at the Department of Archaeology, University College of Ghana) to establish the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004: 94).

In Ethiopia, the establishment of the Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology under the direction of Francis Anfray led in **1952** to the development of an Antiquities Service, which later became the Antiquities Administration, then the Center for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (CRCCH), and eventually the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (ARCCH) in 2000.

The Libyan Department of Antiquities was created in **1953** from the ashes of the Italian *Soprintendenza ai monumenti e Scavi* (Superintendency of Antiquities for Libya) and first directed by Ernesto Vergara Caffarelli (1907-1961) (Munzi 2004: 97)²⁷².

The Department of Antiquities of Uganda (British Protectorate 1894-1962) was established within the Ministry of Education in **1956** with Peter L. Shinnie – former Commissioner for Archaeology in the Sudan (1948-1955) – appointed Director of Antiquities. (Shinnie 2006: 227). After one year, Shinnie was, according to Posnansky (2009: 130), advocating the dissolution of the Department «because he felt that Uganda had insufficient antiquities to

²⁷² In 1913, a *Ispettorato Archaeologico* was founded in Tripoli. It later became the *Soprintendenza ai monumenti e Scavi della Tripolitana*. Tripolitana was an Italian colony – located in present-day western Libya – that existed from 1911 to 1934.

warrant a special department». From 1958 to 1962 the Department of Antiquities was informally combined with the Uganda Museum under the leadership of Merrick Posnansky. After Uganda attained its political independence in 1962, the Ugandan government resumed the Department of Antiquities in 1965 under the leadership of archaeologist James Harvey Chaplin (1924-1967). (Mehari 2015: 122)

The Antiquities Department of Tanzania (Tanganyika Territory, British mandate 1916-1961) was created in **1957** with H. Neville Chittick (1924-1984), – who was previously (1952-1955) Curator of Sudan Museum – appointed first Director (Mehari 2015: 88-89).

2.5.1 The Pre-Independence Period

Since the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1899²⁷³, the legal and executive powers pertaining to the disposal of antiquities were entrusted to the Governor-Generalship. Ernest W. Budge – who started working in the Sudan in 1897 – emphasized, that «the importance of preserving the antiquities which still exist in the Sudan was generally recognized» and that «the Governor-General and his staff were actively employed in formulating plans on a comprehensive scale, with the view of establishing a central authority having power to excavate ancient sites systematically» (Budge 1907/I: 436).

In 1904, it was according to James Currie (Currie 1908b) the Governor-General Reginald F. Wingate who decided that, «following the model of most European countries a section of Antiquities should be formed under the general administration of the Educational Department»²⁷⁴. In the following, some of the powers entrusted to the Governor-General were delegated to John Winter Crowfoot, Assistant Director of Education of the Sudan Government, who assumed the position of an 'Acting Conservator of Antiquities' in his spare time and without any budgetary provision. Crowfoot was chiefly responsible for the drafting of the "Antiquities

²⁷³ The Anglo-Egyptian agreement legalized British control of the Sudan and framed it as an Anglo-Egyptian rule and administration. The agreement – later referred to as the Condominium Agreement – was signed on 19 January 1899, by Lord Cromer, the British counsel-general in Egypt and Boutros Ghali Pasha, the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs. Since the agreement defined a jointly administration, but not a dual sovereignty, Muddathir Abd Rahim (1969) insists that the term 'Condominium' should not be applied to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

²⁷⁴ While Currie (Currie 1908b) posits the birth of the Sudan Antiquities in 1905, some put the starting point to 1903, when John W. Crowfoot came to the Sudan to take up the post of Inspector of Education (Abdelrahman Ali Mohammed / Welsby 2011: 24; and Jakob and Magzoub Ali. 2011: 513). However, Crowfoot (1954: 54) himself posits the birth of the 'Service of Antiquities' in 1904. Shinnie makes both a mention for 1903 (1953: 10) and a mention for 1904 (1954: 1).

Ordinance, 1905" (revised in 1952 and 1999) – issued in order to regulate the archaeological activities and prohibit the illicit traffic in antiquities – which finally provided the functional specifications for the conservator of antiquities. After Crowfoots resignation in April 1908, the post became vacant and James Currie, Director of Education in the Sudan, requested the Governor-General's permission to nominate the experienced Scottish archaeologist Duncan Mackenzie (1861–1934) for the post of a Conservator of Antiquities within the Education Department. To the great disappointment of Currie, this request was eventually denied for financial reasons. In a letter to Wingate, Currie cautioned that this decision would prompt criticism by leading international experts thereby illustrating the type of criticism he expected with extracts from a letter he had just received from «one of the most eminent living English scholars» who stated, inter alia in 1908²⁷⁵:

«I am very sorry to hear that the Conservatorship of Antiquities cannot be created. So much attention had been directed to the Sudan monuments lately both in Europe and America that regret will be rather widely expressed that there should continue to be no expert supervision and no one to direct the scholars who will go to the Sudan to study its ancient remains» (Currie 1908b).

In a letter written in the same year to the then Consul-General in Egypt Sir Eldon Gorst²⁷⁶, Reginald F. Wingate defended his reluctant attitude towards a planned archaeological development:

«Among the many actual or contemplated developments which have to be abandoned in the Sudan owing to the present shortage of funds, not the least important is the Archaeological Section [...] I feel I cannot, in view o[f] many other more urgent demands, provide the funds required to pay for the staff which had been practically engaged and therefore, it is with greatest reluctance that I have to forego for the present our projected arch[a]eological development» (Wingate to Gorst, December 4, 1908. Cited in Abdel-Hameed, Ahmed Awad 2013: 88)

The responsibilities for the Antiquities were eventually handled by an 'Acting Conservator of Antiquities'. The duties of the Antiquities Service were described in 1912 by M. F. Simpson, then Assistant Director of Education, as follows: «Speaking

²⁷⁵ Currie carefully omits to mention the scholar's name.

²⁷⁶ Sir John Eldon Gorst (1861-1911). Diplomat and colonial administrator. Financial adviser to the Egyptian Government (1898-1904) and Consul-General in Egypt (1907-1911). Knighted in 1902.

generally, the duties of this service are to preserve our own monuments and to endeavour to discover others; to supply information, and, when necessary, to render assistance to the various parties of excavation; and last but not least, to acquire and to catalogue material for the future museum» (Simpson quoted in Currie 1912: 34). The position of an 'Acting Conservator' was successively held by Peter Drummond²⁷⁷ (1908-1921) and Frank Addison²⁷⁸ (1921-1931) who were staff members of Gordon Memorial College and eventually by George W. Grabham²⁷⁹ (1931-39), a government geologist who combined the office of conservator with his other duties.

Officials responsible for antiquities in the Sudan, 1904 to present:

John Winter Crowfoot (1873-1959)

1904 Official in charge of antiquities

1905-1908 Acting Conservator of Antiquities

Peter Drummond (years of birth and death missing)

1908-1921 Acting Conservator of Antiquities

Frank Addison (1885-1958)

1921-1931 Acting Conservator of Antiquities

George Walter Grabham (1882-1955)

1931-1939 Acting Conservator of Antiquities

Anthony John Arkell (1898-1979)

1939-1948 Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology

Peter Lewis Shinnie (1915-2007)

1948-1955 Commissioner for Archaeology

Jean Vercoutter (1911-2000)

1955-1960 Commissioner for Archaeology

Thabit Hassan Thabit (year of birth missing - 1996)

1960-1970 Commissioner for Archaeology / Director of the Antiquities Service

²⁷⁷ Peter E. Drummond (years of birth and death missing). 1905 appointed as Instructor at the Sudan Education Department. Lecturer on Surveying and in Mathematics in the School of Engineering at Gordon Memorial College (Currie 1910: 24).

²⁷⁸ Frank Addison (1885-1958). 1907-1914 Inspector / Instructor Sudan Education Department; 1916-1927 mathematics lecturer at Gordon Memorial College; 1927-1929 Inspector of Schools and Conservator of Antiquities; 1929-1931 Chief Inspector of Schools and Conservator of Antiquities.

²⁷⁹ George Walter Grabham (1882-1955). 1903 MA in Geology from Cambridge University 1906 appointed to geological post under Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Government.

Negm ed-Din Mohamed Sherif (1927- 1994)

1970-1987 Director General of Antiquities and National Museums

Osama Abdel Rahman al-Nur (1942-2007)

1987-1990 Director General of Antiquities and National Museums

Ahmed Mohammed Ali Abdalla Hakem (1938-1996)

1990-1994 Director General of Antiquities and National Museums / Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums

Hassan Hussein Idris (year of birth missing)

1994-2011 Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums

Abdel Rahman Ali Mohammed Rahma (* 1961)

2011-present Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums

In 1991, the former Antiquities Service was restructured and became the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM).

Frank Addison has reminded us that the prefix 'acting' «was retained for nearly twenty years as an indication that the official so designated was regarded as a temporary caretaker and as evidence that the Government intend, when circumstances were propitious, to appoint a full-time qualified conservator» (Addison 1954: 57). With the appointment of Anthony J. Arkell to the full-time post of the first Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology in 1939 (Arkell 1939a: 3), the service gradually evolved into a professional agency. Arkell succeeded in establishing the service as a separate department within the Ministry of Education (Adams 2008: 11; cf. Adams 1981: 21), and eventually laid the foundations of a Sudanized Antiquities Service by creating several posts for Sudanese staff up to his demission in 1948²⁸⁰.

Nicole Blanc summarizes the changes in the Sudan Antiquities Service in the in the post- World War II period as follows:

«Up to 1945, therefore, archaeological research in the Sudan remained more or less unorganized. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, the resumption of the activities of the Sudan Antiquities Service (directed, in turn, by A. J. Arkell, P. L. Shinnie, J. Vercoutter and Thabit Hassan Thabit) led to noteworthy achievements: a systematic inventory of sites

²⁸⁰ The Antiquities Service was eventually fully Sudanized in 1961 with the appointment of Thabit Hassan Thabit as first Sudanese Commissioner for Archaeology.

was drawn up, excavations were begun both by the Antiquities Service and by foreign institutions, and the results of these appeared regularly, from 1953 onwards, in Kush, the journal of the Antiquities Service, published in Khartoum» (Blanc 1978: 38).

In March 1946, Thabit Hassan Thabit was appointed the first Sudanese Antiquities Officer. At the beginning of 1947, Abdelrahman Adam was appointed to the second post of Antiquities Officer and Sadiq en Nur was appointed to a new post of Technical Assistant which was intended to develop into that of Assistant Curator of Antiquities and Ethnology (Arkell 1946a: 1; 1947: 1). At his departure after 25 years with the Antiquities Service²⁸¹, Arkell was succeeded in 1948 by Peter L. Shinnie who was previously appointed Assistant Commissioner for Archaeology in December 1946²⁸². Shinnie's term in office was characterized by a gradual expansion of the Service and its activities. Heierland (2008: 24-25) describes a growth on two levels. Firstly, the number of staff members was increased, so that by 1948, the staff of the Antiquities Service consisted of the Commissioner for Archaeology, a Museum Curator, two Antiquities Officers, a Clerk, a Technical Assistant, a Mason, 2 Drivers, 6 Museum Attendants and 12 Antiquities Guards (Shinnie 1948: 1). Heierland (2008: 22/23) concludes, that «from being a single-person spare-time enterprise, the Antiquities Service had been established as a "proper" service during the terms of Arkell and Shinnie as commissioners». Secondly, the almost exclusive focus of the Service on conservation was gradually broadened to include research.

This process, according to Shinnie, already started with «Arkell's investigation into the pre-historic cultures of the Khartoum area and his excavations in Khartoum»²⁸³

²⁸¹ After his retirement in 1948, Arkell continued to serve as an 'Archaeological Adviser to the Sudan Government' until in 1953.

²⁸² Actually, in 1946, Arkell wanted to nominate an Assistant Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology. Since no qualified candidate could be found in the Sudan, Arkell decided to create «a *hors cadre* post of Assistant Commissioner for Archaeology» (Arkell 1946a: 1) to which Peter Lewis Shinnie (1915-2007) – then Assistant Keeper of the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collections at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford – was appointed. The question of a successor on the anthropological side was referred to the Anthropological Board (Arkell 1946a: 1, cp. Shinnie 2006: 223) of which Shinnie became an *ex officio* member of the board «which gave permits for research and exercises supervision (Shinnie 2006: 223).

²⁸³ Shinnie here refers to the excavations carried out in 1944/45 in the grounds of Khartoum Hospital (Civic Hospital), «discovering the first major Mesolithic/Epipalaeolithic site in this part of Sudanic Africa» (Edwards 2004a: 5). For the publication of the excavations at Khartoum Hospital see Arkell 1947b and 1949a.

and at Shaheinab»²⁸⁴ (Shinnie 1948: 16). The twofold functions of an Antiquities Service on both conservation and research is concisely described by Shinnie in the *Report on the Antiquities Service and Museums 1948*:

«The functions of an Antiquities Service are therefore twofold. Firstly, the conservation of relics of the past whether in the field or the museum; these relics being the raw material on which the whole study rests; and secondly investigation and interpretation, again both in the field and museum. This latter task has many aspects and takes many forms, it involves the exploration of new areas, the excavation of sites, the detailed study of the known objects, and the asking of the main questions relevant to the history of the country and the evolving of the means of answering them» (Shinnie 1948: 15).

The expansion of the research activities under Arkell and Shinnie also entailed the systematic publishing of annual reports, scientific monographs and research results. By 1950-51, the annual report on the Antiquities Service and Museums originally started by George W. Grabham in 1938²⁸⁵, was supplemented by an Arabic version «so as to give it a wider readership» (Shinnie 2006: 226). Additionally, Shinnie launched the journal *KUSH* in 1954²⁸⁶, to be the annual of the Antiquities Service; continued the publication of the Occasional Papers series which Arkell had started in 1949²⁸⁷ and started to issue the 'Museum Pamphlets', «which were intended for a wider public and to be issued in Arabic as well as English» (Shinnie 2006: 226)²⁸⁸.

In the conclusion of the *Report on the Antiquities Service and Museums 1948*, Shinnie emphasizes that the foundations for the Antiquities Service are laid and that

²⁸⁴ The neolithic site of Shaheinab (Khartoum Neolithic) – located between Jebel Aulia and the Sixth Cataract – was excavated by A.J. Arkell for the Sudan Antiquities Service in 1948 (Shinnie 2009: 36). An account of the excavations at Shaheinab is given in Arkell 1953.

²⁸⁵ A summary of any archaeological research that took place in the Sudan over the preceding year is given in the yearly *Reports on the Finance, Administration and Condition of the Sudan*, issued from 1902 to 1952 by the Governor-General of the Sudan.

²⁸⁶ *KUSH*, the annual of the Sudan Antiquities Service, appeared in nineteen volumes from 1954 to 2008. It was produced by the printers of *ANTIQUITY*, in the same size and format. The logo of the journal was a representation of *Apedemak* from the Lion Temple at Naqa, depicted as a coiled snake with a lion's head.

²⁸⁷ Arkell, Anthony J. 1949b. Sudan Antiquities Service – Occasional Papers. No. I: *The Old Stone Age in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*.

²⁸⁸ The first issue in this pamphlet series was Margaret Shinnie's *A Short History of the Sudan* (Shinnie 1955.). Margaret Blanche Elizabeth Shinnie (1918- 1995) was Peter L. Shinnie's first wife. She edited the journal of Linant de Bellefonds, published as the Occasional Papers. No. 4 (Shinnie 1958) and she is the author of *Ancient African Kingdoms* (Shinnie 1965). Peter L. Shinnie was a founding member of SAfA, the Society of African Archaeologists (founded in 1970) and one of the Society's first co-presidents. Along with his second wife Ama Owusua Shinnie, he was the founder and editor of SAfA's news bulletin *Nyame Akuma* ("God's Axe" in Ghana's *Twi* language), which exists since 1972.

the protection of the monuments was in principle ensured:

«The basis of our antiquities service in the Sudan has now been laid and within the limits of our staff, the conservation of monuments in the field is reasonably looked after—though shortage of funds prevents any reconstruction work. But though no restoration can be done, the Sudan is now in a position to prevent deterioration to the major known monuments» (Shinnie 1948: 16).

Shinnie's, like Arkell's approach, epitomizes the shift from the text-bound study of the past to an archaeological fieldwork approach. In his personal memoir, Shinnie (2006: 224) emphasized the need «to use excavation as a means of investigating the Sudan's past» and went on to say that although he was much interested in Ancient Egypt and its role in the Sudan, he saw a strong need to study those periods in which the Sudan had developed a unique culture of its own (Shinnie 2006: 224). In an early plea for interdisciplinary research, Shinnie – in a 1950 paper for the Sudan Government – urged the integration of archaeology, social anthropology, ethnography and linguistics in a research effort to throw light on Sudan's history (Shinnie 2006: 231). Among the numerous excavations carried out by the Antiquities Service under the direction of Shinnie, special mention should be made of those at Soba, the capital of the Christian State of Alwah, in 1950 (Shinnie and Harden 1961) and those of the Christian Monastery at Ghazali in 1953/1954 (Shinnie and Chittick (1961). After his forced resignation from the Antiquities Service in mid-1955 in the context of the Sudanization process²⁸⁹, Shinnie moved first to Uganda where he was appointed Director of Antiquities (1956–57) and then to Ghana (1958–66) where he was appointed Professor and Head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ghana in Accra (1958-1966). On his initiative the University of Ghana in Legon, Accra – in collaboration with the Ghana Government – financed an archaeological research expedition to Debeira West, as a part of the UNESCO salvage operation in Sudanese Nubia. The excavations under the direction of Shinnie were conducted for three seasons from 1961 to 1964 and provided

²⁸⁹ Sudanization (or, in the British official spelling 'Sudanisation') is defined by the Sudanese scholar Al-Agab Ahmed al-Teraifi (1977: 117) as «the replacement [of] expatriates (i.e. British and Egyptians) by Sudanese nationals in the public service». It should be noted, that Sudanization was perceived by southern Sudanese Historians as 'Northernization' (Lual Achuek Lual Deng 1986: 7); as «a change of masters, entailing the rise of a new, internal colonialism (Deng D. Akol Ruay 1994: 72 and 76; cp. Sharkey 2008: 28). For a description of the different phases of the Sudanization process see Sharkey 2003: 70-90.

important information on the daily life and domestic architecture of a medieval Nubian town²⁹⁰. The late Ghanaian archaeologist James Robert Kwesi Anquandah (1938–2017) who participated in the third excavation season at Debeira has repeatedly emphasized, how beneficial the Debeira expedition was both for its Ghanaian participants and for the development of Ghanaian museums' collections:

«The Debeira expedition [...] did not only provided archaeological training for three Ghanaian up-and-coming academics²⁹¹, but it also brought to Ghana 50% of the total archaeological findings as a donation from the Sudan Government. These provided a boost to the University of Ghana's Department's Museum artifact teaching collections and also the National Museum collections in Accra» (Anquandah 2014: 19; Anquandah, Kankpeyeng and Apoh 2014: 8).

In 1966, the offer of the chair of archaeology at the University of Khartoum gave Shinnie the opportunity to resume archaeological fieldwork in the Sudan. Thereon, between 1965 and 1984, he directed for eleven seasons the excavations of a joint expedition of the Universities of Khartoum and Calgary at Meroe. His finds and records were published, «albeit rather incompletely» (Török 2011a: 115), in two volumes in 1980 (Shinnie and Bradley) and 2004 (Shinnie and Anderson)²⁹². Shinnie definitively left Sudan in 1970 and moved to Canada, being appointed Head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Calgary, from where he eventually retired in 1980²⁹³.

When in the context of a heightened Anglo-Egyptian dispute over the Sudan, the Sudan Government decided to speed up the Sudanization of the administration (as well as of the police and the Sudan Defence Force), a Sudanization Committee had been set up by the Governor-General in 1946 to make recommendations for the phased replacement of expatriates in the senior posts. Since it was held that no Sudanese official had the necessary qualifications and ability to fill the post of

²⁹⁰ For the seasonal reports of the excavations at Debeira, some 14 miles north of Wadi Halfa, see Shinnie 1963: 257-263; 1964: 208-2015 and 1965: 190-194. For the full publication of Debeira West see Shinnie and Shinnie 1978.

²⁹¹ The two other Ghanaians were James Miles and Albert Adu Boahen (cp. Engmann 2018). Albert Kwadwo Adu Boahen (1932-2006) was a pioneer historian of Ghana and a prominent political activist.

²⁹² Before, in 1967, in *Meroe, a civilization of the Sudan*, Shinnie summarized what was then known about Meroe and related sites.

²⁹³ Shinnie had been honoured by his Egyptologist and Meroiticist colleagues' dedication to him of a special number of *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* on his 75th Birthday in 1987, (Vol. XVII, No. 1/2, 1987; Millet and Leprohon 1987). In 1992, his friends, colleagues and students paid tribute to him with the Festschrift *An African Commitment: Papers in Honour of Peter Lewis Shinnie* (David and Sterner 1992).

Commissioner, the Sudanization Committee decided to appoint another foreign archaeologist (though not British or Egyptian) to that post. The choice fell – not least because of a recommendation by Shinnie – on French Egyptologist Jean Vercoutter who took up the post in June 1955. Before being appointed to the post of Commissioner, Vercoutter was well acquainted with the Sudan, since he had already conducted his own fieldwork at the New Kingdom site of Kor (Buhen South, 1953/1954, and on Sai Island (from 1954 onwards). In the 1955 editorial notes of *KUSH*, the annual of the Antiquities Service which he had established a year before, Shinnie pointed to the profound effect of the projected High Dam at Aswan on the Antiquities of the Sudan, announced his departure from his post as Commissioner, offered his final goodbyes and wished his designated successor every success:

«This is the last number of *KUSH* for which I shall be responsible. Constitutional developments in the Sudan have resulted in the post of Commissioner for Archaeology being Sudanized on the grounds that its holding by an expatriate official might influence the free choice of their future by the Sudanese. As a result I have left the service of the Sudan Government. I would like to take this opportunity to wish the staff of the Antiquities Service the best of fortune, and to express the hope that under my successor, M. Jean Vercoutter, they will make the contributions to knowledge that the fascinating history of their country deserves» (Shinnie 1955: 3).

Hubert N. Chittick (1923-1984)²⁹⁴, who came to the Sudan in 1952 to take up the newly created post of Curator of Museums had also to leave the Antiquities Service when his post was Sudanized in December 1955. On the departure of Chittick, Sadiq en Nur, previous Assistant Curator of Antiquities, was appointed Curator of Museums (Vercoutter 1956a: 1).

In the 1956 editorial notes of *KUSH*, Jean Vercoutter announced the departure of Shinnie and Chittick and pointed to a twofold crisis which the Antiquities Service had been able to overcome thanks to the strength with which it had been endowed by Arkell and Shinnie: The Sudanization process and the danger to Sudanese archaeology «caused by the Sudd-el-Aaly [High Dam] scheme, which threatens to submerge [...] sites in that part of the country which is richest in antiquities»

²⁹⁴ Hubert Neville Chittick. First Conservator of Antiquities in Tanganyika (1957-1961); Director of the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi (1961-1983). Founder and editor of the journal *Azania*.

(Vercoutter 1956b: 3). In reality, the twofold crisis highlighted by Vercoutter was not yet overcome at the time of writing. The Sudanization process was still incomplete and the Sudanese antiquities remained under threat by the projected Aswan High Dam²⁹⁵. The Commissioner post was finally Sudanized by 1961 with the appointment of Thabit Hassan Thabit (Thabit Hassan Thabit 1961: 5). However, Vercoutter continued to work extensively during the 'Nubian Campaign' where he directed the excavations of the small 19th Dynasty temple and town of Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition (1961-1962) and the excavation of the fort and townsite of Mirgissa (1962-1968)²⁹⁶.

2.5.2 The High Dam and the Nubian Salvage Campaign

The planned construction of the High Dam upstream of the old Aswan Dam not only threatened Lower Nubia with permanent submersion, but also Upper Nubia in its entirety, over approximately 120 miles from the Second up to Kosha near the head of the Dal Cataract. For the up to 100'000 displaced Nubians this meant the loss of their historic homeland and entailed the complete disappearance of the cultural remains of their ancestors²⁹⁷.

In his last editorial notes to *KUSH*, Peter L. Shinnie (1955: 3) in 1955 pointed to the profound effect of the proposed High Dam at Aswan on the antiquities of the Sudan and predicted that «[a] large campaign will be necessary to make a proper record of th[e] invaluable evidence for the history of the Sudan before it is lost for ever». When Jean Vercoutter took up the post of Commissioner for Archaeology in June

²⁹⁵ The decision to build the Dam was taken by the Revolutionary Government in Egypt in 1952 and was formally announced in 1954. After the withdrawal of the United States from financing the Dam, the Soviet Union stepped in in 1958 and granted a \$1.1 billion loan for the construction of the Dam which began in 1960 and lasted ten years. The transboundary reservoir, consisting of two parts – Lake Nasser in Egypt and Lake Nubia in the Sudan – reached its full capacity in 1976. It is approximately 300 miles long and 10 miles wide across at its widest point, which is near the Tropic of Cancer.

²⁹⁶ For the yearly reports on the excavations at Aksha, see Vercoutter 1962 and 1963. The results of the excavations at Aksha have been published in a three-volume monograph (de Contenson 1966, Vila 1967, Chamla and Dastugue 1967). For the yearly reports on the excavations at Mirgissa, see Vercoutter 1964, 1965 and 1973. The results of the excavations at Mirgissa have been published in a three-volume monograph (Vercoutter 1970-1976).

²⁹⁷ Cp. Negm ed-Din Mohammed Sherif 1980: 16. For an ethnographic report on the culture and social order of the concerned population see Kronenberg and Kronenberg 1965b. For the uprooting and resettlement of Sudanese Nubians from the Wadi Halfa area, see Dafalla 1975 and Hinkel 1978. On Nubia as lost paradise after the *hijra* or exodus of 1964 see Bell 2006 and 2009.

1955, he became directly concerned by the High Dam project at Aswan. In early 1956, he presented a 'Preliminary Report on the Sudanese Monuments and Sites likely to be submerged by the Sudd-el-Ali Scheme' (Vercoutter 1956c)²⁹⁸ to Sayed Ismail al-Azhari²⁹⁹, then Prime Minister of the new Republic of the Sudan. But al-Azhari, according to Vercoutter (quoted in Säve-Söderbergh 1987: 72), pretended that Sudan will never agree to the construction of the new Dam. His successor Sayed Abdallah Khalil³⁰⁰, insisted, that the construction of the High Dam at Aswan depended upon an agreement on the allocation of the Nile waters with the Sudan and on the compensation payable to the people of Wadi Halfa, whose lands would be submerged by the reservoir of the dam. On November 8, 1959, General Ibrahim Abbud³⁰¹, the new Sudanese strongman, reached an agreement on the Nile waters and on the compensation of the population of Wadi Halfa District. «Sudan gave blessings to the High Dam project» (Ibrahim H. Abdallah 1971: 336).

When the Sudan learned first of the proposed building of the Dam at Aswan³⁰², the Antiquities Service prepared an emergency 'Plan of Action' (Sudan Antiquities Service / Ministry of Education 1960: 17) aimed at identifying and excavating the threatened historical and archaeological sites and monuments. At the same time, Jean Vercoutter proposed a general 'Plan of Development' (Vercoutter 1959b: 6) for the Sudan Antiquities Service. The «Schedule of Historical Monuments» (Vercoutter 1956c: 3) appended to the 1952 Antiquities Ordinance was an important starting point for the required inventory of sites and monuments³⁰³. The information contained therein was supplemented with results from a preliminary survey of known

²⁹⁸ Vercoutter elsewhere (1995: 135; cp. Säve-Söderbergh 1987: 72) noted that he had drafted this report in haste on the model of the *Report on the Monuments of Nubia Likely to be Submerged by Sudd-el-Ali Water* by the Ministry of Education, Egypt / Antiquities Department (1955). In his report, Vercoutter discusses both the peculiarities of Sudan Archaeology and the salvage work to be done and addresses the striking disparity between the international support and interest in Egyptian Nubia and that in Sudanese Nubia.

²⁹⁹ Ismail al-Azhari (1900-1969). Prime Minister of the Sudan, 1954 -1956; President of the Sudan, (1965-1969).

³⁰⁰ Abdallah Khalil (1892-1970). *Miralai* (Brigadier) of the Sudan Defence Force. Prime Minister of the Sudan, 1956-1958.

³⁰¹ *El Ferik* [Lieutenant General] Ibrahim Abbud /Aboud / Abboud (1900-1983). Commander-in-Chief of the Sudanese military forces, 1956-1958; President, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the Sudan, 1958-1964.

³⁰² According to Ibrahim H. Abdalla (1971: 2) the Revolutionary Government of Egypt informed the Government of the Sudan in 1952 of its intention to build a High Dam at Aswan. But after this date, the Sudan was kept in ignorance until the authorities in Egypt in September 1954 «thought it wise to let the Sudan know more about the scheme at a state-to-state level».

³⁰³ Peter L. Shinnie: *Provisional Schedule of Ancient Sites and Monuments in the Sudan*; cp. Leclant 1962: 121.

and new sites conducted in 1955-1956³⁰⁴. In order to enable the preparation of an 1:25'000 scale archaeological map, Vercoutter in 1957 commissioned a systematic aerial survey from Kosha in the south to the Egyptian border. The interpretation of the 2000 aerial photographs – performed by UNESCO-sponsored 'Program Specialist' William Y. Adams who arrived in the Sudan in the 1959 – revealed the existence of more than 100 sites³⁰⁵. A supplementary more detailed air coverage provided by the Aerial Survey Section of the Sudan Survey Department allowed to finalize the map and to resume works on the ground³⁰⁶. After the completion of preliminary arrangements, field work in Nubia was resumed in the Faras region by the Sudan Antiquities Service toward the end of January 1960 by a team under the direction of Jean Vercoutter and William Y. Adams and with support from UNESCO experts Hans-Åke Nordström and Jan Verwers³⁰⁷. Sudanese Nubia was thus in the late 1950s, according to Adams (1992: 4), «by no means 'terra incognita', as UNESCO publicity sometimes claimed», even though the state of knowledge «was far behind that in Egyptian Nubia»³⁰⁸.

The work to be done in Nubia was by far beyond the limited resources of the Egyptian and Sudanese Antiquities Departments. Therefore, Sarwat Okacha³⁰⁹, then Minister of Culture and National Guidance of the United Arab Republic (Province of Egypt)³¹⁰ and Sayed Ziada Osman Arbab, then Minister of Education of the Sudan, considered it necessary to submit urgent requests to UNESCO (Egypt on 6 April and Sudan on 24 October 1959), since UNESCO's Constitution made

³⁰⁴ In the *KUSH* VII (1959), Jean Vercoutter provides a list of the archaeological sites available for excavation both by the Sudan Antiquities Service and by foreign missions ('List of Sites to be Excavated', Vercoutter 1959c: 215-221).

³⁰⁵ William Y. Adams' initial appointment was for a consultancy of four months, «potentially but not certainly renewable if more time were needed» (Adams 1992: 5). He eventually stayed for a «seven-year period» (Adams 1977: xxiii). For a personal memoir of the archaeological campaigns in Sudanese Nubia of 1959-1969, see Adams 1992.

³⁰⁶ For the 1955 to 1959 surveys in Sudanese Nubia see Vercotter 1956a: 3-10; Vercoutter 1957a, Leclant 1962 and Adams 1961: 7-9. Adams in his 1961 contribution to *KUSH*, introduced the notion 'Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia' for the «continuing programme, begun in 1955, to investigate all of the archaeological monuments of Sudanese Nubia» (Adams 1961: 7).

³⁰⁷ For the Excavations in the Faras region see Adams et al. 1961: 15-43.

³⁰⁸ This view is directed against statements like those of Vercoutter 1960: 46, Keating 1975: 11 and Sæve-Söderbergh 1992b: 62.

³⁰⁹ Tarwat 'Ukāšah (1921-2012). Alternative spellings: Saroit/Saroit/Tharwat Okasha.

³¹⁰ The United Arab Republic (U.A.R.) was the political union of Egypt and Syria, proclaimed on February 1, 1958, and ratified in nationwide plebiscites. The union with 'one flag, one army, and one people' ended in September 1961, when Syria, following a military coup, declared itself independent of Egypt. Despite the dissolution of the Union, Egypt retained the name United Arab Republic until 1971.

provision for the protection of the cultural heritage of mankind. The Executive Board of UNESCO eventually decided in the same year to grant the Governments of the United Arab Republic and the Sudan the assistance they had required and to launch an appeal for international cooperation. This «solemn appeal to governments, institutions, public and private foundations and all persons of goodwill, requesting technical and financial contributions to save the inestimable treasures of Nubia» (UNESCO 1980b) was launched on March 8, 1960 at UNESCO's headquarters in Paris³¹¹.

With this appeal to world-wide solidarity, Vittorino Veronese, then Director-General of UNESCO, opened the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia³¹². Those taking part in the safeguarding operations were invited to assume scientific, technical and financial responsibility for the survey and excavation of archaeological sites; as well as for the preservation and/or relocation of monuments. In turn, both Governments had agreed to offer the parties which have effectively contributed towards the international action to safeguard the monuments and sites of ancient Nubia 50% of all finds for the museums of their respective countries (excluding unique objects of historical value). As a grant in return for the foreign assistance, the United Arab Republic additionally promised to authorize excavations outside the threatened area including the Royal Necropolis of Saqqara and the transfer abroad of certain Nubian temples and of antiquities from other regions of Egypt³¹³. The Sudan in contrast could not promise that any monuments would be given away as grants in return. In a letter to UNESCO dated October 24, 1959, then Minister of Education of the Sudan, Sayed Ziada Osman Arbab, thus expressed the hope, that the ancient remains of the endangered area might attract enough scholars willing to contribute to the safeguard of Sudan's history for future generations:

³¹¹ Previously, Jean Vercoutter had launched an S.O.S. appeal for international assistance in 1959 (Vercoutter 1959a). A similar appeal including a chronological review of the area to be flooded in Sudanese Nubia was prepared by the Sudan Antiquities Service in 1960 (Vercoutter and Adams 1960). For an outline of the 'Nubian Campaign' and for the UNESCO appeal see UNESCO 1960a. For a Sudanese perspective on the UNESCO appeal and an outline of the archaeology of the Sudan see the pamphlet issued by the Sudan Antiquities Service / Ministry of Education in 1960. For a vision of Sudanese Nubia as 'terra incognita' see Vercoutter 1960a.

³¹² UNESCO For the full text of the appeal see Veronese 1960: 6-7.

³¹³ The incentive to dig in Nubia, according to Adams (2007: 53), also stemmed from the fact, that the Egyptian Antiquities Department suspended excavation work in other areas in order to concentrate solely upon the Nubian Nile valley.

«We do not possess important reserves in our museum which we could cede; we have no attractive sites like Sakkara to offer as a favour in return [...]. So the only hope that is left to us, [...], lies in the fact that the prehistory, history and archaeology of the area endangered in our territory are much less-known than Egyptian Nubia and for this reason they might attract enough scholars to help us to undertake, [...], the necessary works of survey, prospection, excavation, removal and documentation, necessary to ensure that the least part of the history of our country – and thus of the world in general – will be safeguarded for future generations» (UNESCO 1960a: 28).

In a message by Ibrahim Abbud, read by his special representative at the launching ceremony of the 'Nubian Campaign', the President of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces and Prime Minister of the Republic of the Sudan was sending an appeal to the assist the Sudan in the Nubian salvage operations:

"With less than three years to do the work, the Sudan Antiquities Service cannot alone carry out such an enormous task and that is why I am appealing to the world at large to come and help us. We shall be most grateful to any country or scientific institution which is able to come and assist us to explore 800 square kilometres, to excavate the 47 known sites and those which have not yet been discovered, to dismantle and re-erect two temples and to save the paintings from three churches. Assistance could be given either by sending archaeological missions to the Sudan, or lending the services of technicians, or by giving financial help» (UNESCO 1960b).

By the same time, President Abboud's message went on to list a number of offers already accepted by the Sudanese Government which have come from several countries and scientific institutions³¹⁴. In the end, the Sudan, according to Adams (2007: 54), did succeed in attracting nineteen foreign archaeological, missions³¹⁵. The areas awarded by concession to these missions covered significantly less than half of the total threatened area. The remainder of the work of survey and excavation thus fell to the Sudan Antiquities Service which meant, in practice to Adams in his function as UNESCO Liaison Officer – a function to which he was officially assigned in 1963 (Adams 1968: 113) – and his three successive European *de facto* assistants Jan Verwers, Hans-Åke Nordström, and Antony (Tony) J. Mills (Adams 2007: 54

³¹⁴ A few examples of the kind of help that was being offered to UNESCO by the end of March 1960 are listed in the May 1960 issue of *The UNESCO Courier* (UNESCO 1960b: 12-13).

³¹⁵ Cp. Negm ed-DinMohammed Sherif 1980: 16. Adams elsewhere (1992: 4) mentions «some twenty concessionary expeditions» For a map of the excavation concessions in Sudanese Nubia during the International Campaign for the Preservation of the Monuments of Nubia, see Adams 2007: 54.

and 1992: 12/14/19; cp. Adams 1977: xxiv).

The Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia was conducted in two stages over two areas: The 1960-1963 UNESCO-Sudan Antiquities Service Survey (surveying 60km of the Nile on the West Bank between Faras and Gemai) was undertaken by William Y. Adams with G. Jan Verwers and Hans-Åke Nordström. Simultaneously, there was a Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Nubia surveying the East Bank also between Faras and Gemai³¹⁶. The 1964-1969 UNESCO-Sudan Antiquities Service Survey (surveying 130km of the Nile from Gemai to Dal) was led by Anthony Mills, who was assisted by Hans-Åke Nordström, Bengt Schönbeck, Andre Vila, and Jim Knudstad (Adams 1992: 23). William Y. Adams (2007: 54) who actually led the field activities of the Sudan Antiquities Service in Sudanese Nubia emphasizes, that contrary to his initial intention, to survey the threatened areas first and to conduct rescue excavation of the selected sites in a second step, he found that it was more appropriate to combine survey and excavation in a single operation. In view of the limited resources – both in terms of time and manpower – he had developed a scheme of triage as «a basis for deciding what to dig and what not to dig» (2007: 54). Adams sees this triage system to maximize the amount of information that could be recovered as his most significant contribution to the practice of salvage archaeology.

The role of UNESCO in the 'Nubian Campaign' was according to Adams (2007: 53) «almost entirely one of publicization and implementation»³¹⁷. UNESCO promoted the international collaboration and acted as coordinator and intermediary between the donor States and the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments. In 1960, a control panel for these activities, the Executive Committee of the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, was created and a Trust Fund was established. The capital contributed to the Nubian Trust Fund was according Adams (1968: 112)

³¹⁶ The final reports of the Joint Expedition to Nubia of the four Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden in response to the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia are available in nine volumes, divided in 14 subvolumes with Torgny Säve-Söderbergh as editor (Säve-Söderbergh: 1970-1991). For a summary article on the 1961-1964 expedition, see Säve-Söderbergh 1984; and for an extended article, Säve-Söderbergh 1979. For a short summary of the nine volumes publication see Säve-Söderbergh 1992a: 38-41.

³¹⁷ For a detailed presentation of the role of UNESCO in the 'Nubian Campaign', see Säve-Söderbergh 1992a: 33-35; 1992b: 94-96, and Fekri A. Hassan 2007: 79-80). For a discussion of organizational aspects of international salvage archaeology against the background of the 'Nubian Campaign', see: Säve-Söderbergh 1972 and Adams 1968b.

partly spent to promote greater awareness of the need for action among member states and partly to finance individual salvage operations within the affected regions. Adams (1968: 113) emphasizes, that the «overall Nubian campaign involved two virtually unrelated operations: the removal and reconstruction of endangered temples, and the excavation of archaeological sites». The construction of the Aswan High Dam threatened to submerge the temples and monuments in Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia. While most of the monuments in the threatened area of Sudanese Nubia were built of mud brick and could not be dismantled, the four stone temples of Aksha, Buhen, Semna West and Semna East (Kumma) were dismantled, carved up and moved to the garden of the newly built Sudan National Museum in 1962-1963³¹⁸. The dismantling, transfer and reconstruction in Khartoum of the remains of the temple of Ramses II at Aksha was made possible with a financial contribution from France; of the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen with a financial contribution from the United Kingdom and the United States of America; of the temple of Khnum at Semna East (Kumma) with a financial contribution from the Netherlands; and of the temple of Dedewen and Sesostri III at Semna West with a financial contribution from Belgium (UNESCO 2004)³¹⁹.

As for archaeological excavations, Adams (1970: 53 and 54) has highlighted, that UNESCO did not support direct funding for archaeological excavations but provided specialized experts and technical equipment that the affected nations were not expected to have. But UNESCO, according to Adams (1992: 6) was not mandated to provide archaeologists to its member states, which had their own antiquities organizations. Additionally, Adams himself was neither a trained archaeologist nor officially employed to conduct excavations. However, in the end, it happened, that, «by the conclusion of the first field season» (January to April 1960), «a Sudan Antiquities Service *équipe* directed by Unesco personnel» (Adams 1992: 10, his emphasis) «collectively recorded 49 sites, and had done some excavation in 24 of them» (Adams 1992: 12). In summarizing the achievements of the archaeological

³¹⁸ Initially, it was not intended from the Sudanese part to relocate the temples at Semna and Kumma to Khartoum, but to preserve them on the rocky barrier where they were then standing (Vercoutter 1960: 47).

³¹⁹ For reports on the dismantling and relocation of the four temples to Khartoum see Hinkel 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1968. For general information on the relocated temples see the illustrated visitors' guide to the Sudan National Museum (Rilly: 2013). According to Vercoutter, the Nubians were all against transferring the antiquities and temples to Khartoum. They would, following Vercoutter, rather have preferred them to stay near the new reservoir (Vercoutter 1995: 137).

campaign in Sudanese Nubia, William Y. Adams (2007: 55) comes to the conclusion that «[t]here were no spectacular discoveries, other than that of the great Faras church painting» and emphasizes that, «for once in the history of archaeology», non-elite remains were brought into focus; remains which «have provided a more nuanced pictures of the everyday lives of ordinary men and women than ever before».

The spectacular discovery at Faras mentioned by Adams pertains the so called "Miracle of Faras"³²⁰; the unexpected discovery of a collection of over 120³²¹ early Christian wall paintings – «popularly though incorrectly called frescoes» (Adams 1977: 482) – in the buried Cathedral. What had started as a routine salvage excavation ended in an archaeological sensation. Kazimierz Michałowski, who led expedition of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology (PCMA) in Cairo, described the discovery in 1980 in a special issue of *The UNESCO Courier* on the occasion of the end of the 'Nubian Campaign' as follows: «There, among a whole complex of sacred and profane buildings buried in the sand, under the walls of an Arab citadel, the expedition uncovered an imposing early Christian church the walls of which were decorated with more than 120 frescoes in excellent condition» (Michałowski 1980: 39). According to Georg Gerster's article "Faras: Gallery of 169 Frescoes" published in the December 1964 issue of *UNESCO Courier* «[s]ome frescoes were painted by the al fresco method (painting on plaster that is still humid); though most were done on dry plaster» (UNESCO 1964: 17). Kazimierz Michałowski himself, in the excavation report for the first (1961) season wrote in *KUSH X* that «the technique of these paintings was not that of fresco as had formerly been supposed, but was the tempera painting technique mixed eventually with that of buono fresco [true fresco]» (Michałowski 1962a: 231).

The International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia officially ended on March 10, 1980, after the successful transferring of the Philae monuments on a new

³²⁰ Cp. Gerster 1963 and Hinkel 1978: 47. "Das Wunder aus Faras" [The Miracle of Faras] is also the title of the catalogue of the exhibition of the finds at Faras by the Polish Centre in Egypt, held at Villa Hügel at Essen (May 14 to September 14, 1969; Michałowski, 1969).

³²¹ Adams (1977: 482) puts the number at 167. The number of 169 paintings or frescoes is also given in article by an unknown author under the title "Faras: Gallery of 169 Frescoes" published in the December 1964 issue of *The UNESCO Courier* (UNESCO 1964:17-19).

site on the island of Agilkia³²². To mark the end of the twenty-year campaign, UNESCO in February-March 1980 published a double issue of its *UNESCO Courier* «devoted entirely to this unprecedented example of international cooperation» (UNESCO 1980a).

The 'Nubian Campaign' – the first collaborative international rescue effort involving UNESCO and according to William Y. Adams (2007: 53) «the largest archaeological salvage program ever undertaken» – was considered an overall success by the host nations, Egypt and Sudan, as well as by the participant nations. The UNESCO appeal to the nations of the world and their scientific institutions to assist in the preservation of the ancient monuments of Nubia received a highly encouraging response by governments, institutions and individuals. One of the main outcomes of the 'Nubian Campaign' was – as the previous section demonstrated – the valorization of what came to be known as "World Heritage". Its success led to other safeguarding campaigns, such as saving Venice and its Lagoon in and the Archaeological Ruins at Moenjodaro in Pakistan and restoring the Borobudur Temple Compounds in Indonesia (Fekri A. Hassan: 2007: 89).

René Maheu, then UNESCO Director-General, at the occasion of the ceremony to mark the completion of the operations for saving the two temples of Abu Simbel on September 22, 1968 commented on the idea of a common, universal heritage:

«This idea of a universal cultural heritage which it is man's duty to preserve in the interest of the international community is one of the key concepts that it is Unesco's mission to promote. And not only because of the intrinsic value of these precious witnesses to the past, but also, and even more so, because of the positive awareness it arouses of that intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind which the Constitution of the Organization sees as the foundation of true peace among peoples. By taking upon itself responsibility for the preservation of these relics, whose message is forever becoming more broadly and deeply diffused, as the duty of conserving common property, mankind recognizes its own oneness through time and space, through the centuries and the nations, and proclaims the unity of its destiny. This is the essential lesson which emerges from the success of the International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia» (Maheu 1968: 34).

³²² Cp. UNESCO 2004 (Timeline 1959-1980), and UNESCO 1980a (*UNESCO Courier*): 3 / back cover.

Maheu's discourse turns heritage into a signifier of modern democratic citizenship; as a component of the duty to take care of a public good³²³. Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif³²⁴ (1927-1994), then Director General of the Sudan Antiquities and National Museums, in the 1980 special issue of *The UNESCO Courier* on the occasion of the end of the 'Nubian Campaign' summarized the results of the 'Nubian Campaign' as follows:

«The part of the Sudan flooded by the waters of the Aswan High Dam is now the only region in the entire country which has received any systematic archaeological investigation³²⁵. [...]. Now we can reconstruct in great detail the history of culture and civilization in this region of immense importance not only for the history of the Nile Valley but also for the history of Africa. In short, the scientific information these unprecedented archaeological activities yielded has enormously enriched human knowledge» (Negm ed-Din Mohamed Sherif 1980:17).

In the same article, Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif (1980:19) could report, that of the archaeological missions participating in the salvage campaign in Sudanese Nubia since 1964, ten had decided to continue fieldwork and that more expeditions were expected to take the field soon. John Martin Plumley (1910-1999),³²⁶ in a retrospect on the 'Nubian Campaign', in 1982 pointed to the paradox that the destruction of much of Nubia has resulted in a detailed knowledge of Nubia's past and that the interest of archaeologists for the poorer stretches of the Nubian Nile Valley was only awakened by the 'Nubian Campaign' led by UNESCO:

«It is one of the ironies of history that the events which have brought about the almost total destruction of Egyptian Nubia and a large part of Sudanese Nubia have also resulted in the

³²³ Maheu's highlighting of the reciprocal relation between active citizenship and commitment to heritage found a late echo in a conference under the title "Heritage Care through Active Citizenship" organized in March 2009 on the initiative of Belgian heritage organizations at Mechelen, Belgium.

³²⁴ Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif (also spelled Nigm el-Din or Nigm ed-Din Mohamed Sherif) was from 1970 to 1987 Director General of the Sudan Antiquities and National Museums. In 1995, a hall for temporary exhibitions at the Sudan National Museum was named in his honour Professor Negm ed-Din Mohammed Sherif Hall.

³²⁵ William Y. Adams (1982: 11) takes a similar view when he remarks that «[t]hanks to the succession of dams built in Aswan since 1902, the region between the First and Third cataracts of the Nile has witnesses more systematic archaeology in this century than has any other part of Africa, and perhaps of the world» (Adams 1982: 11).

³²⁶ John Martin (Jack) Plumley read Theology the University of Durham and was ordained in the Church of England as a deacon in 1933 and as a priest in 1934. In 1957, he was offered the Chair of Egyptology at the University of Cambridge. During the time of the 'Nubian Campaign' he was invited by the British Exploration Society to carry out excavations for seven seasons (1963-1978) in the Nubian fortress city of Qasr Ibrim. Plumley was elected in 1982 the second President of the International Society for Nubian Studies.

recovery of much of the history of those regions which might otherwise have remained for many years largely unknown. One cannot disguise the fact that the rich material remains of Ancient Egypt have not unnaturally tended to attract the attention of archaeologists at the expense of the poorer stretches of the Nubian Nile Valley. The work of the UNESCO Campaign can be said to have gone some way to redressing the balance» (Plumley 1982b: 1).

The view, that the building of the Aswan High Dam and the flooding of Lower Nubia had led to an increased interest from the international archaeological community in Nubia is shared by Egyptologist Jane Roy.

«The building of the High Dam and flooding of Lower Nubia has actually led to an increased and ongoing interest from the archaeological community in Nubia in general and Upper Nubia in particular. While many working early on in Nubia were Egyptologists who often saw work in Nubia as an extension to work in Egypt and to the Egyptian culture this is no longer the case. Today the discipline of Nubiology sits alongside the discipline of Egyptology. Egyptologists working as part of the UNESCO campaign may have been encouraged by the enforced stoppage of work at unthreatened sites within Egypt (such as Saqqara and Thebes) and keen to eventually return but the interest in Nubia was not drowned with the land itself. Noted archaeologists and anthropologists such as W.Y. Adams, and B.G. Trigger amongst others, may never have taken an interest in Nubia had it not been for the requirements and opportunities such a large scale operation generated» (Roy 2011: 13).

The birth of the «new branch of knowledge viz. Nubiology» (Török 1972: 20) – defined by William Y. Adams (1994: 19) as «the study of Nubia for its own sake rather than as an adjunct to the Egyptian or the Classical world» – is another important outcome of the 'Nubian Campaign'. Adams has pointed to the fact that the archaeologists participating in the 'Nubian Campaign' were working within a paradigm – or a research perspective «that had been created by Reisner 50 years before»; a perspective, which saw «Nubian history as a paler reflection of Egyptian history». In order to overcome that paradigm, it was according Adams necessary «to refocus the research perspective of scholars «from Egypt to Nubia itself as the focal point of our discipline, from a static to a dynamic perspective, and from history to culture as our primary concern» (Adams 1992: 26).

The 'Nubian Campaign' received extensive media coverage in the international arena and thus fundamentally enhanced «the public profile of Nubian and Sudanese archaeology» (Edwards 2004a: x). Numerous books were being published on the

topic³²⁷ and UNESCO's *The UNESCO Courier* reported in several special issues and focus articles³²⁸ on the progress of the campaign and thus according to William Y. Adams contributed at once to the publicization and mythification of the events:

«Unesco saw this mission, correctly, as one of publicizing, and publicization in the modern world is always a kind of mythification. The hopeful pronouncements that appeared regularly in the Unesco Courier; [...] did not always bear a close resemblance to what was actually happening in the field – or in the corridors of power where basic policy decisions were made» (Adams 1992: 3).

The presentation of the findings and discoveries in the Nubian Middle Nile Region in series of major international exhibitions has additionally increased what David Edwards (2004: x) calls «the public profile of Nubian and Sudanese archaeology». The first major exhibition on the Ancient Sudan was organized in 1978 by the Brooklyn Museum in New York with the scholarly participation of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / DDR. The four-venue exhibition entitled *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* featured some 250 objects encompassing the history of Nubia and the Sudan from 3000 B.C. to 1100 A.D.³²⁹. Mention should also be made of the travelling exhibition *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa*, which opened in 1992 at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum) in Philadelphia and then followed with eight other venues in the United States³³⁰. The exhibition displayed 319 objects from the collection of the Egyptian Section of the University Museum of Archaeology and

³²⁷ UNESCO's official account of the campaign is: Torgny Säve-Söderbergh's *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia* (1987). The popular accounts *Nubian Twilight* (1962) and *Nubian Rescue* (1975) by Rex Keating of UNESCO radio provide an exciting insight in the archaeological work in Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia. For the relocation of the threatened temples in Sudanese Nubia to the Sudan National Museum see Friedrich W. Hinkel's *Tempel ziehen um* (1966). For the uprooting and resettlement of Sudanese Nubians from the Wadi Halfa area see Hassan Dafalla's *The Nubian Exodus* (1975) and Fritz Hinkel's *Exodus from Nubia* (1978).

³²⁸ *The UNESCO Courier* February 1960 (Special Issue): UNESCO launches a world appeal: Save the Treasures of Nubia; *The UNESCO Courier* May 1960: UNESCO's 'Nubian Campaign' is Launched; *The UNESCO Courier* November (Keating 1962b): Digging for History: An Account of Excavation in Nubia During 1961-62; *The UNESCO Courier* December 1964: Victory in Nubia; *The UNESCO Courier* February/March 1980 (Special Issue): Victory in Nubia. The greatest archaeological rescue operation of all the time.

³²⁹ *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*. Travelling exhibition. New York: Brooklyn Museum, September 30 to December 31, 1978; Seattle, New Orleans, The Hague. Catalogue: Sylvia Hochfield and Elizabeth Riefstahl (eds.). *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* (1978).

³³⁰ *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa*. Travelling exhibition. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, October 10, 1992 to October 3, 1993 (extended to November 7, 1993). Catalogue: David O'Connor (1993). *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa*. Philadelphia: University Museum (1993).

Anthropology which document the rise and fall of Nubian kingdoms from 3100 B.C. to A.D. 400. Another notable presentation of the Ancient Sudan was provided with the travelling exhibition *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*, according to the American archaeologist Bruce Williams «a worthy successor to the exhibit organized by the Brooklyn Museum al-most twenty years ago» (Williams 2000: 310)³³¹. The exhibition was co-organized by the Institut du monde arabe in Paris and the Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung in Munich.

Like the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in the early 1920, the discoveries of the 'Nubian Campaign' also revived an interest in archaeological tourism. UNESCO sponsored a series of studies «to examine whether some economic value can be attached to historic monuments, irrespective of their immense cultural significance». These studies have according to UNESCO shown, «that the preservation of monuments can contribute to economic development since monuments are a tourist attraction and thus a potential economic asset, which should be developed» (UNESCO 1966: 11). The touristic potential of archaeological sites and monuments was already recognized at the beginning of the 20th century by administrators and visitors of the Sudan. Reginald F. Wingate for instance, according to Budge (1907/I: 340) «wished, [...], to make [the pyramids of Bgrâwîya] and their chapels accessible to the visitors to the Sûdân» (Budge 1907/I: 340). John Ward (1832-1912)³³² who visited the Sudan soon after the accession of the new regime, noticed that the ancient monuments «would attract visitors and capital to an interesting and unknown land which needs both to advance its development» (Ward: 1902: 148). His 1905 illustrated travelogue *Our Sudan: Its Pyramids and Progress* – intended of being of service to visitors of the Sudan – contains in different chapters detailed descriptions of the antiquities of the northern Sudan. Ward's travelogue was followed by a series of handbooks for travellers, which all include extended sections on the Antiquities of the Sudan. Special mention should be made of Thomas Cook's *Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan* (1906) by Ernest Wallis Budge; John Murray's *Handbook for*

³³¹ *Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*. Travelling exhibition. Munich: Hypo-Kulturstiftung, 2 October 1996 - 5 January 1997; Paris, Amsterdam, Toulouse, Mannheim, Turin, Vienna. Catalogue: *Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*. 1997. Dietrich Wildung (ed.). Paris and New York: Flammarion. The exhibition was co-organized by the Institut du monde arabe in Paris and the Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung in Munich.

³³² The artist and writer John Ward was born and educated in Belfast. In 1847 he entered the family firm of printers and publishers and studied at the Belfast School of Art and Design. He is most famous for his 1900 travelogue *Pyramids and Progress: Sketches from Egypt*. Ward was also the author of *The Wonders of Sudan* (1903).

Egypt and the Sudan (1907), edited by Harry Reginald Hall (Hall 1907); and Karl Baedeker's *Egypt and the Sudan* (1908). While at the time, one could travel from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum «in a comfortable *train de luxe*, 'lighted with electricity and furnished with sleeping cars'» (Ward 1905: 194, his emphasis), the train infrastructure had badly deteriorated since the 1980s. The tourism potential of archaeological sites and monuments recognized by UNESCO in the 1960s is only very recently being developed. The joint initiative by Qatar Museums and the National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums of the Sudan seems to have made an important contribution in this respect:

«[T]he concerted efforts of more than 40 international projects concerned with archaeological excavations, the conservation of ancient monuments, and the building of visitor centres, museums and touristic infrastructure, have proven to be a game-changer for the touristic landscape of Sudan. Sudan is now in a position to offer a much larger and denser network of well-managed sites than this was the case in the years before the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project. Through these developments, the value and attractiveness of Sudan for cultural tourism has risen dramatically» (QSAP Roundtable³³³).

With all its achievements, the 'Nubian Campaign' had also its failures, shortcomings and limitations³³⁴. The Egyptian anthropologist and archaeologist Fekri Hassan, in an article on the Aswan High Dam and the international Nubian rescue campaign, especially criticizes that no support was given to capacity building of Egyptian and Sudanese «archaeologists, restorers, historians, conservators, architects, managers, and ethnographers who could have carried on after the foreign missions ha[d] left» (Fekri A. Hassan: 2007: 90). Fekri A. Hassan additionally criticizes the practice by certain countries of having expected donations as grant in return for the foreign assistance and insists that «[t]hese unfair and now objectionable ethical practices must be excluded from any future international rescue operations»³³⁵.

³³³ Roundtable on Tourism in the Sudan at the Arabic Cultural House "Divan" of the Embassy of Qatar in Berlin. September 27, 2018. <http://www.qsap.org.qa/en/news-roundtable-on-tourism-at-the-arabic-cultural-house-news.html> [22022018].

³³⁴ On successes and failures of the 'Nubian Campaign' see Vercoutter 1995. For a presentation of the major advances in knowledge and theory in respect to the main periods of Nubian history, see Adams 1966.

³³⁵ While in Egypt, the system of *partage*, or division of finds, found an end in 1983, the Sudan – in the context of archaeological salvage projects – still assigns selected objects in the division of finds to the excavating institutions.

Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, who was the leader of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia and the Swedish representative of the Executive Committee of UNESCO for the 'Nubian Campaign' reported, it was observed, that the work by some archaeological teams was influenced by «the chances of finding nice or interesting objects which could be good items for exhibitions» (Säve-Söderbergh 1972: 136). Additionally, ecological aspects were neglected, and the standards of archaeological work were at times insufficient in what concerns the attitude towards the treatment of pottery sherds and human remains (Säve-Söderbergh 1972: 136-137).

William Y. Adams, who was the UNESCO Liaison Officer during the 'Nubian Campaign', identifies the financial aspect as the foremost among the limiting factors in the 'Nubian Campaign'. The campaign was implemented without a regular budget and thus to heavily depended on the generosity of the UNESCO membership states and other donors. Additionally, the relocation of the temple of Abu Simbel, swallowed up the greatest part of the Nubian Trust Fund, so that UNESCO's ability to contribute financially to the other aspects of the campaign was very restricted (Adams 1968: 117; for further limiting factors see 117-119). Elsewhere, in a «catalogue of inadequacies», Adams (1992: 23-27) summarizes the failures of the 'Nubian Campaign' and considers what could have been done better if the circumstances had been different³³⁶. On a more general level, Adams noted, that even though the 'Nubian salvage programme' was a success, the 'Nubian research programme' would remain half finished «as long as it was confined to the area of the Aswan Reservoir» and came to conclude that «[t]o complete the present picture, an archaeological effort is still needed in Upper Nubia comparable in scope and magnitude to that which has now been so successfully carried out between Aswan and Dal (Adams 1966: 26).

As a follow-up to the successful completion of the International Campaign to Save the monuments of Nubia, the International Campaign for the Establishment of the Nubia Museum in Aswan and the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization in Cairo was launched by UNESCO in 1982. The Nubia Museum in Aswan opened to the

³³⁶ Adams (1992: 23-27) addresses the inadequacies and deficiencies along the keywords 'more time', 'more space', 'more and better equipment', 'more facilities', 'adequate personnel' and 'more information'.

public in November 1997; 37 years after the UNESCO appeal. It celebrates the culture and civilization of the Nubian region of Egypt from prehistoric times to the present and houses more than 3'000 objects found during the 'Nubian Campaign' on sites that since have been submerged by the waters of the High Dam. It is a community museum for the Nubian people, having an important education programme and raising local, national and international awareness of Nubian history and culture. In April 2000 the museum was approved by UNESCO as a centre for museology and the preservation and conservation of archaeological remains for Africa and the Middle East. In 2001, the Nubia Museum received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture³³⁷.

The National Museum of Egyptian Civilization located on the archaeological site of al-Fustat in Old Cairo, was partially opened to the public in February 2017 ('Soft Opening'). The Museum's collections will be displayed in a core permanent exhibition of the principle achievements of Egyptian civilization from prehistoric times to the present day, with six thematic galleries covering the Dawn of Civilization, The Nile, Writing, State and Society, Material Culture, Beliefs and Thinking and the Gallery of Royal Mummies. The Museum will also have generous temporary exhibition spaces, an auditorium and an education and research centre, as well as an exhibition on the development of the modern city of Cairo. The first temporary exhibition showcased the history of four crafts in Egypt: clay, jewellery, textiles and wood ("Crafts and Industries through the Ages"). The museum is using a multidisciplinary approach that highlights the country's tangible and intangible heritage³³⁸.

Another practical long-term effect of the salvage operations in Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia was the establishment of the French Archaeological Unit within the Sudan Antiquities Service with a specific mandate to carry out archaeological rescue

³³⁷ For general information on the Nubia Museum provided by UNESCO see <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/museums/museum-projects/nubia-museum-aswan/> [23.05.2017]. For general information on the Nubia Museum, for an introduction to the museum itinerary and for an online presentation of selected objects provided by UNESCO see <http://www.unesco.org/culture/museum-for-dialogue/museums/en/2/nubian-museum-in-aswan-egypt#> [23.05.2017]. For a short description of the Nubia Museum see De Simone 2014: 124-134.

³³⁸ For general information on the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization provided by UNESCO see <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/museums/museum-projects/the-national-museum-of-egyptian-civilization/> [23.05.2017].

projects. The French Unit of the Directorate General of Antiquities and National Museums of the Sudan (now the French Unit of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums or *Section française de la direction des antiquités du Soudan* (SFDAS) was founded in 1967 at the initiative of Jean Vercoutter, Commissioner for Archaeology 1955-1960, was officially created in 1969³³⁹. In charge of cooperating with the Sudanese Department of Antiquities in its field activities (excavations and prospection), the SFDAS, took part in the rescue operations of the 'Nubian Campaign' which preceded the water impoundment in the Aswan dam reservoir. It then pursued the systematic inventory of the sites of the Nile Valley south of the lake. It has also conducted several planned excavations, namely on the sites of Missiminia (Napatan, Meroitic, X-group and Christian necropolis), Kadada (Neolithic, Meroitic and post-Meroitic necropolis), Kadruka (Neolithic funeral mound) and El-Hobagi (post-Meroitic burial mound).

The two long-term directors of the SFDAS, Francis Geus (1941-2005; terms of office 1975-1984 and 2000-2004) and Jacques Reinold (term of office 1984-2000) both organized a major exhibition centered around the French excavations in the Sudan (cp. Geus 1984 and Reinold: 2000a and b). The SFDAS is maintaining a well-equipped library whose 2'000-volume catalogue is available online³⁴⁰. It is, besides the library of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, the largest library specialised in archaeological literature in the Sudan.

With the inauguration of the Polish Archaeological Unit on February 27, 2018, a second foreign archaeological research unit is operating in the Sudan. The Polish Archaeological Unit of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw aims at supporting and facilitating Polish archaeological missions in Sudan. The unit with offices at the premises of NCAM is headed by Mahmoud El-Tayeb, a Sudanese-Polish archaeologist from the University of Warsaw³⁴¹.

³³⁹ The *Section française de la direction des antiquités du Soudan* (SFDAS) was successively run by André Vila (1969-1975), Francis Geus (1975-1984), Jacques Reinold (1984-2000), Francis Geus (2000-2004), Vincent Rondot (2005-2009), Claude Rilly (2009-2014) and is, since September 2014, under the direction of Vincent Francigny.

³⁴⁰ For the online catalogue of the SFDAS-library search the SFDAS website: <http://sfdas.com/?lang=en> [20.01.2019].

³⁴¹ For information on the Polish Archaeological Unit visit the Website of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology: <https://pcma.uw.edu.pl/en/polish-archaeological-unit-in-khartoum/> [20.01.2019].

2.5.3 The Post-Independence Period

Shortly before Sudan was granted independence in 1956, its first civil war (1955-1971) – also the first in post-colonial Africa – broke out. During the short interwar period, archaeological work was conducted in the southern Sudan under the auspices of the British Institute in Eastern Africa in collaboration with the Sudan Antiquities Service. The archaeological reconnaissance began, according to Hassan Hussein Idris (2005: 30), in 1977-78 «with a preliminary reconnaissance by David Phillipson taking in the three Southern provinces of Eastern and Western Equatoria and Bahr el Ghazal» (Phillipson 1981) and was followed by the already mentioned joint mission from the University of Khartoum, the University of Bergen and the Antiquities Service which conducted archaeological research in Upper Nile Province in 1981-1982 under the direction of Else J. Kleppe. However, the outbreak of Sudan's second civil war (1983-2005) halted these activities.

From the late 1960s onwards, the representatives of the Sudan Antiquities Service – who defined their task as being «responsible for the care and maintenance of ancient monuments and museums as well as for archaeological research through excavations and the study of ancient texts» (The Republic of the Sudan / *Sudan Almanac* 1958: 183)³⁴² – were most concerned with the organisation and implementation of the salvage operations of the 'Nubian Campaign' which preceded the water impoundment in the Aswan Dam Reservoir. With the influx of a large number of objects from the operation areas in Upper Nubia, the need for exhibition and storage facilities became more and more urgent. In view of this situation, the Government of the Republic of the Sudan accelerated the existing planning for a new multi-section museum in Khartoum for which a site at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles (Arabic: *muqrān*; English *Mogran*) had been reserved:

«Further consideration was given to the planning of a new museum to house the Antiquities, Ethnographical and Natural History collections, space on the site being reserved for expansion to include other sections. The Board were informed that a site in Mogren had been

³⁴² A more detailed definition of the aims and tasks of the Sudan Antiquities Service was given in 1959 by Jean Vercoutter: «[t]he aims of the Antiquities Service are threefold: it must (a) Keep safe and maintain the known monuments of the past within the Sudan. (b) Search for unknown monuments and sites so as to enrich the knowledge of the Sudan's history and archaeology. (c) Publish the results of its work so that it is not lost but, on the contrary, can enrich the Sudanese and International Communities» (Vercoutter 1959c: 216).

reserved and registered in the name of the Museum, but funds were not available at present to proceed with the building» (Vercoutter 1956a: 2).

This reflects the idea of bringing separate museums back under one roof, as it was initially the case when different collections were on display at the General Museum (later: Sudan Museum or (Sudan) Government Museum) housed in the Gordon Memorial College³⁴³. Due to lack of space, over the years, the different collections were partially outsourced to different locations: the archaeological collections to the Khartoum Museum in 1932, the natural history collections to the University of Khartoum in July 1956³⁴⁴, and the ethnographic collections to the Ethnographic Museum (later: Museum of Popular Heritage; now: Sudan Civilization Institute) in December 1956. However, with the growth of the national collections due to the continuing influx of artefacts and monuments from the 'Nubian Campaign', the museum concept was transformed into a purely archaeological museum which should be known as the Sudan National Museum³⁴⁵. The planning and implementation of the museum was eventually to occupy the Sudan Antiquities Service over a ten years' period up to the inauguration in May 1971. The history of the origin and progress of the Sudan National Museum is the topic of the second part of this thesis.

An important step in the development of the Sudan Antiquities Service was reached in 1946 when Anthony J. Arkell, then Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology, could announce the acquisition of the private library of Sir Flinders Petrie as a gift for the Sudan Antiquities Service:

«The outstanding event was the presentation of the Flinders Petrie Library to the Antiquities Service. These 1430 volumes formed the working library of the late Sir Flinders Petrie and were left by him to be presented by four trustees to an archaeological institution in the Near

³⁴³ The General Museum was composed of two semi-independent bodies: The Antiquities and Ethnology collection and the Natural History Museum. In 1951/1952, following a decision of the Museum Board, it was decided to change «the old ill-defined structure of museum administration» and to divide the Sudan Museum, as it was then called, «into departments of Antiquities, Ethnology, and Natural History» under the control of the Commissioner for Archaeology (Shinnie 1952: 4).

³⁴⁴ The move of the natural history collections to the University of Khartoum – announced by Chittick in the 1954-55 Report of the Antiquities Service (Chittick 1955: 8) – was originally intended as a provisional/temporary solution, but eventually sealed the separation of the Natural History Section from the Antiquities Service.

³⁴⁵ The idea that the new museum was designated to be the Sudan National Museum was first expressed by Anthony J. Arkell in 1946 («the proposed museum is to be Sudan's national museum», Arkell 1946b: 3).

East. By the terms of the grant the volumes are to be known as the Flinders Petrie Library and to be placed with the existing antiquities library. In the Deed of Gift the Trustees stated that "the gift was made, as assistance given to the archaeology of the Sudan is the more opportune now that such great promise attends future research and that clues to problems sought in Egypt may be found in the Sudan, and it is believed that this Library will help to further pioneering work in the earliest cultures, whose elucidation was the Donor's greatest achievement» (Arkell 1946a: 8).

The gift of the library was mediated by the British Egyptologist I. E. Edwards (1909-1996)³⁴⁶ who on a visit in Jerusalem advised Lady Petrie to present the books of her late husband to the Sudan Government:

«When I was in Jerusalem, not long after the death of Sir Flinders Petrie in 1942, Lady Petrie told me that his books were there and she did not know what his wishes would have been for their disposal. I discovered that she did not particularly wish to sell them, but would prefer to give them to a library or museum, as a memorial to Petrie. I remembered that there were virtually no Egyptological books in the museum library at Khartoum, and I asked her whether she would be willing to present the books to the Sudan Government. The idea appealed to her and I was able to arrange with Tony Arkell to come to Jerusalem and discuss the project with her. He was very pleased to have the opportunity of acquiring what was a good working library' as a gift for the Sudan Antiquities Service, and it was immediately agreed that he would make arrangements for its transfer to Khartoum and its presentation to the Sudan authorities» (Edwards 2000: 91).

At the end of 1946 the library – consisting of books, pamphlets and photographs – was received from Jerusalem and was combined with the much smaller Antiquities Service library housed in an own purposed build temporary building at the Khartoum Museum filled with thirteen glass-fronted bookcases³⁴⁷. The books of the Flinders Petrie library were distinguished by a special stamp and kept separate in the new catalogue. In the following, the books and pamphlets – to which new books were added regularly – were catalogued over a period of several months, shelved and

³⁴⁶ Iorwerth Eiddon Stephen Edwards joined the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum in 1934 and was the first Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum (1955 to 1974). On leaving the British Museum, he worked with UNESCO during the rescue of the temple complex at Philae. I. E. Edwards is best known for *The Pyramids of Egypt* (1947), «one of the most widely read books on ancient Egypt» (Malek 1996).

³⁴⁷ The first mention of an antiquities library in the Sudan is that of an 'Antiquity Library' which had been started in 1902 in the '*Mudira*' (Governor's office; also spelled '*mudiria*'), and in which 'Lepsius Denkmäler', «the best known authority on all hieroglyphics and ruins both in the Sudan and Egypt» could be consulted for a small fee (Stanton 1902: 312).

made accessible to the interested public. In 1947, Arkell, in his report on the Antiquities Service, could announce an important addition to the library:

«Another generous gift, which will also greatly benefit Sudan archaeology, was notified to us at the end of the year. The Egyptian Government have decided to present us with a copy of every Egyptian Government archaeological publication that is not out of print and of which our library does not possess a copy. As we have at present very few of their publications, this will be a very valuable addition to the library» (Arkell 1947a: 8)³⁴⁸.

