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**ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN SUDAN
WITHIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE
(THEORIES, PRACTICES AND PERSPECTIVES)**

BY

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إهداء

إلى أمي الحنونة... لا أجد كلمات يمكن أن تمنحها حقها، فهي ملحمة الحب وفرحة العمر، ومثال التفاني والعطاء.

إلى أسرتي: زوجتي الأميرة و أولادي... فلذات الأكباد .

إلى جميع أهلي وأصدقائي وزملائي وأحبتي .

إلى طلاب العلم في بلادي (عزة الجريحة) .

إلى كل من ساهم و ساعد في حياتي الدراسية والبحثية...

إلى كل هؤلاء: أهدي هذه الأطروحة لنيل درجة الدكتوراه، و الذي أسأل الله تعالى أن يتقبلها خالصةً لوجهه الكريم !

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ABSTRACT

Nowadays, it is easily perceived that there is always a cultural tension between archaeological works and construction projects. Development as a result of urban, agricultural, forestry or mining activities has drastically threatened archaeological sites. Salvage archaeology is often necessary in order to collect data before works' progress destroys an archaeological site forever. This thesis investigates how salvage archaeology has been used nationally and internationally at Sudanese archaeological and historical sites. The study reviews applied techniques, methodologies and equipment used whilst conducting the salvage work at the archaeological sites in Sudanese Nubia – north of the Second Cataract and in the region of Fourth Cataract. In these parts of the Nile Valley the largest archaeological heritage salvage projects had been undertaken. The aim of this research is to provide additional information and recommendations for improvements of current practice. It also explores the technical, legal and social limitations in undertaking such operations, basing on detailed current case studies whereby archaeological salvage has occurred. The case study of Ancient Nubia is focused around the Nubian Campaign and Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP). Nubia is very rich and promising land, famous for its gold and long history of ancient civilizations; it is one of the largest and most fertile agricultural lands in Africa. Moreover, it is the land of the Nile Cataracts, part of the Nile Valley directly south of Egypt. The land is mostly occupied by native Africans, both in origin and speech, but it is also strongly influenced by Arabic and Mediterranean cultures. This area was always victim to raids and attacks. However, the Nubian people were the first to fall in a long process of exploitation that later has spread through all of Africa, especially with regard to displacement and land grabbing. All of this is important as the biggest dam construction project in Africa in Ethiopia, and another one – Upper Atbara and Setit Dam Complex in Sudan, have been already finished. Once again Nubians in Africa are endangered, this time through the threat of building the Kajbar Dam (although the previous government announced in 2021 that it had withdrawn from implementing this project). However, with the industrial development the country should be prepared for any future projects that might threaten the archaeological heritage. The ultimate goal of the dissertation is presenting a new model for salvage archaeology in Sudan, that could be universally used in any case of future large-scale archaeological rescue projects. It will be based on thorough analysis of case studies and on my experience as NCAM employee.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Challenges for archaeological resource management in Sudan

In this thesis I will focus on projects of building dams in the middle Nile region, especially on the Aswan High Dam at the First Cataract in Egypt and Merowe Dam at the Fourth Cataract in Sudan (Fig. 1), where investments were made by the country as part of the strategy aiming for developing the infrastructure in the state. These investments caused unexpected problems from archaeological point of view, since they were threatening the Sudanese heritage. Consequently, land very rich in archaeological materials was supposed to vanish under water as a by-product of the dams' constructions.

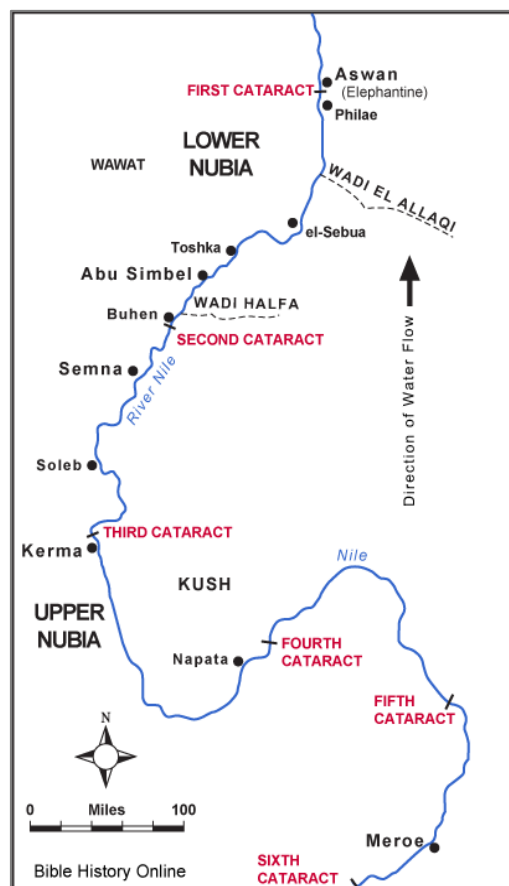


Fig.1. The map of Nile Cataracts¹.

The idea of building dams was meant to improve quality of Egyptian and Sudanese people's lives. Nevertheless, the establishment of Aswan and Merowe dams have simultaneously a big influence on the middle Nile region, where the states were already aware of the importance of archaeological heritage of respective regions. However, before building the Aswan Dam, investors

¹ Cf. <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/63191201001019411> [Access on 20.03.2022].

and architects were more concentrated on practical and material issues, omitting the problem of archaeological heritage. Only thanks to the intervention of international organizations, that were interested in preserving heritage, they included the rescue campaign in the plans. It has to be noticed, that the situation improved during the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP). At that time the investors had already learned about the importance of archaeological heritage and included the rescue campaign in first drafts of the plan.

The main reason for conducting this study is the need to protect Sudan's archaeological heritage, which has gradually made its way into the collective conscience of Sudanese citizens. Nowadays, there are many countries that are improving their systems in terms of rescue archaeology, while others are only at a starting point. The need to protect archaeological heritage in Sudan was recognized late, although Sudan was one of the first African and Arab countries to develop laws to research, preserve and protect antiquities.

The following study is of great importance since there is a noticeable lack of research in the area of archaeological resource management in Sudan. Most of available studies relate to archaeological fieldwork, and they are not broadly related to the management and preservation of fieldwork results. Moreover, it has to be taken into consideration, that most of researchers writing about these issues are not of Sudanese origin. My nationality and affiliation to the Sudanese Authority for the Conservation and Protection of Antiquities may allow me to have different assessments and insights into the problem, which may lead to identifying new and original solutions. Especially, the importance of ensuring a sound environment for the archaeological research fieldwork and the protection of the sites needs to be emphasized in this point.

I naturally feel it is my direct duty to draw the attention of the responsible authorities in Sudan to the fate of the Sudanese heritage, which is threatened by submersion and annihilation as a result of the dams and others large infrastructure projects. Furthermore, my aim is to emphasize the urgent need to study the means of preservation, protection and registration of such places, as well as the preservation of monuments, that can be saved for the future generations. The main issue of Sudan's archaeological heritage management is the preservation and protection of the country's historic sites, buildings and archaeological materials, thus laying out a solid plan for its preventive conservation is necessity.

This is the national duty as well as an important issue for all the mankind. These sources of historical, educational, cultural and economic values will contribute to better understanding of our nation's identity. Moreover, in this way we can preserve and broaden our knowledge of Sudanese ancient civilizations. It is also worth mentioning that rescued archaeological sites can become important tourist attractions. Therefore, the management should focus on providing theoretical knowledge and practical solutions in rescue works including: archaeological prospection,

excavations, restoration, rehabilitation and documentation of archaeological sites and heritage buildings. However, evaluating and managing the rescue work are the most important factors in raising awareness about the importance of archaeological property and heritage.

1.2. Aims of study

The main goals of this study are:

- to analyse and study theoretical visions and political views on practices related to the management of archaeological materials in Sudan. The results may contribute to the development of long-term strategies for the future management of archaeological works in Sudan;
- to identify methods and approaches applied during the Nubian Campaign and Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP) as case studies, by reviewing the criteria, laws and approaches that were applied to save the monuments of Nubia. This may help to understand the circumstances, challenges, negative and positive aspects of activities that contributed to the success or failure of those projects. Further, basing on conclusions, adequate recommendations for future projects can be formulated. The responsible bodies for the management of archaeological heritage can later apply proposed solutions and prepare the plan accordingly to them;
- to identify most important challenges and difficulties that occurred during the archaeological campaigns in order to avoid repeating problems and mistakes that took place during analysed projects. It can be achieved by studying the environment, climate and the local community, as well as by examining logistic factors, financial responsibilities, security situation and mobility in both campaigns;
- to analyse the impact of theoretical and political perspectives on practices related to archaeological resource management in Sudan basing on the state's directions and priorities in development projects for the advancement of the country, as well as absorption and understanding of the state's authority to archaeology and its importance;
- to identify the procedures which were governed by application of archaeological theories, political contexts or the involvement of foreign archaeological missions in this field;
- to discuss, analyse and evaluate the archaeological works and materials based on the collections of artifacts stored in the Sudanese museums and NCAM; to identify the current status of archaeological material preserved in the Nubian Campaign and in the MDASP project, then to observe the extent of changes and deterioration that occurred to these substances;

- to contribute to the formulation of standard salvage strategy that would be of universal usage for other similar tasks in Sudan by learning from the internal and external experiences, experiments and attitudes of the work plan and its implementation, and then to recognize dilemmas that have had an impact on the disruption or accomplishing the work in the best ways.

1.3. Case studies

My research focuses on two case studies, namely the Nubian Campaign and the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project. They were two biggest large-scale archaeological rescue projects undertaken in Sudan that influenced the shape not only of the country itself but also of the Sudanese archaeology and archaeological management. Both cases linked international archaeologies and African contexts, allowing practicing ideas globally accepted in archaeology in Sudanese contexts. Thorough analysis of the organization, processes and methods applied in both chosen case studies will allow me to understand the progress that occurred in Sudanese archaeological management in 20th and 21st century and to determine areas in resource management that need further improvement. Ultimately, the results will help me to design new universal model for future large-scale rescue projects to be undertaken in Sudan.

1.3.1. The Nubian Campaign

In 1950s the decision to build the Aswan High Dam was undertaken to provide large amounts of energy to boost the development of local industry (Sharif, 1980: 16). This dam would lead to the creation of a huge artificial lake covering the Middle Nile Valley from Aswan in Egypt to the Dal Cataract in Sudan, a culturally extremely rich area known as Nubia since ancient times (Fig. 2). In 1959 the Egyptian and the Sudanese Governments requested UNESCO to assist their countries in the protection and rescue of endangered monuments and archaeological sites. In 1960 the Director-General of UNESCO launched an appeal to the Member States for the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia (Vrioni, 1964: 6). This appeal resulted in excavations and recording of hundreds of archaeological sites, recovery of thousands of objects, and salvage and relocation of a number of important temples. The Nubian Campaign was a good example of the international solidarity of archaeologists. Several local and foreign expeditions (23 missions from 17 countries) were working at 30 archaeological sites, e.g. Poland (Faras), France and Argentina (Aksha), USA (Serra East), Scandinavian Countries, Ghana, Spain, Great Britain, Sudan, Finland, West Germany, Italy and East Germany (Adams, 1977: 83-86).

As a consequence of building dams in South Egypt at the city of Aswan the Nubian inhabitants, who were living between the First and Second Cataracts in Egypt and Sudan, had

to relocate four times during the last century (in 1902, 1912, 1933, and finally in 1963). However, in total, the Aswan dams displaced about 70,000 of Nubian people in Egypt and 50,000 in Sudan, causing the ‘Nubian Exodus’ (Dafalla, 1975: XVII).

1.3.2. Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP)

The construction of the Merowe reservoir in the Middle Nile region at the Fourth Cataract in Sudan was one of the main objectives of development for the former government, which planned to increase electrical production thanks to this huge dam. The Merowe Dam is located on the river Nile at Merowe Island at the Fourth Cataract, 350 km north of Khartoum, and 330 km south from the border of Sudan with Egypt. The construction of this dam caused the formation of a lake that extends to a length of about 174 kilometres (Fig. 2). As the consequence, many archaeological and residential sites were submersed and thousands of citizens were displaced (Hildyard, 2008: 19).

The Merowe Dam Implementation Unit cooperated with NCAM during the rescue process of antiquities as well as the documentation of the heritage and history of the area affected by the construction of the dam. Together, they launched the largest rescue campaign ever known in Sudan, with 14 participators from Sudan and foreign archaeological expeditions from Poland, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, USA, France and others (Interview No. 3). The analyses of concepts and practices in rescue project in term of regulations, concessions, decision processes, methods applied, publications, storage and conservation will be a subject of interest of presented study.

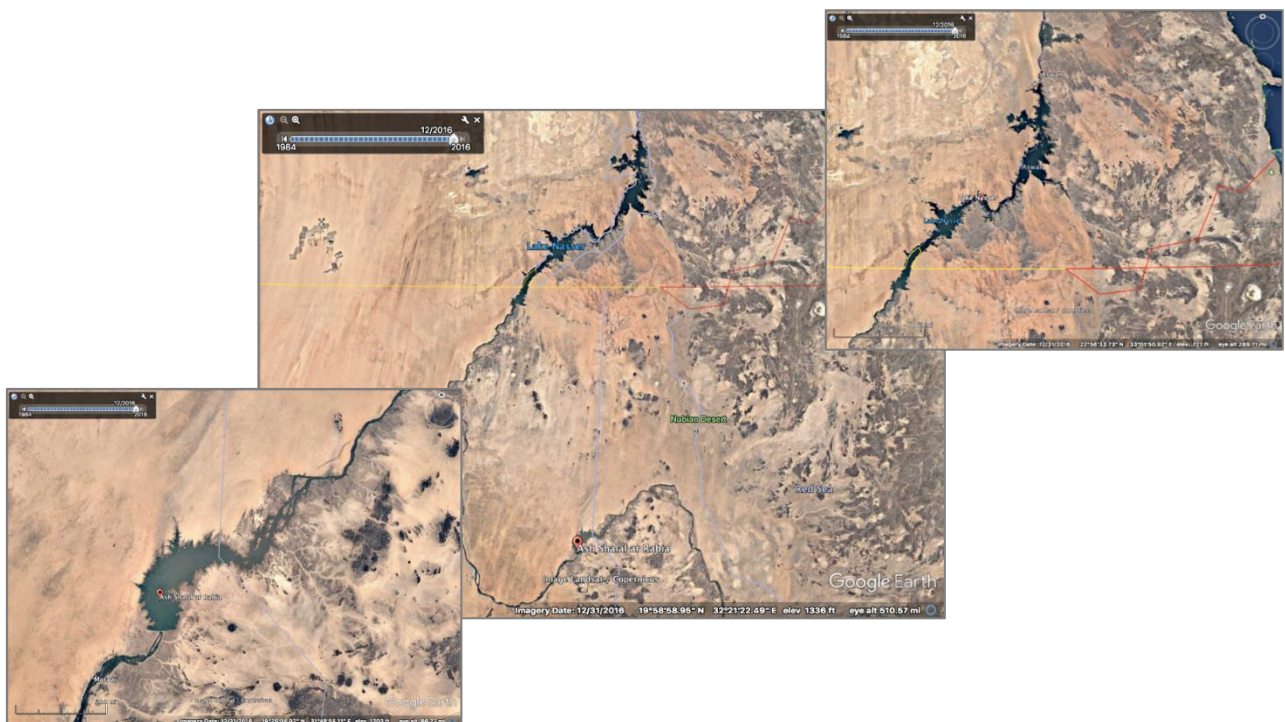


Fig. 2. Map showing the Nasser (Nubian) Lake and the Merowe Dam Lake².

² Cf. <https://maps.google.com> [Access on 20.03.2022].

1.4. Available sources

Little was known about Sudan's archaeological heritage and artifacts before the beginning of the 20th century. First records and reports were presented mostly by travellers and officers of the colonial army. However, Sudan was one of the first African countries to give attention to its historical heritage by bringing to life the Ordinance for Protection of Antiquities in 1905, which was modified later in 1952 and enhanced in 1999 by the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM). This ordinance governs the official work permissions for national and foreign archaeological expeditions and conservation works in Sudan. NCAM had the right to embark on its own expeditions and to authorize missions of universities, institutions and museums with special licenses.

Very important sources covering the topic of the Nubian Campaign were to find in the National Museum's Archive. Moreover, another important work concerning this topic is the series of publications written by Najm al-Din Mohammed Sharif (e.g. *The Ancient Sudan and its Antiquity*, 1971), the second Sudanese Director of the Sudan Antiquities Service, who was involved in the Nubian Campaign and the establishment of the Sudanese National Museum. In his books, he reviewed the reasons behind the rescue campaign of the Lower Nubia, the ensuing internal and external circumstances and contributions, as well as he summarized the results of the work in the campaign.

Another crucial source about the Nubian region and the Nubian Campaign is the monography of William Y. Adams: *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (1977) and *The West Bank Survey from Faras to Gemai*³ (1975; 2005). The author participated in the salvage campaign himself. In his books, he discussed the region of Nubia, its land, climate and people. What is more, he covered the topic of the salvage archaeology in the Nubian Campaign. In his works he gave the special attention to the foreigners' archaeological missions participating in the Nubian Campaign.

Very significant source of information is *Kush – Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service*, where a lot of papers focusing on Nubian Campaign and Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project can be found.

Among the books concerning the topic of rescue archaeology during the period before establishing the Merowe Dam, two volumes containing reports from conferences have to be mentioned. The first one is *African Reports* (Paner and Jakobielski, 2010), the summary of the International Conference *The Fourth Cataract Archaeological Salvage Project 1996-2009* that took place in Gdańsk in 2009. It is the collection of papers that cover different issues connected with the rescue archaeology in the Forth Cataract. The second one is *Meroitica*, summary

³ The last volume of *The West Bank Survey from Faras to Gemai* was published by Hans-Åke Nordström in 2014.

of *The Second International Conference on the Archaeology of the Fourth Nile Cataract* that took place in Berlin in 2005 (Näser and Lange, 2007). Papers presented in this volume concern mostly the division of concessions during the campaign.