The importance of the library – which was known in Khartoum as the Flinders Petrie Library – was according to Arkell (1947a) likely «to further the progress of archaeological research in the Sudan to a notable degree». Elsewhere, Arkell emphasized that the library, was «of great use to the Commissioner for Archaeology and his staff and to the new Research Fellow in Archaeology at Gordon College and his students» (Arkell 1947d: viii). William Y. Adams, who worked for seven years in the Sudan, praised the Flinders Petrie Library «as one of the little-recognized resources that contributed greatly to the ultimate success of the [Nubian archaeological] campaigns in the Sudan» and as «an invaluable resource for those of us who worked full time in the Sudan, and had no access to other academic libraries» (Adams 2008: 11). The Flinders Petrie Library still forms the nucleus of the library of National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, located at the premises of the Sudan National Museum. However, many of the books are missing and the few remaining are scattered all over the library.

2.5.3.1 National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums

The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) is the successor organization of the Sudan Antiquities Service. The organizational restructuring took place in 1991 under the "National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums Act 1991"³⁴⁹ (cp. El Tahir El Nour Ogeil 2002: 22). Since, NCAM's responsibilities «encompass the regulation of all archaeological surveys and excavations, the preservation and scientific study of Sudan's archaeological and ethnographical

³⁴⁸ The gift eventually amounted to 149 registered volumes (Shinnie 1948: 5).

³⁴⁹ The Republic of the Sudan, Ministry of Tourism and National Heritage and The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. 2002. *Act 1991 and The Antiquities Protection Ordinance 1999*.

heritage and its curation and presentation in museums» (Jakob and Magzoub Ali 2011: 518). The tasks of NCAM are specified in detail in the ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999³⁵⁰ and mainly include: the definition of the limits of archaeological land/archaeological sites; the responsibility for the preservation of antiquities; the assessing of the archaeological value of protected items and sites; the arrangement of archaeological and other heritage material in museum exhibitions «in order to disseminate knowledge and present Sudanese culture»; the execution of archaeological excavations and the authorizing of missions of universities and museums to excavate on the basis of a special licence (cp. Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999).

As a state corporation, NCAM depends from the Ministry of Antiquities, Tourism and Wildlife and is accountable to the "National Board for Antiquities and Museums", actually under the chairmanship of the doyen of Sudan historians, Dr. Yusuf Fadl Hasan.



Logo of NCAM, introduced in 1991. The logo is composed of the following elements representing the ancient Sudanese civilizations: the bismillāh stands for the Islamic Kingdoms and Sultanates; the frontal *Apedemak head* from the Lion temple at Naqa with the *hemhem* crown stands for the old pagan world, the Greek Cross for the Christian period, and town gate of Suakin for the early Islamic era³⁵¹.

³⁵⁰ The Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999 is after the Antiquities Ordinances of 1905 and 1952 the third ordinance for the protection of Sudan's archaeological heritage. The ordinances are presented in greater detail a next section. For a comparison of the Antiquities Ordinances of 1905, 1952 and 1999, see Heierland 2008, Appendix B: vii-xxv.

³⁵¹ Elgazafi Yousif Eshag, Senjor Curator at The Sudan National Museum. Email communication, July 30, 2019.

The general policy of NCAM is according to archaeologists Derek Welsby and Salaheldin Mohammed Ahmed (2010: 80) «set by a board of nine members on the basis of the proposals of its Director and is approved by the Council of Ministers». The members of the board are, according to the same source, «the Director himself, a representative of the employees, and seven individuals representing other disciplines and functions related to the mandate of NCAM». In 2010, NCAM had 409 employees headed by a director general and is subdivided into three main departments.

NCAM is managed by Dr. Abdel Rahman Ali Mohammed Rahma, Director General, and encompasses three departments, each under a separate directorship: The Fieldwork Department under the direction of El Hassan Ahmed is staffed with five chief inspectors and twenty inspectors³⁵². The Museum Department under the direction of Galia Gar el-Nabi Abd el-Rahman operates with three chief curators, nine museum curators and five museum technicians. The Conservation and Restoration Department is directed by Iglal al-Malik and is staffed with a deputy director, a chief conservator, two conservators and two technicians. The bulk of the mentioned NCAM staff has university degrees and diplomas from Sudanese and foreign Universities (almost 20% percent with PhD degrees). It must be emphasized that the foreign missions working in the Sudan encourage their Sudanese colleagues at NCAM to pursue further studies, in the Sudan or abroad, and often also facilitate grants from their affiliated institutions.

In addition to the mentioned executive staffs, the Museum Department employs up to 60 additional employees such as museum guards, ticket sellers, craftsmen and gardeners. NCAM also has a library which is staffed with a trained librarian and two assistants, as well as a photographers' unit of three photographers/laboratory technicians. The administration of NCAM is under the office of the Director General and consists of a human resources and payroll section with 10 staffs.

As a national corporation, NCAM is responsible for the administration of antiquities and museums all over the Sudan and is/was thus coordinating the financing and

³⁵² All foreign excavation teams are joined by an NCAM inspector, who directly reports to NCAM and ensures that all conditions of the excavation licence are strictly observed.

supervising the work of antiquity guards and museum staffs at various sites and in the following museums³⁵³:

1. Meroe Museum	1925 (closed)
2. Khalifa House Museum	1925
3. Wadi Halfa Museum	1930 (closed)
4. Sheikan Museum	1965
5. Sudan National Museum	1971
6. Barkal Museum	1975
7. Ali Dinar's Palace Museum	1977
8. EL Damer Museum (River Nile University)	2003
9. Nyala Museum	2006
10. Kerma Museum	2008
11. New Merawe Museum	2009
12. Wad Medani Museum for Archaeology and Ethnography	2014
13. Port Sudan Museum for Archaeology and Ethnography	2015
14. Sea Port Museums	2016
15. Sultan Bahar el Din Museum, Western Darfur	2017

Additionally, NCAM is also directing archaeological salvage operations in the context of large-scale development projects, especially in the context of planned dams. In this case, salvage operations are implemented in collaboration with the Dams Implementation Unit which was established in 2005 by a Presidential decree «to develop and utilize water resources across Sudan according to international measures and standards»³⁵⁴.

2.5.3.2 National Legislation on Archaeology

The first law protecting antiquities in the Sudan was enacted in 1905. Ernest W. Budge noted in this context:

«In connection with antiquities it may be noted in passing that in 1905 the Sudan Government promulgated "The Antiquities Ordinance" (Sudan Gazette, p. 376 ff.), which provides for the better preservation of all antiquities that "were built, produced, or made in the Sûdân or brought thereinto before the year 1783 of the Gregorian Calendar."» (Budge 1907/I: 501, his emphasis)³⁵⁵.

³⁵³ Dr. Abdel Rahman Ali Mohammed Rahma, Director General of NCAM. Email communication, June 10, 2019.

³⁵⁴ Website Dams Implementation Unit ("About DIU"): [http://www.diu.gov.sd/en/home/pages/url/6/\[09062019\]](http://www.diu.gov.sd/en/home/pages/url/6/[09062019]).

³⁵⁵ The end of the American Revolution in 1783 A.D. and the loss of the thirteen American colonies marks a divide in the history of British imperial expansion between what historians have termed the First and the Second British Empires.

As already mentioned earlier, before that date, the Governor-General – the supreme authority in the Sudan – retained the sole responsibility for the antiquities. With the enacting of the "The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905"³⁵⁶, the Governor-General was empowered to appoint a person to officiate or to act as a Conservator of Antiquities³⁵⁷. This task was first assigned to John Winter Crowfoot, then Assistant Director of Education of the Sudan Government, who assumed the position of an 'Acting Conservator of Antiquities' in 1905 in his spare time.

The Antiquities Ordinance was designed to provide for a better preservation of the antiquities which were defined as «all building monuments remains or objects of whatever age or people which are illustrative of art science industry history religion literature or customs» (The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905, § 2). Even though the ordinance imposed sanctions for the breach of the rules and regulations thereof, due to the scarce available economic resources and the resulting shortage of employees, it was almost impossible to enforce the law. George W. Grabham, Acting Conservator of Antiquities 1931-1939, for instance, in the 1938 Report of the Antiquities Service and Museums, drew attention to the continual damage which was being caused to the historical monuments of the Sudan and concluded that «the pilfering of unguarded sites is difficult to control» (Grabham 1938: 5). Anthony J. Arkell, his successor (Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology 1939-1948), in the subsequent report described his endeavour «to interest the help of local authorities in [the archaeological sites]» and «to enlist their help in stopping the destruction of historical monuments by the local inhabitants» (Arkell 1939a: 9). Ida Dyrkorn Heierland (2008: 32) has identified four measures taken by the Antiquities Service to address this situation: First, the sites were fenced with barbed wire and warning signposts were put around the sites. Second, the monuments were regularly inspected by Sudanese inspectors. Third, *ghafirs* (site guards) living at/on the sites were employed to report on the situation on/around the sites. Lastly, education was used as a strategy to get «people to value and respect the

³⁵⁶ Sudan Government 1905b. "The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905. An Ordinance for Making Provision for the Better Preservation of Antiquities in the Sudan". *Special Sudan Gazette*. No. 80 (Khartoum, 24th August 1905), 376- 379.

³⁵⁷ According to William Y. Adams, John Winter Crowfoot was chiefly responsible for drafting the first Antiquities Ordinance, and it was also Crowfoot, «who welcomed and issued licenses to the various foreign expeditions that came to work in the Sudan in the first two decades of the twentieth century» (Adams 2008: 11).

monuments» (Grabham 1938: 5) and «arouse an interest in the evidence of the past history of the country» (Arkell 1939a: 9). According to Heierland (2008: 36), on the long run, the measures undertaken have significantly enhanced the knowledge of the Antiquities Service among the local population.

The undertaking of «digging excavations or clearings» without an authorization from the Conservator of Antiquities was liable on conviction to imprisonment or to a fine or to both (The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905, § 8)³⁵⁸. The same applied for the sale (or for the offer for sale), for the trade and for the export of antiquities without a licence in writing from the Conservator of Antiquities (The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905, § 9 and § 10).

Even though not explicitly mentioned, the ordinance covered the division of finds. Harvard-Boston Expedition, for instance, made periodic shipments with objects assigned to the Museum of Fine Arts by the division of finds to Boston:

«During the forty years of the Expedition's life, periodic shipments had been made to Boston of all important finds which had become our property through division with the Egyptian and Sudan Governments and to Cairo and Khartoum of their share from such division» (Dunham 1947a: 36).

The Antiquities Ordinance was revised for a first time in 1952 and was then cited as "The Antiquities Ordinance"³⁵⁹. The definition of "antiquities" was specified in the revised ordinance whereby the threshold date for determining 'antiquity' was changed to 1821 A.D. as for artefacts and monuments and to 1340 A.D. as for human or animal remains³⁶⁰. The title of "Conservator of Antiquities" was changed to "Commissioner for Archaeology" and an Archaeological and Museums Board was set up under section 5 of the ordinance³⁶¹. The Board was responsible to the

³⁵⁸ The Licence to Excavate under the 1905 Antiquities Ordinance was published in the 1910 *Report on the Finance, Administration and Condition of the Sudan* (Part II) in Appendix II: 584-585).

³⁵⁹ Sudan Government 1952. "The Antiquities Ordinance (1952 Ordinance No. 2)". In: *Sudan Government Gazette*. No. 840. Supplement No. 1, 7–13. According to Jakob and Magzoub Ali (2011: 514), Peter L. Shinnie (Commissioner for Archaeology 1948-1955) was chiefly responsible for drafting the second Antiquities Ordinance.

³⁶⁰ The year 1821 marks the beginning of the Turco-Egyptian (Ottoman) rule in the Sudan, which lasted until 1881. The year 1340 marks the collapse of the Christian Kingdom of Makuria (*al-Muqurra*) in Nubia.

³⁶¹ The assertion in Hakem (1978: 42) and Török (1997 a: 10) that a Board of Museums was already created under the 1905 ordinance cannot be confirmed (cp. Addison 1954: 57). However, an Archaeological and Museums Board must have existed prior to the 1952 Antiquities Ordinance,

Minister of Education for carrying out the provisions of the ordinance in accordance with the general policy laid down by the Council of Ministers. The ordinance provided regulations regarding the search and excavation of antiquities. Licences were of two kinds and were either granted to explore for antiquities in any way other than by excavation or to excavate. In both cases, the licensee had to be in compliance with requirements specified in the ordinance. The provisions concerning the sale of antiquities (The Antiquities Ordinance, 1952, § 18) remained unchanged.

The 1952 Antiquities Ordinance allowed for a division of finds (*partage*) between the licensee and the Sudan Government. The relevant provisions were included in § 15 and are listed here:

Upon the ending of the excavations and at such time or times, if any, during the course thereof as he may think fit the Commissioner shall select and claim on behalf of the Sudan Government such of the antiquities discovered as are in his opinion indispensable either for the scientific completeness of the Sudan Government Museum or for the purpose of illustrating the history of art of the Sudan; (§15.1)

Upon the ending of the excavations the Commissioner shall divide the antiquities other than those selected under subsection (1) of this section into two groups as nearly as possible equal in intrinsic and archaeological value and shall allow the licensee to choose one such group; (§15.2)

The Commissioner shall then on behalf of the Government disclaim the antiquities in the group so chosen which shall thereupon vest in the licensee to whom the Commissioner shall claim and take possession on behalf of the Government of the other group; (§15.3)

It shall not be lawful for a licensee to sell or otherwise (in the Sudan) dispose of any antiquity vesting in him by virtue of subsection (3) of this section and any attempt so to do shall be an offence under this ordinance and any antiquity in respect of which such an offence has been committed shall be forfeited to and re-vest in the Sudan Government: Provided that this subsection shall not operate to prevent the licensee, with the consent of the Commissioner, presenting any antiquity to any museum or educational institution in the Sudan. (§15.4).

because the minutes of the first meeting of such a board date from April 4, 1920. The Antiquities Ordinance No. 2 of 1952, according to Siddiq Mohamed Gasm Elseed (2004: 10), gave the [already existing] "Archaeological and Museums Board" a legal status.

In his editorial notes to *KUSH* VI, Jean Vercoutter in 1958 described the [1952] Antiquities Ordinance as «very liberal» and remarked that it provided «for fair divisions of the finds between the excavator and the Sudan Antiquities Service» (Vercoutter 1958a: 5). In the following two volumes of *KUSH*, Vercoutter again advocated the division of finds as fair (Vercoutter 1959c: 217 and Vercoutter 1960b: 6). For William Y. Adams, the increasing sense of accountability demanded by the Sudan Antiquities Service, is an important component of the new post-colonial paradigm, according to which: «[e]xpeditions are now required to demonstrate technical as well as financial capability before they are granted licenses; licenses are drawn up with much more attention to detail than was formerly the case; and excavators are held strictly to account both for the publication of their results and for a fair division of finds with the Antiquities Service» (Adams 1981: 22)

Ida Dyrkorn Heierland has pointed out, that, already before the enactment of the 1952 ordinance, the division was widely practiced even though it was not regulated legally:

«Although not a regulated practice until the enactment of the law of 1952, it was from the very beginning normal to divide the excavated material between the Antiquities Service and foreign missions excavating in the country. In the early reports the division of finds is a natural and clearly incorporated practice seen through the common expression of “Sudan’s share” used to designate the excavated artifacts that would stay in the country».

Dows Dunham of the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston remarked in 1950, that the situation as regards antiquities and excavations in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was somewhat different from that in Egypt and further stated: «The control of foreign excavations is equally complete, but the division of finds has in practice been more generous from the point of view of the excavator» (Dunham 1950: 3).

Even though, the system of *partage*, or division of finds, found an end with the enactment of the 1999 ordinance, Sudan, in the context of archaeological salvage projects, still assigns selected objects in the division of finds to the excavating institutions.

In 1999, the antiquities ordinance was revised for a third time and is since cited as "The Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999"³⁶². Following the transformation of the Antiquities Service into a National Corporation, the ordinance needed to be adapted to the changing realities. As for the definition of "antiquities", the threshold date is formulated more vaguely: «Antiquities: Means anything surviving from the ancient civilisations or past generations and has been discovered or excavated whether the object is fixed or mobile and is a hundred years or more old». The title of "Conservator of Antiquities" was changed to the title of a "Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums". There is no mention for a supervisory body in the ordinance, even though the "National Board for Antiquities and Museums" is NCAM's supervisory body. The sale or donation of registered antiquities owned by the state is prohibited under the 1999 ordinance (§ 14). The trading and exporting of antiquities is likewise forbidden except under a license from the NCAM (§ 31.1). According to the 1999 ordinance, «[o]wnership of all discovered antiquities rests with the Government and is kept in museums for exhibitions and study» (§ 28). However, the ordinance provides that the mission which made the discovery, after the approval of the Minister, may take moulds of discovered antiquities; take duplicate pieces which NCAM may dispose of on duplication grounds borrow antiquities for the purpose of temporary exhibition or study; and study, draw or photograph objects he/she discovered, which are kept in museums or stores. The conditions of licence /the licensing policy are/is specified in § 22-26. Licences are divided into three types and include in addition to the licences already provided in the 1952 ordinance (licence to explore for antiquities in any way other than by excavation and a licence to excavate) a licence to make archaeological surveys and trial excavations. A short update on the procedure for obtaining a licence, information on fee amounts and on preliminary conditions are given by Tina Jakob and Mongeda Khalid Magzoub Ali:

«Anyone who wishes to excavate in Sudan (...), has to apply for a licence by writing to the General Director of NCAM, stating their institutional affiliation, the geographical area they wish to work in and the nature of the proposed work (survey, evaluation or trial trenches, excavation); (...). A new licence currently costs \$1000 and is valid for one year, with a renewal fee of \$500 and an additional fee of \$250 payable to NCAM for subsequent years. Licences

³⁶² The Republic of the Sudan, Ministry of Tourism and National Heritage and The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. 1999. "Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999". In: *KUSH*. Vol. XVIII, 15-24.

are granted providing the applicant can demonstrate adequate scientific competence, including previous publications of archaeological work, and all fieldwork, post-excavation research and publications are financially covered» (Jakob and Magzoub Ali: 518).

The three succeeding ordinances have in common, that antiquities, whether movable or immovable, whether buried deep in the earth or found on the surface, are ultimately the property of the Government/of the State. It is interesting to note, that this principle first formulated under colonial rule is opposed to the principle applied in the then metropole (Great Britain), where landowners retained all rights of ownership to archaeological materials found on their land, with the exception of items classified as 'treasure'.

The 1999 ordinance contains a provision regarding the «rights to scientific property».

The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums shall preserve the rights of scientific property on the results of excavations and research conducted by archaeological missions. It will offer them a priority right on publication on publications of the antiquities they discovered and will register the photographs of their discoveries in the publication of the museum in which the archaeological remains are exhibited or stored. The study and publication shall be conducted within 10 years after the date of discovery; (§27.1)

The provision aims at encouraging the archaeological missions to quickly publish their findings. This provision must be understood against the background of experiences made for instance with John Garstang, who failed to publish his 1904-1914 excavations at Meroe³⁶³, with George A. Reisner, who failed to publish the results of a part of the excavations conducted from 1913 to 1932³⁶⁴, and very likely with other archaeologists who did not publish their archaeological findings at all, or within reasonable time.

³⁶³ Garstang's records and finds were eventually published and analysed by Török, Hofmann and Nagy in 1997.

³⁶⁴ Reisner's excavations of the Egyptian fortresses in the Second Cataract region; the complex of Kushite temples at Napata; and the Kushite royal tombs at Napata and Meroe were eventually published by Dows Dunham and in part by Jozef Marie Antoon Janssen (Dunham and Janssen 1960-1967 for the fortresses; Dunham 1970 for the Kushite temples; and Dunham 1950-1963 for the Kushite royal tombs).

Summing up, it can be said that the Antiquities Ordinances of 1905, 1952 and 1999 are the principal national legislations that deal with the protection and preservation of Sudan's archaeological heritage. These acts empower the Government to preserve and protect any premises or objects of archaeological as well as historical and cultural interest in Sudan by declaring them protected, by compulsorily purchasing them; or by making arrangements to restore and maintain the object or premises. The Acts also control the archaeological excavations under a licensing system and regulate the ownership of discovered antiquities.

2.5.3.3 Heritage Conceptions and Practices

In his 1979 article on the future of Sudanese archaeology, Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif – then Commissioner for Archaeology – strongly defended the idea that the entire global community has to take responsibility for the exploration and preservation of Sudan's cultural heritage³⁶⁵ and encouraged foreign expeditions to come and work in the country³⁶⁶:

«[T]he Sudanese believe that the cultural heritage of any society is not only the property of that particular society but of the whole human community regardless of nationality, political creed or religious belief. Thus they hold that uncovering and preserving cultural heritage in any part of the world should be considered as the duty of all mankind. Bearing this conviction in mind the Sudanese welcome foreign archaeological expeditions to work in the Sudan» (Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif 1979: 25-26).

Mohammed Sherif's 'cosmopolitan approach' to heritage³⁶⁷ has been retained by his successors in the Sudan Antiquities Service and in the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. This approach is mirrored in the inscription of Gebel Barkal and the sites of the Napatan Region and the archaeological sites of the Island of Meroe as World Heritage Sites (in 2003 and 2011), as well as by the inclusion of the sites of Kerma, Old Dongola and Suakin in the Tentative List (in 1994). The legal

³⁶⁵ According to the Norwegian archaeologist Atle Omland, the importance of the common heritage concept increased with the establishment of UNESCO in 1945 and in the wake of the 'Nubian Campaign' (Omland 2006: 243). The idea of a shared moral obligation to protect cultural heritage is formulated in the preamble of the UNESCO convention of 1972 ('Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage', usually called the World Heritage Convention). For a firm commitment of the Sudanese Antiquities Service to the adoption of the 1972 (and 1970) convention(s) see Hassan Hussein Idris 2007: 183.

³⁶⁶ Cp. Bundi 2018: 779.

³⁶⁷ As for the notion of 'cosmopolitan archaeologies', see Meskell 2009, 1-27.

and institutional protection of archaeological sites is the first and most important requirement for the conservation of heritage sites. It is, in this context, noteworthy that the Sudan« which became a member state of UNESCO in 1956, was the fifth member state ratifying the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (ratification date: June 6, 1974).

From a global perspective, however, a gradual shift from the conservation of only tangible features (UNESCO 1972 Convention) to the promotion and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003 Convention) has been observed since the 1990s. This shift from what might be called a monumentalist approach towards a new holistic conservation approach represents a fundamental change of paradigm in the understanding of heritage. In this new understanding, the management of cultural resources is conceived as «the processes, informed by public policy and heritage legislation that manage and protect Indigenous [sic!] cultural heritage, and in so doing, construct and define relations between archaeologists, Indigenous [sic!] interests and governments» (Smith 2004: 9).

Whilst Sudan had ratified the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008, the heritage legislation continues to maintain a monumentalist approach³⁶⁸. Although the promotion of new fields of heritage was gaining traction in the early period of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), this process is now at a standstill as can be observed in the project for the new Wadi Halfa Museum³⁶⁹: A Protocol of Cooperation was signed between Egypt and the Sudan in the field of cultural heritage in February 2005, and the museum has also been on the priorities list of the UNESCO mission to Nubia since the same year. But since the laying of the foundation stone in April 2008, the project has not moved forward.

Under the requirements of Mohammed Sherif's 1979 call for a common approach to heritage, the foreign archaeological missions working at various sites in the Sudan continue to have an important role to play in the process of discovering,

³⁶⁸ The *Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities*, 1999 for instance, has so far not been amended and supplemented in order that the significant changes to heritage values are to be reflected.

³⁶⁹ For a detailed presentation of the concept of the *Nubian Museum of Wadi Halfa* and the adjacent interactive Nubian village see De Simone 2009 and 2014.

documenting and preserving the country's cultural heritage. This implies at once the preservation and conservation of archaeological sites and monuments and the permanent control and care of archaeological objects in museum and university collections. The objects held temporarily by foreign missions are not exempt from this either.

Sudan has neither joined the 1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (UNESCO 1970) nor the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects (UNIDROIT 1995). Even though the Sudan has joined in 1970 the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (UNESCO 1954), it has not yet signed the Second Protocol to the Convention (UNESCO 1999) which lists specific preparatory measures in peacetime to protect cultural property against the foreseeable effects of an armed conflict³⁷⁰.

The success of the International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia ('Nubian Campaign') inspired, as already mentioned, the development and adoption in 1972 of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention:

«The impetus for the 1972 World Heritage Convention, as it is popularly known, developed out of campaigns to save the ancient Egyptian sites at Nubia as the construction of the Aswan dam proceeded on the Nile and threatened to submerge monuments. UNESCO's Nubia campaign not only saved the monuments but also highlighted humanity's interest in historic preservation and, at abstract and poignant levels, the role of collective memory in human history» (Singh 2011: 85-86).

In 1962, UNESCO initiated, with the help of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the preparation of a draft convention on the protection of cultural heritage (Fekri A. Hassan 2007: 89). However, the delegate from the United States of America suggested the creation of a World Heritage Trust to globally

³⁷⁰ In October 2018, under the framework of the UNESCO project "Effective implementation of the 1970 Convention for the prevention of illicit traffic of cultural property" and of the UNESCO 2015 "Recommendation on museums and collections in the Cluster countries", UNESCO Cairo in close collaboration with the Sudanese National Commission for UNESCO and the UNESCO Khartoum office organized a workshop in Khartoum, aimed at the reinforcement of the institutional capacities in the fight against illicit traffic of cultural property and at the promotion of the ratification of the 1970 Convention, the UNIDROIT 1995 convention and the 1954 Second Protocol.

protect both cultural and natural sites globally and eventually, a single text was agreed upon by all parties concerned. The Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972 (UNESCO 1972). The linking together of the concepts of nature conservation (world nature heritage) and the preservation of cultural properties (world cultural heritage) in a single document is thus the most significant feature of the 1972 World Heritage Convention which recognizes the way in which people interact with nature, and the fundamental need to preserve the balance between the two³⁷¹.

Despite its strong achievements, the UNESCO World Heritage Program drew some criticism. The work of the World Heritage Committee is widely criticized for its bureaucracy and lack of transparency as well as for its Eurocentrism. However, «whatever the obvious shortfalls, the 1972 Convention», according to the American Anthropologist Lynn Meskell (2013: 492), «remains one of the most powerful mechanisms for countries and communities to showcase their particular historical achievements to the wider world»³⁷².

Sudan has ratified the World Heritage Convention in June 1974 and since, the Archaeological Sites of the Island of Meroe (2011) and the Gebel Barkal and the Sites of the Napatan Region (2003) are inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List as cultural sites and the Sanganeb Marine National Park and Dungonab Bay – Mukkawar Island Marine National Park (2016) as a natural site. Additionally, Kerma (1994), Old Dongola (1994) and Suakin (1994) are included on the Tentative List as cultural sites and the Dinder National Park (2004) and the Wadi Howar National Park (2004) as natural sites. Sudan has no heritage assets listed on the Intangible Heritage List.

³⁷¹ Interestingly, the first site to be included in UNESCO's World Heritage List was a natural heritage site (The Galápagos Islands). The Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae were inscribed in 1979.

³⁷² A less optimistic assessment of UNESCO's World Heritage Programme is made by the American anthropologist Elizabeth Betsy Keough, who comes to the conclusion that «[a]t its worst, the program has left its original aims in the dust in favor of materialism and pacification, and is now incapable of protecting the world's truly endangered places» (Keogh 2011: 599).

For the preparation of nomination files and for the elaboration of management plans, Sudan was granted international financial assistance under the World Heritage Convention. The inscription of the sites in the World Heritage List is a first step in the protection of the properties (formerly called the core zones) and their 'surroundings' (the so-called "buffer zones") and in the development of sustainable tourism. The funds development funds provided by the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project (QSAP) are therefore a much-needed assistance.

Sudan is currently building up a National Heritage Registry. The Registry, developed with the support of the the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), is based on data collected by Friedrich W. Hinkel, since the 1960s. Hinkel's archive³⁷³ represents one of the largest research archives on ancient Sudan. According to archaeologist Solveig Lawrenz (2017: 435), «[t]he archive contains structured information (photos, drawings, maps and assembled written documentation) regarding over 14,000 archaeological and historical sites in the Sudan using an alphanumeric coding system that allows for easy integration of data in a digital environment». The National Heritage Registry is intended to be used as a working instrument both for the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) and for international researchers alike. Apart from the development of the digital heritage registry, the DAI, according to Lawrenz (2017: 438), also supports NCAM with a number of capacity building efforts «aimed at establishing an analog archive in order to aid the preservation and conservation of essential documentation at NCAM.

2.6 Museums and Collections

The process of institutionalization of archaeology was paralleled by the establishment of a number of antiquities museums throughout the country. Lord Cromer, His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General of the Sudan, noted in 1903 in his Report on the Finances, Administration and Condition of the Sudan that the resources of the Sudan Government did not admit of much being done in the way of archaeological research, and highlights that «a museum has been established in

³⁷³ For more information on the archive of Friedrich W. Hinkel visit the website of iDAI.objects.arachne, the central object database of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the Archaeological Institute of the University of Cologne: <https://arachne.dainst.org/project/hinkel> [15.08.2019].

the Gordon College, where, amongst other things, various objects of antiquarian interest are being collected» (Cromer 1903/I: 27). However, the museum spaces at Gordon Memorial College were from the outset regarded as an interim solution and Reginald F. Wingate already in 1904 expressed his wishes for a suitable site for an archaeological museum in Khartoum:

«It is hoped that a suitable site for an archaeological museum will be set apart in Khartoum, but at present funds for the construction of such an edifice are not forthcoming. For the moment such objects of interest are deposited in a room in the Gordon College, (...)» (Wingate 1904/Part II: 39).

This view is confirmed in Budge who noted that Sir Reginald F. Wingate, «besides contemplating the making of excavations, [was] determined to found a Museum at Khartûm, wherein monuments belonging to all periods of Sûdân history might be made available for examination and study by travellers of all kinds» (Budge 1907/I: 436). Even though Wingate's wish for a new museum/his regret for the lack of an adequate museum was regularly repeated in his Memorandums in the Reports on the Finances, Administration and Condition of the Sudan (Wingate 1907/ Part II: 140; Wingate 1908/Part II: 204; Wingate 1909/Part I: 127-128, Wingate 1910/Part II: 34 and 147; Wingate 1911/Part I: 54; Wingate 1912/Vol. II: 117; Wingate 1913/Vol. II: 85), this was not reflected in the government's budget. Besides Wingate, also representatives of the Antiquities Service requested on several occasions the building of a new museum to house the archaeological findings. Peter Drummond, for instance, Acting Conservator of Antiquities (1908-1921) noted in his 1911 Report on the Antiquities Service on the question of museum accommodation:

«I would again, this year, call attention to the difficulties arising from the very restricted museum space now available. In the interests of this service it is greatly to be desired that means may be found of relieving the present state of embarrassment and of affording due provision for future needs» (Drummond 1911: 455).

In 1931, George W. Grabham, Government Geologist and newly appointed Acting Conservator of Antiquities (1931-1939) could secure the premises of a large two-storied dwelling-house known as the "Blue Nile Mess" on the river front for the display of material, other than antiquities, for which there was no room in the Gordon Memorial College building (Miers and Markham 1932: 59, The Museums

Association 1933: 43)³⁷⁴. However, this building was, as the authors of a Report on the Museum and Art Galleries of British Africa in 1932 remark, again only a temporary solution until a new museum building was available:

«Apart from its admirable location, this building, though not ideal from the museum point of view, has been well adapted to receive what will no doubt constitute a useful and easily transferable nucleus for the proposed museum building when, in the course of time, it materializes» (Miers and Markham 1932: 59).

The mention of «the proposed museum building» refers to a projected Library and Museum (the Lee Stack Memorial Museum³⁷⁵) for which a sum of £E28'000 had been earmarked in 1927 by the Lee Stack Indemnity Fund³⁷⁶ (Hewins 1927: 141, Hewins 1928: 156) and for which in 1929 «authority has been sought to spend a total sum of £E40'000 on this provision» (Hewins 1929: 154). During the course of the year 1930, authority was obtained to spend up to £E40'000 on the building and equipment of the Library. However, later in the year, the Lee Stack Indemnity Fund Supervisory Committee returned to his decision and proposed «that the erection of the building should be postponed as, during the, period of financial stringency, the interest on the sum set aside will be needed temporarily as a subvention for certain necessary medical services which cannot otherwise be provided» (Matthew 1930: 164-165)³⁷⁷.

The Khartoum Museum in the former "Blue Nile Mess" was opened in July 1932 (Hinkel 1992a: 170)³⁷⁸ and embraced a 'historical and extraneous' section as well

³⁷⁴ Today, the former Blue Nile Mess is the seat of the Vice Chancellor of the Khartoum University. Gaffar al-Mirghani (Director of the Sudan Civilization Institute), personal communication, September, 25, 2013.

³⁷⁵ Sir Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice Stack (1868-1924), British soldier and administrator. Sudan Agent and Director of Military Intelligence (1908-1914); Civil Secretary of the Sudan Government in Cairo (1914-1917); *Sirdār (Commander-in-Chief)* of the Egyptian Army and Governor-General of the Sudan (1917-1924; 'acting', 1917-1919); assassinated in Cairo. The assassination of Sir Lee Stack in Cairo on November 20, 1924 led to a revision of Britain's Nile Valley policy which resulted in the resignation of the leader and founder of the nationalist Wafd party in Egypt, Saad Zaghlul, and in the forced evacuation of all Egyptian officers and purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian army from the Sudan.

³⁷⁶ After Stack's assassination, the British Government collected a £500'000 indemnity for the murder of Sir Lee Stack as part of reparation from the Egyptian Government. The amount was paid into the Lee Stack Indemnity Fund.

³⁷⁷ A later request made by the 'Archaeological and Museums Board' in 1949 «for an allocation from the Sir Lee Stack Indemnity Fund for the Building and Equipment of a National Museum» was rejected by the Lee Stack Indemnity Fund Supervisory Committee in 1950 since it was decided to use the capital of the Fund for projects of higher priority (museum_finance_2; Seite 2).

³⁷⁸ According to the authors of the *Directory of Museums and Art Galleries in British Africa and in*

as ethnological exhibits³⁷⁹. Meanwhile, the Sudan Government Museum (including the natural history and archaeological sections) continued to occupy two rooms in the second floor of the Gordon Memorial College building (Miers and Markham 1932: 59-60; The Museums Association 1933: 43). But due to the minimal space conditions at Gordon Memorial College, archaeological artefacts had to be kept in one storeroom at the College and in four converted stables behind the Khartoum Museum, containing in all over 300 boxes of stored antiquities (Arkell 1939a: 16). At the end of 1939, a large corrugated iron shed erected at the back of the Khartoum Museum was taken over from the Public Work Department to be employed as an additional store (Arkell 1939a: 17)³⁸⁰.

In his last report on the Antiquities Service, in 1938 George W. Grabham signalled that the Khartoum Town Planning Committee had reserved a site for the proposed new museum on the embankment part of the ground then occupied by the River Hospital³⁸¹ and emphatically expressed the hope that the new museum would eventually be inaugurated under the tenure of his designated successor Anthony J. Arkell:

«The most immediate need is an adequate Museum with ample storage space as well as good exhibition galleries where our valuable collections can be housed conveniently for preservation, display and study. It is hoped that means may be found for providing this Museum and that we may have the satisfaction of seeing the collections transferred to it under Mr. Arkell's supervision from the various places they at present occupy. These records of the country's past and present must be carefully guarded for the pleasure and instruction of future generations, who will value them more as appreciation grows» (Grabham 1938: Preface).

Anthony J. Arkell, who took office in 1939, in his first report on the Antiquities Service, presented an overview of the then situation of the museums in the country (Arkell 1939a: 16-25) and came to conclude that «[t]he chief need is a museum of

Malta, Cyprus, and Gibraltar (The Museums Association 1933: 43), the Khartoum Museum was started by the late Governor, Herbert W. Jackson [Jackson Pasha, Sir Herbert William, 1861-1931]

³⁷⁹ Arkell in his 1939 Report on the Antiquities Service spoke of «a valuable but still far from complete collection of ethnological exhibits from the various districts of the Sudan» (Arkell 1939a: 19).

³⁸⁰ The tightly limited spatial conditions at Gordon Memorial College further worsened with the partial occupation of Gordon Memorial College (1940-1947). The relocation of archaeological findings to stores in the garden of the Khartoum Museum (Arkell 1947a: 8) has also to be seen against this background.

³⁸¹ The River Hospital situated on the south bank of the Blue Nile was originally the Egyptian Army Military Hospital (Siddiq Ibrahim Khalil 2013: 59).

adequate proportions to protect all the movable antiquities from the ravages of the climate and the ignorant, and to make them available to tourists, scientists, and above all the people of the country themselves» (Arkell 1939a: 25)

In his 1947 editorial notes in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Arkell expressed his doubts on the government's ability to finance the new museum and made a fierce appeal for the preservation of the monuments from the Northern Province.

«At the present time it seems very doubtful whether the Sudan Government will consider that it can afford to include the museum in its Development Programme. In the meanwhile the Curator of the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Curator of Egyptology in the Brooklyn Museum, New York, and the editor of the Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, who have recently toured the ancient sites in the Northern Province, have publicly deplored the destruction which has overtaken many of the Sudan's ancient monuments since Lepsius visited the country and recorded them about a century ago. Many of the remaining monuments can only be preserved from the ravages of the weather and the ignorant by being placed in the near future inside a permanent museum. A temporary building will not do, for the monuments are almost all of soft and decayed sandstone, and too fragile to be moved and re-erected more than once» (Arkell 1946b: 2-3).

In the same editorial, Arkell offered a detailed insight in his vision for the proposed museum:

«The proposed museum is to be the Sudan's national museum, but so sited that it will be on the edge of the grounds of the Gordon Memorial University College, and provide that institution with opportunities for research, without which higher education cannot keep alive. The proposed museum, if erected, will not only be an instrument of conservation but of education. The various exhibition rooms of the antiquities museum are designed so that the visitor will be able to see, as he walks round the museum, the various stages by which the inhabitants of the Sudan rose by slow struggle from the Stone Age through the beginnings of civilization to be a world power which ruled the whole Nile valley, and then lost their conquests and broke up into a number of petty kingdoms and wild tribes, withdrawn from outside influences which today in the Aeroplane Age they cannot escape. The lessons of the history of their own country, which such an exhibition will teach them clearly through the eye, will give students the balance and broad vision which are needed in dealing with present-day problems, and which are at present so rare. A knowledge of history will sow the seeds of a national culture, the roots of which can draw nourishment only from the past; and will lead to a realization of the causes, both moral and economic, which once operated to raise the Sudan to a world

power, and then reduced it to an unknown backwater, causes which are still operative today, and may lead to future disaster if ignored» (Arkell 1946b: 3).

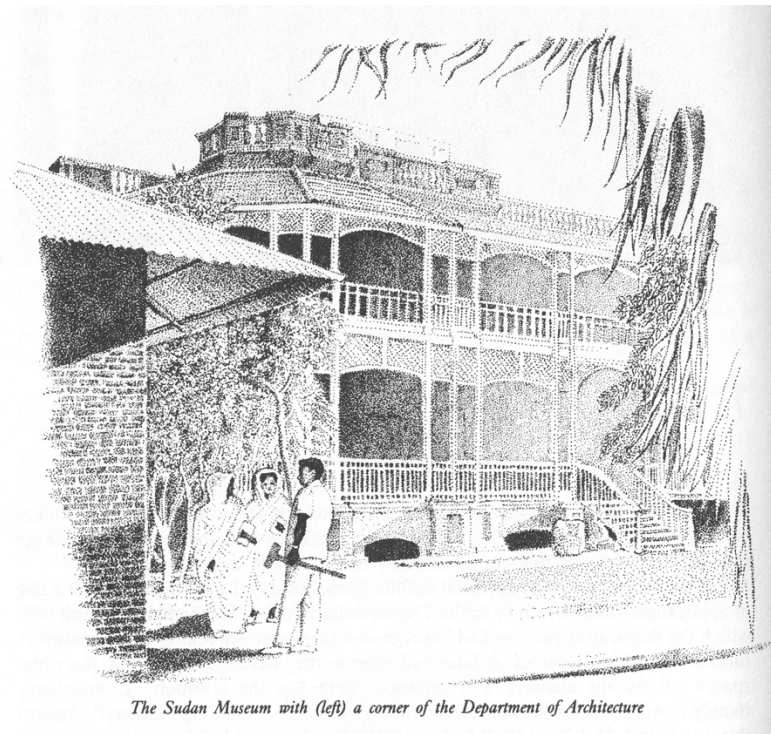
Meanwhile, the project for the construction of a new museum on the site of the River Hospital – «the ideal [site] in view of its proximity to the Gordon memorial College» (Arkell 1946a: 9) – and for the adaption of existing wards of the Hospital for ethnology and natural history (Arkell 1945c: 9; Arkell 1947a: 8) progressed. The plans were prepared by architect G.W. Newton, who visited the Sudan during the year to advise on additions to the Gordon Memorial College buildings. However, due to lack of funds, the plans had to be put on hold and were eventually abandoned. In his 1947 editorial notes in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Arkell had to announce with great regret that the Government in its five-year planning budget had not been able to allot any money to the museum:

«[T]he one institution that can spread that knowledge more than any other, pleasantly and effectively, through the eye, would be a proper museum, and for that reason it is with great regret that we have learned that the Sudan Government, although including large sums for education in its Development Budget for the next five years, has not found it possible to allot any of that money to a museum» (Arkell 1947d: vii).

In his first Report on the Antiquities Service, Arkell's successor, Peter L. Shinnie (Commissioner for Archaeology, 1948-1955) in 1948 reported that he had rearranged the antiquities collection in the Khartoum Museum³⁸² and on his part pointed to the need for a new museum as a means for the dissemination of knowledge:

«A museum is the only way in which history can be shown and explained to the majority of the public – without it the work of archaeologists is one sided. The Museum is the real meeting place for the specialist workers in the field of archaeology and the public, since it is here, that the material remains are interpreted and exhibited so as to show the evolution of the country, and where in a simple visual way the people can understand their inheritance» (Shinnie 1948: 16).

³⁸² Assertion of the kind that Shinnie «managed to organize the first museum in the country» (Galia Gar el-Nabi Abd el-Rahman 1993: 28) or that Shinnie «organized the first archaeological museum» (El Tahir El Nour Ogeil 2002: 12) are in contradiction with the available sources.



The Sudan Museum in the 1950s, with (left) a corner of the Department of Architecture.

Potter 1984: 158.

In his 1950-51 Report on the Antiquities Service and Museums, Shinnie announced that the River Hospital site originally allotted for the museum would not be available for many years and that therefore, a new site was asked for and obtained on land then occupied by the Public Works Department Stores at the West end of the town on the river front (the *Mogran* area at the confluence of the Nile). But even though funds were asked for and approved in the development budget, the scheme was given no priority, and with the shortage of materials and labour, it seemed, according to Shinnie (1951: 7-8), unlikely that work would start for many years. And indeed, Shinnie turned out to be right with his prediction. It took almost another 25 years until the long-awaited museum – the Sudan National Museum located at the *Mogran* in Nile Avenue – could finally open its doors to the public in 1971.

We have seen earlier that initially, the relevant government officials favoured the centralization of the archaeological material in and around Khartoum as the «natural centre for conservation, research and exhibitions» (Heierland 2008: 28). A late

example for this approach is the so called "Musicians' Wall" from Kawa³⁸³, which was brought to Khartoum in 1937 as a «portion of the Sudan's share of the Kawa antiquities» and re-erected in the garden of the Khartoum Museum (Grabham 1938: 8). However, as result of exposure to the rains, the finely carved slabs of a temple wall from Kawa suffered to the point that, in 1940, Alfred Lucas³⁸⁴, the Honorary Chemical Advisor to the Egyptian Antiquities Service in a written report to Archaeological and Museums Board came to conclude that the "Musicians' Wall" was «irretrievably ruined» (Sudan Government 1950a: 122).

The American Egyptologist John A. Wilson, in a review of the final publication of the *Temples of Kawa* by Miles F.L. Macadam, spoke in this context of a tragedy of archaeology:

«Outside of the Museum at Khartoum slabs of a temple wall were mounted years ago as exhibits of some of the fine art to be found in the Sudan. Now, alas, one can see only a crumbling stone, with occasional vague outlines of ancient carving. This is one of the tragedies of archaeology and "conservation." These slabs were "the Musicians' Wall" of the Temple of Taharqa at Kawa between the Third and Fourth Cataracts. Plates XIV and LIII of the present volume show what fine carving was lost when an unprotected relief was exposed to rain and weather. A stately procession of trumpeters, drummers, and harpists has disappeared forever» (Wilson 1957: 141)³⁸⁵.

It seems, that the relevant authorities had learned their lesson from what happened to the "Musicians' Wall" and George W. Grabham promised that «[a]fter this unfortunate experience, special care will be taken with any other similar work before it is erected in Khartoum» (Grabham 1938: 9).

³⁸³ The temples of Kawa were excavated by the Oxford Expedition of Nubia under the direction of Francis L. Griffith in 1929-31 and of Laurence Kirwan in 1935-1936. The publication of the results was entrusted to Miles Frederic Laming Macadam (Macadam 1949-1955).

³⁸⁴ Alfred Lucas (1867-1945); Chemist for the Egyptian Antiquities Service between 1923 and 1932.

³⁸⁵ Miles F. Laming Macadam in Vol. II of *The Temples of Kawa* wrote on the "Musicians Wall": «This wall contained the unique representation of the temple orchestra, consisting of trumpeters, drummers, harpists, und singers, and on discovery was immediately named the 'Musicians' Wall' (see also pl. LIII). It is much to be regretted that, after the wall had been set up in the open air at Khartoum, with no adequate protection, the reliefs were entirely dissolved and washed away by rain» (Macadam 1955/II: 77).



a. S. end (1935-6)



b. N. end (1935-6)

Musician's Wall from Kawa, South and North end. Macadam 1949-1955/II: Plate LIII.

The lack of storage facilities at Gordon Memorial College and at the Khartoum Museum, but also logistic obstacles forced those responsible for the antiquities to store the archaeological findings in the districts where they had been excavated. The Antiquity Service thus soon established several subsidiary museums³⁸⁶ housing both archaeological and ethnographical material from the different districts: the Khalifa House Museum in Omdurman, the Wadi Halfa Museum, the Merowe Museum and the Suakin Museum.

Khalifa House Museum (Khartoum State)

In 1926, the Sudan Antiquity Service opened the Khalifa House Museum at the Mosque Square in Omdurman to the public³⁸⁷. The idea to transform the 19th century residence of the successor of the Mahdi, the Khalifa 'Abdallahi ibn Muhammad, into a museum goes back to an initiative by Major Bramble (1883-1943), then District Commissioner in Omdurman³⁸⁸. He and his successors became by custom *ex officio* curators of the museum until it was integrated into the administration of the Antiquities Service in 1948. The museum covering a ground surface of c.450m² (Hinkel 1992a: 170) was intended to be a "living monument" (cp. Hinkel 1992a: 174):

«The collections consist mainly of relics of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, 1882-1899, and include Gordon relics of that period. These are arranged in the various rooms so as to re-create for the visitor the actual appearance of the House during the period of occupation by the Khalifa» (The Museums Association 1933: 44).

In terms of visitors, the Khalifa House Museum was up to the coming of independence one of the most popular attractions in Khartoum (Heierland 2008: V and 48).

³⁸⁶ The term 'subsidiary museum' first appears in Addison 1954: 58 and is still today used in the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums Ordinance 1991".

³⁸⁷ The available sources as to the foundation or inauguration of museums in the Sudan are inconsistent. Crosschecking of information from different sources has proved that information provided by Hinkel 1992a: 170 and 181 is highly reliable.

³⁸⁸ However, the Khalifa's house, the adjacent Mosque and the Mahdi's tomb were already before accessible to the public. The Khalifa's house and the Mahdi's tomb were described by Wallis E. Budge in *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sūdān* as tourist attractions (Budge 1906: 791) and later in *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* as «objects for interest for the tourist (Budge 1907/I: 47). The Armenian scholar Yacoub Artin Pasha in 1911 in *England in the Sudan* reported that «[t]he right of entering these places of historic memory [was] secured by an inclusive payment of five piasters (Artin 1911: 147-148).

Wadi Halfa Museum (then Northern Province)

Another subsidiary museum was established in 1927 under the tenure of Frank Addison (Acting Conservator of Antiquities 1929-1931) in the northern border town of Wadi Halfa (Northern State)³⁸⁹:

«Another subsidiary museum had already been arranged by Drummond in Wadi Halfa school, but this later had to be dismantled as the room was required for its legitimate use as a classroom. Some of the exhibits were taken to Khartoum and others were afterwards set up in a room provided by the governor of the province» (Addison, 1953: 58).

The museum was, according to Friedrich W. Hinkel (1992: 170), re-opened in 1931 on the premises of the former Merkaz Buildings ('The Old Merkaz'). During the 'Nubian Campaign', the museum covering a ground surface of c.120m² (Hinkel 1992a: 170) contained the office of UNESCO Liaison Officer William Y. Adams and a documentation centre (Adams 1992: 13 and 24). In 1965, the rising waters of the Aswan High Dam eventually required the definitive closure of the museum and the transfer of its archaeological and ethnographical collections to Khartoum (El Tahir El Nour Ogeil: 21; cp. Kleinitz 2013: 434). On April 22, 2008, the foundation stone for a new Museum at Wadi Halfa had been laid (cp. De Simone 2009 and 2014). The Nubian Museum of Wadi Halfa is conceived as a compound, which includes a building for archaeological artefacts and an interactive Nubian village for the preservation of the intangible heritage of the living culture of Nubia³⁹⁰. However, since the laying of the foundation stone, the project has not evolved.

³⁸⁹ According to the authors of the *Directory of Museums and Art Galleries in British Africa and in Malta, Cyprus, and Gibraltar*, the Wadi Halfa Museum was started by the late Governor, Herbert W. Jackson [Jackson Pasha, Sir Herbert William, 1861-1931] (The Museums Association 1933: 44). The founding date of 1927 for the Wadi Halfa Museum is given in a pamphlet entitled *Visit the Sudan*, published by the Ministry of Information and Labour, Tourism Section in May 1960 (Ministry of Information and Labour 1960). In 1935, the museum was completely renovated «and the exhibits more attractively displayed» (Sudan Government 1935: 80).

³⁹⁰ On the planned Wadi Halfa Museum see De Simone 2009.



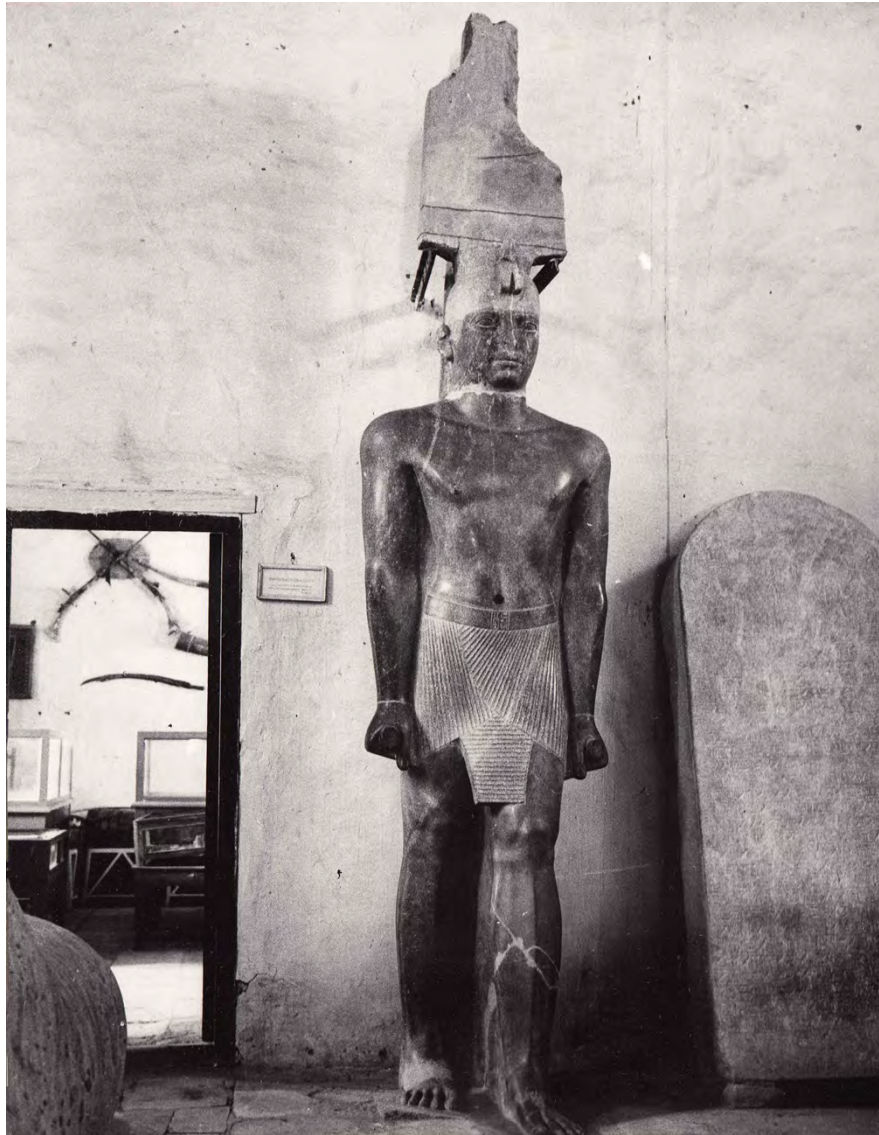
Wadi Halfa Museum, at the premises of the former *Merkaz* Buildings.

Photographer and date unknown. NCAM Archives, Khartoum.

Merowe Museum (then Northern Province)

The establishment of the Merowe Museum – inaugurated in 1925 on with a ground surface of c.100m² – was according to Frank Addison a consequence of the difficulties of moving the monumental granite statues and sarcophagi discovered by Reisner at Nuri and Barkal to Khartoum:

«The heavy granite statues and sarcophagi which Reisner had found at Nuri and Barkal could not be brought to Khartoum, and these, after languishing for a time on the river bank at Merowe, were eventually installed in a museum specially built at Merowe to house them. This was intended at the time to be a temporary measure though the governor of Dongola Province at the time did not so envisage it; he cemented the objects permanently into position and for all I know they are still there» (Addison 1954: 58).



Black Granite Colossal statue of Taharqa. 689-663 B.C. from Gebel Barkal. Now in the Sudan National Museum. Photographer and date unknown. NCAM Archives, Khartoum.

While Addison emphasized the logistic impracticality of moving overweight objects to the capital, Shinnie elsewhere (1953: 11) focused on the financial limits of such an endeavour, when he wrote that «the best of Reisner's finds were kept at Merowe, where a small museum was specially built for them. There, where few can see them, they still remain, until such time as funds are made available for a proper museum in Khartoum». In 1970-1971, 22 mostly Napatan objects discovered by Reisner at Gebel Barkal and Nuri between 1916 and 1920 (monumental statues of Kushite kings, sarcophagi, memorial stelae etc.) were moved to Khartoum to be exhibited in the Sudan National Museum (Hinkel 1978: 80). A massive Nile flood devastated the building of the Merowe Museum in 1978 whereon the remaining exhibits were

transferred to the Gebel Barkal Museum in Karima and to the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum.



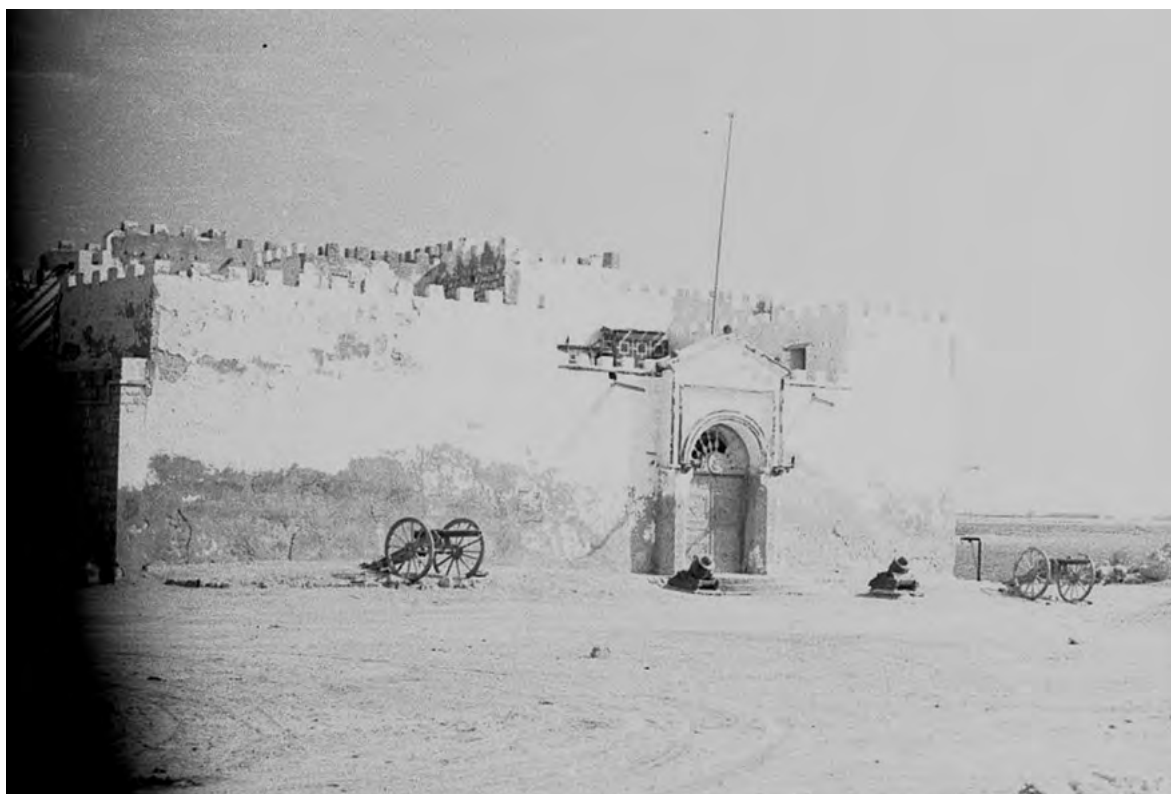
Entrance gate to the Merowe Museum. Photographer and date unknown.
NCAM Archives, Khartoum.

Suakin Museum (then Kassala Province)

The Suakin Museum at the *Muhazafa* – the ancient Governor's Palace – was established in 1938 by Edmund O. Springfield³⁹¹, British Commissioner of Port Sudan (Um 2011: 46, cp. Ahmed Hussein Abdelrahman Adam 2017: 4). The museum collection contained, according to art historian Nancy Um (2011: 48) many architectural salvage pieces like antique doors, windows and lintels which were collected from delapidated houses on the island (cp. Sudan Government 1950b: 164). But it also treated local culture and, for instance, featured an array of weaponry of the local Beja people. The Suakin Museum was according to Um essentially a colonial museum, since «the institution served as a monument to colonial interests through the display of local British military memorabilia». Interestingly, the space of this museum was extended to the exterior, «with the addition of four pieces of weaponry that celebrated British military strength» (Um 2011: 47).

In his 1973 study on the preservation of Suakin, UNESCO expert Erik Hansen made insightful suggestions for the formation of an open air museum in Suakin «dedicated to the history and culture of this town which once played an important role in the economy of the country» (Hansen 1973: 1). Following decades of neglect, an integrated conservation research project for Suakin was initiated in 2002 as a government sponsored initiative under the overall direction of the Director-General of Sudan's National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. The 'Suakin Project' also included the design for a new museum. In 2018, Sudan signed an agreement with the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) However, all attempts so far, to preserve and reconstruct Suakin's historic town, have failed.

³⁹¹ Edmund Osborn Springfield (1892-1967) joined the Sudan Political Service in 1923 and retired in 1944.



Suakin Museum at the *Muhazafa* – the ancient Governor's Palace.

Photographer and date unknown. NCAM Archives, Khartoum.

Besides the aforementioned subsidiary museums established prior to Sudan's independency on 1st January 1956, the three secondary schools at Wadi Taqqat (El Obeid), Wadi Seidna (Omdurman), and Handub (Wad Medani) held – according to Friedrich W. Hinkel (1992: 170) – small archaeological collections for educational purposes. Hinkel further mentions private initiatives of collecting and exhibiting archaeological end ethnographical material: «Private exhibitions and collections of archaeological end ethnographical material are reported in the 1940s from the diwan of Shennawi Bey's House at SUAKIN (...), from the residence of Jackson Pasha in DONGOLA EL URDI and from Sayyid Abdel Rahman's Palace at ABA Island» (Hinkel 1992a: 170-171, his spelling)³⁹².

³⁹² Shennawi (or Shinnawi) Bey was one of the leading merchants of Suakin. His family mansion in Suakin is described in Jean-Pierre Greenlaw's *The Coral Buildings of Suakin* (1995: 29 and 67). For information on the establishment of the museum in Bayt Shinnawi Bey see Um 2011. Sir Herbert William Jackson Pasha (1861-1930), a highly decorated British army officer and Governor of Merawi Province, had collected «a number of granite columns and capitals from various sites in the Northern Province and exhibited in the residential garden» (Hinkel 1979: 60). Sayyid Abdel Rahman al-Mahdi (1885-1959) – the posthumous son of Mohammed Ahmed al-Mahdi, leader of the Mahdist revolution – was the leading religious and political figures during the colonial era in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

The following museums were established after Sudan's independency:

Ethnographic Museum (Khartoum Province, now Khartoum State)

The Ethnographic Museum³⁹³ is the first museum established in the independent Sudan. In early 1956, a building previously used as an Officers' Club by the British army (the 'NAAFI-Club', operated by the Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes) on the junction of the University and Mohamed Ali Avenues was allocated for conversion into a museum «for the display of the rich collection of ethnographical material» (Vercoutter 1957b: 9). The domicile in the old NAAFI-Club was considered as a provisional home, until the archaeological, ethnographic and natural history collections would be reunified in one institution which was intended to be the long-awaited Sudan National Museum. The museum with a covered area of 260m² (Hinkel 1992a: 181) was inaugurated, under the name 'Museum of Popular Heritage', on December 1956³⁹⁴, as part of the Sudan Government Museum. It remained under the administrative shelter of the Antiquities Service, then directed by Jean Vercoutter (Braukaemper 1995: 5). In 1988, the museum was, according to Ulrich Braukämper (1995: 7), officially renamed the "Sudan National Museum for Heritage". In 2002, the Ethnographic Museum was administratively separated from the Sudan National Museum and renamed Sudan Civilization Institute³⁹⁵.

The Museum displays objects of the different tribes and ethnic groups of the country, «including examples of their arts, domestic implements and artefacts relating to their beliefs and customs» (Mohamed Abdel Hai 1982: 31). The first accessioned object in the museum is, according to Lothar Stein, author of the eventful history of the Ethnographic Museum (Stein 2010), «eine riesige Schlitztrommel in Gestalt eines Rindes, die dem ersten Gouverneur des Anglo-Ägyptischen Sudans, Sir Reginald Wingate, vom Häuptling Yambio der Zande, in der Provinz Equatoria, 1904 als

³⁹³ Also referred to as the Etnographical Museum (cp. for instance in Vercoutter 1956 and 1957, Hinkel 1992a and Braukämper 1995) or the "Sudan National Mueum of Ethnography" (Braukämper 1995). The history of the Ethnographic Museum up to 2010 is well documented in Lothar Stein's 2010 article "Das wechselvolle Schicksal des Ethnographischen Museums in Khartoum" and in Braukämper 1995.

³⁹⁴ According to Braukämper (1995: 5), the opening was held on December 10; according to Stein (2010: 298) on December 12, and according to Hinkel (1992a: 181) on December 27, 1956.

³⁹⁵ According to Yousif Hasan Madani (1992: 317, the Ethnographic Museum was reorganized and «reopened for the public in 1979 [...] as the National Ethnographical Museum».

Ehrengeschenk übergeben worden war»³⁹⁶. However, the acquisition history of the life-size slit drum representing a bullock or cow is described differently by Charles G. Seligman (1911: 17): «The drum (...) was taken from Yambio, the most powerful chief of the Avungura (Azande), in 1905, by a punitive expedition under the late Major Boulnois, R.A.»³⁹⁷. Seligman, in his short article added quotes from a report by Captain F.J. Brakenridge, who had accompanied the expedition and in which Brakenridge explains, that the fact of having carried away the drum – which stood in the open, near Yambio's hut – «was of great effect in assuring the people that Yambio was really done for» (Seligman 1911: 17). Museum visitors are left ignorant about the real circumstances of the acquisition³⁹⁸.



Slit drum taken from Chief Yambio of the Avungura .
Khartoum, Sudan Civilization Institute. May 19, 2012.

³⁹⁶ «A huge slit drum in the shape of a cow, which had been given to the first governor of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Sir Reginald Wingate, by Chief Yambio, [King of] the Zande, in the province of Equatoria, in 1904 as a gift of honour».

³⁹⁷ The punitive expedition and the attack against Yambio by the forces under Major W.A. Boulnois is mentioned in Budge 1907/I: 286. Yambio, according to Budge, «received a mortal wound during the skirmish and died that night». The Avungura Drum was preserved in the Gordon Memorial College, where it was damaged in May 1908 by a fire.

³⁹⁸ The museum label says: "The Sultan of Yambio's war drum-carved from a single piece of wood, damaged in Gordon College fire in May 1903. No. II. 1."

Natural History Museum (Khartoum Province, now Khartoum State)

As mentioned before, the Natural History collections were transferred in 1956 to the University of Khartoum where a new museum took effect on July 1, 1956. This association with the university, according to an unnamed author in *Nature* «has enabled the Natural History Museum to draw freely on the specialized knowledge of the University staff and to develop according to a deliberate long-term policy» (Nature 1960 Vol. 185: 736). However, Harold Sandon, then head of the Zoological Department of the University College of Khartoum, in his 1955-1956 Report on the Natural History Museum commented on the continuing shortage of accommodation for public exhibits and the storage of specimens as well as on the shortage of staff (Sandon 1956: 18). By the end of 1956, the Natural History Museum passed under direct control and management of the University of Khartoum.

Sheikan Museum (Kordofan Province, now Northern Kordofan State)

The Sheikan Museum in El-Obeid, the capital of Northern Kordofan, was inaugurated in 1965. The newly built museum with a covered area of 250 m² (Hinkel 1992a: 181) was named after the battle of Sheikan in which forces of Muhammad Ahmad, the self-proclaimed Mahdi, defeated in 1883 the Anglo-Egyptian troops under the command of Hicks Pasha (1830–1883). It accommodates archaeological objects from different periods of the history of the country, ethnographic objects from western Sudan as well as relics and items from the Sheikan battle.

Sudan National Museum (Khartoum Province, now Khartoum State)

The Sudan National Museum replaced the Khartoum Museum. Its construction began in 1963 and the museum was inaugurated on May 27, 1971 (Hinkel 1992a: 181). With a covered area of 1800 m² it is by far the largest museum in the country. The objects are exhibited on two floors, arranged in a chronological sequence from the early prehistoric periods down to the Islamic Fung period. Friedrich W. Hinkel, then Antiquities Service Architect, designed the layout of the museum's garden which accommodates the rescued temples of Aksha, Buhen, Semna West and Semna East; as well as several other recovered monuments from the Middle Nile Region (cf. Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif 1977).

Gebel Barkal Museum (Northern Province, now Northern State)

The project for the construction of the Gebel Barkal Museum situated in Karima at the foot of the Barkal mountain, started in 1972 (Hinkel 1992a: 181) and were completed with much delay in 1979 (De Simone 2014: 142). Initially, the building was planned as a 'storage depot'; but the multiplication of findings by the various archaeological missions working in the area led according to De Simone 2014: 142) «to the nomination of a representative of the National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums *in situ* and to the conversion of the concept of this building [...] into a fully fledged museum». The museum which covers an area of 350m² (Hinkel 1992a: 181) was eventually opened to the public in 2003 and now exhibits archaeological and ethnographical objects from the Gebel Barkal / Karima region and from the nearby monastic settlement of Ghazali and also accommodates a part of the antiquities from the old Museum at Merowe.

Sultan Ali Dinar Museum (then Darfur province, now North Darfur State)

The Sultan Ali Dinar Palace Museum, was inaugurated in May 1977 in El Fasher, the capital of North Darfur «during a temporary cessation of the civil war in the south and in a time of national reconciliation and cooperation» (Tesch 2007). The palace with a covered area of 200m² (Hinkel 1992a: 181) was the residence of the Sultan Ali Dinar, the last ruler of the Fur Sultanate. Ali Dinar was one of the commanders of the Mahadist Revolution who escaped the Battle of Omdurman (1898) and established a small kingdom in western Sudan which survived until he was killed in 1916 by a British military expedition. The museum hosts objects of this period in addition to archaeological material illustrating the different phases of the history of the Sudan.

El Tarabil Museum (then Northern Province)

The El Tarabil Museum (or Wadi Tarabil Museum) at Begrawiya (or Begraweya, / Bejraviya) was conceived as a site museum³⁹⁹. Fritz W. Hinkel, who had drafted the design of the museum chose a site at a locality «from where the Southern Group of Pyramide. the 'Sun Temple'. and the Western and Northern Groupe of Pyramide can be seen in a panoramic view» (Hinkel 1987: 18). The construction of the Meroitic

³⁹⁹ Cp. Hinkel 1992a: 165, 180, 181 and 184; Hassan Hussein Idris (2003). Tarabil refers to the Sudanese term for "pyramids": «The name given to pyramids in the Sûdân is *ṭarâbîl*, the supposed singular form being *ṭarbûl*» (Budge 1907/I: 41).

style museum building⁴⁰⁰ in the centre of the pyramids field with a planned covered area of 220m² (Hinkel 1992a: 181) already started in 1986 (Hinkel 2000: 25). In the end, the building and the objects would, according to Hinkel, «represent a certain unity and would be more attractive and agreeable to the visitors as an exhibition of Meroitic objects displayed in a modern building» (Hinkel 1987: 18). Even though the walls of the museum had reached in the early 1990s 3.40m; the height of the proposed exhibition rooms (Hinkel 2000: 25), the museum construction was shortly afterwards abandoned «for lack of money» (Sami el-Masri 2009: 162).

El Damer Museum (River Nile State)

The El Damer Museum or Wadi el-Neel University Museum was established by the NCAM in collaboration with the Wadi el-Neel University in El Damer (Northern State) in 2003 (Mohammed Ahmed 2013: 22).

Nyala Museum (Southern Darfur State)

The Nyala Museum (or Darfur Museum) in the capital of the Southern Darfur State was inaugurated on July 7, 2006. The creation of the museum must be seen in the context of an official policy of decentralisation and reconciliation in the post-conflict reconstruction of the Sudan following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 (cp. Leturcq 2009: 310). The museum exhibits the antiquities of the ancient history of the Sudan and the rich ethnographical material of the region (Hassan Hussein Idris 2008). The museum is closed due to the volatile security situation in the area.

Kerma Museum (Northern State)

The Kerma Museum is an archeological site museum in Kerma, Northern State; located in front of the western 'Deffufa', the central monumental building of the ancient Kerma. The museum was inaugurated on January 19, 2008. It is part of a larger 'Kerma Civilization Complex' (or 'Kerma Cultural Complex'), which aims at the promotion of the region's past and at the touristic development of the region. The museum presents an overview of region's archaeology from the first human

⁴⁰⁰ For the museum design, Friedrich W. Hinkel, found inspiration in a square shaped house with an atrium he had excavated in Meroe (Priesthouse 251; cp. Hinkel and Hinkel 1990).

settlements up to, but not including, the current period. The museum will be presented in more detail in the third part of this thesis.

Mention should also be made of the Abu Muhammad Nur Hadab Museum in Suakin which operates under the umbrella of NCAM. The museum contains historical collections of different ages of the city of Suakin, including public images, furniture, fashion, residential and other folkloric works of the inhabitants of Swakin in particular and the population of eastern Sudan in general.

Over the last ten years, five more museums under the administration of NCAM were opened to the public: New Merowe Museum, Northern State (2009); Wad Medani Museum for Archaeology and Ethnography, Al Jazirah State (2014); Port Sudan Museum for Archaeology and Ethnography, Red Sea State (2015), Sea Port Museum, Red Sea State (2016); and Sultan Bahr al-Din Museum, West Darfur State (2017).

Furthermore, additional museums are planned, in Khartoum and in the States (cp. Ahmed Hussein Abdelrahman Adam 2017: 5). Here, mention must be made of the Naqa Museum, designed by British architect Sir David Chipperfield. The Naqa Museum is an initiative of the State Museums Berlin and aims at realizing in an exemplary fashion «the current fundamentals of the preservation of monuments and a restrained site management»⁴⁰¹. The museum will be built outside the archaeological zone as a place of cultural and historical identity and information for Sudanese and foreign visitors.

Before South Sudan reached independence in July 2011, NCAM was determined to establish a museum in every one of the then 25 states of the country, «provided that the concerned state or the local authorities prepare the infrastructure and exhibition facilities» (Hassan Hussein Idris 2008: 2). This strategy goes according to Leturcq (2009: 310) back to a plan dating from 2005 which includes: 1) Renewal of existing museums; 2) Creation of museum educational programs for schools and children; and 3) Creation of museums in capital regional states. The strategy was in line both with a general policy of decentralisation, empowering the federal states

⁴⁰¹ Quotation from the promotional leaflet "Naga Museum Sudan", issued by the 'Verein zur Förderung des ägyptischen Museums Berlin' in cooperation with David Chipperfield Architects.

and with a new post-conflict policy of cultural diversity. Yet the separation of the South and the ensuing armed conflicts in certain areas of the country has affected the planning for several of the museums in the federal states. The main emphasis of the NCAM's policy towards museums is thus at present rather on consolidation than expansion.

2.7 Excursus II: From 'Barbarism' to 'Civilization'⁴⁰²

The often-quoted assertion by E. A. Wallis Budge – then curator of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum and «one of the most respected philologist of his time» (Adams 1981: 16) – that «of all the remains of ancient buildings which now exist in the Sûdân, not one-tenth are the result of pure Sûdânî suggestion or enterprise» and that «none of the surveys and explorations which have been made by ancient and modern travellers has resulted in the finding of any ruins which are not the remains of temples, forts, palaces, monasteries, &c., in fact, the work of foreigners» (Budge 1907/I: 511-512) illustrates the vehemence of the Egyptocentric approach. The field activities of Budge – who carried out the first archaeological excavations in the Anglo Egyptian Sudan in 1897 (Welsby 2004: 13-14) – lacked any professional standards and focused primarily on the extraction of antiquities for European museum collections. In Adams classification of paradigms in Sudan archaeology, Budge's approach in the field is thus an example for the "extractive colonial paradigm", according to which «19th century archaeology in the Sudan was very much a reflection of the regime that nurtured it: contemptuous, exploitative, and irresponsible» (Adams 1981: 18).

The «persistence of 19th century racism and of the colonial mentality» (Adams 1981: 19) is again revealed in George Reisner's description of the history of Nubia as «hardly more than an account of its use or neglect by Egypt» (Reisner 1910/I: 348). Reisner attributed any sophisticated architecture to a light-skinned race and believed that skin pigmentation marked intellectual inferiority. In a 1918 Museum of

⁴⁰² I enclose the terms 'barbarism' and 'civilization' in single quotation marks in order to accentuate that 'barbarism' – as well as 'civilization' – has not just a scientific but also political aspect and acquires various functions and significance in different historical periods. In a colonial setting, 'civilization' is positioned as the categorical opposite of 'barbarism'; from a postcolonial perspective however, 'barbarism' can be seen as a possible characterization of 'civilization'.

Fine Arts Bulletin he thus noted: The native negroid race had never developed either its trade or any industry worthy of mention and owed their cultural position to the Egyptian immigrants and to the Egyptian civilization (Reisner 1918: 80). However, Reisner's merit was, according to Adams, to have added «immeasurably to the meagre picture of history which Budge had been able to assemble from documentary sources» (Adams 1977: 3). He was less interested in objects than in the record of historical information. For Adams, Reisner – despite his paternalistic stance and racist bias – was the almost mythological father of the "enlightened colonial paradigm" (1981:18).

The following quote by the British painter and draftsman John Ward (1832-1912) from his 1905 book *Our Sudan: Its Pyramids and Progress* demonstrates that there were certainly early exceptions to this paradigm:

«I was much struck, in visiting the Sudan, by the unexpected number of ruins of Pyramids, Temples and Cities of 2,000 to 5,000 years ago, and the vestiges of Christian edifices, which, before the days of Islam, extended all over the land. I have collected illustrations of these antiquarian remains, hoping to awaken interest in the ancient civilization of this land of which though it has accidentally come under the influence of the Pax Britannica we as yet know little» (Ward 1905: 8, cf. quote in Hakem 1978: 38).

However, the tenacity of the tendency to see Nubia as an appendage of Egypt is again illustrated in Odette Keun's 1930 account of a journey to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Keun 1930)⁴⁰³. Keun asserted that «there were no fragments or relics of ancient civilization» and concluded that «the Sudan had *never* had a civilization» (Keun 1930: 10, her emphasis). For her – as it were a generation before in Budge's account – «the archæological vestiges of grandeur in the Sudan are faint materialized echoes of Egyptian civilization» (Keun 1930: 11). In the following however, she predicted the unavoidable evocation of a glorious past by the young Sudanese of the next generation for nationalistic purposes:

⁴⁰³ Odette Keun, *A Foreigner Looks at the British Sudan*. London: Faber & Faber (1930). Odette Keun (1888-1978) – usually remembered as the mistress of H. G. Wells – was a distinguished author who wrote more than twenty books, mostly autobiographical novels and travelogues. In her account of a journey to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Keun claimed that the Sudan was a highly successful experiment in colonisation «for (...) the welfare of the conquered alone» (Keun 1930: 13).

«Let us get it into our heads once for all, for I take my solemn oath that in thirty years or so from to-day the *Jeunes-Soudanais*, who are inevitably beginning to come into existence, will assert that once upon a time it had a glorious past. (...), and they will seek in the world of those forgotten shadows the glories of 'nationhood' and 'culture' which their recent past and their present withhold» (Keun 1930: 10/11).

By referring in her prophecy to an allegedly universal inherent logic of the oppressed, she stated that...

«Every subject race, as soon as it becomes conscious of its subjection, seeks compensation in the spontaneously created legend of a glorious past. (...). All alien-governed people develop this obsession, and so too will the Sudanese invent, in the near future, the romantic and fantastic annals of a gorgeous national history» (Keun 1930: 10).

...and continued her prediction with the assertion that the Sudanese «will learn [from their English teachers] of Taharka and Candace, of the temple of Ammon at Napata, of Meroë and its table of the sun» (10).

The evaluation of Keun's prophecy is a complex undertaking. Not even 30 years after her prediction, Sudan indeed became an independent nation. However, contrary to her assertion, the *Jeunes-Soudanais* [i.e. the early Sudanese nationalists of the colonial period who arose from a new class of western-educated urban élites] did not exploit the past for the construction of a common shared identity:

«As champions of social progress, early nationalists viewed themselves as standard-bearers for modernity. (...). None of the nationalists of the colonial period assigned importance to the Sudan's African heritage or drew pride from its non-Islamic and non-Arabic cultures» (Sharkey 2003: 132).

They rather promoted a progressive nationalism oriented towards modernity and «saw assimilation, through the spread of Arabic and Islam, as imperative» (Sharkey 2003: 134)⁴⁰⁴. The use of archaeology as a catalyst of national awareness was on the contrary adopted by the British as one of the tactics to separate the Sudan from

⁴⁰⁴ In accordance with Sharkey, Heierland (2008: 55) highlights the indifference of Sudanese nationalists towards archaeological heritage: «In this future-oriented nationalism, there was no need for elements of the archaeological heritage».

Egypt: «it was not the Sudanese but the British who politicized archaeology in their determination to keep the Sudan under British control and defuse Egyptian claims of sovereignty» (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 241). In the following, the scholarly journal *Sudan Notes and Records* became the main instrument in an attempt at fostering nationalism among the Sudanese through archaeological research (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 239). But since official publications such as *Sudan Notes and Records* were only read by relatively few educated Sudanese, the editors of the journal assigned the role of knowledge diffusion on a larger scale to the museum:

«Sudan Notes and Records is proud of the part it is playing in spreading knowledge of the Sudan; but the one institution that can spread that knowledge more than any other, pleasantly and effectively, through the eye, would be a proper museum» (Editorial Notes, SNR 28 (1947): vii. Quoted in Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 262).

Keun's prophecy that the knowledge «of Taharka and Candace» will be passed over to the Sudanese by «their English teachers» (Keun 1930: 10) was fulfilled, inasmuch as the British administrators indeed made the Sudan into an object of scientific exploration and promoted the development of education, scientific journals and museums as places for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. But this happened in a spirit of "enlightened paternalism" (Adams 1981: 18). In fact, the Sudanese were – as Osbert G.S. Crawford recognised in his essay "People Without a History" in *Antiquity* – well aware of their history distinct from the Egyptian:

«The object of Sudanese archaeology, then, is the reconstruction of Sudanese history. Sudanese readers naturally do not need to be told that there is such a thing as Sudanese, as distinct from Egyptian, archaeology. But to many others this is a new idea» (Crawford 1948: 8).

Thus, to pretend that the Sudanese were ignorant about their past prior to the colonial encounter would be just another exercise in Eurocentric power.

Since Budge's «pessimistic» and «drastically wrong» allegation of an absolute «absence of native remains» (Adams 1977: 2)⁴⁰⁵, much efforts have been made to

⁴⁰⁵ Budge 1907/I: 511 (page heading). Adams reminds us, that *The Egyptian Sudan* – still «the basic corpus on textual material on Nubian history» (1977: 66) – was compiled from scattered and fragmentary sources on Nubia and that it was released in the same year which saw the inauguration of archaeological research in Nubia (Adams 1977: 2 and 66).

rectify the picture by exploring the archaeological remains of the Middle Nile Region and the textual material on Nubian and Sudanese history. Scholars were increasingly finding that Nubia had a much more sophisticated culture than was earlier presumed and that Nubia deserves to be evaluated as a civilization on its own terms. An early advocate of such a view is the Sudanese scholar Mubarak Babikir Al Rayah who in 1976 wrote:

«Ideas from outside, that is from Pharaonic Egypt, Greek and Roman Egypt or the Mediterranean World had not only influenced the Sudan civilization but have been influenced by it and the product is "The Sudan Civilization" which is not a copy of them but an independent identity; (...)» (Mubarak Babikir Al Rayah 1976a: 6)⁴⁰⁶.

The term 'civilization' – in the African context once exclusively reserved for the glorification of ancient Egypt – is now also used for the artistic achievements of ancient Nubian / ancient Sudan. This perspectival shift is for instance expressed in the press release of the Exhibition *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* (New York, Brooklyn Museum 1978):

«Gathered from institutions in the United States, Europe and Africa, these objects form the first comprehensive international exhibition of the artistic achievement of an ancient African civilization whose distinctive character, extraordinary vitality, and influence on the course of African history are almost unknown»⁴⁰⁷.

What was declined in Budge, Reisner and Keun e.al. is now an advertising point for the promotion and dissemination of the country's rich archaeological heritage. However, it should be recalled with Christopher Ehret that 'civilization' is not a coherent thing in itself, but a concept to be critically assessed:

«Civilization is not a thing; it is an evaluation, (...). When historians fall into the trap of defining some cultures as 'civilizations' and others as not, they make a value judgment even if they mean not to. (...). The glorification of ancient Egypt is a prime illustration of the need to discard the fallacious Western idea that there really is something called 'civilization'» (Ehret 2010: 25-26).

⁴⁰⁶ The notion of "Sudan Civilization" also appears in Mubarak Babikir Al Rayah 1976b and 1978.

⁴⁰⁷ Quotation from the press release *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* dating from August 1, 1979. Source: https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/exhibition_printable/760/tab/press_releases [26.05.2013].

The externally mediation of the 'Nubian Campaign' and the presentation of the «remarkable material culture achievements of people in the Middle Nile Region» (Török 1997: 25) on the world scene was mirrored internally by a growing public interest in the ancient past of the country. This is well illustrated in the following statement by the late Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif⁴⁰⁸:

«(...), the Sudanese are of the firm opinion that archaeology constitutes a major sphere of scientific research which has a direct bearing on the social and cultural development of the nation. (...). The great value the Sudanese attach to their national cultural heritage clearly manifests itself in the establishment of the Department of Archaeology in the University of Khartoum, in the creation of the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Information and also in the keen efforts exerted to develop the Directorate General of Antiquities and National Museums, the organ responsible for antiquities in the Sudan» (Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif 1979: 25).

In his seminal 1979 article on the future of Sudanese archaeology, Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif further expressed his highest esteem for the contribution of foreign archaeological missions in the context of the study and preservation of the archaeological remains of the country and fervently encouraged the scientific exploration of other parts of the country:

«Close cooperation with these [foreign] expeditions and offering them every possible help will remain the corner stone of the official archaeological policy of the Sudan. As at present, presumably, the main brunt of archaeological research in the Sudan will be borne by foreign missions. They will be encouraged to spread their wings over the areas outside the traditional regions» (Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif 1979: 29).

He further defended the idea that the entire global community takes responsibility for the exploration of cultural heritage⁴⁰⁹ and welcomes foreign expeditions to come to work in the Sudan:

⁴⁰⁸ Trained at Durham University, Negm El-Din Mohamed Sherif (19xx - 1994) was the second Sudanese Commissioner for Archaeology of the Sudan Antiquities Service (term of office: 1970-1987).

⁴⁰⁹ The importance of the common heritage concept increased according Atle Omland with the establishment of UNESCO in 1945 and in the wake of the 'Nubian Campaign' (Omland 2006: 243). The idea of a shared moral obligation to protect cultural heritage is formulated in the preamble of the UNESCO convention of 1972 ('Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage', usually called the World Heritage Convention). For a firm commitment of the Sudanese Antiquities Service to the adoption of the 1972 (and 1970) convention(s) see Hassan Hussein Idris 2007: 183.

«(...) the Sudanese believe that the cultural heritage of any society is not only the property of that particular society but of the whole human community regardless of nationality, political creed or religious belief. Thus they hold that uncovering and preserving cultural heritage in any part of the world should be considered as the duty of all mankind. Bearing this conviction in mind the Sudanese welcome foreign archaeological expeditions to work in the Sudan (Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif 1979: 25-26)».

Mohammed Sherifs' cosmopolitan approach to heritage contrasts fundamentally with the paternalistic mindset of the "extractive colonial paradigm" exemplified in the field activities of Budge or in the "enlightened colonial paradigm" epitomized in Reisner (cf. Adams 1981: 16-20).

In summary, it can be stated that the development from an archaeology inflected by colonial commitments to a post-colonial, modern archaeology in Sudan was characterized by three distinct processes 1) the transition from a text-dominated approach to the elaboration and application of carefully developed techniques and methods of field work; 2) the gradual transition from an object-oriented archaeology towards a problem-oriented research; and 3) the transition from a colonial ethos of paternalism towards a cosmopolitan ethos of genuine partnership.

The change in the representation of the Sudan as outlined above, from a country devoid of ancient 'civilization' to the recognition of a genuine Sudanese past, is – as we have seen – further reflected in the establishment of numerous museums and heritage sites throughout the country.

2.8 Conclusion

The in-depth look at the history of archaeological research and museum development in Sudan shows that the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning archaeological practice have shaped research paradigms as well as research methods which in turn have greatly affected processes of memorialization and heritagization and museum practice. We have seen with William Y. Adams (1981), that field archaeology in the Sudan had been governed by four successive and partially overlapping paradigms which had, «in large measure reflected the changing political circumstances of the colonial and post-colonial worlds, but [...]

have also been shaped by methodological advances, by the growing professionalization of archaeology, and by the Western world's changing philosophical vision of Africa and her peoples» (Adams 1981: 15). By relating to Adams' paradigms, in the preceding part, I have detailed the changing political circumstances surrounding the archaeological exploration of the country; the methodological (and theoretical) achievements of archaeological research, the impact of professionalization in the field of archaeology and antiquities management, and the changing perception of Sudan and its peoples.

Adams' paradigms – to which I would tentatively add a fifth "participatory paradigm" – not only impacted the field of Sudan archaeology, but had, as I have demonstrated with various examples, also deeply affected processes of 'heritagization'⁴¹⁰ of archaeological sites, monuments and objects. Under the "extractive colonial paradigm", dominant throughout the 19th century, archaeological findings were collected in Nubia by adventurers and explorers who, with or without permission, brought antiquities to Europe in order to sell them to the highest bidder. The Italian physician Giuseppe Ferlini (c.1800-1876)⁴¹¹ for instance, with the permission of the *hakimdar* (Governor-General), 'Ali Khurshid Pasha, in 1833-1834 conducted "excavations" at a number of sites (Naqa, Wad ben Naqa) and eventually at the Royal Necropolis of Meroe where in 1834, while in the course of tearing down the pyramid Begrawiya North 6, chanced in a compartment (most probably in the burial chamber below the pyramid) upon one of the first and most spectacular archaeological discoveries in the Sudan: The treasure of *kandake* (Queen) Amanishakheto (reign c. 15-0 BC); or "Ferlini's jewels", as referred to in the earlier literature⁴¹². The treasure comprising more than 250 items including seals, shield rings, bracelets, necklaces, pendants, amulets etc. was brought by Ferlini to Europe where part of it was purchased by King Ludwig I of Bavaria (now: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München) and the remainder by the Berlin Museum (now: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu

⁴¹⁰ For a general discussion of the notion of 'heritagization' see Desvallées and Mairesse 2010: 50-52.

⁴¹¹ Giuseppe Ferlini, born at Bologna, was appointed as a military doctor for the troops of Mohamed Ali Pasha, and in this function stationed with the garrison at Sennar (1830-1831), then in Kordofan in 1832, and eventually in Khartoum before he started excavations at Meroe through 1833 and 1834.

⁴¹² On the treasure and its 'discovery', see Karl-Heinz Priese's 1992 catalogue *The Gold of Meroe*, accompanying the exhibition *The Gold of Meroe*, held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from November 23, 1993, through March 31, 1994.

Berlin)⁴¹³. Both museums speak in euphemistic terms about the acquisition context of the treasure which was "found"⁴¹⁴ or "discovered"⁴¹⁵ by Ferlini in Amanishakheto's pyramid and do neither disclose the destructive nature of Ferlini's work at Meroe nor the colonial context of the Turco-Egyptian rule⁴¹⁶. In the Sudan, the seizing of the treasure is considered as theft and efforts are intended to retrieve the treasure. Abdelrahman Ali Mohamed, Director General of NCAM, in quoted in Sudanow Magazine of August 2017 with the following statement:

«Dr. Ali believes that the treasure can be retrieved in the future if and when Sudan fulfils the UNESCO's related conditions and agreements in this respect. In the meantime, he hoped, the museum authorities [of the respective countries] may allow the people of Sudan to see the treasure on display at the National Museum here in Khartoum» (Ishraga Abbas 2017).

The call for the retrieval of the treasure of *kandake* / of "Ferlini's jewels" is, so far, the first known claim for the restitution of archaeological artefacts originating from the Sudan.

The British regime in the Sudan was, according to Adams (1977: 641) characterized by a benevolent paternalism which was reflected in the archaeological paradigm dominating the Sudan during the first half of the 20th century». The "enlightened colonial paradigm" was, according to Adams, connected to the «outstanding figure» of George Andrew Reisner and the «little-recognized figure» of John Winter Crowfoot⁴¹⁷. Reisner is praised by Adams for his example of «responsible field work and imaginative scholarship» (Adams 1981: 18), but in the same time criticized for

⁴¹³ In 1837, Ferlini printed, at Bologna, an account of his excavations in Nubia, with a catalogue of the various singular objects found by him (Ferlini 1937). Extracts from Ferlini's publication were translated into English by Ernest Wallis Budge (Budge 1907/I: 285-307) who also published extracts of the Italian original and of the French translation (307-320). For a study on the Ferlini treasure in archaeological perspective see Markowitz and Lacovara 1996.

⁴¹⁴ Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München. Website Presentation: Objekt des Monats - Ein Armreif der Königin Amanishakheto.

http://livetest2.smaek.de/index.php?id=1093&news_id=1480 [26-06.2019].

⁴¹⁵ Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin. Museum Leavlet: Der Grabschatz der Königin Amanishakheto.

<http://ww2.smb.museum/smb/media/education/30301/Amanishakheto.pdf> [26-06.2019].

⁴¹⁶ In the *Guidelines on Dealing with Collections from Colonial Contexts*, the German Museums Association, recommends its member museums a more careful approach according to which «[t]he museum is responsible for dealing with objects from colonial contexts appropriately and helps raise awareness» (German Museums Association 2018: 76).

⁴¹⁷ Crowfoot and Reisner were long time friends. For personal impression of Reisner see Crowfoot 1943.

his persistent racism and colonial mentality⁴¹⁸. Crowfoot – who is not accused of racism by Adams – was himself an administrator trained under the benevolent paternalism of imperial rule. He created in the Sudan the nucleus «for what was later to become an independent Department of Antiquities» (Adams 1981: 19) and it was according to Adams «through his influence and interest that the Anglo-Egyptian regime sought both to encourage responsible archaeology and to protect the surviving antiquities of the Sudan» (Adams 1981: 19)⁴¹⁹. Crowfoot chiefly drafted the first antiquities ordinance which was promulgated with the aim of protecting antiquities and regulating archaeological excavations. But Crowfoot, who was a trained archaeologist, was also the driving force behind the creation of the first antiquities collection at Gordon Memorial College and thus an early advocate of the idea of retaining antiquities in the country.

In the Sudan, the period towards and directly following the achievement of independence was determined by the bureaucratic structures of the colonial state. In archaeology, this transitional period had, according to Adams (1981: 21) its counterpart in the "post-colonial paradigm"; a paradigm which according to Adams still reflected «some of the thinking of the colonial era while showing a keen and necessary appreciation for altered political circumstances». The pivotal figures in the founding of the "post-colonial paradigm" where, still according to Adams, Anthony Arkell and his successor Peter L. Shinnie, who in their function as Commissioners for Archaeology laid the foundations for a "proper" Antiquities Service and for the sustainable protection of archaeological remains in the country. The hitherto prevailing focus on conservation was gradually broadened to include research. At the same time, attempts were made to develop a new general museum, to consolidate and display the result of research in the existing museum collections and to disseminate the research results more widely in appropriate and accessible forms. These attempts testify to an enhanced sense of accountability toward the

⁴¹⁸ The colonial mentality is for instance mirrored in the fact that in 1907, when Reisner led the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia, «it was still taken for granted, that the first principle of all archaeology (...) was the recovery of transportable (and exhibitable) objects (Adams 1977: 71).

⁴¹⁹ Crowfoot's attempts to investigate and preserve the Sudanese antiquities were according to Peter L. Shinnie (1981: 25-26) originally met with resistance by officials from the British administration, but also by many Sudanese, who disparaged the antiquities and ancient history because they were unable or unwilling to relate with their non-Arab and non-Muslim past.

Sudan and its people⁴²⁰. However, the most significant advance of the "post-colonial paradigm" is, according to Adams (1981: 22), found in the ideological sphere; i.e. in the liberation from the taint of 19th century racism, and also at least to some extent from the dominant shadow of Egypt»⁴²¹.

The "independent national paradigm" proposed by Adams marks the significant turning point at which the Sudanese themselves had begun to rewrite their own history to suit the needs of nationalism and national integration. This entailed the Sudanization of the Antiquities Service, the establishment of a Department of Archaeology, and the creation of a Sudan national museum. As elsewhere⁴²², these institutions have also in the Sudan been crucial to the exercise of the nation's sovereignty over its own archaeological heritage. The pioneer figure of the "independent national paradigm" was, according to Adams, the prematurely deceased Bryan Haycock (1937-1973)⁴²³ who is said to be converted from a conventional Egyptologist «into a genuine Sudanese nationalist, with a keen appreciation for every phase of the country's history». According to Adams, Haycock's lectures «stimulated the interest of a whole generation of Sudanese students in the history and the antiquities in their country» (Adams 1981: 24).

Since Adams has written his 1981 article on the paradigms in Sudan archaeology, in the sphere of culture, globalization has brought about homogenization, but also its dialectical opposite: an increase in the social valorisation of local cultures and indigenous values; and thus the wish to better preserve, present and interpret cultural heritage and indigenous knowledge. It is against this background of the tension between global horizons and local conditions, that, in addition to Adams' four successive paradigms, I have tentatively suggested a fifth "participatory paradigm".

⁴²⁰ The re-engagement with society is, according to Nick Shepherd, the first and founding precept for a post-colonial archaeology (Shepherd 2004: 252; cp. Shepherd 2003: 844). In the second place, a post-colonial needs according to Shepherd (2004: 2529 «to contest the directionality of exchanges in the discipline» and, in a third place, «to re-examine relations of production within the discipline».

⁴²¹ Adams – who associates himself with post-colonial school – in this context self-critically remarks that even «if our point of view is no longer 'Egyptocentric', it is still to a degree 'Nubiocentric', which is perhaps another form of parochialism» (Adams 1981: 23).

⁴²² On the interplay of archaeology and nationalism in the Middle East see Silberman 1998.

⁴²³ On the life and works of Brian George Haycock see Shinnie 1974.

As pointed out above, in the digression titled from 'Barbarism' to 'Civilization', Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif, in his 1979 outlook article on the future of Sudanese archaeology, made a strong plea for a collective attitude toward the national heritage of the Sudan. His generous pledge to welcome and accept the assistance of foreign missions breathes the spirit of a truly collaborative ethos. The foundations for this ethos were according to Adams laid by the successive Directors of Antiquities «who created and for a century have maintained a spirit of appreciation and cooperation with the archaeological missions that is virtually unparalleled elsewhere in the world» (Adams 2008: 11; cp. Adams 2008: 13). This ethos even prevailed under the "post-colonial paradigm", when the granting of excavation licences was subjected to higher requirements:

«Yet these requirements have not, as in Egypt, resulted in a confrontation relationship between archaeologists and the government, for the practical assistance and numerous facilities granted to all archaeological expeditions by the Sudan Antiquities Service are a source of worldwide admiration. The warm, collegial relationship between archaeologists on the one hand and antiquities officials on the other is, in my experience, without parallel among Third World countries» (Adams 1981: 22).

While under Adams' "enlightened colonial paradigm", the orientation was toward «the recovery of objects rather than the reconstruction of history» (Adams 1981: 19) and under the "post-colonial paradigm" towards the «reconstruction of culture (...) rather than on the description and illustration of objects per se» (Adams 1981: 21), the orientation under the "participatory paradigm" is towards a wider engagement with society. The "participatory paradigm" in the museum and heritage field can be traced back to principles enshrined in the UNESCO Recommendation on Participation by the People at Large in Cultural Life and their Contribution to It, issued in 1976 (UNESCO 1976). According to the recommendation «participation by the greatest possible number of people and associations in a wide variety of cultural activities of their own free choice is essential to the development of the basic human values and dignity of the individual» (UNESCO 1976, Preamble)⁴²⁴.

⁴²⁴ By participation in cultural activities is meant by the recommendation «the concrete opportunities guaranteed for all – groups or individuals – to express themselves freely, to communicate, act, and engage in creative activities with a view to the full development of their personalities, a harmonious life and the cultural progress of society» (UNESCO 1976, I/2b).

In the Sudan, this awareness for participatory processes has led to some interesting initiatives for the advancement of museums.

Mention should be made here of the Sudanese Women's Museum, which was formally established in 1996 at the Ahfad University for Women⁴²⁵. The museum – which is under the control of the University's Documentation Unit (DUWS) – originated as an initiative by the late Ahmed Mohammed Ali Abdalla Hakem, who was Director General of NCAM 1990-1994 and member of the Advisory Committee of the DUWS. The museum aims, according to Bharati Sen and Nahid A. Khashmelmous (2006: 119)⁴²⁶, at providing a visual and tangible documentation of the social, political, and economic life of the Sudanese women, at documenting the development of women's lives over time and at documenting the life histories of the pioneers of the Sudanese women's movement. In the case of the Sudanese Women's Museum, the participatory dimension focused on student participation, but also embraced the involvement women's organizations as well as university departments and institutes⁴²⁷.

Another example of a museum committed to a participatory approach is the Kerma Museum which was inaugurated in 2008. The Kerma Museum derived from a community initiative by an ad-hoc committee (the 'High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex') of local and regional stakeholders to preserve, present and promote the regions past in a museum complex (the 'Kerma Cultural Complex'). In the third part of this thesis, I will portray the High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex and its network of supporters as a "heritage community"⁴²⁸; a concept

⁴²⁵ The Ahfad University for Woman (AUW) is a private women's university in Omdurman. It was founded in 1966 as the first Sudanese women's college and was granted full university status in 1995 by the Sudan National Council for Higher Education. AUW is the oldest and largest private university in Sudan.

⁴²⁶ Cp. the information available on the website of Ahfad University for Women: Objective of the Sudanese Women's Museum.
<http://www.ahfad.edu.sd/index.php/2016-05-26-06-49-43> [23:06.2019]. The Sudanese Women's Museum is member of the International Association of Women's Museum (IAWM).

⁴²⁷ The Museum was, according to Bharati Sen and Nahid A. Khashmelmous (2006: 118), developed in an interdisciplinary effort involving NCAM, the Institute of African and Asian Studies and the Department of Archaeology at the University of Khartoum; and the Ethnographic Museum.

⁴²⁸ According to the definition introduced by the Council of Europe in 2005, «a heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations» (Council of Europe 2005. Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society ['Faro Convention']).

which is closely associated with Benedict Anderson's idea of imagined communities (Anderson 2006).

The relationship between archaeology and anthropology in the Sudan is underexplored and there is virtually no literature available on this subject⁴²⁹. Both disciplines have their roots in colonial practices of 'domination through knowledge', and, since the colonial period, they have alternatively moved away from and approached each other. Reginald F. Wingate in 1918, in his foreword to the first issue of the scholarly journal *Sudan Notes and Records*, pointed to the inextricable relationship between knowledge and power (Wingate 1918: 1) and argued that knowledge of past history and social conditions may serve as clues to future political development (Wingate 1918: 1). Since archaeology and anthropology were the suited disciplines to categorize and describe indigenous people, anthropologists were commissioned to study the fundamental traditions of the inhabitants of the «'backward' Southern provinces» (Mawut 1995: 7), and archaeologists were called in to study the indigenous 'civilizations' of North Sudan/Nubia. While anthropological studies introduced to the administrators the people they governed, archaeological research was used by the administrators as an impetus for national awareness. In this thinking, ethnographic objects were regarded as 'cultural indices' testifying to the living traditions of indigenous peoples while the archaeological artefacts were appropriated as regalia for the secular colonial state (to use the words of Benedict Anderson⁴³⁰). The North-South dualism and dichotomy (Loiria 1969: 308; Kurcz 2014:32) thus eventually resulted in a dichotomy between archaeology and anthropology. According to French museologist Jean Gabriel Leturcq this dichotomy persists until today: «On the one hand, the Northern Nile valley is devoted to archaeologists; on the other hand, Southern Sudan and regions such as Darfour are relevant for anthropologists» (Leturcq 2009: 131). The consequences of such an artificially constructed dichotomization between archaeology and anthropology are best illustrated in the following reflection by anthropologist Janice Boddy, who in a passage on northern Sudanese clerks and servants has written:

⁴²⁹ The 313 pages' anniversary publication *Past, Present and Future: Fifty Years of Anthropology in Sudan* (Munzoul A. M. Assal and Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil 2015) for instance, entirely omits to approach the subject.

⁴³⁰ In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson describes how old sacred sites of Southeast Asia were incorporated in the map of the colony and were eventually «repositioned as regalia for a *secular* colonial state» (Anderson 2006: 182, his emphasis).

«It is tempting to suggest that their 'known-ness' in the present and purported 'decline' from a nobler (Christian Nubian, and previously Meroitic) past were what made history and archaeology the disciplines of choice for learning about them, rather than systematic ethnography, deemed valuable for fathoming unruly 'others' in the here and now» (Boddy 2008).

The North-South dualism and the dichotomization between 'tribal societies' and 'high civilizations' found its formal expression in the politics of museum display and representation. The British administrators regarded ethnographic objects as 'cultural indices' testifying to the living traditions of indigenous peoples, whereas archaeological artefacts were appropriated as regalia for the secular colonial state (to use the words of Benedict Anderson)⁴³¹. Due to the influx of artefacts and monuments from the 'Nubian Campaign', the Sudan National Museum – although originally conceived as a museum harbouring archaeological, ethnographical and natural history collections from all parts of the country – developed into a mainly archaeological museum. Simultaneous attempts to relocate and enlarge the Ethnographic Museum on a new site in Omdurman failed⁴³².

The de-facto dichotomization in the representation of cultural heritage in favour of archaeological artefacts and monuments mainly from the Nile Valley in an allegedly 'National Museum' was much criticized by people originating from peripheral areas of the country⁴³³. Maria Costanza De Simone in *Nubia and Nubians: The 'Museumization' of a Culture* in this context notes, that even though «[t]he Sudan National Museum of Khartoum is considered to be the state museum par excellence, and [should] therefore [be] the expression of national identity [it is in reality and content] primarily a museum of Nubian archeology» (De Simone 2014: 96). However, the dichotomizing and hierarchizing view on the Sudanese past has been challenged by scholars and representatives of the civil society. For instance, critical

⁴³¹ In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson describes how old sacred sites of Southeast Asia were incorporated in the map of the colony and were eventually «repositioned as regalia for a *secular* colonial state» (Anderson 2006: 182, his emphasis).

⁴³² The project for «a new Ethnographical Museum at Khartoum/Omdurman» was according to Braukämper (1985: 6) in 1977 by Friedrich W. Hinkel in 1977. Hinkel's project/scheme envisaged a building complex consisting of five pavilions for regionally divided exhibitions as well as stores and facilities for administration, instruction and research on an area of 40'000 m².

⁴³³ Personal communication by DAU and AWB (male South Sudanese community leaders). Khartoum, Mai 2005. Such criticism was especially strong in the period following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA; also known as the Naivasha Agreement) between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, which in January 9, 2005 officially ended the civil war between northern and southern Sudan.

voices have pointed on the paradox, that although Nubia is portrayed in museum contexts as the cradle of Sudanese civilization, the Nubian language and cultural heritage are verging on extinction⁴³⁴. Calls for a fair and equal representation of all people and societies in order to come up with ICOM's (International Council of Museums) definition of a Museum as a «permanent institution in the service of society and its development» (article 3, section 1 of the statutes of the International Council of Museums)⁴³⁵ are in the meantime being heard and considered by the concerned government authorities.

According to Vere Gordon Childe (1892-1957), archaeology and anthropology (or ethnography), «represent two complementary departments of the science of man» (1946: 243). However, the desire for conservation between the two 'complementary departments' appears, according to British archaeologist Julian Thomas (2012: 219), «to have declined during the twentieth century» and Edmund Leach (1910-1989), according to Thomas, in 1976 even contended «that the two disciplines were fundamentally incompatible because one was concerned with lifeless things, while the other dealt with conceptual and verbal categories» (Thomas 2012: 220 referring to Leach 1977: 166). The non-conservation between the two 'complementary departments' described in the digression on Sudanese Anthropology must be understood against the background of theoretical debates of the 1970s guided by Leach's argument. In an attempt to re-establish a new connection between archaeology and anthropology, Julian Thomas points out that human society is a hybrid network composed of people and things, which are the conditions of each other's possibility, and suggests that «our shared task is to explore the conditionality of social life in the past and present» (Thomas 2012: 229). Thomas' approach might be a starting point for a productive dialogue between archaeology and anthropology.

⁴³⁴ Such voices were especially expressed by Nubian activists who, in the context of the Dal (second cataract) and Kajbar (third cataract) dam projects have criticized the government's intent to displace and effectively obliterate Nubian language and culture through the destruction of these areas (Muhammed Jalal Hashim 2007; Muhammed Jalal Hashim and Bell 2005). For information on resistance initiatives by Nubian activists see: Nubia Project: <https://nubiaproject.org/> [21.07.2019] and Save Nubia Project: <https://www.savenubia.org/> [21.07.2019].

⁴³⁵ ICOM. 2017. ICOM Statutes. Amended and adopted by the Extraordinary General Assembly on 9th June 2017 in Paris, France. The Executive Board of ICOM recently selected a new alternative museum definition for a vote to be included in the ICOM Statute: <https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-announces-the-alternative-museum-definition-that-will-be-subject-to-a-vote/> [25.10.2019]. However, a consensus on the proposed definition was not reached at the extraordinary general assembly (Kyoto, September 2019), and the vote on a new definition was postponed.

3 Part II: Khartoum – National Heritage and Museum Praxis

As described in the first part of this thesis, both the first and second Governors-General of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and *Sirdārs* (Commanders-in-Chief) of the Egyptian Army, Horatio H. Kitchener and Reginald F. Wingate were deeply interested in archaeological work. By arrangement of Kitchener, Ernest Wallis Budge from the British Museum was sent on archaeological missions to the Sudan and to assist Wingate in collecting antiquities for the newly established Museum at Khartoum. Preservation, to Budge and Wingate meant «to excavate ancient sites systematically» (Budge 1907/I: 436) and «to remove their antiquities to a place of safety in Khartûm» (Budge 1907/II: 501). In 1904, Wingate expressed the wish for a suitable site for an archaeological museum to be set apart. Since, he repeatedly expressed the need for a new museum in his Memorandums in the *Reports on the Finances, Administration and Condition of the Sudan* and the persons directly in charge for the Sudanese antiquities likewise, on several occasions, requested the building of a new museum to house the archaeological findings. However, specific projects for the creation of a general museum showcasing the archaeological, ethnographical and natural history collections failed for lack of funds as with the Lee Stack Memorial Museum project proposed in 1927 and abandoned in 1930, or because the earmarked site was not available as with the project for a museum on the former River Hospital site proposed in 1938 and abandoned in 1950.

3.1 Towards a New Museum

In the early 1950s, the plans for a new museum – designated to be the Sudan National Museum (Arkell 1946b: 3) – gained momentum. The development for the years 1950-1957 as outlined as follows was laid down in 1957 by Ali Mahmoud Ismail from the Ministry of Education in a memo entitled Brief History of the Khartoum National Museum (Ali Mahmoud Ismail 1957 / Annex II).

- A sum of LS. 125'000⁴³⁶ was included in the 1951/1952 development budget of the 1951/1956 development programme for the "Khartoum National Museum" provided that free building capacity was available.
- In 1953, the item was deleted «on the grounds that it would not be possible to build the Museum during that programme» and the scheme was thus withdrawn in the 1953/54 development budget. In 1954, the Ministry of Education was informed by the Commissioner of Lands that an area comprising 23'299m² known as plot No. 1 Block 9 R.F.W. was allotted to them for the development as a museum.
- The agenda for the 52nd meeting of the Museum Board in November 1954 included an item to discuss the suggestion «to abandon the idea of a large museum costing a sum of LS. 150'000 and proposed to plan for a simple museum costing no more than LS. 50'000 on the land opposite the *Gubbas* [domed tombs] of the Turkish Governors General at the corner of Victoria and Abbas Avenue». The meeting decided that «No further action was called for at this stage, except that the Commissioner should attempt to interest the Minister of Education in the project».
- In the agenda for the 56th meeting of the Museum Board, an item was included to consider possible sites for the new museum. Since the availability of the site at the corner of Victoria and Abbas Avenue seemed to be out of question, «as the Town Council ha[d] its owns plans for disposing of it», three other possibilities were suggested: a small site of 3'000m² in Victoria Avenue to the north of the School of Medicine; the *Waqf* Garden (now occupied by the Friendship Hall, completed in 1976); the *Mogran* site to the west of the *Waqf* Garden, registered in 1951 for the museum in the Land Registry. Additionally, the possibility of building the museum in Omdurman was suggested, provided that no suitable site in Khartoum was available.
- In the 56th meeting of the Museum Board in April 1956, the Board learned that the site at *Mogran* was still reserved and registered in the name of the museum. The Commissioner for Archaeology was asked to provide a generalized estimate for the museum buildings from Messrs Brown & Reeks and to apply for the reallocation of the funds provided for this purpose under the development budget

⁴³⁶ Until 1957 the legal tender of Sudan was the Egyptian pound (LE). When Sudan introduced its own currency on April 8 – the Sudanese Pound (LS) – it was a part with the Egyptian pound. From 1957 to 1978 one LS pound was equal to 2.87\$.

1951/56. In the same meeting, The Museum Board agreed, that initially provisions should be made only for the Antiquities, Ethnological and Natural History Museum Collections, but that the space on the site should be reserved for future expansion to include other sections.

- The request by the Secretary of the Museum Board to the Ministry of Works to vacate the site reserved for the museum was denied, since the project seemed far removed from being feasible. Additionally, the Secretary of the Museum Board was informed by the Commissioner for Development, that the building scheme for the museum had been withdrawn and that no funds were available in the development budget.
- In 1956, the Commissioner of Archaeology informed the Director of Education on the spatial needs to adequately exhibit the collections and to provide the necessary storage space as well as a library and staff offices. They concluded that a total of 6'090 m² of floor space was needed. According to the estimate of Messrs Brown & Reeks, the cost of the museum building was estimated at a total of LS. 171'000.
- In the 57th Museum Board meeting, it was decided that the Ministry of Works be given one years' notice to vacate the *Mogran* site by December 31, 1957 and that a resident architect be engaged to draw up a preliminary plan to discuss at Board's next meeting.
- In January 1957, in a letter the secretary of the Museum Board informed members of the board, that he had contracted the local architectural firm Petermuller⁴³⁷ to draw up a preliminary plan for the museum.
- In an informal meeting held in April 1957, the Museum Board evaluated different planning options to avoid expenditures. The Museum Board agreed within a defined budget of LS. 180'000, to pursue the planning for a museum building without a lecture hall and without air conditioning, but with the possibility of future extension.

⁴³⁷ The architectural firm Petermuller was founded by the Austrian architect Alexandre ("Alec") O. Petermuller (École spéciale d'architecture (ÉSA), Paris) in partnership with the Lebanese civil engineer Robert M. Ayoub (École Spéciale des Travaux Publics (E.S.T.P.), Paris) in the mid-1950s in Khartoum. In 1964, the firm became Gibb, Petermüller & Partners and was associated with the renowned British engineer, Sir Alexander Gibb, in London. Petermuller designed important modern structures including the campus of Khartoum Senior Trade School (KSTS), now the College of Engineering of Sudan University of Science and Technology (SUST); the Industrial Bank and Bata Shoes Factory in Khartoum North. In 1966, as a consequence of the 1964 October Revolution, Petermuller had to close his office (Omer Siddig Osman 2005: 56) and moved to Athens, where Gibb, Petermuller & Partners had their head office, with other offices in the Gulf countries.

- The architect was authorized to approach specialised firms in order to provide accurate figures and was requested to provide more detailed information about the total costs.
- The Museum Board welcomed the suggestion of the Head of the Museums and Monuments Department of UNESCO to send an UNESCO architect to advise the resident architect in questions of museography.
- In its 58th meeting, in October 1957, the Museum Board accepted the suggestion that Petermuller's plans for the new museum be passed for consideration by the UNESCO architectural adviser who would advise on the following points: provision for a strong room / provisions for future expansion / air conditioning / lighting.

The UNESCO architectural adviser was Hans Asplund, a 36 years old architect from Stockholm, Sweden, who had just completed a highly praised major public commission⁴³⁸. The subject of his mission was defined to «advise on and give preliminary design drawings for [...] one museum and a conference building, each containing a small special library» (Asplund 1958: 1 / Annex III)⁴³⁹. In November 1957, Asplund was invited by UNESCO to meet Alexandre Petermuller in Paris to discuss Petermuller's preliminary drawings for the museum. In January, Asplund came to Khartoum where he met his local counterparts and visited the different archaeological source sites from which a number of monuments and artefacts were selected for display in the new museum. He also started working with Petermuller on the plans for the museum and the conference hall and on new architectural solutions, which were eventually accepted by the Museum Board. It is interesting to note, that at this planning stage, the Museum was still intended to house both archaeological and ethnographic collections (Asplund Asplund / UNESCO 1958: 2-3). The allotted space for the archaeological collection was 1000m² and for the

⁴³⁸ Hans Karl Otto Asplund (1921-1994). Asplund was educated at the School of architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm (1944-1947) and then employed by the United Nations architectural office in New York (1947-1948). In 1947, Asplund won the competition for the Eslöv Civic Hall which was built and completed 1955-57. Asplund – who is the son of Gunnar Asplund, one of the pioneers of Swedish modernism – was Professor at the Royal Institute of Technology in Lund (1964-1987) and UNESCO consultant architect in Sudan and Peru. He is the author of *Farväl till funktionalismen* [Farewell to Functionalism], a book addressing the shortcomings of modernism (Asplund 1980).

⁴³⁹ The account of Asplund's first (November 24-27, 1957) and second (January 9-February 13, 1959) missions to the Sudan is based on Asplund's "Preliminary Report on Planning Official Buildings in Khartoum, Sudan", dated March 10, 1958. Asplund's recommendations regarding the conference building on a site in Omdurman near the White Nile Bridge are not addressed in this study.

ethnographical collection 800 m². In conclusion to his preliminary report Asplund made a series of recommendations with paying particular attention to questions of lighting, air-conditioning, the possibility of future extensions and security. For further planning, Asplund recommended to carry on with Petermuller based on the quality of work and collaboration thus far.

On January 7, 1959, Asplund presented his "Final Report on Planning Official Buildings in Khartoum, Sudan" in which he gave a general account of his consultancy work for the Sudan National Museum and a Cultural Centre in Khartoum and provided details on his third mission to the Sudan (November 7-December 2, 1958)⁴⁴⁰. Upon his arrival in Khartoum, Asplund assessed the new series of working drawings for the museum prepared by Petermuller and came to the conclusion «that the set of plans show a building of high quality from the functional, economical and architectural points of view» (Asplund 1959: 1 / Annex IV). In the report, Asplund noted, that the provisory layout plan drafted by the Public Works Department envisaged a new and even better site for the museum, «one block to the west of the former site». The ground floor plan still provided a hall for temporary exhibitions which could also be used as an assembly hall for lectures and the screening of films. Asplund also suggested placing seating areas in the main hall, in front of windows overlooking the museum gardens, so as «to make the circulation in the show rooms more pleasant». Asplund further made recommendations regarding the organization of the storage facilities, the laboratories, the loading dock and the shipping and receiving area. The first-floor plan also provided some seating areas, a modular system of partitions and display cases along the walls for showcasing the ethnographic collection. Concerning the second-floor plan, Asplund suggested some modifications regarding the construction of the ceiling of the main hall, the air-conditioning and the lighting.

In his concluding remarks for the museum building, Asplund emphasized, firstly, that all his comments concerned details, secondly, to have the suggested changes incorporated in the revised working drawings, and, finally, that Petermuller was «thoroughly capable of carrying on the planning work from now on, guided by the

⁴⁴⁰. "Final Report on Planning Official Buildings in Khartoum, Sudan", dated January 7, 1959 (Asplund 1959 / Annex IV). Asplund's recommendations regarding the Cultural Centre are not addressed in this study.

advice of Dr Vercoutter» (Asplund / UNESCO 1959: 6). In the following, Petermuller drafted the detailed working plans according to the requirements defined by the Museum Board.

On November 19, 1959, the foundation stone for the 'Sudan Museum' was laid by the then Minister of Education of the Republic of the Sudan, Sayed Ziada Osman Arbab on November 19, 1959.



Foundation stone for the 'Sudan Museum', laid by Sayed Ziada Osman Arbab, then Minister of Education of the Republic of the Sudan, on November 19, 1959. Mai 8, 2014.

By June 1960, Petermuller delivered the final plans for the construction of the museum building. In the following, the piled foundations were installed and in 1962 the outer shell of the museum building was completed. However, for financial reasons, work had stopped and could, according to Friedrich W. Hinkel, only be resumed by 1967:

«Only in 1967 was further interest shown in finishing it. In order to keep costs down to a minimum and make continuation of the work possible with reduced means, the tender documents had to be reviewed. Within a few days it became clear that simplification, the use

of local materials, and the abandonment of unnecessary extravagance would reduce costs from £200'000 to £70'000» (Hinkel 1978: 79).

In a typewritten memorandum, dated January 10, 1963, Thabit Hassan Thabit, then Commissioner for Archaeology, first outlined the situation respective to the existing archaeological collections and the new additions from the 'Nubian Campaign'.

«Representative collections from all periods are now housed in the archaeological museum on the river front. This museum is small and most inadequate and there are many objects still packed in boxes, some scattered in the field all over the country in addition to fine pieces of sculpture which are housed in provincial museums. The present unprecedented large scale archaeological activities in the area which is going to be submerged by the High Dam also produced many antiques from all periods especially a good number of well preserved and unique paintings from the Christian epoch».

In a second part of the memorandum, Thabit presented three reasons for which the Antiquities Service had been increasingly demanding the construction of an adequate museum over the past 20 years. Thabit's first reason was «the conservation of unique [archaeological and ethnological] objects which the climate, the ignorance of man and material progress alike [were] rapidly destroying». The second reason was the «education through the eye which is the most effective form of education and which can influence persons of all ages in all communities; and thus can be a potent factor in promoting good citizenship». The third reason put forward by Thabit is the provision for research facilities, so that the museum could become «the rallying point of all interested in the history and prehistory of the country». In the final part, Thabit reiterated that «the Antiquities Service had been advocating «the need and importance for the construction of a new adequate national museum for over 20 years» and referred to the construction progress of the museum building: «The building as such is complete, it would have cost the Government about half a million pounds and it is hoped that in a years time, the Sudan will have one of the most modern and instructive museums in the world at large» (Thabit Hassan Thabit 1963 / Annex V). Thabit Hassan Thabit's prognosis turned out to be wildly overoptimistic.

The finalization of the building project, the design and furnishing of the museum gardens, and the layout of the museum exhibition in the main hall continued up until the end of 1970. The inauguration of the Sudan National Museum took place in May

1971⁴⁴¹. According to the Italian scholar Giovanni Vantini, the ongoing restoration work of the Christian wallpaintings allowed only for a partial opening presenting the artefacts and monuments in the museum gardens and the section with the pre-Christian objects. The Christian and Islamic section was according to Vantini eventually inaugurated a year later, in May 1972.

3.2 The Sudan National Museum

The Sudan National Museum (abbreviated SNM) and the seat of Sudan's Antiquities Authority (NCAM) are located in the north-western part of Khartoum near the confluence of the Blue and White Niles (Arabic: *muqrān*; English *Mogran*) on a site between Nile Avenue, running along the southern bank of the Blue Nile, and Gamaa Avenue (University Avenue) which runs parallel to the south⁴⁴². While the NCAM offices are reached from Gamaa Avenue, the entrance to Sudan National Museum is from Nile Avenue. The gardens surrounding the Museum – regarded by the responsible architect Friedrich W. Hinkel (1925-2007)⁴⁴³ as an open air museum (Hinkel 1978: 68) – contain mostly archaeological remains and house the largest and most comprehensive Nubian archaeological collection in the world, including dismantled temples and other remains that had been saved from the area flooded by the High Dam at Aswan. The intent of the Museum, according to an interpretative panel in the Museum, is as follows: «The Sudan National Museum collection represents the history of Sudan from the prehistoric Period. Its objects come from excavations carried out under the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums authority and form an essential part of the cultural wealth of the Sudan preserved for the people of Sudan».

⁴⁴¹ According to Hinkel (1978: 81 and 1992a: 181), the Sudan National Museum was inaugurated on Mai 27, 1971; according to Vantini (1972: 11) on Mai 25, 1971 and according to Fantusati (2005: 527) on Mai 28, 1971. Since both Hinkel (1978: 81-82) and Vantini (1972: 11) mention, that the inauguration was scheduled for the celebration of the second anniversary of the 1969 "May Revolution" which made Jaafar Muhammad an-Nimeiry Prime Minister and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) on May 25, the date of the 25th seems more likely.

⁴⁴² The University of Khartoum, the Natural History Museum and the Sudan Civilization Institute (the former Ethnographic(al) Museum) are also located on Gamaa Avenue, some 4km to the east of the Sudan National Museum.

⁴⁴³ Friedrich W. Hinkel was according to Solveig Lawrenz (2017) «one of the most renowned researchers in the field of Sudanese archaeology and architecture, having spent more than 40 years living and working in the Sudan». Hinkel, who was a trained civil engineer, worked as an architect at the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic. From 1965-1973, and from 1976-1985, Hinkel was the architect of the Sudan Antiquities Service. In 1998, he was awarded the Order of the Two Niles (First Class); Sudan's highest national decoration.



National Museum Khartoum (Sudan). Sudan National Museum postcard 303, undated.

Visitors enter the museum complex of 30'000m² through a rectangular entrance pavilion facing Nile Avenue. The pavilion – decorated in the upper part with paintings by Sudanese artist Kamala Ibrahim Ishag in collaboration with Musa Elkhalfa⁴⁴⁴ – has a ticket desk on the eastern wall and on the opposite wall features a sandstone relief from a funerary chapel from Meroe⁴⁴⁵. Two interpretative panels provide detailed information of the scene shown on the relief from the funerary chapel and of the royal pyramids of Meroe, where the relief originated. A third wall panel provides a timeline showing the site locations and periods of the museums' collections, and a plan of the Sudan National Museum and gardens.

⁴⁴⁴ Kamala Ibrahim Ishag (*1939) was a key member of the renowned 'Khartoum School' which actively contributed to the growth of modern art in Africa. The painting, depicting Sudanese scenes from the prehistoric (Neolithic), Egyptian Pharaonic, Meroitic and Christian periods, was created in 1970/1971 during her 18 months' residency at the Sudan National Museum. During her residency, Kamala Ibrahim Ishag was also assigned to copy the reliefs of the temples from Lower Nubia reconstructed at the Khartoum National Museum. Kamala Ibrahim Ishag, personal communication; Khartoum, February 26, 2016.

⁴⁴⁵ The relief (height c. 250; with c. 450cm) from the north wall of a funerary chapel of Queen Shanakdakhete (chapel BEG N11 from Meroe / second century BC / SNM accession number 5207) was dismantled in 1905 by Ernest Wallis Budge from the British Museum and sent to Khartoum, where it was erected in front of the School of Engineering. During the transfer of the former Antiquities Museum to the newly built Sudan National Museum, the relief had again to be dismantled and reconstructed in the entrance pavilion. The chapel from the south wall was moved to the British Museum in 1905 (Registration Number EA719).

Exiting the pavilion onto a large terrace, to the right, are five monolith granite columns from the Faras Cathedral in Lower Nubia (erected on the museum site in 1964 as the first sign of the reconstruction of Monuments saved during the 'Nubian Campaign')⁴⁴⁶. The path from the terrace to the museum first leads over a bridge crossing an artificial lake, 200m long and 10m wide, symbolizing the Nile and then down an alley flanked on each side by a Meroitic ram statue on a pedestal (one found at Soba around 1880 and the other in el-Hassa in 1999). Continuing down the alley, on each side, are three seated lion statues made of ferruginous sandstone from the classical Meroitic period, at the beginning of the first century BC (discovered by John W. Crowfoot at Basa in Wadi Hawad, east of Shendi, in 1907) and moved to Khartoum in 1969). Finally, the alley, inspired by the monumental alleys of the temples of Amun, takes one up a set of stairs flanked on each side by a granite ram statue with a figure of Taharqa⁴⁴⁷ between the front legs (discovered in 1930-1936 by the Oxford Excavation Committee under the direction of Francis L. Griffith) resting sphinxlike on pedestals to the entrance of the museum⁴⁴⁸. On the north façade of the west wing, on the right-hand side, are two colossal unfinished Meroitic statues from Tabo on Argo Island, which were moved to Khartoum from 1971-1973⁴⁴⁹.

In the first half of the 19th century, the unfinished granite colossi lying on the surface in proximity of the Amun temple were visited and described by travellers and explorers traveling up the Nile⁴⁵⁰. The first description after the reconquest of the Sudan by the British in 1898, is provided by Wallis Budge from the British Museum:

⁴⁴⁶ Faras, now submerged, was located on the border between Egypt and the Sudan, some 38km north of Wadi Halfa.

⁴⁴⁷ Also spelled Taharqo; the Biblical Tirhakah, who rendered aid to Hezekiah (2 Kings 19:9 and Isaiah 37:9).

⁴⁴⁸ The granite ram statues were guarding the door of the Hypostyle of Temple T of Taharqa. Rams identical to those in the Sudan National Museum (SNM accession numbers 2681 and 26282) from Kawa are held in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (AN1931.553) and in the British Museum, London (Registration Number 1933,0610.1) (Welsby 2014: 36).

⁴⁴⁹ The size of the colossi is about 7m and their estimated weight is 30 tons. On the relocation of the Tabo colossi to the Sudan National Museum see Hinkel 1978 and 1992b.

⁴⁵⁰ Frédéric Cailliaud visited the colossi on January 19, 1821 (Cailliaud 1826); Eduard Rüppell also in 1821 (Rüppell 1821: 44); Linant de Bellefonds on May 24, 1822 (Linant de Bellefonds 1822); George Alexander Hoskins on April 18, 1833 (Hoskins 1835) and Karl Richard Lepsius on June, 19, 1844 (Lepsius 1844). Cailliaud and Hoskins both provided a drawing of the statues restored to an upright position.

«Towards the middle of the Island are two gray granite colossal statues, lying on the ground; one statue broke into two pieces when it fell down, or was overthrown, and the other has lost parts of its arms. The height of each statue, including the pedestal, which is nearly 3 feet, is between 23 and 24 feet. Lepsius attributed them to the Hyksos period, but they seem to me to belong to a far later date» (Budge 1907/I: 556)⁴⁵¹.

Frank Addison, Acting Conservator of Antiquities from 1921-1931, pointed out that the idea of moving the Tabo colossi to Khartoum was already considered in the past, but could not be implemented for financial reasons:

«[I]t may be of interest to recall that one Governor-General, on seeing for the first time the colossal fallen statues on Argo Island, suggested that these should be brought to Khartoum and erected in front of the palace. This proposal caused no little flutter amongst the officials of the Railways and Steamers Department, though they were able without difficulty to demonstrate that the cost of transport would be prohibitive» (Addison 1954: 58).

The museum building is directly connected to the laboratory building, which is in turn connected to the administration building. The three interconnected buildings at the centre of the site are collectively known as the Sudan National Museum.

The rectangular east-west oriented two storey museum building is the largest in the complex. A set of steps leads up to a small terrace, entering the north-facing museum entrance into a spacious reception area. On the right-hand side is a hall for temporary exhibitions (since the late 1990s: Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif Memorial Hall) and on the left-hand side is a flat ramp leading to the second storey exhibition hall, which overlooks the main exhibition area. The main exhibition hall is accessed straight through the reception area and extends across the entire ground storey. The roof of the main hall and the floor of the second storey exhibition hall are supported by ten pillars arranged in two rows. The part of the main hall that is overlooked by the second storey exhibition hall, extends to a height of two storeys, approximately 8 meters high.

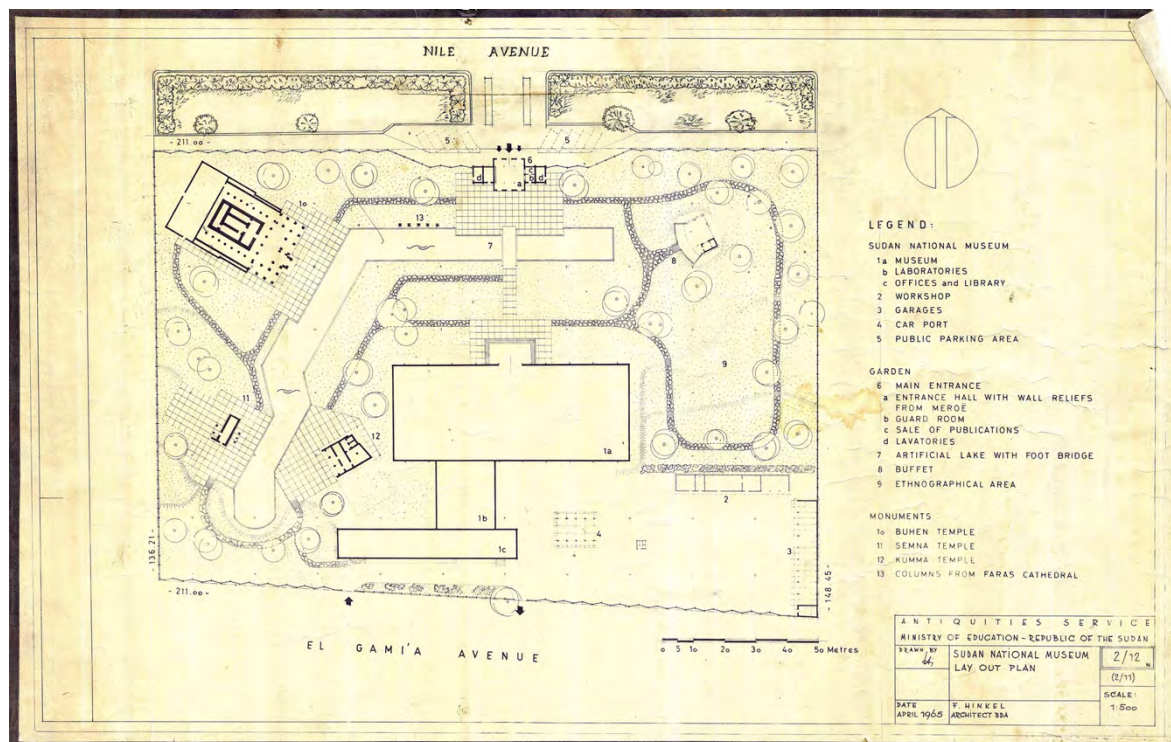
The two-storey square-shaped laboratory building is situated between the administration building and the museum. The museum storeroom takes up the entire

⁴⁵¹ The pair of granite monoliths of colossal size bear no inscription on the dorsal pillars. Vincent Rondot (2011: 439), who has done a study on the iconography, symbolism and dating of the Tabo colossi, dates them back to the first half of the second century AD. For a first general study of the Tabo colossi, see Dunham 1947b.

ground storey. On the second storey are administration offices of the national museum department, including the office of the director, the digitization center, and also a storeroom used by the French Section at the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums Section française de la direction des antiquités du Soudan (SFDAS).

The rectangular east-west oriented four-storey administration building facing University Avenue, houses NCAM's general administration and its three departments (fieldwork, conservation and restoration, and museum departments). The staircases of the administration building are located on the outer western and eastern sides of the building. On each level, the individual rooms are accessible by outside connecting corridors, which run between the staircases. Shipping and receiving and the conservation and restoration laboratory are located on the ground storey, along with the director and curator offices of the conservation and restoration department. The museum and curator administration offices and the SFDAS offices are located on the first storey. The general administration and the general director's offices are located on the second storey as well as an assembly hall, the NCAM library, the photo laboratory and other work rooms. Until the late 1990s, the upper part of this building was an open terrace. Then, a lightweight construction was added to provide additional office spaces for the fieldwork department.

In addition to the aforementioned archaeological artefacts and architectural elements, the museum gardens exhibit a series of sandstone monuments relocated from various sites in Lower Nubia.



Lay-out plan of the Sudan National Museum and museum gardens by Friedrich W. Hinkel, dated April 1965. NCAM Archives, Khartoum.

Three pharaonic temples – relocated between 1963 and 1968 from Buhen⁴⁵², Semna West and Semna East (or Kumma)⁴⁵³ – are arranged along the lake symbolizing the Nile, which runs from the entrance pavilion through the museum's western part of the gardens and has sandstone frog statues from Basa (discovered in 1907 by John W. Crowfoot and by Friedrich W. Hinkel in 1970 (Hinkel 1978: 79) at either end. The arrangement of the temples along the artificial lake corresponds to their original location along the Nile. Since the temples were constructed of soft sandstone, they were covered by corrugated metal roofs to protect them from seasonal rains. Friedrich W. Hinkel, who was responsible for the relocation of the archaeological artefacts and monuments in Upper and Lower Nubia and for their placement in the gardens, explained his decisions as follows:

«I decided on a sliding construction which would make it possible to show the temples in the open air during the dry season (October to May). The rays of the sun, shining directly on the temples, created light and shade, which brought out the relief and the whole architectural

⁴⁵² Buhen, now submerged, was located some 25km south of Aksha, on the west bank of the Nile.

⁴⁵³ Semna, now submerged, was located some 60km south of Wadi Halfa.

ensemble of the temples. During the rains they would still be accessible under the sliding roofs, though lacking the contrast between relief and wall» (Hinkel 1978: 67).

There are two additional shelters protecting a selection of sandstone monuments. The first shelter houses decorated and inscribed blocks from the west wall of the temple of Aksha built by Ramses II around 1250 BC⁴⁵⁴. The blocks were removed from Aksha in 1963 and re-erected in Khartoum in 1968. The second shelter features rock carvings from Gebel Sheikh Suleiman, dating from the first Egyptian Dynasty.

On the same side as Semna east, at the bend of the artificial lake opposite of the Faras Columns, is the reconstructed grave of Djehouty-Hotep, Nubian prince of the Serra district. The tomb is the earliest decorated rock tomb in the Sudan, featuring the original wallpaintings which were detached in 1962 by the Sudan Antiquities service and brought to Khartoum in 1963. In 1970, the tomb was rebuilt at its actual location and covered by an artificial hill imitating the original location.

On the first storey of the Sudan National Museum, are the archaeological collections from the Palaeolithic to the post-Meroitic periods and on the second storey is a collection of Christian wall paintings from the Faras Cathedral and from other churches in Christian Nubia as well as a small Islamic collection.

Looking from the reception area into the main hall, one is immediately drawn to the monumental statue of the Kushite pharaoh Taharqa of the 25th Dynasty (reign: 690–664 BC), flanked on both sides by a stela bearing his name. On the way into the main hall, one passes through a small rectangular vestibule. On the right-hand side is a map of the Sudan featuring the archaeological sites from where the exhibited artefacts and monuments originate.

Entering the main hall, on the left-hand side, is a large central corridor with a row of statues of Kushite sovereigns. The monumental statue believed to be of King Atlanersa (reign: 653-643 BC) from Gebel Barkal⁴⁵⁵, reaching a height of 5.5m, is prominently placed on a pedestal against the backdrop of a partition wall spanned

⁴⁵⁴ Aksha, now submerged, was situated some 20km north of Wadi Halfa.

⁴⁵⁵ Reisner 1916: 15 and 1931: 82.

between two pillars in the western part of the hall. The other statues placed in the central middle axis are of Queen Amanimalel (reign: 643-623 BC / statue from at Gebel Barkal) and of King Tanutamun/Tanwetamani (reign 664-656 BC / statue from Gebel Barkal and replica statue from Dukki-Gel).

The visitor is lead through the exhibition in a clockwise direction through the chronologically arranged exhibits. The exhibition is centred around the Kushite statues and can roughly be divided in the following chronological sections: Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic periods; A- and C-group cultures; Kerma culture; Middle and New Kingdom; Napata Kingdom; Meroitic Kingdom; and post-Meroitic period.

The objects are presented in modern display cases which are all integrated into the longitudinal walls and in older wooden freestanding table and cabinet display cases. Some of the larger and less fragile objects are displayed along the western wall on a concrete platform and are freestanding and unprotected. The exhibition hall has a service door for direct access to the loading dock and the shipping and receiving area and to the conservation and restoration laboratories.

Taking the ramp to the second storey, one arrives at the almost square-shaped upper exhibition hall featuring the Christian and Islamic collections. The floor plan of the upper exhibition hall shows a museographic concept that differs from the plan adopted in the main exhibition. Uniformly sized partition walls suspended between visible steel poles, and a series of cabinet display cases present the finds from the Christian and Islamic eras/periods. The Islamic period occupies a modest space with objects from medieval and postmedieval Sudan.

When entering the exhibition space from the ramp, the view is directed to the first wall painting, which represents the story of the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace from chapter 3 of the Book of Daniel. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, whose hands are raised in prayer, are protected by the Archangel Michael, who spreads his wings over them. Turning slightly to the left, one's view is directed along the diagonal axis to a wall painting in vivid colours depicting the Nativity at the northeastern corner of the exhibition hall. Both wall paintings are from Faras Cathedral and are counted as the most beautiful of their time.

The twenty partition walls are arranged in a northwest to southeast diagonal direction. They are either individually freestanding or arranged group wise in a zigzag-like pattern. The wall paintings from the 8th and 12th century (Vantini 1972: 23) originally come from the five churches in Faras, Kulubnarti, Meinarti, Sonqi Tino (so spelled Songi Tino) and Abd el-Gadir.

The exhibition hall is approx. 25m x 25m in size and has a service access to the administrative offices on the second storey of the laboratory building. The west side of the exhibition hall has a continuous row of window panels overlooking the main hall.

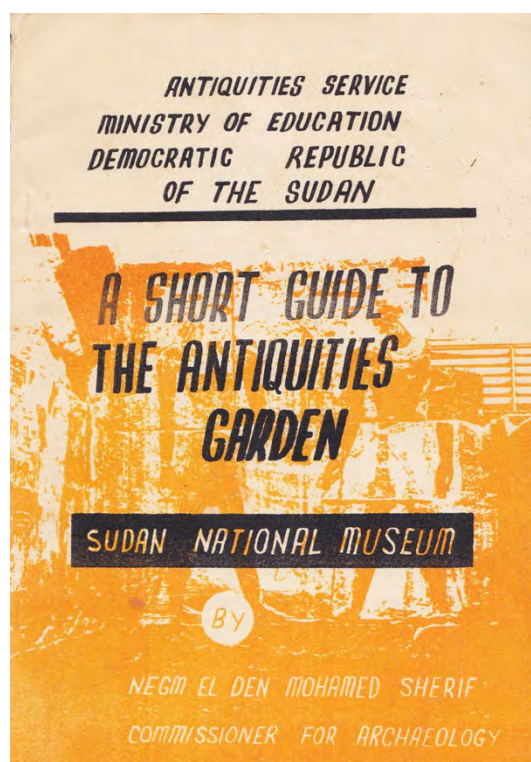
The Christian and Islamic section – originally organised rather randomly on the basis of esthetical criteria – was reorganized in 2007 by Alexandros Tsakos as part of the UNESCO project 'Preservation of Endangered Objects at the National Museum of Sudan and the Archaeological Museum of Jebel Barkal' (UNESCO 2004-2006). The new concept aimed at rearranging the wall paintings according to thematic groups (Tsakos 2008).

The masterpiece of the Christian and Islamic section is the Nativity from Faras Cathedral, where the wall painting was discovered and detached in one piece. In 1964, it was brought to Khartoum and magnificently restored. The painting, which dates to the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century, is according to Giovanni Vantini (1972: 22) «un vero capolavoro sotto tutti gli aspetti; misura metri 3,50x4 e fu trovato quasi intatto. Di fattura squisita, puo dirsi che esso costituisca l'apice dell'arte pittorica nubiana»⁴⁵⁶.

Only basic information accompanies the exhibits in the museum and gardens. In the museum, a series of interpretative panels provide general information on the archaeology and history of the Sudan and a timeline guides gallery visitor through some 7'000 years of Nubian history. A floor plan informs the visitors of the various periods.

⁴⁵⁶ Literal translation: «a true masterpiece in all respects. It measures 3.50 x 4 meters and was found almost intact. Of exquisite workmanship, it can be said to be the pinnacle of Nubian painting».

A guide presenting exclusively the artefacts and monuments in the museum gardens was published in 1977⁴⁵⁷. Authored by Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif, the guide still provides useful, but not updated information on the artefacts and monuments in the garden.



Guide to the Antiquities Garden of the Sudan National Museum,
authored in 1977 by Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif.

Since 2013, there is a more comprehensive museum guide available. Written by Claude Rilly, director of SFDAS from 2009-2014⁴⁵⁸, it provides general information on selected objects both from the gardens and in the museum. In the same year, Abdel Rahman Ali Mohamed, Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, and Julie R. Anderson, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Ancient Sudan and Egypt at the British Museum, published a catalogue of selected highlights of the museum's collection⁴⁵⁹ with the aim «to assemble a representative sample of objects that reflect the nature of the collection

⁴⁵⁷ Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif. 1977. Short Guide to the Antiquities Garden, Sudan National Museum.

⁴⁵⁸ Rilly, Claude. 2013. The Sudan National Museum: An Illustrated Guide for Visitors. Khartoum: SFDAS.

⁴⁵⁹ Abdel Rahman Ali Mohamed and Anderson, Julie R. 2013. Highlights from the Sudan National Museum.

housed in the Sudan National Museum and to provide a resource for the museum visitor with further information about the exhibits» (Hassan Hussein Idris Ahmed 2013: 7). The Sudan National Museum and its collections are referred to in scholarly articles by Giovanni Vantini (1972)⁴⁶⁰, Siegfried Richter (1975)⁴⁶¹ and Eugenio Fantusati (2005)⁴⁶².

Giovanni Vantini (1923-2010)⁴⁶³, in his 1972 article reports three favourable points for the Sudan: the signing of the peace agreement (Addis Ababa Agreement) ending the First Sudanese Civil War; the 'Cultural Revolution' (Ath-thawra' Ath-Thaqafiyya) initiated by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC)⁴⁶⁴; and the inauguration of the Christian section of the Sudan National Museum. As the subtitle of his article indicates, Vantini's focus is on the Christian wall paintings from Faras Cathedral and the other churches in Sudanese Lower Nubia.

Siegfried Richter from the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic (Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie), provides some details on the formation of the museum and an extensive description of the museographic presentation of the collections in the museum building and gardens. In its detail and quality, Richter's work, has the potential to serve as a museum guide.

Eugenio Fantusati from the Università la Sapienza in Rome also provides an overview of the formative years of the museum and brief information on the museum collection. In the last section of the article, he reviews the available literature on the museum exhibition and comes to the conclusion that the existing literature is scarce and bemoans that a comprehensive catalogue of the objects is lacking.