The third source relevant for presented study are interviews (Table 1). This tool is crucial for achieving a qualitative understanding of the matter of interest. In-depth interviews are optimal for collecting data on individuals' personal practice, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are explored. In frames of the study key people were interviewed⁴, such as:

No.	Interviewee	Function/Post	Year of the interview
1	Hassan Hussain Idris	former General Director of NCAM	2015
2	Abd-Alrahman Ali M. Rahma	former General Director of NCAM	2015
3	Salah Mohamed Ahmed	the field director of MDASP	2015
4	Stefan Jakobielski	former Director of Polish Archaeological Mission in Old Dongola who participated in the Nubian Campaign with the first Polish archaeological mission that worked in Sudan	2016
5	Henryk Paner	former Director of Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk, who was one of the firsts to respond to the call for MDASP project	2015
6	Marek Chłodnicki	former Director of Archaeological Museum in Poznań who participated in MDASP	2015
7	Mahmoud Al Tayeb	Director of Polish Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology, Khartoum Branch	2017
8	Hider Hamed	former Director of Conservation Department (NCAM)	2015
9	Bushra Mohamed Ismail	former Director of Conservation Department (NCAM)	2015
10	Alhassan Mohamed	former Director of Archaeological Survey Department (NCAM)	2015
11	Altahir Adam Al-Nor	field Director of NCAM's team who participated in MDASP	2015
12	Habab Idris	member of the staff of NCAM who participated in MDASP	2015
13	Wad Alshikh	One of the former workers who worked to deport antiquities in the campaign (NCAM)	2015
14	Ahmed Mohamed Salih	a Nubian local inhabitant from Nubian Campaign region who refused the evacuation to the new resettlement and described how Nubian people felt about the removal of their heritage, such as the temples and archaeological materials	2015

Table 1. List of interviews conducted as part of the research.

Further, during my research I found a lot of useful information concerning both of the campaigns in the annual reports on the progress of archaeological sites and museums in Sudan (Reports on the Antiquities Service and Museums). They are kept in the archives of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. It has to be mentioned that I also managed to obtain some unpublished data from both: Gdańsk Archaeological Museum and Poznań Archaeological Museum in Poland.

⁴ Transcribed interviews are available in the Appendix 5.

1.5. Methods applied

The research aims at conducting a comprehensive analysis, evaluation and comparison of two rescue campaigns: during the establishment of the Aswan Dam and the Merowe Dam. The conclusions of the research will allow to develop new and optimal solutions for salvage archaeology and similar campaigns in the future.

The study will be based on historical synthesis and will be carried out on two case studies. It will focus on two given events, and namely management of rescue archaeology during the Nubian Campaign and the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP). The main method applied will be the direct method of establishing historical facts through analysis of historical sources and evidences. It includes analysis, evaluation and criticism of the sources. Simultaneously, the comparative method will be applied as the research intends to juxtapose two rescue campaigns. The scope of study interest includes such topics as: concepts and practices, law and regulations, and discuss process, methods, publications, storage and conservation as well as social aspects (Topolski, 1973: 409-414, 420-423).

Another important base for the research was the analysis and comparative study of the practices and strategies used in the fieldwork during the Nubian Campaign in Lower Nubia and the MDASP. A literature review has been undertaken to understand the historical background, as well as the contemporary views and the government actions connected with both cases and building similar dams in the future. Further method of data collection used in the research are interviews with people involved in both researched rescue campaigns.

1.6. The scientific results of rescue campaigns

The investigated projects planned to rescue as much as possible of archaeological resources in the region in a certain time. The dam projects caused migration and resettlement of nearly 120 000 of Sudanese people, as well as losing their land, cultural and archaeological heritage. Moreover, newly created artificial lakes started to change the climate in the region. Influence of these changes on other archaeological sites in Sudan has already appeared and other are still unknown. In addition, the Sudanese archaeological materials were split among various international teams (missions) in recognition for their help in the rescue. Results of the research should create possibilities of choosing the best strategy for newly planned projects that may be undertaken in the future in Sudan.

1.7. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part contains three chapters and focuses on theoretical issues. It serves as an explanation of both: the structure of the thesis and the historical background of the research. The second part contains three chapters and focuses on practical matters of the thesis. This part is strictly related to the purpose of the study.

The first chapter serves as a general overview of the thesis. It informs the reader why the subject is suitable for a research degree, explains the problems tackled in the study and points out the aims of the study. The chapter includes such section as the introduction, description of methods applied, aims of study, available sources and the structure of the thesis.

The second chapter introduces the historical background of archaeological research in Sudan. It describes the process of building awareness on archaeological heritage, starting from the role of the foreign travellers and visitors as pioneers in early phase of discovering Sudanese heritage. Furthermore, it characterizes the period of the British colonization in Sudan 1899–1956 in terms of archaeological projects. Finally, a brief review of the beginning of archaeological activities in independent Sudan is presented. The focus is laid on the concept and strategies of the managing the archaeological heritage in Sudan, that were undertaken by the first administration of Sudan Antiquities Service after the departure of British colonialist.

The third chapter gives an overview in terms of the protection of archaeological heritage in Sudan, focusing on the regulations and legislation that were used to manage the archaeological works in Sudan. The first and second Antiquities Ordinances of 1905 and 1952, that were issued during the period of the British colonization in Sudan, will be discussed in details. Furthermore, there will be an insight gained into the archaeological heritage management in independent Sudan. The Amendments to the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952, the current Antiquities Ordinance of 1999 and the new proposals of 2016 Antiquities Ordinance will be presented. Moreover, the protection of archaeological heritage in Sudan within the international context will be outlined.

The next part of the thesis aims to identify the methods and approaches applied in rescue archaeology management during the Nubian Campaign and Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP). In the first part of the chapter I will discuss concepts and practices that accompanied the Nubian Campaign. It also considers the impact of building the Aswan High Dam through the politics of the Nubian Campaign and UNESCO regulations on international co-operation. Furthermore, the aspect of organization of the rescue archaeology and the forced migration of the Nubian people will be tackled. It also discusses the concept of selecting the concessions area and sites of archaeological excavations. The main part of the chapter is the discussion of methods applied during the archaeological fieldworks (documentation, excavations

and publications). What is more, it aims to identify the problems of the Nubian Campaign in terms of the rescue and conservation works as well as storing and collected materials. The second part of the chapter deals with the background and issues connected with MDASP. The focus will be laid on influence of Sudanese politics and standard of international co-operation. Organization and methods of rescue archaeology, including fieldwork, excavations, reports and role of inspectors will be described. Moreover, the process of dividing archaeological concession areas in the Fourth Cataract region will be discussed. The issue of legal basis for rescue plan, financing the project and execution processing of concession areas will be tackled. Furthermore, social aspects of rescue archaeology will be presented, including the issue of the Sudanese people's access to their cultural heritage and the issue of mandatory deportations.

Chapter 5 focuses on the future of large-scale archaeological rescue projects in Sudan. Taking into consideration lessons learned regarding rescue archaeology management from Nubian Campaign and MDASP, analysis of national and international laws, results of interviews and my personal experience, I will present the new and optimal solutions for archaeology management, the new model for large-scale rescue projects in Sudan. The consideration will be given to the practical application how the theoretical knowledge can be used in order to assist contributors in developing new strategies for the management of archaeological resources in Sudan and identifying the areas for preservation of collected materials. In subsequent subchapters the focus will be laid on consecutive steps of large-scale archaeological rescue projects. In particular, detailed directions for preparation of large-scale projects, projects in progress and post-project activities will be described. The final part of the chapter will contain the outlook to perspectives for future archaeological rescue projects in Sudan.

The last chapter serves as a summary of the thesis. It includes conclusions and description of potential approaches in the future of rescue archaeology and the archaeology management in Sudan. They can be later incorporated by the responsible body for the management of archaeological heritage in order to avoid the repetition of defined mistakes and proceed with the development of positive aspects in this regard.

2. History of archaeological research in Sudan: an overview

To be able to discuss the history of archaeological research in Sudan, it is very important to clarify the meaning of *heritage* and *archaeology*, as well as the relationship between those two terms. The term *heritage* is defined as:

[...] the valued objects and qualities, such as historic buildings and cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations to another, as well as it can be denoting or relating to things of special architectural, historical, or natural value that are preserved for the nation. It can be also that features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings, that were created in the past and still have historical importance issues.⁵

The term *archaeology* can be described as follows:

[...] the study of human history and prehistory through the excavation or discovering of sites and the analysis of artefacts and other physical remains. It's the accumulation of facts and revolutionary practice, moreover, it is interpreting the material traces of the past. In another word, it is the scientific study of historic or prehistoric peoples and their cultures by analysis of their artifacts, inscriptions, monuments, and other such remains.⁶

[...] the scientific study of the material remains of past human life and activities. These include human artifacts from the very earliest stone tools to the man-made objects that are buried or thrown away in the present day: everything made by human beings—from simple tools to complex machines, from the earliest houses and temples and tombs to palaces, cathedrals, and pyramids. Archaeological investigations are a principal source of knowledge of prehistoric, ancient, and extinct culture. The word comes from the Greek *archaia* ("ancient things") and *logos* ("theory" or "science").⁷

The term *archaeological resource* can be described as (Tindall, Trosper and Perreault, 2013: 163):

[...] the consist of the physical remains of past human activity. The scientific study of these remains, through the methods and techniques employed in the discipline of archaeology, is essential to the understanding and appreciation of prehistoric and historic cultural development in the whole world. These resources may be of regional, provincial, national or international significance.

Since early times the Middle Nile Region (Sudan) has had an eventful history, mostly as the result of its geographical location. It begins in the north at the First Cataract, south of the city of Aswan. The southern limits are not so clear and well-established; however, the final limits are considered to be the vast Sudd marshes⁸. The history of this region had been strongly influenced by people from other regions, and it had impacted others as well throughout its various periods.

⁵ Cf. The Oxford English Dictionary <http://www.oed.com> [Access on 24.05.2017].

⁶ Cf. The Oxford English Dictionary <http://www.oed.com> [Access on 24.05.2017].

⁷ Cf. <https://www.britannica.com/science/archaeology> [Access on 01.04.2024].

⁸ The Sudd is a vast swamp in South Sudan; it is an area of floating vegetation in a stretch of the White Nile's Bahr al-Jabal section; however, it is thick enough to impede navigation.

Moreover, this region also had direct contacts with most of the civilizations and neighbours that were in the corridor to Africa, for instance Ethiopia, Egypt, Roman Empire or Assyria. In essence, the Middle Nile region is a pivotal region, as it may be directly affected by any changes that occur in the surrounding areas, such as political, economic, and social changes. As a result, it is no wonder that the inhabitants of this land had a long-term connection with Egypt and its neighbours, which has lasted since the Early Dynastic period of ancient Egyptian, through to Greek and Roman civilizations.

This relation was connected to many factors, such as: trade, precious metals supply, soil fertility and expansion of agriculture in this region. However, all circumstances mentioned above made this region suitable place for ancient caravan trade and human migration, as well as a place of greed and ambition for many folks and ancient kingdoms (Wallis Budge, 1907: 4). The phenomenon and characteristic features of the Middle Nile Region can be described through the nature of life that exists along with the Nile River from confluence of White Nile and Blue Nile down to Aswan. It is often a narrow area which width does not exceed a few hundred meters or does not exist at all in some parts in the North.

The narrow strip of the fertile lands is used for agriculture, while villages are usually located between the fields or on the edge of the desert. People do not, so far, grow more than is necessary for their own use (Gleichen, 1905: 7). The palm trees represent a belt running along the Nile, notably from north of Khartoum to south of Cairo, except in a few places that cannot be seen bordering the river. The dates from the palm trees serve and represent a big role of trade mark for the whole of the Middle Nile Valley. When it comes to fauna, the only surviving animals today in this region are small mammals (such as Dorcas gazelle), reptiles (like snakes, scorpions), the Nile crocodile, some feline cats, foxes (fennec fox), hyenas, and some large wild birds (e.g. geese and ducks). What can also be seen today are some domestic animals (dogs or cats), as well as horses, camels, sheep and cows that are used in agriculture (Adams, 1977: 33-39).

All the diversity makes the nature of this land characterized as a harsh and rugged, especially in the northern region, where the desert has the widening spaces, and the rate of torrential rains is virtually zero. It is worth to mention that the rain in those areas wasn't expected in the past, it might have occurred once every five or six years, but now a large rate of rains can be noticed, from 500 mm to 1000 mm in the central and southwest of the region, due to the recent changes that has befallen the region. All these factors reduced the easy way of movement and mobility that mostly have relied on the River Nile from the North to the South.

Most of the ancient travellers were coming to Sudan through the Egyptian gate, using the ancient Nile path as a safer road of their movement, walking or sailing from Lower to the Upper Nubia Region, although the presence of rapids and cataracts along with the River Nile made this task a bit difficult. The Middle Nile Region, now partially known as the Republic of Sudan, is

characterized by its unique strategic and geopolitical location. It also has been described as a corridor to Africa, due to its connection factor between the Arab world and Mediterranean region with the tropical region of central Africa (Adams, 1977: 2). This is evident in the multiplicity and diversity of its heritage and archaeological remains, which ranged between the Pleistocene and the last century (Jakob and Ali, 2011: 513). Sudan today is bordered by Egypt to the North, the coastline of the Red Sea, and Eritrea to the East, Ethiopia from the South-East, Libya to the North-West, Chad to the West, Central African Republic to the South-West, and then the Republic of South Sudan to the South⁹.

Today, the area of Sudan is about 7000 mi² (1,886,068 km²). This area is distinguished by diverse geographical and climatic environment, natural resources, as well as the diversity of the country's cultures and the nature of life. All these factors for thousands of years have made this region a suitable place for the ancient caravan trade route. It has also cultural significance among the ancient civilizations in the Mediterranean, Asia and Africa. Obviously, this indication is supported by numerous of archaeological finds, for example in the ancient city of Meroe, where imports and influences of Greek and Roman culture were recognizable. Moreover, it referred to the ancient ports (Aidhab and Suakin¹⁰) that have a specific commercial and cultural renaissance, because at some time Asia's trade was quite small in comparison with the cargo-loads of grain, wool, and other essential commodities which made up the bulk of European trade, it was always associated with great profits and gains.

Within this chapter an overview of archaeological studies undertaken in Sudan thorough the history of this region will be presented. I will focus especially on the first travellers, antiquarians and researchers, studies conducted during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, as well as archaeology in the independent Sudan.

2.1. Travellers, antiquarians and the first researchers

This section explores the early archaeological notes, records and research in the Middle Nile Valley (Sudan) through the early travellers' pens and lenses, as well as broad archaeological trends, regional history and geography. As this region was described in various historical records, we know that since the 3rd millennium BC following periods in the history of the Middle Nile Valley can be distinguished: Kerma, Kushite state with central places in Napata and Meroe, the medieval Nubian kingdoms and finally, the Islamic period to the contemporary time.

⁹ The Republic of South Sudan gained its independent from Sudan in 2011. Before the separation Sudan was the largest country in Africa and Arabic countries, as it was estimated at about one million square miles (2.4 million km²) before the secession of the South Sudan.

¹⁰ This port was one of the pilgrim routes to Mecca from East and Central Africa (Mayes, 2003: 91).

2.1.1. The historical background of archaeological research in Sudan

Politically, the current term *Sudan* was not known in advance of its invasion, except for a short period, through the Arab description of the Middle Nile Region's population, where people of this region were described as a dark-skinned or black people, and the region where they lived was called *the land of Blacks, Bilad Al-Sudan*. Later, the term developed into *Sudan* (Ahmed, 1997: 1-2). However, what was known in the ancient times about this region came only from the oral narratives and testimonies, most probably recorded by early travellers and historians, such as: Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs and others, who visited this region and told about it through their diary records. Besides, some historical documents and inscriptions were found, where the land of Sudan was mentioned.

In the early 15th century, Europe provided a good foundation for utility expansion from a commercial point of view, as it had motives for seeking new trade routes with other continents. In particular, the expeditions of Portuguese and Spanish to map the coast of Africa have to be mentioned, where they established the trade routes around the African continent. Further, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the Middle Nile Region played an important role in the formation of Africa's image in Europe, as it had a great potential to offer a new path to prosperity in the modern world. Hence, it gave access to the deep interior of the regions of Africa via the Nile Valley Corridor. The reason for that was the fact, that the region was not widely inhabited, with the exception of a few settlements along the banks of the Nile Valley. However, the rest of the sub-Saharan territory was a large region, and it was closed for the European travellers until the 19th century, when the world experienced large amounts of social changes¹¹. The slavery was abolished and the first and second industrial revolution led to the massive urbanization and much higher levels of productivity, profit, and prosperity. Moreover, it was a time for politics or ideologies to extend Europe's rule and authority over other continents and peoples, often with military force or through political and economic control (imperialism). Obviously, the concept of imperialism, while developed in Roman times, arose in the modern age, where was chiefly associated with the European colonial powers of the 17th and 18th centuries. Furthermore, the imperialism was associated with the concepts of colonialism and empire; however, it is a distinctive concept that can be applied to other forms of expansion and many forms of government. This colonial vision analyses how the Nile River region was represented in words and pictures of the travellers during its reign and beyond – before the colonial

¹¹ The so-called fashion of exploring uncharted lands has been spread by many geographic societies and explorers' clubs. However, the greatest influence was assigned to Napoleon's expedition to Egypt at the end of the 18th century, where more than 160 scholars accompanied him to document and describe the masterpieces of the Egyptian land, which later they published in 23 volumes between 1822–1829, in the French language know as *Description de l'Égypte* (Bard, 1999: 921).

arrival (Tvedt, 2010: 3).