⁴⁶⁰ Vantini, Giovanni. 1972. "Il nuovo Museo Nazionale del Sudan".

⁴⁶¹ Richter Siegfried. 1975. "Sudanesisches Nationalmuseum Khartoum".

⁴⁶² Fantusati, Eugenio. 2005. "Il nuovo museo nazionale del Sudan: La più grande galleria di pittura palocristiana".

⁴⁶³ Giovanni Vantini was ordained a priest in 1947, trained in Arabic and sent to the Sudan, where he spent 58 years, teaching in schools established by the Comboni missionaries, working in parish churches and St. Matthew's Cathedral (Khartoum), and conducting research on the history of the Church along the Nile. Vantini is the author of *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia* (1975), an important companion study to the historical and archaeological work and *Christianity in the Sudan* (1981).

⁴⁶⁴ The 'Cultural Revolution' (Ath-thawra' Ath-Thaqafiyya) initiated by the RCC in the summer of 1972 aimed at «reshaping society in its trends, values, practice and skills» (Warburg 1985).

The existing literature relating to the museum exhibition is indeed scarce. However, when it comes to the origin of the Sudan National Museum, the literature is not only scarce, but in parts also biased. When Eugenio Fantusati (2005: 532) writes that the museum is a rather recent realization related to emergency situation caused by the heightening of the dam at Aswan («Il museo nazionale di Khartoum costituisce tutto sommato una realtà recente dal momento che la sua creazione si è resa necessaria in seguito all'emergenza determinatasi all'indomani dell'innalzamento della diga di Assuan in Egitto»), he ignores the historical reality⁴⁶⁵. The place, where the Museum stands today was not, as Claude Rilly writes, «chosen to harbour the temples of Nubia and a new building that could shelter the collections» (Rilly 2013: 16). Friedrich W. Hinkel rightly explains that, «[w]hen planning and construction began there was no thought of transferring the Nubian temples to Khartoum, and the building site was not selected for that purpose» (Hinkel 1978: 66).

As demonstrated, the origins of the Sudan National Museum by far predate the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia. This view is clearly confirmed by Thabit Hassan Thabit, Commissioner for Archaeology from 1960-1970, who in a 1963 memorandum on the Sudan National Museum stressed that «the Antiquities Service has been advocating the need and importance for the construction of a new adequate national museum for over 20 years» (Thabit Hassan Thabit 1963 / Annex V). The Museum is thus not at all the result of the 'Nubian Campaign', even though the influx of artefacts and monuments during the 'Nubian Campaign' may have accelerated its creation and the realization of the museum exhibitions.

At this point, it should also be noted that reports stating that Friedrich W. Hinkel was the architect of the Sudan National Museum are incorrect⁴⁶⁶. Hinkel was indeed the architect of the Sudan Antiquities Service from 1965-1973, and in this function responsible for the dismantling and removal of endangered monuments in

⁴⁶⁵ The idea that the Sudan National Museum is a result of the 'Nubian campaign' is widespread and found in numerous publications (see for instance Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif 1980: 17; Siddiq Mohamed Gasm Elseed 2004: 11; Rilly 2013: 16; and Abdel Rahman Ali Mohamed and Anderson 2013: 14).

⁴⁶⁶ Janice V. Yellin and William Y. Adams, for instance, claim that Hinkel designed the Sudan National Museum (Yellin and Adams 2007: 127). The same allegation, which seems somewhat like an urban legend, is found on several websites related to Hinkel's work in the Sudan.

Sudanese Nubia. In the same function, he also represented the Sudan Antiquities Services in dealings with the architect. However, the museum was, as outlined above, designed and planned by Alexandre O. Petermuller in loose cooperation with UNESCO architectural adviser Hans Asplund. Petermuller also acted as the supervising architect. The civil engineer in charge of structures was Robert M. Ayoub. The October Revolution of 1964 marked a turning-point in Sudan's economic and social development. Publicly raised slogans calling for «a state-non-economy and the nationalization of foreign trade and property» had, according to Fath El Rahman Abdalla El Sheikh (2003: 11), «a negative effect on foreigners, who began to liquidate their business in the Sudan». Because of the altered situation, Petermuller closed down his office in 1966 and moved to Athens where GIBB, Petermuller and Partners had their head office. At that moment, the architectural supervision of the museum building was assigned to El Sherif Engineering, Khartoum. The museum buildings were constructed by the local contractors Stratis Slavos, Mahmoud Bakr Gassim & Sons, Gah el Rasoul Abdallah & Gadu Farah & Co., and Abuelizz Contracting Co.

3.2.1 Museum Display

The first mention of a museum in the Sudan is the 'museum of curios at Omdurman' in Josef Ohrwalder's account of his captivity with the Mahdi⁴⁶⁷. The 'museum' – known as *Bayt al-antikāt* (house of antiquities) or *Antīkkhāna* (Ahmad Ibrahim Abu Shouk and Bjørkelo 1996: xii) was part of the *Bayt al-māl* (central treasury):

«A museum of curios also formed part of the *beit el mal*. It is known as the *Beit el Antikat*, and contains numbers of interesting things, such as trophies from Darfur, Abyssinia, and Egypt. The Abyssinian section is the largest, and includes King John's throne. Amongst the Darfur articles are the robes of Sultan Yusef and of the Sultan of Masalit. The robe of one of the Ababdeh sheikhs, who was made a Bey by the Government, and then came to Omdurman and submitted to the Mahdi, represents Egypt» (Ohrwalder and Wingate 1892: 213).

⁴⁶⁷ Josef Ohrwalder (1856-1212). Austrian priest of the Roman Catholic mission to Central Africa, captured by Mahdist troops in Kordofan, taken as a prisoner to Omdurman when Khartoum fell to the Mahdists in 1885. In Omdurman he ministered to the other Christian captives of the Mahdi before escaping to Egypt with other missionary captives in 1891.

The '*Beit el Antikat*' in Ohrwalder's account reminds one of the medieval treasuries or a cabinet of curiosities, which are considered outside the historical evolution of museums. The origin of the modern museum is, according to art historian Pierre-Alain Mariaux (2019: 317) rather «in the collections of Italian amateurs, who maintain the distinction between objects of art and objects of nature in order to build a coherent image of the world»⁴⁶⁸. Art historian, Janet T. Marquard (2006: 934), points in the same direction, when she writes that a key moment in the creation of the modern museum is the linking of «an appreciation of the historical past to the concept of posterity by a presentation of cultural achievement».

Gaffar al-Mirghani, Director of the Sudan Civilization Institute (the former Ethnographic Museum), has pointed out that the Arabic word for 'museum' (the participle *mathaf*) derives from *tuhfa* (curiosity, rarity), the nominalized form of the fourth stem of the verb *t·h·f* (to present). The etymology of 'museum' in Arabic, according to al-Mirghani, thus comes from the Greek 'tropaion' (victory trophy) and not from the 'mouseion' dedicated to the muses⁴⁶⁹. While the '*Beit el Antikat*', according to al-Mirghani, was primarily a collection of trophies, the first Museum at the Gordon Memorial College was a place of learning and knowledge. Al-Mirghani further reported to be saddened by the fact that in our days, «museums are shifting from institutions devoted to research and education to trophy collections» and that he was teaching his students and trainees about the role of museums as knowledge institutions. The shift described by al-Mirghani is, in Valery Casey's terms, a shift from the interpretive to the legislative mode of display (Casey 2003). However, as for the Sudan National Museum, al-Mirghani's observation is only partially shared here.

On the whole, the Sudan National Museum is committed to an interpretive mode of display. The visitor is guided through the collections through interpretive panels and object labels on a chronological circuit and an illustrated museum guide (available in Arabic, English and French) provides in-depth information on selected exhibits. Unfortunately, however some objects are neither labelled nor described, and even

⁴⁶⁸ Mariaux refers here to amateurs such as Oliviero Forzetta (1300-1373 ca.), a notary and physician of Treviso, who was according to Kryzsztof Pomian (1964) the first modern collector («un vero collezionista, il primo noto di tipo moderno»). Pierre-Alain Mariaux. Email communication; Mai 14, 2019.

⁴⁶⁹ Gaffar al-Mirghani. Personal communication; Khartoum, September 25, 2013.

if some of these objects might speak for themselves, the visitor is left disoriented. The museum exhibition does not offer additional levels of interpretation and there is no comprehensive catalogue of the museum's collection.

The educational aims of the Sudan National Museum were described in 1963 by Thabit Hassan Thabit in his already mentioned memorandum. Thabit advocated the principle of 'education through the eye' to reach the larger public of all ages, in all communities, and to influence the future leaders of the country by increasing the interest in their country «and so giving them from a fuller insight into their country's history the breath of mind and the sense of proportion from which the whole country will eventually benefit» (Thabit Hassan Thabit 1963 / Annex V).

Fifty years later, in his preface for the catalogue, *Highlights from the Sudan National Museum*, Hassan Hussein Idris Ahmed, a successor of Thabit Hassan Thabit as the head of Sudan's Antiquities Authority, also stressed the educational role of the museums in the Sudan:

«Museums in the Sudan have a vital place in the education system and have the capacity to contribute to learning at every stage of life from primary school through to university and beyond. The museum collection is an important educational tool which needs to be accessible to the public, both domestically and abroad. Catalogues and guidebooks are one means through which this may be possible» (Hassan Hussein Idris Ahmed (2013: 7).

The Highlights catalogue, was, according to Hassan Hussein Idris Ahmed (2013: 7), assembled with the aim to present a «representative sample of objects that reflect the nature of the collection housed in the Sudan National Museum and to provide a resource for the museum visitor with further information about the exhibits».

Access to mobile internet in the Sudan has, according to the American anthropologist Sondra Hale and Sudanese computer specialist Gada Kadola (2016: x), «led to new patterns of information flow, cross border exchanges, educational and economic pursuits». The young and middle generations are very media savvy and the protests, which ousted Sudan's long-time President Omar al-Bashir, have highlighted the increasingly important role of social media.

In an effort to attract a younger audience and revitalize the Sudan National Museum, it would be appropriate for the Sudan National Museum to consider a strategy for the integration of digital media and to make multimedia exhibition content available to visitors. In order for the museum's collection to really be accessible to a wider domestic and international audience, as Hassan Hussein Idris Ahmed wished, a comprehensive museum catalogue is needed as well as a professionally designed website that serves both as a repository of information and as a learning and research tool.

3.2.2 Organizational Structure

The museum department of NCAM, which is responsible for all the museums in the country, is directed by Ghalia Gar el-Nabi Abdelrahman, who has a degree in archaeology from the University of Warsaw (cp. Ghalia Gar el-Nabi Abdelrahman 1993). As director, she is also the museum department's first chief curator. In addition to the director, two other chief curators, nine curators and five technicians are responsible for the management of the collections in the Sudan National Museum and in all other museums administered by NCAM.

The Sudan National Museum employs 48 people, who are responsible for technical maintenance, supervision, ticket sales, cleaning etc. The museum gardens are maintained by 10 gardeners. The security for the Sudan National Museum and the NCAM complex is handled by officials of the Tourism and Antiquities Police.

The Sudan National Museum is the largest museum in the Sudan and likely has the most visitors. According to available figures from 2000-2012⁴⁷⁰, the museum was visited on average by 17'000 individual visitors (peak 2011: 25'184), 9'700 students and 32 official delegations. Peak attendance is reached on the Eid holidays⁴⁷¹ and on New Year's Day, which is the national holiday. Comparing the visitors' statistics for the Sudan National Museum and the Kerma Museum from 2008 to 2012, the Sudan National Museum, had an annual average of 23,470 individual visitors and the Kerma Museum had an annual average of 21,300 visitors. The museum is

⁴⁷⁰ Figures provided by Ghalia Gar el-Nabi Abdelrahman on September 18, 2013. Figures for 2014-2018 were unavailable.

⁴⁷¹ There are two official holidays in Islam: *'Īd al-Fitr* ("Festival of Breaking Fast" or "minor bayram"), celebrated at the end of Ramadan and *'Īdu l-Adḥā* ("Sacrificial Festival or "major bayram"), celebrated on the tenth day of the Islamic pilgrimage month.

visited by individual tourists and student groups. Visiting hours are daily from 9am to 6:30 pm, except on Mondays; Fridays from 9am to 12pm and from 3pm to 6:30pm. The entrance fee is 5 SDG for Sudanese and 30 SDG for foreign visitors. The museum gardens have a cafeteria, which is open to both NCAM employees and visitors.



Students visiting the Sudan National Museum. September 17, 2013.

In addition to the permanent exhibition in the main exhibition hall and in the Christian-Islamic Gallery, the museum occasionally presents major temporary exhibitions in the adjacent hall. Two renowned examples are the exhibitions curated by the two long term directors of the French Unit of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums SFDAS, Francis Geus and Jacques Reinold, who in 1984 and 2000 presented the results of the French excavations in the Sudan (cp. Geus 1984 and Reinold: 2000a and b). The exhibition curated by Francis Geus under the title "Rescuing Sudan Ancient Cultures: A Cooperation between France and the Sudan in the Field of Archaeology" was held from April to October 1984. Jacques Reinold, six years later, curated the exhibition "Fouilles Françaises et Franco-Soudanaises: Contribution à l'Histoire du Soudan" in the hall which was in the meantime renamed in honour of Negm-el-Din Mohammed Sherif (Director General of Antiquities and National Museums from 1970-1983), the Negm-el-Din Mohamed Sherif Memorial Hall. Another major temporary exhibition was held from March to June 2012 under the title "Dams on the Nile of Civilizations". The exhibition was a joint initiative of the Ministry of Electricity and Dams / Dams Implementation Unit (DIU) and the Ministry of Antiquities, Tourism and Wildlife / National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM). It presented results of the preliminary surveys

undertaken by NCAM and DIU at various new dam sites and remembered the success of the International Campaign to Save the Monuments in Nubia. The exhibition, according to Cornelia Kleinitz and Claudia Näser (2013: 168) thus «celebrated the successes of archaeological salvage on the Nile since the International Nubian Campaign of the 1960s as well as the close collaboration between NCAM and the DIU in saving the nation's heritage».

The collection of the Sudan National Museum includes over 35'000 objects. The first accessioned object – «No. 1 in the Archaeological Museum collection of the Sudan» (Hinkel 1977: 16) – was according to Friedrich Hinkel registered by John W. Crowfoot as «a "Small stone block with Coptic cross, presented by Capt. E.O.A. Newcombe⁴⁷² in 1905"». However, Hinkel further remarked, «it seems that the opening of a grave at Abu Haraz, Berber Province, by Capt. G. J. Ryan in 1902⁴⁷³ yielded the first objects which were actually acquired by the Museum, but these were not catalogued until a much later date, under No. 363» (Hinkel 1977: 16).

Since 2006, a partnership between the British Museum and NCAM/Sudan National Museum has enabled one or more museum and heritage professionals from Sudan to participate in the annual British Museum's International Training Programme (ITP). Annually, up to 26 participants from around the world, particularly from countries with museum sectors in need of support in training, spend six weeks in the UK «to develop skills, disseminate best practice, increase specialist knowledge and create a global network of colleagues»⁴⁷⁴.

Until now, the following Sudanese museum and heritage professionals have participated at the ITP:

2006

Sabah Aglemed el-Suragsl (Curator SNM)

Shadia Abdu Rabo (Senior Curator SNM)

Ikhlas Abdillatief Ahmed (Chief Curator and Deputy Director SNM)

2007

⁴⁷² Edward Osborn Armstrong Newcome (1874-1941) served with the Egyptian Army during the Dongola and Nile campaigns of 1896-1899 and as Traffic Manager for Sudan Railways from 1906-1926.

⁴⁷³ Cp. Jackson 1926: 24 and Crowfoot 1927: 149 and plate xxxii.

⁴⁷⁴ Website of the International Training Programme (ITP): https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/skills-sharing/international_training.aspx [10.05. 2019].

Aziza Ahmed (Curator SNM)
Haider Al Tegani al Taib (Curator SNM)
Abdel Naser Hassan Amin (Curator Republican Palace Museum)

2008

Murtada Bushara (Curator Gebel Barkal Museum)

2009

Aimen El-Tayeb Sid Ahmed (Senior Curator SNM)
Nimat Mohamed El Hassan Abdelrahman (Curator SNM)

2010

Ghalia Abdelrahman (Director and First Chief Curator SNM)
Abdelrahman Siddig (Curator Khalifa House Museum)

2011

Abdalmajed Mhmoud Abdalrahman Ebrahim (Director Kerma Museum)

2012

Ahmed Ibrahim el-Arabi (Curator Nyala Museum)
Huda Magzoub Elbashir Fadelmoula (Curator SNM)
Ahmed El-Arabi (Curator Nyala Museum)

2013

Elghazafi Yousif Eshag Abdallah (Senior Curator SNM)
Amani Nureldaim Mohamed Masoud (Senior Curator SNM)

2012

Ahmed El-Arabi (Curator Nyala Museum)

2014

Amani Yousif Basheer (Director Sheikhan Museum)
Balsam Adbelhamid Ahmed Shakal (Curator SNM)

2015

Amal Attia Alla Gaber Abdalla (Curator SNM)
Omima Abd el-Rahman Mohammed (Curator SNM)

2016

Ikhlass Alyas Ali Alkrm (Head of Documentation Unit SNM)

2017

Haitham Eliman (Curator SNM)
Elnzeer Tirab (Curator Khalifa House Museum)

2018

Sarah Abdolattif Elsheekh Mohammed Elbasheer (Curator SNM)
Huyam Khalid Mohammed Madani (Curator SNM)

Being aware that training and capacity building go hand in hand, the British Museum decided to open a new research facility at the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum. The M Bolheim Bioarchaeology Laboratory, inaugurated in February 2019, will be used to store, and research human remains and other bioarchaeological collections from excavations in Sudan which date back 12'000 years. The lab will be overseen by Mohamed Saad, whom the British Museum trained as the first bioarchaeologist in Sudan.

Based on the long-term partnership between NCAM and the foreign archaeological missions, a large number of the NCAM/SNM professionals have been able to study at European and American universities to acquire higher diplomas, graduate and postgraduate degrees in archaeology or museum related studies. Thanks to the scholarships received, their technical and linguistic skills have improved considerably over the last 25 years.

3.2.3 Recent Developments

Since the inauguration of the Sudan National Museum in 1971, the buildings were hardly maintained, so the structure of the buildings has suffered greatly over the years and extensive renovation work is necessary. Due to the museum's precarious financial situation and the fact that the necessary funds for the renovations cannot be raised by the Sudan, the museum is dependent on the help of foreign donors and sponsors.

In 2005, Mallinson Architects & Engineers London were appointed by UNESCO as consultants for the preservation and protection of endangered objects in the Sudan National Museum and in the Gebel Barkal Museum ("UNESCO Project for Preservation of the Endangered Objects of the Sudan National Museum (Khartoum) and Jebel Barkal Museum"). This involved, according to information provided on the website of Mallinson Architects & Engineers «the Sudan National Museum being repaired, refurbished, and new cases, labels and lighting provided» and included the reorganization of storage facilities and laboratories, as well as training for conservators, museum curators and management⁴⁷⁵.

⁴⁷⁵ Cp. Mallinson Architects & Engineers: <https://www.mallinsonae.com/sudan-national-museum> [Mai 22. 2018]. For the UNESCO-project for the preservation of the endangered objects of the Sudan National Museum (Khartoum) and the Jebel Barkal Museum see: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/es/ev.php-URL_ID=36851&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html [Mai 22. 2018].

When in 2009, an agreement was signed by the State of Qatar and the Sudanese authorities to protect and develop the Antiquities in the northern Sudan and the River Nile States, the total refurbishment of the Sudan National Museum was one of the major elements of the project. In 2013, the Cairo-based architecture firm ARCHiNOS Architecture responded to an international Request for Proposals for «a complete update to modern international museum standards» of the Sudan National Museum and was eventually selected as the lead consultant⁴⁷⁶. In January 2014, ARCHiNOS Architecture presented a preliminary concept and development plan, which currently has still not been financially approved. The project as outlined in the concept and development plan, completely ignores the high quality of Petermuller's original architecture and of Hinkel's well-conceived layout of the of the museum gardens. Even though the authors write that «the existing buildings are an important testament to recent history» and that they thus intend to retain the façade of the main building «as a document of ideas and aesthetics of its times»⁴⁷⁷, they completely fail to respond to the existing architecture.

According to the website of ARCHiNOS Architecture, their project for the rehabilitation of the Sudan National Museum is ongoing. However, on November 29, 2018, the UNESCO Khartoum Office signed an agreement with the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation (Agenzia Italiana per la Cooperazione allo Sviluppo) and with the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Antiquities in Sudan to launch the Project "Protecting and Promoting the Sudanese Cultural Heritage in a Social Development Prospective: Rehabilitating the Sudanese National Museum". The project aims, according to information provided on the UNESCO website, at «rehabilitating premises and upgrading exhibition of the Sudanese archaeological Museum and promoting it as a cultural centre in Khartoum – in full accordance with the 2015 Recommendation Concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections»⁴⁷⁸. It is unclear whether the project supported with Italian funds will replace the ARCHiNOS project or whether it will only be a transitional solution until the ARCHiNOS project can be implemented.

⁴⁷⁶ Cp. <https://www.facebook.com/ArchinosArchitecture/photos/archinos-re-designs-the-sudan-national-museum3rd-feb-2014the-sudan-national-muse/784000711618785/> [Mai 22. 2018].

⁴⁷⁷ In 2015, I had access to the original report, which is not accessible to the public. The quotations are based on my recollection of reading the document.

⁴⁷⁸ For the UNESCO project for the protection and promotion of the Sudanese cultural heritage in a social development prospective see: <https://en.unesco.org/news/launching-project-rehabilitating-sudanese-national-museum-khartoum-sudan>

Cp. the project presentation on the website of the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation.

It should be recalled that the creation of a museum to showcase the archaeological, ethnographic and natural history collections was a goal of three generations of administrators, the colonial and the successive postcolonial governments, scientists and private individuals. Since the beginning of the 20th century, there have been several setbacks and the opening of the Sudan National Museum only partially fulfilled the long-awaited dream, as the abovementioned collections could no longer be shown together under one roof. The structural quality of the museum, its austere modernist architecture and its harmonious integration into the surroundings attest to the forward-looking vision and careful planning of the then involved actors. It would thus be irresponsible to replace the buildings, themselves historical monuments, with a short-lived architectural vision, oriented towards the superficial.

3.3 Uses of Heritage

Historical and archaeological evidence has, according to British archaeologist John Giblin demonstrated that constructions of the past have been used in several African countries⁴⁷⁹ for many hundreds of years «to maintain sociopolitical or economic norms or effect changes to these in ways that are broadly comparable to contemporary political constructions» (Giblin 2018 n.p.). Giblin's identification of heritage as a common political practice «whose deep roots begin long before the arrival of formalized Western notions of heritage based on museums, memorials, monuments, legislations, and policies» (Giblin 2018 n.p.) can also be applied to the Sudanese context. While the study of precolonial uses of heritage would go beyond the scope of this thesis, the following sections provide examples of the 'colonization' of heritage in the early 20th century, the nationalization of heritage items in the mid-20th century, and the late-20th- and early-21st century 'internationalization' of heritage.

3.3.1 Colonization of Heritage

The colonialist pattern of transferring archaeological artefacts and monuments from the periphery to the museums of the metropole as practised in Nubia (and elsewhere) throughout the 19th century and exemplified in the exploitative approach of Giovanni Belzoni, Joseph Ferlini and E.A. Wallis Budge is the unfortunate

⁴⁷⁹ The focus of John Giblin's analysis is on the region that is the East African Community (EAC) in the 21st century comprising Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

manifestation of Adam's "extractive colonial paradigm" (Adams 1981:16). The "discovery" of "Ferlini's jewels" in 1834, and their transferral to European collections, – described in the first part of this study – is an instructive example of this paradigm.

Another notable example concerns the 'Sudanese Slit Drum' in the British Museum (Museum Number Af1937,1108.1)⁴⁸⁰. The wooden drum, in the shape of a short-horned buffalo or cow originating from the Central African region where Sudan and the Congo shared a frontier, arrived in Khartoum as part of the slave trade. According to Neil MacGregor, in Khartoum, it was refashioned to conform to the Islamic society: «on each flank a long rectangle has been carved, running almost the whole length of the body, containing circles and geometric patterns – recognizably Islamic designs added by the new owners to protect against the evil eye» (MacGregor 2012b: 521). When the drum was found after the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest by Kitchener's army near Khartoum, the drum was again «re-carved – or re-branded – to make a political statement: near the tail of the bush calf Kitchener added the emblem of the British Crown» (MacGregor 2012b: 523) and presented to Queen Victoria. In 1937, the drum was donated by George VI, King of the United Kingdom, to the British Museum.

Since the promulgation of the first Sudanese Antiquities Ordinance in 1905, antiquities could no longer be taken out of the country without a licence in writing from the Conservator of Antiquities (The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905, § 10). However, even though not explicitly mentioned, the ordinance covered the division of finds and it was not infrequent that the most prestigious objects were allocated to Museums affiliated to foreign missions. The 'Sphinx of Taharqo', excavated by a team from Oxford University under the direction of Francis L. Griffith in the Temple T at Kawa, is a good example of this. The granite sphinx wearing a skullcap and the double-uraeus (c. 680 BC) was acquired in 1932 by the British Museum in the division of finds (Registration Number 1932,0611.1)⁴⁸¹.

⁴⁸⁰ The 'Sudanese Slit Drum' was a British Museum "Highlight" object and was selected as the ninety-fourth object in the series A History of the World in 100 Objects selected by then British Museum Director Neil MacGregor and broadcast on BBC Radio 4 in 2010. See also British Museum Collection Online: Slit-Drum.

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=590325&partId=1 [26.06.2019].

⁴⁸¹ The 'Sphinx of Taharqo' was a British Museum "Highlight" object and was selected as the twenty-second object in the series A History of the World in 100 Objects selected by British Museum director

Another example, presented here in more detail, is the famous Meroë Head in the British Museum (Registration Number 1911,0901.1). The over-life-sized bronze head of Rome's first emperor Augustus was unearthed in Meroe in December 1910 during an excavation led by Professor John Garstang of Liverpool University. The well-preserved head of the Prima Porta type⁴⁸² with the original inlaid eyes was found symbolically buried below the entrance of a small temple (Tempe M 292) in the Royal City. Garstang, in the "Second Interim Report on the Excavations of Meroë in Ethiopia" (1912: 51), described the discovery in following words: «Just outside the doorway of this chamber, and buried in a clean pocket of sand (2½ metres from the surface) there was a Roman bronze portrait head of heroic size»⁴⁸³. The unexpected discovery of «such a splendid specimen of Roman art far from the empire's border» (Oppen 2014:11) spread quickly and attracted the most prominent visitors, such as Lord Kitchener and the Governor-General, Sir Francis Reginald Wingate, with his wife (Oppen 2014: 12-13). By mid-February 1911, the three-month excavation season 1910-1911 was completed «and 37 crates of archaeological findings, including the Meroë Head, were shipped from Port Sudan to England» (Oppen 2014: 13). However, on February 22, 1911, in reaction to a telegram of the Governor-General, Reginald F. Wingate, Garstang writes a letter to James Currie, then Director of Education, acknowledging that the great Bronze Head was not to be regarded, «pending to final negotiations, as the property of the expedition under Garstang's charge». In the same letter, Garstang took note that he was entitled to publicly exhibit the Head but that the term of agreement arranged provisionally between him and the Acting Conservator of Antiquities Peter Drummond might be cancelled or modified (Garstang 1911, February 22 / Annex VI). In a second letter dated February 23, 1911, entitled "The Bronze Head and Antiquities of Meroë", Garstang intimated compliance with the stipulations laid down by Wingate in his telegram and acknowledged that he had given in writing «the assurances required, so that the shipment might proceed» and that he held himself responsible for «the

Neil MacGregor and broadcast on BBC Radio 4 in 2010. See also MacGregor 2012c and British Museum Collection Online: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=116211&partId=1 [26.06.2019].

⁴⁸² The head is broken through the neck but is otherwise in an excellent state of preservation. The Prima Porta type, called after the find-spot of the finest replica in the villa of the Empress Livia Drusilla at Prima Porta, near Rome, was the most popular of Augustus' portrait types. The overall style is closer to Hellenistic idealization than to the realism of Roman portraiture.

⁴⁸³ The Dimensions of the Meroë Head are according to the British Museum online catalogue: Height: 46.2 centimetres; Width: 26.5 centimetres; Depth: 29.4 centimetres; and Weight: 17 kilograms (around).

safe custody of the head, pending settlement as to its destiny». (Garstang 1911, February 23 /Annex VII). In a second part of the letter, Garstang «in order to shorten correspondence, to avoid misunderstanding, and to facilitate (...) at the same time [His] Excellencys own deliberations», expressed his 'personal feelings' in the matter:

«The basis of my own opinion is an assumption (still to be verified) that the bronze head in question is an example of Greco-Roman Art (probably of the age of Augustus), that his presence in the Sudan is accidental, the result of individual caprice which might as well have sent it to the Roman Frontiers in Britain or in Syria. It does not seem to me to recall, or to have been intended to refer to, any special historical incident or period peculiar to Meroë or the Sudan. At the same time it is a striking piece of work, a fine example of art, worthy of study of a place where all may see it. It is certainly the best single object that I have had the pleasure of finding during the twelve years devoted to active excavation, and I have had to stifle my own desire to retain it in Liverpool» (Garstang 1911, February 23 / Annex VII)⁴⁸⁴.

After these 'personal' considerations with reference to the interpretation and the artistic quality of the Meroë Head, Garstang drew the following conclusion:

«The more I think of it dispassionately the more I realize that under the circumstances there is only one place fit an appropriate to receive it. Namely the British Museum. There it would have a permanent security, it would be the focus of our Empire, the whole world could see it without a serious detour. In Liverpool its usefulness would be less: in Khartoum it would be accessible only to the few, and in course of time it would be more exposed to danger of destruction in times of disturbance or at the hands of the fanatic» (Garstang 1911, February 23 / Annex VII).

In a last part of the letter, Garstang suggested the next steps to be taken:

«My final steps then, after arrival of the head in England, would be to ascertain by consultation and comparison whether my first assumption is correct, and to inform your Excellency of any different opinion. Then I would make provisional overtures to the British Museum, and I would ask for obvious reasons that these negotiations should be left in my hands. We should require an equivalent in value, to include a number of exact facsimiles for ourselves and Khartoum» (Garstang 1911, February 23 / Annex VII).

⁴⁸⁴ For a first interpretation and arthistorical treatment of the Meroë Head see Bosanquet 1912.

In conclusion, Garstang noted in the letter to be aware «that there will be some outcry in Khartoum and in Liverpool, on the part of those whose enthusiasm overcomes their better judgement» (Garstang 1911, February 23 / Annex VII).

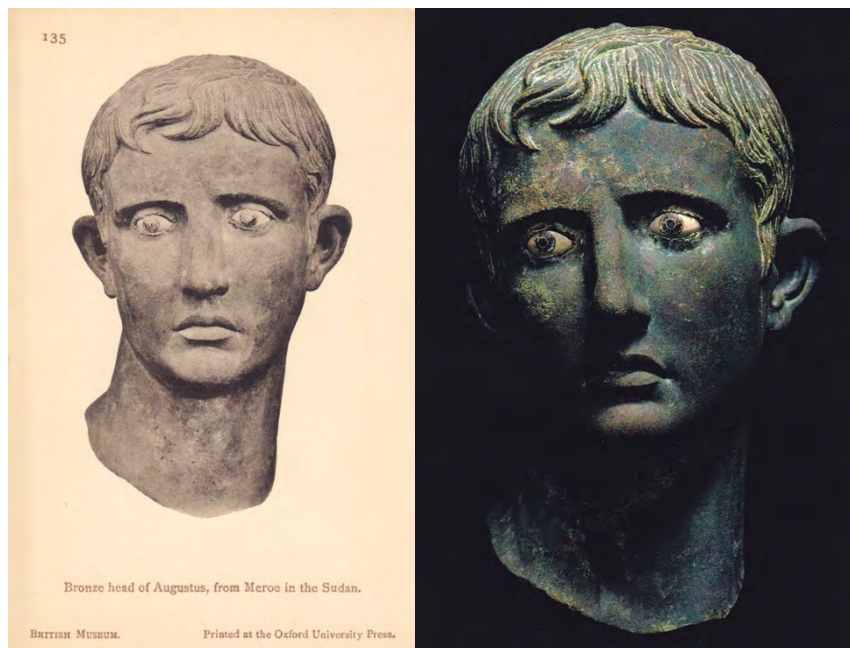
From the above, it becomes clear that Garstang's decision to bring the Meroë Head to England on the basis of a provisional allocation of finds between him and Peter Drummond and the Sudan Excavation Committee was done on his own accord. By shipping the Meroë Head to England and by publicly displaying it, Garstang had created a *fait accompli* that would have been difficult to undo.

Once in England, the Meroë Head was put on temporary display at Liverpool Museum on May 1911. In July of the same year, the Meroë Head was displayed «with the other objects that had been allowed to leave the Sudan» in an exhibition under the patronage of Lord Kitchener in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House in London «prior to a division of finds between the members of the [Sudan] Excavation Committee» (Opper 2014: 13). John Winter Crowfoot, formerly responsible for the Sudan Antiquities and then serving with the Egyptian Ministry of Education, wrote to Garstang in 1911: «I am looking forward to seeing the Exhibition this summer, the bronze head in particular to whomever it is ultimately to belong» (Crowfoot quoted in Thornton 2015: 9-10).

While Garstang was determined to have the Meroë Head at the British Museum, other members of the prominently staffed Sudan Excavation Committee proposed according to Thorsten Opper (2014: 15) «that the head should be auctioned among the members of the Committee»⁴⁸⁵. However, the proposal was according to Opper (2014: 15) defeated when Garstang revealed «that the Sudan government had only allowed the head to leave the country on the condition that it should be placed in the British Museum». The Meroë Head was eventually acquired by the British Museum «through the liberality of the Sudan Excavation Committee, in consideration of a contribution towards further excavations, made by the National

⁴⁸⁵ The proposition to auction the Meroë Head among the members of the Sudan Excavation Committee was according to Opper (2014: 15) made by Carl Jacobsen, collector and founder of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen. The director of the Glyptothek, Waldemar Schmidt, was a member of the Committee. Opper also mentions, that the Committee had already received an offer from a Paris dealer to acquire the Meroë Head for the sum of £5'000 – about £285'000 in today's money).

Art-Collections Fund» (Smith 1914: 8). The donation made to the Excavations Committee by the National Art Collection for the carrying on of further excavations in the Sudan amounted to 1000 guineas (£1'050 – about £60'000 in today's money). Additionally, a number of casts of the Meroë Head was provided for members of the Sudan Excavation Committee (Oppen 2014: 16) and probably for Khartoum. The Meroë Head / The Head of Augustus is since on public display at the British Museum (Museum Number 1911,0901.1)⁴⁸⁶.



"Bronze Head of Augustus from Meroe in the Sudan". British Museum postcard 135, undated (left) and "Bronze Head of Augustus from Meroe Sudan".

British Museum postcard, 2008 (right).

Amara Thornton (2018) has shown that following its acquisition by the British Museum, the Meroë Head was translated into different commodities: it was turned from a news item into reproduced photographs and eventually into books. The head thus became, according to Thornton «the signature object – an unofficial trade-mark

⁴⁸⁶ The Meroë Head / Head of Augustus was a British Museum "Highlight" object and was selected as the thirty-fifth object in the series A History of the World in 100 Objects selected by British Museum director Neil MacGregor and broadcast on BBC Radio 4 in 2010. See also MacGregor 2012a and British Museum Collection Online: The Meroë Head / The Head of Augustus https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=466397&partId=1 [26.06.2019].

– for Garstang's excavations that year and in subsequent years at Meroe» (Thornton 2018: 87)⁴⁸⁷.

It is according to Opper (2014: 47) still unclear, where the Meroë Head, created at the very beginning of Augustus' reign, was produced. However, it is clear, that it «originally formed part of a full-length statue that was assembled from several separately cast pieces» (2014: 53). The Meroë Head was, according to Neil MacGregor (2009: 46) «put up on the southern frontier of Roman Egypt to mark Roman dominion over the edge of the Empire». The Head was then, according to MacGregor (2012c) and Opper (2014), probably seized in 25 BC in the town of Syene, modern Aswan, by an invading army from the Sudanese Kingdom of Meroë under the command of King Teritegas⁴⁸⁸. The statue head was brought to the city of Meroe where it was buried beneath the steps of a temple dedicated to victory. Ironically, it is just this act of ritual humiliation that preserved the Meroë Head.

The destiny of the Meroë Head is, as British Archaeologist Anna L. Boozer (2017: 228) rightly writes, «emblematic of imperial and colonial relationships». Originally put up on Rome's most southerly frontier to mark Roman dominion over the edge of the empire, the emperor's image was ritually decapitated and the head carried back to the Kushite capitol, Meroe, where it was buried beneath the steps of a victory monument, so it would be symbolically trampled on by worshipers. From there, it was eventually taken under unclear circumstances to the colonial metropole, London, and thus "saved" from the «danger of destruction in times of disturbance or at the hands of the fanatic» (Garstang 1911, February 23 / Annex VII). In Khartoum, a bronze cast replica of the iconic Meroë Head replaces the historic find.

⁴⁸⁷ Thornton (2018: 87-87) has showed that following the acquisition of the Meroë Head by the British Museum, the Sudan Excavation Committee was selling a set of three reproduced photographs of the Head [published in Bosanquet 1912; Plates XII-XIV] which were chosen by the Illustrated London News ILN for publication. One of these images was then included in John Stobart's *The Grandeur that was Rome*, published by Sidgwick & Jackson (Stobart 1912: 153 / Plate 26).

⁴⁸⁸ A brief account of these events was given by the Greek historian and geographical writer Strabo (64 or 63 BC – c. AD 24) in his *Geography* (Strabo and Jones 1932: 139).



Bronze cast replica of the Head of Augustus from Meroe displayed in the Sudan National Museum. August 23, 2012.

In the context of the exhibition *Sudan Ancient Treasures* at the British Museum in London (September 9, 2004-January 9, 2005)⁴⁸⁹ devoted to Nubian and Sudanese antiquities, Neil MacGregor, then director of the British Museum, organized public debates around key objects from the Sudan in the British Museum's collection in order to «put the events of Darfur and the issues confronting Sudan today into a different and wider context» (MacGregor 2009: 44-45)⁴⁹⁰. Among these key objects was also the Meroë Head / Head of Augustus. MacGregor justifies his selection as follows:

«We wanted, among other things in the public discussion of Sudan, to banish the notion that Sudan had always been in the shadow of Egypt, had always been, if you like, a victim nation. We wanted to remind everybody, and not least the Sudanese diaspora themselves, that the Sudanese, the Kushites, were the people who had invaded Egypt under the pharaohs and conquered the Romans and captured the statue of Augustus» (MacGregor 2009: 46).

⁴⁸⁹ The exhibition was organized and curated by Derek A. Welsby and Julie R. Anderson, Assistant Keeper at the British Museum.

⁴⁹⁰ The exhibition opened in the same week as the United Nations was debating whether or not to condemn the Sudanese government for genocide in Darfur.

Neil MacGregor's use of archaeology to restore the pride of the Sudanese should be questioned. Equating the Sudanese with the Kushites is just another form of essentialism.

In 2018-2019, the Meroë Head / Head of Augustus was displayed laying down on its side in the British Museum exhibition *I Object: Ian Hislop's Search for Dissent* (September 6, 2018-January 20, 2019), showcasing 100 objects that challenge the official version of events and defy established narratives. Contrary to Neil MacGregor's approach of using a glorious past to camouflage a wretched present, Ian Hislop, editor of the British satirical magazine *Private Eye*, selected the Head of Augustus from Meroe as an object which particularly challenges and defies such narratives.

3.3.2 Nationalization of Heritage

As Bushra J. Hamad has demonstrated, from the 1920s on, British colonial governors and administrators politicized archaeology in order «to keep the Sudan under British control and defuse Egyptian claims of sovereignty» (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 241). Archaeology was from hereon used to foster the concept of nationalism among the Sudanese whereby the scholarly journal *Sudan Notes and Records* (SNS) was one of the prime vehicles for the spread of this concept. Bushra J. Hamad writes in this context:

«To counteract Egyptian claims and propaganda, the British resorted to the diffusion of knowledge about the Sudan, especially from archeological sources. Since Muhammad ^cAli's conquests represented the Egyptian claims, the British looked to the Funj kingdom and even the earlier era. Early Sudanese history was given a significant role in shaping political events. It was essential to show the Sudanese how their predecessors had once been a world power» (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 261).

The idea of creating a national museum representing the archaeology, ethnography and natural history of the country must be understood against the backdrop of national aspirations. Bringing excavated artefacts and monuments to Khartoum and presenting them at a central location, was also connected with this. However, since the transport of monumental objects to Khartoum was not possible for financial and

logistical reasons, they were temporarily left on site, as was the case of the Tabo Colossi, or "temporarily stored" in a specially created museum in the region. This second option was chosen for the monumental Kushite statues and sarcophagi found by George A. Reisner at Gebel Barkal. As soon as the transport of these objects became possible and an adequate place for their presentation was created in Khartoum, they were brought to the capital and publicly displayed. The removal of Reisner's statues from the Merowe Museum in 1970-1971 and their prominent placement in the central exhibition hall of the newly created Sudan National Museum, is testament to the will of the newly created modern state, to 'nationalize' and thus democratize (Lowenthal 1998: 67) the most prestigious heritage items from Sudanese Nubia. The redefinition of the Kushite statues as shared repository of an alleged national culture aims at preserving the citizens' sense of identity and continuity across history and at strengthening their belonging to an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991). This redefinition entails a leap from *‘athâr* (antiquities) to *‘turâth* (cultural heritage)⁴⁹¹; a leap which expresses different ways of relating to the past, or different 'regimes of historicity'.

The release in 1961 of a series of three postage stamps with the motif of a bronze statuette of King Taharqa kneeling and holding two sacrificial vessels (*nw* jars) in front of him by the Republic of the Sudan⁴⁹², is a good example of the process of 'nationalizing' heritage: the newly independent Sudan aims at construing the historic figure of King Taharqa as a figure of identification for the Sudanese People. Interestingly, the chosen statuette was not found in and was never possessed by the Sudan. It first became known at the sale of the Mansoor Collection in 1952⁴⁹³, and has no archaeological provenance (Hill 2004: 70)⁴⁹⁴.

⁴⁹¹ Rebecca Bradshaw, in another context, has remarked, that the leap from *‘athâr* to *‘turâth* «reflects a different level of connection; referring to something as 'heritage' requires some sort of conscious acceptance or belief that the objects or histories are one's to inherit» (Bradshaw 2017: 45)

⁴⁹² The postage stamps issued during the International Campaign to Save the Monuments in Nubia are inscribed "Saving Sudanese Nubia Antiquities" and have nominal values of 15 milliemes, 55 milliemes and 3 piastres. The statue on the stamps is an isolated drawing of the 11cm high bronze statue of Taharqa from the group 'Taharqa facing Hemen the falcon god', from the Louvre Museum (Taharqa présente des vases à vin au dieu Hémen; Museum Number E25276).

⁴⁹³ M. A. Mansoor (1881-1968) of Cairo and Heliopolis, antique dealer and collector.

⁴⁹⁴ The group was carefully published by Jacques Vandier at the time of its acquisition (Vandier 1955).



Sudanese postage stamps with the motif of a bronze statuette of King Taharqa. inscribed "Saving Sudanese Nubia Antiquities". Issued in 1961; at nominal value of 15 milliemes, 55 milliemes, and 3 piasters.

Interestingly, in 1991, once again, a statue of King Taharqa was used as stamp motif (cp. Wenig 1997: 70) ⁴⁹⁵. This time, however, it was during a period when Sudan had already been dominated for two years by a regime, which pursued an extremist agenda of political Islam and subjected a number of pre-Islamic works of art to confiscation and destruction. This time, the stamp motif was the colossal statue of King Taharqa wearing the four-feathered crown of the god Shu-Onuris. The statue, at a height of 4.18m, was discovered in 1916 by George Andrew Reisner in a statue cache in the great Amun temple B 500 and partly in the temple B 904 (Reisner 1931: 82; Kendall and El-Hassan Ahmed Mohamed. 2016) at Gebel Barkal. The statue was put on display at the Merowe Museum, inaugurated in 1925, and eventually moved in 1970-1971 to Khartoum to be exhibited in the Sudan National Museum, where it has been a key attraction ever since.

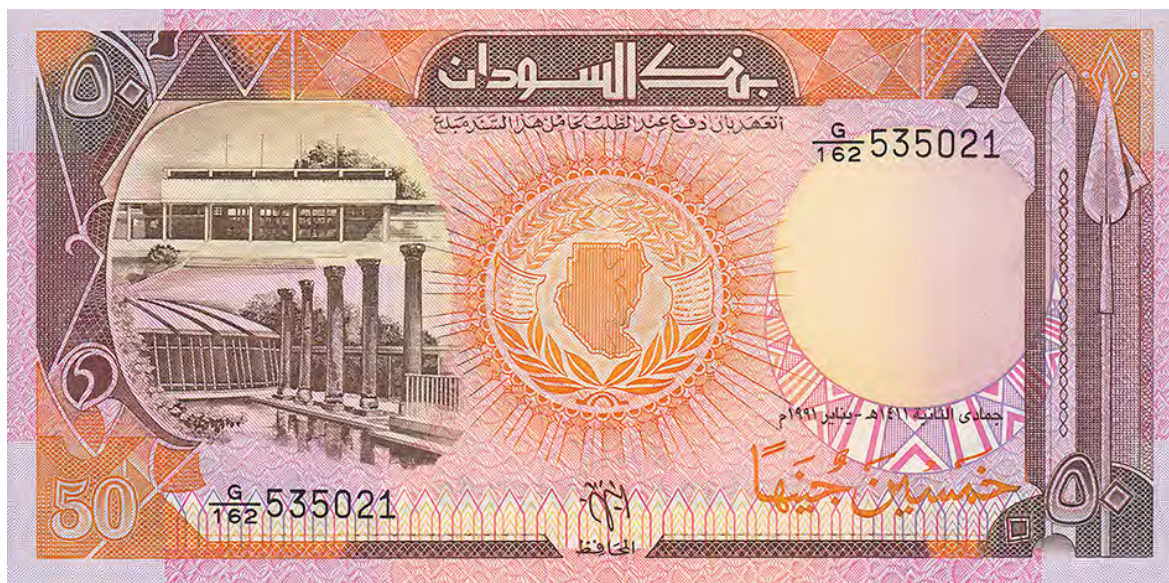
⁴⁹⁵ The postage stamp inscribed "King Taharka 668-663 B.C." has a nominal value of 250 piasters.



Postage stamps inscribed "King Taharka 668-663 B.C.". Issued in 1991 at a nominal value of value of 250 piasters.

The use of archaeological evidence for nationalist purposes and the incorporation of artefacts into state regalia as symbols appearing on national flags, currency, and stamps, according to American anthropologist Philippe L. Kohl, demonstrates «how national identity is continuously constructed through the commemoration of the remote, archaeologically ascertainable past» (Kohl 1998: 240).

In 1987, the Central Bank of Sudan issued a banknote, valued at 50 pounds. Featured on the front side of the banknote are both the entrance pavilion to the Sudan National Museum and the columns from the Faras Cathedral brought to Khartoum in the course of UNESCO's 'Nubian Campaign'.



Banknote of 50 pounds, issued in 1987 by the Central Bank of the Sudan. Front side featuring the entrance pavilion to the Sudan National Museum and the columns from Faras Cathedral.

The Austrian historian, Michael H. Zach, in his 2006 article on Meroe and Nubia on banknotes, describes how archaeological relics of pre-Islamic Sudan are used on banknotes in the formation of a national identity, even though relics of the Islamic period would have been available in large numbers. According to Zach, not even neighbouring Egypt ever presented a Christian motif, despite its comparable religious-historical past. However, Zach emphasizes that it remains to be clarified, if the issuer of the banknote actually consciously wanted to document a Christian relic or just represent the Sudan National Museum (Zach 2006: 158).

The *de facto* 'nationalization' of Christian cultural heritage, at a time when the Islamist establishment «in collaboration with the Minister of Culture and Information in the Cabinet of Sadiq al-Mahdi of the Ansar sect⁴⁹⁶ was considering the elimination of the Sudanese archaeological heritage assembled in the National Museum» (Mohammed Abusabib 2001: 10), is characteristic of the contradictions of Islamic conservatism. However, as will be shown later in the digression titled, Islam,

⁴⁹⁶ Imam Sayyid Sadiq al-Mahdi (*1935) was Prime Minister of the Sudan (1966–1967 and 1986–1989). Sadiq al-Mahdi ist he Chairman of the Umma Party since 1964. In 2002, he was elected as the official imam of the Ansar, the neo-mahdist movement of the twentieth century. Far from advocating a secular state, Sadiq al-Mahdi suggested institutionalising Islam in a way that would not jeopardise national unity and that would be limited to northern Sudan.

Aniconism and Iconoclasm, the 'secular sacralization' and 'nationalization' of antiquities is, in principle, rejected by Islamic fundamentalists.

The 'nationalization' of archaeological remains was not only contested by Islamists, but, in certain instances, also by Nubians. The German ethnologist, Roman Poeschke (1996: 141), mentions a *Halfawi* woman who during a visit of the Sudan National Museum commented: «Sudanese history is Nubian history. Take this museum, for example: all items displayed come from our country, from Nubia. The governments, however, have always presented the Nubian civilization just as Sudanese history». Jean Vercoutter, Commissioner for Archaeology, 1955-1960, in an article on the 'Nubian Campaign', reported that, on the whole, the Nubians «all were against transferring the antiquities and temples to Khartoum» (Vercoutter 1995: 137). Bruce Trigger, in contrast, observed, that «[a]rchaeological research in the northern Sudan has helped to promote the pride of Nubian intellectuals in their history and culture, which some of them maintain is "the essence of the Sudanese culture"⁴⁹⁷». Simultaneously, he noted that other Sudanese regarded «such an attitude among Nubians as threatening the unity of their country» (Trigger 1994: 345).

A recent example of the use of archaeology for political purposes and for the 'nationalization' of archaeological heritage from Nubia, is the press photo by Reuters Photographer, Mohamed Nureldin Abdalla, of the swearing in ceremony of new officials at the Presidential Palace in February 24, 2019⁴⁹⁸. The 18 officers in camouflage uniform, with Omar al-Bashir in the center, are positioned against the backdrop of a large mural depicting the northern group of pyramids at Begrawiya (Meroe)⁴⁹⁹. The picturesque depiction of the pyramid field combines elements of tradition with achievements of modernity. On the left side of the picture there is a camel caravan that stops between restored pyramids and tumbling ruins. On the

⁴⁹⁷ Here, Trigger refers to Alis Osman, who in 1992 noted, that he himself was a symbol of «a very much living and proud culture — the Nubian African culture» (Alis Osman 1992b: ix).

⁴⁹⁸ On February 22, 2019, Omar al-Bashir declared a yearlong state of national emergency and announced the dissolution of the Central and State Governments. The next day, he swore in a new Prime Minister (Mohamed Tahir Ayala) and a new First Vice President (Lt. Gen. Ahmed Awad Ibn Auf). On February 24, he also swore in 16 army officers and two officers from the National Intelligence and Security Service as new Governors for the country's 18 States.

⁴⁹⁹ The Northern Cemetery, was according to Derek Welsby and Salaheldin Mohamed Ahmed (2010: 42), «exclusively the royal burial ground of the rulers of Meroe and contains 44 pyramids, of kings, queens, and crown princes, all but six of whom were reigning monarchs».

horizon, in the upper left corner of the picture, the mast of a high-voltage power line can be seen projecting into the dark ominous clouds. The message delivered through the press photo is obvious: Omar al-Bashir and the 18 newly appointed Governors are positioning themselves in a tradition line with the Kushite rulers of Napata and Meroe and thus signalize the claim of the "Repressive State Apparatus" (Althusser 1971) to unrestricted power in the country.



Military, police and security officers in camouflage uniform, with Omar al-Bashir in the center, positioned against the backdrop of a mural depicting the pyramids at Begrawiya / Meroe. Khartoum, Presidential Palace in February 24, 2019. Photo by Reuters Photographer, Mohamed Nureldin Abdalla.

Contrary to the Meroitic times, which knew the institution of the *kandake* ("Candace"), or queen regnant, power firmly remains in the hands of men⁵⁰⁰. It is particularly ironic that a photograph of the 22-year-old student Alaa Salah dressed as a Meroitic *kandake*, became the symbol of the movement, which on April 11, 2019, eventually ousted Omar al-Bashir from Presidency⁵⁰¹.

⁵⁰⁰ According to George Andrew Reisner (1922: 181), among the 41 pyramids in the Northern Cemetery, five are of queens, and the queens «appear to have been of unusual power» (Reisner 1922: 181).

⁵⁰¹ The photograph of Alaa Salah was taken by Lana H. Haroun and posted on Twitter on April 8, 2019 at 14:01: https://twitter.com/lana_hago [13.08.2019].



"Kandake" Alaa Salah addressing protesters in front of the Sudanese military headquarters in Khartoum. Photo by Lana H. Haroun. Khartoum, April 8, 2019.

3.3.3 Internationalization of Heritage

The colonial introduction of a formal Western understanding of heritage is, according to John Giblin, an early example of the 'internationalization' of heritage, although «at the administrative level these institutions and legislations remained ostensibly in the ownership of the separate colonies, protectorates, or mandate territories – and later each independent nation» (Giblin 2018 n.p.). The provisions of the Antiquities Ordinances of 1905 and 1952 thus formalized the introduction of a Western understanding of heritage. Besides defining the status of antiquities and monuments, and providing measures for their protection, the Ordinances also

provided regulations regarding the lawful export of antiquities⁵⁰² and thus resulted in the transnational spread and 'internationalization' of Sudanese archaeological heritage. The nexus between *partage* agreements and the wide diaspora of objects from field sites is confirmed by archaeologist Alice Stevenson for the British context:

«In the UK, the absence of government-backed exploration meant that British fieldwork abroad was dependent upon both private patronage and public funding. This financial imperative placed an onus upon excavators to recover finds worthy of sponsorship, and archaeologists were under pressure to gain both scientific and popular assent, resulting in a wide diaspora of objects from field sites through *partage* agreements» (Stevenson 2016: 232-233).

In the Sudan, the division of finds was practiced until the late 1990s⁵⁰³; under the 1999 Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999, the division of finds was eventually repealed.

The worldwide «museumization of Nubia»⁵⁰⁴ (2014: 8) decribed by Maria Costanza de Simone in her PhD thesis *Nubia and Nubians: The 'Museumization' of a Culture* is to a great extent the result of the system of division of finds or *partage* among the antiquities authorities of Egypt and the Sudan and the institutions conducting the excavations. In the context of archaeological salvage projects, Sudan still assigns selected objects in the division of finds as incentives to the excavating institutions.

Although the legal base of the division of finds is uncontested, the ethical questions involved are complex. Nevertheless, there are prominent advocates of the *partage*

⁵⁰² While the 1905 Ordinance, required a written permission of the Conservator of Antiquities for the export of antiquities (The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905, § 9 and § 10), the 1952 Ordinance provided regulations for a formal division of finds at the close of each season (The Antiquities Ordinance, 1952, § 15.1-2; cp. UNESCO. 1960a: 35).

⁵⁰³ In February 1997, I witnessed the last division of finds between NCAM and the Swiss Archaeological Mission to the Sudan. According to § 15.1-2 of the then Antiquities Ordinance of 1952, Hassan Hussein Idris, then Director General of NCAM, selected and claimed on behalf of the Sudan Government those antiquities considered indispensable «either for the scientific completeness of the Sudan Government or for the purpose of illustrating the history of art of the Sudan» (§ 15.1.), then divided the remaining antiquities in two groups «as nearly as possible equal in intrinsic and archaeological value» and eventually allowed the licensee «to choose one such group» (§ 15.1.). The objects assigned to the Swiss Mission in the division of finds entered the collections of Geneva's Musée d'Art et d'Histoire

⁵⁰⁴ De Simone (2014: 8) loosely defines 'museumization' of Nubia as «covering the widespread tendency of museums around the globe to include exhibitions of Nubian artifacts». The nexus between the *partage* system and the international 'museumization' of Nubia is not at all mentioned in De Simone thesis. Museumization is the phenomenon of presenting and interpreting cultural groups and their representative tangible and intangible heritage.

system. James Cuno, President and CEO of the J. Paul Getty Trust since 2011, for instance argues that «[a]ntiquities are the cultural property of all humankind – of people not peoples – evidence of the world's ancient past not that of a particular modern nation» (Cuno 2008: 146, his emphasis). Antiquities, according to Cuno, need not only to be protected from looting but also from nationalistic identity politics. The restoration of the *partage* system, under which source countries would share newly discovered artifacts in exchange for archaeological help, would according to Cuno guarantee the common access to the 'common heritage'. An interesting alternative model was suggested in 2010 by the American archaeologist Bernard Frischer in his New York Times article "Museums Should Dig In": In his view, separating ownership from possession would allow for a system in which source nations grant long-term loans to foreign financing institutions (museums) on a basis of mutual trust and commitment. Frischer's model of a partnership based on the prospect of loans is partially applied in the Sudan, since, in exceptional cases, Sudan grants long-term and permanent loans to leading international museums sponsoring excavations in the Sudan⁵⁰⁵.

The 'internationalization' of Sudanese archaeological heritage and the 'museumization' of Nubia have, on the one hand, contributed to making Sudan and its rich cultural treasures known on the international stage and have, on the other hand, contributed to an understanding of Nubia / the northern Sudan as unique entities that developed independently of Egypt.

An example for the 'internationalization' of Sudanese archaeological heritage, are the approximately 120 brightly coloured wall paintings from the Cathedral at Faras⁵⁰⁶, which were discovered in 1961-1962 by the Polish Expedition led by Professor C. Michałowski during the International Campaign to Save the Monuments in Nubia⁵⁰⁷. The find context was described by Rex Keating in his 1962

⁵⁰⁵ For instance, since October 2009, three wall panels with life-size depictions of Meroitic gods have been on permanent loan from the Republic of the Sudan to the Neues Museum in Berlin. In recognition of Munich's longstanding commitment to Sudan archaeology, in 2012, Sudan offered four outstanding objects discovered at Naqa, to Munich's Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst as a long-term loan.

⁵⁰⁶ Faras, now submerged, was the ancient capital of Nobatia, the northernmost of the three early Christian kingdoms of Nubia and the Sudan.

⁵⁰⁷ Michałowski and his team have conducted four excavation campaigns in Faras (1961, 1961-62, 1962-63, 1963-64). Cp. Michałowski 1962a and b, Michałowski 1965; and Michałowski and Gerster 1967; and Vantini 1970.

article "Digging for History: An Account of Excavation in Nubia During 1961-62" in the *UNESCO Courier*⁵⁰⁸.

«Here under mountains of sand lie dozens of ancient sites covering an area of some five square miles, and here during 1961-1962 the Polish Expedition led by Professor C. Michalowski has been making spectacular discoveries. The huge mound on the river's edge at Faras, on which the expedition's members have been concentrating, has now been revealed as nothing less than a great church and associated buildings, containing brilliantly coloured frescoes as magnificent as they are wonderfully preserved» (Keating 1962b: 23).

The paintings in Byzantine style⁵⁰⁹ on a dry plaster background were skilfully removed from the ancient walls at Faras Cathedral by Polish specialists. In accordance with the so-called *partage* (or division of finds agreement) between the Government of the Sudan and the Polish Expedition, in May 1964, 67 of the paintings were assigned to the National Museum in Warsaw, where they now reside, along with many other objects of high artistic value from Faras in the Professor Kazimierz Michałowski Faras Gallery, established in 1972 and re-opened to the public in a new configuration in 2014⁵¹⁰. The remainder of the paintings was brought to Khartoum and restored under the supervision of Josef Gazy, the Polish specialist who was already responsible for their removal from the Faras Cathedral (Gerster 1964: 20). The rediscovery of these long-forgotten art works, their excellent state of preservation and aesthetic splendour, led the Sudanese authorities to devote the entire first floor of the new Sudan National Museum to the wall paintings of Faras and those of four other churches in the Sudanese part of Lower Nubia (Kulubnarti, Meinarti, Sonqi Tino and Abd el-Gadir)⁵¹¹.

In the same year that the wall paintings from Faras arrived in Khartoum, the Sudan issued a series of three postage stamps featuring scenes from the Faras Cathedral:

⁵⁰⁸ Rex Keating (1910-2005) of UNESCO's Radio Section, covered the 'Nubian Campaign' between 1960 and 1969 for UNESCO. He is also the author two informative books on the 'Nubian Campaign': *Nubian Twilight* (1962) and *Nubian Rescue* (1975).

⁵⁰⁹ The style of the wall paintings, according to Giovanni Vantini, «conforms more with to the canons of the Byzantine than to the Coptic art of Egypt» (Vantini 1970: 222).

⁵¹⁰ The antiquities from Faras comprise the largest and most valuable archeological set originating from foreign excavation sites to have ever been acquired for Polish museums. The Professor Kazimierz Michałowski Faras Gallery at the National Museum in Warsaw is the only exhibition of Christian Nubian antiquities and art in Europe, and the largest one outside Sudan.

For more information on the Professor Kazimierz Michałowski Faras Gallery see: <https://www.mnw.art.pl/en/collections/permanent-galleries/faras-gallery/> [18.02.2018].

⁵¹¹ Fantusati (2005: 530) writes of 117 frescoes from Faras displayed at the Sudan National Museum. This figure is clearly wrong, as the Sudan received not more than c.50 wallpaintings from Faras.

A knight on horseback holding an olive branch, which very likely represents one of the three Magi (nominal value of 15 milliemes); St Joseph (nominal value of 30 milliemes) and Archangel Michael (nominal value of 55 milliemes). The stamps are inscribed "Save the Monuments of Nubia – Frescos Faras Church (Sudan)". In 1971, the Polish Postal Administration published a set of 6 postage stamps with motifs from the Faras Cathedral on display in the National Museum in Warsaw (cp. Wenig 1997).



Polish postage stamp inscribed "Polske Odkrycia Archeologiczne Fresk Z Faras VIII w" (Polish Archaeological Discoveries, Fresco from Faras). Issued in 1971 at a nominal value of 1.15 zlotys.

The division of the Faras wall paintings between Khartoum and Warsaw and their public presentation in the respective national museums is not only an example for the 'internationalization' of Sudanese archaeological heritage and the 'museumization' of Nubia, but also for the successful international cooperation of authorities, museum experts and archaeologists under the umbrella of UNESCO for the protection of national heritage assets of international importance.

Another example of 'internationalization' of Sudanese heritage, is inherent in the framework of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the creation of the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The Convention was, as already mentioned, the result of UNESCO's International Campaign to Save the Monuments in Nubia. Founded on the principle of international cooperation, the Convention provides for the collective protection of the world's outstanding cultural and natural heritage

places. According to the German lawyer Wilfried Fiedler, the qualification as "World Heritage" and the inclusion in the "World Heritage List" does not lead to a change in property rights or remove the property from national jurisdiction:

«Therefore, the inclusion into the "World Heritage List" does not mean an internationalization of any kind of the property concerned. Nevertheless, the Convention does imply the binding recognition of a legally as yet rather undefined »interest« of all of mankind – including future generations – for the property covered by it and thereby removes it from unlimited national competence to dispose of it as it pleases» (Fiedler 1991: 320).

Heritagization along the lines of UNESCO's directives and supervision not only produces a legal framework for the protection of World Heritages sites, but also provides a platform for the transnational exchange of experiences and ideas.

The historians Olaf Kaltmeier and Mario Rufer (2017: 5) have pointed out that heritage has a relational character, which focuses «on transnational and translocal flows and interchanges of ideas, concepts, and practices, as well as on the creation of contact zones where the meaning of heritage is negotiated and contested». Relying on the concept of a shared history (Randeria 1999; Conrad and Randeria 2002), Kaltmeier and Rufer have developed the idea of a shared or entangled heritage «that is common in terms of the basic grammar of heritage and articulated histories, but divided alongside the basic difference between colonizers and colonized» (Kaltmeier and Rufer: 2017: 4). The concept of entangled heritages is useful in the Sudanese context, because it highlights the interconnection, mutual dependence, and influence between Sudan's Antiquities Authority and its international partners over a period of more than a century. The entangled character of heritage is found in the wide diaspora of objects from field sites in the Sudan. The 'museumization' of Nubia and the 'musealization' of archaeological remains from the Sudan in international museums is a result of entangled heritages and testifies to the reciprocal constitution of heritage.

3.4 Excursus: Islam, Aniconism and Iconoclasm

According to Giovanni Vantini (1972: 17) and Siegfried Richter (1975: 210), the series of wall paintings by Kamala Ibrahim Ishag in the entrance pavilion of the

Sudan National Museum, introduce the visitors to what they will see in the museum. However, the paintings also implicitly refer to what the visitor will not see in the museum: a representative collection of objects from the Islamic era. This is astonishing for a country that in 1989 committed itself to the comprehensive Islamization of all areas of life⁵¹². In the 1970s, the Christian wall paintings from Faras Cathedral were placed in the Sudanese National Museum under a highly secular government. Their tolerance twenty years later by the «first Islamist republic in the Sunni Muslim world» (Abdullahi A. Gallab 2016: Preface), is unique and a testament to the contradictions of Islamic fundamentalism. However, there have also been phases in which extremists have called for the cleansing of non-Islamic and pre-Islamic cultural assets in the Sudan National Museum. Among other reasons, these attempts must be seen against the backdrop of discourses on the permissibility of figuration in Islam.



Paintings by Kamala Ibrahim Ishag and Musa Elkhaliifa in the entrance pavilion to the Sudan National Museum. August 23, 2012.

⁵¹² In 1992, the National Islamic Front government started a Comprehensive Call [Da'wa'; Missionary, preaching, or propaganda work (cp. Fuller 2003: 122 and Lesch 1998: 231)] policy, which according to Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal (1995: 15) included «the propagation of Islam, the saturation of all aspects of life with Islamic values, the spreading of Arabic language and cultural values, the repression of Christianity and traditional religions and the replanning of Sudan's cities».

Islamic art has built its aesthetic system on ornament and has conceived the very absence of figuration as the purest idea of art (Gonzalez 1993: 78). However, the opposition to figuration in Islam is, according to Finbarr B. Flood (2002: 643), based «not on Qur'anic scripture but on various Traditions of the Prophet, the Hadith»; traditions forbidding all representations that have shadows. In his insightful article "Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm and the Museum" Flood emphasizes that «the conception of a monolithic and pathologically Muslim response to the image (...) elides the distinction between different types of cultural practices» (2002: 641). He convincingly argues that episodes of Islamic iconoclasm such as the obliteration of the 'Bamiyan Buddhas' indexed not «a timeless response to figuration, but a calculated engagement with a culturally specific discourse of images at a particular historical moment» (Flood 2002: 642). Consequently, Flood adopts an approach that historicizes iconoclastic events, acknowledges the agency of those involved and examines their motivation. It is against this background that instances of Islamic aniconism (the eschewal of figural imagery) and acts of iconoclasm (the destruction or mutilation of existing figural imagery) in the Sudan will be discussed within the broader context of the Islamic State.

The program instigated in 1992 by the National Islamic Front (NIF)⁵¹³ of Islamicizing education, the mass media and social life in the whole country required a recourse to doctrine, or as Kirker (1992: 6) puts it «an approach marked by an exclusivist and literalist interpretation of the fundamentals of Islam». The recourse to Islamist militancy had consequences for both the ideological and aesthetic dimension. The imposition of a pan-Islamist identity upon the culturally and religiously heterogeneous Sudanese society was nothing but an ideological attempt to construct and exercise hegemony. Whoever objected to these attempts was linked to heresy. Religious, political, and/or philosophical doctrine effects according to Foucault, a dual subjection: that of speaking subjects to discourse, and that of discourse to the groups, at least virtually, of speakers. Inassimilable enunciations made by individuals or collectives are thus tantamount to heresy: «l'hérésie et l'orthodoxie ne relevant point d'une exagération fanatique des mécanismes

⁵¹³ The National Islamic Front (NIF) was a Sudanese political party founded in 1985 by the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwān al-Muslimīn) in collaboration with Jaafar al-Numayri. In 1999, the NIF split into two political associations: the National Congress Party (NCP) under the leadership of Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, and the Popular Congress Party (PCP) led by Hassan 'Abd Allah al-Turabi.

doctrinaux; elles leur appartiennent fondamentalement» (Foucault 1971a: 45)⁵¹⁴.

Aniconism

The (re-) emergence of literalist interpretations of the fundamentals of Islam on the part of the NIF had resulted in portraying the West as a decaying culture and in imposing severe proscriptions on imagery. Since the use of the human figure is in conflict with the Islamist doctrine, even textbooks on the ancient Nubian and Egyptian civilizations were banned in Sudan, while pre-Islamic works of art were subjected to confiscation and destruction. Khartoum's State Public Order Act (1992) prohibited the display of scripture, paintings and images considered to contradict Islam, while the central government «banned teaching art and music, which spread harmful western and African influences» (Lesch: 132).

Iconoclasm

Since the imposition of Islamic law under Jaafar al-Numayri in 1983 (September Laws), Sudan has a long record of iconoclastic incidents. Ironically, the first statue to be vandalized and eventually demolished by religious militants was that of Mahatma Gandhi. Both Jaafar al-Numayri (in 1984) and Omar al-Bashir (in 1991/92) were responsible for the organization of several book burning ceremonies. However, the worst incidents happened in the early period of NIF rule. Several sources report organized forays of religious zealots through the premises of the College of Fine and Applied Art, assaults on students and the destruction of 'non-Islamic' artwork in the late 1980s (cp. Kirker 1992: 7 and Karim el-Gawhary 1998: 100). These organized acts of vandalism encompassed the destruction of statues of historical personalities and culminated in the serious consideration of destroying the collections of Sudanese archaeological heritage in the National Museum (Mohammed Abusabib 2001: 10 and 2004: 187/188). During the years of the so called 'first Islamist republic' (1989-1999)⁵¹⁵, the museum, as a key institution of the ideological state apparatus (ISA) (Althusser 1971), was a particularly contested site, and thus characterized by the interplay of coercion exerted by the "Repressive State

⁵¹⁴ «[Q]uestions of heresy and unorthodoxy [sic!] do not derive from a fanatical exaggeration of the doctrinal mechanism, but rather belong fundamentally to them» (Foucault 1971b: 19).

⁵¹⁵ According to Gallab (2016: 1), the first Islamist republic begun with the coup of 1989 and collapsed by 1999 «when al-Bashir and his collaborators removed al-Turabi from his positions of power and initiated the second Islamist republic».

Apparatus" (RSA) and the working of the Islamist ideology within the 'educational ISA'.

The Belgian historian and expert on the history of censorship, Antoon De Baets, has collected worldwide cases of direct attempts to censor interpretations of the past resulting from archaeology and cases of indirect political censorship of archaeologists. Referring to the Sudan, De Baets states:

«In 1988 the minister of culture and information, Abdallah Mohamed Ahmed, ordered the pharaonic statues in the National Museum to be clothed because he considered their nudity to be offensive. He required the removal of all Christian relics from the museum on the grounds that only the Islamic heritage counted as authentic history. In 1990, serving as the education minister, he dismissed the National Museum's senior staff, who reportedly had "offended" him in 1988. They included three prominent archeologists: Osama Abdel Rahman al-Nur, director-general of the Department of Antiquities and National Museums, Mohamed Hassan Basha, the museum's assistant director, and Ali Osman Mohammed Salih, associate professor of Nubian archeology at Khartoum University⁵¹⁶. In May 1990 the first and the second were arrested and held at Kober Prison. After the 1989 coup by the National Islamic Front, pre-Islamic history was officially regarded as an epoch of ignorance. The National Salvation Revolution (NSR) government reportedly wanted to dismantle pre-Islamic (Nubian) and Christian relics, scriptures, icons, and books, through either confiscation and physical destruction or their dispersion as gifts» (de Baets 2002: 61; cp. de Baets 2001/I: 73).

The cases of indirect political censorship reported by Mohammed Abusabib and Antoon De Baets cover the late 1980s and 1990s, approximately the period of the 'first Islamist republic', and, thus confirm Flood's above-mentioned argument of a calculated engagement with a culturally specific discourse of images at a particular historical moment.