As a result, in the 18th and 19th centuries, Sudan was attractive destination for a large number of travellers and archaeologists, who wanted to visit the country and discover its heritage and land. However, much of their observation focused on exploring the parallels between the cultural remains of Sudan and its northern neighbour, the ancient Egypt, in line with the prevailing Egyptocentric perspective (Jakob and Ali, 2011: 513; Adams, 1998: 2). This contributed to the fact, that the majority of excavations was taking place in Nubia, especially in the northern part of Sudan, where many archaeologists were viewing the country as a cultural extension of ancient Egypt (Török, 1997: 9-10).

The period of geographical discoveries in 18th and 19th centuries was accompanied by the increase in the flow of people into the African countries: travellers, adventurers and explorers. Moreover, at that time the world experienced the evolution of transportation traffic, which led to better ways of transport and communications. Eventually, travellers might have come to this region for different purposes or reasons, for instance: in a charge of their government or by their special motivation of love to the adventure or discovery. However, all of these purposes focused on expanding the geographical and anthropological discoveries, as well as the knowledge of these countries and their way of social life.

It is important to realize that today the land of Sudan is not less exciting and concerning to compromise more of the further discoveries and adventures. It was an interesting land for many of the explorers and travellers, who were sent from Arabian or Western countries. However, it has to be noted that travellers rarely reached some regions of current Sudan, such as: Kordofan, Darfur and southern Sudan. The possibility of incursions to the West and South were very difficult, due to the terrain ruggedness of the region, along with the fact that some of its territory is located away from the water resources.

2.1.2. The concept of Nubia through the lens of the early travellers in the Middle Nile Region

In this part, a review of the early traveller's work and adventurers through their way of traveling to the Middle Nile Valley will be described; their concepts and multi-faceted approaches to the Middle Nile Region will also be presented. Moreover, it will be discussed what early travellers recorded about this region and how they described its heritage and periods (in particular, from the period of Christian and Islamic kingdoms to the period of Ottoman rule in Sudan). Hence, the concepts and goals of their notes, records and writings sources about the region, its heritage and archaeological materials will be emphasized. In addition, distinctive general images of the Western Cultures along with other cultures of this region will be examined. Finally, a brief

review and evaluation of their understanding of the material traces of the region's past will be considered.

The concept of early African exploration in the modern age was greatly influenced by the heroic status given to the early European travellers, adventurers and missionaries who visited Africa in the past two centuries. However, their travels and travails were certainly extraordinary and their tremendous physical and intellectual courage is admired until today. The challenges and rewards that Africa offered, both in terms of commerce and sources, inspired people to take incredible risks and endure personal suffering to a degree that was probably unique to the exploration of Africa.

There were many travellers who had the opportunity to visit Sudan and write about it. They can be divided through the criteria of their origin into the Asians, Westerns-Europeans, Africans, Arabians from Arabic Gulf and North African Arabs travellers. However, through the interpreting of evidence and what they wrote about this country and its people, we can come to a conclusion, that they had a few tasks to fulfil during their journeys.

The analysis of the travellers' writings shows that they were interpreting and describing the environment of visited areas, as well as they provided a detailed description of the people's life through their family, neighbourhood, community and daily activities. Hence, early travellers can be seen as reporters, who came to explore the idea of the country's authority and power through its history. They were seeking the answer of some questions, such as:

- Who holds the power?
- Who should hold the power?
- Who does not serve this power?
- Who should be protected by this power?

They also described many aspects of people who inhabited this region and their heritage. Most of the early travellers, who visited Sudan, wrote about its antiquities and monuments.

It has to be noticed that the majority of western travellers were focusing more on the wealth description (monuments and other sources). The relation between locals and antiquities was not clearly mentioned. The issue of ruins of archaeological resource and its importance for locals was also omitted. What is more, the aspect of expropriation and transferring the archaeological materials from owners of the land to their homelands were not in their mind, and clearly unidentified.

In frames of the dissertation the profiles of selected, relevant travellers will be presented. The selection was conducted due to subjective assessment of the importance of travellers and their contribution to broadening knowledge about Sudan. In the topic of early travellers, I will focus especially on Arab travellers, as this group is the most interesting from cultural point of view for Sudanese, is the least described in the literature (due to the fact that the writings are available

mostly in Arabic) and they were independent travellers (unlike Europeans who in most cases were sent by their respective countries as missionaries in order to collect the information about the wealth of the country or research the conquering/colonizing possibilities).

Among early Arab travellers following names must be mentioned: Al-Yacoubi (died in 897 AD) and Al-Masoudi (896–957 AD)¹², who mentioned Sudan in his book *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* which was written in Arabic language and translated into French and English. His work contains many information about the region that were not described by others, because he was careful and thoughtful in his description. His works shows that he was knowledgeable and familiar with the topic. Moreover, he was the first to describe the Nile and its Cataracts and tried to describe the way that the pyramids were built. In particular, he mentioned that the inhabitants of the Nile Valley were describing the land of the Middle Nile Region as the land of the cataracts (Al-Masoudi, 2005: 263). He also described the land of Nubia (or the land of Sudan) as follows:

Men who are possessed of an extensive knowledge of our globe, say that; the Abyssinians and Sudan (Negroes) occupy a country of seven years' journey; that Egypt forms the sixtieth part of the country of the Sudan; and that the country of the Sudan forms only a small portion of the surface of the earth, the dimension of which is five hundred years' journey. One third of it is inhabited, one-third is desert, and one-third is covered with seas. The country of the Sudan borders on the most distant plains of the dominions of Idris Ben Idris Ben 'Abdullah Ben el-Hasan Ben el- Hosain Ben 'All Ben Abi Taleb, in the Magrib, which is the country of Tilimsan تلمسان, Tahart تاهرت, and Fas فاس (Fezz): then comes Sus el-adna السوس الأدنى, which is about two thousand three hundred miles from el-Kairwan, and twenty days from Sus el-aksa (Al-Masoudi, 2005: 185).

He also wrote about people living in this area at the time, where he mentioned:

They are the owners of camels with a hump, oxen and sheep, and theirs is preparing horses manumission, and mostly riding the publics Al-brzen¹³, Arabs call them (Staring throwers), and they have palm trees and generosity, corn, bananas and wheat, and their land as part of the land of Yemen, and Nubian have Citron as the largest have in Islamic land, and their kings claim that, they're from Hamir tribe, and their king takes over the seat and Nobatia, Makuria and Alodia, and behind Alodia there is a great nation from Sudan calls (Pkanh); a naked Negroes, and their land grows

¹²Abu al-Hassan bin Ali al-Masoudi was a traveller whose goal was to cover vast distances of lands. He referred to his travels in places of his book, stating his purpose as experience, work, witness the conditions of nations, gain Knowledge and science. His extensive travels were to search, to learn and to watch the world's countries. He wanted to be an eye-opener. Therefore, his trips were more useful and feasible, and he kept a trace from those of his predecessors who travelled for trade, and who lacked the necessary preparation for scientific meditation even if their commercial trips were not devoid of useful ways in some cases (Al-Masoudi, 2005: 6, 78, 128, 352).

¹³ Al-Birzun: name of non-Arabic horses and mules, it is from a horse species, great-character, thick-body, strong-legged and great hooves (Cf. <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar> [Access on 25.10.2016]).

the gold, and in the kingdom of this nation the Nile separates, then branches to a great bay, then become a green Gulf after its separation from the Nile, and descended the most to the Nubia land, the Nile does not change, if at some times ripped off most of the water in that bay, and the white the most, and Green least, then is branching that to the Gulf in valleys, bays and deep Monosh even go out to Gelasag and south, on the coast of Negroes, and its downstream in their sea (Al-Masoudi, 2005: 264).

Another very important travellers were: Ibn Sulayem Al-Aswani, Mohammed Ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Idrisi (who died in 1167 AD), Ibn Battuta (who visited Sudan in 1352 AD and stayed there for 20 months) and Ibn Khaldun (who came to Sudan in 1380 AD). As aforementioned, there were Egyptian documents found, that were describing the Middle Nile Region as *a Land of Kush*, which lies south of Aswan up to Khartoum, the modern capital of Sudan. Moreover, this region was called in the ancient time *Ta Citi* which means *a land of bows*, because of its people skills in archery. Ancient Greeks called it *a Land of Ethiopia* – the Greek historian Ignatius Herodotus mentioned this land in the 5th century BC¹⁴:

[...] Next to the island there is a great lake around which nomad Aithiopians live. When you have sailed through this lake you reach the course of the Nile which flows into it. Then you disembark and travel along the river for forty days, for sharp rocks emerge in the Nile and there are many sunken rocks through which it is impossible to sail. After you have completed the journey through this region during these forty days, you embark onto another boat and sail for twelve days. Thereupon you arrive at a great city with the name of Meroe. This city is said to be the capital of all the other Aithiopians¹⁵.

After the collapse of the Kushite kingdoms, that were ruling Nubian land since the 1st millennium BC to the 4th century AD, great Christian kingdoms were established on the ruins. They extended from the north, at the First Cataract region, reaching beyond the Sixth Cataract area in the South. Byzantine missionaries proselyted upstream of the Nile confluence to Soba East, the capital of the medieval kingdom of Alwa. The ruling time of the Christian Nubian kingdoms in the Nubian land coincided with the time when Islam came to Egypt in the 7th century. It resulted in redeeming its people from the grip of Byzantine at that time. In other words, that had a great impact on the Nubian land. The movement of the ancient caravan trade and the exchanging of trade contributed to transmission and spread out Islam in Nubia. Then, little by little, Islam penetrated into the Nubia, but that was not evidently enough to concern until the commander leader Amr ibn al-As al-Sahmi sent his army under command of the commander ‘Abdallāh ibn Sa‘d ibn Abī Sarḥ

¹⁴ Herodotus, a Greek historian lived in the 5th century BC. He was the first historian who collected his materials systematically, tested their accuracy to a certain extent, and arranged them in a well-constructed and vivid narrative. His History tells of the Persian Wars of the early 5th century BC.

¹⁵ Cf. Eide, Hägg, Pierce and Torok (1994: 308), <https://digitalt.uib.no/handle/1956.2/3083> [Access on 29.05.2023].

from Egypt to annex Nubia to Islam (Vantini, 1978: 64).

That was his biggest motivation, to penetrate into the South of Egypt, to the southern border at the town of Aswan, which was the northern border of the Christian kingdoms of Nubia. These kingdoms had great commercial, cultural and religious contacts with Egypt. Moreover, there was a major role for the Exodus of Arab Islamic groups to the land of Sudan before official conversion to Islam, which facilitated the movement of the incursion and spreading out the Islam southward into the Nubian land and settled there (Vantini, 1978: 66-68). Eventually, that led to establishing of small Islamic kingdoms which were stretched in a large part of Nubian territory. The biggest Islamic Kingdom was known as Funj or Sinnar. It was formed in the 16th century AD in the southeast, in the Blue Nile Region, and then allied with Abdellab tribes to become the first Islamic state in Sudan¹⁶. Coinciding with Islamic kingdoms in Sudan, the Ottoman Empire was controlling the rule in Egypt, which always looked at Sudan with greed and predation for its wealth, hoping to get its gold and men, who were naturally and famously known for their strength and ferocity. Obviously, Ottomans wanted Sudanese wealth and power for ruling, securing and expanding their empire¹⁷. Furthermore, they hoped to use them as a defence for the expected danger of the European troops who were planning to control this region. Their plan was to follow and secure the sources of the Nile with extension and expansion in the agricultural area. They wanted also to follow and prosecute El-Mamalik, who fled from Egypt to Sudan and formed his small kingdom in the South (Sharif, 1971: 24).

The first Western and European explorer, who visited the country of Sudan during the time of the Islamic kingdoms in Sudan, was Charles-Jacques Poncet, MD. He visited Sudan in 1698–1700 AD on his way to the land of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). In his works he wrote about the customs and traditions of Dongola's inhabitants and their food. What is crucial, he mentioned that he had seen many of deserted churches, which were partially covered by sand (Sharif, 1971: 25). It has to be mentioned that during the period of Islamic kingdoms in Sudan there was no any significant consideration or worthy records for the antiquities and monuments of Sudan.

Another important person was Scottish traveller James Bruce. He was a writer who spend more than ten years in North Africa and Ethiopia. He came to Sudan in 1771 AD and is known as the first tracker of the Blue Nile, from its source in the Abyssinian Highlands until the confluence with the White Nile (modern Khartoum), which Bruce reached on 29 November 1772 AD. Later, he

¹⁶ There was also a Kingdom of Tagely or Almspat in Kordofan region in the Western part of Sudan around 15th to 16th century, which was formed from Arab groups that migrated earlier to Sudan. In the long run, the Kingdom of Al-fur in the Northwestern part of Sudan (Darfur) was the longest independent kingdom in this region, until its fall in the hands of Ottoman rule in 1856 AD and then to the British colonizer in 1916 AD (Berry, 2015: 70-71).

¹⁷ The Ottomans were known as fierce proponents of Islam, who built an expansionist and strongly anti-Christian state from the ruins of the Byzantine Empire.

continued his journey up to Aswan, and finally arrived to Cairo in January 1773 AD. After that, he published his book consisted of five volumes with a brief description of the areas that he was visiting and living in. When it comes to the territory of Sudan, he described in details the nature of life and inhabitants of the region, as well as their features, morals, religions, ways of dealing with strangers, rulers, how they govern their land, their crops, wealth, prosperity and minerals. He also described their caravan routes, seasons and climate (Sharif, 1971: 26).

In 1812 Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, who was generally known in Egypt by the name of Sheikh Ibrahim, visited several areas of the Middle Nile Region and comprehensively described them in many aspects related to the environment, society, economy, and political conditions. In terms of archaeological research in Nubia, he is known for rediscovering the ruins of Napata. In his work *Travels in Nubia* he described also parts between Aswan and Soleb, the country between Berber, Shendy and Souakin. He also wrote a long extract about Maquria's history (Burckhardt, 1819: 67).

However, the archaeological exploration in Nubia began with Giovanni Belzoni, who seems to be the first to enter the Great Temple's halls and cleared the structure of the sand in 1817¹⁸ (Bard, 1999: 94).

Basically, most of the information gathered by explorers at that time was a description of landmarks and locations in the Middle Nile Region. However, this view was changed when Muhammad Ali Pasha's campaign came to Sudan in 1821 AD. Pasha greatly relied on the information mentioned by earlier travellers and explorers – especially those who had a clear impact in the description of the Nubian land and its wealth. He clearly followed their strong stimulation, recommendation and motivation for visiting this land and exploiting its resources.

2.1.3. The period of Ottoman rule in Sudan (reasons and concepts)

Muhammad Ali Pasha's campaign to Sudan is known as the beginning of Turkish rule in Sudan (1821–1885 AD). His objective was clearly to obtain strong men – a large number of slaves to strengthen his regional ambitions. Another goal was to discover the Nile Valley sources and gold mines, as well as to catch Mamluks who escaped to Sudan. However, in the term of archaeology, Muhammad Ali Pasha may represent the first wide pass of discovering and studying the Sudanese antiquities, although it is also the outset in the history of vandalism, theft and destruction of the Sudanese antiquities in the modern era.

In a part of his campaign there were many European treasure hunters and activists, who were

¹⁸ This work was later continued by Richard Lepsius's expedition (they copied reliefs on the walls at the site in 1844). Next research in this area was done during Weigall's survey; cf. subchapter 2.1.3. *The period of Ottoman rule in Sudan (reasons and concepts)*.

interested in science of antiquities. They began to study some of the great archaeological sites in the region. The most notable one was the French mineralogist Frederic Cailliaud (1787–1869) who visited Sudan in 1821–1822 and whose inscriptions, statements and drawings became a great reference that cannot be ignored when it comes to study these sites¹⁹. Among other important scientists following names have to be mentioned: Linant de Bellefonds (1779–1883), George Waddington (1793–1869) and George Alexander Hoskins (1802–1863). The latter visited Egypt and Nubia in 1832–1833 (Morkot, 2013: 100). His Nubian study material was the first one dedicated to the history of the Nubian-Kushite kingdom and Meroe in English (Fig. 3) (Sharif, 1971: 24). In his book *Travels in Ethiopia* (1835) he mentioned that Kush was "the land whence the arts of learning of Egypt, and ultimately of Greece and Rome, derived their origin" (Török, 1997: 8).



Fig. 3. The temple of Amenhotep III of Soleb (Hoskins and Hullandel, 1835)²⁰.

Sudan has suffered a lot in comparison to the other third world countries. It underwent the biggest robbery ever known of its history and treasures at the time, which rolled and repeated later in the multiple periods such as: Ottoman Empire – Turkish rule, and then during the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1898–1956). In the light of the above considerations, during the Turkish campaign the leader Muhammad Ali Pasha had hired some scholars and researchers to control Sudan. Most of them were interested in mapping the country's natural resources such as water and gold, while the others in collecting antiques and treasures.

¹⁹ Cailliaud described his experiences in North Africa and in the Middle Nile Region in his four volumes *Voyage à Meroé* (1823–1827) and in his book *Arts and Crafts of the Ancient Egyptians, Nubians and Ethiopians* (1831–1837). He travelled in Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia, collecting minerals and making observations. He was a part of the military expedition sent south to conquer the Kingdom of Sennar, but also marched further into Fazogli. Cailliaud searched for outcroppings of gold while the commander Ismail, son of Muhammad Ali, enslaved locals and slaughtered all who resisted.

²⁰ Hoskins and Hullandel, (1835) *Pyramids of Meroe*, [in:] *Travels in Ethiopia, above the second cataract of the Nile; exhibiting the state of that country, and its various inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohammed Ali; and illustrating the antiquities, arts, and history of the ancient kingdom of Meroe*, London. Cf. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e1-db35-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99> [Access on 8.08.2020].

One of them, who became the most famous thief of antiquities, was Italian doctor Giuseppe Ferlini. Along with his companion, an Albanian adventurer Antoine Stephani (1834–1844 AD), they convinced the Turkish ruler to allow them to join the campaign. Ferlini's goal was to extract precious gold from the area of Begrawiya's pyramids (Fig. 4). He brought with him about 300 workers who were hired to destroy pyramids, until he found the treasure box with the greatest Meroitic Queen Amanishakheto's spectacular artifacts (jewellery) under the pyramid No. 6. He stole it and fled fugitive to Europe (Ahmed, 1997: 2)²¹. Later, he tried to sell the treasure to European museums or to wealthy locals, who were denouncing the existence of such valuable and precision-made jewellery in the heart of Africa's sub-Saharan. In 1839, the Bavarian king Ludwig I acquired the first half of the Amanishakheto's treasure for the Royal Antiquarian in Munich. Further, in 1846, the Prussian king Frederic William IV acquired a part of the queen Amanishakheto's treasure, founding the first Sudanese archaeological collection in Germany. Ultimately, the antiquities were obtained by the Museum of Egyptian Art in Munich and the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, and displayed in the section devoted to the Sudanese antiquities (Nubia and Sudan exhibition)²².

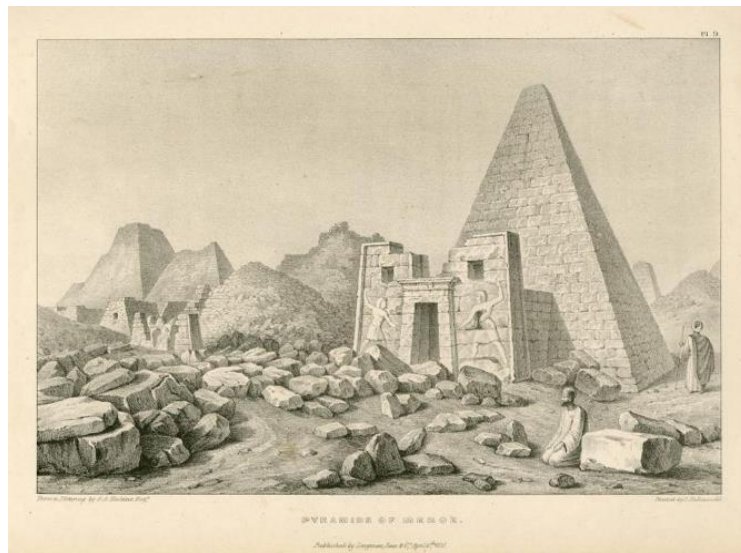


Fig.4. Meroe pyramids in the 19th century (Hoskins and Hullandel, 1835)²³.

²¹ This information was also confirmed by D. Wildung (personal contact, 2015). More about this event can be founded in the article of R. Pearse *Just one Italian: the pyramids of Meroe and Giuseppe Ferlini, their destroyer*. Cf. <http://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/2016/12/06/just-one-italian-the-pyramids-of-meroe-and-giuseppe-ferlini-their-destroyer/#to-just-one-italian-the-pyramids-of-meroe-and-giuseppe-ferlini-their-destroyer-n-1> [Access on 12.01.2017] and in book of G. Ferlini *Relation historique des fouilles opérées dans la Nubie par le Docteur Ferlini: suivie d'un catalogue des objets qu'il a trouvés dans l'une des 47 pyramides aux environs de l'ancienne ville de Méroé* (1838).

²² This information comes from D. Wildung (personal contact, 2015) – professor at the University of Munich and Berlin; Director of the State Collection of the Museum of Egyptian Art in Munich 1975 and the Egyptian Museum and the Papyrus Collection in Berlin 1990; Director of the excavation project in Naqa, Sudan 1995.

²³ Hoskins, G.A./Hullandel, C. J. (1835) *Pyramids of Meroe* [in:] *Travels in Ethiopia, above the second cataract of the Nile; exhibiting the state of that country, and its various inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohammed Ali; and illustrating the antiquities, arts, and history of the ancient kingdom of Meroe*, London. Cf. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e1-db35-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99> [Access on 8.08.2020].

Except of the aforementioned events, Ottoman rule in Sudan did not give any attention to the archaeology that could be mentioned or considered as a real archaeological work or any plan for fieldwork. However, during that period, the red brick buildings at the archaeological site of Soba East were dismantled, and building materials were collected and transported for use in building Khartoum. The bricks were extracted among others by Turkish soldiers. Nevertheless, after the stealing of Begrawiya's artifacts, a lot of questions were raised about the antiquities of the Middle Nile Region in Sudan, especially about the necessity of identifying and finding them.

Eventually, Sudan attracted many discoverers from the Western and the Eastern countries, who were encouraged to visit and discover its antiquities. However, the revolution against the Ottoman rule and Egyptian grievances (led by Muhammad Ahmad bin Abd Allah Al-Mahdi; known as Mahdia's Revolution or War 1881–1899 AD) limited many of archaeological activities and discoveries at that time (Ahmed, 1997: 1-2)²⁴.

The 19th century history of archaeological research in Sudan ended with the work of Wallis Budge, who was an English Egyptologist, orientalist and philologist working at the British Museum. In 1897 he was commissioned by the British Museum to conduct experimental excavations in Sudan at Jebel Barkal and to examine other archaeological sites in that area. He was also sent to Sudan for the second time in 1898 to submit a report for the British Museum on the status of monuments in the city of Meroe, with the intention of ensuring the possibility of field work excavation (Sharif, 1971: 25). The excavation of the pyramids of Meroe were undertaken in 1903. Nonetheless, the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries is considered as the true beginning of the history of archaeological research in Sudan.

Special attention has to be paid to Karl Richard Lepsius, the director of the Royal Prussian Expedition, who was a qualified scholar in monumental survey work through his talents and education in several fields such as philology, linguistic and history. A majority of researchers acknowledge that Lepsius with his Prussian Expedition (1842–1845) was considered the first expedition that was organized by professional scholars. They carried out systemic survey and documented the remains of visible monuments of the ancient Middle Nile Region. Besides, they collected vast amount of objects/artifacts that were transferred to Germany. These objects are today displayed in the halls of Egyptian Museum in Berlin (Török, 1997: 11-13).

2.1.4. Conclusions

In conclusion, the process of building awareness and knowledge about the archaeological heritage in Sudan began with the role of travellers and foreign visitors, who were pioneers in the early

²⁴ This was also confirmed by D. Wildung (personal contact, 2015).

stage of the discovery of Sudanese heritage. The fact that since the ancient time Africans were constantly moving around, in and out of the region for trade, contributed to the increase of the importance of that region. By the 16th century the trade of gold, ivory, and people was well established. Then, in the early 19th century, the systematic penetration and geographical exploration of Africa was undertaken by Europeans, who were seeking for a geographical knowledge, commerce opportunities and a chance to spread the Gospel.

Many individuals and groups of people left the safety of their family home and travelled huge distances by land or sea, both for adventure and to learn more about other peoples' culture and places. Some travels helped to establish trade routes or politics, while others came for personal pleasure and knowledge. Daniel E. Harmon (2001: 8) mentioned that:

The extraordinary narratives of some of the journeys of early European travellers and adventurers in Africa are a vivid reminder of just how recently Africa has become embroiled in the power struggles and vested interests of non-Africans.

Those travellers can be described as adventurers or researchers (scholars) who were interested in knowledge and discovery. However, some of them can also be described as antiquarians²⁵, paid clients spies or collectors of wealth or people who just followed orders and who kept a careful diary of the expedition.

The antiquarians were first to use digging as a method to investigate the past in Sudan. The gained artifacts were classified according to genre and value. The excavations of ancient monuments were not well studied, as there was not enough time for investigation and it was not the subject of interest at that time, but it was equally important to archaeology, especially when these activities became more popular in some countries and regions through the societies of antiquarians that occurred in the 1840s.

It has to be emphasized that the Arab travellers, who visited the Middle Nile Region and wrote about it, were limited to their goals and concepts in the aspects of scientific research and knowledge, while goals and motivations of most western travellers were limited to the aspects of earning, an increase of wealth or resources, and the information intelligence about the region and its resources.

²⁵ The antiquarians are people who relate to or deal with antiquities; they collect antiques or antiquities, however, some of the Medieval antiquarians made collections of inscriptions or records of monuments.

2.2. Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899–1956)

This section presents archaeological projects as well as the approach to management of archaeological heritage, especially the concept of antiquities, throughout the period of Anglo-Egyptian rule in Sudan 1899–1956. The history of colonization in Sudan started in 1821 and lasted until 1956. The country was firstly under the Ottoman rule and later under British-Egyptian authority. The Mahdi Revolution (1881–1899), a large independence movement, was the main event of the period and the reason for change in the colonial organization of the region.

2.2.1. The management of antiquities and its concept during the period of Anglo-Egyptian rule in Sudan (1899–1956)

The Anglo-Egyptian colonial agreement made it clear that Egypt was in the Ottoman sphere of influence. What is known as the Turko-Egyptian period in Sudan, was in the reality the rule of Ottoman Caliphate in Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, who wanted to expand the influence of Ottoman Empire in the southern region of Egypt.

At the time of the Mahdi's Revolution 1881–1899 (Mahdist War) there was no noticeable consideration for the archaeological fieldwork. Apparently, leaders of the revolution did not show any interest in antiquities or gave an attention to antiquity remains and archaeological sites in Sudan. They were mostly preoccupied with the affairs of revolution, such as the fighting against the colonizer and securing the country. However, in term of heritage, during this period some antiquities have been destroyed or heavily damaged. As an example, Mahdists occupied the old strongholds along the Nile Valley (e.g. medieval Ed-Deiga where fights had been reported with British army). They also destroyed most of the old writings and Arabic scripts (e.g. a book from Korti Island). Furthermore, it has to be emphasized, that during the conflict the British army also had destroyed many antiquities (Jackson, 1926: 28f).

As the revolutionists did not show any interest in archaeological remains, they left many archaeological materials, monuments and historical documents untouched, which have later contributed to better understanding of some features and events associated with the revolution. Furthermore, the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in Sudan was not managed similarly to the other British colonial territories. In a fact, Sudan was not an official colony attached to the British Foreign Office, although it was run by British officers, relying on Sudanese, Egyptians or Syrians clerks, translators, accountants, tax collectors, judges, teachers and others.

Sudanese society grew from about 2 to 10 million people between 1899 and 1956. Inhabitants were predominantly Arabic speakers (majority in the North), but there were also non-Arabic speakers (such as: Nubians in the North, Fur, Zaghawa, Masalit, the population of Darfur in the West,

and the population of the Eastern Sudan – Beja). Finally, there were many diverse linguistic groups in the South (Dinka, Nuweir, Bari, Zandi, local Arabic and English). When it comes to the confession, most of the inhabitants were Muslims or Christians, or belonged to various local religions. However, during the Condominium era of Sudan, educational issues, policies and practices were managed according to geographical, linguistic and religious diversity (Balamoan, 1976: xxviii, 470; Wallis Budge, 1907: 390). Following this principle, the coexisting educational institutions in colonial Sudan were mapped and then followed an evolution of educational policy during the half century of British ruling (Berry, 2015: 70).

The Condominium authorities were the first in the region's history that had a strategy prepared for the management of antiquities. The British General-Governor of Sudan at the time was the first official person who was responsible for antiquities, archaeological research and fieldwork in Sudan. The first operation undertaken was in the spring of 1902 by Reginald Wingate, who was a British administrator in Egypt and then the General-Governor in Sudan. He prepared arrangements to excavate the largest group of pyramids at Meroe sites. This excavation was conducted by one of Wingate's team member, Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (Wallis Budge, 1907: 501).

Furthermore, in 1903 the first department of Antiquities Service in Sudan was established by the British Governor J. W. Crowfoot. After that the interest in antiquities and archaeology of Sudan gained administrative validation. As a manifestation of it can serve the release of the first legal draft rule for Sudan, which was issued in 19th January 1889. The convention included a draft of the first Ordinance for the Sudanese Antiquities of 1905 and provided the better preservation for all of the antiquities in Sudan (Wallis Budge, 1907: 501).

The ordinance was intended to manage the archaeological work in the country. It authorized the Governor-General to appoint an English Commissioner for antiquities, who was under the Department of Education at that time. He also was responsible for overseeing the management of archaeological affairs in Sudan²⁶. Later, systematics of archaeological research in Sudan had been organized and managed according to this ordinance. The British archaeologists, mainly Egyptologists, were further encouraged to visit Sudan and discover its ancient remains. The Trustees of the British Museum sent E. A. Wallis Budge, who worked for the museum, to visit Egypt and Sudan in the framework of archaeological missions (Török, 1997: 19).

Wallis Budge was an English Egyptologist, orientalist and philologist; however, the main purpose of his missions was to purchase antiquities (cuneiform tablets, manuscripts, papyri, etc.)

²⁶ The British Governor-General at the time, Reginald Wingate, became the person responsible for the Antiquities Service in the country until the enactment of the first Antiquities Ordinance 1905 (*Sudan Gazette*, No. 80, p. 377).

to help expanding the British Museum's collection and exhibition²⁷. Wallis Budge visited Sudan several times between 1897–1905, where he carried out his inspection for antiquities in the northern part of the country and examined the pyramid-fields and burial grounds at Nuri, Kurru, Zuma and Tankasi. He also had opened one of the pyramids at Jebel Barkal and excavated parts of the ruined temples of the site²⁸ (Bard, 1999: 386).

In 1904 the Board of Museums (National Museum of Sudan in Khartoum) ratified the acting office of Conservator of Antiquities which was established later by the Government of Sudan (Török, 1997: 1). The office was created under the guidance of John Winter Crowfoot, who was the first acting conservator in 1903–1908. Later, he served as an Assistant Director of Education and Acting Conservator of Antiquities for the Government of Sudan. Further, in 1914–1926, he served as the Director of Education in Sudan (Török, 1997: 19).

In 1905 Wallis Budge with Crowfoot, the Inspector of Education at the time, assisted Reginald Wingate in collecting antiquities for the establishment of the first museum at Khartoum. His further task was to examine all principal ancient sites from Halfa area (Sesi or Sesebi) to Semna (Wallis Budge, 1907: 502). It has to be noticed, that this act is considered to be the first archaeological fieldwork in Sudan after it fell under the grip of the British colonizer. It was also the first act of collecting and transferring archaeological material from archaeological sites to Khartoum.

Before 1938 the first Commissioner of Antiquities in Sudan was not appointed yet, therefore the Antiquities Service remained systematically unorganized. At the beginning of 1938 the post of Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology was instituted and attached to the Education Department. It was constituted that the Commissioner on his archaeological side would discharge the functions of the Conservator of Antiquities, while that post was in abeyance. Besides, the Commissioner's functions included taking care of the ancient monuments, archaeological and ethnographic collections in the country's museums, such as: the museums in Khartoum, the Khalifa's House in Omdurman, museums in Merowe and Wadi Halfa. Moreover, he had authority to consider applications to explore or excavate in the ancient sites. Additionally, issuance of licenses had to be approved by the Archaeological and Museums Board. Eventually, he had also additional anthropological duties (Arkell, 1940: 3). The first Commissioner of Archaeology and Anthropology was British archaeologist, Anthony John Arkell (1938–1949). He was a former British colonial administrator, who later became the pioneer of prehistory in Sudan, as he conducted several excavations in this field, e.g. the excavation of Shaheinab site (a village to the north

²⁷ Many of the Museum archaeologists at the time believed that excavations would reveal more tablets (formal discussions to settle an issue or dispute).

²⁸ The sites of Napata were excavated in 1897 by Wallis Budge and in 1907 by James Breasted for the University of Chicago. However, the first major excavations were undertaken by George Reisner and Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) Boston expedition in 1916–1920 (Bard, 1999: 386).

of Omdurman) in 1953. He also conducted first rescue excavations in the area of Khartoum Hospital in 1944–1945 (Edwards, 2004: 5)²⁹. Arkell with his position was able to conduct several surveys and documented the existence of massive mounds, rich in iron slag remains in Meroe and the extensive pre-dynastic culture of Egypt. He is also known for making the first survey in the Fourth Cataract area, but the lack of transport at the time effectively prevented any further activity in the area (Shinnie, 1949: 2). Furthermore, during his administration period the Antiquities Service became an independent institution, with its responsible manager who was directly under the Ministry of Education (Hakem, 1978: 37).

Later, the position of Commissioner of Archaeology and Anthropology was handed over to Peter Lewis Shinnie (1949–1955). He was responsible for drafting the second Antiquities Ordinance in 1952, where he set out the clear definitions of the archaeological objects and monuments (Jakob and Ali, 2001: 513).

When the first independent Antiquities Service was established, Shinnie was appointed as the first independent director of the Antiquities Service. This office was added to the Ministry of Education until the Sudanization in 1953, where it became a separate division, managed by a responsible manager who was subordinate to the Ministry of Education. Shinnie left the Antiquities Service in June 1955, as a result of judgment of the Sudanization committee (Hakem, 1978: 42).

A decade before, in 1943, the British authorities began preparing the North for self-government. Then, in 1946, they reversed this policy and decided to integrate North and South Sudan under one government. This was applied to government institutions, notably the Antiquities Service and Museums, in order to provide an essential first step in the process of Sudanization. It was known that training was very necessary in order to recruit a suitable officer for antiquities and museums, which might have taken a lot of time, and with only one officer there was a risk of losing all work, especially if the employee for any reason leaves the job. However, when there was a deficit in the Sudanese qualified cadres in this profession, a French scholar, Jean Vercoutter, was appointed in 1955 as the first director for the Antiquities Service in Sudan after the Sudanization.

²⁹ The first step of Arkell was to take over the Antiquities Service and Museums interest. Then he conducted a rapid tour to major sites in the Northern Sudan, such as: J. Barkal, Kawa, Kerma, Sesibi, Sadenga, Amara, and Buhen. Later, he returned to Khartoum and set up a separate office to deal with archaeology and museums issues, which previously had been dealt through the Geological Office. Moreover, he had employed nine antiquities guards for the sites of Buhen, Abdel Gader Church, Semna, Sulb, Kurru, J. Barkal, Nuri, Meroe, and Nagaa with Masawarat. Finally, he made a journey for support and help through a wide international contact with museums, institutions and experts in the field of archaeology in Cairo and England (Arkell, 1940: 4).