In his 2018 study on antiquities destruction by the Islamic State (ISIS) in Iraq and Syria, American historian Christopher W. Jones contends that previous explanatory

⁵¹⁶ In 1990, the Sudan Antiquities Service was subject to partisan political intrigue which led to the deposing and imprisonment of Osama el-Nur. At the occasion of the General Assembly of the International Society for Nubian Studies at Geneva on September 8, 1990, Jean Leclant, then President of the Society, as a signal of solidarity, read and delivered a letter to Ali Hakem, Director General of Antiquities and National Museums, in which he was asked «to appeal for the release of Dr. Usama el-Nur and Dr. Basha, the former head of the Sudanese Antiquities Organization and his colleague» (van Morsel 1991: 17).

models have not considered the full range of meaning which ISIS attaches to the concept of *shirk* (idolatry):

«ISIS's campaign of cultural destruction should be understood in light of a strain of Islamist thought which defines *shirk* as encompassing not only polytheistic cult images and the veneration of graves but allegiance to any institution which claims authority apart from God. The modern nation-state itself is seen as a form of *shirk* since it demands loyalty from its citizens and obedience to its laws, a duty that Muslims are supposed to owe to God alone» (Jones 2018: 32, his emphasis).

According to Jones (2018: 31), ISIS considers «the secular sacralization of antiquities», as practiced by the Ba'athist regimes of Iraq and Syria in support of nationalism, «to be an aspect of this form of idolatry that justifies their destruction».

As demonstrated in the section on the 'nationalization' of heritage, the newly independent Sudan and the succeeding regimes used archaeology as an ideological narrative to portray the state as a continual recapitulation of its past. The refusal of 'the secular sacralization' of antiquities by radical Islamists may partially be explained with Jones' model as an anti-national response.

Today, requests for censorship of archaeological artefacts in Sudan are rare and are not backed by the majority. A surprising exception was a statement by Mohamed Abdel Karim al-Had, member of the Salafi-inclined Ansar al-Sunnah Group⁵¹⁷ and former Minister of Tourism, Antiquities and Wildlife in a newspaper article from July 11, 2018⁵¹⁸. The former minister declared on that day, «that he would never visit Sudan's National Museum as it displays idols». According to the report, Facebook users were, «surprised that a person who held a position like the minister of tourism would consider the statues of kings and historical figures as idols, which would stop him from visiting the museum». Mohamed Abdel Karim al-Had's statement is a late

⁵¹⁷ The Ansar Al-Sunnah Al-Muhamadiyyah Group in Egypt and Sudan is, according to their own definition, an Islamic group whose members abide by the Sunnah (whatever is reported from the Prophet) according to the understanding of the Salaf (righteous predecessors), who makes Da'wah to Allah in conformity to what has been conveyed to Muslims by the Prophet regarding the issues of Tawhid (monotheism), 'Ibadah (worship), and good manners.

⁵¹⁸ Emad al-Blake: "Ex-Sudan Tourism Minister Won't Visit National Museum Because of 'Idol Display'. Al Arabiya English. Wednesday, 11 July 2018. The English service of Al Arabiya network, Dubai. <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/variety/2018/07/11/Former-Sudan-tourism-minister-won-t-visit-national-museum-because-it-displays-idols-.html> [05.08.2019].

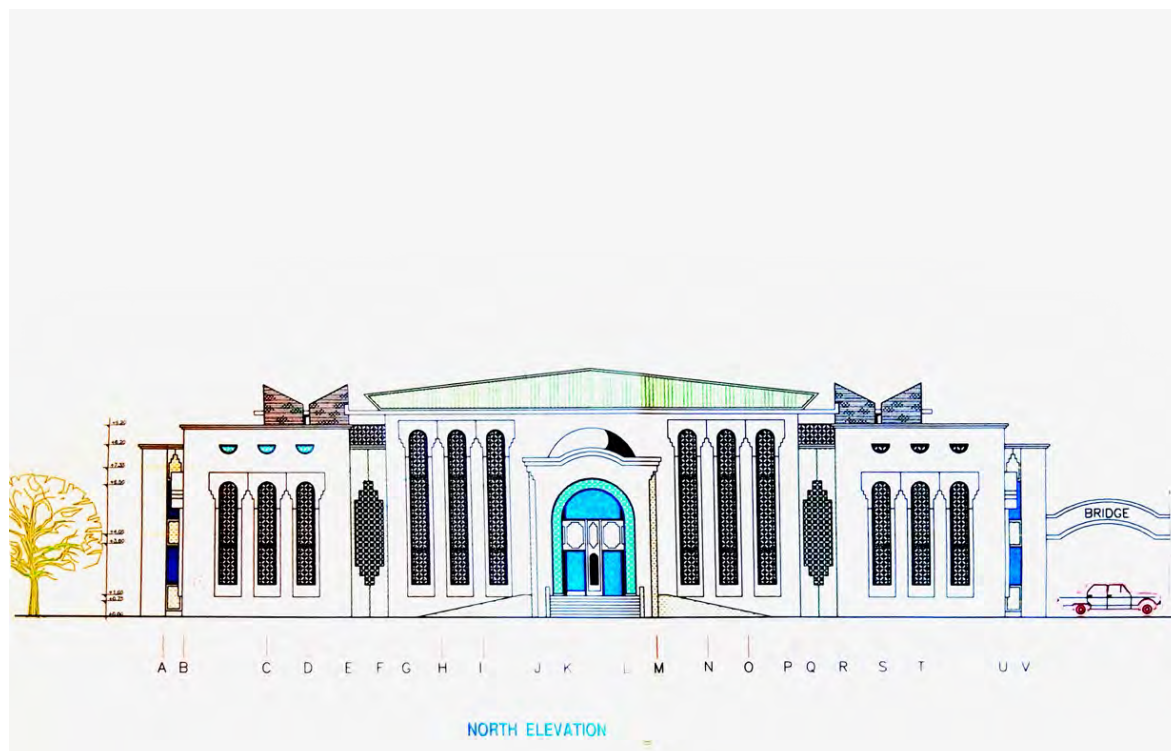
reply to Bruce Trigger's question raised 24 years earlier in his influential article "Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology":

«Do studies of the pre- Islamic period have any attraction to the many Sudanese who trace their descent from Arabs who settled in the Sudan centuries ago or to Islamic fundamentalists who regard pre-Islamic times as an Age of Ignorance?» (Trigger 1994: 345).

At least to Islamic fundamentalists such as Mohamed Abdel Karim al-Had, studies of the pre- Islamic period are clearly not of interest. Surprisingly, Omar al-Bashir, the ousted Islamist president of the Sudan, was very fond of Sudan's history and archaeology. According to a presidential instruction, any official visitor to the Sudan was supposed to visit the Sudan National Museum which, in his view, was, besides the confluence of the Niles, the key attraction of Khartoum⁵¹⁹.

Many museum visitors appreciated the museum but missed the representation of Islamic art in the National Museum of Khartoum. With rising oil revenues, the Sudanese economy was booming during the years around the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, until South Sudan's Secession in 2011. The oil revenues boosted a massive construction boom in the private and public sector and enabled the construction of the long-awaited exhibition hall for Islamic art, as well as an exhibition space on Sudan's contemporary history and ethnography. After the the engineering firm DAR Consult's design and building concept for the "New Sudan National Museum Wing: Islamic Hall" had been presented and approved in June 2005, construction work began under the auspices of the then responsible Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport. The building period extended over thirteen months and the construction work was carried out by Danfodio Contractors. The shell of the building was completed in 2006. However, since then, the project has come to a standstill. According to rumours, the building has significant structural deficiencies and is set to be demolished.

⁵¹⁹ Salah Eldin Mohammed Ahmed. Personal communication; Khartoum, September 24, 2013.



New Sudan National Museum Wing. North Elevation. DAR Consult. Hurria Street.
P.O. Box: 10934 Khartoum –Sudan.

In 2015, Sennar, the former capital of the Funj Sultanate, on the left bank of the Blue Nile, was selected by the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO)⁵²⁰ as the Arab Region's Capital of Islamic Culture 2017 and to host the 10th session of the Islamic Conference of Culture Ministers⁵²¹. Within the framework of the Capital of Islamic Culture, several ambitious large-scale projects have been planned and partially implemented⁵²². On the website of the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the choice of Sennar as Capital of Islamic Culture was recognized as follows:

⁵²⁰ The Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) was founded by the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in May 1979 «to coordinate among the specialized agencies of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in the fields of education, science and culture, as well as among Member States» (<https://www.isesco.org.ma/history/> [04.08.2019]).

⁵²¹ From the Arab region, besides Sennar also Amman (Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan) was selected as Capital of Islamic Culture 2017. From the Asian region, the choice was, Mashhad (Islamic Republic of Iran) and from the African Region it was Kampala (Republic of Uganda).

⁵²² For detailed information on Sennar as Capital of Islamic Culture visit the website of the Supreme National Committee for Sennar capital of Islamic culture in 2017: <http://scic17.gov.sd/index.php/en/> [04.08.2019].

«The choice of Sennar as capital of Islamic Culture for 2017 is a true contribution to the historical and cultural heritage of the Sudanese nation and represents a logical extension of the Sudan's efforts to preserve Islamic culture throughout history».

It is hoped that Sudan's efforts to preserve the ancient Islamic culture⁵²³ are not at the expense of other traditions not receiving backing from the state. The fact that the Christian wall paintings from churches in the Sudanese part of Lower Nubia in the Sudan National Museum were not removed even during the critical years of Islamist rule, is a testimony to the resilience of the Sudanese population to extremist ideologies and prejudices.

3.5 Conclusion

The Sudan National Museum is the result of a decades-long process. While a first museum, the "Economic Museum", was already established in 1901 at Gordon Memorial College and then extended into a general museum in 1904, Wingate, in a memorandum of the same year, expressed the wish that «a [more] suitable site for an archaeological museum will be set apart in Khartoum» (Wingate 1904/II: 39. Subsequently, he and his successors strongly defended the idea of creating a new museum in which the archaeological, ethnographic and natural history collections would be on display. The move of the natural history collections to the University of Khartoum and of the ethnographic collections to the Ethnographic Museum in 1956, was initially intended as a temporary solution until the collections could be reunified in the new national museum. While the move of the natural history collections sealed the separation of the Natural History Section from the Antiquities Service, the ethnographic collections were still under the care of the Service. The preliminary and final reports presented in 1958 and 1959 by UNESCO's architectural adviser, Hans Asplund, still mention both an archaeological and an ethnographic exhibition room within the same building. The reports also show that the main exhibition hall on the first storey was designated for the archaeological collection and the exhibition hall on the second storey for the display of the ethnographic collection.

⁵²³ For the archaeological evidence for Islam in the Sudan see Ali Osman Mohamed Salih 1986 and Intisar Soghayroun Elzein 2004.

In the 1960 publication of the Ministry of Education, "Sudanese Nubia, a Trust of Mankind", a section is dedicated to the new National Museum:

«The need has been felt for a Sudanese National Museum to house both the Archaeological and the Ethnographical collections. The existing Museums on the River Front and Gamaa Avenue have never been more than a temporary arrangement, since the buildings in which they are housed are both unsuitable and too small. Now with the vast amount of archaeological work which is anticipated in Northern province, and the activities of the Ethnologist in Equatoria, it is expected that the collections will be increased considerably in the next few years. Accordingly the need has become most pressing. Here, in due course, will be found the existing collections from the Antiquities Museums in Khartoum and Merowe and from the ethnographical Museum, together with all the valuable material which will shortly be brought from the Northern province and the south, so that soon the Sudan will have National Museum which is truly worthy of its long and glorious past» (Sudan Antiquities Service / Ministry of Education 1960: 31).

According to the report in 1960, it was still intended to reunify the collections from the existing museums in the new National Museum and to complement the collections with archaeological objects from the 'Nubian Campaign' and ethnographic objects from ongoing surveys in the southern Sudan in order to represent Sudan's rich cultural past⁵²⁴.

The over-representation of Nubian antiquities and the underrepresentation of other regions has led to the fact that the Sudan National Museum was only a national museum by name. This view is confirmed by the Italian Egyptologist Constanza De Simone:

«Actually every museum is a national museum in the sense that it belongs to the nation in which it is located. However, in the context of museum studies, the term 'National Museum' or 'Civilization Museum' is more often perceived to be the one offering an overview of the history of the country. The museum in Khartoum is, in particular, a museum of Nubian antiquities and makes this heritage appear as if it is the only one that could be considered as the 'official' national heritage in Sudan» (De Simone 2014: 84).

According to Laurajane Smith (2006: 299), the 'official', 'authorized heritage discourse' works to exclude non-expert views «about the nature and meaning of

⁵²⁴ Friedrich Hinkel's Sudan National Museum Layout Plan from April 1965, still provided an "ethnographical area" in the north-eastern part of the museum gardens.

'heritage'». But Smith also highlights that the power of the 'authorized heritage discourse', «lies in the way it continually legitimizes the experiences and worldviews of dominant narratives about nation, class, culture and ethnicity». British museologist, Richard Sandell, has pointed out that museums have the capacity «to control, to civilize the citizenry and to exclude, marginalise or silence minority groups through representational practices» (Sandell 2011: 135). The presentation of artefacts and monuments from Nubia as almost 'official' national heritage at the expenses of other heritage traditions has, for decades, alienated and excluded visitors not hailing from the Nile Valley.

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army in 2005 (Naivasha Agreement), opened a new page in Sudanese history. The parties agreed «that the people of the Sudan share a common heritage and aspirations and accordingly agree to work together to [...] [e]stablish a democratic system of governance taking account of the cultural, ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic diversity and gender equality of the people of the Sudan» (CPA Part A 1.5). John Garang⁵²⁵, in his speech at the signing ceremony of the CPA, said: «Our contention [...] is that the Sudan belongs equally to all the peoples that now inhabit the country and its history, its diversity and richness is the common heritage of all Sudanese» (Garang 2005). Jean-Gabriel Leturcq has pointed out, that the policy of heritage-making implemented following the signature of the CPA by NCAM and UNESCO aimed «to exhibit a complete picture of Sudanese national diversity, including tangible and intangible heritage» (Leturcq 2009: 315) and thus promoted a concept of heritage «as a means of recognition and valorisation of the "marginalised minorities"» (Leturcq 2009: 316). The interim period between the signature of the CPA in 2005 and South Sudan's Secession in 2011 was thus characterized by the invocation of cultural diversity based on a national concept of "unity in diversity". In order to support NCAM in its renewed mission, UNESCO, as a part of a broader program on "post-conflict reconstruction and development", was according to Leturcq «financing, training and monitoring the transition period for the extension of the heritage policies» (2009: 309). As a part of

⁵²⁵ John Garang de Mabior (1945-2005). Chairman of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and Commander of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), 1983-2005; Sudan's First Vice President, July 9, 2005- July 30, 2005.

this program, UNESCO and NCAM jointly worked on the development of tangible heritage as well as on the promotion of intangible cultural heritage⁵²⁶ (2009: 310). The project for the Nubian Museum of Wadi Halfa, conceived as a counterpart to the Nubia Museum of Aswan and aiming to promote Nubian intangible heritage, was a first step towards the recognition of new heritage categories (cp. de Simone 2009).

In the Sudan, the heritagization of archaeological objects, monuments and sites was mainly instigated by official top-down government and international agency policies⁵²⁷. As with its predecessor museums, the Sudan National Museum was established as a government initiative and, according to an interpretative panel in the Museum intends, to preserve «for the people of the Sudan» objects which «form an essential part of the cultural wealth of the Sudan». The museum was thought of as a repository of an 'alleged' national culture, and is, thus, especially susceptible to manipulation for both nationalist and anti-nationalist purposes.

⁵²⁶ So far, Sudan has no elements inscribed in UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In Khartoum in May 2018, the representatives of the Sudanese Government and UNESCO signed a cooperation agreement to implement the US\$ 337'338 project "Strengthening National Capacities for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Sudan". The project – funded by the Abu Dhabi Tourism and Culture Authority (ADTCA), United Arab Emirates – provides advisory and training services to the various players in Sudanese Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and aims to result in: knowing the 2003 Convention and its instruments; developing national policies to strengthen institutions around ICH and 2003 Convention; developing inventories and building safeguarding plans for ICH; as well as preparing requests for international assistance: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/projects/strengthening-national-capacities-for-safeguarding-intangible-cultural-heritage-in-sudan-00381> [28.07.2019].

⁵²⁷ Besides the foundation of the Sudan National Museums and NCAM's subsidiary museums, examples for top-down 'creation' of heritage, are: the initiatives implemented by NCAM and UNESCO in the post-conflict reconstruction of the Sudan following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA); the inscription of the archaeological sites of Gebel Barkal and the sites of the Napatan Region in 2003; and the Island of Meroe in 2011 in UNESCO's World Heritage List.

4 Part III: Kerma – Local Heritage and Museum Praxis

«The truth of the past is metaphorical [...]. Like a metaphor the past *requires* interpretation» (Shanks and Tilley 1989: 20-21, their emphasis).

«In forgetting the collective inquiry in which he is inscribed, in isolating the object of his discourse from its historical genesis, an "author" in effect denies his real situation» (de Certeau 1984, 45).

As discussed in the first part of this thesis, the idea of building a National Museum in the Sudanese capital Khartoum dates back to the early colonial era, with construction beginning shortly after independence in 1960. While the creation of the Sudan National Museum was related to processes of nation-building as delineated by Benedict Anderson in "Imagined Communities" (2006), the establishment of new museums in the capitals of various federal states following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement⁵²⁸ resulted from an official policy of decentralisation and reconciliation (Leturcq 2009: 310). Similarly, the Nyala Museum (or Darfur Museum) in the capital of the South Darfur State was established in the context of post-conflict reconstruction following the Darfur Peace Agreement⁵²⁹. Jean-Gabriel Leturcq therefore argues that in conflictive areas, «museums are being built by the Sudanese authorities as a matter of political reconciliation, and as such are supposed to materialise and exhibit the official recognition of all the minorities of the country». In Leturcq's view, the post-conflict policy promoted museums «mainly as State infrastructures» (2009: 312). This view is akin to an Althusserian understanding of the museum as an ideological state apparatus ("ISAs"; Althusser 1971) that interpellates individuals as subjects and simultaneously subjects them to the prevalent order. But Leturcq nonetheless acknowledges that heritage can also be used as a political tool «that can be appropriated and subverted by communities at the local level» (Leturcq 2009: 322) – and this again allows to move past the logic of museums as ISAs and recast them as instruments for the promotion of cultural diversity; as civic spaces or 'civic laboratories' (Bennett 2005: 522).

⁵²⁸ The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) or Naivasha Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) was signed on January 9, 2005 in Naivasha, Kenya.

⁵²⁹ The Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) or Abuja Agreement between Government of Sudan and the Sudan Liberation Movement was signed on May 5, 2006 in Abuja, Nigeria.

Unlike the new museums established in the federal states in the wake of Sudan's 2005 and 2006 peace agreements, the creation of the Kerma Museum – whose planning already begun in the late 1990s – is to be seen against the introduction of federalism in 1991 and the ensuing policy of decentralisation and devolution of power to the states⁵³⁰. But the creation of the Kerma Museum is above all the result of an initiative by local and regional actors to valorise and promote the cultural heritage of the Kerma region. The Kerma Museum is thus, to some extent, the sign of an expression of cultural autonomy of a national group (the 'Nubians') which is legally and politically incorporated into the Sudan but culturally not fully assimilated to the predominant Arab culture⁵³¹. British archaeologist Rebecca Bradshaw writes in this context:

«Moreover, even though elite Nubians are educated, landed, wealthy and powerful, they are commonly viewed by Arab-Muslim groups through the Sudan state's 'ethno-religious' prism and thus denigrated as descendants of Christians and other pre-Islamic religious groups» (Bradshaw 2017: 33).

According to Roman Poeschke, since the seizure of power by the Beshir faction in 1989, Nubians have experienced a loss of influence, both on the national and individual level:

«They perceive the policy of Arabization as being directed against them. The feeling of being under a constant threat causes a revival of ethnicity as a basis of common identification that sometimes even culminates in proclaiming ethnic superiority. The myth of an old and glorious common Nubian past puts this resurrection on a firm foundation. (Poeschke 1996: 121-122, his emphases).

Sudanese scholar Muhammad Jalal Hashim goes one step further and speaks of a «officially explicit and illicit policies aimed at marginalizing the Nubians in both Egypt

⁵³⁰ Federalism was gradually introduced in the Sudan between 1991 (4th Constitutional Decree) and 1998 (National Constitution). For the constitutional process in the Sudan see Edrisinha and Seymour 2005: 433ff.

⁵³¹ According to Nubian activists who are involved in the local movement against the newly proposed dam at Kajbar on the Third Cataract, the consecutive governments of the Sudan have for decades intentionally marginalized the Nubian community (cp. Bradshaw 2017: 152). In their view, both the governments of Egypt and the Sudan aim at «assimilat[ing] the indigenous people of Nubia into Arabic culture through well organized programs of cultural cleansing, acculturation and indoctrination» (Nuraddin Abdulmannan, The Rescue Nubia and Kajbar Dam Resistance Committee 2007). For the conflicting visions about the Kajbar dam project and the Nubians' anti-dam resistance see Tamer M.A. Abd Elkreem 2010.

and the Sudan» (Muhammad Jalal Hashim 2007: 1) that entail a process of de-Nubianization and non-Nubian (Egyptian) re-population of the region.

It is thus not astonishing that many Nubians in the Kerma region consider themselves as the descendents of an ancient 'civilization', with Kerma as the symbol of a first autonomous state that did not result from Egyptian domination. The Nubians have, as Bradshaw (2017: 239) points out, embraced 'ancient Nubia' as the foundation of their identity, «even though their ancestral, linguistic, material and etymological links to 'ancient Nubia' are hard to substantiate». The claims held by modern Nubians thus make them according to Bradshaw «a 'descendant community'; [...] an 'indigenous descendant community' because they still live upon the land and amidst the archaeological remains of their claimed ancient forebears» (Bradshaw 2017: 239)⁵³². The discovery of seven monumental royal statues in 2003 and their prominent placement in the central hall of the Kerma Museum has thus undoubtedly reinforced the pride of the wider Nubian community in its culture.

4.1 Monuments, Sites and Excavations

For centuries, Western knowledge of Nubia – the ancient nation of Kush⁵³³ and the Aithiopia⁵³⁴ of the Greek culture – dependent upon Egyptian sources, references in the Bible and the fragmentary testimony of ancient Greek and Roman authors who had never travelled south of Egypt; writers like Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pliny the Elder. In the Middle Ages, these accounts were supplemented and refined by the histories and geographies of distinguished Islamic scholars such as

⁵³² According to Roman Poeschke, Nubians not only define themselves «as being an *"indigenous people"* in the region» but also consider the rest of the population as «*"immigrants only"*», who, according to «a leading Nubian figure», «do *"not have the right to dominate us"*» (Poeschke 2017: 122, his emphases).

⁵³³ László Török distinguishes between the political and the geographical term Kush. Politically, Kush refers to «the native kingdom emerging after the end of the Egyptian occupation (c. 1069 BC) and existing in the *Middle Nile Region* (between the First Cataract and the Khartoum area) as a political unit until the AD fourth century», while geographically, the term refers to the territories of «*Lower Nubia* between the First and the Second Cataracts and *Upper Nubia* between the Second and the Fifth Cataracts» (Török 2011a: xxiii, his emphases; cp. Török 2009: xxi and 2014: x).

⁵³⁴ The term Aithiopia (literally "land of the burnt-faced people") was used in Greek and Roman literature in order to refer both to the kingdom of Kush in the borderland of Egypt and, as a collective term, to the African periphery of the known world (Török 1997b: 69). For a clarifying overview of the political and geographical usage of the terms Kush, Aithiopia and Nubia see Török (2014: x).

Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406)⁵³⁵ and Ahmad ibn-Ali al-Maqrizi (Adams 1977: 70)⁵³⁶. Prior to the nineteenth century, only a few foreign travellers ventured into the faraway lands of Upper Nubia to explore a region archaeologically ill known⁵³⁷. Among those, special mention should be made of the French physician Charles-Jacques Poncet (1655-1706) who visited the Kerma region in late October/early November 1698 and of the Scottish traveller and explorer James Bruce (1730-1794), who – while on his way down the Nile back from Abyssinia – passed through a field of ruins near the present-day village of Begrawiya in 1772 and rightly believed, he had discovered the fabled city of Meroe, known to ancient Greek and Roman historians⁵³⁸.

It was eventually the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt (1798-1801) and the conquest of the Sudan in 1820-21 by the Egyptian army led by Ismail Kamil Pasha, youngest son of Wāli (governor) Muhammad Ali Pasha – the self-declared Khedive of Egypt and Sudan – opening the way for travellers into the Middle Nile Region (the region between the First Cataract and the Khartoum area):

«The short-lived Napoleonic occupation of Egypt, 1798-1801, opened the lands of the Nile to European scholarship. [John Lewis] Burckhardt, [Frédéric] Cailliaud, and [George Alexander] Hoskins visited Nubia and wrote detailed and perceptive accounts of its people and culture. The epoch-making journey of Richard Lepsius in 1842-4, resulting in a 12-volume work on Nubian and Egyptian antiquities, put Nubia on the historical map for all time» (Adams 1977: 2).

⁵³⁵ Ibn Khaldūn 1377: *Muqaddimah* (manuscript) / Ibn Khaldūn 1900: *Muqaddimat al-'Allāmah Ibn Khaldūn* (printed edition).

⁵³⁶ Ahmad ibn-Ali al-Maqrizi 1853. *Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-itibar fi dhikr al-khitat wa-l-āthār (Khitat)*. Cp. Ahmad ibn-Ali al-Maqrizi 1898. For a translation of al-Maqrizi's notices on Nubia see Burckhardt 1919: 493-543. For the accounts of Ibn Khaldūn, Ahmad ibn-Ali al-Maqrizi and other mostly Arabic travellers see Vantini 1975. For early descriptions of the Sudan by Muslim geographers and Travellers see Ibrahim A. al Adawi 1954.

⁵³⁷ For a presentation of «Travellers and Archaeologists in Nubia and the Egyptian Sūdān» see Budge 1907/I: 1ff). For a Chronology of foreign visitors to Nubia and the Sudan, 1521-1822, see: Adams 1977: 594-595. For a presentation of European travellers and administrators in Sudan before and after the Mahdya see Warburg 2005. For accounts of early travellers in the Sothern Sudan see Evans-Pritchard 1971b. For general literature of travel and exploration on the Sudan see Arnold 2003: 1155-1156.

⁵³⁸ Meroe – located on the east bank of the Nile, 230 km downstream from the confluence – was the Kushite capital in the first Millenium BCE and early centuries CE. In the fourth volume of his "Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile", James Bruce notes for October 21, 1772 the sight of «heaps of broken pedestals» and of «some pieces of obelisks» (1790 Vol. IV: 538) and concludes: «It is impossible to avoid risquing a guess, that this is the ancient city of Meroe» (1790 Vol. IV: 539). Bruce did not investigate the ruins which were «next passed by, and left again unexplored» (Török 1997a / Vol.1: 8, footnote 9) on April 17, 1814, by John Lewis Burckhardt (cp. Burckhardt 1819: 275). According to a hypothesis developed recently by German archaeologist Pawel Wolf, James Bruce had not (re-)discovered the ruins of Meroe, but the ones of el-Hassa, south of Wadi el-Hawad (Wolf 2017).

In search for the Nile's source⁵³⁹ or in search of the fabled city of Meroe, these travellers had passed through the Kerma region in the centre of Nubia; a region which incorporates numerous exceptional archaeological sites dating from the lower Paleolithic to the Islamic periods. They observed and documented a series of monumental archaeological structures and artefacts and thus contributed to their rediscovery and scientific exploration in the wake of the following decades⁵⁴⁰. But they also provide an illuminating insight into the mindset of the authors and their respective epistemological and ontological assumptions. As for Kerma, the monuments most-described by European travellers are the 'lower' (western) and 'upper' (eastern) *Deffufa*'s – as still referred to by the local population⁵⁴¹ – situated 3.5 km away from one another in proximity to the Nile. The monumental mudbrick structures rising high above the ground were notably visited and described by British clergymen George Waddington (1793-1869) and Barnard Hanbury (1793-1833) on November 22, 1820⁵⁴²; French naturalist and mineralogist Frédéric Cailliaud (1787-1869) on January 13 and May 18, 1821⁵⁴³; French traveller Louis Maurice Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds (1799-1883) on September 11 and 12, 1821⁵⁴⁴; British traveller George Alexander Hoskins (1802-1863) on April 19, 1833⁵⁴⁵; and by Prussian Egyptologist and linguist Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884) on June 20, 1844⁵⁴⁶. The eyewitness accounts of these European travellers – their descriptions and drawings – are still a fascinating source of historical information. However, the systematic scientific study of the ancient monuments and of the archaeological sites and remains in Kerma began with the excavations of the American Egyptologist

⁵³⁹ On the history of European geographical exploration of the Sudan see Abbas Ibrahim Muhammad Ali 1974.

⁵⁴⁰ For the re-discovery of Kerma by 19th century travellers see Reisner 1923, Vol. V: 14ff and Ferrero 1990: 25ff.

⁵⁴¹ Bonnet (1978: I) gives a phenomenological definition of the term *Deffufa* («a Nubian word for a fairly high monument built of unfired brick»). However, here we rely on the etymological analysis provided by anthropologist George W. Murray in Reisner's "Excavations at Kerma": For Murray/Reisner, the word «deffûfa, or ore properly, diffûfa» is an Arabicized corruption of the old Mahassi word *diffe* [diffi] (*dib* in Dongolawi) meaning a walled village / a fortress (Reisner 1923, Part I: 14). Cp. Lepsius 1880: 285/421.

⁵⁴² For a description of the eastern *Deffufa* see Waddington and Hanbury 1822: 42-43.

⁵⁴³ For a description of the western *Deffufa* see Cailliaud 1826 Vol. I: 397-98; for the corresponding drawing see 1826 Vol. II, plate LXXX, fig. 2.

⁵⁴⁴ For a description of both *Deffufa*'s see Linant de Bellefonds 1958: 20-22. For the corresponding drawings see: "Dessins exécutés par Linant de Bellefonds lors de ses voyages en Egypte, Nubie" (no. 16 and 17), Arabie Pétrée. 2nde partie, Bibliothèque Centrale des Musées Nationaux.

⁵⁴⁵ For the description of the western *Deffufa* see Hoskins 1835: 215-216; for the corresponding drawing see 1835: 216.

⁵⁴⁶ For a description of both *Deffufa*'s see Lepsius 1849-1859, Vol. V: 245-247. For the corresponding drawings see "Tafelwerke", Abtheilung I, Band II, 121.

George A. Reisner who carried out excavations at Kerma in four campaigns from 1913 to 1916⁵⁴⁷. Reisner's attention was drawn to the Sudan «mainly by the historical questions raised as a result of the Archaeological Survey of Lower Nubia⁵⁴⁸ [First Archaeological Survey of Nubia, 1907-1911]» (Reisner 1923, Vol. V: 3)⁵⁴⁹. But his interventions in Kerma are also to be seen against the background of a large irrigation project ('Kerma Irrigation Basin') which was due to be implemented by 1913 and which was supposed to endanger or even destroy the *Deffufas* (Reisner in Jackson 1914: 72-75; Reisner 1915: 35). On the request of Negm El-Din Mohamed Sherif (Bonnet 2006: 8), Swiss archaeologist Charles Bonnet – who had previously participated in a leading function in the excavations of the 25th Dynasty temple of Amun at Tabo on Argo Island⁵⁵⁰ – started archaeological excavations at the two main sites of the Kerma region: the capital of the first Nubian kingdom (excavations starting in 1977), and its cemetery (excavations starting in 1979), located 3.5 km to the east. Since the resumption of the excavations, Charles Bonnet has made important discoveries which have considerably contributed to the knowledge of Nubian history⁵⁵¹. William Y. Adams, in his top twenty list of expeditions conducted in Nubia, therefore presented Charles Bonnet's excavations as Kerma as the most important of all:

⁵⁴⁷ The results of the excavations under the aegis of the "Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts" at Kerma were published in 1923 under the title "Excavations at Kerma" in Harvard African Studies Vols. V and VI. For a preliminary report see Reisner 1915. For Reisner's description and interpretation of the *Deffufa*'s see Vol. V: 21-40 (western *Deffufa*) and Vol. V: 122-132 (eastern *Deffufa*). For a critical discussion of Reisner's interpretation of the Kerma finds see Adams 1977: 208-209.

⁵⁴⁸ 'Lower Nubia' encompasses the area between the First and the Second Nile Cataracts, while 'Upper Nubia' refers to the area between the Second and Fifth Cataracts (Török 2011a: xxiii).

⁵⁴⁹ The possibilities of excavations in the Sudan were discussed in a meeting arranged in Cairo by British Egyptologist James Edward Quibell (1867-1935), between John Winter Crowfoot – then in charge of the Sudan Antiquities – and George A. Reisner (Crowfoot 1943: 122).

⁵⁵⁰ The excavations under the aegis of the "University of Geneva – Henry M. Blackmer Foundation Joint Mission" (1965-1976) were directed by the late Professor Charles Maystre from the Centre for Oriental Studies at the University of Geneva.

⁵⁵¹ For a synthesis of the knowledge on Kerma before the beginnings of the excavations by Charles Bonnet and his team, see Trigger 1976. The results obtained by Charles Bonnet have been published in numerous excavation reports, articles and monographs, many of which are listed in the reference section. For a scientific description and interpretation of the *Deffufa*'s see Bonnet 2000 (eastern *Deffufa*) and Bonnet 2004 (western *Deffufa*). According to László Török (2009: 1005), Charles Bonnet and his team «since the 1970s have radically changed the Egyptocentric picture of the Kerma Culture presented by George Andrew Reisner». Ten years later, Henry Louis Gates «Bonnet, unlike Reisner and other Egyptologists more generally, has always argued for Kerma's distinctively indigenous culture (Gates 2019: vii).

«I have saved until last a mention of what must surely be accounted the most important of all excavations in Nubia: that carried out by Charles Bonnet and his team in the great townsite and the cemeteries of Kerma. It has virtually revolutionized our understanding of the geopolitics of northeast Africa in the days of the Pharaohs. (...). We now recognize that there was a highly developed civilization in the Sudan long before its conquest by Egypt; one strong enough to pose a genuine threat to Egypt's southern frontier» (Adams 2008: 11).

American literary scholar and authority on African American history, Henry Louis Gates Jr., in a recent publication, has acknowledged Bonnet's work at Kerma:

«[...] Bonnet, unlike Reisner and other Egyptologists more generally, has always argued for Kerma's distinctly indigenous culture, which peaked between 1785 and 1500 BCE, when it was the capital of the Kingdom of Kush. Bonnet's literally groundbreaking work has shown, that, far from being a colony of Egypt, Kerma was a powerful southern *rival*. It was the center of a complex, prosperous society that was independent of its northern neighbour and maintained its own culture, methods of construction, and burial customs» (Gates 2019: vii, his emphasis).

While Charles Bonnet's project was set up under the auspices of the University of Geneva, the Swiss Archaeological Mission mission since 2002 has been under the directorship of Matthieu Honegger of Neuchâtel University. It now encompasses the whole Kerma region south of the third Nile cataract and covers a research period of 10'000 years. The surveys and excavations conducted in hitherto unexplored areas, particularly in the desert, east of the Nile Valley, have revealed the overall importance of this area to African prehistory. The main archaeological sites investigated by the Swiss Archaeological Mission so far include the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Kerma and its eastern necropolis; the 'Pre-Kerma' agglomeration; the multi-phase site at Dukki-Gel; and the Mesolithic and early Neolithic sites at el-Barga and Wadi El-Arab. The three major archaeological sites of Kerma (ancient town, necropolis and Dukki-Gel) are included in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List (submitted on September 1, 1994). A wealth of comprehensive information on the history of Kerma and on the scientific activities of the Swiss Archaeological Mission is available on the mission's website (www.kerma.ch) which also provides full-text scholarly articles and excavation reports by authors associated with the mission.

The activities of the Swiss Mission at Kerma were first presented to a larger public in an exhibition accompanying the Seventh International Conference for Nubian Studies⁵⁵² in 1990. The exhibition featuring 445 artefacts from Kerma on loan from different collections was organized by Charles Bonnet in Geneva's Museum of Art and History. It was entitled *Kerma, Royaume de Nubie (Kerma, Kingdom of Nubia)* and lasted from June 14 to November 25 of the same year (cp. Bonnet 1990). The subtitle of the exhibition – *L'antiquité africaine au temps des pharaons* – testifies to a change of perspective away from the Egyptocentric focus of Reisner and towards the recognition of the indigenous African origins of the Kerma kingdom⁵⁵³. A quarter of a century later, the University of Neuchâtel had the honour of hosting the 13th Conference, and this time Matthieu Honegger conceived and curated the accompanying exhibition in the Laténium Museum, the archaeological museum of the Swiss canton of Neuchâtel in Hauterive⁵⁵⁴. Under the title *Aux origines des pharaons noirs: 10 000 ans d'archéologie en Nubie (To the Origins of the Black Pharaohs – 10'000 years of Nubian Archaeology)*, the exhibition was inaugurated on September 2, 2014 and ended on the 17th of May 2015⁵⁵⁵. The exhibition presented a selection of approximately 240 objects from Kerma on loan from different collections in the Sudan and abroad⁵⁵⁶.

4.2 Memory, History, Place and Heritage

In his study of memory in the construction of the French past, historian Pierre Nora has highlighted the spatiality of memory (Nora 1989; 1984-92) by introducing the concept of *lieux de mémoire* – "sites of memory" that «anchor, condense, and

⁵⁵² This quadrennial conference gathers archaeologists, historians, anthropologists and academics from all over the world who specialize in studying the rich heritage of ancient Nubia and Sudan. The 7th International Conference for Nubian Studies was held in Geneva from September 3 to September 8, 1990. The 13th Conference was held in Neuchâtel, from September 1 to September 6, 2014.

⁵⁵³ This change of perspective gave rise to Nubiology as a new field of African studies: «Longtemps considérées comme annexes de l'égyptologie, les études nubienne ont pris désormais leur autonomie; elles constituent maintenant un secteur important de l'africanisme» (Leclant 1990:1). Kazimierz Michałowski is considered to be the Nestor of Nubiology, having founded the Society for Nubian Studies and holding the position as its first President.

⁵⁵⁴ The Laténium Museum is the largest museum dedicated exclusively to archaeology in Switzerland. It opened in 2001 and is located on the shores of Lake Neuchâtel.

⁵⁵⁵ The Neuchâtel exhibition was accompanied by the exhibition catalogue *Aux origines des pharaons noirs. 10'000 ans d'archéologie en Nubie* (Honegger 2014).

⁵⁵⁶ The artefacts depicted in the exhibition catalogue were on loan from the following museums and research institutions: Sudan National Museum, Khartoum; Musée d'art et Histoire, Genève, Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Genève; Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig; Mission archéologique Suisse de l'Université de Neuchâtel. Cp. Honegger 2014.

express the exhausted capital of our collective memory» (Nora 1989: 24)⁵⁵⁷. In Nora's view, the 'acceleration of history' in the process of modernization – the «general perception that anything and everything may disappear» (Nora 1989: 7) – has led to an erosion of 'real' or traditional environments of memory (*milieux de memoire*). These traditional forms of organic memory (conceptually related to 'remembrance') have following Nora been deliberately replaced by a secondary memory («a prosthesis memory» Nora 1989:14); a 'modern memory' which is «above all, archival» (Nora 1989: 13). Since memory was «seized» (1989:13) or rather «conquered and eradicated» (1989:8) by history, modern societies according to Nora created the previously mentioned *lieux de memoire* defined as crystallization points of our collective heritage («points de cristallisation de notre héritage collectif», Nora 1992: 11). They are in Nora's words «*lieux* in three senses of the word – material, symbolic, and functional» (Nora 1989: 18-19, his emphasis), whereas the three aspects always coexist.

Nora's *lieux de memoire* «are created by the interaction of memory and history» and are driven by a «will to remember» (Nora 1989: 19). «Memory», for Nora, «fastens upon sites, whereas history fastens upon events» (Nora 1996: 18). But archaeological sites, according to Nora, do not fall into the category of the *the lieux de memoire*⁵⁵⁸, since what makes them «important as sites is often precisely what ought to exclude them from being *lieux de memoire*: the absolute absence of a will to remember [*volonté de memoire*] and, by way of compensation, the crushing weight imposed on them by time, science, and the dreams of men» (Nora 1989: 20-21, his emphasis). Museums on the other hand are prominent *lieux de memoire* (Nora 1989: 22; 1996: xv); places where a 'national' identity crystallizes and materializes as collective memory. Museums thus present themselves under the

⁵⁵⁷ Pierre Nora's notion of *lieux de memoire* has – as Peter Carrier notes – almost become a commonplace in everyday French language, whereas term was introduced in 1993 into the *Grand Robert* dictionary which defines a "*lieu de memoire*" as a «'a significant unit, either material or ideal, which the will of people or the effect of time have turned into a symbolic element of a given community'» (Carrier 2000: 39-40). However, according to Carrier, the *Grand Robert* definition is a misquotation from an essay by Pierre Nora, in which a "*lieu de memoire*" «is defined more precisely as 'a symbolic element of the *memorial patrimony* of a given community'» (Carrier 2000: 42, his emphasis; Nora 1993: 20).

⁵⁵⁸ However, archaeological sites can become sites of memory through the activation of a willingness to remember. The American anthropologist Ruth van Dyke writes in this context: «Places and things from the past carry a sort of 'intra worldliness' – they were once part of a different social life, but are now part of ours. Archaeological sites also can become memory anchors – the loci of social memories and meanings that are continually constructed, obliterated, altered, and reconstructed to legitimate political authority or identity» (van Dyke 2017: 201).

requisite aspects of a *lieux de memoire*: they are material in the sense that they are assumed 'physical objects'⁵⁵⁹ in the real world, which can be physically experienced; they are symbolic spaces (produced and reproduced by social relations) for the common recollection of narratives of memory and their inscription in a place; they are functional as pedagogical and empowerment tools to forge a sense of meaning and belonging among human groups. Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* are therefore locations where identity and national identification are susceptible to emerge. They are – as Ian Beaucom has suggested – locations of identity, where «an identity-preserving, identity-enchanting, and identity-transforming aura lingers, or is made to appear» (Beaucom 1999: 19)⁵⁶⁰.

Pierre Nora's spatial approach to remembrance draws on Maurice Halbwachs' "social framework" ("*cadre social*") of collective memory, in which he argued that individuals acquire, recall, recognise and localise memories through membership in social groups («c'est dans la société que, normalement, l'homme acquiert ses souvenirs, qu'il se les rappelle, et, comme on dit, qu'il les reconnaît et les localise» (Halbwachs 1925: VIII). Collective memory, for Halbwachs, is based to a large extent on spatial images (Halbwachs 1980: 133) and «unfolds within a spatial framework» (Halbwachs 1980: 140, cp. Connerton 1989: 37). Memory and space are thus intimately connected, with memories produced and stored within the public sphere (Olick 1999: 335). While the "spatial framework" of memory ("*cadre spatial de la mémoire*") provided by Halbwachs relates to the mental representations of space in memory, his additional notion of a 'material framework' of memory ("*cadre matériel de la mémoire*") refers to the "built environment" or "material environment" which carries meanings about the past.

The 'social frameworks' in which individual memory is constituted ("*cadres sociaux de la mémoire*"; Halbwachs 1925), influence – as British anthropologist Paul Basu notes – both the object and the form of remembrance and thus unite members of a group in shared "communities of memory"⁵⁶¹:

⁵⁵⁹ As for the meaningfulness of the talk about physical objects see Wittgenstein 1969: § 36.

⁵⁶⁰ It should be noted that *lieux de memoire* can also be *lieux de discorde*. Ruth van Dyke has pointed out in this context that «places that figure strongly in collective memory can become focal points for contested interpretations of multiple pasts» (van Dyke 2017: 201).

⁵⁶¹ The phrase "communities of memory" was coined by Robert Bellah et al. in *Habits of the Heart* (1985).

«Such social frameworks influence both what is remembered and how it is remembered, binding group members together in a shared 'community of memory' and contributing to an individual's sense of belonging of the group» (Basu: 2013: 115).

Maurice Halbwachs's and Pierre Nora's conceptualizations of "collective memory" and "sites of memory", respectively, seem to be particularly contributing for the understanding of museums as both sites and sources of social memory⁵⁶². The communities in which those museums are located might be referred to as "communities of memory", brought together by the wish and will to remember.

In his phenomenological studies of remembering, Edward S. Casey has pointed out the «intimate and profound» (Casey 2000: 183) relationship between memory and place arguing that there is a «topology of the remembered» (Casey 2000: 184), in which memory is embedded and embodied in place; and place implaces itself in memory. For Casey, it is the lived body, «the natural subject of perception» (Casey 1996: 22, quoting Merleau-Ponty 1962: 208⁵⁶³), that realizes the relationship between memory and place; it is our bodily emplacement, that gathers and holds memory:

«As embodied existence opens onto place, indeed *takes place* in *place* and nowhere else, so our memory of what we experience in place is likewise place-specific: it is bound to place as to its own basis» (Casey 2000: 182, his emphasis).

Edward Casey's approach to the place-world provides a useful framework for the analysis of the dialectic relationship between physical 'place' and the human sensory experience of 'place'. In the context of the Kerma Museum and the *Deffufas*, Casey's approach is thus ideally suited for studying the relationship between 'place' («the immediate environment of [the] lived body – an arena of action that is at once physical and historical, social and cultural») and 'space' («the volumetric void in which things (including human beings) are positioned», Casey 2001a: 683).

⁵⁶² While the term 'collective memory' tends to be preferred among historians and 'cultural memory' within cultural studies, the term 'social memory' is useful from an anthropological perspective because it indicates the social 'constructedness' of memory (cp. Crane 2011: 105). For an overview of the definitions and usages of these concepts see Olick and Robbins 1998. For a discussion of "communicative" and "cultural memory" see Assmann 2008.

⁵⁶³ It seems that Casey offers an imprecise quotation of Merleau Ponty. The passage that comes closest to the above is: «the body is a natural self and, as it were, the subject of perception» (Merleau-Ponty 1962: 206).

The idea of 'place' is further vital for the understanding of the concept of 'heritage'. Jeff Malpas, in his thinking about sense of place as it relates to cultural heritage (Malpas 2008), has drawn attention to three senses of place: place as "simple location", place as "significant locale" and place as "existential ground", whereas in his view, the sense of place as existential ground underpins the other senses of place. Place as 'existential ground' according to Malpas is thus the very matrix out of which human significance and meaning arise. Places of heritage significance are thus «precisely those that have a special character or identity of their own and that also play a special role in shaping the identity of certain societies and cultures» (Malpas 2008; 201).

In the opening sentence of *Uses of Heritage*, Laurajane Smith claims that «[t]here is, really, no such thing as heritage» (2006:1), arguing that the subject of our heritage "gaze" (a term borrowed from John Urry, 1990) is less «a thing [than] a set of values and meanings» (Smith 2006: 11):

«Heritage [is not] only about the past though it [is] that too – it also [is not] just about material things though it [is] that as well – heritage [is] a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning in and for the present» (Smith 2006:1).

Smith's thus theorizes 'heritage' as «a social and cultural practice» (Smith 2006: 11); as «a multi-layered performance [...] that embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present» (Smith 2006: 3)⁵⁶⁴. Heritage is according to Smith «not a thing, site or place, nor is it 'found'»; it is rather «the multiple processes of meaning making that occur as material heritage places or intangible heritage events are identified, defined, managed, exhibited and visited» (Smith 2012 n.p.). Even though Smith (2006:84) acknowledges that heritage «mediates a sense of cultural, social and political change» she rejects the view that there is something inherently progressive or reactionary in the idea of heritage (2006: 41)⁵⁶⁵. Laurajane Smith's discursive,

⁵⁶⁴ For Smith's idea of heritage as performance see Smith 2006: 66ff and Smith 2011.

⁵⁶⁵ Laurajane Smith thus implicitly argues contra Dennis Hardy (1988) who distinguishes between heritage as a 'conservative' concept that supports and reinforces dominant patterns of power and heritage as a 'radical' concept that challenges and attempts to subvert existing structures of power. Cp. Smith 2006: 41.

process-oriented approach to heritage provides a useful framework for the analysis and interpretation of 'heritage' sites.

The concept of 'heritage' is intimately linked to both processes of identity formation and identity politics at individual, local, national and global levels. Museums – understood not as mere guardians but as producers and agents of 'heritage' (cp. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2012: 199 ff.) – can thus, as Carol Duncan has shown, be an instrument for identity building and development within a community: «museums can be powerful identity-defining machines [t]o control the representation of a community and some of its highest, most authoritative truths» (Duncan 1991: 101-102). Referring to the Kerma Museum and with regard to the 1994 submission of Kerma to the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List, it proved fruitful to analyse how formulations of heritage are influenced by particular narratives and by the material culture from the past.

4.3 The 'Kerma Cultural Complex'

Prior to the issue of the 1999 'Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities' the government of Sudan used to assign half of the findings discovered to the licensee, while the remaining half passed into governmental ownership. The findings assigned to the Swiss Mission resulting from the division of finds (*partage*) entered the collections of Geneva's Musée d'Art et d'Histoire where they are exhibited in a separate hall, whilst the findings retained by the Sudanese Government were transferred to the Sudan National Museum⁵⁶⁶. The Swiss Archaeological Mission and its affiliated partners have also contributed to the restoration of finds retained by the Sudanese Antiquities Service. For instance, they sponsored the first restoration in Switzerland of a gilded bronze statue of an anonymous Meroitic king discovered in 1974 in the temple of Amun at Tabo (Maystre et al., 1986). In 2010, the statue – a masterpiece of the Sudan National Museum – was subjected to a second restoration in France and was then presented in the *Méroé, un empire sur le Nil* exhibition at the Louvre Museum in Paris⁵⁶⁷.

⁵⁶⁶ The last *partage* between the NCAM and the Swiss Archaeological Mission took place in February 1996.

⁵⁶⁷ *Méroé, un empire sur le Nil*. Louvre Museum, March 26 to September 6, 2010. Catalogue: *Méroé, un empire sur le Nil*. 2010. Michel Baud (ed.). Paris: Musée du Louvre Editions. For the second restoration of the statue of the archer-king from Tabo see Timbart et al. 2015. After the first

Since the end of the *partage* system at the turn of the 21st century⁵⁶⁸ and coinciding with the intentions to build a museum at Kerma, the bulk of the discovered artefacts remain in Kerma. While the bulk of the objects is publicly displayed at the Kerma Museum and some objects are also stored there, the bulk of the non-exhibited objects is kept in safe custody by the Swiss Archaeological Mission until a transfer to a much-needed storeroom at the Kerma Museum is practicable.

The abolition of the *partage* system must first be considered in the context of efforts by the international community to resolve issues regarding the ownership of antiquities and the looting of antiquities⁵⁶⁹. Additionally, it is a consequence of the application of federalism in the Sudan, which was introduced gradually from 1991. The devolution of power to the states led to the creation of Directorates of Antiquities in the federal states and to a partial decentralisation of heritage management. As regards the Northern State and maybe Nubia in general, the 'top down' model of federalism coincided in with a 'bottom-up' reawakening of Nubian identity⁵⁷⁰. This reawakening of pride in local identity (cp. Trigger 1994: 345) is best manifested in the initiative taken by a committee of Kerma citizens, comprising members from the government and the civil society, to create an archaeological site museum at Kerma. The 'High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex' was founded on July 16, 1997 in Khartoum as an ad-hoc committee⁵⁷¹, on the initiative of Sirr al-Khatim Fadul – a former general of the Sudanese army originating from Kerma and then Undersecretary at the then Ministry of Environment and Tourism under the patronage of Abdel Raheem Muhammad Hussein⁵⁷², then Minister of

restoration, the statue was exhibited for the first time in the *Akasha: 3500 ans d'histoire et de civilisation en Nubie soudanaise* exhibition at Geneva's Museum of Art and History (November 19, 1976 to March 20, 1977).

⁵⁶⁸ In the Sudan, the *partage* system, i.e. a division of finds between the host nation and the excavators, was abolished under the 'Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999'. In Egypt, the *partage* system ended more than a decade earlier with the promulgation of law n. 117 in 1983.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. The 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.

⁵⁷⁰ Roman Poeschke (1996: 121) speaks of a 'Nubian renaissance', which has to be seen «as a reaction to the political and economic changes that began with the seizure of power by the Beshir faction in 1989» leading on the individual and national level to a loss of influence.

⁵⁷¹ Even though the High Committee was formed under a resolution of the then Ministry of Environment and Tourism (resolution no. 19, 1996) it has according to Salaheldin Mohammed Ahmed (senior member of the High Committee) no formal legal status. Email communication. June 14, 2016.

⁵⁷² Abdel Raheem Muhammad Hussein is originating from Kerma. He is wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) on war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur (arrest warrant issued on March 1, 2012).

National Defence, with the aim of preserving, presenting and promoting the regions past; «to keep the objects and collections to be extracted from the excavation in the area» and «to make these objects accessible for research, public enjoyment and education»⁵⁷³. The 'High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex' can be conceptualized as a "community of practice"⁵⁷⁴ – a community of individuals from diverse personal and professional backgrounds and interests, who work productively together on joint goals – or maybe more precisely as a "heritage community of practice"⁵⁷⁵ (cp. Adell et al. 2015: 8)⁵⁷⁶.

The idea of establishing a museum in Kerma was consistent with the then strategy of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) of creating a museum in every one of the 25 states of the country, «provided that the concerned state or the local authorities prepare the infrastructure and exhibition facilities»⁵⁷⁷. According to Jean-Gabriel Leturcq (2009: 310) this strategy goes back to a NCAM plan dating from 2005 which includes firstly the renewal of existing museums; secondly the creation of museum educational programs for schools and children; and thirdly the creation of museums in capital regional states. This plan was formulated against the background of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between Sudan's warring factions in 2005 and thus in line both with a general policy of decentralisation to the federal states and with a new post-conflict policy of cultural diversity and national reconciliation. The plan provided according to Leturcq (2009: 310ff) the construction of museums in Al-Damazin (Blue Nile State), Al-Ubayyid (North Kordofan State), Dongola (Northern State), Fashoda (Fashoda State), Kassala (Kassala State), Jonglei (Jonglei State), Juba (capital of Southern Sudan),

⁵⁷³ Sirr al-Khatim Fadul, personal communication. Khartoum: September 11, 2013.

⁵⁷⁴ The concept of Communities of practice was first proposed by cognitive anthropologist Jean Lave and educational theorist in their 1991 book *Situated learning* (Lave and Wenger 1991) in order to denote communities formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavor.

⁵⁷⁵ The definition of a "heritage community" was introduced by the Council of Europe in the so called Faro Declaration in 2005 for «people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations» (Council of Europe 2005).

⁵⁷⁶ Interestingly, the question of integrating a representative of the Swiss Archaeological Mission to the Sudan in the 'High Committee' never arose, although that would have facilitated collaboration. This might be explained by the rather homogeneous and exclusive character of the 'High Committee' as a "community of practice".

⁵⁷⁷ Hassan Hussein Idris (2008). "Editorial Notes". *KUSH* Vol. XIX, p. 2. The strategy «to establish a museum in every state and at many archaeological sites» was announced as early as 1997. Cp. Hassan Hussein Idris (1997). "Editorial Notes". *KUSH* Vol. XVII, p. 8.

Nyala (South Darfur State), Suakin (Red Sea State), Wad Medani (Al Jazirah State) and Wadi Halfa (Northern State). However, Sudan's economic crisis following the separation of South Sudan and the loss of essential oil revenues, but also the outbreak of armed conflicts in various parts of the country have a sustained negative impact on the implementation of the planned museums in the federal states. The only museum realized so far were the Nyala Museum and the Wad Medani Museum for Archaeology and Ethnography which were inaugurated in 2006 and 2014 respectively⁵⁷⁸. The establishment of the Kerma Museum has thus to be situated in the larger context of a general program on «"post-conflict reconstruction and development"» (Leturcq 2009: 310), even though, in the case of Kerma, the emphasis is on showcasing the rich and varied cultural mosaic of Nubia rather than the cultural diversity of Sudan⁵⁷⁹. In this respect, the Kerma Museum is a special case, because, museums operating under the umbrella of NCAM generally showcase both objects from the region and a selection of objects from other parts of the country «in order to give awareness for the whole nation about what the Sudan was and how we can harmonize all those in one nation»⁵⁸⁰.

The initiator and founding chair of the High Committee and the coordinator of its operations up to 2015 was the abovementioned SIRR al-Khatim Fadul⁵⁸¹. In his then position as Undersecretary, SIRR al-Khatim managed to convince both his superiors at the Ministry and the public of the validity of his vision. At its foundation, the High Committee consisted of 28 male members, including federal and state Ministers; current and former civil servants such as governors and district commissioners; the director general of the NCAM and his deputies; engineers and lawyers; the future architect of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' as well as farmers, traders and merchants and local notables.

⁵⁷⁸ Considering the general state of underdevelopment of the federal states, Leturcq (2009: 312) raises the question why the construction of museums was a priority. Departing from the observation of an overlapping of planned museums and conflict zones, Leturcq argues that the then current heritage policy was designed «to counter the narratives of conflictive identities that were developed during the civil wars and, at the same time, to promote cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity in Sudan» (Leturcq 2009: 322).

⁵⁷⁹ Oral information by SIRR al-Khatim Fadul. Khartoum, September 11, 2013.

⁵⁸⁰ Personal communication by Siddig Mohamed Gasmelseed. Director of the International Relations Department at the Ministry of Tourism, Antiquities and Wildlife; former director of the Sheikan Museum, Sultan Ali Dinar Museum, and the Sudan National Museum. Khartoum, 13. 09. 2013.

⁵⁸¹ Since, the High Committee is headed by Mohamed Salih Badri, from Kerma.

In 1997, *Ustaz* [master] Abdalla Muhammad Sabbar – co-founder and director of the architecture firm *Altakamul Alhandasi* ('The Perfect Engineering')⁵⁸² in Khartoum and member of the High Committee – was entrusted with the planning of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex'⁵⁸³ located on a plot of almost two hectares in direct proximity to the eponymous site. Sirr al-Khatim's choice fell on *Ustaz* Sabbar «for his expertise and experience in Nubian style architecture and for his ability to transform elements of traditional architecture in a pure modern language»⁵⁸⁴. Mr. Sabbar accepted for planning and designing a project and for supervising the execution of the buildings. To this day, he has done so without demanding any payment⁵⁸⁵. According to his sister Nadja, *Ustaz* Sabbar joined in the project firstly because he was convinced of its high quality, and secondly because, having himself Nubian origins, he sympathized with the idea of keeping and exhibiting the ancient remains of Nubian cultural heritage in their place of origin.

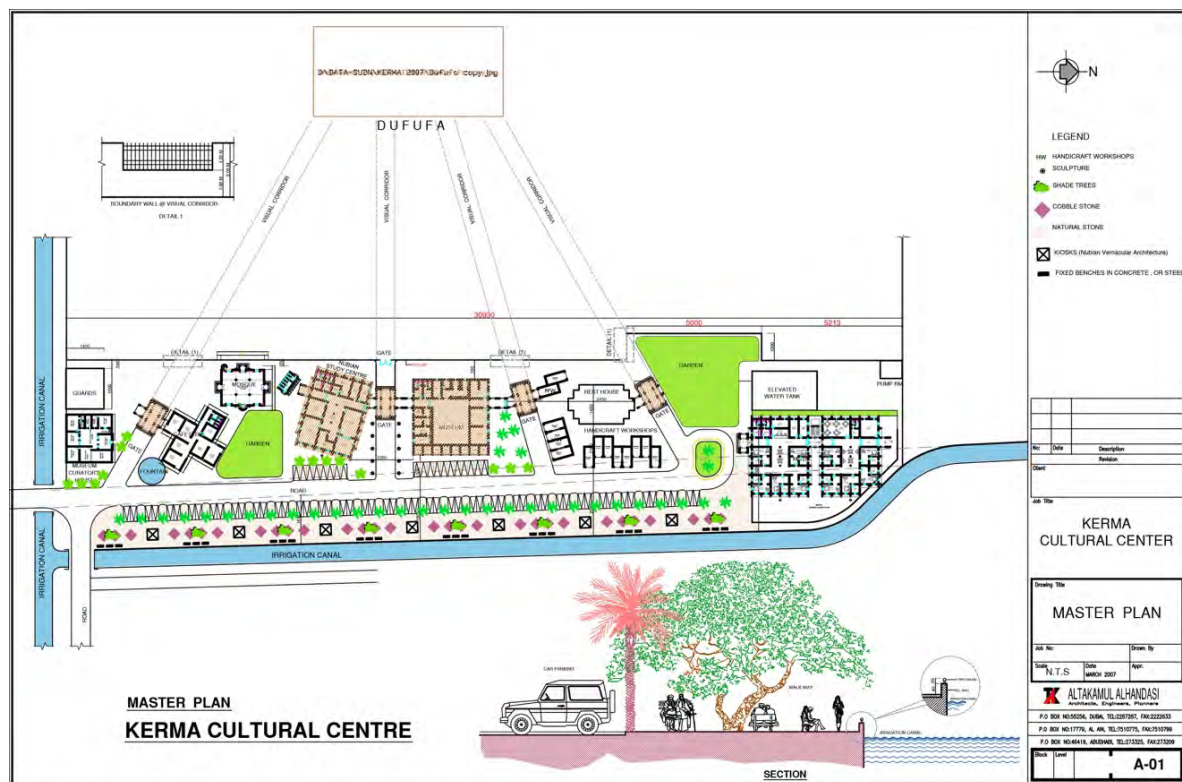
In March 1998, *Altakamul Alhandasi* presented a first Master Plan (the final Master Plan dates from March 2007) for the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' which identifies a series of buildings and structures along a south-north axis which parallels an access road and an irrigation canal lined with palm trees to the east. The Master Plan further provides vast green spaces and areas for recreation. The buildings from south to north include a house for the museum's director and a guard's house, a cafeteria, a mosque, a public toilet block, a centre for Nubian studies, a museum, handicraft shops and workshops, a resthouse for researchers and visitors and a hotel for tourists. Moreover, the complex has a parking area, several green spaces, an elevated water tank and a power generator.

⁵⁸² The architecture firm *Altakamul Alhandasi* – Architects Engineers Planners (www.takalhandasi.com) has its head office in Dubai and branch offices in Al Ain (UAE) and Khartoum. Their most important buildings are the Arab Authority for Agricultural Investment (1985) and the Embassy of Kuwait (1991) in Khartoum.

⁵⁸³ Also referred to as the 'Kerma Civilization Complex', 'Kerma Cultural Centre' or 'Kerma Civilization Complex and Cultural Center'.

⁵⁸⁴ Sirr al-Khatim Fadul, personal communication. Khartoum: September 11, 2013.

⁵⁸⁵ Nadja Sabbar, personal communication. Khartoum: September 14, 2013.



Master Plan of the Kerma Cultural Centre.

Altakamul Alhandasi Architects Engineers Planners, 1998.

Under the Master Plan, the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' is located next to and oriented towards the archaeological site comprising the capital city of the Kingdom of Kerma in the midst of which the 'lower' or 'western' *Deffufa* (in contrast to the 'upper' or 'eastern' *Deffufa* situated in the necropolis of Kerma)⁵⁸⁶ rises up to 18 metres above the ground. When George Andrew Reisner visited Kerma for the first time on February 12, 1913 (Reisner 1923:10), he was amazed to see how much the situation encountered corresponded to the descriptions provided by Lepsius on June 20, 1844:

«On the first morning, I rode a donkey over the plain at Kerma on my preliminary inspection. (...). I could see a great mud ruin a few miles to the south, called by the natives the Western or Lower Defûfa. As I rode towards it the Eastern Defûfa came into view about five miles to the east. Everything appeared much as Lepsius had seen it on the 20th day of June nearly seventy years ago» (Reisner 1914: 10).

⁵⁸⁶ Labelled by Reisner (1923) K I ('lower' or 'western' Deffufa) and K II ('upper' or 'eastern' Deffufa).

The western *Deffufa* was interpreted by Reisner as the fortified administrative center of an Egyptian governor general of Upper Nubia (Reisner 1923/I: 40). But since Charles Bonnet's extensive excavations and research, it is accepted that the *Deffufa*, built around 2000 BC, was the main temple of the Kerma town (cp. Bonnet 1981: 209 and Bonnet 2004)⁵⁸⁷. The connection between the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' and the archaeological site is marked by four monumental gates which are positioned in such a way along the south to north axis that they offer the visitor scenic views of the *Deffufa* from different angles.

The High Committee approved the Master Plan and launched a major fundraising campaign among Nubians⁵⁸⁸ in their homeland and in the Diaspora in order to raise the necessary funds for the project⁵⁸⁹. A foundation stone laying ceremony was held on May 10, 1998 in the presence of dignitaries from the federal, state and local governments. The fundraising campaign turned out to be successful so that, by 2003, the construction of Phase I of the project was launched⁵⁹⁰. The implementation of this initial phase included the construction of a monumental gate, the water well and the elevated tank, the block of public toilets and the construction of the museum building up to ground slab level. Its completion was celebrated in December 29, 2004 in a public ceremony which was attended on the Sudanese side by senior politicians, government officials and representatives of the local population

⁵⁸⁷ Earlier in 1964, the German Egyptologist Fritz Hintze (1915-1993) had already advanced the proposition that the Western Deffufa at Kerma was not an Egyptian fortress (vs Reisner 1923: 16) or a trading post (vs Junker 1921: 99; Scharff 1926: 95; and Säve-Söderbergh 1941: 103) or a watchtower (vs Adams 1977: 202). Hintze rather interpreted the lower Deffufa (Kerma I) as a part of the palace of the King of Kerma (Hintze 1964: 82).

⁵⁸⁸ Nubians are a non-Arab Muslim ethnolinguistic group indigenous to present-day Sudan and southern Egypt. The main Nubian speech groups in the Sudan are Danagla/Danaqla and Mahas.

⁵⁸⁹ The total costs for the construction of the 'Kerma Civilization Complex' have been estimated in 1999 by Altakamul Alhandasi at approximately 1.5 million US dollars (information on a leaflet entitled 'Kerma Civilization Complex and Cultural Centre', issued around 2008 by the High Committee. Total construction costs for the museum building alone can be estimated at more than a half a million US dollars. Despite repeated requests, the High Committee provided no detailed figures on the project's costs. The design and the implementation of the museography in the Kerma Museum (scale models, showcases, didactic wall panels, reconstructed graves) was assured by the Swiss Archaeological Mission with funding from Swiss Government agencies amounting to approximately 500'000 dollars.

⁵⁹⁰ The Master Plan proposed the development of buildings and grounds on a phased basis as funds became available. Even though the phases were not well defined from the beginning, the following sequence appears to apply: Phase I: infrastructure buildings and laying of the museum's foundations; Phase II: museum building and resthouse; Phase III: study centre; Phase IV: cafeteria, hotel and mosque; Phase V: shops/workshops. It is very likely, that the discovery of the seven monumental royal statues on January 11, 2003 has accelerated the fundraising to build the 'Kerma Cultural Complex'. However, it should be remembered, that at the time of the discovery, the project for the construction of the Kerma Museum and the other buildings was already in its sixth year and the whole project was already well advanced.

and on the Swiss side by Pascal Couchepin, then head of the Federal department of Home Affairs and by Andrea Reichlin, Swiss Ambassador to the Sudan.



Foundation stone of the Kerma Museum, laid on Mai 10, 1998.

Phase II, which included the completion of the museum building and the construction of the resthouse, was concluded by 2008. Construction works were executed by the Dongola based contractor Abu Gerga & Co. The opening ceremony of the Kerma Museum was held on January 19, 2008 in the presence of the President of the Republic of the Sudan, Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir⁵⁹¹, and many other dignitaries including federal and state ministers, ambassadors and government officials. On the Swiss side, the ceremony was attended by Andrej Motyl, Swiss Ambassador to the Sudan. Subsequent to the official inauguration ceremony for VIP guests, a public ceremony was held at a nearby public square.

⁵⁹¹ Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir, originating from Hoshe Bannaga (Shendi Governorate), is wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) on war crimes and crimes against humanity and genocide in Darfur (arrest warrant issued on March 4, 2009).



Welcome Board to the Kerma Civilization Complex. January 19, 2008.

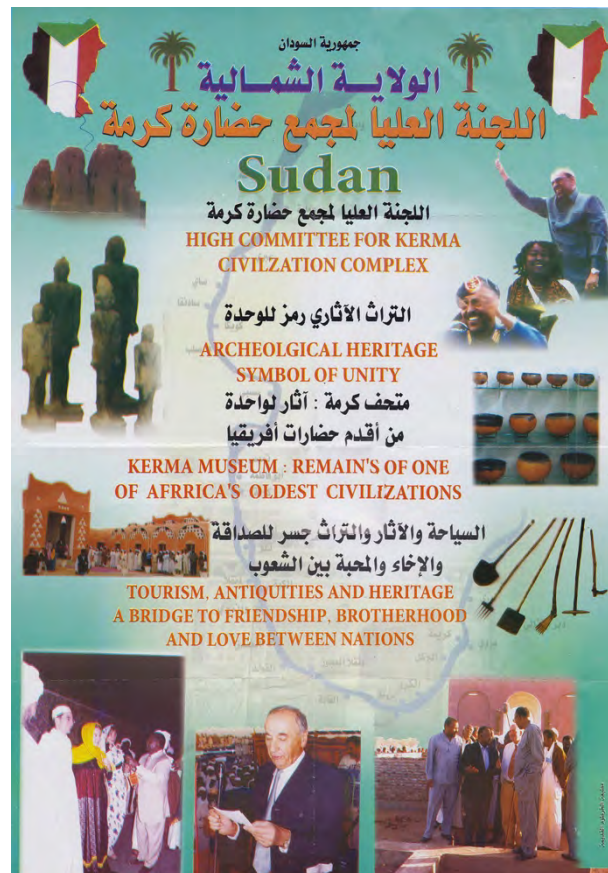
Almost a year later, following the installation of three scale models produced with funding from Switzerland, a second inauguration of the Kerma Museum was held on January 10, 2009. The ceremony was attended on the Sudanese side by senior representatives from politics and science and on the Swiss side by a high ranking delegation consisting of eight political, scientific and academic personalities.

In April 2008, the High Committee launched Phase III of the project which included the construction of the Nubian Study Centre, whereas the works were again executed by Abu Gerga & Co. But due to lack of funds, the construction works stopped in 2009 and several attempts to secure funding failed⁵⁹². In early 2014, representatives of the Sudanese conglomerate DAL Group⁵⁹³ approached the High

⁵⁹² In a 2009 cost estimate, architect Abdalla Muhammad Sabbar has estimated the remaining costs for the completion of all works at 5'408'000.- USD. In 2013, the President of the Republic pledged the amount of three million Sudanese pounds (then a half a million dollars) for the completion of the centre. Since the first instalment paid to the Governorate in Dongola was used illegally for other purposes, the second instalment was not paid. A related court case is pending. Sirr al-Khatim Fadul, personal communication. Khartoum: September 11, 2013.

⁵⁹³ Family-owned DAL Group Company Limited is Sudan's largest and most diversified company. Osama Daoud Abdellatif, supports cultural preservation projects in his native Nubia. Even though the shell of the Nubian Study Centre was largely completed before DAL's intervention, the building had numerous construction defects which necessitated comprehensive rehabilitation and restoration.

Committee with the offer of funding the completion of the building up to turnkey handover. The offer was gratefully accepted and a team of DAL Design and Construction planned and supervised the completion of the building including electricity supply, lighting, air-conditioning etc. The works were completed by February 2016, but due to administrative problems, the centre has not yet been inaugurated⁵⁹⁴.



Poster advertising the Kerma Museum and the Kerma Civilization Complex. Ca. 2010.

To date, the following buildings and structures within the 2007 Master Plan, have yet to be realized: the cafeteria; the mosque; the shops/workshops; the hotel and three monumental gates (up to now, only the gate connecting the Nubian Study Centre with the Kerma Museum is built). The guard's house is actually the quarters of the Tourism and Antiquities Police. The idea of constructing a house for the

⁵⁹⁴ Initially (2008-2015) the Kerma Museum was placed under a shared administration between the federal and the state governments; a governance model causing problems from the outset. In autumn 2015, the state government in Dongola – referring to the 1991 and 1994 constitutional decrees – claimed governance authority over the museum; while the authority of the federal government should be limited over the museum's collections. The issue will ultimately be decided by a court.

museum's director has been abandoned, since the successive directors are preferring to live in a rented house in walking distance from the museum. However, the actual chairman of the High Committee, Mohamed Salih Badri, is convinced «that two or three years from now, all missing buildings of the master plan will appear on the stage»⁵⁹⁵. As a matter of principle, DAL Group is interested in expanding its operations in Kerma and to start the construction and operation of the proposed hotel. But due to the abovementioned administrative difficulties, these plans also stopped.