2.2.2. Archaeological projects – fieldworks

The scientific archaeological fieldwork projects did not begin properly and effectively in Sudan before the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium occupation. The interest in antiquities and archaeology is considered to have begun after the advent of the colonizer, who imposed his control on the country and developed a plan for administration. Additionally, by the end of the 19th century, the desire to expand water supply in the Nile Valley for agriculture increased. The colonial administration wanted to replace the traditional farming cultivation in the region – this decision led to the construction of a series of dams in the Nile Valley.

The expedition that was launched to explore the archaeological contexts of the late prehistoric and historic period in the lower Nubia was conducted by early explorers and travellers, notably Burckhardt and Amelia Edwards, who had observed the Qustul tumuli and attempted a minor exploration in the area. Then, in 1929 a survey led by Walter B. Emery and Laurence P. Kirwan took place. Moreover, the location and systematic excavation of sites in this region was conducted during the second Nubian salvage action, in which all sites were to be recorded below 123 R.L., the maximum height of the new dam (Williams, 1986: 5).

The concept of dams' construction was introduced in order to extend the control over the Nile River's floods and to organize the irrigation of agricultural projects in the region. The plan was to expand the size of the lake as a result of constructing the dams. However, water gathered in retain lakes inundated a large part of the Nile Valley land on both banks, where many archaeological sites were located. The Aswan reservoir was established in 1899–1902 and became the first large reservoir constructed on the Nile River at the time. It was 130 ft high and its lake covered the Nile valley as far south as Wadi Sebua in South Egypt. This construction was built after a careful survey of the Nile Valley from Khartoum to the First Cataract, which proved that there was no site which possessed such advantages as that at the head of the First Cataract (Hakem, 1978: 43f).

The only archaeological fieldwork carried out in connection with this project was the survey and strengthening of the temple of Philae in Egypt. In 1904 John Garstang undertook the exploratory campaign and made proper examination with Arthur Weigall, who was inspector of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt. He conducted a brief archaeological survey of Lower Nubia, recording some of the most important data about temples in this area, such as rock inscription and the location of cemeteries (Reisner, 1910: 6). It was the only extensive archaeological work conducted in Lower Nubia in the 20th century before the first archaeological survey in the Nile Valley.

Obviously, most of the mentioned archaeological activities were not conducted in Sudan but in southern Egypt at the Lower Nubia. However, it had a great impact on methodological approach to the fieldwork in Sudan. It has to be noticed, that Weigall brought forward the suggestion

that the archaeological history of Nubia presents curious differences from the Egyptian history, and that it was related in some way to the so-called "pan-graves"³⁰. In 1907 the Egyptian government decided to heighten the reservoir body of the Aswan Dam by 16,5 ft. In this case funds were set aside for a thorough archaeological examination of the northern half of Egyptian Nubia, and as a result two projects were undertaken (Hakem, 1978: 43f).

The first one was concerned with consolidation and recording of major historical monuments. It was placed under the Egyptian Department of Antiquities and its results were published by Reisner in *Archaeological Survey of Nubian Report for 1907-1908, vol. 1* in 1910. Although aforementioned campaigns to save the Nubian antiquities were largely confined to the lands mostly controlled by the Egyptian state at the time, they contributed significantly to the development, classification and foundations of the archaeological chronology and culture of Sudanese Nubian monuments.

The emergence and development of the idea of rescue archaeology and excavations in Sudan was mostly associated with the second project, which was conducted under the supervision of the Survey Department. One of its aims was to find and record cemeteries and other archaeological sites that were located up to the subsistence line about 115 m sea level. It was the highest point to be affected by raising the body of the dam. The plan was to cross both banks of the Nile River at the target area in order to identify as many sites as possible. The goal was to excavate every important site in the target area, as well as taking samples and outlines trace for the less important sites and to study all the artifacts and the human skeleton remains.

2.2.3. The concepts, purpose, methods and approaches at the beginning of 20th century

The first campaign for archaeological fieldwork in the region extended southern from city of Aswan until the Second Cataract area in northern Sudan in the region of Dakka, where the fieldwork directed by George. A. Reisner of Harvard University took place (October 1907–April 1908). He was the first scholar put in charge of the survey in the Nile Valley Region, and he established the systematic methods for recording finds in this region. In 1907–1911, he and his companion C.M. Firth conducted excavations and studies that extended the knowledge of this region and its past inhabitants.

Reisner based his approach on preliminary examination. It relied on identifying and marking down surface indicators of graves, ancient sites and areas likely to contain graves or other remains. In next phase, he examined potential areas using a hoe or pit method to discover whether they actually contained tombs or archaeological materials. In this way the sites that required complete excavations

³⁰ "Pan-graves" formed the cemeteries of Nubian settlements in Egypt, they were first found by Petrie at Diospolis parva and are dated to the period between 2400–1550 BC (Reisner, 1910: 6).

were identified (Reisner, 1910: 8-9). Moreover, he and his team used various recording methods, including: detailed map of the cemetery, a diary of progress of the work, general observation on the condition and history of the site written after the excavation, drawings on millimetre-squared cards and sets of photographs (general view and details of each grave) (Reisner, 1910: 12).

In 1908–1911, under the supervision of Firth, the scope of the survey was expanded to the far South, down to Wadi Sebua, confirming and refining Reisner's sequence. Apart from some rather superficial fieldwork in the fortresses at Ikkur and Quban, the main effort was directed towards the examination of about 150 tombs (Firth, 1927: 20). It is worth to mention that there were some travellers that had already noticed a number of Pharaonic city sites, but most of them had been flooded by the construction of the first Aswan dam. During his first fieldwork seasons in 1907–1908, Reisner found 50 cemeteries with a few habitation sites that were investigated over 50 km stretch of the Nile River (Reisner, 1910: 6).

Reisner's results allowed him to construct a cultural sequence of this region, based on units that could be associated with periods of Egyptian history. A local culture of the region called "A-Group" was identical to the Early Egyptian Dynastic period and was considered as a continuation of Predynastic cultures that are historically associated with the local culture of Upper Egypt. The next stage, called "B-Group", was associated with the Old Egyptian Kingdom. Furthermore, "C-Group" was identified as coeval with the first intermediate period and the Middle Egyptian Kingdom. It is followed by the "D-Group" indistinguishable from the new Kingdom materials in Egypt (Reisner, 1910: 6).

These studies were great contribution to the earlier gathered information about the Middle Nile Region. It helped to create a new understanding of the region, based on the previously available knowledge with additional information gathered in the extensive and innovative research of Reisner's system. This system is considered to be the earliest programme of extensive salvage of archaeology. It produced a clear record of accomplished work survey that helped to set a standard for the subsequent research in Nubia region.

Notably, during the same period, several other expeditions were working outside the survey area, e.g. the Eckley B. Coxe Expedition of University of Pennsylvania (1907–1910), led by C.L. Woolley and D. Randall MacIver, excavated the "C-Group" settlement at Amada and around Egyptian settlement at Aniba and Buhen. These researches classified inhabitancy of first groups that inhabited in this region, as well as contributed to the initial chronology studies of the Sudanese Nubian antiquities (O'Connor, 1993: 48).

Later, just before the First World War, Reisner began to work in Sudan and he carried out important excavations on what was believed to be remains of the Middle Egyptian Kingdom colony at Kerma, among temples of the New Kingdom at Jebel Barkal (1912–1916). Then, he studied

the sites in Semna and Kumma in 1924–1932. Eventually, Reisner was able to write only about his work in Kerma, but results of his further excavations in Sudan were published after his death by Dows Dunham (Hakem, 1978: 43).

The second archaeological campaign took place in 1929–1936, as the result of the decision taken by the Anglo-Egyptian government to rise the water table in the reservoir of Aswan for the second time to 122 m above the sea level. However, by the First World War, the archaeological fieldwork in Lower Nubia stopped and did not start again until 1929. The second campaign was assigned to Walter Bryan Emery and Laurence Kirwan in the survey sites along the West Bank of the Nile River between Wadi Sebu and the Sudanese border (Hakem, 1978: 44).

During the second decade of the 20th century, the joint expedition of Harvard University and Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1921–1923), under the direction of George Reisner, excavated subterranean burial chambers in three pyramid cemeteries (the South, North and West Groups, since then known as the Begrawiya cemeteries and referred to by the abbreviation Beg S, Beg N and Beg W). Artifacts found during these excavations are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Sudan National Museum. In following year, in the third season 1930, the most spectacular discoveries of this period were made in the post-Meroitic cemeteries of Qustul and Ballana, where royal tombs were discovered. They included tombs of Nubian kings from the 4th to the 6th century AD. Their excavations took remaining three seasons, which were devoted to surveying the eastern bank of the River Nile before floods. Additionally, the work of Emery amplified earlier interpretations of the history of Nubia in the Pharaonic era (Trigger, 1978: 112).

Later, the University of Oxford has also sent a series of expeditions to southern Egypt and Sudan, where they have worked in various archaeological sites in both countries and made important discoveries. The first mission was directed and funded by Francis L. Griffith, who was the first professor of Egyptology at the University of Oxford. The work was carried out at the sites of Faras, Abdul Qadir and Napata – Sanam in 1910–1913 and in 1929–1931 (Bard, 1999: 843).

The University of Oxford also sent another expedition to Meroe – Begrawiya to explore the city of Meroe. This mission worked in years 1911–1916, and was headed by an English scholar John Garstang. Between 1929–1936 the third expedition called Oxford Expedition excavated the New Kingdom settlement at the city of Kawa, near to the Third Cataract, at the ancient cemeteries in the area of Farka, 150 km south of Wadi Halfa. Moreover, an English mission organised by Egyptian Exploration Society conducted excavations at the towns of Sesebi and Amara West in 1936–1937 (Sharif, 1971: 26f).

Eventually, in 1940–1950, the Department of Sudan Antiquities began regular programs of excavations in prehistory sites at the eastern bank of the Nile in northern Khartoum – Omdurman. In addition, another two important sites dating back to the Christian era have to be mentioned: Soba

East near Khartoum and Deir el-Ghazali, a monastery near to the modern city of Merowe (Sharif, 1971: 26f). Finally, the conclusion of this period witnessed a number of important excavations, including those in Faras and Sanam Abu Dum, monumental sites of Kerma, Jebel Barkal, Nuri, Al-Kurru and the city of Meroe.

It has to be mentioned that in 1940 the first well-organized rescue surveys and excavations were launched in Central Sudan of prehistoric sites, and the result of these rescue actions helped to formulate the first picture of the late prehistory in central Sudan. The systematic organisation of the Sudan Antiquities Service was practically undertaken in 1952 by P. L. Shinnie, who later revised and updated the Antiquities Ordinance in 1952.

2.2.4. Publications and the annual reports of ASM

The first publications in the annual reports of the Antiquities Service and Museums, as well as the publications outside the authority of this institution, helped to understand the role and activities of the Antiquities Service and Museums as a govern institutional body. Their publications were an annual periodic issuance of annual reports for the Antiquities Service and Museums' work activities and management in Sudan, entitled *Report of the Antiquities Service and Museums*.

The first scientific annual journal for the regular fieldwork reports of the Antiquities Service in Sudan and its management was entitled *Sudan Notes and Records* and was issued for the first time in 1918. It was the first journal to cover archaeological, historical, ethnographical and anthropological topics. Those were the fields of studies that just had started to be developed at that time in Sudan, so there was a need for publication of this kind. Establishing of the journal greatly contributed to further expansion of studies and research (Arkell, 1940: 15).

As addition to reports, in 1906 James Henry Breasted photographed and collected information about many archaeological sites from north of Sudan to the South-East of Khartoum, through the Sudan Political Service 1907–1931. Furthermore, in 1907, Wallis Budge published his famous book in two volumes entitled *The Egyptian Sudan: Its History and Monuments*. In these volumes he described in details the existing monuments on numerous sites, included the summaries of writings of earlier travellers to Sudan (Wingate, 1918: 1).

Moreover, between 1904–1914 John Garstang made some excavations at the site of the Meroe City³¹ in Begrawiya-Kabushiya. His research was conducted at one of the most

³¹ The importance of the city of Meroe was only recognized in 1909, by A. H. Sayce, who suggested to John Garstang that the site should be investigated. With his knowledge of important Meroitic cemeteries in Lower Nubia, Garstang began excavating there under the aegis of the University of Liverpool. The fieldwork was directed by him in collaboration with the philologist Sayce and the eminent Egyptologist F. L. Griffith, who was attracted by the chance of discovering monuments that might promote the decipherment of the Meroitic language (Bard, 1999: 615).

important and famous urban sites of ancient Kingdom of Kush and it represents so far the largest settlement site excavation area of more than 1 km². Garstang published his results in a brief, preliminary reports, where five seasons of the large-scale fieldwork were recorded, but the findings were unpublished for a long time. They were preserved in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool, and were published by Laszlo Török. Other finds are located in various museums in England, Europe, the United States and Canada (Török, 1997: 11).

As an initiative of the first Commissioners of Antiquities Service and Museums, Arkell and Shinnie, in 1953 another journal has been established, namely *Sudanese Journal Kush*. The fields of interest cover Nubian studies and Sudanese antiquities.

2.2.5. The concept of Sudanese museums during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and its strategy for the management of antiquities

The performance quality of the National Antiquities Services and Museums made it imperative for them to carry out multiple and complex tasks in this field, especially in the aspect of the fieldwork. However, the concept and tasks of the Antiquities Service and Museums during the Condominium period from 1899 until the independent of Sudan in 1956 was greatly linked and influenced by the establishment of museums in Europe, as they were opened to the public in a large scale in the mid-19th century. This act had the most significant impact to expand deeper knowledge of human history, especially of the ancient times.

Nevertheless, there were not many people of Sudanese origin who could take over the responsibility for museums, possibly a minor category of intellectuals and researchers. During the end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the first Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography was established in Sudan by Reginald Wingate (Wallis Budge, 1907: 501). The reason to create such places was the constantly increasing collections of valuable archaeological and anthropological artifacts that were found and collected throughout the 19th century. It has to be noted that researches and studies in archaeology and anthropology at the time had the greatest impact in obtaining different sets of materials that were collected for various purposes, such as: study, museum or exhibition.

This collections contributed to establishing the first museum in Sudan that exhibited the archaeological and anthropological materials. It was set up in 1902, in a small room at the premises of Gordon Memorial College (currently University of Khartoum). This room was allocated for studying, preserving and displaying some of the archaeological and anthropological materials (e.g. pottery) that were collected from various areas in Sudan (Wallis Budge, 1907: 375).

Following the strategy, Wallis Budge also continued to collect archaeological materials for the Museum of Khartoum in 1905 (Sharif, 1971: 29). In 1925, museum at Merowe in Northern

Sudan was established. It was a small regional museum and it didn't give a complete idea about the history of ancient Sudan. What is more, most of exhibited artifacts were limited only to specific era, namely the Napata period. Later, some of these collections were transferred to the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum, in order to enrich its collection and artifacts.

It has to be mentioned that there was a plan to build a large museum in Merowe region, which would include all eras and civilizations that have passed through the history of Sudan (Sharif, 1971: 24). Furthermore, the Khalifa House Museum was established in Omdurman, (at the headquarters of Mahdi Revolution³², and later of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in Sudan) and opened to the public in 1928.

The next important museum is Wadi Halfa Museum which was established in 1930, on the border with Egypt. Furthermore, the Ethnographic Museum (or Tribal Museum) was opened in December 1956, after the Antiquities Service inherited the buildings of British Army club. Basically, this building was in need of reparations to fit with the idea of displaying the ethnographic collection, with respect to various lifestyles of tribes in Sudan. Most of this collection had been gathered before the year 1945 and was stored at the Department of Anthropology, where it wasn't preserved in a proper way (Sharif, 1971: 24).

2.2.6. Conclusions

The latter half of the 19th century was a period of great development in the field of antiquities and museums, notably in Egyptology. The rich potential for research and acquisition of Egyptian antiquities was quickly recognized and appreciated by European and American museums as well as universities. The scope of interest slowly expanded also to the Sudanese territory and history. However, excavations in Sudan from the beginning to the middle of 20th century were undertaken mainly under the control of the Anglo-Egyptian government through the Antiquities Department. In practice, by the turn of the 20th century, the American Egyptologists, George A. Reisner, was the first to work in a long term of scientific manner in Sudan. Since 1905 he conducted a massive archaeological work throughout Egypt and Nubian Sudan during the Harvard University and Boston Museum of Fine Arts expedition. This work contributed to better understanding of the Sudanese history and its antiquities.

The history of Antiquities Service and Museums administration in Sudan during the period of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is characterized by dynamic development. During this time the country's

³² *Tourism and Antiquities*, Omer Sheikh: cf. <https://psychotec.com/ar/2017/03/14/متحف-بيت-الخليفة-ويقع-في-مدينة-أم-درمان/> [Access on 20.03.2021].

need to understand its past and history was recognized. On another hand, this period slightly broadened out a chance for the colonizer and many other institutions to transfer some of the country's antiquities abroad. Moreover, during this period scholars ignored the research and fieldwork in the South region, despite the fact that at the time this region was an undiscovered land from the point of view of ethnographical, anthropological and archaeological researches.

Eventually, the structure of museum administration was reorganized. In place of two semi-independent bodies, the Antiquities and Ethnology collection and the Natural History Museum, a single museum was formed and placed under the control of the Commissioner for Archaeology. This was divided into departments of Antiquities, Ethnology, and Natural History. The role of Antiquity Service was clearly focused on fieldwork activities, collections, conservation, storage, administration and museums building, library and publications, etc. It has to be emphasized that thanks to the Antiquity Service reports most of the information about aforementioned activities were published and international standards of archaeological works were shared.