4.4 Excursus: The *Deffufas* at Kerma

«[Upper and Lower Deffûfa] are the names of two large tombs at the village of Kerma [Kerma I, a fort and Kerma II, a temple]. They are massively built of good hard unburnt mud-bricks. The Lower Deffûfa is a quarter of an hour from the east bank and the Upper Deffûfa an hour. The form of each is rectangular with the long axis orientated north and south. The Lower Deffûfa has an extension on the east side; the Upper Deffûfa, on the south. Round about both of them lie many burnt bricks, as well as potsherds, fragments of granite and other debris. They are still about forty feet, high». (Lepsius 1880, translated in Reisner 1923 (Vol 1):16, Reisner's square brackets).

When George Andrew Reisner started his excavations at Kerma, people lived among the ruins of a little-known past. The western *Deffufa*, the largest mudbrick structure in Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa – so often described by 19th century travellers – was haunted by *Fatna Deffufa*, a ghostly lady roaming the site, snatching children and causing fear⁵⁹⁶. Reisner's excavations in Kerma have made the *Deffufas* known to archaeologists worldwide and have prompted the first steps towards their protection. However, Reisner forced all evidence into the pigeonholes of his Egyptocentric culture-historical diffusionism and could thus not imagine that such monumental achievements as the *Deffufas* could have been realized without an Egyptian contribution. It is against this background that he interpreted the western *Deffufa* was the fortified residence of an Egyptian governor general of Upper

⁵⁹⁵ Mohamed Salih Badri, personal communication. Kerma: January 10, 2016.

⁵⁹⁶ Oral information by architect Abdalla Muhammad Sabbar (Neuchâtel, September 3, 2014) and museum guard Seif-Eldin Muhammed Hadj (Kerma, February 23, 2017). (Kerma, February 23, 2017). *Fatna Deffufa* is described as wearing either a white or black *thawb* (the traditional outer garment of Sudanese women). *Fatna* is a Nubianized corruption of the Arabic given name Fatima / Fatma. For a short mention of «Fatma Deffufa» see Bonnet 2004: 2.

Nubia⁵⁹⁷. Charles Bonnet's improved archaeological analyses have eventually established the indigenous Nubian origins of the building and demonstrated that it was not a fort, but a temple, which has undoubtedly been there since the town was founded. The western *Deffufa* is among the largest and oldest man-made earthen structure in Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa whereas the eastern *Deffufa* – a large mortuary temple – is considered to be one of, if not the oldest known vaulted building in the world.



Presentation of a model of the western ('lower') Deffufa at the occasion of a festival held on the construction site of the Kerma Museum. February 10, 2005.

Charles Bonnet's 'indigenization' of the *Deffufa(s)* was the indispensable prerequisite for its construction as a significant heritage. The *Deffufas* now have heritage significance, because they have at once a distinct character or identity of their own and play a special role in shaping the identity of Nubian society. The heritage value of the *Deffufas* is formally expressed in their inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List. It is symbolically expressed in the association of the

⁵⁹⁷ Similarly, Reisner was misled by the abundance of Egyptian imports in the eastern necropolis and established a relative chronology with the great tumuli at the southern end representing the earliest classic stage. On the basis of material from the Sai cemeteries, Brigitte Gratien (1978) could establish a new chronology which eventually inverted Reisner's Kerma sequence.

western *Deffufa* with the built environment of the Kerma Museum inasmuch as the monumental gates provided in the master plan for the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' create visual axes – or 'visual corridors' – linking the museum with the archaeological site. However, the heritage value of the *Deffufas* is more particularly expressed in the fact that, with the establishment of the Kerma Museum, the people at Kerma have appropriated the archaeological sites and are interpreting them according to their own ideologies and ideals. The *Deffufas* have become an 'existential ground' (Malpas 2008) for the construction of meaning and identity and sites for public encounter and interaction. And, interestingly – with the opening of the Kerma Museum, the legendary apparitions of *Fatna* at the western *Deffufa* seem to have ceased⁵⁹⁸.



Flag at the *Mahaliya* (local council) of Burgheig, featuring the western ('lower') Deffufa.

December 16, 2010.

⁵⁹⁸ Oral information by Abdalla Muhammad Sabbar (Neuchâtel, September 3, 2014) and Seif-Eldin Muhammed Hadj (Kerma, February 23, 2017).

According to Edward Casey's subject- and body-oriented concept of place, the lived body «as a creature of habitus» (Casey 1996: 34) is the essential site and medium through which a given place is perceived and experienced. In his view, there are «essential structures that pervade places as we know them», two of which are particularly important: «the lived body's active ingreience in emplacement (i.e., getting into, staying in, and moving between places) and the gathering power of place itself» (Casey 1996:44). Places are thus dynamic locales in which things 'happen' – geographical locales charged with meaning through the concrete actions that people undertake. The gathering power of place in contrast refers to its ability to draw together bodies and things as well as «experiences and histories, even languages and thoughts» (Casey 1996: 24).

Prior to their 're- appropriation' by archaeologists since the first decades of the twentieth century, the *Deffufas* were deserted and the surrounding area abandoned. At the occasion of his visit to the western *Deffufa* in September 1821 Linant de Bellefonds noted: «En m'approchant, je crus que ce n'était qu'une masse informe de terre et de pierres» (Linant de Bellefonds / Shinnie 1958: 20) and George Alexander Hoskins on his visit to the western *Deffufa* in April 1833 similarly observed that: «[t]he ruin [...] has been apparently for ages so much decayed, as scarcely to present any other form than that of a mere mass of brickwork» (Hoskins 1835: 215).

Up to the introduction of canal irrigation in the Kerma basin in 1913 (Kerma Project), the cultivated area at Kerma was small and lay mostly near the river (Reisner 1923, Vol V: 17). The archaeological excavations at the *Deffufas* eventually transformed the ways in which people saw and perceived them. What was considered before as *terrain vagues* (socially and functionally undefined or unused, vacant spaces) became archaeological sites; places to explore and to visit. Charles Bonnet's numerous publications on Kerma have greatly contributed to the interpretation and understanding of the archaeological vestiges discovered, while his restoration works since the early 1990s, particularly at the western *Deffufa*, have made the layout of the archaeological site legible. Besides, his interventions have increased the accessibility and attractiveness of the archaeological site for visitors. Additionally, the construction of an expansive enclosure wall in *galous* (rammed earth) in the mid-

1990s around the whole archaeological site of the western *Deffufa* has further contributed to the transformation of 'space' into 'place'.



Leaflet 'Civilization Kerma-Deffufa'. Union of Kerma Students. Undated.

Edward Casey has stressed that place and human activity are conceived in mutually constitutive terms: «the living-moving body is essential to the process of emplacement: *lived bodies belong to places* and help to constitute them. (...). By the same token, however, *places belong to lived bodies* and depend on them» (Casey 1996: 24, his emphases). 'Place' in this understanding is «more an *event* than a *thing*»; places, according to Casey, «not only *are*, they *happen*» (1996: 26 and 27, his emphasis). At the western *Deffufa*, both the successive interventions by George Andrew Reisner and Charles Bonnet and the use of the archaeological site by visitors have contributed to the dynamism of 'place' as an event in which all experiences are emplaced and embodied.

The gathering power of 'place' – its ability to draw together bodies and things, experiences and histories, languages, thoughts and memories – involves according to Casey having a peculiar 'hold' or «mode of containment», which is both «a holding

in and a holding *out*» (Casey 1996: 25, his emphases). At the western *Deffufa*, the peculiar 'hold of place', its gathering action, can be well observed. Visitors to *Deffufa* feel encouraged to physically experience the archaeological site: to roam through the restored archaeological vestiges, to climb the mounds of excavation debris as well as the stairs of the *Deffufa* in order to enjoy a view over the excavated area. Especially the massive mud-brick platform of the *Deffufa* offers a 360-degree panorama view of the palm trees in the nearby plantations and of the surrounding desert mesas. In occupying a particular territory, the visitors at the *Deffufa* develop a sense of place (or place attachment): a personal identification with a specific location on an emotional level, be it as an individual or as a member of a particular community. The eventful potency of the *Deffufa* can particularly be experienced during the Eid holidays and on New Year's Day (national holiday), when the archaeological site is overrun by several hundreds of visitors who continuously explore and interpret the elusive *genius loci* (the specific spirit) of the site.

The myth of *Fatna Deffufa* illustrates both the dynamic matrix of emplaced bodily practices and the gathering power of 'place' as articulated by Edward Casey. Her apparition has been reported by local tradition, roaming the area of the *Deffufa*, snatching children and causing fear. Until the establishment of the Kerma Museum, *Fatna Deffufa* dwelled at the western *Deffufa*, whereas «[d]welling» (Heidegger's *Dasein* understood as being-in-the world), according to Edward Casey (1993: 114), «is accomplished not by residing but by wandering". On her restless path, she randomly encountered people who passed through the perimeter of the *Deffufa* or lingered there. The face-to-face encounter with *Fatna Deffufa* was reported to trigger oscillating sentiments of ambiguity and anxiety; awe mixed with fright and attraction mixed with curiosity⁵⁹⁹. Place and sense went hand-in-hand. Processes of place-making require engaging in what Steven Feld calls a "doubly reciprocal motion": «as place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place» (Feld 1996: 91). This reciprocal and dialectic experience of place – in which place integrates with body as much as body with place – is referred to by Keith Basso as a process of "interanimation": «As places animate the ideas and feelings of persons who attend to them, these same ideas and feelings animate the places on which

⁵⁹⁹ Oral information by Abdalla Muhammad Sabbar (Neuchâtel, September 3, 2014) and Seif-Eldin Muhammed Hadj (Kerma, February 23, 2017).

attention has been bestowed» (Basso 1996: 55). The autochthonous myth of *Fatna Deffufa* thus represents a connection between the built environment of the *Deffufa* and its temporary occupants. But at the same time, it also connects the past to the present as well as individuals to the community. In this sense, not only the *Deffufa*, but also its surrounding myth are to be understood as *lieux de mémoire*; defined by Pierre Nora (1992:20) as «symbolic element[s] of the memorial patrimony of a given community». The myth inscribed shared narratives of memory into place and hence gave to the *Deffufa* its peculiar "perduringness"⁶⁰⁰. However, with the establishment of the Kerma Museum (inaugurated in 2008) and the construction of the Nubian Study Centre (finalized in 2016), the supposedly "perdurance" of place has changed. The erection of a perimeter fence, the construction of gatehouses and service buildings, contributions toward the embellishment of the compound as well as the stationing of a tourism and antiquities police force⁶⁰¹ and a progressive regulatory and management regime have completely changed the character of the area. The continuous structural development of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' has eventually led to a conversion from what Edward Casey would call a "thick" place⁶⁰² imbued with memory, identity, and attachment into a rather uniform site⁶⁰³ erased of specificity or uniqueness. In this process, 'place' is subjected to evisceration «of any adherent power, any intrinsic qualities of its own» (Casey 1997: 186) and is thus reduced to the "generalized function"⁶⁰⁴ of being a site. However, Casey stresses that the loss of density, "the thinning-out", is characteristic of the habitual patterns linking places and selves:

⁶⁰⁰ The term is borrowed from Edward Casey who uses the phrases "perduringness of place" and "perdurance of place" interchangeably. See Casey 1996: 26 for "perduringness" and Casey 1984: 394; 2000: 228ff for "perdurance").

⁶⁰¹ The Tourism and Antiquities Police was introduced in Kerma in 2002 after the discovery of the seven monumental statues discovered at Dukki-Gel.

⁶⁰² According to Edward Casey (2001) places can be experienced either as "thick" or "thin". The thin-thick dichotomy stems from Heidegger's woodland analogy in which «Heidegger opposes the *Lichtung* ('clearing') of the open to what he terms *Dickung* ('thickening', literally the dense undergrowth of the forest» (Smith 2013: 219, his emphases; cp. Heidegger 1972: 65).

⁶⁰³ 'Site' is defined by Casey variously as «an exsanguinated place» (1996: 38); as place «leveled down to metrically determinate dimensions» (2000: 184); as «the leveled-down, emptied-out, planiform residuum of place and space eviscerated of their actual and virtual powers and forced to fit the requirements of institutions that demand certain very particular forms of building» (1997: 183); and as «an antidote to place, its very antithesis, its *pharmakon* – the remedy that is its destruction» (1997: 186, his emphasis).

⁶⁰⁴ Casey borrows the notion of "generalized function" from Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1970: 90 and 207).

«*The thinning-out is primarily of the habitus linking places and selves – or more exactly, a replacement of one set of habitudes (more apt for lasting, lively engagements with robust places) with another habitual set (geared to leveled- down places or "sites")*» (Casey 2001a: 686, his emphasis).

Places, according to Edward Casey, can become attenuated in certain historical moments; they lose their "habitudinal density" (Casey 2001a: 686) and are likely to transform into thinned-out, planiform sites. The progressive transformation of 'place' into 'site' could actually be observed at the western *Deffufa*, where the establishment and development of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' led to a replacement of one set of habitudes with another habitual set. The reported cessation of the apparitions of *Fatna* at the western *Deffufa* since the rise of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' is thus to be understood within the context of declining "habitudinal density" and the related progressive transformation of 'place' into 'site'. *Fatna Deffufa* is out of place because 'place' has been suppressed in favour of 'site'. But interestingly, the intensified use of the extensive lawn in front of the Nubian Study Centre as a community gathering spot for all ages and sexes – entailing an increasing "habitudinal density" – might possibly be the prelude to a significant reinvestment in place.

4.5 The Kerma Museum

The Kerma Museum is located at the southern end of Kerma municipality, in the Northern State of Sudan. The GPS coordinates are N 19° 36.044' / E 30° 24.423'. The distance to the next markets towns is 2.5 km in southern direction for Burgheig and 4.5 km in northern direction for Kerma.

Ranking behind the Sudan National Museum, the Kerma Museum is at present the second museum in Sudan by size and number of visitors. It is visited on average (ten year average 2008-2018) by 22'500 Sudanese and 850 foreign visitors (*khawajat*)⁶⁰⁵ per year (peak: 31'606 Sudanese and 977 foreigners in 2016) whereas

⁶⁰⁵ *Khawaja* (fem. *khawajiyya*; pl. *khawajat*) is the everyday generic term for light-skinned, non-Muslim foreigners (particularly Christian, *naṣārā*), regardless of ethnic origin. The term derives from the Persian word *khāje* which translates as "master" or "lord".

the highest attendance with up to 1500 daily visitors is reached on the Eid holidays⁶⁰⁶ and on New Year's Day (which is the national holiday)⁶⁰⁷.

The museum is visited by individual tourists, as well as by local school children and students in parties. It opens daily, except Mondays, from 10 AM to 6 PM (with a 3-hour midday prayer break on Fridays, the weekly holiday). The entrance fee to the museum and the archaeological site is 5 SDG for Sudanese and 10 USD for foreigners. Guided tours held in Arabic are free of charge and available on request.

4.5.1 Architecture and Collections

When architect Abdalla Muhammad Sabbar started the planning of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' in the late 1990s, he was largely unaware of the exact number, size and nature of the artefacts to be displayed in the future museum. The archaeological finds discovered in Kerma since the last *partage* in 1996 were safely kept in the storerooms of the Swiss Archaeological Mission and not easily accessible. Apart from that, the group of seven monumental royal statues – now one of the major attractions of the museum – had not yet been discovered when the architect delivered the first master plan for the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' in 1998. *Ustaz* Sabbar eventually conceived a formally rather neutral building, a "white cube" in which the exhibition spaces are hierarchically equal. With reference to the complex relationship between container and content (Giebelhausen 2011: 223) it can thus be said, that the architect has drafted an aesthetically appealing, functional 'container' which represents an accomplished balance to the content.

The museum is a large, square single storey building covering a built-on area of 760 square meters. Constructively, it is structured as a chequered grid of 8 x 8 mostly connected compartments each with a barrel-vault, forming four concentric squares. While the vaults of the outermost concentric square are set at the same level, they rise higher to the centre where they form a large hall on 11 pillars in the volumetric centre of the building. The two barrel-vaults that roof this hall form the innermost

⁶⁰⁶ There are two official holidays in Islam: *ʿĪd al-Fitr* ("Festival of Breaking Fast" or "minor *bayram*"), celebrated at the end of *Ramadan* and *ʿĪdu l-Adḥā* ("Sacrificial Festival or "major *bayram*"), celebrated on the tenth day of the Islamic pilgrimage month.

⁶⁰⁷ During these holydays, the Kerma Museum regularly exceeds its visitor capacity (defined as the space in which visitors can move around the exhibits in comfort).

concentric square of the building. This hall, from which one has access to the other rooms, seems to be predestined for the presentation of the royal statues discovered at the nearby site of Dukki-Gel; even though, it was conceived long before their discovery in 2003⁶⁰⁸.



Installation of the statues on the podium of the central hall of the Kerma Museum. June 22, 2006.

The square floor plan with the orthogonal grid layout is faintly reminiscent of the austere architectural grammar by French architect Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand (1769-1834) who provided early nineteenth century architects with a blueprint for the ideal museum (Durand 1805: 56 / plate 11). In contrast to Durand's symmetrical, geometrically perfect square building with corridors of galleries laid out around four interior courtyard spaces with a dome in the centre, the Kerma Museum has no courtyard and a double vault instead of a dome. While the spatial design of the

⁶⁰⁸ It is a widespread and persistent misunderstanding that the Kerma Museum was especially designed to house the statues (see e.g. Rilly 2013: 55; «these seven statues are now the pride of the museum of Kerma, which was especially designed to shelter them» or Gates 2019: vii; «Bonnet studied these statues, restored them, and built a museum for them – with a Sudanese architect and using his own funds – at Kerma»). However, the statues were discovered on January 11, 2003; the planning for the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' started in 1997; a first Master Plan was presented in 1998 and the foundation stone was laid on May 10, 1998.

museum provides some references to European neoclassical architecture⁶⁰⁹, its overall appearance recalls the 'neo-traditional' architecture of the late Egyptian architect Hassan Fathi,⁶¹⁰ particularly the barrel-vaulted roofing of his projects in the Kharga Oasis (New Baris, 1970) and in Garf Hoseyn (Sadat Resthouse, 1981).



Renderings of the Kerma Museum, presented at the inauguration of the
Kerma Museum on January 19, 2008,

The structure of the building is a reinforced-concrete frame with brick masonry infill. Originally, the architect planned to leave the upper section of the vaults open with a brick screen (*mashrabiya*) and thus providing the interior spaces with natural light and ventilation. But in order to avoid the penetration of dust and air currents, it was decided in 2010 to glaze the openings with glass panes inserted in customized aluminium frames. For the same reason, it was further decided to wall up the

⁶⁰⁹ Besides Durand's ideal museum, the layout of a sequence of galleries around a central space also reminds the first museum buildings of the 19th century like the *Glyptothek* in Munich or the *Altes Museum* in Berlin.

⁶¹⁰ Hassan Fathi (1900-1989) was a proponent of a vernacular modernism and an early advocate of traditional building techniques. His projects are based on the use of a restricted architectural vocabulary made of morphological and structural elements taken from popular Nubian tradition.

northern museum entrance and the outside windows in the exhibition space. The interior of the museum was originally painted entirely white, while the exterior walls are painted with red ochre⁶¹¹. Doors and windows are decorated on the outside with white geometrical patterns. The museum was originally conceived as a 'daylight museum'; the few lamps available were placed for orientation purposes only.

The Kerma Museum is accessed via a monumental tripartite gate which connects the museum building along a longitudinal axis with the Nubian Study Centre. The central entrance of this gate leads to a platform offering the visitor scenic views of the *Deffufa* and the ancient vestiges of the site, while the museum building is reached through an elongated vaulted corridor heading north. In deviation to the original plans, the secured entry is set back from the building front, thus allowing permanent access to utility rooms on both sides of the corridor.

The total exhibition area of the museum measures 595 m² while ancillary rooms such as offices and staffrooms cover an area of 165 m². These rooms are located to the left (west) of the corridor which runs the whole length of the building. The exhibition presents an overview of regions archaeology (*'athâr* in Arabic, for 'antiquities') from the first human settlements up to, but not including, the contemporary period whereas the history and prehistory of the main archaeological sites of the region is documented by means of archaeological finds, textual information, reconstructions and scale models.

The exhibition is designed to be viewed chronologically – by moving anticlockwise through the ages/millenia, from the early Paleolithic age to the onset of the modern era. The museum also holds a small folklore collection dedicated to the customs and traditions of Nubia (*'turâth* in Arabic, for 'heritage') and to the Christian and Islamic periods.

Upon request by the High Committee, Matthieu Honegger and Charles Bonnet from the Swiss Archaeological Mission, developed and designed the exhibition concept for the archaeological collection. They were assisted by late scenographer Pierre-

⁶¹¹ Since the pure white wall paint has proven to be unsuitable for highly frequented visitor zones, in the winter season 2017/2018, central parts of the museum were repainted in creamy white.

Alain Bertola who also served as a consultant for the design of the display showcases and for the presentation of the royal statues. The design and production of the bilingual (Arabic and English) didactic wall panels was assigned to graphic designer Laurent Bonnet. The series of 40 exhibition display showcases with glass on all four sides and shelves at varying levels was produced locally in 2007 with subsidies from Swiss Government by the Al Shamikh Aluminium Factory in Khartoum, while a set of 16 didactic wall panels was produced in Switzerland and brought to the Sudan in the same year.

Considering the close and effective working relationship between the High Committee, the NCAM and the Swiss Archaeological Mission, the latter was asked to complete the installation of the permanent exhibition according to the delivered concept and to prepare the opening of the museum by January 2008. This request was accepted by the Swiss Mission, whose members thereupon fulfilled the assigned task besides the regular scheduled work on the archaeological excavations. In view of the forthcoming inauguration of the museum, this task included, inter alia, the careful restoration of the seven royal statues over two seasons by the German restorer Markus Bloedt; the construction of a podium for, and of a rear wall behind the statues; the construction of shelves for the display of decorated and inscribed blocks, the installation of the didactic wall panels; the display of the exhibits in the showcases; the labelling of the artefacts and the reconstruction of three graves. In these operations, the Swiss Mission was assisted by two technicians of the NCAM's museum department, Mutwakil Adam and Mukhtar Muhammad, and by the future founding director of the museum, Abdelhai Abdel Sawi.

Behind the entrance, the museum visit starts along the right-hand wall with a series of introductory texts, diagrams and pictures related to the localization of the archaeological sites of the Kerma region ("Settlement of the Kerma Region") and on the chronology of ancient Nubia ("Chronology of Human Occupation").

After the introduction, a first section presents the prehistory of the region ("The Prehistoric Period") with an emphasis on the first sedentary settlements ("Mesolithic Settlement of El-Barga"), the first cemeteries ("The First Necropolises") and the

artistic expression of prehistoric ideologies ("Rock Art"). A next section traces the development from the Pre-Kerma settlement ("The Pre-Kerma City") to the first Kushite kingdom ("The Kingdom of Kerma") with the capital city of Kerma ("General View of the Nubian City") and its associated cemetery ("The Eastern Necropolis"). Thereupon follows a presentation of the archaeological site of Tabo on Argo Island ("The Archaeological Site of Tabo"), where the "University of Geneva – Henry M. Blackmer Foundation Joint Mission" has excavated a 25th Dynasty temple of Amun and other architectural vestiges in the 1960s-70s. The next section introduces the archaeological site of Dukki-Gel ("The Site of Dukki Gel") located just one km to the north of the museum and provides information on the complex of religious edifices ("The Religious Quarter of Dukki Gel") of this site. The ensuing section is devoted to the presentation of the second kingdom of Kush which comprises the Napatan and the Meroitic period ("The Kingdoms of Napata and Meroe"). The archaeological part of the museum concludes with an account of the discovery of the seven monumental royal statues discovered at the site of Dukki-Gel ("The Discovery of the Statues"; "The Cache") and their staging on a podium in the museum's central hall.

The archaeological collection comprises around 650 exhibits with all periods being well represented. The vast majority of the exhibits in the exhibition originate from the excavations conducted by Swiss Archaeological Missions in Tabo (1965-1976) and Kerma (1977 to present) and entered the museum's collection with its' founding in 2007/2008. The rich and diverse exhibits are displayed along with written information in 23 display showcases. Focal points of the showcased collection are prehistoric stone implements; horn and bone tools; samples of prehistoric pottery; prehistoric jewellery and body adornments; Kerma pottery; Napatan and Meroitic pottery; fragments of Egyptian statues; as well as fragments of decorated and inscribed stone blocks of various periods. The exhibition further includes three reconstructed graves which are meant to testify to the evolution and complexity of funerary rituals. In January 2009, the exhibition was further supplemented by three scale models – of the Mesolithic hut of el-Barga (7500 B.C.), the proto-urban agglomeration of the Pre-Kerma period (3000 B.C.) and the ancient town of Kerma (2500-1500 B.C.). They were produced in Switzerland by model maker Hugo Lienhard with the aim of illustrating the evolution of settlements for each of the key periods in Nubian history.

The museum has two additional sections which are dedicated to the customs and traditions of Nubia (folklore collection) and to the Christian and Islamic periods. The museography and exhibition design for these two sections was created by Abdelhai Abdel Sawi, Mutwakil Adam and Mukhtar Muhammad from the NCAM⁶¹². Since, the museography has been partially updated by various museum curators. The folklore collection comprises five showcases displaying traditional indigenous artefacts of daily life, artefacts related to domestic economy as well as a series of models of traditional farming tools, of a traditional straw shelter (*rakūba*), of a traditional Nubian gate and of a traditional animal-driven waterwheel (*sāqīya*). Additionally, the section includes a prayer mat made from woven palm leaves (*birrish*), a traditional mud oven (*furn*), a household chest (*sandūk*) and a goat-skin churn (*qirba*) hanging fastened to a stick resting in a wooden tripod. The section introducing the Christian and Islamic periods features six display showcases with artefacts related to the religious life in Nubia. The section further includes a terracotta sarcophagus and a carved sandstone pillar with floral motives from the Christian period. A series of jugs and jars further testifies to the remarkable achievements of pottery decoration at the height of the Christian period. Among the Islamic artefacts, special mention should be made of three wooden writing boards (*lawh*) used in Qur'anic *khalwa*-schools⁶¹³; one clay and three silver ewers (*ibrīq*) used for ritual ablutions; and samples of legal and religious manuscripts in Arabic script. The Christian and Islamic artefacts in the Kerma Museum are of local provenance, coming either from archaeological excavations or from private donations and loans.

The overall majority of the exhibits in the archaeological collection of the museum are displayed on shelves in glass showcases. The artefacts come in a wide range of materials and sizes and are mostly placed at a height and position that optimizes viewing. The explanatory texts next to the exhibits provide the visitor with some basic information about the respective items. However, some artefacts are displayed differently: The petroglyph from the Sabu-Geddi area of the Third Cataract in the prehistoric section is fastened to the wall, approximatively at the same height

⁶¹² The members of the Swiss Archaeological Mission had neither the necessary expertise nor time and human resources for this task.

⁶¹³ In the Sudan, the *khalwa* has three meanings. It firstly means a place of isolation, where one can worship God and relate to him. Secondly, it means a Quranic school where children are taught reciting, and thirdly, it means a room for guests (Intisar Soghayroun Elzein 2004: 96).

as it could be viewed at the place of origin. The lower part of a granite statue of an overseer of cavalry found in the Dukki-Gel Cache⁶¹⁴ is displayed on a pedestal against a narrow wall in the vicinity of other Egyptian artefacts. The series of decorated and inscribed stone blocks of various Pharaonic, Napatan and Meroitic periods from the temples in Tabo and Dukki-Gel as well as three Meroitic stone offering tables originating from the Meroitic cemetery at Kerma are displayed on concrete podiums and on white metal shelves.

In 2010, a team of the research unit for anthropotechnology at the *Haute école spécialisée de Suisse occidentale* (University of applied Sciences Western Switzerland, *Unité de recherche en anthropotechnologie EDANA / Haute École Arc*) under the direction of Magali Babey refined the museographic concept, and, since several display showcases have been rearranged thematically. In mid-2015, the 'High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex' was approached by representatives of DAL Group with the offer of a major makeover of the museum which would entail a major rehabilitation of the building's structure and the comprehensive renewal of the museum's infrastructure⁶¹⁵. But since the offer is conditional on a solution of the aforementioned administrative problems between the federal and state governments, it is currently left pending.

4.5.2 Governance and Organisation

The Kerma Museum was established under a shared administration between the antiquities authorities of the federal government in Dongola and the state government in Khartoum⁶¹⁶. Based on a mutual agreement, Dongola was deemed to be responsible for the financial management of the museum including the visitor management of the archaeological site of the western ('lower') *Deffufa*, while Khartoum was responsible for the general administration of the museum and for the supervision and protection of the archaeological sites.

⁶¹⁴ See Bonnet and Valbelle 2006: 188-189. The statue is not yet definitely dated.

⁶¹⁵ According to this offer, the existing display showcases would be replaced by dust-proof frameless display cases with storage drawers in the bases. The offer further provides the installation of new display shelves, of new lighting system, and of a new air conditioning system.

⁶¹⁶ The affiliation of the antiquities authority of the Northern State is under the Department of Tourism at the Ministry of Culture, Information and Tourism. The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) operates under the Ministry of Tourism, Antiquities and Wildlife.

The museum has 12 full time staff members, including a director, an assistant director, a museum curator and 9 museum attendants. The museum further employs two part-time employees at the reception desk. Among the 14 staff members (5 males, 9 females), 9 are on the payroll of the state government and 5 on the payroll of the federal government⁶¹⁷. Three additional part-time employees (gardeners and guards) who had not been employed on a permanent basis are paid from other sources such as admission fees⁶¹⁸. The museum attendants were recruited from among a total of 50 applicants from the Kerma region after a two months training at the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum⁶¹⁹. They are mainly responsible for facilitating guided tours of the museum, supervising galleries and engaging guests with additional information. Matthieu Honegger, head of the Swiss Archaeological Mission to the Sudan, emphasizes, that more and better training of the museum staff would be necessary: «Above all, what we should be doing now is training people so that they know how to manage a museum, how to keep it clean and dust-free, how to clean the showcases and how to create a temporary exhibition, however small it may be»⁶²⁰.

The Museum is guarded 24 hours a day, by mostly uniformed officers of the Tourism and Antiquities Police, who are quartered in the compound of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex'. The museum operating procedures require the simultaneous presence of a museum attendant and an officer of the Tourism and Antiquities Police at the opening and closing of the museum, respectively. Up until now, no theft or wanton damage or destruction of museum artefacts has occurred.

From the very beginning, the model of shared administration has posed serious problems arising from rivalry and competitiveness between the different actors

⁶¹⁷ The director is hired on a contract by the NCAM, while the assistant director and the museum curator are both hired by the state government.

⁶¹⁸ All entry fees of the Kerma Museum go to the state government which monthly remits the equivalent of 200 USD to the museum for maintenance and operating expenses.

⁶¹⁹ Abdelhai Abdel Sawi, personal communication. Khartoum: June 25, 2011.

⁶²⁰ Matthieu Honegger, email communication. June 7, 2019.

involved, be they federal or state actors⁶²¹. But since Dongola⁶²², the state capital lacks a museum and has no a major tourist attraction, the power struggle with Kerma and Khartoum might also testify to the use of heritage within place-marketing and place-branding strategies.

In autumn 2015, the state government in Dongola – referring to the 1991 and 1994 constitutional decrees – claimed to exercise total and exclusive governance authority over the museum and to limit the power of the federal government to the management of the museum's collections. On October 21, 2015, following a decree issued by the general director of the State Ministry of Culture, Information and Tourism, the director of the Kerma Museum, Abdelmaged Mahmoud Abdelrahman Ibrahim, was unilaterally removed and replaced by a new one, Muhammad Hasan Ahmad Said who is on the payroll of the state government⁶²³. The question of authority over the Kerma Museum is currently the subject of ongoing litigation. Regrettably, the imbroglio between the state and federal governments has also affected the future of the Nubian Study Centre. The opening and operation of the fully equipped centre depends on whether the parties involved agree on a common governance structure.

The Kerma Museum is facing problems that range from mismanagement to lack of funding. Unlike Western museums, many museums in the Sudan, are not also research institutions. Since the staff is not sufficiently trained, they focus on maintaining the exhibitions in the museum. Staff salaries are low and often delayed, so work motivation is reduced. The Museum is primarily funded by ticket sales, thus the scarcity of funds for investment. As already mentioned, the lack of coordination between NCAM, the Antiquities Authority in Dongola, and partially the Swiss

⁶²¹ Some problems arose from a wage and experience gap between federal and state employees in the respective antiquities authorities: Employees on the payroll of the NCAM are offered a slightly better salary and are generally better trained and more experienced than their colleagues. The experiential differences result from the fact that the antiquities authority of the Northern State was established only in 2010, while the Sudan Antiquities Service – the NCAM's predecessor body – was founded as early as 1904.

⁶²² Dongola (on the west bank of the Nile) should not be confused with Old Dongola (on the east bank of the Nile) which was the capital of the Christian Kingdom of Makouria (7th - 14th century). The site of Old Dongola is since 1994 on the tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. New Dongola (formerly known as *al-Urdi*; an Arabic corruption of the Turkish *Ordu*: the Camp) was founded in 1811 by refugee Mamluks who had fled the rule of Muhammad 'Ali in Egypt.

⁶²³ Muhammad Hasan Ahmad Said is thus after Abdelhai Abdel Sawi (founding director, 2008-2011) and Abdel Maged Mahmoud Abdelrahman (2011-2015) the third director of the Kerma Museum.

Archaeological Mission further contribute to the museum's organizational problems. However, these problems are not unique to the Kerma Museum, but are characteristic of how public institutions function in the country. Since a high percentage of revenue in Sudan's budget is allocated to the army, security service and paramilitary forces, there is a dramatic lack of funds in the public administration. If the practices of corruption and monopolization of the State's wealth and do not cease, the future of the Kerma Museum is in doubt.

4.5.3 Museum Intent

The notion of 'museum intent' in the chapter's title is borrowed from Kali Tzortzi, who in her 2014 article "Movement in museums: mediating between museum intent and visitor experience" uses it referring to the linkage between «the architectural layout of spaces and the curatorial arrangement of objects» (327). 'Museum intent' is thus a notion for the pattern of interdependencies between architectural and curatorial intent as expressed in the building and display layout. The guiding idea in this regard is that the ways in which museum intent is realised are expressed through observable patterns of visitor movement within a museum environment (Tzortzi 2014: 329).

In the following subchapters, the two aspects of museum intent as identified by Tzortzi – the relation of movement to layout configuration/ spatial design and the visitor interaction with the display/ exhibition design – will be taken into account and analysed within the context of the Kerma Museum.

The relation between spatial configurations and movement are analysed through space syntax analysis as developed by Bill Hillier and Juliette Hanson in *The Social Logic of Space* (1984). Space syntax is both a method to measure the topological relationship between one space and all other spaces and a general theory of how people relate to space in built environments:

«Space syntax is a method with a theory attached. The method is the 'configurational' analysis of space which seeks to analyse spatial complexes in such a way to identify structure at the level of the whole 'configuration'. The theory proposes that, in general, the form-function

relation in buildings and cities passes through the structural properties of whole configurations» (Hillier 1998: 37).

The interaction of the visitor with the exhibition design on the other hand is studied through observation of the behaviour of museum visitors and other types of qualitative analysis such as in-depth interviews with visitors and museum staffs.

4.5.3.1 Architectural Intent

Since the museum's entrance/exit is set back from the building front, the actual museum space is accessed through the passage of a short inner corridor or foyer with a ticket counter. From here, the visitor enters/exits the central hall which is at once starting and ending point of the museum circuit. According to the curatorial intent to send the visitors on a fairly linear path in anticlockwise direction through chronological content, the circuit starting to the right of the entrance is marked by black directional arrows. But interestingly, the large majority of the visitors explore the museum in the predetermined direction and according to a ring-like sequence of spaces. This might be explained by general principles underlying movement in museums, e.g. the claimed tendency for museum visitors to turn right at choice points (Borhegy 1965: 89; cp. the 'right-turn bias' in Bitgood 2006) – but also by the specific spatial configuration of the Kerma Museum; all the more so, since space syntax research has found that visitor movement patterns are strongly affected by the spatial configuration of the architectural layout⁶²⁴:

«The way in which spaces are connected to each other [i.e. the configurations of related spaces] will inevitably influence the potential pattern of movement and, by implication, the way in which visitors explore exhibitions and are exposed to information and to each other» (Hillier and Tzortzi 2011: 299).

Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach (1980) have extended the argument by suggesting that museum visitors perform a "ceremonial walk" through the galleries organized

⁶²⁴ In space syntax analyses, the function, categorisation and content of buildings is deliberately omitted: «Throughout space syntax, the function, categorisation, or content of the buildings involved are deliberately de-emphasised, and indeed it is Hillier's thesis that intelligibility and movement dominate them because all other aspects of function pass through them, (...)». (Chalmers 1999: 65).

by the "ritual script" of the architecture, layout of spaces and arrangement of displays⁶²⁵.

An analysis of the spatial layout of the Kerma Museum shows, that the central hall is closely related to the all the other rooms of the building as well as with the exterior. It is thus the most integrated space, while the galleries of Christian and Islamic art – located at the dead end of the access corridor and lacking through-movement potential – are the most segregated spaces. As mentioned earlier, contrary to the original idea of the architect, the northern entrance of the museum was walled up only two years after the museum's inauguration. While the original layout provided a basically U-shaped circuit along the galleries, with a distinct entrance and exit, the Christian and Islamic galleries are now almost completely separated from the O-shaped circuit⁶²⁶. Since the central hall lies on all rings of circulation in the layout, it offers the visitor a range of structured choice. In addition, it permits and promotes patterns of social awareness and thus creates what Hillier and Tzortzi have come to call the 'churning' effect of a layout: «people moving within the gallery continually re-encounter not only those moving in and out of the gallery, but also those they have encountered previously, perhaps on entering the gallery» (Hillier and Tzortzi 2011: 292). The central hall is thus a prime example of a sociopetal space; a space that brings people together and encourages visitor interaction⁶²⁷.

⁶²⁵ Space syntax analysts maintain that the intermediary role that spatial configuration plays between physical form and the human activity has universal validity (Cp. Hillier 2005).

⁶²⁶ Therefore, it occasionally happens, that these two galleries are missed out by individual visitors.

⁶²⁷ The terms 'sociopetal' and 'sociofugal' were coined by British psychiatrist Humphrey Osmond in 1959 to describe two types of seating arrangements (encouraging interaction / promoting seclusion) and were adopted by Stephen F. de Borhegyi to characterize respective museum spaces (Borhegyi 1968: 43).



Kerma Museum, floor plan. Matthieu Honegger /
Swiss Archaeological Mission to the Sudan. 2008.

The global spatial layout of the Kerma Museum has a good inherent intelligibility, defined as «the degree to which what can be seen from individual spaces in the layout gives a good guide to the position of that space in the layout as a whole (Hillier and Tzortzi 2011: 288-89). Cognitive intelligibility of a spatial configuration is thus a property linked to behaviours such as wayfinding and route choice. With the exception of the folklore and Christian-Islamic galleries – which had no through-movement and only limited to-movement potential – the global spatial layout of the Kerma Museum facilitates wayfinding and orientation. Interestingly, the folklore collection – even though located in a highly segregated space within the building – ranked among the most visited sections of the museum⁶²⁸.

The seemingly contradiction to space syntax theory can be explained firstly by the fact that the black directional arrows provide an effective aid for wayfinding

⁶²⁸ Since the winter season 2018-2019, this is no longer the case because the room containing the folklore collection was connected to an adjacent room formerly used for staff meetings. This room is fitted with a large video screen intended for the presentation of documentary movies on the archaeology of Nubia and the Sudan.

performance. Secondly, visitors follow the path of other visitors already familiar with the museum and thus discover the respective gallery. Thirdly, visitors are directed by museum staffs or by frequent visitors to the respective gallery. The movement patterns of visitors are thus not only shaped by the spatial layout but also by behavioural patterns of the co-present museum visitors and staffs.

4.5.3.2 Curatorial Intent

Whereas the previous section looked at the architectural intent as expressed in the layout of the museum building, the emphasis in this section is on the curatorial intent as expressed in the display layout. Curatorial intent in museums is according to Ipek Rohloff (2009: 69) concerned with the task of «drawing particular interpretations from content represented by the collections», in order to delineate and convey an appropriate educational message. Rohloff also describes the process which transforms the curatorial intent into exhibition narratives conveying the exhibition message:

«To delineate these interpretations and convey an educational message, curators establish a conceptual structure where particular themes represented by display groups are interrelated. Based on this conceptual structure, display groups are organized and then placed in galleries by curators and exhibit designers. This placement gives a final shape to the exhibition narratives and conveys the exhibition message» (Rohloff 2009: 69-70).

The conceptual structure of the exhibition in the Kerma Museum concentrates on a chronological presentation of the history and prehistory of the region by exploring core themes such as settlement patterns and economy; religious beliefs and funerary traditions; and material culture and symbolic expression. For a museum, that presents a historical fresco over several millennia, the chronological order is, according to Matthieu Honegger, the most adapted. Designing a thematic museum would have required focusing on a more limited time period, such as the Kushite Kingdoms⁶²⁹.

The underlying educational message is conveyed to visitors by means of wall information panels; displays and explanatory texts; scale models; and grave reconstructions. These didactic elements will now be described in further detail:

⁶²⁹ Matthieu Honegger, email communication. June 7, 2019.

- A series of 16 bilingual (Arabic and English) didactic wall panels provide a general introduction to the major topics of the history and prehistory of the region. The short texts are accompanied by tables and graphics and are paired with large-size photographs of the archaeological sites, monuments and excavations. The clear and concise texts are easy to read and it is known by observation, that a large majority of the first-time visitors read the texts; at least quickly on the move and from a distance.
- The artefacts displayed in protective showcases lining the walls of the museum are organised in different ways; according to typology, chronology or according to a thematic order. The six display showcases (no. 8-13) featuring Kerma pottery for instance, are organized according to type and chronology and thus reflect the seriation of the Kerma Culture into three phases (Early Kerma, 2500-2050 BC; Middle Kerma, 2050-1750 BC; and Classic Kerma, 1750-1480 BC)⁶³⁰. In contrast, the display case dedicated to Neolithic funerary findings and offerings (no. 3) is a good example of the thematic approach. It features tools and adornments made of bone, hippo ivory and Nile or red seashell (upper row); ceremonial stone axes, paint palettes and body adornments (middle row); and vessels exclusively manufactured for funerary purposes (lower row). The display case is among those rearranged in 2010 and now features for testing purposes a large-sized portrait of a hunter-gatherer woman as a backdrop image. The underlying idea was to establish a visual connection between the findings exhibited and their thematic classification. There was also the intention to show that the settlement of the region was not ethnically homogenous but consisted of a mosaic of ethnic groups and that the morphology of older populations was not necessarily similar to that of the current populations⁶³¹. Since the rearranged display cases are receiving a very positive response from the visitors, it is planned to gradually expand the application of the new museographic concept to all display cases.

⁶³⁰ To this might be added a fourth late Kerma phase, contemporary with the 18th Dynasty conquest and New Kingdom occupation (Edwards 2004a: 80).

⁶³¹ While the Nubians do not see any problem in linking their origin in the past to the Nuba from central Sudan, they do not want to resemble them today, because the dark-skinned Nuba evoke in their minds a population traditionally subjected to slavery.

- Several decorated and inscribed stone blocks originating of various archaeological contexts are arranged in chronological groupings on concrete podiums and on white metal shelves. They all originate from the excavations at the nearby site of Dukki-Gel and were routinely reused and recarved, often many times. The actual form of presentation in horizontal rows does provide the viewer with frontal views of the depicted motives but does not allow to discover other scenes than those highlighted.
- The museum further features life-size reconstructions of three graves from the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Kerma periods with the aim to retrace the evolution and complexification of funerary rituals. Created with skeletal remains and material from the original cemeteries, these scenes accurately reproduce the situation encountered during the excavations. The reconstructions are permanently installed in two of the square chambers along the central hall, against the back and side walls, covering each the rear half of a chamber. They are thus viewable from one side only and not all around.
- The same applies for two of the three scale models who are permanently installed in the museum. The scale models of the Mesolithic hut of el-Barga (ca. 7300 BC; scale 1:10) and of the proto-urban agglomeration of the Pre-Kerma (ca. 3000 BC; 1:100) are again arranged in the rear half of a chamber and do thus not allow all around contemplation. The scale model of the ancient city of Kerma (ca. 2000 BC; scale 1:300) on the other hand stands freely in the exhibition space and allows all around contemplation.
- The seven free-standing granite statues representing five Nubian kings were discovered on January 11, 2003, by Charles Bonnet and the team of the Swiss Archaeological Mission under the direction of Matthieu Honegger⁶³² at the site of Dukki-Gel and are exhibited at the Kerma Museum since its opening in 2008⁶³³. They are presented on an elevated podium, in front of a white wall in

⁶³² The story of the discovery and the history of this little-known historical era are described and illustrated in Charles Bonnet's and Dominique Valbelle's illustrated monograph *The Nubian Pharaohs: black kings on the Nile* (2006).

⁶³³ Three statues belong to Egypt's 25th Dynasty kings Taharqa and Tanutamun – who were the last 'Black Pharaohs' or 'Ethiopian Pharaohs', now generally referred to as 'Kushite') – and four represent the Napatan kings Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspelta (Tanutamun and Senkamanisken are represented twice).

the museum's central hall and are arranged in a rhombic pattern with Taharqa (reign: 690-664 BC; the largest statue) at the rear and Aspelta (reign: late seventh-early sixth century BC; the smallest statue) at the front tip of the rhombus. Tanutamun (reign: 664-656 BC) and Senkamaniskien (reign: second half of the seventh century BC) – who are doubly represented – are positioned by pairs at the outer tips of the rhombus, while Anlamani (reign: late seventh century BC) is placed slightly to the right of the rhombus' centre line. The seven statues are arranged in decreasing size from front to rear and all aligned in the same directional orientation with the back pillars facing the wall in the background. This arrangement corresponds to the chronological order, from oldest to most recent. A twisted cord surrounding the podium with the statues was added to keep visitors at safe distance. The statues can be easily viewed on three sides; the fourth side with the inscriptions on the back pillars being obscured by the wall. Given the short distance to the wall, it is almost impossible for visitors to view the inscriptions. Based on aesthetic, functional and security considerations, the arrangement of the statues was created by late scenographer Pierre-Alain Bertola according to the principle of distant viewing⁶³⁴.

The educational message delivered across multiple formats is based on scientific evidence from archaeological excavations and research of the Swiss Archaeological Mission. In order to make the scientific information accessible and understandable to the intended audience, the scientific facts need to be deconstructed and then reconstructed into a form that has a meaning for the intended audience. The reification and objectification of scientific knowledge into knowledge taught in the exhibition occurs in the process of museographic transposition⁶³⁵; a transformative process producing the "museum effect" by which, according to Valerie Casey (2003:

⁶³⁴ In contrast to the principle of distant viewing, the principle of immersion – as adapted by Italian architect Carlo Scarpa in his presentation of medieval statues of saints in the Castelvecchio museum in Verona – discourages a static point of view and attempts at displaying the statues as individual objects which can be experienced by museum visitors in direct encounter. For Scarpa's arrangement of the statues at Castelvecchio see: Kali Tzortzi: *Museum Space: Where Architecture Meets Museology* (2015) and Gianna Stavroulaki and John Peponis: "The spatial construction of seeing at Castelvecchio" (2003).

⁶³⁵ The model of museographic transposition was conceptualised by Laurence Simonneaux and Daniel Jacobi in 1997 in applying Yves Chevallard's framework of didactic transposition (Chevallard 1985) to the process which transforms an object of knowledge into a coherent museum exhibit. For a presentation of both the theory of didactic transposition and the model of museographic transposition see Foss Mortensen 2008 and 2010.

2), «the very placement of object[s] within the museum creates [their] importance and validity»⁶³⁶. The processes of museographic transposition involved will in the following be described by using the example of the reconstruction of a middle Kerma grave:

The archaeological excavations conducted by George Andrew Reisner (1913-1916) and by the Swiss Archaeological Mission (since the early 1979) in the eastern necropolis at Kerma have substantially advanced the knowledge of the burial practices of the Kerma period. The establishment of ceramic chronologies (Gratien 1978, Privati 1999) has defined the main phases of the Kerma period and shown a chronological development in the use of the necropolis and in its burial traditions from the north to the south. A brief but concise description of the mortuary patterns of Kerma is found in Timothy Kendall's book *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush*:

«The dead were always placed in round or oval pits, one to two meters deep, probably within a day or two of their deaths. (...). Normally, mounds were made of mud or heaped sand and were either covered with smooth, white desert pebbles and edged with pavements of black pebbles or decorated with concentric rings of stones. (...). Finally, the skulls of [cattle] were arranged around the south side of the grave» (Kendall 1996: 55–56).

The reconstruction of the middle Kerma grave in the Kerma Museum aims at transposing important scientific insights from the archaeological investigations to the exhibition milieu. Hereby particular attention was given to providing the visitors accurate information on the following aspects: grave architecture and decoration, body position and orientation, accompanying artefacts and deposits of bucrania (frontal part of cattle skull with horncores). The reconstructed grave is built from archaeological material from the eastern necropolis and the arrangement and orientation of the body in the grave is identical to those of the same period in the cemetery. The grave reconstruction thus not only aims at conveying a scientific 'message' but likewise at enhancing the visitor experience by providing the

⁶³⁶ Valerie Casey (2003: 2) traces the expression "museum effect" back to André Malraux's concept of the "Museum Without Walls" ("Musée Imaginaire", first published in French in 1947), «in which all works of art – whatever their origin – are available to be appreciated for their formal qualities, independently of whatever they originally signified» (Chilvers 2004: 434). Svetlana Alpers (1991: 72) for her part describes the "museum effect" as «the tendency to isolate something from its world, to offer it up for attentive looking and thus to transform it into art».

opportunity to observe a situation very similar to the one the archaeologist has encountered at the excavation.

4.5.4 Visitor Experience

The Kerma Museum is predominantly visited by young people under 25 years of age (Swiss average 49), whereas a large proportion of the museum audience consists of repeat visitors⁶³⁷. Visitors describe their main motivation for visiting as for purposes of education and enjoyment; purposes that meet the definition of the museum contained in the ICOM statutes⁶³⁸. The visit of the actual museum building with the museum collections is completed by the majority of the visitors by a visit of the archaeological site of the western ('lower') *Deffufa* and by a relaxing rest in the green areas of the museum⁶³⁹. Especially the lawn in front of the Nubian Study Centre with sun shades and refreshment stands has become a popular gathering place for individuals and families. It is a public gathering place with high social encounter capacity and one of the few places in the region where the segregation of the sexes is less rigidly enforced⁶⁴⁰. It is common, especially on Fridays and religious holidays, for full families to picnic after the museum visit on the lawn, listen to live bands playing traditional Sudanese and rap music, and to spend some time in a peaceful setting.

⁶³⁷ Personal communication by Abdelmaged Mahmoud Abdelrahman Ibrahim, then director of the Kema Museum. Kerma: September 01, 2013. The young average age of the museum visitors reflects the youthfulness of Sudan's total population (60% of the population is younger than 25 years; in Switzerland, the percentage is 26%. Source: *The World Factbook* (2017); keyword "Sudan").

⁶³⁸ According to the ICOM Statutes, adopted by the 22nd General Assembly in Vienna, Austria on August 24th, 2007, «A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of *education, study and enjoyment*» (*my emphasis*) <http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/> [27.10.2016].

⁶³⁹ Some groups also combine their visit to the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' with an excursion to the upper or eastern *Deffufa*. Since 2019, they can find in proximity of the *Deffufa* in a pavillon structure information in English and Arabic language on archaeology and history of the site.

⁶⁴⁰ The compound of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' is also a popular flirt venue for the local youth; a fact which leads to much criticism by different opinion leaders.



Visitors of the Kerma Museum enjoying the Museum gardens. August 10, 2013.

The visit to the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' is thus perceived by visitors – which represent different socio-economic strata and cultural backgrounds – as a multifaceted experience, which involves at once cognitive, emotional and social dimensions. It is a unifying experience which gathers people in what Robert Bellah and his colleagues have called "communities of memory" (Bellah et al. 1985: 152ff) whose members share a sense of a common past and the will to remember it. The "communities of memory" participate in ritual, aesthetic and ethical "practices of commitment" (Bellah et al. 1985: 154 and 335), which define «patterns of loyalty and obligation that keep the community alive» (Bellah et al. 1985: 154)⁶⁴¹. Exemplary of the rituals enacted in the Kerma Museum are, for instance, the following of a particular route to re-enact the curatorial narrative and the taking of selfies with the statues of Nubian kings by museum visitors⁶⁴².

A good example of the aesthetic practices performed by visitors to the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' is the festive clothing visitors wear for the museum visit on Fridays and on holidays. While a part of the young people now wears fashionable western style clothes, the older generation usually wears the traditional *jallābīya*⁶⁴³ (men)

⁶⁴¹ Bellah et al. (1985) contrast "practices of commitment" related to a second language of communal and civic responsibility with "practices of separation" which establish a first language of modern individualism. In the absence of "practices of commitment", «a culture of separation» (282) threatens to erode the meaning and coherence of social life, and the collective will to build a just society.

⁶⁴² For the the ritual aspect of the museum experience see Carol Duncan: "Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums" (Duncan 1995).

⁶⁴³ The *jallābīya* is the traditional dress for men in the North Sudan. It is a long, white robe-like garment with a rounded neckline and long, wide sleeves. It is worn traditionally with the *'imma*, a 4.5m long, white gauzy fabric wound around the head in a loose turban over a white crocheted skull-cap

and the *thawb*⁶⁴⁴ (women). On the *Īd al-Fitr* ("Festival of Breaking Fast"), people usually wear new clothes to mark the festivities, a tradition which is symbolic of renewal. The ethical dimension finally is expressed in the ways in which visitors to the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' interact with the museum exhibits and with each other. They seem to be bound together by certain codes of conduct (or codes of comportment) which include being respectful of the exhibits, grounds and buildings but also of fellow visitors⁶⁴⁵.

The 'Kerma Cultural Complex' is situated in a rural setting of an economically underdeveloped region. Agriculture, trading and small business is the basis of the Nubian economy which also depends on remittances from the urban centres and the Gulf countries. Nubians are committed Muslims and the five daily prayers, announced by prayer calls from the minarets, strongly structure the daily life of people. Cultural values of ancestral continuity are largely male dominated, although women always played an influential role in Nubian society. The social life is largely characterized by a gendered separation of the 'private' or domestic and 'public' spheres. Although the Kerma region is densely populated, there is still a village atmosphere. People have a strong sense of place and belonging and are thus strongly attached to their homes and neighborhoods. However, there are few public places for social encounters. The weekly markets in Kerma and Burgheig, with scattered coffee shops and restaurants, provide some opportunities for the social encounter between men and women and are a welcome change from daily routine. But the *Sūq* (public market), like the public sphere in general, is regimented by strict codes of behaviour. In this setting, the 'Kerma Cultural Complex', has become a meaningful meeting place, a place for social gatherings and a place for entertainment. This view is confirmed by Matthieu Honegger:

«[The Kerma Museum] is an important meeting point, because there is no public place with a cultural dimension that is open to all, regardless of gender, age or ethnic origin. Women can

(*taqiya*), a scarf (*shal*) resting on the shoulders and *markūb*, the traditional Sudanese loafers made of leather or snakeskin.

⁶⁴⁴ The word "*thawb*" means "garment" in Arabic, and the *thawb* (pronounced as "*tōb*" in Sudan) itself is the traditional colourful outer garment of married women in North Sudan. It consists of nine meters of cloth, wound round the body, with a fold covering the head.

⁶⁴⁵ For a presentation of the museum as instrument of education and social control see Norman Trondsen; 1976, 105-119 and Tony Bennett (1995). For accounts of non-compliance in the museum ("practices of separation") see Helen Rees Leahy; 2012, 127ff.

go in groups with or without children, without being accompanied by a man. It is also probably a place of identity that gives pride to the people of the region»⁶⁴⁶.

Rosmarie Beier-de Haan, in her 2011 article "Re-staging Histories and Identities", contrasts traditional exhibitions, in which the connections between the objects are created by texts and in which the viewer is positioned as a detached observer (191/92) with a new, contemporary approach according to which the viewer becomes part of the ensemble and is challenged to express his own perceptions, judgements and emotions (192/93)⁶⁴⁷. She concludes that the traditional [didactical] museum practice is being increasingly replaced by the new experience-based approach.

«The practice of displaying objects in showcases along with written information ceased to be the almost ubiquitous means of presentation about thirty years ago. This is connected with the fact that scholars no longer have a monopoly on determining how something is to be interpreted, and with increased acceptance of experience-based interpretations and the idea that views of reality are individual and context-dependent» (Beier-de Haan: 192).

In this perspective, viewers are no longer detached observers, they become rather part of the larger ensemble and are thus according Beier-de Haan (2001: 193) challenged «to express their own perceptions, judgements, and emotions».

In her historical investigation of the evolution of modern museum practice, Valerie Casey (2003) has theorized the changing modes of museum practice, which comprise three primary typologies of display – legislative, interpretive, and performative. As she further explains, «these categories overlap, [but] they also appear in historical chronology, where the modern art museum of the early 19th century is the "legislating" type, the pedagogically focused museum of post-WWII represents the "interpretive" mode, and the contemporary living history museum is classified as "performing"» (Casey 2003: 2)⁶⁴⁸. According to this classification, the

⁶⁴⁶ Matthieu Honegger, email communication. June 7, 2019.

⁶⁴⁷ Beier-de Haan's contrasting juxtaposition between a traditional and a new, contemporary approach in museum practice recalls Valerie Casey's distinction between the "interpreting" and "performing" museum described below.

⁶⁴⁸ Valerie Casey's juxtaposition of the interpretive and performative modes of display reminds the shift described by Eileen Hooper-Greenhill's from the modernist, object-centered museum, which aims at transmitting 'facts' (and therefore utilizes the display as its major form of communication) to the post-museum, which tries to involve the emotions and imagination of visitors (Hooper-Greenhill

Kerma Museum corresponds to the "interpretive" mode of curatorial practice, in which objects are «used to demonstrate ideas and themes rather than as displays of their individual characteristics» (Casey 2005: 80)⁶⁴⁹. The dense presentation of one hundred samples of Kerma pottery in six display showcases (no. 8-13) for instance does well reflect the stylistic development of the the pottery and it gives an idea of its aesthetical and technical sophistication. But the sheer quantity and density of the objects on display almost renders impossible the contemplation of a particular exhibit and the study of its individual attributes and characteristics.

In reaction to traditional modes of display, mainly young visitors of the Kerma Museum increasingly question directive forms of curatorial authority and seek their own forms of engagement with the museum environment. During his tenure as the director of the Kerma Museum, Abdel Maged Mahmoud, noticed a strong demand from visitors for alternative environments designed to heighten interaction with Nubian culture. Additionally, a large majority of the museum visitors expressed the general desire for more exhibition space in order to have «the wholeness of Nubian culture and society» represented⁶⁵⁰. Even tough, these suggestions are highly welcomed by both the former and current museum directors, the lack of financial and human resources prevents the implementation of appropriate measures in the Museum. However, there has been an increase of rather informal initiatives to showcase Nubian culture on the compound of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex'.

There was a growing call for the integration of more items of Nubian material culture into the museum collection but also for the documentation of cultural practices and expressions of the living or intangible heritage⁶⁵¹. Additionally, many visitors declared, according to Abdel Maged Mahmoud, expecting more contemporary, media-related, forms of presentation such as audio-visual or interactive displays⁶⁵².

2000: 142ff and 151ff). Such a mode of viewing entails a shift in the conceptualization of an object as a static entity to one that is performative.

⁶⁴⁹ In the interpretive museum, the visitor's gaze is split between the interpreter and the object; a process in which the object is aestheticized, stripped of from its cultural context and transformed by the "museum pedagogy" (Casey 2003: 7).

⁶⁵⁰ Interview with Abdel Maged Mahmoud Abdelrahman Ibrahim, then director of the Kerma Museum. Kerma, September 1, 2013.

⁶⁵¹ For a definition of "intangible cultural heritage" see article 2 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

⁶⁵² In the Sudan, the young and middle generation are very media savvy and the mobile broadband flat rates are not expensive. Social media is growing is growing as a platform, attracting large audiences, especially among the younger generation.

Abdel Maged Mahmoud stressed the need «to develop and implement new strategies to attract a new generation of museum visitors which prefers to engage with digital learning»⁶⁵³. In his view, the museum must thus reinvent itself for the internet-savvy "Facebook generation". Consequently, both Abdel Maged Mahmoud and the current director of the Kerma Museum, Muhammad Hasan have proposed initiatives to adapt the museographic concept in order to integrate audio-visual elements like video walls into the permanent exhibition⁶⁵⁴. These initiatives have been welcomed by their counterparts of the Swiss Archaeological Mission, all the more since the possibility of placing videoscreens in the Kerma Museum was already envisaged by the Swiss Mission in the aftermath of the 2014 exhibition *Aux origines des pharaons noirs* in Neuchâtel. The Neuchâtel exhibition featured a series of documentary films on the archaeology of Kerma produced by Swiss filmmaker Stéphane Goël⁶⁵⁵ and it was eventually decided to place a large videoscreen in the former staff room so that it can be used for the screening of Goël's documentaries on the excavations at Kerma but also for the screening of other documentary films on the archeology of the Sudan.

With regard to the demand for a better representation of Nubian culture in the Kerma Museum, Muhammed Hasan refers to the Nubian Study Centre intended to promote the knowledge of Nubia's past and present. However, there are plans to organize annually a major festival of Nubian music and folklore at the Kerma Museum⁶⁵⁶. Minor music festivals and bazaars featuring Nubian arts and crafts are already held on the national holiday⁶⁵⁷ and on Eid holidays. In 2019, the Sudan Architecture Forum has organized the "Kerma Expo" (January 31 to February 7), featuring four

⁶⁵³ Abdel Maged Mahmoud, former director of the Kerma Museum, has participated in the 2011 International Training Program of the British Museum. The six-week Programme (June 20-July 29, 2011) exposed the participants the full range of museum functions and included a workshop on new media technologies. Abdel Maged Mahmoud's statement must also be understood against this background.

⁶⁵⁴ Personal communications to the author.

⁶⁵⁵ Stéphane Goël has a long working experience in the Sudan. Together with Sylvie Rossel, he has produced in 2005 the 52 minutes documentary film *Sur les traces des pharaons noirs (In the Land of The Black Pharaohs)* which chronicles the work of Charles Bonnet and his team at Kerma.

⁶⁵⁶ Oral information by Muhammed Hasan. Kerma, December 12, 2016. The planned festival at Kerma is inspired by the festivals at Wadi Halfa (first edition held in December 2012) and at Gebel Barkal (first edition held in December 2014). The festival at Kerma, scheduled for February 2019, was eventually cancelled due to political unrest.

⁶⁵⁷ In the Sudan, Independence Day is celebrated as a national holiday. Sudan was proclaimed a sovereign independent republic on January 1, 1956, ending its status as an Anglo-Egyptian condominium (since 1899).

mud architecture workshops, an exhibition of traditional Nubian handicraft and an internet point. The event – which was supported by the European Union, the University of Khartoum, the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Antiquities and the Embassy of Switzerland to Sudan and Eritrea – aimed at reviving and innovating traditional Nubian mud building techniques⁶⁵⁸.

Summarising the above, it can be said that the distinctive architecture of the museum building, the richness and diversity of the museum's collections, the proximity to the archaeological site, the relaxing ambiance of the green spaces and the recurring cultural activities make the visit of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' an all-encompassing experience.

4.5.5 Visitor Reactions to Museum Exhibits

While the emphasis in the section on the museum intent was placed on the strategies and forms through which the Kerma Museum uses artefacts to make meaningful representations, the emphasis here is on how individual subjects experience and make sense of particular artefacts as museum exhibits. This implies an understanding of the museum artefact as a «nexus of meaning» (Macdonald 2011: 93) – or as «a nexus of interrelated meanings» (Bann 2003: 120) – rather than as representations of an underlying system.

The analysis is based on two case examples from the archaeological and folklore sections of the Kerma Museum. The first example is of the group of seven royal statues displayed in the central hall of the museum, which is – as mentioned previously – the most integrated space. The second example in contrast is about the model of the *sāqiya* (animal-driven waterwheel) in the folklore section located in the museums' most segregated space. Despite the opposite degree of spatial integration and notwithstanding the apparent difference in terms of artistic and craftsman quality, both exhibits are – for different reasons – highly appreciated by the majority of museum visitors and evoke specific reactions and responses in their beholders.

⁶⁵⁸ Information on the Kerma Expo is available on the website of the Sudan Architecture Forum: <https://www.saf-ea.com/> [14.07.2019].

The data on the visitor response to the exhibits were collected through participant observation, informal discussion, formal and informal interviews, written materials such as notes in the visitors' book of the Museum and through a survey. The observation phase lasted over a decade from January 19, 2008 (inauguration of the Kerma Museum) to the end of January 2018.

However, despite the large amount of data available, it should be recalled that, besides architectural factors, a number of demographic and social factors strongly influence visitor reactions to exhibits (Bitgood and Patterson 1987:5). The dominant position of Islam in Sudanese society thus undoubtedly affects the way people interact with the museum and its content.

4.5.5.1 Case Example I: Royal Statues

The seven free-standing granite statues from the Kerma Museum were found fragmented in a virgin cache associated with an Amun temple at the site of Dukki-Gel. The fifty-seven well-preserved and largely complete fragments could be attributed to seven statues representing five Nubian kings; that is to Egypt's 25th Dynasty rulers Taharqa and Tanutamun – who were the last of the so-called 'Black Pharaohs' – and to the Napatan Kings Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspelta (Tanutamun and Senkamanisken are represented twice). After recovery, the statue fragments were examined, documented, scientifically analysed and professionally restored and reassembled. The analysis of the fragments revealed that the statues were intentionally damaged using a bronze chisel, possibly during the military campaign led by Pharaoh Psamtik II around 591 BC. The quasi-perfect state of conservation of the stone surface indicates that very little time elapsed between the destruction of the statues and their burial. Aspelta would have reigned another 20 years after this confrontation and was most likely the one who ordered the burial of the statues in the cache, in hallowed ground.

The statues from the cache at Dukki-Gel are considered by scholars likely to transform the understanding of the art of the period when Egypt was ruled by kings of the lands of modern day Sudan, and to provide – as Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle assert – «a much better idea of the long-underestimated originality of Nubian culture and its deep roots in an extremely distant past» (Bonnet

and Valbelle, 2006: 11). But as reflected in the following quote by Michael Brett, the Kushite kings simultaneously endorsed different levels of acculturation and preservation of identity, beyond and within 'Nubian culture':

«In their determination to claim the inheritance of the Pharaohs, the Kushite kings of Napata appear in their monuments and inscriptions more Egyptian than the Egyptians. But in the same time they remained Nubian, in names like Taharqa; in their dress; and in their insignia» (Brett 2013: 109).

The royal statues of exquisite workmanship thus at once bear witness to a Sudanese civilisation that once dominated ancient Egypt and to the adoption of Egyptian traditions by 25th Dynasty Pharaohs and post-25th Dynasty Nubian kings. However, the present arrangement of the statues in the Kerma Museum emphasizes a different narrative. The clustered grouping of the statues suggests cultural homogeneity at the expense of difference and complexity⁶⁵⁹. But quite contrary to what the display suggests, the statues in the Kerma Museum do not form a homogenous group; stylistically they rather illustrate as Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle (2006: 86) write «the shift from an art strongly influenced by Egyptian workshops to a more African art that slowly adopted its distance from the former».

The explanatory plaque next to the statues provides the museum visitors with only the most rudimentary information (names of the seven kings represented) so that visitors are left to their own interpretation. It is thus unsurprising that many visitors wish to receive additional information on the statues and their history, preferably in Arabic language. Additionally, visitors ask staff for picture postcards even though the statues have become a favourite photo opportunity for visitors and, more recently, a popular motif for 'selfie' shooters.

⁶⁵⁹ Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle in their meticulous analysis of the statues (2006: 86-138) have discerned the different stylistic influences the statues display and have elaborated on the complex interplay of continuity and change in stylistic practices. They credit the authorship of the statues of Taharqa and Tanutamun to Egyptian artists (2006: 126) or rather to an Egyptian school (2006: 132), and the statues of Senkamanisken, Anlamani and Aspelta to Kushite artists of Egyptian inspiration (2006: 128).



Kerma Museum. Visitors posing with statues. January 1, 2016.

Since the plastered brick wall behind the statues was threatening to collapse on the statues, it was replaced in late 2016/early 2017 by a slightly recessed solid concrete wall. At this occasion, the museum executives decided to partially dismantle the monolithic podium of the statues in order to reconstruct it as a square podium with two ascending steps⁶⁶⁰. Additionally, the twisted cord surrounding the podium was removed and replaced by a gravel square, bordered with narrow kerbstones. The intent of these interventions was to break-down the monumentality of the podium and to reduce both the real and the visually perceived distance between the viewer and the statues. Moreover, the enlargement of the distance between the rear wall and the statues now significantly facilitates the inspection of whose inscribed back pillars. Even though, the presentation still meets the initial principle of distant viewing, the statues now visually appear closer to the viewer. The visitors' reactions to the modifications are very positive albeit a few isolated voices express a general disappointment of not being allowed to view the statues close up.

⁶⁶⁰ The author was in charge of the implementation of these modifications.

When asked, many museum visitors incorrectly estimate the age of the statues as much older than of the 7th to 6th century BC – whereat some even hold the view, that the statues are more ancient than the Egyptian pyramids, thus testifying to the grandeur and might of a civilization much older than of Egypt⁶⁶¹. The believe in the precedence of Nubian civilization in relation to Egypt must be understood as a reaction against the aforementioned Egyptocentric bias in colonial archaeology which served to see Nubian civilization(s) «as a provincial and backward variant of Egyptian civilization» (Adams 1998: 2); an assessment crystallized in George A. Reisner's words that the history of Nubia was «hardly more than an account of its use or neglect by Egypt» (Reisner 1910/I: 348)⁶⁶². It should be recalled here, that the British administrators fostered the concept of Sudanese nationalism with regard to Egyptian claims of sovereignty over the Sudan through archaeological research (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 239). The use of archaeology as an impetus of national awareness proved according to Bushra J. Hamid eventually to be successful:

«The results of antiquarian research suited the political purpose of the administration: the separation of the Sudan from Egypt. These results showed that the Sudan had not been, as it was generally believed, an archeological offshoot of Egypt, but a world power with its own locally-derived culture. It was thought that a formal museum would be the best way to introduce these findings to a general audience, as well as to the educated Sudanese» (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 266).

The call for the creation of a museum manifested the will of the British administrators to construct an imagined community⁶⁶³ that was the larger Sudanese in which a community of people shared a presumably common heritage and a probably common political destiny:

⁶⁶¹ Likewise, many interlocutors hold the view that the [Napatan and Meroitic] pyramids in the Sudan are older than those of Egypt. Others legitimately claim that there are more pyramids in Sudan than in Egypt and pretend – rightly or not – that the pyramid on the reverse of the American one-dollar bill is actually a Kushite pyramid.

⁶⁶² Sudanese historian Hasan Ahmad Ibrahim bemoans similar paternalistic attitudes among Egyptian historians of the time: «"No patronizing of our history", [...]; Egyptian historians have a paternalistic attitude towards the Sudan, describing its history as an appendix to that of Egypt and justifying whatever Egypt did in the Sudan as serving the "welfare" of the Sudanese» (Gabriel Warburg paraphrasing Hasan Ahmad Ibrahim; Warburg 1992: 39).

⁶⁶³ Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation as «an imagined political community – [...] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign» expresses the idea that although the members of the nation will not meet, they are aware of each other's existence and that they all belong to a common entity. The 'national community' is naturalized through a shared, common experience represented in the 'grand narrative' of the nation, and in turn displayed and depicted in museums, memorials, history books or by other forms of cultural symbolism.

«This was nationalism: the belief that the colonial borders enclosed a community of people who shared a heritage and political destiny. In this way, nationalism was an ideological manifestation of compound social changes that colonialism set in motion. It responded not only to the idea of foreign domination, but also, perhaps more importantly, to political change» (Sharkey 2003: 3).

The aforementioned believe in the precedence of Nubian civilization in relation to Egypt is obviously also inspired by Afrocentric ideas⁶⁶⁴ as popularized by Senegalese scholar Cheikh Anta Diop (1923 -1986) in *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality?* (1974)⁶⁶⁵. While such ideas worked to legitimize black nationalism as an authentic form of political expression in the United States and to promote Pan-Africanism as an integrative force, they served in the Sudanese context to emphasize the ancientness and distinctiveness of Sudanese civilization(s) (in opposition to Egypt). Recent research by Maria Carmela Gatto (2014) and Michele R. Buzon (Buzon et al., 2016) in contrast, has shown that the ancient history of 'Sudan' and 'Egypt' should actually be understood as a history of cultural entanglement and that the idea of the frontier as sharp boundary should be reconceptualised as a fluid zone of transformative social change⁶⁶⁶.