2.3. Archaeology in independent Sudan (since 1956)

This section provides a brief account of beginning of archaeological activities in independent Sudan. I will focus on the concepts and strategies of managing the archaeological heritage in Sudan after the departure of Anglo-Egyptian representatives, which were carried out by the first Sudanese administration of the Antiquities Service and Museums.

2.3.1. Administration of the Antiquities Service after independent Sudan

Creating the departure plan of Anglo-Egyptian government from Sudan was the first action of management of antiquities in independent Sudan. Already in December 1945, at the meeting of the Archaeological and Museums Board, the first Sudanese assistant of the Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology was appointed (Arkell, 1945: 3). Next, on the meeting in January 1946, which was attended by the Head of Gordon Memorial College (University of Khartoum), it was stated by the Museum Board that the new museum should be a governmental institution (Arkell, 1946: 9).

On the 1st January 1956 Sudan became an independent state, with Ismail al-Azhari as the first Prime Minister (the first civil regime 1956–1958). The desire to have qualified Sudanese cadre for the replacement of the British ones was strongly emphasized, especially when it comes to the position of “Commissioner for Archaeology”. Since there was no Sudanese person qualified to fulfil this position, a French Egyptologist, Jean Vercoutter, was temporarily appointed,

until Sudanese specialists would be trained to take over this position.

Jean Vercoutter was a French archaeologist and a professor at the University of Lille in France. Later he established the French Unit of Sudanese Antiquities (Section Française de la Direction des Antiquités du Soudan – SFDAS). It has to be mentioned that from the beginning of independence plan, the French scholars were a part of the replacement project (Rilly, 2013: 17). Notably, the French Unit had (and still has) a privileged position, with some bureaus in the precinct of NCAM. However, it has to be emphasized that Jean Vercoutter played a great role in engaging UNESCO to support Sudan in the Nubian rescue campaign. Later, the Sudan Antiquities Service became a stand-alone with an independent Commissioner for Archaeology director (J. Vercoutter), linked directly to the Ministry of Education. Since then many changes took place in the composition of the Museum's Board, mainly due to the departure of the British officials.

In 1950s, the main focus of Sudan Antiquities Service's board was laid on establishing the new National Museum for Sudan, in which the archaeological collections would be exhibited and where offices for other archaeological activities could be located. It has to be noted that the Council of Ministers at the time showed good willing to cooperate with the existing Museum Board in proposed plans for the new museum, therefore the improvements were turned into action. The first step was to obtain the planned budget for the new museum project from the Department of Budget (the Ministry of Finance). However, confirmation of the new museum project deadline had to be met in 1956. Therefore, the architectural plans were drawn by a local architect, and then submitted for additional advice to UNESCO architectural expert, who was expected to visit Sudan at the end of 1957 or early 1958 (Vercoutter, 1956–1957: 8).

In 1956, at the meeting of the Museum Board, a further consideration was given to the planning of a new museum that supposed to house the Antiquities, Ethnographical and Natural History collections. The Board was informed that there was already space on the site in Mogren that had been reserved for expansion of museum to include new sections. Moreover, it was registered under the name of the National Museum, but funds were not available at that time to proceed with the building (Vercoutter, 1955–1956: 2). In the next step, the mock-up of the new museum was made in order to be able to comprise the concept of the National Archaeological Museum, where the Ethnographical and Natural History Museum could also be located. In the plan there was also space reserved for large store rooms, laboratories, a library and a lecture room that should be equipped with a projector. It has to be mentioned that the plan for the future museum was not only dedicated to archaeological studies, but was also intended to contribute to general education and scientific research. Eventually, the museum was established in 1971 in Khartoum. It was located in a walking distance from public transport, which was an important factor to encourage people to visit the Sudan National Museum. However, after the independence, the Antiquities Service

followed the concept and strategies created previously by the Anglo-Egyptian colonizer in Sudan (the establishment of the Sudan National Ethnographic Museum and the Sudan National Museum in the proposed area, where historical and archaeological materials would be displayed and where large store rooms, laboratories, etc. would be located).

Today, Sudan National Museum (SNM) and its building became a part of Sudan National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. Nowadays, NCAM governs several associated museums (Table 2):

No.	Museum	Location	Collection	Establishment
1	Merowe Museum (closed)	North state	archaeological	1925
2	Khalifa's House - Omdurman	Khartoum state	historical	1928
3	Wadi Halfa Museum	North state	archaeological	1930
4	Khartoum Museum (the nucleus of the Sudan National Museum)	Khartoum state	archaeological & historical	1934
5	Sheikan Museum - Al-Ubayyid	North Kurdufan state	archaeological & historical	1965
6	Sudan National Museum	Khartoum	archaeological & historical	1971
7	Karima Museum	North state	archaeological & historical	1975
8	Ali Dinar Museum - Alfashir	Darfur	archaeological & historical	1975
9	Al-Damer Museum	Rive Nile state	archaeological	2003
10	Nyala Museum	South Darfur state	archaeological & ethnographical	2008
11	Karma Museum	North state	archaeological and ethnographical	2008
12	Algzeria Museum Wad Medani	Algzeria state	archaeological & ethnographical	2009
13	Merowe Museum - Fourth Cataract project	North state	archaeological & ethnographical	2009
14	Red Sea Museum	Red Sea state	archaeological & ethnographical	2014
15	Sinar Museum	Sinar state	archaeological & ethnographical	2017
16	Al-Junayna Museum	West Darfur	archaeological & ethnographical	2017

Table 2. Museums under NCAM's supervision.

2.3.2. The concept and strategies of archaeological management

The first military regime in Sudan in 1958–1964 coincided with the decision of the Egyptian Government to build a high dam at Aswan. The Sudanese military regime at the time agreed to this plan, putting the Sudan Antiquities Service in a difficult position. Notably, this project threatened an area in Sudan (between Faras in the North and Merowe area at the Forth Cataract) that was rich

in archaeological material: fortresses, temples, buried towns, graves, churches (of which some of them were still standing), rock inscriptions and drawings, that were still waiting for rescue excavation and documentations. However, when the High Dam project at Aswan was completed, Sudan became aware of awaiting catastrophe in the archaeological sites that could be partially submerged under water (Vercoutter, 1955–1956: 3). Different scholars and people in charge had various concepts and ideas regarding rescue archaeology management which will be thoroughly described in following sections.

2.3.2.1. Training and education

Anticipated challenges and threats, that the Sudan Antiquities Service was facing due to the Egyptian project, encouraged its administration to increase the training courses for Sudanese cadres in the field of antiquities. They had already started the series of educational workshops in the 1940s and then continued in the 1950s and 1960s. Before Sudan became independent, some members of the Sudanese Museums staff were sent to England to obtain the high education and accomplish courses in archaeology and museology. In this way the gap in Antiquities Service's board should have been filled.

As a result, Thabit Hassan was posted to the Northern Sudan – Wadi Halfa in the summer of 1953 to be in charge of administration for the antiquities of Wadi Halfa and Merowe districts (Shinnie, 1952–1953: 1). He went to Egypt to arrange workmen for the Ghazali excavations and for the conservation work at Karnak in December 1953 and January 1954. Another example is Sadiq el-Nur, the Assistant Curator of the Antiquities Department. He went to England in 1953 for one-year diploma of Museums Association. Furthermore, Ahmed el-Sayed, another Assistant Curator in the Antiquities Section, attended courses at the Institute of Archaeology in the University of London and visited various museums in the United Kingdom to obtain more experience. Further, Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif, an Antiquities Officer, was sent for three-years degree at Durham University. Another important example is Abdel Rahman Adam, who continued his degree in Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University. Moreover, Osman el Hassan, the Antiquities Mason, went on a course in carpentry at the Khartoum Technical Institute in July and August 1953 (Shinnie, 1953–1954: 1). This system of training and qualification for the Sudanese cadres was required for them to be capable of carrying out the antiquities administration service after the evacuation of the British colonizer officers (Chittick, 1954–1955: 2f).

The effort taken in educating Museums staff resulted in qualification of the first generation of Sudanese archaeologists, such as: Abdul Rahman Adam (1924–1954), Thabit Hassan Thabit (1921–1996), Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif (1938–1994), Ahmed Mohamed Ali Al-Hakim (1938–

1996), Osama Abdel Rahman Al-Nour (1940–2007). All of them were in charge of the administration of the Antiquities Service in Sudan (except Abdel Rahman Adam, who died whilst studying abroad). These pioneers of Sudanese scholars focused on the management and preservation of Sudanese antiquities through the archaeological surveys, excavations, documentation and conservation. However, it has to be noted, that they followed up the British colonizer's strategies in this field.

Obviously, their approaches were highly influenced by the English schools in archaeology and the management of archaeology heritage. Later, in 1960, the first Sudanese scholar T.H. Thabit appeared as a qualified successor in the commissioner position and became the first Sudanese Commissioner of Archaeology and Anthropology. After that, survey and fieldwork projects between Sudanese and foreign archaeologists began to increase. Further, in 1965, the Department of Archaeology at the University of Khartoum was established under the chairmanship of P. L. Shinnie, the former Commissioner of Archaeology.

Aforementioned Sudanese archaeologists, along with European scholars (mainly from Great Britain and Norway), contributed to the graduation of the first generation of Sudanese archaeologists, who were the second generation of the Sudanese scholars in archaeology. Between 1970–1971, Abdelkader Mahmoud Abdullah, as the first Sudanese, was appointed as the Head of Archaeological Department in the University of Khartoum. Later, Mohamed Ali Al-Hakim took over this role (1971–1981). He was the actual founder of this section of the University, and later on he became a General Director of the Antiquities Service. He also assisted foreign scholars from Europe (e.g. John Caulette, Randy Halland, Pierce Crocker, Elsa Kaleb, Richard Pearce and Paul Calo) and Sudanese scholars (e.g. Abbas Ahmed Sayed, Mohamed Ali, Ali Osman Mohamed Saleh, Youssef Mokhtar El Amin, Khader Abdel Karim and Ibrahim Moussa) in their research.

Most of first Sudanese archaeologists, that graduated from University of Khartoum (and others), were taught by foreign professors, particularly from Britain and Norway. They represented various European views and concepts in archaeology, fieldwork and excavations. However, they were also taught by Sudanese archaeologists, who succeeded the British archaeologist, and they were framed under theories, approaches and principles of British schools of archaeology. It has to be noted that the best scholars from this group continued their studies as postgraduate in various universities around the world, e.g. in Great Britain (Cambridge, Leicester, Southampton), Norway (Bergen) or Canada (Calgary) ³³.

³³ Most of lecturers in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Khartoum obtained their PhD at the Cambridge University (though some of them had previously obtained M.A. in Canada), but more recent graduates were studying in Canada, France, Germany and Norway. They returned with increased technical competence and widely different views of the Sudanese archaeology.

2.3.2.2. Archaeological heritage management

Since the 1940s and 1950s, Sudanese staff appeared to slowly become qualified in the field of archaeology. As a result, the Antiquities Service and Museums (ASM) became an independent office responsible for its functions and work. These responsibilities were granted under the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952 and its subsequent amendments in 1958. Later, ASM continued its efforts in archaeological fieldwork in the country. Although the Antiquities Department within ASM had its own detailed budget, which was supervised by its Director General and had its own career track record, it remained constrained by the laws and conditions of public service.

Archaeological heritage management in Sudan is an important issue for the country and citizens. It represents the material cultural heritage of the country and the memory of the Sudanese people. It is of national importance and is an essential component of unity and sources of identity. This heritage since the beginning of the 20th century has been protected by law. However, within the period of the 1950s and 1960s, due to the lack of qualified scholars in the field of archaeology, the administration of antiquities and ethnography in the country was managed by the General Director of ASM, who was still not of Sudanese origin.

The first General Director was **Jean Vercoutter** (1953–1960). He was a French scholar, who studied painting at the beginning of his career. Later he turned to Egyptology and graduated with a thesis on ancient Egyptian funerary objects, which showed an impact in the course of his fieldwork. He was one of the pioneers in archaeological research in Sudan. He concentrated on studying the sites of Khor Rafit and Aksha, where he worked since 1953, when they were threatened by the construction of the new Aswan Dam (Vercoutter, 1955–1956: 11). He excavated also structures of the temple of Ramesses II and a Meroitic cemetery, as well as other small cemeteries. In addition, he conducted excavation at the site of Sai Island.

Vercoutter's administration concentrated on preparations for the Nubian rescue campaign, which formed the way of the archaeological work in the country at the time. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the ASM continued with J. Vercoutter's plan and focused on the UNESCO Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, that accompanied the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. The French Unit (SFDAS) that he founded is considered one of the twenty-seven French research institutions funded by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (IFRE). Along with the cooperation and cultural service offered by the French Embassy in Khartoum, it plays an important role in the French scientific and university cooperation in the country. The Cooperation Agreement was signed on 22.12.1969 by France and Sudan. As a result, SFDAS was integrated into the ASM. SFDAS intends to develop partnerships with French universities and institutions involved in archaeology in Sudan. Besides, it contributes to training of NCAM staff and has close

relationship with Sudanese and foreign institutions related to archaeological research in Sudan. Moreover, it was (and still is) involved in the projects of NCAM, especially the rescue archaeology projects³⁴.

The second General Director of ASM, and the first of Sudanese origin, was **Thabit Hassan Thabit** (1960–1969). During his time, and until 1971, ASM was attached to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. In 1972 it became affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and Information (and it remained as such up to 1990). During that time ASM continued to work hard, keeping up with its development and provide solutions for actual needs. However, these efforts continued to clash with the Public Service Bureau, that restricted ASM movement as a government unit to which all the civil service conditions and procedures applied. The biggest issue was obstructing the plans for preparation of the National Museum.

Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif (1969–1988) took over the role of the General Director of ASM after T. H. Thabit. During his term in office the Sudan National Museum was opened. In the last decade of his cadence he made an extensive contact with foreign parties in order to obtain financial support for archaeological work in Sudan. Specifically, during the season of 1980–1981 in fieldwork there were 18 archaeological foreign expeditions from various countries, such as: Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Poland, Spain, Switzerland and the USA. What is more, scholars of other nationalities (Argentina, the German Democratic Republic, the USSR, Hungary and others) were working on research and ended up publishing the results of previous fieldwork (Shinnie, 1981: 27).

Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif was an accomplished academic, known for his passion for history and love of work. He was also known for his friendly attitude towards foreign archaeological expeditions, but he was strict with those who abuse antiquities. Moreover, he left a countless of scientific research, lectures, and memoirs. Among them very important publications is *The Museum Series*. To commemorate his work, his name was given to one of exhibitions and conferences halls in the buildings of the National Museum of Sudan. However, he was not sufficiently positive in giving opportunities for external training, dissemination of information and publication for the cadres of NCAM. He also openly defined his support for the May Revolution (Interview No. 7).

Osama Abdel Rahman Al-Nour (1988–1990) was the next General Director. He received his PhD in 1976 in Egyptology from the Institute of Oriental Studies in Academy of Sciences, Moscow. He was isolated politically, even though he was a leading part of the recent Ordinance. He was one of the first Sudanese scholars to contribute to the first Sudanese Ordinance of Archaeology

³⁴ Cf. https://www.sfdas.com/spip.php?page=rubrique&id_rubrique=4&lang=fr [Access on 12.07.2014].

after independence. His administration had undergone many changes in the nature of field and office work, for instance: he presented a new structure of the administration and aimed to transform the National Antiquities Service and Museums into an independent body in applied research, which would have its own law on the decision of scientific research centres. Moreover, he initiated a number of archaeological and ethnographic survey projects of the whole Sudan, that aimed to:

- register, describe, protect archaeological sites;
- intensify fieldwork and ethnography;
- identify archaeological sites and to fence endangered ones;
- start the implementation of the archaeological map project for the Sudan.

Among the most important projects started by Al-Nour, that are still running, following can be named (Al-Nour, 1990: 6-8):

A. Saving the archaeological sites of al-Hamadab³⁵

The project aimed to conduct the archaeological and ethnographic survey of the area located between the Fourth and Fifth cataracts, which was threatened with sinking in the case of the construction of a Merowe reservoir. At the International Conference on Sudanese Studies held in January 1988 at the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the University of Khartoum the start of this project was announced and it was explained that all efforts in the field of archaeological research must be mobilized for this rescue work.

B. Restoration of Begrawiya pyramids

The goal of this project was to continue the ongoing work for the installation and restoration of pyramids of Meroe kings and queens. The scope of research includes the maintenance of 55 pyramids and funerary temples attached to them, as well as studying the architectural details and funerary rites of the era. Additionally, there was a plan to fence the entire archaeological site and establish a dedicated museum.

C. Rehabilitation of the Jebel Barkal Museum

The project aimed to find an alternative to the Museum of Merowe, which has been destroyed and remained closed for the past twenty years. The project of the Jebel Barkal Museum consists of two parts. The first was to open the closed museum, which buildings have been constructed in 1976. The second was to create an open-air museum in the entire site, which includes pyramids, temples,

³⁵ See 4.2.2.5. *Field survey, excavations.*

the mountain and tombs. In the next step, surrounding wall as a fence should be built with a single entrance. In particular, the project aimed to complete the procedures for the rehabilitation of the museum to receive visitors.

D. Building the Wadi Halfa Museum

The project aimed to establish a museum in Wadi Halfa as an alternative to the old museum, which has been flooded by the waters of Nubian Lake in 1965.

E. Supporting the Sudan National Museum of Antiquities

It aimed to rehabilitate the museum (e.g. repair the roof) and the tomb of the Jhoti Hotep which is located in the Museum's archaeological garden. Further goal was to rearrange the display in the halls to serve the purposes of national collection. Another objective was the re-classification of the collection; restoration, photographic documentation and the evaluation of holdings that are stored in order to keep copies of their records for the Auditor General.

F. Maintenance of the Khalifa House Museum

The project aimed to complete the maintenance of the museum, the supply of exhibits, the restoration of the exhibition and the construction of additional exhibition halls. Another goal was to activate the movement of the collection of Mahdi period legacies. All these objectives were approved within the framework of the four-year development plan, and the funds were approved for the fiscal year 1988–1989.