In any case, the statues from the cache at Dukki-Gel create a profound sense of belonging among the Sudanese museum's visitors; a feeling which is rooted in the widespread belief that the statues are a material expression of the visitors' own historical Nubian or Sudanese identity⁶⁶⁷.

⁶⁶⁴ The term 'Afrocentrism' goes back to William E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963) who used it in 1962 in the context of his projected *Encyclopaedia Africana* (Jeremiah Moses 1998: 1; 2008: 127 and footnote 23, p. 130). Du Bois 'Afrocentric' message, was – according to Jeremiah Moses (2008: 127) – «not limited to sentimentalism regarding the African past, but represented a sophisticated appraisal of the importance of Africa to recent and contemporary world politics and economics».

⁶⁶⁵ Here Diop puts forth the idea that the Egyptian civilization was black and descended from that of Nubia, «probably the oldest of all» (Diop 1974: 179). For a brief and concise critique of the Afrocentric perspective on Nubia see William Y. Adam's 1998 article "The Misappropriation of Nubia".

⁶⁶⁶ Gatto in her 2014 article discusses the process of multicultural adjustment and transformation that took place during the fourth millennium BCE in the Nile First Cataract region; a period corresponding to the formation of the Egyptian state. Buzon, Smith and Simonetti in their 2016 article explore the development of the Nubian polity who ruled as the 25th Dynasty of Egypt. For an early perspective on contacts between Ancient Egypt and the African interior see David O. Connor and Andrew Reid (eds.) *Ancient Egypt in Africa* (2003).

⁶⁶⁷ Looking through visitor books, it is obvious that Sudanese visitors express their pride in the museum and the objects reflecting their ancient culture. At the same, they bemoan the general neglect of the museum and suggest improvements. Often, they give specific ideas for promoting the museum on a national and international level. In contrast, foreign visitors primarily emphasize the beauty of the museum and its exhibited objects.

Drawing on Walter Benjamin's essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*⁶⁶⁸ one could say that the statues are simultaneously characterized by "authenticity" and "aura". Authenticity is explained by Benjamin in terms of the dependency of experience on tradition: «The uniqueness of a work of art is inseparable from its being imbedded in the fabric of tradition» (Benjamin 2007 [1968]: 223). Benjamin subsequently notes that the contextual integration of art in tradition found its first expression in the cult and that the earliest art works originated in the service of magical and religious rituals. It is thus, as Eli Friedlander puts it, «tradition that gives the work of art this extra weight of meaning or that provides the space in which it can be reappropriated in the present as significant experience» (Friedlander 2010: 148). The auratic experience that Benjamin identifies – as is Friedlander remarks – «inherent in the symbolic presentation of what is beyond the perceivable. (...). It is thus not the experience of a proximity between the viewer and the work of art, but of a distance; of «a distance however close it may be» (Benjamin 2007 [1968]: 243). Friedlander, drawing upon Benjamin, claims that the auratic is a form of memory that the individual cannot recover at will:

«in the experience of the aura, meaning appears that is not explicable in terms of the engagement of individual consciousness with the object. It is a peculiar accumulation of experience that constitutes the existence of the object in a medium of tradition, an accumulation that comes *with* the object when it is experienced as significant. The auratic experience is thus an experience of meaningfulness that elevates the object above itself» (Friedlander 2010: 148-149, his emphasis).

In the context of the statues exhibited at the Kerma Museum, Walter Benjamin's comments on "authenticity" and "aura" are helpful to illuminate the force that flows between the viewer and the statues; a flow that runs in two directions, since the Benjaminian aura overcomes the object-subject distinction by allowing objects to look back:

«"Perceptibility," as Novalis puts it, "is an attentiveness."^[669] The perceptibility he has in mind is none other than that of the aura. Experience of the aura thus arises from the fact that a

⁶⁶⁸ Walter Benjamin published three versions of the essay; the original, German edition appeared in 1935 ("Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit"); the French edition in 1936; and the revised edition – from which the English translation derives – in 1939.

⁶⁶⁹ «[D]ie Wahrnehmbarkeit eine Aufmerksamkeit» (Benjamin 1974: 55). The text passage in Novalis is: «Die Selbsttätigkeit eine Empfänglichkeit – die Wahrnehmbarkeit eine Aufmerksamkeit» (Novalis 1945: 196).

response characteristic of human relationships is transposed to the relationship between humans and inanimate or natural objects. The person we look at, or who feels he is being looked at, looks at us in turn. To experience the aura of an object we look at means to invest it with the ability to look back at us» (Benjamin 2007 [1968]: 188).

In the Kerma region, the embeddedness of ancient statues in a fabric of tradition is manifest in customs and practices such as the performance of fertility rituals by women on statues or the cultural (re-)appropriation of statues by the local population. The combination of both phenomena can, for instance, be observed at Tumbus on the third cataract, where it is reported, that local women pound, crush and urinate on certain parts of the unfinished 25th Dynasty style granite statue in the quarry⁶⁷⁰, in the belief, that it will increase their fertility (Hinkel 1992a: 155 and 172)⁶⁷¹.

The statue is referred to as *Ogjinondi* (Edwards and Ali Osman 1992: 18)⁶⁷² by the local population; a Mahas Nubian term meaning "the brave man". According to local tradition, the statue had supernatural powers and the ability to affect human lives⁶⁷³.

In 1992, Friedrich W. Hinkel reported, that he had proposed in 1984 a project to the Sudan Antiquities Service for the protection of the *Ogidnondi*:

«In a study we proposed to transport the statue from its place in the quarry for about 120 m to the granite outcrops which include a number of rock inscriptions. The statue was to be erected

⁶⁷⁰ The unfinished granite statue in the quarry at Tumbus was visited by the following 19th century travellers who in their travelogues provided accurate descriptions and drawings: Louis Maurice Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds on September 11, 1821 (Linant de Bellefonds 1821 and 1958); Frédéric Cailliaud on May 19, 1822 (Cailliaud 1826); George Alexander Hoskins on April 19, 1833 (Hoskins 1885) and Karl Richard Lepsius on June 21, 1844 (Lepsius 1849-1959). Timothy Kendall (2014: 683) has recently suggested that the statue – commonly attributed to Taharqa – was carved to represent Atlanersa as the twin of the statue found in the portico of Gebel Barkal's temple B 700 (now at the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum). However, Reisner already in 1916 identified the statue in the quarry at Tumbus as the companion statue of Atlanersa (cp. Reisner 1916: 109) and Rex Keating pointed out that «the statue to Atlanersa [then in the Merowe Museum] bore a notice to the effect that a companion statue was lying unfurnished in the granite quarries at Tombos» (Keating 1975: 232).

⁶⁷¹ Fresh traces of pounding and crushing on the statue have been observed repeatedly by the author at his numerous visits to the Tumbus quarry. Similar traces can be observed on the nearby New Kingdom rock inscriptions. From Tabo, Hinkel (1978: 84) reported that before the moving of the Tabo Colossi to Khartoum, women knocked on them «and rubbed them with small stones to gain pregnancy and fertility for their families» (Hinkel 1978: 84).

⁶⁷² Alternative spellings are *Ogidnondi* (Hinkel 1992a: 172) or *Ogojnondi* (Haycock: HAY S047.22). Óg|ǵ = man

⁶⁷³ Hinkel (1978: 84) in the context of the Tabo colossi, had already observed, that «[f]rom ancient times, supernatural powers had been ascribed to the huge figures in the Nile Valley».

there and housed in a small structure which would protect both the inscriptions and the colossus and to transform them from «exposed monuments» to «sheltered monuments». The building was also to provide some information on the antiquities in the region through a small exhibition. Such a measure would stop the mischief to which the statue is exposed by the local women, who pounded and crushed certain parts with stones and urinated on the statue in their ignorance and superstition to obtain fertility. On the other hand the rock inscriptions now show similar damages from pounding and are partly in a state of destruction at the hands of the pupils of the nearby school (!)» (Hinkel 1992a: 172, his exclamation mark).

However, Hinkels project never materialized and the statue is still lying in its original location in the quarry at Tumbus. The respect given to the *Ogjinondi*-statue testifies to the need of establishing an emotional connection to the past and its remembrance. However, adherents of orthodox Islam consider the fertility rituals as superstitious and thus forbidden – and consequently oppose the presence of statues in private homes and public places. Likewise, in the Kerma Museum, a small minority of visitors strictly rejects the display of statues and therefore demand their removal from the museum⁶⁷⁴. This opposition to statues is religiously based and statues are declared *haram*⁶⁷⁵ even though the question as to whether three-dimensional representations are to be allowed or not is contested among Islamic scholars. Yusuf al-Qaradawi⁶⁷⁶ for instance – who was commissioned by the Cairo's al-Azhar University to write a compendium on what is allowed and forbidden in Islam⁶⁷⁷ – is fundamentally opposed to statues, because of the high risk that they could be worshipped (Qaradawi: 2001: 98ff)⁶⁷⁸. Therefore, even the statues of the ancient Egyptians are classified as forbidden by considered al-Qaradawi: «Islam proscribed all that leads to paganism or smells of it, statues of ancient Egyptians included»⁶⁷⁹. By contrast, Hassan al-Turabi – Sudan's leading Islamic ideologist and

⁶⁷⁴ Similarly, some visitors consider the public display of human remains as inappropriate and demand the removal of the skeletal remains in the reconstructed graves from the museum. Personal communication by Abdelmaged Mahmoud Abdelrahman Ibrahim. Kerma: September 01, 2013.

⁶⁷⁵ The meaning of the triconsonantal root *h-r-m* translates as 'forbidden' or 'taboo'. It evokes according to Kevin Reinhart «constraint, and often heightened sanctity as well. In legal thought and act deemed *haram* is one forbidden» (Reinhart 1995: 101, his emphasis).

⁶⁷⁶ Yusuf al-Qaradawi (*1926), influential Egyptian-born preacher and scholar, has lived since 1961 in Qatar where he heads the department of Islamic Law at the University of Doha. Through his programme "Sharia and Life" televised on Al Jazeera and his Web site "Islam Online", he reaches millions of people throughout the Muslim world.

⁶⁷⁷ The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam (2001; originally published in 1960 under the Arabic title *Al-Halal wal-Haram fil Islam*).

⁶⁷⁸ By statues, Qaradawi means «complete, solid figures which have not been disfigured or defaced» (Qaradawi 2001:98). However, if the viewing of a defaced statue generates feelings of respect toward it, it is likewise forbidden (Qaradawi 2001: 104).

⁶⁷⁹ Source: Aljazeera / Agence France Press (AFP). April 3, 2006.

influential Islamic cleric – advocated a more pragmatic approach, which aimed to encourage all kind of artistic expression as long as it intended to enhance the religious experience (Turabi 1983; cp. Naef 2007: 125).

Islam's fear of statues as the foci for pagan worship is a fear of the power associated with them; of their real or potential cult value which according to Walter Benjamin constitutes "aura". It is thus remarkable, that in a predominantly Arab Muslim country such as the Sudan⁶⁸⁰, that, of all things, statues have become central attractions at both the Kerma Museum and at the Sudan National Museum. This might be explained by the fact that, in the Sudan, the official doctrine of Sunni Islam is strongly infused with charismatic and mystical claims of a more tolerant Sufi tradition. The ambivalence towards statues is best exemplified in a statement made by a 30 years old female teacher from Omdurman, who in a survey conducted in the Khartoum Museum in 2013⁶⁸¹ referred to the statues as her preferred objects, «because of their inherent beauty and technical perfection» but nevertheless, for religious reasons, advocated the removal of the statues from the museum.

4.5.5.2 Case Example II: Model of a *sāqiya* (Persian Wheel)

During my 2013 field research at Kerma, I often visited the Kerma Museum with Sudanese friends so as to learn how they experience the Museum. On a Friday in September, I accompanied the family of Badri A. and his wife Ibtisam with their daughters Tahani and Alaa for a visit to the museum. Badri, was born on the Nile Island of Artigasha and his wife in the Mahas region. Both are Nubians, speaking the Dongolawi and Mahasi languages of the Nile Valley. The daughters also speak Dongolawi, although the language is not taught at school. As I expected, my companions were especially attracted by the statues – and, as I also expected, we spent much time in the folklore section. But unexpectedly, my companions engaged in a lively discussion, when Alaa, the younger daughter, turned our attention to an inconspicuous toylike object; an object to which I had not paid attention before. Alaa's interest was drawn by the model of a *sāqiya* (plural *sawāqin*; animal driven

<http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/04/200849145117271363.html>) 12.04.2017]. The same source reports a fatwa against statues issued by Shaikh Ali Gomaa, the Grand Mufti of Egypt.

⁶⁸⁰ Approximately 97% of the overall Sudanese population is Muslim and about 70% Arab. %. Source: *The World Factbook* (2017); keyword "Sudan".

⁶⁸¹ The survey was conducted on September 21, 2013 among 87 visitors (average age: 28; 29♂ / 58♀).

waterwheel used for irrigating land⁶⁸²) displayed along with a series of models of traditional farming tools, a rectangular straw shelter (*rakuba*) and a decorated Nubian gate displayed on a cloth-covered pedestal. In contrast to the scale models of archaeological sites, which were produced by a professional model maker in Switzerland, the models of the *sāqiya* and *rakuba* etc. fit into the category of *bricolage* (the construction or creation from a diverse range of available materials). Though these models lack the precision and accuracy of the professional craftsman, they yet demonstrate the love and passion of the dedicated amateur and thus convey a strong sense of authenticity. While Alaa studied the model and started discussing with Tahani, their parents joined in the discussion. Both parents recalled times long past, when a continuous chain of cultivated lands along the Nile was irrigated with the traditional *sāqiya* waterwheel. While to them, the model of the *sāqiya* induced melancholy and nostalgia, their daughters were fascinated to learn about a traditional irrigation technique long replaced by diesel and electric pumps.



Model of a *sāqiya*, made by Muhammad Tumbul Muhammad Khair.

Kerma Museum, August 25, 2013.

⁶⁸² The water driven water-wheel by contrast is referred to as *na'ūra*, often transformed into *norra* (Oleson 1984: 10).

The true-to-detail model of the *sāqiya* in the Kerma Museum was designed by Muhammad Tumbul Muhammad Khair and donated to the museum by the author. It was built at a scale of approximately 1:20, using different types of wood, cords, fabric and fired clay and thereby meticulously reproducing both, the design principle and the materialisation of a real *sāqiya*. The model thus vividly demonstrates the complex gear arrangement required to lift water from the Nile to the basins (a *sāqiya* working from a well, by contrast, is known as *matara*). The *sāqiya* is constructed by local experts from locally available materials. It is comprised of a horizontal and a vertical wheel which are attached together through wooden gears. The rotational force from the horizontal wheel – driven by draft animals around a circular path in counter-clockwise direction – is converted into a vertical motion and transmitted through a beam axle to a third wheel onto which earthen jars (*qādūs*, plural *qawādīs*, water-wheel buckets with a capacity of approximately three litres) to haul water are attached with ropes at regular intervals⁶⁸³. Turning through the water, the jars get filled, and when they turn on the other side the water pours out into a trough that supplies the irrigation channels.



Coloured postcard of a “Sagia” Water Wheel at Khartoum. Undated.

⁶⁸³ A similar principle but allowing the lifting of water to a greater height, is that of the bucket chain or pot-garland (Olesen 1984:10).

Based on archaeological and textual evidence from Faiyum and Alexandria, Adriana de Miranda (2007:39) concludes that the *sāqiya* is probably originating in Egypt in the 3rd century B.C. and diffused throughout Egypt in Roman times (see also Bonneau 1993: 107)⁶⁸⁴. According to British archaeologist Derek Welsby (2002: 184-185), the *sāqiya* was introduced into Nubia «late in the Kushite period, but certainly soon thereafter». In the Middle Nile Region, the origins of the *sāqiya* are to be found in the late Meroitic period with a widespread presence not before the fourth century A.D. (Edwards 2004a: 202). The use of the *sāqiya* was originally limited to the regions along the Nile Valley. But in the Turkiyya, according to Anders Bjørkelo (1989: 138), the *sāqiya* gradually spreads southwards, south and west of the Confluence. The wide diffusion of the *sāqiya* along the Nile eventually permitted the expansion of cultivation and the development of new cropping regimes:

«With the introduction of the saqia, not only was the area of cultivable land extended, but the irrigated fields could be cultivated all year round, allowing the best use of both temperate northern crops such as wheat and barley, as well as a new range of hardy tropical crops» (Edwards 2004a: 203)⁶⁸⁵.

However, it seems that the *sāqiya* was not widely used in southern Sudan. Among the rare evidence for its use South there are two black and white photographs of a water-wheel taken by the late British anthropologist Godfrey Lienhardt (1921-1993) at the occasion of his fieldwork among the Dinka in the then Warrap state (sometimes spelled Warab) in the late 1940's⁶⁸⁶.

In the descriptions of early European travellers to Nubia, there are numerous references to the importance of the *sāqiya* for water supply and irrigation⁶⁸⁷. Waddington and Hanbury for instance, at the occasion of their visit to the Kerma

⁶⁸⁴ On the origins of the *sāqiya* see: Oleson 1984: 370ff, Bonneau 1993: 105ff) and de Miranda 2007: 39ff. For general information on *sāqiya* irrigation see Nicholls 1918: 21-24, Allan and Smith 1948: 627ff, Trigger 1965: 19-22, Hurreiz 2006 and Ruffini 2012. For a *sāqiya* terminology see Nicholson 1935. For a description of the *sāqiya* system and its social order among the Manâsir see Beck 2012.

⁶⁸⁵ For the nexus between *sāqiya* irrigation and cropping regimes see also Welsby 2002: 187.

⁶⁸⁶ The photographs are available in the collections from southern Sudan held at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford under the accession numbers 2005.51.454 and 2005.51.441 and in the Southern Sudan "Virtual Collection" under the following links:

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/southernsudan/details/2005.51.441/index.html> [20.05.2017].

<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/southernsudan/details/2005.51.454/index.html> [20.05.2017].

⁶⁸⁷ See the descriptions in Bruce 1791, Burckhardt 1819, Cailliaud 1826, Rüppell 1829, Cadalvène and Breuvery 1841, Hoskins 1835, Hamilton 1857, and Hartmann 1863.

area on November 22, 1820, have written the following lines on the long tradition of *sāqiya* irrigation:

«The people have heard from their fathers, that, three hundred years ago, all the land was cultivated by sakies erected over wells of water found in the ground; there are proofs of the truth of this tradition at every step, and one such sakie is now in existence, at more than half a mile from the river. This was the first water we had seen since we left Alexandria that was not of the Nile». (Waddington and Hanbury 1822: 42-43, translated in Reisner 1923 (Vol. 1): 14-15).

Many of the 19th century travellers mention the characteristic sound of the turning waterwheels and give some valuable information on the central position of the *sāqiya* in the agricultural economy. The term *sāqiya* derives from the Arab verb *saqā* which means to water; to irrigate. The Nubian term for *sāqiya* /waterwheel is *kolē* in Kenzi and *askalē*, *eskalē*, *iskalē* or *kalē* in Mahasi (Lepsius 1880)⁶⁸⁸. But the term does, as Bjørkelo explains, not only refer to the waterwheel, but also to the land irrigated by it and to their owner(s):

«The term *sāqiya* applied to both the wheel, the land it irrigated and the production unit, including the owner or owners who gained their livelihood from operating it. We may therefore talk about a *sāqiya* system of production, in which the people belonging to a *sāqiya* defined their ownership rights in terms of shares in the wheel and the land, rather than in physically demarcated plots, and received from the produce according to their number of shares and labour input» (Bjørkelo 1989: 59).

The *sāqiya* was also the basic unit for taxation – and exaggerated *sāqiya* taxation in the *Turkiyya* eventually led to a dramatic decrease in the number of waterwheels throughout the country (Bjørkelo 1989: 90/91, 99). In 1948, John R. Burnell, then Senior Inspector of Agriculture of the Sudan Government, estimated the number of water-wheels still in use in the northern Sudan at 9'880 (Burnett 1948: 288) and in 1950, Sudan issued an air mail postage stamp to highlight the importance of the *sāqiya* for irrigation and agriculture⁶⁸⁹. However, since, the *sāqiya* has almost completely disappeared in favour of mechanical pumps. Only a few waterwheels

⁶⁸⁸ John Lewis Burckhardt (1819:155) in his "Vocabulary of the Kensey and Nouba Languages" lists *Koleyg* (Kenzi) and *Askaleyga* (Dongolawi/Mahasi).

⁶⁸⁹ Sudan Air Mail postage stamp 1950. Face Value: 3 PT (piasters). Stamp subject: «SAGIA (WATER WHEEL)». Printed on multiple 'SG' watermark paper by Thomas de la Rue & Company Limited in England.

were kept by local communities; as remainder from the past, to be preserved for nostalgic reasons or educational purposes. A recent example of this is the re-erection of a well *sāqiya* or *matara* by a group of local residents on the foot of Jebel Sesibi at Sesa/Sudla (a village on the west bank of the Nile opposite the modern town of Delgo) which has become a popular attraction in the region.



Sāqiya on the foot of Jebel Sesibi at Sesa/Sudla. December 23, 2016.

In contrast to this initiative from the bottom up, there are, however, examples in for the "musealization" (the placing of objects in a museum) or "heritagization" (Desvallées and Mairesse) of the *sāqiya* through official designation. The discovery of a well *sāqiya* from the early Christian period (6th/7th century) at Selib in 2014 by a Polish Mission from the Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw for instance occasioned the building of a museum dedicated to the history of the *sāqiya* in the Middle Nile Region (Żurawski 2016: 26). The «*mathaf es-saqia* (*Saqia* Museum)» in Selib was established with funds from the 'Nubian Archaeological Development Organization (Qatar-Sudan)' under the umbrella of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Mueums (NCAM). It features two complete historic water-wheels which were purchased and reconstructed on the site; among

them a *sāqiya* from Artigasha which in 2013, according to Bogdan Żurawski, was filmed by the Sudan TV «as the last *sāqiya* in the Sudan» (Żurawski 2016: 26, his emphases)⁶⁹⁰.

Another example for the "musealization" or "heritagization" of the traditional irrigation wheel in a top down process is the presentation of a *sāqiya* in front of the new Merowe Museum⁶⁹¹. The museum was established 2009 in the context of the construction of the Merowe (Hamdab) High Dam, thereby ignoring the demand by the *Manāṣīr*, the ethnic group most affected by the dam's construction, for a local museum in their homeland *Dār al-Manāṣīr* (Kleinitz and Näser 2011, 2012 and 2013, Kleinitz 2013, Näser and Kleinitz 2012)⁶⁹². Large parts of *Dār al-Manāṣīr* are submerged by the Hamdab reservoir and the *Mansūrī* have relocated to faraway resettlement areas⁶⁹³. While water for irrigation was abundant along the Nile, the resettlement schemes in Wadi Mukabrab lacked regular water supply for irrigation (Calkins 2012). It is against this background that, with regard to the *sāqiya* at the Merowe Museum, archaeologist Alexandros Tsakos notices:

«[A]n unused saqia in a built context of no meaning for anyone who has experienced the landscape where the saqias could be found. (...), in our opinion, it symbolizes by its aridity the state of being for the traditional societies in the area of the Fourth Cataract (...) [such as] the Manasir»⁶⁹⁴.

The aridity alluded to strikingly contrasts with the situation in *Dār al-Manāṣīr* before the introduction of diesel pumps (and of course before the displacement from *Dār al-Manāṣīr*): «Towering opposite each building was an old wooden water wheel which was fed from the flowing stream below it. You hear a faint creak as the water

⁶⁹⁰ The *sāqiya* in question was in fact located on Bulinarti Island, the neighbouring Island of Artigasha. It was visited and photographed on site by the author at several occasions.

⁶⁹¹ The new Merowe Museum was officially inaugurated by the President of the Republic of the Sudan, Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir, on March 3, 2009 (the same day that he inaugurated the Merowe Dam) and opened to the public in 2010 (cp. Hafsaas-Tsakos 2011: 65). The funding for the museum came from the Dams Implementation Unit of the Ministry of Water Resources and Electricity. The old Merowe Museum, established in the mid 1920s, was devastated by a massive Nile flood in 1978 whereon the exhibits were transferred to the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum.

⁶⁹² On the diverging interests and attitudes of governmental authorities, archaeologists and the local people in the homeland of the Arab tribe of the *Manāṣīr* (*Dār al-Manāṣīr*) in the context of archaeological salvage work see: Leturcq 2009, Hafsaas-Tsakos 2011, Näser and Kleinitz 2012, Kleinitz and Näser 2013 and Kleinitz 2013.

⁶⁹³ For a chronology of the displacement of the *Manāṣīr* see Hänsch 2012.

⁶⁹⁴ Alexandros Tsakos on his and Henriette Hafsaas-Tsakos' blog "Medieval Sai Project". <https://medievalsaiproject.wordpress.com/2011/01/05/saqias-part-ii/> [25.05.2017].

wheel turns slowly. (...). You sow the seeds then hope and pray; they shall grow into big plants one day» (Abdelrahim Mohammed Salih 1999: 140 quoting the words of a water-wheel maker).



Sudanese postage stamp inscribed "Sagia (Water Wheel)".
Issued in 1950 at a nominal value of 3 piasters.

The final example typical of the institutional heritage fabric is the diorama reconstruction of a *sāqiya* in the Nubia Museum at Assuan (also spelled Nubian Museum). The diorama in the basement level of the museum represents scenes of daily life in old Nubia: a wedding ceremony, an open-air Quranic school (*khalwa*), music and dance performance, vernacular architecture and handcrafts, boat building, and irrigation by means of the *sāqiya* or the *shādūf*⁶⁹⁵. The diorama showcases an idealized past or an apolitical present, since «many of the aspects of the showcased Nubians' daily life, if not all of them, do not exist anymore in the displaced Nubian villages, or at least not in the romanticized image presented in the museum» (Elcheikh 2014: 31).

The common element in these four examples from Sesa/Sudla, Selib, Merowe and Aswan is the transformation of popular culture – or rather of a cultural practice into 'reflexive' heritage. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) has suggested that this transformation takes place through a set of metacultural operations described by Regina Bendix (2009: 256) as "honouring", "ennobling", "preserving" and

⁶⁹⁵ The *shādūf* is a simple lever device to raise water from a river or a well, consisting of a counterweighted pole with a bucket suspended from the light end.

"branding". Oscar Salemink (2016: 317) interpreting Bendix holds that the process of «heritagisation» entails the following four aspects: «the strategic invocation of tradition and authenticity; the projection of identity and cultivation of symbolic capital; the contestation of heritage values; and the symbolic work of marketing». "Heritage" in this understanding, is a social and cultural practice; or as Laurajane Smith puts it: «a process of negotiating historical and cultural meanings and values that occur around the decisions we make to preserve, or not, certain physical places or objects or intangible events and the way these are then managed, exhibited or performed» (Smith 2015: 141). Jean Gabriel Leturcq rightly asserts that both the Sudanese authorities and local communities make use of heritage for political purposes:

«(...) the process of heritage-making is being used by the Sudanese official authorities as means of political recognition of local communities. However, the appropriation of that conceptualisation of heritage by local populations may also constitute a political argument eventually turned against the central government» (Leturcq 2009: 316).

However, it is important to emphasize that the processes of "heritagization" are rarely exclusively bottom up or top down. On the contrary, they are often characterised by a fusion – or an entanglement – of top-down and bottom-up efforts, thereby involving individuals and institutions, state and civil society actors, policy makers and practitioners at a local, national and global level.

With regard to the *sāqiya*, efforts were made to register it «as an integrated technical, socio-economic and cultural system» (Hurreiz 2006: 1) in the World Intangible Heritage List, when in a March 2006 expert meeting on the identification of intangible cultural heritage of Sudan⁶⁹⁶ two Sudanese experts (Professor Ali Osman Mohamed Salih; Department of Archaeology, University of Khartoum and Professor Sayyid H. Hurreiz; Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum) drafted an action plan «for promoting and preservation *al sagia* as a major component of intangible cultural heritage in Sudan»⁶⁹⁷. Even though these

⁶⁹⁶ The "Expert Meeting on Identification of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Sudan" (Khartoum, Sharjah Hall, 21-22 March 2006) was organized in Khartoum by UNESCO, in cooperation with the Sudanese National Commission for UNESCO. For the agenda, the report of the meeting and the list of participants see <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00136-EN.pdf>, <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00137-EN.pdf> [23.05.2017].

⁶⁹⁷ "Expert Meeting on Identification of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Sudan", <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00137-EN.pdf> [23.05.2017].

plans never materialized⁶⁹⁸, they have likely contributed to the re-evaluation of the *sāqiya* in the Sudan in terms of historic heritage. The *sāqiya* reconstructions at Delgo, Selib, Meroe and Aswan are important heritage sites of local distinction and significance; sites «that people sense and regard (rather than think) as linked to their own personal heritage» (Poria 2010: 219)⁶⁹⁹.

According to Thomas Thiemeyer's tripartite perspective on museum objects⁷⁰⁰, the replica model of the *sāqiya* in the Kerma Museum constitutes a "specimen" functioning as an information medium whereas «[o]riginality», for Thiemeyer (2015: 403), «is of secondary importance in specimens, provided that a copy can display all the relevant characteristics in the same quality». However, Thiemeyer (2015: 497) emphasizes that the status of a museum object as "work", "specimen" or "witness" is not inherent but the result of curatorial practice. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett likewise points to the informative aspect of models and to the possible shift in meaning and status of individual museum objects:

«Replicas, facsimiles, models, and diagrams, whether as alternatives or supplements to original artifacts, give priority to information over aura, though models, as they become artifacts in their own right, can come to have aura in their own right» (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2000: 4).

The pivotal importance visitors attach to the model of the *sāqiya* in the Kerma Museum and to the *sāqiya* reconstructions at Delgo, Selib, Meroe and Aswan is seen to lie in their representativeness; in their capacity to represent the essential features of the *sāqiya* system and to recollect the institutions and labour processes associated with it. In this sense they act as powerful *lieux de mémoire* in Pierre Nora's terms and in Susan Crane's interpretation according to which "sites of

⁶⁹⁸ The view expressed by Jean Gabriel Leturcq that these plans met resistance from Southern delegates arguing that «the *saqya* was only representative of the northern social system» (Leturcq 209: 315, his emphasis) is not substantiated by the written sources.

⁶⁹⁹ Yaniv Poria points to the fact that in contrast to a historic site, a heritage site «can be a replica and, by definition, not the 'real thing'» (Poria 2010: 220).

⁷⁰⁰ Thomas Thiemeyer (2015) distinguishes between three types of 'museum objects': work, specimen, and witness and hypothesizes that each of these follows its own display conventions, forms of perception and standards of value. By "work", Thiemeyer means, mostly, works of art; works that can be linked to the originator and the original medium and trigger a unique aesthetic experience. By "specimens", Thiemeyer means representatives of their own typ: «[t]he decisive element is not the individual object, but the relationship between objects» (Thiemeyer 2015: 402). By "witness", Thiemeyer means objects that carry a meaning because of their involvement in a historically important event or connection with a historical situation (or person) in their pre-museum life.

memory" «artificially organize the past, creating meanings that groups then assimilate in order to cope with modernity» (Crane 2000: 6). They are *lieux* in three senses of the word – material, symbolic and functional. They are material by their concrete and tangible characteristics; they are symbolic in that they stand emblematic for the *sāqiya* system and its social order; and they are functional, because they serve specific communicative and pedagogical purposes. Their public display is driven by a collective «will to remember» the old *sāqiya* system; a will exemplified by the proactive and conscious effort at memorialization, which is a defining criterion of Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1989:19).

The visit to the Kerma Museum with Badri A., his wife Ibtisam and their daughters Alaa and Tahani, has taught me to better understand Stephen Greenblatt's distinction between "resonance" and "wonder" as two conceptual models to represent the dynamic interaction between a displayed object and the viewer. Greenblatt in a 1991 essay explained:

«By *resonance* I mean the power of the displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which [– as metaphor or, more simply, as metonymy]⁷⁰¹ it may be taken by a viewer to stand. By *wonder* I mean the power of the displayed object to stop the viewer in his or her tracks, to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, to evoke an exalted attention» (Greenblatt 1991: 42, his emphases).

The powers that objects can exert over the viewer are, in Greenblatt's view, mutually exclusive. The more arresting an object is, the less its context matters. The model of the *sāqiya* is not an object of wonder. However, its power of resonance pulls the viewer towards a series of «implied, often half-visible, relationships and questions» (Greenblatt 1991: 45) relating to the transmission of information and meaning.

⁷⁰¹ The complementary insertion is found in the first (1990) version of "Resonance and Wonder" (Greenblatt 1990: 19-20).

4.5.6 Practices of Museum Representation

The Austrian museologist, Hartwig Kräutler, pointed out that representational practices such as the selection, arrangement and framing of the museum objects all exert semantic functions shaped by an underlying social logic:

«All material elements of an exhibition and the respective framings (building, specific location within a certain type of architecture, style of announcements) define the ways in which an exhibition becomes meaningful for the individual visitors, connecting the intended message with their specific repertoires of associations and connotations, and the pertinent and relevant social facts. Thus meaning and information for an exhibition visitor can only be produced within the complex and necessarily positive interaction of his/her own categories of thinking and experiencing and the forms offered in the exhibition» (Kräutler, 1995: 64).

Besides being semiotic phenomena, museums are, as the Nigerian archaeologist Caleb Adebayo Folorunso, emphasizes, contested sites – places of power which hold the key to how people are to view and interpret the past:

«Museums as social institutions reflect and embody the values, norms, beliefs and ideas of the societies in which they operate and because they are mostly controlled by dominant groups, they become institutions in which dominant interpretations and versions of the past are popularized and presented through display. Museums give physical expression to particular ideas and all presentations are ideologically loaded and are capable of influencing public perceptions of history» (Folorunso 1995: 143).

In her introduction to *The Politics of Display*⁷⁰², Sharon Macdonald confronts the question of power and authority and raises a set of important questions about museum objects and their exhibitionary representation:

«Who decides what should be displayed? How are notions of 'science' and 'objectivity' mobilized to justify particular representations? Who gets to speak in the name of 'science', 'the public' or 'the nation'? What are the processes, interest groups and negotiations involved in constructing an exhibition? What is ironed out or silenced? And how does the content and style of an exhibition inform public understandings?» (Macdonald 1998: 1).

These analytical questions are also relevant in the context of the Kerma Museum, because they at once address the production of a representation and its use by the

⁷⁰² Sharon Macdonald: *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (London and New York, 1998).

museum visitors. In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), Michel de Certeau has emphasized that users – commonly assumed to be passive followers of established rules – tactically manipulate, and in turn influence cultural representations, and are thus engaging in what de Certeau terms "secondary production":

«The presence and circulation of a representation (...) tells us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyze its manipulation by users who are not its makers⁷⁰³. Only then can we gauge the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization» (de Certeau 1984: Xiii).

The following is an attempt to explore the questions raised by Sharon Macdonald with respect to the Kerma Museum and to describe the complex and creative relationship between the museum and its viewers, between the practices of the institution and those of its users.

As mentioned earlier, the exhibition concept for the archaeological collection and the selection of objects for display was made by Matthieu Honegger and Charles Bonnet from the Swiss Archaeological Mission, on demand of the 'High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex' and in close consultation with the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM). The selection was made among the archaeological finds discovered in Kerma since the last *partage* in 1996 and was supplemented by additional finds from other nearby sites and excavations⁷⁰⁴. The exhibits in the 'folklore' and Christian-Islamic sections were chosen by Abdelhai Abdel Sawi, Mutwakil Adam and Mukhtar Muhammad from the NCAM among objects from the collections of the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum and were supplemented with artefacts from private donations and with loan exhibits.

The vast majority of the objects in display at the Kerma Museum are exhibited as specimens; i.e. as exemplary and typical objects that are used to demonstrate the development of a style and technique over time. Specimens are, according to

⁷⁰³ De Certeau's proposition echoes Nietzsche's claim that that the origins of a practice or institution do not tell us its purpose or value: «The cause of the origin of a thing and its eventual utility, its actual employment and place in a system of purposes, lie worlds apart» (Nietzsche 2000 [1968]: 513).

⁷⁰⁴ These approximately 70 additional finds come from archaeological sites and excavations at Bunnarti, Imani, Kabrinarti, Kaddanarti, Kadruka, Sabu-Geddi, Seidinga and Tabo.

Thomas Thiemeyer, «placeholders in a scientific system, representing examples typical of a specific species, technique, or material» whereas «[t]heir value consists precisely in this representativeness»⁷⁰⁵. A good example case for this display strategy is the chronological and typological ordering of Kerma pottery in the exhibition showcases no. 8-13 which reflects the seriation of the Kerma Culture into three phases. Conversely, the display of the seven free-standing granite statues on a monolithic podium in the museum's central hall emphasizes their intrinsic value as autonomous works of art. While the specimen refers to scientific systematics, the work of art refers to its originator. It is intended to provide (or be capable to providing) an exclusive aesthetic experience; an experience that is historically contingent and socially learned. Interestingly, the display of the Kerma pottery (or similarly the display of the decorated and inscribed stone blocks from the excavations at Dukki-Gel) is considered by museum visitors as "scientific" whereas the presentation of the statues is considered as "artistic"⁷⁰⁶.

The implementation of particular display strategies in the Kerma Museum was – and still is – subject to extensive discussions between the parties involved (archaeologists, scenographers, museographers and museum conservators). The processes of museographic transposition – in which content from the domain of scientific research is transformed into a physical exhibition – entail discussions concerning the poetics and politics of museum display (Karp and Lavine 1991).

In a museum context, "poetics" refers to the aesthetic strategies of display, while "politics" is understood as a matter of negotiation; as the «dynamic power-play of competing knowledges, intentions and interests» (Macdonald 2010 [1998]: 3)⁷⁰⁷. Regarding the aesthetic dimension, discussions evolved particularly around the question whether to stress the seriality of similar objects as a principle of museum presentation or to emphasize the aesthetic effect of the single exhibit. While the initial chronological approach explored the formal and stylistic affinities between

⁷⁰⁵ Thiemeyer ends up his sentence with a footnote referring to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett who has suggested «to treat the specimen as a document» (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 390); or with Oleg Grabar «as signs that point away from themselves to something else, to 'life'» (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 391)

⁷⁰⁶ Oral information by Muhammed Hasan. Kerma, December 12, 2017.

⁷⁰⁷ For a broader definition of the museum studies terms "poetics" and "politics" in museum studies, see Henrietta Lidchi (1997).

related objects ('synoptic framework'), the current thematic approach emphasizes the aesthetic qualities of single objects ('representational framework'). The involved parties all agreed to display less objects and to facilitate the aesthetic experience by giving individual objects more space and by paying more attention to the relationship of the objects among themselves.

The thematically rearrangement of several display showcases by a team of the research unit for anthropotechnology at the *Haute école spécialisée de Suisse occidentale* (University of applied Sciences Western Switzerland) in 2010 is a good example for the poetics of exhibiting – described by Henrietta Lidchi as «the practice of producing meaning through the internal ordering and conjugation of the separate but related components of an exhibition» (Lidchi 1997: 168). The rearrangement of several display cases aimed at revealing affinities and analogies between the archaeological objects exhibited and associated image material which appears on large backdrops in the display cases. The backdrop of the display case dedicated to the Mesolithic and early Neolithic sites at el-Barga and Wadi El-Arab, for instance, shows an African woman wearing a lip-plug⁷⁰⁸ and thus aims at establishing a thematic and stylistic connection with the displayed series of lip-plugs from the Neolithic cemetery at el-Barga.

Another example for the internal articulation and production of meaning through museum display is the renewed presentation of the seven monumental statues in the museum's central hall. The sublime presence of the statues raised on a podium with ascending steps emphasizes their singularity; but in the same time, their grouping in a rhombic pattern according to size and chronology accentuates their kinship and dynastic ties. The particular configuration of the statues allows the visitor to interact with them in meaningful ways.

The political dimension of a museum is reflected not only in the choice of exhibition themes and objects displayed, but also in the participation of community members in exhibition choices and forms of display. In the case of the Kerma Museum, the required decisions of display were negotiated among the various stakeholders and

⁷⁰⁸ This backdrop painting – based on a photograph by Angela Fisher from a Pokot girl from Kenya (Angela Fisher: *Africa Adorned*, 1987:32) – is only provisional and is set to be replaced by a representation of a woman with lip-plugs from the Nilote people of Sudan.

concerned parties (NCAM, 'High Committee' and Swiss Mission). The decision, for instance, to exhibit the group of seven monumental royal statues in the Kerma Museum and not in the Sudan National Museum is the result of such consultations and negotiations. Likewise, the decision to integrate the 'folklore' and Christian-Islamic galleries was not a foregone conclusion but the result of corresponding claims from the local community.

An interesting example for the politics of museum display relates to the didactic wall panel introducing Egypt's New Kingdom colonial occupation and the succeeding Napatan/ Meroitic kingdom. At the occasion of an inauguration preview in January 2008, Hassan Hussein Idriss, then director general of the NCAM, criticized the textual conception of that panel and requested for its amendment. The core of his criticism was directed against the arrangement of the heading lines «Egyptian Occupation» and «The Kingdoms of Napata and Meroe» closely one below the other, thus wrongly suggesting the Kushite Kingdoms were under the rule of Egypt. As a consequence, the Swiss Mission was asked to paint over the first heading line, with the result of an inconsistency between the actual header («The Kingdoms of Napata and Meroe») and the information text below (which is mostly about the ruins of a fortified metropolis built by the Egyptians at Dukki Gel). This episode seems to distil the sensitivities of many Sudanese related to the colonial experience(s)⁷⁰⁹ and gives an idea of how identity issues are involved.

⁷⁰⁹ For Egypt's domination of Nubia and for a short comparison between ancient and modern colonialism see Adams 1984b.



الاحتلال المصري مملكتي نبتة ومروي Egyptian Occupation The Kingdoms of Napata and Meroe

شيد المصريون في دوكي قبل مدينة محصنة لا زالت آثارها محفوظة. تشير القطع المعمارية القادمة من المعابد والقصور التي توات على الموقع إلى أهم فراعنة الدولة المصرية الحديثة. بينما شيد الملوك الكوشيون بدورهم صروحاً هائلة في تلك المواقع. وقد تم العثور على ما يزيد عن 1000 قطعة منقوشة أو مزينة غائرة.

At Dukki Gel, the ruins of a fortified metropolis built by the Egyptians have been preserved. Architectural fragments originating from various temples and palace that were built successively on site have revealed the names of the principal pharaohs of the New Kingdom. Kushite kings later erected imposing monuments in these same places. Over 1000 blocks, inscribed or decorated in sunken relief, have been inventoried.



مملكتي نبتة ومروي The Kingdoms of Napata and Meroe

شيد المصريون في دوكي قبل مدينة محصنة لا زالت آثارها محفوظة. تشير القطع المعمارية القادمة من المعابد والقصور التي توات على الموقع إلى أهم فراعنة الدولة المصرية الحديثة. بينما شيد الملوك الكوشيون بدورهم صروحاً هائلة في تلك المواقع. وقد تم العثور على ما يزيد عن 1000 قطعة منقوشة أو مزينة غائرة.

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Didactic wall panels introducing Egypt's New Kingdom colonial occupation and the succeeding Napatan and Meroitic kingdom.

The case example of the model of a *sāqiya* in the Kerma Museum shows, that seemingly marginal objects (or objects in peripheral spaces) can attract the attention of visitors, because of their significance as an important source of memories and identity. The 're-employment' to which visitors to the Kerma Museum subject the model of a *sāqiya* is thus, in the sense of de Certeau, a form of "secondary production" that is hidden in the process of its utilization. By contrast, it was observed, that information-rich objects cannot be perceived and interpreted appropriately by museum visitors, if they are not displayed according to their respective importance. In the Kerma Museum, this applies, for example, to an inscribed limestone column fragment from the Napatan period (SNM inventory number 35088), which bears the place name of Pnubs/Kerma, "the city of the jujube tree"⁷¹⁰. This object has the potential to convey identity not least because the jujube tree (*Ziziphus spina-christi*) is widespread in the Kerma region and is symbolic for

⁷¹⁰ On the history of the place name, see Valbelle 2003.

wealth, prosperity, and fertility⁷¹¹. Here, a broader contextualization of the object displayed would be desirable and necessary.

4.5.7 Processes of Identity Formation

Museums as educational institutions possess, according to Timothy W. Luke (2002: xiii), «a power to shape collective values and social understandings in a decisively important fashion». They bring with them a reconfiguration of representation, which – in a museum context – is the result of a continual conflict between the imposition (production) of certain representations by means of display strategies on the part of museum conservators and their tactical manipulation ("secondary production"; de Certeau 1984) by museum visitors. Similarly, one could also consider identity formation as a process of "secondary production"; as a process in which museum visitors achieve 'realizations' of their identities through the ways in which they appropriate, adapt and resist culturally sanctioned definitions of the selfhood⁷¹².

Fiona McLean, who has worked on the representation of identity in museums, distinguishes three mutually interacting layers to the negotiation of identity, namely «the identities of those encoding the representations, the identities of those decoding the representations, and the identities of those being represented» (McLean 2008: 283)⁷¹³.

The first layer ('encoding identity') corresponds to «the identities of those who regulate the museum and create the displays» (McLean 2008: 284). As mentioned earlier, the Kerma Museum is governed by the respective antiquities authorities from the central and federal governments in Khartoum and Dongola. The museum displays in the 'folklore' and Christian-Islamic galleries were created by Sudan National Museum conservators under the instruction of Abdelhai Abdel Sawi, then director of the Kerma Museum, whereas the displays of archaeological remains

⁷¹¹ In Sudanese households, dried jujubes (*nabaq*) are typically offered as welcoming present to arriving guests.

⁷¹² This view of identity formation is proposed by Elliot G. Mishler in: *Storylines: Craftartists' Narratives of Identity* (1999: 51).

⁷¹³ The notions of encoding and decoding derive from the encoding/decoding model of communication as developed by Stuart Hall (1980 [1973]) and were introduced to the museum context by Lidchi (1997) and Dicks (2000).

were mainly created by Swiss experts in close consultation with their Sudanese counterparts. Unlike the Swiss experts, who lacked local experience, the Sudan National Museum conservators already had extensive in-country experience because they previously created museum displays in several other federal state museums such as the ones at Gebel Barkal (re-opened in 2004/2005)⁷¹⁴ and Nyala (inaugurated in 2006). But contrary to their prior task of showcasing in each museum the cultural diversity of the whole nation (so as to materialise and exhibit the official recognition of national minorities), in Kerma, the emphasis was to celebrate the rich mosaic of local Nubian tradition. This led to the apparent paradox that, in the Kerma Museum, mainly non-Nubians were entrusted with the responsibility of representing Nubian culture and history.

However, it could be observed that the different actors did so in close collaboration with representatives of the local Nubian communities and to the general satisfaction of the museum visitors and staffs⁷¹⁵. In encoding the archaeological heritage (*'athâr*) and the cultural heritage (*'turâth*), three different kinds of expert knowledge were involved: the academic archaeological and historical knowledge; local lay knowledge (or vernacular knowledge) and the professional exhibitionary knowledge of museum conservators, museographers and scenographers as heritage interpreters. Factual issues were thereby resolved by the parties involved in consensus, whereas the Swiss experts had to turn away from paternalistic northern-centric preoccupations so as to engage in a true dialogue between equal partners, since, «[f]or foreign archaeologists, the ultimate decolonization is the realization that they have little, if any, direct control over the use that is made, or not made, of their findings by the Sudanese people» (Trigger 1994: 345). Bruce Trigger's words remind us, once again, that processes of negotiating meaning in reception are – in de Certeau's understanding – a type of "secondary production" of meaning that occurs, when users tactically manipulate and transform 'cultural products' in order to adapt them to their own interests and their own rules (cp. de Certeau 1984: xiv)⁷¹⁶.

⁷¹⁴ For the history of the Gebel Barkal Museum see De Simone 2014: 142.

⁷¹⁵ This finding is from the visitor survey conducted by the author in the Kerma Museum on August 20 and 22 and from a wide range of feedbacks from visitors and staff members.

⁷¹⁶ The appropriation practices of museum visitors might also be understood, with John Storey, as an active process of "production in use" (Storey 2015: 260).

The second layer of identity negotiation in the museum is the active reception of museum representations by the audience ('decoding identity'). Decoding is thus according to McLean an active and fluid process, in which individuals engage in a given moment in making sense of the experience of the museum and its collections:

«What identity positions do the audience take in the museum? It depends on the individual, their past experiences, their frameworks of knowledge, who they are with at the time of the visit, and their relationships to those being represented. Each of these factors impacts on the moment of identity negotiation and will reflect the fluidity and contingency of identity work» (McLean 2008: 290).

McLean's perspective takes a constructivist approach to museum learning and identity formation. John Falk and Lynn Dierking have pointed out that the museum visitor experience «can be thought of as a continually shifting interaction among personal, sociocultural, and physical contexts» (2016: 29). In this interaction, both individual and group identity is constantly constructed, re-constructed and negotiated. Gaea Leinhardt and Karen Knutson of the Museum Learning Collaborative project⁷¹⁷ have suggested to consider identity (defined as «the entire cluster of characteristics that contribute to the positioning and enactments of an individual or group in a particular setting and activity», 2004: 18) in the museum context in three different ways (2004: 49-51). Firstly, in terms of demographic characteristics such as age, gender, and ethnicity; secondly through the changing social roles people play within the specific physical context of the museum; and, thirdly with reference to «the collective past of visitors» (2004: 50); that is, the visitors' distinct prior experiences with the content of an exhibition or with a particular museum. Leinhardt and Knutson concluded that identity «was measured less by the demographics and more by the details of how [individuals and] groups were enacting a particular visit, specifically by their level of interest, motivation and curiosity, and by their appreciative and experiential knowledge» (2004: 75). Their approach to identity as a situated social practice – as a participatory response to the museum visit itself – is interesting because it fits very well with observations made in Kerma. The identity-forming aspect of the seven monumental statues has already

⁷¹⁷ The Museum Learning Collaborative (MLC) project was formed in 1997 in order to bring together multiple museums for a large-scale research effort focusing on learning in informal settings. The project officially ended by the end of 2003. For further information see: <http://www.lrdc.pitt.edu/mlc/index.html>

been mentioned briefly in section the section on the royal statues. But it must be added, that identification with the statues is contingent on situational and interactional dynamics. It was thus interesting to note that, depending on the social setting and situation, the Kerma statues serve either as inclusive identity markers («our *shared* heritage»; «our *common* ancestors») or exclusive identity markers («our own *peculiar* heritage»; «our own *peculiar* ancestors») thereby defining either a local-ethnic (Nubian), national civic (Sudanese) or transnational collective (international or global) identity.

The last layer in Fiona McLean's three-layer model is the representation of the identities of those people being represented in the museum ('representing identity'). In the case of the Kerma Museum, this involves at once the representation of the descendant population (Nubians and Arabs) living for centuries in the Kerma area and the representation of ancient Nubians.

The first category involves the contemporary indigenous people; those who donated objects related to their daily and religious lives to the museum's collection and have thus actively contributed to their self-representation in the Kerma Museum. They form an inclusive community defined and unified by the normative idea of a common heritage. Jeffrey K. Smith – who works on the nexus between communities and their responses to museum collections – remarks in this context that «there is the notion that the museum represents some community of people, and it almost always represents what this community feels is best about them. A museum proclaims, "There is a community here. And these are the things that define the community". (Smith 2014: x-xi). However, it is important to emphasize that the communities a museum serves are localized social systems and that the idea of a common heritage collides with competing claims offered by other communities. Modern Nubian society is fragmented in terms of identity and ethnicity (Fogel 1995 and 2003) and notions of a "Nubian Nation" with a distinctively Nubian identity or of a distinct "Nubian culture and History" are grounded in a particular scientific tradition and used in various ways in political rhetoric. Frédérique Fogel has pointed out, that contrary to external claims of an overarching and unifying (Nubian) identity, local communities and social groups in Nubia build their identity in terms of particularity, localism and difference:

«On remarque en effet que les interprétations locales ne cherchent pas simplement à utiliser des références externes pour situer chaque groupe dans un contexte global, elles ne construisent pas l'identité sur l'identique, mais orientent les éléments dont elles disposent de façon à centrer l'histoire sur le local. (...). Face à la tradition scientifique qui a construit un objet Nubie unique, mal défini, et assimilé les groupes différents en une seule population, les Nubiens opteraient pour une fragmentation très poussée au sein de laquelle chaque groupe édifie sa différence, donc son identité» (Fogel 1995 n.p.).

As far as concerns the Kerma Museum, Fogel's assertion could be confirmed by visitor feedback and survey data. Contrary to proclamations of political leaders, museum visitors do not necessarily identify with the idea of an overarching Nubian culture, but rather with particular elements of their own local Mahasi / Dongolawi / Arab / Muslim / archaeological / cultural / ethnographic / rural and other forms of heritage.

As for the second category – the representation of ancient Nubians – William Y. Adams in his 1994 article "The Invention of Nubia" claims that over the centuries, «various observers and interpreters» have provided a set of subjective, «distinct and partially conflicting images of Nubia and its peoples» (Adams 1994: 17). In these images, Nubians are according to Adams portrayed from the outside as inferior Egyptians ([t]he Egyptologists' Nubia, 18); noble savages ([t]he Greeks' and Romans' Nubia, 18) and as the originators of civilization ([t]he Black Nationalists' Nubia, 19)⁷¹⁸. Adams rejects any such views, «because they involve notions about innate cultural or racial superiority or inferiority» (Adams 1994: 21) and rather defends what he calls a nubiological view whose main objective is «to discover and portray the unique *geist* (configuration, (...)) of each culture». Adams concludes his article with the following remark: «Starting from the recognition that we are all *Homo sapiens*, and that whatever is innate to all of us, we are at least on the road to putting Nubia where it belongs in the historical picture» (Adams 1994: 22, his emphasis). Both the initiation of the Kerma Museum by the 'High Committee' and the ongoing efforts by the Swiss Mission to consciously adapt the museum displays in response to both new scientific information and visitor feedback are the authentic expression

⁷¹⁸ For a critical evaluation of the Egyptologists' and Afrocentrist's version of Nubian history see William Y. Adams' 1994 and 1998 articles "The Invention of Nubia" and "The Misappropriation of Nubia".

of the will to "objectify " the Nubians and to represent Nubian cultural history in a coherent manner.

It should be stressed in conclusion that politics of representation and display are intrinsically linked to concepts of national, sub-national and individual identity. While archaeology was used in the past for nationalistic purposes – or has unofficially been manipulated and interpreted for such ends – archaeological findings are at present increasingly used by specific social groups to assert their own particular identities. However, such assertions can also serve to marginalize and disempower 'othered'⁷¹⁹ groups of people. In the Kerma Museum, at least two non-descendant, marginal – or marginalized segments of the population are not represented: the Nile Valley Gypsies (*ḥalab*)⁷²⁰ and the uprooted and displaced people from the civil war (mostly Nuba from South Kordofan).

The *ḥalab*, who are referred to as service nomads (Streck 2004), are stereotyped by the dominant majority population as wandering pariahs and stigmatized as disreputable strangers, even though they have been living in the Sudan much longer than many immigrants from the neighbouring countries. Traditionally, they are working as blacksmiths and donkey traders and are also offering different types of repair (men) or cosmetic services (women). As subtle innovators, the *ḥalab* use waste produced from the formal sector as raw material for their own production in the informal sector. *Jabana* for example – the Sudanese variety of coffee – is often served in public inns and private households from small pots (*ibrīq qahwa*) made by *ḥalab* blacksmiths from waste sheet metal, and up until very recently, the ewers (*ibrīq*) used for religious ablutions were likewise made by *ḥalab* blacksmiths from upcycled soft tinplate. Although both categories of objects are found in the folklore section of the Kerma Museum, there are no objects of assured *ḥalab* origin on display. This might be explained by the fact that *ḥalab* crafts are linked – as the following quote by Bernhard Streck shows – with ideas of impurity: «Halab crafts are perceived by non-Halab to be linked with rubbish, smell, and dirt, and thus stand

⁷¹⁹ The term "othering" was coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in her 1985 article "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives" to refer to the alienating process by which colonial discourse constructs its subjects as "others".

⁷²⁰ On the *ḥalab* in the Sudan – supposed immigrants during the Ottoman era from the city of Aleppo (*ḥalab*) in northern Syria – see Bernhard Streck 1996 and 2004.

in sharp contrast to the ideals of purity, cleanliness, and order, which manifest themselves in the Nubian farmstead» (Streck 2004: 181).

The refugees from the civil war were displaced in the late 1990s to the North and have never been fully integrated into the riverain societies of the Middle Nile Valley. They are mostly concentrated in small informal settlements characterized by elements of vernacular architecture. While the majority of the (Christian) refugees from South Sudan returned to their homeland after the signature of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, in light of the ongoing war and the poor economic situation in Southern Korofan, the bulk of the (Muslim) Nuba refugees have chosen to stay. There are structural and intentional barriers that restrict full social interaction with the dominant society: thus the tacit policy of not selling land and marrying daughters to "outsiders" for instance prevents upward social mobility of refugees. The Nuba mainly operate in the building sector and were thus centrally involved in the construction of the Kerma Museum. Additionally, their expertise was utilized by the Swiss Archaeological Mission for works in the context of archaeological preservation and salvage.

Rebecca Bradshaw, in her recently submitted PhD thesis, has studied the impact of archaeology on a non-descendant community⁷²¹ living amid ancient 'Nubian' remains in the site community⁷²² of Hamadab-Bejrawiya, and came to the conclusion, that even though the residents in the case-study community do not identify with Nubia or ancient Nubians, the archaeological sites are nevertheless «endowed with significant cultural and historical meaning». However, this meaning is, according to Bradshaw, being eroded; whereby «a mixture of increasing religious orthodoxy and the alienating effects of archaeological site management plans are both contributing to this decline» (2017: 42). This findings contrast with the situation in Kerma, where neither the *ḥalab* nor the Nuba are directly represented in the Kerma Museum. However, both minority segments of the local population strongly identify with the museum and feel a sense of ownership. Although they may be denied belonging to an alleged "Nubian Nation", for the most part, they express a

⁷²¹ Rebecca Bradshaw (2017: 41) broadly defines non-descendant communities «as people who place a high cultural value on their land but do not necessarily choose to adhere to the idea of being descended from ancient people in the archaeological past».

⁷²² Bradshaw (2017:33) uses the term "site community" as «a useful signifier for a village or cluster of villages that are situated in close proximity to an archaeological site».

sense of place and belonging and feel addressed as an integral part of a broader Sudanese nation⁷²³.

4.6 Conclusion

Kerma is home to numerous archaeological sites remembered for centuries by the local population through myths inscribing shared narratives of memory into place. The "discovery" of the 'lower' (western) and 'upper' (eastern) *Deffufa*'s by 19th century travellers and the archaeological excavations, carried out by the American Egyptologist George A. Reisner and Swiss archaeologist Charles Bonnet in the 20th century, have substantially advanced the knowledge of the Kerma culture. Unlike Reisner, Bonnet has always argued for Kerma's distinctly indigenous culture, and, according to Bruce Trigger (1994: 340), his excavations at Kerma eventually «confirmed the indigenous evolution of this civilization». Bonnet's 'indigenization' of the monumental archaeological remains at Kerma was the indispensable prerequisite for their construction as significant heritage. This is particularly true for the *Deffufa*'s, which convey a "sense of a place", or "place attachment" (Casey 1993) – a personal identification with a specific location on an emotional level, be it as an individual or as a member of a particular community⁷²⁴. The creation of the 'Kerma Cultural Complex', also referred to as the 'Kerma Civilization Complex', has led the local population to appropriate the archaeological sites and monuments as an "existential ground" (Malpas 2008) for the construction of meaning and identity. The western *Deffufa* and the Kerma Museum have become powerful "*lieux de mémoire*"; "sites of memory" – crystallization points of our collective heritage – based on a collective «will to remember», «to block the work of forgetting» (Nora 1989: 19). As such, they are repositories of localized myths and historical narratives, thus uniting the "communities of memory" (Bellah et al. 1985: 152ff) through a shared sense of social identities and values. The "communities of memory" participate in what Robert Bellah and his colleagues have called "practices of commitment" (Bellah et al. 1985: 154 and 335) – ritual, aesthetic, and ethical acts

⁷²³ Oral information by Ihlas Farouk, representative of the extended Farouk family clan in Kerma and by Sheikh Abdu Osman Nakal, representative of the Burgheig Nuba community. Kerma, December 20, 2016 and Burgheig, January 5, 2017.

⁷²⁴ Edward Casey (1993: 309) in *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-world* uses the notion of «a perduring place of collective self-belonging».

which enrich and enliven local communities and sustain their ways of life. Among the genuine practices of community building and maintenance performed at the 'Kerma Cultural Complex', mention should be made of the ways in which visitors engage in experiences such as physically gathering and sharing with others, neighbouring picnics and potlucks, public festivals, celebrations and ceremonies.

The Kerma Museum arose as a local initiative from the 'High Committee for the Kerma Cultural Complex' consisting of personalities living in or originating from the Kerma region with the aim of preserving, presenting and promoting the regions past:

«The idea of the establishment of the complex emerged from the inhabitants of the area so as to originate this ancient civilization and to promote it inside and outside the country and to disseminate information and acquaint others with [...] the oldest and most deep rooted civilization in the Nile Valley and in Africa» (Leaflet "Kerma Civilization Center and Cultural Complex").

As a community of individuals from diverse personal and professional backgrounds and interests who productively work on joint goals, the 'High Committee' constitutes a "heritage community of practice – «communities [which] are not only considered the "bearers" of heritage, but [...] are also supposed to be actively involved in its transmission» (Adell et al. 2015: 8). Since the 'High Committee' was concerned with questions of what is remembered and how it is remembered, it also constitutes a "community of memory" (cp. Basu 2013: 115).

In actively deriving meaning by engaging with the artefacts on multiple interpretive levels, museum visitors subvert and re-appropriate established representations. Therefore, it might be said, that the visitors to the 'Kerma Cultural Complex' constitute an interpretive community (Hooper-Greenhill: 2000: 121f) – or a number of different interpretive communities⁷²⁵ – who tactically manipulate, and in turn influence cultural representations, and engage in what de Certeau terms a "secondary production" hidden in the process of utilization (cp. de Certeau 1984: Xiii). Similarly, one might also consider identity formation as a process of secondary

⁷²⁵ Eilan Hooper-Greenhill emphasizes the fluid and unstable character of interpretive communities: «Their membership changes as individuals revise their affiliations and redirect their interests. Each individual may typically belong to more than one interpretive community at any one time» (Hooper-Greenhill: 2000: 122).

production; as a process in which museum visitors achieve 'realizations' of their identities through the ways in which they appropriate, adapt and resist culturally sanctioned definitions of the selfhood. The creation, maintenance and assertion of identity is thus not tied to seemingly or alleged inherent qualities of a heritage site or an exhibition object. Identity must, according to Laurajane Smith (2006: 301), rather be viewed as «an active process of continual creation and recreation, where links and associations with the past, and subsequently the tangible heritage places or objects that represent that past, are continually remade and negotiated».

The Kema Museum is committed to the "interpretive" mode of curatorial practice (Casey 2003). Interpretive information on the exhibits is provided through interpretive panels and object displays. However, although language is the privileged medium in which we 'make sense' of things, in the museum, meaning and information is produced within a complex interaction of the visitors' categories of thinking and experiencing and the forms offered in the exhibition (Kräutler, 1995: 64)⁷²⁶. British museologist Gaynor Kavanagh has observed a tendency of the interpretive practices of the museum to subsume or erase the individual memories behind an object:

«Nevertheless, for many museums, there is still a preferred way of working which prioritizes the fabric and the form of the object over the individual memories behind it, the formal outsider's history over the insider's account, the history over the memory. Regardless of how thought-provoking the history may be, the individual memories behind an object in this approach are at best subsumed and, at worst, lost» (Kavanagh 1999: 2).

The importance visitors attach to the true-to-detail model of a *sāqiya*, shows that the interplay of images, words and things is suitable to evoke individual and collective memories of the *sāqiya* system, which dominate over any formal history presented in the object display. The model of the *sāqiya* in the Kerma Museum and the *sāqiya* reconstructions in the wider region are powerful "sites of memory", connecting the present to the past. Likewise, the seven monumental royal statues in the Kerma Museum are powerful "sites of memory". They represent the «will to remember» (Nora 1989: 19) – or the desire to be remembered – and, according to Pierre Nora

⁷²⁶ John Falk and Lynn Dierking point out that the visitor's experience «can be thought of as a continually shifting interaction among personal, sociocultural, and physical contexts» (Falk and Dierking 2016: 29).

(1996: 14-15), appeal to us «because of their capacity for change, their ability to resurrect old meanings and generate new ones». This capacity is, according to Pierre Nora, independent of the respective context, since statues, according to Nora «owe their meaning to their intrinsic existence; even though their location is far from arbitrary, one could justify relocating them without altering their meaning (Nora 1989: 22). This view is only partially shared here. The decontextualization of the statues from a cultic and then archaeological context and their 'secular sacralization' in the museum has certainly altered layers of meaning. However, it is agreed here, that the mutability of the tradition in which the statues are embedded does not affect their intrinsic qualities. The statues from the cache at Dukki-Gel convey a profound sense of belonging and are considered by local visitors as central pillars of their own ancestral Nubian – in opposition to Egyptian heritage – and adopt the statues as inclusive identity markers («our *shared* heritage», «our *common* ancestors») defining either a local-ethnic, Nubian, or a national civic, Sudanese, identity. It has been observed, that in Kerma, both the 'indigenous descendant community' of the Nubians (Bradshaw 2017: 239), as well as the non-descendant segments of the population, strongly identify with the museum and actively engage in processes of meaning construction and self-identification.

5 General Conclusion

Museums in the Sudan are fertile arenas for the representation and interpretation of cultural heritage and for the negotiation of identity claims. In this thesis, I aimed at producing a deeper understanding of the relationship between museum representation and identity formation by exploring the interplay of memory, history and museum experience. Thereby, it became apparant, that on an individual level, museum visitors as 'consumers' of museum representations are not at all passive followers of established rules, but rather respond to and tactically manipulate and in turn influence the representations, and thus achieve 'realizations' of their identities. But besides negotiating personal identity, the museum also reifies collective identity – understood here as the shared sense of belonging to a group – by confining it to a set of seemingly eternal traits⁷²⁷. Typically, museums create a collective identity through a sense of place and a shared sense of history. The examples of the Sudan National Museum and the Kerma Museum have shown, that the creation of a sense of place was in both cases achieved through the move from space to place; through the transformation of a site – a locale which according to Casey (2000: 186) «possesses no points of attachment onto which to hang our memories» – into a location where memories can be contained and preserved. In this process, both museums have become important gathering places, bringing people together, giving historical perspective and providing a glimpse of the past. The examples of the Sudan National Museum and the Kerma Museum also show, that today the creation of a shared sense of history is not based on overarching concepts sustaining the imagined community of the Sudanese nation / of a distinctively "Nubian" nation, but rather on the accentuation of Sudan's rich cultural mosaic and ethnic diversity. However, the study of the history of Sudan archaeology shows, that there have been attempts to use the archaeological heritage of a paricular regions for nationalistic and ideological purposes:

As a part of the broader aim of developing Sudanese identity against Egyptian claims of sovereignty, British colonial administrators fostered the concept of nationalism among the Sudanese through archaeological research (Bushra J. Hamad 1995). In a spirit of "enlightened paternalism" (Adams 1981) the colonial

⁷²⁷ On the realtion between personal and collective (community) identities, see Karp 1992.

administrators made the Sudan into an object of archaeological exploration and thus contributed to the creation of a national history, «to which the Sudanese people could relate» (Trigger 1994). Thereby, the unravelling of the mystery of the Funj kingdom (the Funj Sultanate) and early Sudanese history were considered by the British to be important factors «in planting the seeds of a Sudanese national culture» (Bushra J. Hamad 1995: 247). Another factor was the teaching of the Sudanese about the knowledge «of Taharka and Candace, of the temple of Ammon at Napata, of Meroë and its table of the sun», so that they would – as the Dutch adventurer and writer Odette Keun predicted – «seek in the world of those forgotten shadows the glories of 'nationhood' and 'culture', which their recent past and their present withhold» (Keun 1930: 10-11). Although the early Sudanese nationalists of the colonial period did not exploit the past for the construction of a common shared identity and rather promoted a progressive nationalism oriented towards modernity, after independence, 'Taharka and Candace' were used as regalia of the secular state. The prominent placing of statues of Napatan rulers in the central hall of the Sudan Archaeological Museum and the use of royal statues and statuettes as motifs for postage stamps are the best example of this⁷²⁸. However, the presentation of artefacts and monuments from Nubia as almost 'official' national heritage went at the expenses of other heritage traditions, and had, at moments, alienated Sudanese not hailing from the Nile Valley. Contrary to an assumption I made in 2011 (Bundi 2011), specific ideologies of representation could not attain hegemonic positions, but were, at times dominating discourses on identity and belonging. However, such dominating discourses were challenged from different sides opening up a more inclusive view on the Sudanese past. The narrow focus on the ancient heritage from the Nile Valley was on the one hand challenged by archaeologists, who engaged in the archaeological exploration of peripheral areas. On the one hand, practitioners and theorists such as Peter L. Shinnie and Bruce Trigger who challenged the «old dominance of the river valley» (Shinnie 1981b: 32) and advocated a more complete and objective account of Sudan's past «that ought to serve better the interests of the Sudanese people» (Trigger 1994: 344). On the other hand, intellectuals and activists from the civil society called for the recognition of the diversity of the Sudan

⁷²⁸ Interestingly, also at Kerma, the central hall is reserved to the display of monumental statues of Napatan Kings. While in Khartoum, their placement was already decided during the planning of the Sudan National Museum, this not the case at Kerma, where the statues were discovered only after the beginning of construction works.

in all spheres of political, social, and religious life and for the equal representation of all cultural groups⁷²⁹. When the Islamist movement seized power 1989, the political powers opposing the Islamist regime adopted the concept of "Sudanism" as an inclusive nationalist framework defining the Sudan as a secular, decentralized, multiethnic, and multicultural nation-state (Abusabib 2004: 43 and 58). The term was adopted for political purposes by the late leader of the SPLA/M Dr. John Garang de Mabior in 1989 and became a pillar of his political program for a democratic, pluralistic and secular 'New Sudan'. Within this program, "Sudanism" aimed to achieve greater cohesiveness among the various peoples of Sudan on the basis of the simple fact of being Sudanese⁷³⁰. The celebration of cultural diversity in the interim period between the signature of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the secession in 2011, and the promotion of a concept of heritage «as a means of recognition and valorisation of the "marginalised minorities"» (Leturcq 2009: 316) by UNESCO and NCAM, must be seen against this backdrop.

The protests against the Sudanese Government, which on April 11, 2019, have ousted long-term Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, have showed, that the use of the past for the construction of (allegedly) inclusive narratives of national belonging are indispensable to the development of a sense of shared identity:

«Young women have led many of the protests, prompting chants of "my grandfather is Taharqa, and my grandmother is Kandaka", in reference to the great Nubian pharaohs of past, a joyful declaration of pride in our Nubian and African heritage, which had previously been suffocated and neglected by the authorities» (Amir Ahmad Nasr / The Washington Post, April 12, 2019).

⁷²⁹ On the role of intellectuals, late American-Palestinian literary scholar Edward Said (1935-2003) has noted: «The intellectual's role is to present alternative narratives and other perspectives on history than those provided by the combatants on behalf of official memory and national identity – who tend to work in terms of falsified unities, the manipulation of demonized or distorted representations of undesirable and/or excluded populations, (..)» (Said 2001: 34). This understanding of the intellectual's role is akin to Antonio Gramsci's concept of the 'organic intellectual' as the one who negotiates the contrast between thought and action (cp. Gramsci 1971: 6).

⁷³⁰ John Garang's vision for a 'New Sudan' found its expression in the 1995, 'Asmara Declaration of Principles'. The document, produced by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), an umbrella organization consisting of the groups and parties opposed to the NIF/NCP government, aimed to promote the creation of a decentralized, secular democratic state while «the unity of the country is based on the free choice of its regions » (Abusabib 2004: 41).



"Kandake" Alaa Salah addressing protesters in front of the Sudanese military headquarters in Khartoum. Photo by Lana H. Haroun. Khartoum, April 8, 2019.

However, it is to be feared, that the narrative of 'Taharqa' and 'Kandaka' from Napata and Meroe – representants of an Egyptianized Kushite monarchy – is not suited to creating unifying identity to which all Sudanese people could relate.

Besides being important sites for identity formation and for the memorialization of the past, museums also play a crucial role in addressing contemporary societal issues as spaces for social gathering and recreation. In this sense, the museums correspond to the definition provided by ICOM as «permanent institution[s] in the service of society and its development». Both museums can be thought with Tony Bennett (2005) as civic laboratories; as places where distinctive forms of cultural objecthood are produced and social relations regulated⁷³¹.