It also has to be emphasized that Al-Nour's administration continued the extensive contacts with foreign parties made by the previous director Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif. The aim was to attract financial support for archaeology, ethnography and museum work. His office cooperated with following organizations:

A. Ford Foundation

This institution provided support in the amount of 49,000\$ to develop the Sudan National Museum of Ethnography. The support was based on study started by Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif. Al-Nour's administration had to proceed with the completion of the project. They acquired ethnographic material through field trips to the various regions of the Sudan. Moreover, thanks to the Ford Foundation, a staff member was sent to the USA to receive an extensive training courses in museum exhibits. Furthermore, the Foundation donated ca. 60,000\$ for the project of establishing an open-air ethnographic exhibition in front of the Sudan National Museum.

B. Federal German State Lower Saxony

The authorities of Lower Saxony provided financial support (ca. 20,000 DM) to the Sudanese National Museum of Ethnography. They also sent experts in restoration and ethnology to work in the museum and train the staff.

C. The Swiss Embassy

The Swiss Embassy supported the project of the establishment of a permanent exhibition in the archaeological site of Tombos at the Third Cataract. The project was submitted by ASM in 1988 and it was described as the first project of this kind in Sudan. The purpose was preserving archaeological materials of the region in its location. Moreover, it was hoped to help to raise the archaeological and historical awareness of citizens. The project was supposed to begin in January 1989, but the crisis in ASM, that was a result of the political decisions taken by the Minister of Culture and Information at that time, led to the obstruction of this and many other projects.

D. The European Common Market

The European Common Market was involved in the rehabilitation project of the Sudan National Museum of Antiquities. It aimed to provide equipment for scientific research (a Macintosh computer) to document the archaeological artifacts and sites. It was also needed for the publication of periodicals and museum catalogues, etc. They also supported another project, namely the establishing and maintenance of the Khalifa House Museum.

E. Japanese Cultural Aid

The project undertaken with Japanese Cultural Aid aimed at finding support for the equipment required in the Department of Archaeological Survey. They donated 5,000,000¥ for this goal.

F. The Sudanese Research Project on Archaeology

A project jointly developed with the British Museum to serve as a five-year program to rescue endangered archaeological sites in Wadi Al-Khawi, south of the Third Cataract and Soba East. It included a full-time program aimed at training and preparing experienced cadres in the museum work and a short-term training session at the British Museum in London. The program also included an exhibition of Sudanese Antiquities in London and other European capitals. Further goal was printing a catalogue of Sudan National Museum's holdings in a good quality. The project was expected to start in October 1990 with financial contribution of £1 million from the British Council, the British Museum, the European Common Market and the Ford Foundation.

Osama Abdel Rahman Al-Nour was dismissed from his job due to the political reasons after the military coup (Interview No. 7).

Khadir Adam Issa (1990) took over the role as General Director in the transitional period. He continued aforementioned plans and projects initiated by Al-Nour (Interview No. 7).

The next General Director was **Ahmed Mohamed Ali Al-Hakim** (1990–1994). He was more academic than an administrator, due to his long lecturing term in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Khartoum. During his term of office, the name of ASM was changed to the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM). This organization was added later to the Ministry of Tourism and National Heritage in 1991. However, this change actually did not relate to any change in the functional structure or financial and administrative affairs. Unexpectedly, and despite his academic tendencies, Al-Hakim gave German expeditions one of the most important archaeological sites in the Region of Nile River (Naga). This site was not in high risk and was supposed to be reserved as a concession area for the future Sudanese researchers or at least granted to national expeditions (Interview No. 7).

Further, **Hassan Hussain Idris** (1994–2014) took over the position as General Director. During his administration the first Sudanese antiquities law after independence was issued. The law is known as *The Ordinance of Antiquities 1999*, which is currently the applicable law. Moreover, during his administration, the number of expeditions and archaeological sites, as well as the number of employees in NCAM, increased. It has to be emphasized that during his term of office the training of NCAM's staff in archaeology was expanded, especially in cooperation with the National Council for Training and institutes of foreign archaeological expeditions that were working in Sudan. Furthermore, thanks to him the registration of archaeological sites on the World Heritage List has begun (Interview No. 1).

During this time NCAM has faced the biggest challenges of rescue archaeological fieldwork in Sudan after independence, namely the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project. During this period the developing of archaeological concept and heritage in Sudan could be observed, perhaps because of the increase of archaeological fieldworks in the country. An additional factor could be observed in the continuation of arrival of many archaeological expeditions that were interested in archaeological research in Sudan and represented many international universities, institutes and museums (Interview No. 1).

Idris's administration had to abandon the administration of the Ethnographic Museum, which was under the administration of NCAM (Interview No. 1).

As next General Director served **Abd-Alrahman Ali M. Rahma** (2014–2020). He received his graduate studies at the University of Lille in France and participated in planning the Fourth Cataract project. During his administration, the archaeological work in Sudan developed significantly.

He contributed also to the training of the national cadre domestically and abroad. He continued to expand the registration of Sudanese archaeological sites to the World Heritage List. Furthermore, he implemented some projects that were planned by the previous administrations with a renewed vision. He also initiated new projects, which were focusing on attracting financial support, expanding the number of regional museums, expanding the number of foreign exhibitions and continued cooperation with missions, institutes and universities. Abd-Alrahman Ali was dismissed from his job due to the political reasons after the revolution in 2020 (Interview No. 2).

Further General Director was **Hatim el-Nor** (2020–2021). He studied French at the University of Khartoum, then he obtained a master degree in archaeology, and finally received his doctorate in archaeology at the University of Lille in France. He became interested in archaeology as he worked as a tour guide and in cooperation with travel agency visited archaeological sites in Sudan. He was appointed as a General Director for the transitional period after the revolution. However, due to his political personal decision, he submitted his resignation before the end of the transitional period. His reason was the lack of the government's support in solving problems of the NCAM authority. After his resignation the acting General Director was **Galia Garalnabi** (2021–2022). Then, the General Director was **Ibrahim Mosa** (2022–2023) who passed away in Cairo after the outbreak of war in Sudan. Currently the acting General Director **Galia Garalnabi** is in charge of NCAM.

2.3.3. Conclusions

After gaining independency, Sudan was ruled by many civilian and military governments that took over power in military coups and popular uprisings. This had a negative impact on archaeological work in the country. The deterioration of the country was always viable, especially during the absence of democracy and the multiplicity of governance policies. Obviously, since the independence until now, Sudan has not recovered from the economic deterioration and political problems, which led the country to many civil wars in its various regions. However, the country was partly beginning to recover economically and politically, but then once again it continued to fall apart due to the split of the southern part in 2005. All of these issues directly affected funding and sufficient support for archaeological work in Sudan.

The reality of the situation and political changes in the country have played a big role in the nature of work of ASM and NCAM. During the past three decades the archaeological work and administration of ASM/NCAM was attached to various governor ministries, e.g. in the 1990s it was functioning under the supervision of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, then at the beginning of 21st century under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture, Wildlife, Nature and Heritage, Youth and Sports and finally of the Ministry of Culture and Information.

Currently, the administration of NCAM is still affected by these policies issues.

Nowadays Sudan is also witnessing a rapid increase in urbanisation, particularly around the main urban centre. The archaeological remains are increasingly threatened by sub-urban areas expansion. Another issue is development of infrastructure, mostly dam construction schemes (construction of dams at Upper Atbara, Setit Dam complex 2011–2017 and Roseires in the 1960s). Moreover, there were further agricultural projects (e.g. the development of the Gezira cotton scheme) or irrigation projects (e.g. Al Jazirah) initiated, which until recently were undertaken without enough archaeological rescue operations.

Notably, all investments mentioned above are connected with the consequent loss of valuable information on important archaeological sites and materials. However, nowadays the awareness of importance of the archaeological heritage is resected in government programs. Their aim to protect the country's archaeological heritage is visible in legislation, e.g. *The Antiquities Ordinance of 1999*. It includes a provision that "development projects may be initiated only after the completion of archaeological studies" (Ryle, Willis, Baldo and Jok, 2011: 60).

It is worth to mentioned that in the late 1970s and early 1980s the Arabian Peninsula started moving towards remarkable development in many fields, also in the archaeology and anthropology. It was clear that at that time most of the Arabian Gulf countries were in lack of qualified employees and researchers, especially in aforementioned fields. Therefore, these countries were offering a motivational job with attractive salaries, that were difficult to refuse, especially if compared with the salary, remuneration and privileges granted in Sudan (the political and economic conditions at that time in Sudan were hardly oppressive). This was enough to make most of the qualified archaeologists in Sudan to emigrate in various directions: Europe (England, Norway) and Arabian countries (Arabian Peninsula, due to the geographical proximity). However, this issue remained up to date, despite of the demographical expansion and the increase of domestic universities that include faculties of archaeology within their structure, e.g. Shendi University and Dongola University (Faculty of Arts – Department of Archaeology was established in 1994), Universities of Neeline, recently University Bahri in Khartoum (University of Juba before separation of North and South of Sudan) and Al-Gezira University³⁶.

However, it also has to be mentioned that within the last three decades before Sudan got independence, the issue of Sudanese identity has become a public concern, and it has become the concern of all the country's intellectuals³⁷. During the last few years after independence

³⁶ Abdul Rahim Mohammed Khabir, *From the memory bag: the experience of Sudanese researchers in the exploration of Antiquities of the Arabian Peninsula (1974-2005)*. Cf. <https://www.alrakoba.net/news-action-show-id-157746.htm> [Access on 25.07.2014].

³⁷ Cf. https://www.sfdas.com/spip.php?page=rubrique&id_rubrique=4&lang=fr [Access on 12.07.2014].

in Sudan, there has been a remarkable growth in the participation of Sudanese scholars who were interested in archaeology or heritage. This, however, was a sign of a very noticeable change in the attitudes of people in the country. It can be assumed that the participation of indigenous people, in archaeology and in other academic or cultural activities, reflects the attitudes of time after independence. It also should be noted that with the growing awareness of national identity, attention to the past became a major issue. Shinnie (1981: 25) mentioned that when he went to Sudan, a common attitude of many Sudanese towards the efforts, that were being made to investigate and preserve their antiquities, was rather negative:

Why do you bother with these things, they are nothing to do with us, they are not the remains of our ancestors, we are Arabs and came here only a few hundred years ago and are not interested in what the unbelievers left behind in the country.

This opinion was a widespread view at the time even though it could be a case of praise to the first Sudanese recruited of ASM.

In particular, there were two noticeable changes in the nature of archaeological activities in the latest period after Sudan became independent. There have been also some changes in the historical studies of the country. The first is the increase of participation of Sudanese archaeologists and increase of students enrolled to the programs of the universities in Sudan at the departments of archaeology. It is now producing a number of young scholars who will, with no doubt, approach their research from a different perspective than that of their foreign colleagues. However, the Sudanese archaeologists are still sent abroad for graduate study, where they can benefit from the exposure to various methods and techniques and diversity of views.

Moreover, the majority of people responsible for the training of Sudanese archaeologists were themselves aiming to indoctrinate them with colonial and post-colonial traditions. In addition, there are several members of ASM/NCAM who have received their training and MA abroad (e.g. in Poland and the USA).

It is still only at the intermediate level that training is being given by Sudanese to Sudanese, but this, largely based on the training excavations at the Sudanese universities' own concessions, have already produced a number of high education graduate theses. It was a considerable additional knowledge in a particular study of archaeology in Sudan (Shinnie, 1981: 30).

3. Protection of archaeological heritage – legislation

This chapter tackles the topic of Sudanese heritage protection legislation and is divided into two parts. The first one deals with the legislation governing heritage management in Sudan during the colonial era. It will be followed by the discussion on gradual development of legislation from colonial decrees to the period of independence in Sudan. Particular emphasis is laid on the ASM Ordinances 1905–1952. The second part of the chapter examines the 1999 National Policy for Archaeological Heritage, which is the current preventive legislation, with a reflection on the historical development of heritage management policies and plans for the future.

3.1. British law (The Antiquities Ordinance of 1905 and The Antiquities Ordinance of 1952)

The first *Antiquities Ordinance of Sudan* was issued in 1905 when the Board of Museums and Antiquities was created and the office of the Acting Conservator of Antiquities was established by the government. Much of the archaeological and museums work in Sudan depended at the time, as exemplified by J. Arkell, on “the commitment and the genuine curiosity of individual colonial protagonists, for whom an interest in the past and specially in antiquities was a side effect of the canonical officer’s education” (Näser and Kleinitz, 2021: 5). However, before the beginning of the 20th century, authorities ruling the region of current Sudan did not give any official consideration to produce an antiquities legislation for the management of archaeological activities and antiquities.

3.1.1. The regulation and legislation terms associated with archaeological heritage in Sudan

The definition of the phrase *archaeological legislation* may include all laws, rules, regulations, acts, statutes, enactment, charters, ordinances or decrees that affect the protection or management of archaeological heritage of a country³⁸. Based on these objectives, in the beginning of the 20th century, it was necessary for Sudan to consider the possibility of issuing the first law to protect the antiquities of Sudan, which is known as *The Antiquities Ordinance of 1905*. This draft was issued to administer and rule the country’s antiquities. It was the first legal and administrative framework of archaeological heritage protection in Sudan.

³⁸ The Oxford English Dictionary, cf. <http://www.oed.com> [Access on 24.05.2017].

3.1.2. Archaeological legislation

The motivation and reason to produce an antiquities ordinance in Sudan was connected with the development that took place in the 19th century in Europe. This considers especially Britain where widespread of interest in the preservation of monumental structures, whether they were prehistoric monuments, mediaeval buildings or any later remains, could be observed at that time. In particular, the British Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings³⁹ was the precursor in the development of archaeological preservation legislation and was later looking forward for refinement of the law in this field, e.g. through the development of formal structures to conserve and record the material remains of the past.

As a result, at that time most of the European colonial countries started preparing similar legislation (or “statutory law”). Since Sudan was one of the British colonies, it was naturally influenced by policies introduced in the country. It has to be noted that Sudan was one of the most advantageous regions for the British Commonwealth at the time due to Gezira Scheme, which was one of the largest irrigation projects in the world⁴⁰. The motivation and reasons for enacting a Sudanese law referred to the richness of Sudan in ancient antiquities and other archaeological remains, that urged the British authorities (and European intellectuals in general) to expedite the discovery and knowledge about these valuable resources.

3.1.2.1. *The Antiquities Ordinance of 1905*

The Antiquities Ordinance of 1905 was prepared and drawn up by J. W. Crowfoot, the Inspector of Education at the time, along with the help of E. A. Wallis Budge (Mohamed and Anderson, 2013: 13). It is commonly cited as the first piece of antiquities “legislation” in Sudan. It tackled such topics as protection and management of archaeological works in the country, making a provision for better preservation of antiquities, laying the groundwork for official archaeological expeditions to Sudan, etc. This document contains title of the law along with the definition of antiquities, their classification (they were divided into movable and immovable antiquities) and 16 articles, which were limited to archaeological activities.

In detail, the Ordinance referred to the activities of archaeologists in the country and the preservation of antiquities by notifying of the discovery of antiquities and punishing anyone

³⁹ Cf. <https://www.spab.org.uk/about-us> [Access on 03.04.2024].

⁴⁰ “This scheme, intended to be the foundation of Sudan’s new economy, according to British criterion. It came to demonstrate the dangers of national dependence on a single commodity. When it was formulated in the 1920th, with the intention of sourcing raw cotton to feed the textile industry in Lancashire, in the United Kingdom, international prices were high” (Ryle, Willis, Baldo and Jok, 2011: 133).

who damaged or destroyed immovable antiquities. It also included the topic of issuing permission for work in the field of antiquities and forbade conducting such activities without official consent. Moreover, regulations in regard to the maintenance and restoration work were mentioned in the document. The law indicated that the ancient antiquities are property of the government and it has the right to expropriate the ownership of antiquities sites. In addition, the government could purchase antiquities. Eventually, the law referred to provisions for selling and exporting antiquities abroad.

Furthermore, the Ordinance regulated the limitation of permissible and forbidden digging in order to collect manure. It referred to the legality and proof of antiquities and the confiscation of antiquities, including the way of adjudicating cases of investigation in antiquities crimes. According to the Ordinance of 1905, antiquities were objects made or built before 1783. The Governor General gained the power to declare by special notice any building established later than that date as an antiquity, and thus to give it the protection by the law. Moreover, the historical monuments were defined as both: movable and immoveable antiquities, including all monuments, archaeological sites and objects found in territory of Sudan (Appendix 1).

Through the review of Ordinance articles, it can be noticed that the protection force associated with the monument was restricted by the governmental power, which had the authority to consider any building and object created before 1783 or more than 112 years old at the time of issuing this decree. However, the extent of the effectiveness of the authority to protect monuments lied in the power granted to the government to confiscate any building or object that is proven to be antiquity. Furthermore, in this law the colonial government seemed to give a permission and opened the gate for the antiquities trade. It is clear that the Ordinance of 1905 had entrenched attitude to assert that Europeans had a superior moral right to collect and export Sudanese artifacts and that had been legalized by the colonial government.

It has to be emphasized that the regulation referred to the government's authority to schedule archaeological sites in Antiquities Ordinance of 1905 had not been implemented before 1950, when a group of buildings in Omdurman was classified as antiquities in the Legislative Supplement to *Sudan Government Gazette No. 817* (Shinnie, 1950–1951: 5). The list included following antiquities:

- The Khalifa's House;
- The South Gate;
- The walls of the Beit el Amana;
- The gateway of Sayed Bushra el Mahdi's House;
- A Culvert in a wall of the Mulazimin Quarter.