⁷³¹ Bennett believes that the museum acts on the social and functions as a laboratory for civic experiments. In its mode of operation, the museum is a laboratory in the sense that it 'resocializes' social objects and practices within its walls. Thus, the museum, like the laboratory, can re-contextualize social objects and practices as they are removed from their initial social and natural context.

The Sudan National Museum was originally thought as a repository of archaeological, ethnographic and natural history collections, representing the cultural diversity of the Sudan. However, the massive influx of objects from the 'Nubian Campaign' led to a presentation of artefacts and monuments from Nubia as almost 'official' national heritage and resulted in an alienation and exclusion of people not hailing from the Central Nile Valley. While the Sudan National Museum was intended to sustain the imagined community of the nation, the idea of establishing a museum at Kerma aimed at preserving archaeological and ethnographic artefacts from the Kerma region in order to showcase the achievements of the 'Nubian Civilization'. As initiators of the Kerma Museum, the members of the "High Committee for the Kerma Civilization Complex" formed a "heritage community of practice" (Adell et al. 2015) aiming at the active transmission of Nubian cultural heritage to a broader "community of memory" (cp. Basu 2013) including both the descendent and non-descendent population in the Kerma region.



Visitors to the Kerma Museum. January 10, 2015.

As part of a larger "Kerma Cultural Complex", the Kerma Museum has become a focal point for the celebration of Nubian history and culture. Besides being a

repository of ancient artefacts, the Kerma Museum seems to gradually develop towards a forum for civic engagement and dialogue. The grounds of the Kerma Museum are increasingly used as a gathering place for the local population. The different formal and informal activities taking place have only a loose connection with presumed "core activities" of a museum. They are rather the expression of a growing need to occupy the public space for encounter and dialogue. In an area, where there are – except for the mosque and the souk – virtually no public meeting places, this is all the more significant. In view of this development, it can be said, that the Kerma Museum is slowly moving away from a traditional concept of the museum as a temple of authoritative knowledge towards a forum for confrontation, experimentation, and debate (Cameron 1971). The case of the Sudan National Museum is somewhat different, because it had already taken the character of a forum in 2005, when following the signature of the CPA it became a venue for the celebration of Sudan's cultural diversity. While such activities have decreased following the secession of South Sudan in 2011, the Museum and particularly the museum gardens are still an arena for the performance of various cultural, religious and civic activities. Although the Kerma Museum and the Sudan National Museum are committed to rather traditional practices of display, they have opened up spaces for community-based activities. These spaces are characterized by negotiation processes between museums and their stakeholders; interactive processes in an asymmetrical environment, in which both sides need to make adjustments. In this sense, the Kerma Museum and the Sudan National Museum might be seen as 'contact zones' (Clifford 1997: 192)⁷³² or 'zones of contact' (Hans 2018: 73ff). The Kerma Museum and the Sudan National Museum are not just static museums devoted to preserving and exhibiting objects. They are rather dynamic entities engaging in a continual exchange with different stakeholders and thus in the relational construction of values. It is hoped, that the new transitional government in the Sudan promotes active citizenship and participatory democracy, so that the

⁷³² James Clifford's sees museums as being involved in «an ongoing historical, political, moral *relationship* – a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull» (Clifford 1997: 192, his emphasis). The museum as a 'contact zone' – in opposition to the model of the museum as a frontier – is a space of ongoing exchange, negotiation and communication between museum authorities and community groups in which both sides need to make adjustments. The term 'contact zone', defined as «social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, (...)» (Pratt 1991: 34) was introduced by Mary Lousie Pratt in her 1991 article "Arts of the Contact Zone".

museums can become truly inclusive and democratic spaces, thus meeting the new alternative museum definition proposed by ICOM, according to which «[m]useums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. (...)».

In this study, I have examined the interplay between memory, history and processes of identity formation. For this purpose, I have delved deep into the history of Sudanese archaeology – from its beginnings as a scientific discipline in the colonial era to its professionalization and institutionalization – and have explored the interaction between politics of archaeological practice and processes of heritagization. I have emphasized the crucial role of the museum in the interpretation and representation of identity and in empowering heritage communities. The study of the intricate relationship between memory, identity and heritage is, in the Sudan, a recent field of research. First studies appeared in the period following the CPA, when new museums were created under a policy of decentralisation and post-conflict reconciliation (Leturcq 2009). In this dynamic, the promotion of new fields of heritage was gaining traction and several museum projects were launched (Heierland 2009, de Simone 2009). A second range of studies examined the implications of the construction of the Merowe Dam at the fourth Nile cataract on the cultural heritage local communities (Kleinitz / Näser 2011 and 2013). A recent study by Rebecca Bradshaw (2017) similarly describes the implications of archaeology on local communities; this time through an ethnographic case-study of a non-descendant community living amid ancient ‘Nubian’ archaeological sites in the Nile Valley. The last years have witnessed a growing interest among Sudanese scholars such as Ahmed Hussein Abdelrahman Adam, Husna Taha Elatta and Shadia Taha in addressing the questions of heritage and identity.

The importance of museums as places of learning and «identity-defining machines» (Duncan 1991: 101) will undoubtedly increase with the democratic opening of the Sudan. For the museums to succeed in opening up to society, it will be necessary to provide better and more systematic training in the field of museography and museology, but it will also be necessary for museums to be scientifically assisted by cultural and social scientists. Museums in the Sudan also need to be more closely

integrated into regional and supra-regional networks, so that ideas and experiences can be exchanged and compared. Since AFRICOM is no longer operational Sudan's accession to ICOM would be an important step forward in international cooperation.

However, museums live primarily from their visitors, who are anchored in different communities. It is therefore necessary to respond more specifically to the wishes and expectations of the visitors and to allow them to participate more strongly in the further development of the museums as resonating spaces.

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7 Annex

Unpublished documents from the NCAM-Archives in Khartoum referenced in this thesis:

Annex I

Drummond, Peter. 1920. Letter to Director of Education John Winter Crowfoot. Typewritten Letter dated March 16, 1920. Khartoum: NCAM Archives.

Annex II

Ali Mahmoud Ismail / Ministry of Education. 1957. Brief History of the Khartoum National Museum. Typewritten Memo, four pages, dated November 18, 1957. Khartoum: NCAM Archives.

Annex III

Asplund, Hans / UNESCO. 1958. Preliminary Report on Planning of Official Buildings in Khartoum, Sudan. Typewritten Report. Khartoum: NCAM Archives.

Annex IV

Asplund, Hans / UNESCO. 1959. Final Report on Planning of Official Buildings in Khartoum, Sudan. Typewritten Report. Khartoum: NCAM Archives.

Annex V

Thabit Hassan Thabit. 1963. "The Sudan National Museum". Typewritten Memorandum dated 10.1.1963. Khartoum: NCAM Archives.

The memorandum is preceded by an unsigned handwritten note stating: «Written on 10.1.63 for the booklet which will [be] produced by [the] Ministry for Foreign Affairs in connection with the meeting of Ministries of Finance of African countries in Khartoum».

Annex VI

Garstang, John. 1911. Untitled. One-page Letter to James Currie, Director of Education, dated February 22, 1911. Khartoum: NCAM Archives.

Annex VII

Garstang, John. 1911. The Bronze Head and Antiquities from Meroé. Three-page Letter to Reginald F. Wingate, the Governor General of the Sudan, dated February 23. 1911. Khartoum: NCAM Archives.

Annex I

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,
ANTIQUITIES SERVICE.

Khartoum 16th March 1920

Director of Education,
Khartoum.

The Archaeological Committee was originally appointed in accordance with a Minute by His Excellency the Governor General of 9/2/11 to advise with regard to the division of special finds at Kabushia.

The original committee consisting of Messrs Currie, Sterry, Morris and Drummond met for the first time on 13/2/11. Subsequently others matters concerned with Antiquities were discussed by the Committee e.g. The special licence given to Mr Wellcome (1911), the disposal of human remains found by excavators (1913).

In December 1913 the position of the committee was regularised in a letter signed by the Civil Secretary on 28/12/13 (CS/GRR/Gen.11) and the terms of reference given as follows:- "To advise His Excellency the Governor General on the policy to be pursued in respect of questions of special Archaeological importance."

On 4/12/13, His Excellency the Governor General appointed Dr. A. J. Chalmers as an additional member of the Committee for Pathological and Anatomical subjects.

In 1914, on Mr Currie's retirement, Mr Crowfoot was appointed President of the Committee and a meeting was held in November to discuss, among other matters, a proposal of the Financial Secretary to cancel a balance standing to the credit of the Museum.

Since 1914 no meetings of the Committee have been held because no questions, calling for special consideration, have arisen.

At the present moment the Committee is reduced to three owing to the departure of Dr. Chalmers and Mr Morris, while there are several questions of importance which should be settled, such as provision of new cases, increased Museum accommodation, the institution of a local Museum at Merowe, the recovery of the Credit cancelled at the beginning of the War and the disposal of duplicates at present in the Museum.

The first of these questions might well be referred to the Khartoum Museum Board, and it is submitted that instead of restoring the Archaeological Committee to its original strength it might be better to amalgamate the Archaeological Committee and the Khartoum Museum Board.

A proposal to this effect has been discussed with the Civil Secretary who is, ex officio, a member of the Museum Board and with Mr Sterry who is a member of the Archaeological Committee. Both view the proposed amalgamation with favour.

It is suggested therefore, that the new Committee should be called "The Archaeological and Museums Board", and that it should consist of-

The Director of Education as President
and the following members:-

Director, Wellcome Research Laboratories.

Curator of the Natural History Museum.

Conservator of Antiquities.

Mr Sterry, Mr Graham,

and perhaps representatives of the Civil and Financial Secretaries.

The functions of the board should be to advise the Government on all matters, which are referred to it, concerning the Antiquities, the Natural History and the Ethnological collections.

(Sgd) Peter Drummond
Conservator of Antiquities.

AS/59.

Private Secretary,
Khartoum.

I should be obliged if you would submit the above proposal to which I entirely agree, to His Excellency the Governor for favour of his decision.

Khartoum
16-3-1920

(Sgd) J. W. Crowfoot
Director

Director of Education,
Khartoum.

The Governor General concurs in the proposal of the Conservator of Antiquities to amalgamate the Archaeological Committee and the Khartoum Museum Board. The new Committee to be called "The Archaeological and Museums Board" and to consist of the Director of Education, as President, and the following as members:-

Director, Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories
Curator of the Natural History Museum.
Conservator of Antiquities.
Mr Sterry
Mr Graham.

The Governor General does not consider it necessary for the Civil and Financial Secretaries to be represented, as the Committee as above appears to be sufficiently large. Any questions affecting these two departments can be referred, if necessary. You will presumably take action with the G.S., regarding notification of this change and its inclusion in the Administrative Regulations.

Khartoum
21-3-20

(Sgd) M.J. Wheatley
Private Secretary.

Civil Secretary, S.G.,
Khartoum.

Passed for your information and favour of such action as may be necessary.

Khartoum
8-4-1920

(Sgd) Peter Drummond Secretary
Archaeological Museum Board.

Financial Secretary, S.G.,

Thro' Mr W. Sterry, CBE, (Int) W.S. 17-4-20

For information and favour of return to this office.

Khartoum
13-4-1920

(Sgd) T.G.H. Bardwell
for Civil Secretary.

FDK/Adm/GR/2208

Civil Secretary,
Khartoum.

Noted and returned.

Khartoum
17-4-1920

(Sgd) R.P.S. Elderton, Miralai
for Financial Secretary, S.G.

CS/GR/Gen/11

CIVIL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
Khartoum, 29th April 1920.

The Conservator of Antiquities
Khartoum.

The above copy of correspondence is forwarded for your information and retention.

The alteration will be included in the Administrative Regulations in due course.

Kha



J. G. N. Sandwell
for Civil Secretary.

Annex II

Brief History of the Khartoum National Museum.

- 1- Application for funds to build this Museum was firstly made to the Trustees of Sir Lee Stack Indeminty Fund early in 1950 but rejected (see letter DE/2-2-1 of 19.3.1951 page 6 and DE/1-1-62 of 1.1.1951 - Page 15).
- 2- LS.150,000 was proposed (see DE/1-1-62 of 5.11.1950) in the 1951/56 Development Budget as a part of development for Gordon Memorial College (Page 1 of file DE/1-1-62-B).
- 3- In his letter No. FDK/1916-1-6/2 of 18.12.1950 (Page 13 of DE/1-1-62-B), The Financial Secretary asked for the details of the proposal if it was to be included in the 1951/56 Development submission. The question of this museum has fully been discussed in the 4th meeting of the Development Committee and it eventually agreed to that this project should be included in the Ministry of Education Development Budget proposals (see extract on page 24 of DE/1-1-62 B and also Commissioner of Development letter No.3-D-14 of 24.3.1951 - page 7 of DE/2-2-1 Vol. V).
- 4- A sum of LS.125,900 was included in 1951/52 Development Budget of the 1951/56 Development programme and final financial approval was given vide para 4 of FDK/D/14 of 16.6.1951 - page 83 of file DE/1-1-62-B - under scheme 44 "Khartoum National Museum" for expenditure from 1.7.1951 to 30.6.1952 provided free building capacity is available.
- 5- The amount allotted continued to be available until the Development Committee decided vide minute 5.5.3 to delete the item (see extract on page 205 of file DE/2-2-1) on the grounds that it would not be possible to build the Museum during that programme and thus the scheme was withdrawn in 1953/54 Development Budget.
- 6- The Museum Board noted in their 49th. meeting held on 20.4.1953 (see page 231 of DE/2-2-1) the withdrawal of the scheme because of the impossibility of obtaining possession of the site at the Mogren before 1956 at the earliest (please see page 10 of the Development Budget Estimates for 1.7.1953 to 30.6.1954. This project has also been mentioned in Commissioner for Development letter No. FDK/D/44 of 26.1.1954 (P. 279 of DE/2-2-1 Vo.V.) addressed to Governor, Khartoum in connection with his submission for proposed Botanical grounds of Khartoum.
- 7- Commissioner of Lands letter No. 9/310-1 of 27.5.1954 (P. 341 of DE/2-2-1 Vol.V) shows that an area comprising 23299 square metres known as plot No. 1 Block 9 R.F.W. was allotted to this Ministry for development as a Museum.
- 8- In the Agenda for the 52nd. meeting of the Museum Board an item was included to discuss plans for National Museum (see page 415 of DE/2-2-1 Vo. V) suggesting (see appendix C on page 420) to abandon the idea of a large museum costing a sum of LS.150,000 and proposed to plan for a simple museum costing not more than LS.50,000 on the land opposite the Gubbas of the Turkish Governors General at the corner of Victoria and Abbas Avenue. The meeting which was held on 9.11.1954 decided that "No further action was called for at this stage, except that the Commissioner should attempt to interest the Minister of Education in the project" (see P.427 of DE/2-2-1 vol. V)
- 9- The Museums Board in their 54th. Meeting held on 5.9.1955 agreed that the Commissioner for Archaeology should decide which would be the most suitable site for the new Museum and proposed specifications at the next meeting of the Board. When these had been approved an architect should be asked to make a schetch plan (P. 483 of DE/2-2-1 Vol.V).

10- In the agenda for the 56th. meeting of the Museums Board an item was included to consider possible sites for the new Museum (see appendix B on Page 26 of DE/SCR/2-2-1). The availability of the site on Victoria Avenue near the Mosque (Plot No. 12 Block I.D. East, 3766 Square metres) seemed to be out of question as the Town Council has its own plan for disposing of it so the following four possibilities were suggested :-

- 1- A site in Victoria Avenue to the north of the School of Medicine, Plot 1 BK I.K.W. But this was considered rather a small site (about 3000 sq. metres).
- 2- The Waqf Garden. But according to information from Sayed Mekki El Nanna, drainage will not be possible. Furthermore the price asked for it is rather prohibitive (about LS.200,000).
- 3- The site to the west of the Waqf Garden. This plot has been reserved for the Museum since 1951 and is still registered as such in the Land Registry (information supplied by Sayed Mekki El Manna) but now occupied by the P.W.D. Its size of 23,000 sq. metres makes it suitable for the National Museum, but because the P.W.D. were unable to vacate it the Museum Board was obliged to change its view and try to get another site.
- 4- If no suitable site is available in Khartoum the possibility of building the Museum in Omdurman was to be considered.

11- In the 56th. Meeting of the Museum Board held on 4.4.1956 (see minutes on page 35 of DE/SCR/2-2-1) the Board learned that a site in the Mogren had been reserved and registered in the name of the Museum. The Commissioner for Archaeology was asked in consultation with Sayed Mekki El Manna, to obtain a generalised estimate for building the Museum from Messrs. Brown & Reeks and to apply for reallocation of the funds provided for this purpose under the Development Budget 1951/56.

After discussion, it was agreed that initially provision should be made only for the Antiquities, Ethnological and Natural History Museum Collections, but that space on the site should be reserved for future expansion to include other sections.

12- Appendix A (see page 42 of DE/SCR/2-2-1) attached to the agenda for the 57th. Meeting of the Museums Board shows that the Secretary of the Board has asked the Ministry of Works to move from the site reserved for the Museum and received the following reply from the Director of Works "The project is far removed from the stage where we should be thinking in terms of vacating the site and in fact because no funds exist for the project it would appear that the whole matter need be reviewed". The Secretary marked that in any event the site will not be available, according to Ministry of Works before 1958.

The Secretary also mentioned that in his letter MB/8-4 of 11-4-1956 he asked for the sum of LS.125,000 to be revived in the development Budget for 51/56 that according to provisional plan he worked out with the help of Sayed Mekki El Manna the Estimated cost of the New Museum would be approximately LS.171,000 and that A/Commissioner for Development informed him vide his letter MFE/D/44 that the Scheme 44, which provided for the building of the Museum, had been withdrawn and that no funds were available in the Development Budget.

for 1951/56 and that steps have been taken to revive the scheme in the 1957/61 Development Budget.

13- The following is an extract from a letter ref. MB/8-4 XR/MB/8-3 of 11.4.1956 from Commissioner Archaeology to Director of Education (see extract page 81 of DE/SCR/2-2-1) :-

"To put our collections adequately on exhibition, and provide the necessary storage space, library, offices and laboratories, we need 6090 square metres of floor space, which I distributed in the following manner :-

2930 sq. metres in single story buildings.

1580 sq. metres in two story buildings.

(= 1580 X 2 = 3160 sq. metres.)

Messrs Brown and Reeks estimate the cost of buildings, for a Museum, to be about LE.40 per sq. metre for a two - story building and LE.30 per a single story one. Accordingly the total cost of the new museum will be approximately LS.171,000."

14- The Board of the Museum in their 57th. meeting held on 22.12.1956 (see minutes on page 57 of DE/SCR/2-2-1) considered further the question of the new Museum and directed that the Ministry of Works be given one years' notice to vacate the Mogren site by 31st. December, 1957 and that a local Architect be engaged to draw up a preliminary plan, for discussion at their next meeting, without being committed to engage the same architect to undertake the final design.

15- The secretary of the Museum Board in his letter MB/SCR/1 of 30.1.1957 informed all members of the board (see Page 66 of DE/SCR/2-2-1) that he has, after taking the advice of Sayed Atabani of the Ministry of Works, engaged a local architect, Mr. Petermuller, to draw up a preliminary plan for the Museum.

16- In the informal meeting of the Museums Board held on 2.4.1957 (see record on page 79) of DE/SCR/2-2-1) The Architect reported that to build a Museum of 1764 M² with adequate storage space, lecture room and temporary exhibition hall, boundary fence and gardens would cost approximately LS.280,000. He could not give accurate figure without approaching specialised firms. As a result of many discussions by the board the architect was then asked what the building would cost without either a lecture room or air conditioning and he stated LS.141,000. This would leave a margin of LS.40,000 and a temporary exhibition hall might cost LS.32,000 and the boundary fence LS.5,000. He thought the cost of the main building likely to be less rather than more than LS.141,000. Excluding lecture room and air conditioning the total cost using the 2nd. plan would be in the region of LS.180,000. After further discussion the Board recommended that the 2nd. plan be accepted without the lecture hall for the present, but that part this be allowed for further expansion; that the building have no air conditioning from the beginning, but that part of it be designed in such a way as to accept air conditioning in the future; that natural lighting be used as much as possible, but the provision be made for the installation of artificial lighting later on. The architect was authorised to approach various specialised firms and requested to produce at the next meeting of the board a larger model and figures for the special ceiling, air conditioning, and to be very clear about the total cost.

17- The result of the above informal meeting was conveyed to Mr. Petermuller vide the secretary, Museum Board's letter No. MB/SCR/1 of 7.3.1957 (see page 72 of DE/SCR/2-2-1)

Copy to :

COMMISSIONER FOR
ARCHAEOLOGY, CAIRO

INSPECTOR OF ANTIQUITIES

57

Brief History of (4) ¹⁵⁴

(18) The question of sending ~~the~~ the UNESCO to the Sudan an architect who will draw up the plan for a library and a museum has been raised in a letter ref. MUS/692-667 of 23.4.57 from the Head of the Museums and Monuments Department of the UNESCO to Commissioner ~~in~~ for Archaeology (see copy on page 113 of DE/SCR/2-2-1). The Commissioner in his reply No. CA/SCR/30 of 27.4.57 to the UNESCO (see copy on page 112 in DE/SCR/2-2-1) stated that he has in Khartoum a resident architect who is in charge of drawing up the general project, that this architect has got the necessary information and is working upon it and, accordingly, the UNESCO architects' mission will be limited to museography proper in collaboration with the resident architect and, if it is possible, will be asked to submit a report on the organisation of an Architectural service for the preservation of historical ^{monuments} within the antiquities service.

19- In the agenda for the 58th. meeting of the Museums Board an item was included to discuss the matter of the designs for the new Museum in the light of information brought back from UNESCO by the Commissioner (see appendix C of page 105 DE/SCR/2-2-1)

20- The Museum Board in their 58th. meeting held on 12.10.1957 (see minute on page 123 of DE/SCR/2-2-1) has agreed that Mr. Petermuller's plans for the new Museum passed for consideration by the UNESCO Architectural adviser, whose advice should be specifically sought on the following points :-

- 1- Provision for a storage room.
- 2- Provision for future expansion
- 3- Air Conditioning
- 4- Lighting

The Board also decided that a sub-committee consisting of the President, the Commissioner for Archaeology, Professor Sandon and Sayed Sadik Nur be appointed to meet the UNESCO adviser and the architect for detailed discussions.

The Board directed that the architects' report on the costing of the new Museum be passed to the commissioner for Development through Director of Education, and that he be informed that the plans are available for inspection if required.

Ali Mahmoud Ismail
ALI MAHMOUD-ISMAIL,
Ministry OF EDUCATION.

DE/SCR/2-2-1
XR/1-1-62 (B)
XR/2-2-1

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
KHARTOUM

18th. November, 1957

Director of Education,

The Above brief history of the Khartoum National Museum is submitted as requested by you.

Copy to :

COMMISSIONER FOR
ARCHAEOLOGY, KHARTOUM

Yousif El Mubarak
YOUSIF EL MUBARAK,
INSPECTOR OF ACCOUNTS.

Annex III

TO UNESCO, PARIS
PRELIMINARY REPORT ON PLANNING OF OFFICIAL
BUILDINGS IN KHARTOUM, SUDAN
BY
HANS ASPLUND, ARCHITECT
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

*

TIME: The time covered by this report is November 24-27, 1957, and January 9 - February 13, 1958.

SUBJECT OF MISSION: To advise on and give preliminary design drawings for some official buildings in Khartoum, somewhat vaguely described as a museum, a library and a conference building. On my arrival the subject of my mission was more clearly defined as one museum and one conference building, each containing a small special library.

ITINERARY: In November 1957 Unesco invited me to come for three days to Paris to meet Mr Alexander Petermüller, an architect from Khartoum in charge of the museum. He gave me general information on building conditions in the Sudan and showed me his preliminary drawings for the museum. The rest of the time was used for my briefing and for a meeting with Mr Rivière of the ICOM.

In January I stopped for two days in Paris en route to Khartoum to meet the Sudanese ambassador and general secretary of the national commission.

During the first days in Khartoum, the Unesco Head of Mission, Mr Rao, introduced me to the people with whom I was going to collaborate on the two buildings: Mr Nasr Hag Ali, Director of Education, and Dr Jean Vercoutter, Commissioner of Archeology for the museum, and Mr Mohamed Osman Yassein, Permanent Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, for the Conference building.

I used the first part of my stay to study the city in its various respects to understand the way it was functioning as a background for my work.

I visited the existing small museums: the Archeological Museum, the Ethnographical Museum, the Zoological Museum and the Khalifa House Museum. The Chief Townplanner, Mr Charli Antoun, and City Architect Hassan Atabani, introduced me to the problems and possible future development of the city and gave me the necessary maps, plans and technical information. I visited the different sites proposed for the buildings and had them photographed and studied finally the local building tradition, materials and technique, especially from the climatic point of view.

Together with Dr Vercoutter I left Khartoum for three days to visit the museum in Merowe and the ruins of Jebel Barkal, Kabushya, Mussawarat es-Safra and Naga. As these places are rather inaccessible for tourists, a number of statues, steles, reliefs and even a small temple or two are going to be moved to the new museum.

The rest of the time I divided equally between the museum and the conference building after having approved of the sites proposed by the Ministry of Education and of Foreign Affairs.

In collaboration with Mr Petermüller I made a changed scheme for the museum, which was presented together with some more detailed recommendations to the Museum Board. This scheme was accepted by the Board as a basis for the new design.

After writing a preliminary program for the conference building I made a first study of it, which I demonstrated in some sketch drawings and a model

together with a rough cost calculation to Mr Osman Yassein, the Deputy Prime Minister and some other people. They seemed on the whole in favour of the scheme but suggested a few alterations to be included in my later work. I finally asked for a survey to be made of the site for the conference building.

The last days I made a preliminary time schedule for the rest of the work in collaboration with Dr Vercoutter and Mr Osman Yassein.

On my way back to Paris I stopped on Dr Vercoutter's advice for two days to see the Cairo Museum, the collections of which are similar to those of the future Khartoum museum.

CITY PLAN: The city of Khartoum consists of three parts: Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman on different sides of the Blue and the White Nile, joined by two bridges. Khartoum is the administrative part with housing for middle and upper classes, European shopping district, hotels and the University. Omdurman is a pure Arabic city and by far the biggest part of the three cities, while Khartoum North is the smallest with industries, quais and some housing. The main traffic artery starts in Khartoum North, passes the Blue Nile bridge to run along the Nile in Khartoum proper and passes the Omdurman bridge to continue right through Omdurman. Along the Nile avenue in Khartoum are almost all official buildings situated. The density is low as everyone lives in houses with gardens or courtyards. The building heights are low: 1-2 storeys for housing, 2-3 for official buildings and 4-5 for a few modern buildings in the city. The uniform character of the city with low buildings in an exuberantly green setting is very pleasant and something well worth keeping.

MUSEUM SITE: The site which has been allocated to the museum is quite ideal. It is situated on the Nile avenue, near the Grand Hotel and a future new hotel and neighbour to the future Parliament building. It is also not too far from the bridge to Omdurman. The site is big enough for future extensions.

MUSEUM PROGRAM: I have only proposed a few smaller changes of the program, as that was quite well prepared before. The final program runs like this:

1. Entrance hall, including sales counter for
books, cards, tickets etc.
Telephones and toilets
Storage for lightweight chairs
Sitting group
2. Lecture room 100 m²
3. Temporary exhibition room 100 m²
4. Show room archeology, divided by movable
partitions in the following epochs: 1000 m²
 - a) Stone age Size: small
 - b) Protodynastic and Old kingdom small
 - c) Middle kingdom medium
 - d) New kingdom medium
 - e) Napata epoch big
 - f) Meroitic epoch big

g) x-group epoch	small	
h) Christian epoch	small	
i) Islamic epoch	small	
5. Show room ethnography, divided by movable partitions in the following departments:		800 m ²
a) Nilotic	Size: large	
b) Non-nilotic	medium	
c) Upper Blue Nile - Fungs	small	
d) Nuba	large	
e) Darfur	large	
f) Arab	large	
g) Eastern Sudan-Beja	small	
6. Store rooms archeology and ethnography		800 m ²
7. Laboratories, 2 storeys high with balconies		200 m ²
Stonecutter		
General workshop		
Photography (+ darkroom)		
Preservation (+ gas chamber)		
8. Receiving, unpacking, registration		90 m ²
9. Maintenance workshop, 3 rooms		80 m ²
10. Personnel dressing rooms and lavatories		50 m ²
11. Conference room		50 m ²
12. Rooms for visiting scholars (2)		30 m ²
13. Library: reading room with reference books		25 m ²
Office		15 m ²
Stackroom		60 m ²
14. Archeology offices: secretary + archive		25 m ²
curator		25 m ²
assistant curator		25 m ²
clerks		25 m ²
15. Ethnography offices: secretary + archive		25 m ²
curator		25 m ²
assistant curator		25 m ²
clerks		25 m ²
16. Antiquity service: secretary + archive		25 m ²
director		25 m ²
inspector		25 m ²
clerks		25 m ²
17. Architects service: secretary + archive		25 m ²
architect		25 m ²
draftsmen		50 m ²
Auxiliary spaces: airconditioning rooms, toilets, buffets, staircases, corridors, janitors closets etc.		
Outdoor arrangements: Space for small temples in the garden		
Space for huts and houses from different regions		
Small bar in the garden		
Parking space		

MUSEUM SOLUTION: The changed solution of the museum which I made in collaboration with Mr Petermüller is largely dependant of the three problems presented to me by the Board, viz. airconditioning, lighting and extension. I will here mention the most important reasons for the changes I have proposed in the first scheme, already shown to the Unesco Museum Division.

From the point of view of townscapes it is preferable not to exceed a height of three floors for the museum as all other buildings along the Nile avenue have about that height and especially as the nearest future neighbour is going to be the Parliament building, which certainly should dominate its surroundings. On the given site it is favourable to push back the museum as much as possible to have space in front of it for the small temples and indigenous housing mentioned in the program. The parking area should be easily accessible but not too conspicuous.

In connection with the decision of having most of the building airconditioned, the structure ought to be more compact for economy's sake; the open and loose layout necessary when one has to rely on natural crossventilation, is no longer justified.

The new solution consists of three units: one showroom + store unit, one laboratory unit and one office unit. The more compact planning has diminished walking distances and the number of entrances is cut down to two: one public entrance and one service + personnel entrance, super-visible from one point.

From the public entrance one should be able to choose either to see the archeological or ethnographical department or both. Compared to the earlier scheme the shape of the showrooms is more elongated with a breadth of about 20 m, which for a normal back and forth circulation gives an average room breadth of 10 m; this measure will adapt itself very well to the different periods and departments mentioned in the program.

The height of the showrooms should be related to the size of the objects, why about 8 m for the archeological and 4-5 m for ethnographical objects is proposed.

The temporary exhibition and lecture rooms should be reached directly from the entrance hall, to make it possible to use them separately. The temporary exhibition room should also be accessible through the store room, so that preparation work will not disturb the rest of the museum. These two rooms could possibly be combined, but in that case it ought to be 150 m² at least.

Another important improvement in the new scheme is that all heavy objects could be moved in one continuous level from the unloading platform through unpacking, registration, laboratories, store rooms and to the showroom of archeology. A ceiling transport rail following this route should further facilitate transports.

As a result of this and as the office block is now only three floors high, all lifts are unnecessary, an advantage, especially as no lift firm has any maintenance crew in Khartoum. Because the office room depth is greater and the office block longer, the number of stairs serving the same amount of office space is cut down to 50 %.

MUSEUM RECOMMENDATIONS:

The architectural treatment of the facades could in my opinion be decided irrespective of future neighbours as the Parliament building, as both are placed in big garden sites.

Future extensions of the museum can be made by adding more space to the east or the west of the show room building. Even the office building can be enlarged, which does not, however, seem necessary, as the offices are amply provided for in the program.

The facade material should not be the rather poor plaster used on all buildings in Khartoum, which has to be repaired very often, but of a more permanent kind as slabs of stone or concrete aggregate.

The fire protection of the museum should be effected by having steel fire doors between the laboratory wing and the show room and office building in both floors and only using fire proof materials for all structural members of course. The laboratories could possibly be sprinkled but in the show and store rooms a suitable number of fire hydrants and fire buckets should be satisfactory. An electrical fire alarm system connected with the city fire brigade is an extra safety measure.

The security of the museum could be brought about by having all windows in the ground floor protected by steel grills and an electrical burglar alarm system connected with the nearest Police Headquarters. Possibly night watchmen are cheaper in Khartoum. If big glass doors are used at the entrances, they should be provided with extra strong steel folding gates in front of them.

The movable partitions in the showrooms should have a heavy and permanent appearance, but be fairly easy to move. This can be effected by hollow partitions about 50 cm thick with a bottom ballast of sand or stone. Its front panels could be interchangeable, so that when one wants a vitrin, the front panel should be of glass with shelves behind.

The airconditioning of the museum is absolutely necessary, the reasons being:

- a) some objects come from the humid zones and they will get destroyed by the dry air in Khartoum. (Relative humidity between 17-61 %, average 30 %). This makes humidification indispensable.
- b) if the show rooms have no airconditioning, cross-ventilation would be necessary, which entails an ex-

haustive cleaning of all objects after every sandstorm (haboubs, 2-3 a year). This will gradually destroy the objects, especially the ethnographical ones.

- c) the popularity of the museum. The cost of air-conditioning will not be prohibitive as cooling the air by humidification is much cheaper than otherwise.

From the start airconditioning should be provided for the show rooms, stores, laboratories and the library (the paper gets very brittle in the dry air). The central plant should, however, be big enough to include the whole building. The vertical ducts for the future airconditioning in the offices should be made from the beginning.

The daylight should be provided in the museum to give the general lighting during daytime when artificial light always looks a bit gloomy and to diminish the current consumption of course. General daylight is also the finest light of all for the big statuary. To get the right kind of daylight one has to put the following demands on the sources of daylight:

- a) they should not be exposed to direct sunshine so as not to add to the airconditioning load.
- b) they should not dazzle the spectators or create too many reflections in the glass panes of the showcases.
- c) they should be easily closed in sections of show rooms, unsuited to daylight of technical reasons (textiles, leather works) or of visual reasons (where special sidelighting on reliefs is wanted etc).
- d) they should not take up any wall space.

I have proposed round lanterns with roof slabs of a special shape to prevent direct sunshine, and with an extra membrane on the underside, which can be lowered to shut off all daylight.

Artificial light should be distributed throughout the building, as the possibly best time for visits are the afternoons and evenings, when no one is working and the dusk is starting already at 5 or 6 o'clock. For special sections and special objects (see above) artificial lighting is needed the whole day. Three kinds of lighting accommodation should be provided:

- a) general lighting, conforming with the daylight.
- b) spotlighting of objects either from evenly distributed reflectors, which can be directed to cover the whole floor and wall surfaces, or from reflectors temporarily placed just where they are wanted.

- c) evenly distributed floor and wall outlets, from which reflectors and show cases could be tapped.

NOTE: The comparatively dense spacing of columns in the show rooms of the new scheme is favourable as the columns provide possibilities for fixing the reflectors.

THE COST OF THE MUSEUM: Compared to the original scheme, which was calculated to cost around 200.000 pounds including airconditioning, the new scheme ought to cost less, as 3-4 lifts have been eliminated and the circulation space is very much reduced, even if two smaller additions - the rooms for temporary exhibitions and lectures - have been made.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE MUSEUM PLANNING: During my collaboration with Mr Petermüller I found him a very capable and sensitive architect with a good judgement and a sound technical knowledge. I can therefore recommend him to carry on the planning on the basis, which we arrived at together. In my opinion he should have the freedom to change and develop for example the entrance part, staircases etc. according to his own architectural ideas, while keeping in mind all the points on the function of the museum, mentioned in this report.

Still another reason for his taking over the planning from now is that it will take less time than any other solution, which is especially important as Dr Vercoutter will probably only stay another two years in Khartoum. It would be very good if the museum could be constructed during those two years.

It was agreed on in Khartoum that I should receive and criticise the future plans of Mr Petermüller and give advice on different points of interest both by letter and during my next visit.

THE SITE FOR THE CONFERENCE BUILDING: The site proposed by Mr Osman Yassein for the conference building is maybe even more ideally suited to its purpose than the museum site. It is situated in Omdurman near the bridge to Khartoum, which means that it is in the centre of gravity for the population of the three cities. The site consists of a slightly higher plateau, turning towards the cooler eastern direction and having a magnificent view over the whole confluence area of the two Niles with the bridge and Khartoum in the background. The site is furthermore served by a traffic artery on the land side, which makes the Nile beach directly accessible; one does not have to cross a heavy traffic to reach the beach as one has to all along the Nile avenue in Khartoum.

There is also a strong social reason; so far no big official building has been put up in Omdurman, they are all in Khartoum. It would finally be ideal if the new hotel in Khartoum could be built on the other side of the river opposite the conference building at the very point of confluence of the Niles. Thus the people taking part in the international conferences could go back and forth to their hotel in taxiboats.

THE PROGRAM FOR THE CONFERENCE BUILDING: This program is necessarily pre-

liminary as I have to talk it over with stage specialists and other people.

1. Auditorium for 1,400 - 1,600 persons. To be used for:
Conferences at national or international level, ballet and folk dances, concerts, theater, operas, educational films, including:
 - a) 6-8 booths for simultaneous interpretation, television, radio etc.
 - b) film projection room
 - c) galleries for press and public during conferences (otherwise as ordinary galleries)
 - d) delegates' tables during conferences (otherwise removed and replaced by ordinary chairs)
 - e) orchestra pit, that can be covered and used as proscenium or rostra for conferences.
 - f) storage for chairs, tables etc.
2. Stage fully equipped for all abovementioned purposes and provided with facilities for future permanent theatre company and symphony orchestra. If technically possible the stage should be adopted for use both for indoor (point 1) and outdoor auditorium (point 3), including:
 - a) stage equipment: revolving scene, iron curtains, panorama background, big orchestra reflector on wheels, flies for lighting, hoists and lifts etc.
 - b) side scenes, stage basement
 - c) workshops
 - d) dressing rooms 5-10, artists' lounge
 - e) offices, 2-3 rooms
3. Outdoor auditorium for 3-4,000 persons on fixed benches. Stage = 2. to be used for:
Political meetings, ballet and folk dances, concerts, educational films.
4. Meeting rooms for smaller conferences and committees.
 - a) for 100 persons, 1 room
 - b) for 50 persons, 2 rooms
5. Offices for management and secretariat (permanent and temporary) about 5-10 rooms.
6. Exhibition gallery about 100-200 sqm. To be used for temporary exhibitions of art, photographs and for educational and business, purposes, including:
 - a) one unpacking room and workshop
 - b) unloading facilities.
7. Library for art and music, literature and for political reference books, about 100-200 sqm.
8. Restaurant, cafeteria and bar, seating capacity about 200-300 persons altogether. Facilities for banquets and dancing, subdivisible for special parties.

9. Kitchen for restaurant, including all storage and personnel rooms.
10. Auxiliary public spaces
Entrance hall, with ticket office, sales counters, post and telegraph office, toilets, telephone booths.
Lounges, lobbys, galleries, corridors, terraces.
Staircases, lifts.
Parking for 500 cars, taxi boat quay on the Nile.
11. Auxiliary service areas
Services entrances to kitchen, stage and exhibition galleries.
Personnel entrances to kitchen, stage and offices.
Dressing room, toilets and dining rooms for the personnel.
Storage spaces and archives.
Rooms for airconditioning equipment.

THE SOLUTION FOR THE CONFERENCE BUILDING: In the central part of the site with parking space on both sides a round platform with a diameter of 120 m forms the basis for the outdoor auditorium and the indoor auditorium with its auxiliary spaces, each covering a quartercircle. In the center is the highest part of the building, the stage house serving both auditoriums. A circular road on the outer edge of the round platform serves all entrances under porches and is connected to the parking spaces and the two roundabouts of the adjacent main traffic artery. The raised platform corresponds to the highest part of the site, which minimises the cut and fill work.

The outdoor auditorium turns to the east, and is therefore not so much heated by the sun and, more important still, one has a splendid view over the two Niles on both sides of the stage building from most of the seats. Not to decrease this view all the trees on the round platform and in the parking areas should be kept low or be palm trees with its high foliage.

The indoor auditorium has one orchestra and two galleries, each connected with its foyer corridor. The spaces in front of the access corridors are of different depth for each floor, which gives the stepped pyramidal shape in the outside massing. The restaurant is located on top of the auditorium, commanding an impressing view. The outside terraces should be provided with a rich planting, creating an atmosphere of the hanging gardens of Semiramis. This could be further enhanced by a big waterfall, starting at the top of the stage building, falling down in cascades over the terraces and ending in the river Nile. There I have proposed an excavated bay to bring the waterline near the building even at low water time, which is the most important tourist season. This waterfall has not only poetical values, but it is also a very efficient outdoor aircooler.

On top of the stage building a domed ceiling over a roof bar forms the focal point of the whole composition.

Mr Osman Yassein proposed some smaller changes in this scheme:

- a) the whole stage should be adaptable to be used for all kind of exhibitions, which could add to the rentability of the building.
- b) the restaurant should be bigger and arranged in such a way that it could always stay open, even if the rest of the building is not in use.
- c) the proposed movable canvas roof over the outdoor auditorium is maybe not so practical, as the canvas will probably be destroyed by the scorching sun.

These changes can easily be incorporated in the final design.

THE COST OF THE CONFERENCE BUILDING: The partner of Mr Petermüller, a civil engineer called Mr Ayoub, made a rough cost calculation of the whole project. Including site improvement, stone parapet and all construction with a rather high standard, the total cost will be between 600-700,000 pounds.

I had some discussions with Mr Osman Yassein on the financing of the building, when he asked me to help to prepare some material for a booklet to be distributed to influential people in the Sudan and abroad as a way to raise the necessary funds.

TIME SCHEDULE FOR THE REST OF MY MISSION: The following time schedule for the work on the museum and the conference building was decided on by the Museum Board and Mr Osman Yassein:

1 Febr. - 15 March	Petermüller prepares the new preliminary scheme for the museum, which he sends to Asplund.
1 April	Asplund returns the museum plans with suggestions and criticism.
15 April	The new museum scheme presented to the Development committee.
15 April - 15 Aug.	Petermüller draws up the detailed plans for the museum.
15 August	Calls for tenders for the museum.
15 March - 1 Nov.	Asplund makes the final design for the Conference building. (Exact time not specified).
1 November	Asplund returns to Khartoum.
1 November	Decision on Museum tenders, Construction of Museum starting in November.
1 Nov. - 1 Dec.	During Asplund's second stay in Khartoum the details and equipment for the Museum should be decided and the final design for the Conference building presented, discussed and revised if necessary. The arrangement of the future detail planning of the Conference building should be decided.

Stockholm, March 10, 1958

Hans Asplund

Annex IV

TO UNESCO, PARIS
FINAL REPORT ON PLANNING OF OFFICIAL
BUILDINGS IN KHARTOUM, SUDAN
BY
HANS ASPLUND, ARCHITECT
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

SUBJECT OF MISSION To advise on the planning of the New National Museum and to prepare preliminary plans for the Cultural Centre in Khartoum.

This report is a continuation of my preliminary report (dated March 19th, 1958) and covers the following time:

February 14-Oct. 31 in Stockholm, time dedicated to the mission a bit more than 8 months
Oct. 31 - Nov. 5 in Paris
Nov. 7 - Dec. 2 in Khartoum, with a short visit to Soukha
Dec. 3 - Dec. 4 in Paris

MUSEUM WORK After the new sketch design for the museum, which I did in Khartoum together with the architect A. Petermüller (described in the first report), he made a new set of plans in small scale, which were sent to be in Stockholm for comment.

TO UNESCO, PARIS

FINAL REPORT ON PLANNING OF OFFICIAL

BUILDINGS IN KHARTOUM, SUDAN

BY

HANS ASPLUND, ARCHITECT

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

Once in the Sudan I made a visit to the archaeologically very interesting site of Meroë on the Red Sea coast. The central part of the site is on a round island in a round bay, is a kind of a peninsula - rapidly falling to ruins. This is very interesting from many points of view. Soukha is the only city in the Sudan of pure Arabic architecture. Dating from the fifteenth century it has a unique radiating city plan and a number of fine buildings, the architectural value of which is based on the contrast between the closed walls and the big, wooden box windows, richly decorated. Soukha has therefore both an archaeological and a tourist importance. Dr Verwey has made a proposal of preserving some of the most important buildings. I would like to add that the lower part of the walls of the ruined buildings could preferably be kept in place, disclosing the very interesting former townships. Some of the fine wooden window decorations and one full box window from a building, which is beyond repair, ought to be incorporated in the collections of the new museum.

Mr Petermüller showed me the detailed working drawings for the museum, which he had made during my absence (drawings no 1-7, dated November 1958).

I am glad to be able to report that the set of plans show a building of high quality from the functional, economical and architectural points of view.

Functionally the building is divided in three blocks, each developed to serve efficiently its purpose. Furthermore these blocks have been successfully arranged in relation to each other, giving short communication distances and allowing clearing of sections separately during certain times of the day. The control of the entrances and the cross-ventilation of the office block are also well solved. The plans provide also for future extension of the show rooms and the office block.

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MUSEUM WORK After the new sketch design for the museum, which I did in Khartoum together with the architect A. Petermüller (described in the first report), he made a new set of plans in small scale, which were sent to me in Stockholm for comment March 19th, 1958.

I returned one set of prints with a letter suggesting various changes on March 31, a copy of which was sent to Unesco.

On my second trip to Khartoum I met Dr Vercoutter in Paris, where he told me the most important things he wanted me to discuss with Mr Petermüller before his own arrival in Khartoum.

Once in the Sudan I made a visit to the archeologically very interesting city of Soakin on the Red Sea coast. The central part of this city, situated on a round island in a round bay, is - since it is now uninhabited - rapidly falling to ruins. This is very deplorable from many points of view. Soakin is the only city in the Sudan of pure Arabic architecture. Dating from the fifteenth century it has a unique radiating city plan and a number of fine buildings, the architectural value of which is based on the contrast between the closed walls and the big, wooden bow windows, richly decorated.

Soakin has therefore both an archeological and a tourist importance. Dr Vercoutter has made a proposal of preserving some of the most important buildings. I would like to add that the lower part of the walls of the ruined buildings could preferably be kept in place, disclosing the very interesting former townscape. Some of the fine wooden window decoration and one full bow window from a building, which is beyond repair, ought to be incorporated in the collections of the new museum.

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Functionally the building is divided in three blocks, each developed to serve efficiently its purpose. Furthermore these blocks have been successfully arranged in relationship to each other, giving short communication distances and allowing closing of sections separately during certain times of the day. The control of the entrances and the crossventilation of the office block are also well solved. The plans provide also for future extension of the show rooms and the office block.

The compact volumes with rather short spans allow an economical construction. The plans show no waste space and the museum can be supervised with a rather small staff. Architecturally the low horizontal building masses will harmonise well with the existing and future environment. The detail treatment of the elevations has an individual and original touch without being excessively modernistic, why I do not think the building will date in the future. To perfect the building there are some details which ought to be changed.

1. The site plan. The provisory layout plan prepared by the Public Works department shows a new site for the museum, one block to the west of the former site. The new site is better as it seems to be larger. The site plan is not up to date as the museum plan follows an earlier design. This must of course be checked immediately. On the whole the site plan seems to be good, cleverly allowing most of the existing store buildings to stay on the site until the completion of the museum, without compromising with the final layout. I would like to point out, however, that the museum ought to be moved as near the row of store buildings as is possible for the construction work. Otherwise the space in front of the service entrance of the museum will be too cramped. To permit this, one could possibly construct the main entrance outdoor staircase after the demolition of the corresponding store building. If my advice is followed it seems possible to keep even the south eastern iron shed during the construction time, if that is desirable. The centre of the show room building should be either in the centre axis of the site or moved slightly in the eastern direction. The parking areas should be on the sides of the museum, leaving the garden in front of the museum free of cars.

2. The ground floor plan (drawing no 1). The entrance hall has nice and spacious feeling but too little wall length for the necessary equipment. This could very easily be changed with an addition of a permanent wall with only one double door to the temporary exhibition room. Then there will be space for a counter for tickets, books, cards etc (about 5-7 m) with shelves on the wall behind and chairs for some 5-10 visitors. The entrance hall and ramp space should have an intermediate climate between outdoors and the show rooms. The temporary exhibition room should also be used as a small assembly hall for lectures, film showings etc., why some additions have to be made, using some of the space of the northwestern store room. A film projection room (minimum 2,5 x 3,5 m), raised about 1 m above floor level and with a direct communication with outdoors, is necessary. A small room for the lecturer and a chair storage are also rather important. This room for temporary exhibition must also have bigger windows, from 2 m above the floor to the ceiling. These windows turn directly to the north, which allows ordinary windows; the daylight can always be excluded in a simple way when special artificial lighting effects are desired. The show room for archeology should have its lanterns relocated in such a way to give an even distribution of day light without letting in any direct sunshine.

The partitions should be studied and incorporated in the plans, as they may affect some of the permanent features as location of doorways, lighting fixtures etc. Some 2-3 alternative locations of partitions could be studied in this respect.

The fine and practical solution of the two longitudinal walls with showcases included in the wall thickness should be applied also in the western wall, especially as some of the earlier epochs demand a considerable amount of showcases, and those epochs find their natural location near this wall.

The type of partitions was discussed in my preliminary report. The height should be about 3,5 m of some 2-3 different standard lengths. The most important length seems to be about 5 m (column bay = 7,5 m minus column thickness 0,6 m minus passage 2 m). This kind of partitions makes it necessary to have the big statuary always put in front of the outside perimeter wall, as the heads of the statues will otherwise appear over the partitions. This limitation is, however, less important than having partitions of 5-6 m heights, which will seriously hamper future rearrangements. To make the circulation in the show room more pleasant, there ought to be a few low windows giving a view to the museum garden. Sitting groups could be placed in connection with these windows. As maybe only one out of three or more windows is to be used for a sitting group in any given arrangement of the museum, all these windows should be provided with interior lids, to be closed flush to the surrounding walls and with the same material as these. Hereby a complete flexibility is maintained.

If the local building code demands an emergency exit, this could be placed in the southeast corner of the show room; the door should be made in the same way as the window lids described above.

The relative humidity of the archeological show room should be between 30-40%.

The store room should be divided in two parts with different humidities: the archeological store with a relative humidity of 30-40% and the ethnographical with 60-70%. As the wall between the two store rooms can be relocated in the future, the airconditioning equipment should be big enough for a maximum archeological store and vice versa.

The laboratory wing should include a more comfortable staircase near the store entrance to serve as a communication between the stores and the ethnographical show room. This staircase should open to the corridors in both floors and also extend downwards to the airconditioning plant. A lift is not necessary as the ethnographical objects never exceed a weight of 100-200 kilos and these heavier things could easily be pushed up the big ramp. If a lift is desired it should by all means be placed in the office block, where it can serve all floors.

The small stairs in the two central laboratories ought to be moved to the northern walls, allowing more easily two laboratories to be thrown together in the future. The central corridor could have a width of 3 m in both floors, which simplifies construction and gives more depth to the small rooms under the balconies.

One of the laboratories, preferably the southeastern one, ought to have a fumigation chamber. Ideally this chamber is a small room with a door, that can be hermetically closed.

As most objects in this museum, which have to be fumigated,

are rather small ethnographical things, a steel tank ought to be satisfactory. This tank should be provided with an opening big enough for the largest objects, another aperture with airtight lid to put in the fumigant and an observation window. It should furthermore have an apparatus with small heaters under automatic control to maintain a temperature of 75°F. A fan and a duct to take out the mixture of air and noxious gas are finally necessary. Tanks of this type are sold by the Haskelite Manufacturing Corporation, Chicago. The photographic laboratory has a good and spacious studio. Under the balcony there should be two darkrooms (about 2 x 2,5 m), provided with counters, sinks and shelves. An extra storage room for supplies and negatives is also desirable, but cabinets in the studio are acceptable. A light trap instead of double doors to the darkrooms is more practical.

All laboratories should be provided with counters with large sinks with running water and drains. Storage rooms with shelving are necessary and walls should be of a material to take nails. The walls between the laboratories should be of one stone brick.

The unloading platform should have a full bay width. The steps of the office entrance should be adjacent to the platform for the sake of supervision but with a more inviting appearance. The driving area should extend the whole length of the office block; the railings in front of the maintenance workshops being provided with gates, open for delivery of big objects (boards etc), but normally locked. The registration room is at the same time the control room, checking all incoming and outgoing traffic, why this is also the best place for the telephone exchange. Therefore the room should be bigger and extend to the facade.

The three maintenance workshops should have double doors opening to the corridor but no intermediate doors, especially for the painting workshop. As the exit from the secondary staircase can be directly to the corridor, an extra space is available to be used for box storage and material storage rooms. All the rooms in the ground floor of the office block should have fireresistant walls and doors and a sprinkler installation (not in the rest of the building).

3. The first floor plan (drawing no 2). The upper hall, which should have some sitting groups, could be made more interesting if some of the sunblinds are removed to allow a free view over the Blue Nile. A window overlooking the archeological show room would also add to the value of the room. As the hall is rather big it could also be used for smaller temporary exhibitions of ethnography.

The show room of ethnography ought to be altered according to what was mentioned for the archeological show room. This concerns the lanterns, partitions, showcases and the view windows in general, but some extra remarks may be useful. It is especially important to provide the lanterns in the ethnographical show room with a simple way of excluding daylight, as many of its departments have a material, liable to deterioration by daylight.

The height of the partitions here could be 2,5-3 m. Both here and in the archeological show room would it be good to have the column thickness equal to partition thickness (possibly 60 cm in the archeological and 45 cm in the ethnographical show room).

The perimeter wall could preferably have double thickness all around, as the demand on showcases is strong here, the objects

often being rather fragile. The view windows to the garden and possibly to the archeological show room can just as easily be adopted in this thick wall; the deep reveals are always beautiful.

The doors to the laboratory corridor should be marked "Emergency exit". The climate of this should have a 60-70% humidity.

The laboratory wing has been discussed earlier. The new staircase opening to the corridor should be extended to the ceiling, giving access to the cooling tower for the air-conditioning equipment.

The doors to the laboratories from the upper corridor could be provided with glass to allow the public a view of the preservation work.

The conference room should be enlarged 1 m in the eastern direction to allow some cross ventilation. This is possible as the projection room and film storage should be moved to the temporary exhibition lecture room.

The library and the offices seem to be very well solved.

The connecting doors between the different rooms could all be near the southern wall, which simplifies room layout.

4. The second floor plan (drawing no 3). The offices here are also well planned; the remark about the connecting doors is valid here too.

5. Elevations north and south and section F (drawing no 4).

In what concerns the elevations I refer to the above mentioned remarks on the different floor plans.

In the sections there are a few things which could be changed to the better. The lanterns should be moved to give a more even distribution of light, i.e. coinciding with the column lines; they should also be bigger both in diameter and height. The lanterns ought furthermore to have roof-slabs of a type to prevent direct sunshine to enter the showrooms and have a simple arrangement to exclude the daylight.

It would be favourable if all beams could be on the top of the roofslab to give the simplest possible ceiling. If this is done a double roof construction is possibly the natural solution, which will also effect a better heat insulation of the roof to diminish the airconditioning load.

The artificial illuminations of the show rooms are in principle correct in the drawings with the general lighting at the ceiling level and possibilities of attaching reflectors to the columns or the top part of the partitions. The height of the reflectors will be best between 2,5-5 m above the floor level and most often at 3,5 m, which is the height of the partitions. To give a satisfactory result most of the reflectors should be mounted on consols of 3 different sizes, 0,5 m, 1 m and 1,5 m. The reflectors should have an arrangement to allow any direction of light. Incandescent light is preferable for all these purposes.

The floor of the show room should have electrical outlets about every 2 m in both directions, to which the reflectors could be connected through the partitions placed on top of them.

Mr Petermuller gave a fine suggestion of having these outlets forming the basis of the floor pattern.

6. Elevations east and west (drawing no 5).

No remarks.

7. Sections A and B (drawing no 6).

See remarks under Section F.

8. Sections C, D and E (drawing no 7). On section C the doors should all be about 3 x 2 m wide; this is valid for all doorways in the laboratory and show room building. On section D I question the necessity of the rather elaborate roof light, as the corridor could get some secondary light from the glass doors to the laboratories. Section E shows a clever handling of the office building without airconditioning.

9. General remarks. Some smaller spaces are not provided for yet in the building: main electrical central and electrical panelboards and janitor's closets throughout the building. The floor materials in the show room building could be stone or terrazzo in the entrance hall and archeological show room (heavy objects), concrete in the store rooms, rubber in the ramp and linoleum in the ethnographical show room.

The wall material in the show rooms, temporary exhibition room and the laboratories should be of a kind to receive nails easily and without leaving big marks.

As can be readily seen all my remarks concern details. In Khartoum I suggested most of the above mentioned changes to Dr Vercoutter and Mr Petermuller and as we all agreed on almost every point, Mr Petermuller proceeded at once to have these changes incorporated in his revised working drawings. To facilitate the beginning of construction work I wrote a preliminary note, giving my opinion of the design, which is almost verbally the same as the caption on pages 1 and 2. I gave this P.M. to Dr Vercoutter to show the proper authorities. On my way back I had a short discussion with M. George Rivière on some points; raised by Dr Vercoutter. M. Rivière's opinions coincided with what I had already told Mr Petermuller.

Finally I would like to emphasize that the building is planned for airconditioning, based on an agreement at a Museum Board meeting. Without airconditioning the new museum will not function properly.

CULTURAL CENTRE WORK

After having received from Khartoum the survey plan of the site for the Cultural Centre, my work on this building was renewed.

The most important thing was to get a detailed program for the areas and equipment of the stage part of the building. Therefore I had discussion with the Swedish theatre director Sandro Malmquist (theatre experience from the Arab countries and Australia) and an engineer Banby, a specialist of stage techniques and equipment. Furthermore I used as consultants civil engineer Owe Brandt on the acoustics of the big auditorium and Bergströms Ingenjörbyrå on the airconditioning problems.

When carrying out the more detailed planning I took into consideration the remarks on the rough sketches made by Mr Osman Yassein on my first visit and the topography of the site, as shown on the survey map.

One important point is the size of the auditorium and the stage areas. Even if the indoor auditorium which has a seating capacity of 2.200 persons seems very big for a city of about 300.000 people, one has to remember that Khartoum is under constant increase and also that a building of this importance has to last about 100 years. One could say that the building could be too big the first 30 years, satisfactory in 30 years and maybe too small the last 30 years. The stage areas are quite satisfactory in the project. A very essential thing is to reserve the site to the north of the Centre for future extensions, as rehearsal rooms and storage for the stage, a separate building for the library and exhibition room etc.

Another important factor of planning is the versatility and flexibility of the building, allowing it to be used for as many purposes as possible. That is why almost all rooms and spaces have connection through doors and corridors; it is always easier to lock doors than to make new doorways. In this way the rentability of the building is going to be more satisfactory. The building is also planned so that the most important parts could stay open irrespective of each other. As examples of this flexibility I could mention that the stage area (about 1.500 m²) can be used for big exhibitions, the actors dressing rooms can alternatively function as offices during congresses, the proscenium is adjustable to serve as orchestra pit, conference rostra, concerto podium, or yielding some 100 more chair space etc.

The result of this work is shown as a complete project in the following drawings in scale 1:500 and 1:200.

1. Site plan, showing situation, roads, parking, boundary lines, vegetation etc.
2. Basement floor, showing mostly stage rooms and facilities and storage rooms.
3. Ground floor, showing the entrances, foyers, the indoor and outdoor auditoriums, the main and side stages with all their auxiliary rooms, the library and exhibition rooms.
4. First floor, showing the auditorium balcony and meeting rooms.
5. Second floor, showing the upper balcony and offices.
6. Third floor, showing the big girders over the auditorium with service space between.
7. Fourth floor, showing the restaurant and kitchen.
8. Roof floor, showing the bar and roof terrace, which could be sublet for dinner parties.
9. Sections, showing a length section with coordination with the river and a cross section through the stage areas.
10. Elevations east and west.
11. Elevations north and south.

After getting a permission by Unesco I had a big model in wood (scale 1:500) made in Stockholm which I had photographed. Bringing all this material with me to Khartoum I presented the model as a gift from Unesco to Sayed Mohammed Osman Hassan and showed him the plans and the photographs. We discussed

the project, some possible changes, the cost, the financing and the continuation of the planning work.

I made some perspective studies of the building and arranged to have more photographic copies sent to the Foreign Office in Khartoum for further distribution to the different Sudanese embassies. After the change of government in the Sudan I took part in a meeting with the new Minister of Information, introducing him to the project.

CONTINUATION OF MUSEUM WORK

I think that Mr Petermuller is thoroughly capable of carrying on the planning work from now on, guided by the advice of Dr Vercoutter. If I am engaged to continue the Cultural Centre work I could perhaps at the same time go on giving some information on the detail planning of the museum.

CONTINUATION OF CULTURAL CENTRE WORK

For the continuation of the planning work for this big building there are 4 different alternatives.

1. No continuation for myself. In this case a young local architect should be engaged to carry on the planning based on my preliminary design. If this alternative is accepted I would like to recommend Mr Alexander Petermuller and partners.

There is naturally the possibility of engaging a wellknown and older local or foreign architect to continue the project, but knowing my colleagues I must say that they will probably not be willing to prepare the working drawings based on my preliminary design. Instead they would like to make their own proposal, based on my program. As in that case most of the Unesco expenditure on this mission is lost I can not recommend this solution.

2. Smaller prolongation for myself. In the same way as in the first alternative a young local architect should be engaged but I should be invited through Unesco or directly to make some 2-3 visits in Khartoum during the planning and construction time, staying about 3 weeks at a time.

3. Complete prolongation for myself. In this case I should be engaged through a direct contract between myself and the appropriate ministry in the Sudan as the architect for the building. From my normal fee should be deducted the part of the work made under my Unesco contract. The supervision of the construction work could either be entrusted to a local architect (in which case my fees will be accordingly diminished) or by myself if I have a small branch office in Khartoum during the time of construction. In this alternative I would like to use consulting engineers in Sweden, as a close collaboration and teamwork between the architect and the engineers is very important. To give an idea of the cost of all this I will enumerate the approximate figures based on a very rough estimate of the total construction cost of 1 million pounds.

Architect's fee 6% of 1.000.000 pounds minus value of work already paid by Unesco (7.000 pounds)	
minus supervision cost (7.000 pounds)	46.000 pounds
Structural engineers	14.000 "
Mechanical engineer	11.000 "
Electrical engineer	9.000 "
Work to be done in Sweden	80.000 pounds
Local supervision	10.000 pounds

Travel costs are extra. If the building cost is higher, the fees get higher and vice versa, as the percentage of building costs forms the basis of the fees.

If the government of the Sudan wants me or any other foreign architect or engineer to take care of the planning work, the following information is needed:

For the architect: the local building code, or if none is existing, which foreign code should be followed.

For the structural engineer:

1. preliminary ground examination, giving information on soil stresses and highest ground water level.
2. Strength of available steel qualities and concrete mixtures.
3. Local steel and concrete regulations or information about which code should be followed.

For the mechanical engineer:

A. Sanitary (plumbing) installations

a) Fresh water

Are there any main pipe lines for fresh water?

In that case:

- 1) Plans showing the situation of the pipe lines and dimensions of the pipes.
- 2) Chemical and bacteriological analysis of the water.
- 3) Water temperature and pressure in the pipe lines.
If special water work is required for the building:
- 4) Suitable supply?
- 5) Chemical and bacteriological analysis of the well water.
- 6) Water temperature of the well water.

b) Waste water

Are there any main pipe lines for sewage?

In that case:

- 1) Plans showing the situation of the pipe lines, dimensions plus height and capacity of the pipe lines.
If not:
- 2) Is it possible to get outlet into the river?
- 3) Required treatment of the sewage water and to what degree (sedimentation, sludge treatment, chlorination etc.)

B. Ventilation and airconditioning

The following information about the climate is required.

- a) Temperature
 - 1) Average/maximum temperature
 - 2) " minimum
 - 3) " temperature of the year
 - 4) " difference between day and night temperature
- b) Humidity
 - 1) Average maximum humidity
 - 2) " minimum
 - 3) " humidity of the year
- c) Wind conditions
 - 1) Common directions of the wind
 - 2) " wind velocity
 - 3) Air impurity (sand etc.) Height.
- d) Rain
 - 1) Fall of rain in mm per year
 - 2) Average maximum of the rain intensity
 - 3) When are the rain periods

(This list has been prepared by Bergströms Ingenjörbyrå & Co., Consulting engineers, Kungsbroplan 2, Stockholm, Sweden.)

For the electrical engineer:

1. Is it possible to connect the building to the public network? The connected load will probably be about 1000-1200 kW and connections to high tension distribution can be necessary (with a transformer station within the building). Please mark on a plot plan the exact location of the service entrance and if it is carried into the building underground or from a pole line.
2. Technical information regarding the public network.
 - a) Voltage? (Single phase, three phase with or without neutral conductor)
 - b) Frequency?
 - c) Available short circuit capacity?
 - d) Requirements for grounding?
 - e) " for service control and protective equipment?(High tension).
3. Normal low tension voltage?
4. If the building cannot be connected to the public network, shall it be planned for a diesel generator plant? In case of that what is the price of oil in Khartoum?
5. Suggestions to suitable energy tariff. (Price of power).
6. Is there any code and requirements regarding electrical installation in the Sudan or shall a certain standard be followed for example Swedish-German, English, French, Italian or American?
7. Is there any domestic manufacturing of electrical installing materials? (Catalogue?)
8. Are both fluorescent and incandescent lamps available?.
9. Is there any electrical contractor within the country with skilled staff, or must the installation be done by a foreign contractor?
10. Telephon network? (Type and system?)
Telephone service entrance and which kind of local

telephone switchboard is permitted?

11. Special fire code and requirements?
12. Is there any fire telegraph network within the city connected to fire stations, to which an automatic fire alarm system or fire alarm pushbuttons can be connected?
13. Lightning frequency? Is lightning arrester necessary?

(This list has been prepared by Gustav Magnussons Konsult. Ingenjörbyrå AB, Danderydsgatan 9, Stockholm, Sweden).

All the three alternatives mentioned here are workable. If the Centre is going to be built in the near future it is maybe better to have the planning work done abroad, because of the shortage of draughtsmen in Khartoum. After some years the newly installed Faculty of Architecture at the University, which seems to be very well organised, will yield enough young architects to allow the working drawings to be made in Khartoum.

In any case I think it is important to emphasize the fact that at least one year of planning work is necessary before the construction can start, why the architect should be engaged when the building funds seem to be within reach.

Stockholm, January 7th, 1959.

Hans Asplund
Hans Asplund

Written on 10.7.63 for the booklet which
will produced by Ministry for Foreign
Affairs in connection with meeting
of Ministers of Finance of African
Countries in Khartoum.

Annex V

THE SUDAN NATIONAL MUSEUM.

The Republic of the Sudan was the centre of one of the earliest and most advanced civilisations of historical antiquity. It was also the seat of two of the wealthiest and most powerful kingdoms of the ancient world, Napata and Meroe. There are ancient sites which extend from the Stone Age to the Turkish occupation. Representative collections from all periods are now housed in the archaeological museum on the river front. This museum is small and most inadequate and there are many objects still packed in boxes, some scattered in the field all over the country in addition to fine pieces of sculpture which are housed in provincial museums. The present unprecedented large scale archaeological activities in the area which is going to be submerged by the High Dam have also produced many antiquities from all periods especially a good number of well preserved and unique paintings from the Christian epoch.

In view of this, the Antiquities Service, for over 20 years, has been incessantly demanding the construction of an adequate museum for the reasons which can be summed up as follows:

- (a) For the conservation of unique historical objects which the climate, the ignorance of man and material progress alike are rapidly destroying. There are not only unique archaeological objects to preserve for posterity, but many ethnological objects are already dying out.
- (b) For education through the eye which is the most effective form of education and which can influence persons of all ages in all communities; and thus can be a potent factor in promoting good citizenship. It is particularly through its association with the University that a museum can effectively influence for good the future leaders of the country by increasing their interest in their country and their knowledge of it, and so giving them from a fuller insight into their country's history the breadth of mind and a sense of proportion from which the whole country will eventually benefit.
- (c) For the provision for facilities for research. The museum should be the rallying point of all interested in the history and prehistory of the country. Its activities include excavation and other forms of investigation and publication.

The Museum should, therefore, provide facilities for research. There are many fields of research which must be studied now or the opportunity to study them will be lost for ever. Modern progress threatens the destruction of many ancient sites which may produce evidence of hitherto unknown cultures in the Sudan. Similarly the impact of civilisation is rapidly destroying many ancient native institutions, the study of which will probably lead to the realisation that it would be advantageous to preserve some of them and all of which are valuable for the interpretation of the past and this research is not as might be imagined of purely academical value for it has already thrown light on geological and agricultural problems.

As has already been mentioned the Antiquities Service has been advocating the need and importance for the construction of a new adequate national museum for over 20 years. This project has not seen the light till the present Government has taken over the rule of the Country. The construction which appears in the photograph is that of both the National Museum and the Antiquities Service. The building as such is complete and now it remains to do the finishings. When it is complete, it would have cost the Government about half a million pounds and it is hoped that in a years time, the Sudan will have one of the most modern and instructive museums in the world at large.

T.H. THABIT,
COMMISSIONER FOR ARCHAEOLOGY.

Annex VI

Port Sudan, February, 22nd. 1911.

In accordance with terms of telegram from the Governor General forwarded to me by Mr. Currie, I hereby give the undertaking required previous to shipment of the Antiquities, namely that the great Bronze Head is not to be regarded, pending final negotiations, as the property of the expedition under my charge; and that I am responsible for its safe custody. I understand further that it may be publicly exhibited and that this development cancels or will modify the terms of agreement arranged ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ provisionally between myself and Mr. Drummond.

Sd. JOHN GARSTANG.

S. S. Mantua to Marseilles,
or
40, Bedford Street,
Liverpool.

The Bronze Head and
Antiquities from Morocé.

University Institute of Archaeology,
40 Bedford Street,
Liverpool.
February, 23rd. 1911.

Annex VII

To

H.E. The Governor General
of the Sudan.

Sir,

The Governor of Port Sudan handed to me previous to sailing a copy of Your Excellency's telegram to Mr. Currie, concurring in general in respect to the Committee's division of Antiquities, but reserving final decision with respect to the Bronze Head. I naturally gave in writing the assurance required, so that shipment might proceed; and hold myself responsible as you desire for the safe custody of the head, pending settlement as to its destiny.

This decision will I trust not be deferred beyond May or June 1911, when it becomes necessary for me to meet my Committee for final distribution of the antiquities according to legal agreement, and the question of the Head fundamentally affects the balance of the division of antiquities provisionally made between myself and the Acting Conservator of Antiquities in accordance with the Committee's schedule.

In order to shorten correspondence, to avoid misunderstanding, and to facilitate, I trust, at the same time Your Excellency's own deliberations, perhaps it will be best for me to express my personal feelings in the matter. The basis of my own opinion is an assumption (still to be verified) that the bronze head in question is an example of Graeco-Roman Art (probably of the age of Augustus), that its presence in the Sudan ^{is} accidental, the result of individual caprice which might just as well have sent it to the Roman Frontiers in Britain or Syria. It does not seem to me to

recall, or to have been intended to refer to, any special historical incident or period peculiar to Neroë or the Sudan.

At the same time it is a striking piece of work, a fine example of art, worthy of study and worthy of a place where all may see it. It is certainly the best single object that I have had the pleasure of finding during the twelve years devoted to ^{active} excavation, and I have had to stifle my own desire to retain it in Liverpool. The more I think of it dispassionately the more I realise that under the circumstances there is only one place fit and appropriate to receive it, namely the British Museum. There it would have permanent security, it would be at the focus of our Empire, the whole World could see it without a serious detour. In Liverpool its usefulness would be less; in Khartoum it would be accessible only to the few, and in course of time would be more exposed to danger of destruction in times of disturbance or at the hands of the fanatic.

My final steps then, after arrival of the head in England, would be to ascertain by consultation and comparison whether my first assumption is correct, and to inform your Excellency of any different opinion. Then I would make provisional overtures to the British Museum, and I would ask for ~~xxxxxx~~ obvious reasons that these negotiations should be left in my hands. We should require an equivalent in value, to include a number of exact facsimiles for ourselves and for Khartoum.

This letter expresses to Your Excellency my own views; but I need hardly say that I await Your Excellency's reply, and must obtain the approval of my Committee, before taking any action.

I am aware also that there will be some outcry in Khartoum and in Liverpool, on the part of those whose enthusiasm overcomes their better judgement! This will

however, I trust not effect the issue.

I have the honour to remain,
Your obedient servant.

Sd. JOHN GARSTANG.