The power of this law was evidently connected with the Paragraph 4. of *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1905* which granted the government the right to expropriate ownership of antiquities sites. Another legal basis for this action was *the Expropriation Law of 1903* which granted the government the right to expropriate ownership of anything, for which antiquity is proven, whether it was movable or immovable. In addition, the government had a right to obtain areas where immovable antiquities were located (if they were not affiliated with the government already) and to create access to them when necessary. Moreover, according to the provisions of this law, it gave the right to excavate and to transfer at any time any movable antiquities devolved to the government, from any land that is not owned by the government. The government was only obligated to compensate the real damage suffered by the owner of the land and the one who seized it.

3.1.2.2. *The Antiquities Ordinance of 1952*

The Antiquities Ordinance of 1952 repealed officially *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1905* in the Article 2. The reason to develop a new law and to renew the first *Antiquities Ordinance of 1905* occurred with the growth of archaeological activities that were associated with the succession of independent directors after the formulation of the Sudan Antiquities Service. These directors were independently in charge of the Commissioner of Archaeology and Anthropology in Sudan. However, the Commissioner Peter Lewis Shinnie (1948–1955) was the director who raised the need to renew the first Antiquities Ordinance and was responsible for drafting *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952*. Obviously, the basis of this law was prepared under government resources.

The Antiquities Ordinance of 1952 was constructed, produced and modified by colonial agency under the terminology or phrases associated with the Sudanese antiquities issues at that time. It consists of 24 articles. They included and modified some provisions of *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1905*, providing that all orders made or permissions granted there under and in force at the date hereof shall remain in force and be deemed to have been made under this Ordinance. Basically, *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952* (Ordinance No. 2) came into force in March 1952. The law aimed to make better provision for the protection of antiquities, to establish conditions under which licenses to excavate may be issued and to give power to the Commissioner to make a list of ancient monuments and sites.

Furthermore, this law referred to the ownership of antiquities and the government's authority to expropriate ownership of antiquities sites. It tackled the issue of reporting the discovery of antiquities by people unauthorized to dig as well as the punishment in case of damage or destruction of antiquities. Besides, it highlighted the necessity of license to explore, excavate or obtain antiquities. It regulated dividing antiquities between the government and licensee, types

of licenses and rights of the licensee to publish the scientific reports from conducted excavation. In addition to all above rules, the licensees had right to make copies of some objects of their discovery. Finally, the Ordinance handled the issue of selling and exporting antiquities. Other important topics mentioned in the Ordinance were (Appendix 2):

- the punishment in case of possession of antiquities not obtained legally and in good faith;
- the need of listing the ancient buildings and monuments along with their sites and field area;
- the donation of antiquities by the government.

Briefly, the law showed the responsibility for persistence with regard to things that were claimed to be antiquities. It also ordered forming a committee to be called the Antiquities and Museums Committee, which would be responsible to the Minister of Education for implementing the provisions of the law. This was supposed to happen in accordance with the general policy approved by the Council of Ministers.

It has to be mentioned that *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952* introduced new classification of the archaeological building and artifact (Appendix 2): anything created before 1821, or that was 131 years old, was categorized as antiquity (whereas it in the 1905 law the age of 122 years old was valid⁴¹).

In the Ordinance of 1952, *an antiquity* was defined as (Appendix 2):

- a) any object, whether movable, immovable or a part of the soil, which was constructed, shaped, inscribed, erected, excavated or otherwise produced or modified by human agency earlier than the year 1821 AD. It includes any part of any such object which has at any later date has been added, reconstructed or restored;
- b) any historical monument;
- c) any human or animal remains of a date earlier than 1340 AD.

A *monument* however was defined as “any building, construction, excavation, cemetery, immovable remains or immovable object produced or modified by human agency” (Appendix 2).

3.1.2.3. Amendments and additions to the *Antiquity Ordinance of 1952*

After introducing *the Antiquity Ordinance of 1952*, some of laws were re-evaluated and updated due to changing circumstances and better understanding of actions needed to enhance

⁴¹ Cf. subchapter 3.1.2.1. *The Antiquities Ordinance of 1905*.

the protection of antiquities. The table (Table 3) clarifies the amendments proposed to the Ordinance of 1952:

Topic	Article	Amendments proposed to the Ordinance of 1952
Burden of proof of alleged antiquity	Article 4	In any trial or action in connection with any alleged antiquity the written opinion of the Commissioner as to the date thereof shall throw upon any of alleged person asserting the contrary the burden of proving that such is not the date antiquity and the burden of proving that any alleged antiquity was brought into the Sudan since 1 st January 1821 shall rest upon the person asserting the same.
Board explanation		Means the Museum Board set up under Section 5 of the Ordinance.
Board	Article 5	There is hereby constitutes the Board to be known as the Archaeological and Museums Board, which shall be responsible to the Minister of Education for carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance in accordance with the general policy from time to time laid down by the Board Council of Ministers.
Members of the Board		Director of Education – President Commissioner for Archaeology – Secretary – not more than 8 nor less than 4 members, to be appointed by the Council of ministers on the recommendation of the Minister of Education – appointed members shall serve for 3 years, but shall be eligible for re-appointment – four members shall constitute a quorum – the Board may make rules for the conduct of its business not inconsistent with the provisions of this Ordinance
Relations between Board and Commission	Article 5. A	In exercising the powers conferred on him by this Ordinance the Commissioner shall be subject to the general supervision of the Board, and to such specific directions as may from time to time be given to him by the Board.
Licensee reproductions of antiquities vesting him	Article 16	The licensee shall if so, required supply such photographs, casts. Licensee squeezes or other reproductions of the antiquities vesting in him to supply as the Commissioner may think fit.
Licensee to publish report of this excavations	Article 17	(1) Within two years of the ending of the excavations, unless such period be extended or exemption from this section be granted by the Commissioner, the licensee shall prepare and publish a report on the scientific results of his excavations and shall supply two copies of such report to the Commissioner. (2) To ensure compliance with subsection (1) of this section the Commissioner shall have power to require from any applicant for a license to excavate such deposit, guarantee or other security as he may think fit. (3) The Licensee shall also supply to the Commissioner two copies of any preliminary report on his excavations that he may publish.

Table 3. Amendments to the Antiquity Ordinance of 1952.

The Antiquities Protection Ordinance of 1952 was more comprehensive than a precedent, but it was delayed in issuance. Despite all its shortcomings, the document attempted to establish new ways of relating Sudanese antiquities, which was clearly evident in the expansion of laws prohibiting and restricting certain types of activities, such as: unauthorized excavation, selling and transferring antiquities to the people's homes without a license and stopping their use as sources of building material. However, part of the Ordinance was explicitly unjustifiable, especially with regards to the continuation act of division of the discovered archaeological materials (dividing archaeological materials between licensee and the government).

3.1.2.4. *The Antiquities Ordinance of 1952 and its amendment in the new political context of 1958–1959*

Since the independence of Sudan in 1956 successive Sudanese governments followed similar policies as the ones introduced by the colonizer. It is especially noticeable in the antiquities service, that was instituted by laws passed by the Anglo-Egyptian rulers and therefore the post-independence governments had looked up to those policies as the foundation of the modern Sudan. *The Antiquities Ordinance of 1952*, which was passed during the country's colonial period, laid foundations of independent rule in the matter of archaeology and antiquities, as the new government introduced only some amendments to this law in order to make it more compatible with the new circumstances. It has to be noticed that these changes were more associated with a formal structure due to reorganization of the state administration, however they did not show any changes in the concept of antiquities and organization of the system of protection.

The amendments that appeared to the law of 1952 after independence in 1958–1959 can be listed as follows (Table 4):

Article		Modification
Article 3		Replacement of <i>the Museums Committee</i> with <i>the Antiquities and Museums Committee</i> , necessary to add the word antiquities in order to complete the specific task.
Article 5	A.	The formation of the committee: instead of the committee being responsible to the Minister of Knowledge, it becomes responsible to the Minister of Education.
	B.	Instead of the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education as Chairman, the Director of Education becomes Chairman.
Article 6		In the relationship between the committee and the director in Article 6. Instead of submitting the director, within his vested power, is subject to the general supervision of the committee.

Table 4. Amendments to the Antiquity Ordinance of 1952 after independence in 1958–1959.

Eventually, the concept of Sudanese heritage began to change after regaining independence, due to the new knowledge of archaeology in the country and its needs. Therefore, a need appeared to change the antiquities law. The law of 1952 was amended again in 1992, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitutional Decree of 1989. Once again, this amendment did not change the concept of antiquities, it was just on administrative level. The initiatives to prepare amendments did not include general understanding of the protection and management of the heritage of the country. In comparison, there were no important changes between the Ordinances of 1952 and 1992.

The Antiquities Law Amendment of 1992 introduced following changes (Table 5.):

Article		Modification
Article 3	A.	Remove the word <i>committee</i> and its corresponding interpretation and change to <i>the committee of antiquities</i>
	B.	Remove the corresponding interpretation of the word <i>director</i> and to introduce the new interpretation, meaning the <i>Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums</i>
		At the end of the interpretation clause shall be added: <i>The council means: the board of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums</i>
Article 5	A.	is permanently cancelled, namely the construction and formation of the committee.
	B.	The word committee is removed, wherever mentioned in the law, and replaced by the word council.

Table 5. Amendments in *The Antiquities Law Amendment of 1992*.

After the second amendment to the 1952 law, this law remained valid until the issue of the current law of 1999.

3.2. Current legislation – *The Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999*

The Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999 was issued by NCAM – the institution responsible for the protection of Sudanese archaeological heritage. At that time, it was part of the Ministry of Antiquities, Tourism & Wildlife. NCAM is the institution responsible for the maintenance, rehabilitation, conservation and presentation of the archaeological sites. Its responsibility and competences are regulated by *the Antiquity Ordinance of 1999* in the section of *the Protection of Antiquities*.

The motivation behind *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1999* came out as a result of the accumulation of problems that accompanied the archaeological activities after the independence of Sudan, such as: the division of antiquities between the government and the licensee, the weakness of penalties for antiquities encroachment, the issues of archaeological management, etc. The clear shift in concepts of national sovereignty and Sudanese identity, which accompanied the post-colonial period, led to a reconsideration of the laws that were enacted during the colonial period in general. As for the Antiquities Protection Law, the Nubian Antiquities Rescue Campaign may have influenced the drafting of the Antiquities Law of 1999 by paying attention to the necessity of issuing a new antiquities law that was consistent with the requirements of state policies in dealing externally with research and academic missions.

It has to be mentioned that a very important factor were urgent recommendations of Sudanese archaeologists to issue a new law in order to improve the archaeological management in Sudan. The former director of NCAM, Osama Adam Al-Nour, was considered as one of the most important figures who were behind the preparation to issuance of the new law.

The Antiquities Ordinance of 1999 consists of four chapters with 36 articles (Appendix 3). The first chapter concerns introductory provisions – preliminary judgments referred to the name of the law as well as the abolition and exclusion of some provisions of the Law of 1952. It retains all the previous regulations in force until they are either modified or cancelled on the Ordinance of 1999. It also refers to the interpretations related to the definition of: *archaeology, archaeological land, archaeological site, historical building, excavation, rights of antiquities discoverer, the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, the General Authority for Antiquities and Museums*. Finally, it gives a detailed guideline on the role of *the General Director and the Minister* that should be defined by the Council of Ministers.

The second chapter concerns the aspects of antiquities and archaeological sites, where the focus is laid on the right of ownership to antiquities, the state power to take possession of archaeological sites, locating antiquities and prohibiting disposition of antiquities. In addition, posting advertisements and placing signs in archaeological sites are prohibited. Moreover, it refers to the prohibition of any changes in historical buildings, the prohibition of using the archaeological land other than the symptoms designated for it, the prohibition of the establishment of furnaces, laboratories and factories on archaeological sites.

Furthermore, it refers to the site admission powers of the NCAM's employees to enter any archaeological sites and carry out their duties. This law also gives an attention to the visitor, where it refers to preparations of archaeological sites for visits, preserving antiquities, selling antiquities, exchange of antiquities with foreign museums and scientific institutions, organizing temporary exhibitions of antiquities. What is more, following rights were granted in this document: the rights of antiquities discoverers, the right of NCAM to demand any antiquities from its proprietor, obligation to report any new archaeological discovery to the government. Finally, specific attention is given to the conservation and restoration of antiquities, with prohibition of imitation and falsification of antiquities.

The third chapter tackles the topic of excavation for antiquities by focusing on types of licenses and their details such as: the antiquities research license, the antiquities survey license, the antiquities excavation license. The license application process and the conditions for issuing the license are thoroughly described, indicating conditions for licenses, suspension, withdrawal or cancellation of the license. Moreover, it includes regulations concerning the scientific property rights, devolution of discovered antiquities to the government, exemption from customs duties, recovery of lost antiquities, prohibition of exporting and trading in antiquities, destroying antiquities or demolishing an archaeological building, and carrying out archaeological activity without a license.

The fourth and final chapters refer to the concluding provisions that grant power of the police officer and the power of issuing regulations.

3.2.1. Amendments and additions introduced in *The Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999* in comparison to previous laws

There were few important reasons behind the amendments proposed to the Ordinance 1999 in comparison to the earlier antiquity laws. First of all, the change of definitions must be mentioned. The new ordinance defines terms not found in the previous ordinances such as: *renovation, reconstruction, maintenance, the Discoverer, the Minister* and *NCAM*. Special attention is also given to the interpretation and description of antiquities (Appendix 3; Interview No. 3). Moreover, it expands the understanding of *excavation*, adding to it activities in water courses, lakes and regional waters. Further, the law of 1999 increases the power of officials, as it allows them to object and block any developments or actions that could harm the antiquities. What is more, this law punishes anyone who prevents the officials from undertaking their duties (Appendix 3; Articles 21 and 22). It also endows with police powers for inspectors of antiquities, museum curators and guards of museums and archaeological sites to arrest without prior legal authorization in relation to their assigned duties (Appendix 3; Article 34). The site admission powers of NCAM's staff is also mentioned. The law gives them right to enter any archaeological or historical building or land that contains antiquities for the purpose of inspection, observation, mapping, monitoring, research, etc. (Appendix 3; Article 11).

In terms of conservation and restoration of antiquities, the law of 1999 emphasizes that no undertakings in this regard should be allowed without approval of NCAM. They should be conducted under the strict supervision of NCAM (Appendix 3; Article 20). However, NCAM is responsible for preserving movable antiquities in museums, where they would be studied, conserved and exhibited in permanent or temporary exhibitions for visitors and researchers. Another duty of NCAM is preparing a register of archaeological sites and historical buildings owned by the State for visitors, researchers, tourists, etc. (Appendix 3; Article 12). What is more, NCAM should provide an authenticated and recognized archaeological map of all discovered sites or that are in the process „of being so or expected to yield antiquities findings” (Appendix 3; Article 13). Besides, NCAM has to plan and exchange temporary exhibitions of archaeological artifacts with other museums and foreign scientific institutes (Appendix 3; Article 15, 16, 19, 28).

Furthermore, *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1999* gives NCAM right to demand an antiquity from owners of registered antiquities or its proprietor for the purpose of study, drawing etc. (Appendix 3; Article 19). The prohibition of disposal of objects of archaeological interest and prohibited activities are all thoroughly described as well (Appendix 3; Article 6, 7, 8 ,9, 10). For instance, placing posters or notice-boards on archaeological sites or historical building is forbidden (Appendix 3; Article 7). Besides, the new law updates the list of prohibited activities on historical and archaeological sites to include the holding of festivals and celebrations

without relevant licenses and fees (Appendix 3; Article 6). Further, it is mentioned that it is not permitted to dispose any object of archaeological interest found on the surface of a landlord. In such cases NCAM has to be informed immediately and the founder is not allowed to excavate for any further relicts without prior approval from NCAM.

In the new law of 1999, there is an emphasis on protecting not only the historical and archaeological sites but also the neighbouring land as well. It is not allowed to build any sort of structures or roads at a distance „that may affect buildings or sites of archaeological interest without the prior approval of NCAM” (concept of buffer zone, Appendix 3; Article 10, 11). It is not permissible to embark on development projects until after the completion of archaeological studies and surveys, provided that beneficiaries bear expenses of those studies and rescue operations (Appendix 3; Article 10). The article based on the current issues and people activities at the time such as: building a brick kiln at or near the archaeological land (Appendix 3; Article 10). Imitation and falsification or trading transportable artifacts is prohibited, but it is possible to photograph or make models of antiquities with approval of NCAM (Appendix 3; Article 21). In this regard it seems that much was learnt from Nubian rescue project⁴², as the new law introduces important amendments that can later be applied in big infrastructure projects and improve the state of rescue archaeology in Sudan.

Licensing requirements and responsibilities of the archaeological team are further clarified under the new legislation. Vetting of the archaeological team is now required before the issuance of the relevant licenses, and there is a wider category of violations that would lead to revocation of license. The licensee must provide detailed information about boundaries of the archaeological site, summary of the excavation plan, the work programme, etc. (Appendix 3; Articles 19, 20, 24, 25, 26).

In the *Antiquities Ordinance of 1999*, there has been a further development of the Intellectual Property laws (Appendix 3; Article 27). NCAM has a right to keep results of the scientific property for the research and excavation conducted by archaeological missions (Appendix 3; Article 27). It has to be noted that the previous law of 1952 placed the ownership of artifacts discovered by archaeological teams in the hands of the State. The new law however places the ownership of such artifacts in the hands of NCAM. It certifies that artifacts can only be leased by the archaeological team if approved by the Minister following recommendations by NCAM. The length of the lease is now set at ten years maximum (Appendix 3; Article 14, 28). There has been a further development of cultural patrimony laws concerning restitution, which is based strictly on reciprocity (Appendix 3; Article 29). However, it is allowed for foreign archaeological mission to hold a license to import its

⁴² Cf. subchapter 4.1. *The Nubian Campaign*.

equipment free of customs and other levied taxes when entering Sudan (Appendix 3; Article 29).

The section of criminal legislation was covered in last paragraphs of the legislation (Appendix 3; Articles 30-33). NCAM is authorized with the judicial procedures to recover antiquities that were stolen or taken out of the country by illegitimate means. Moreover, the law assigns Antiquity Police (Appendix 3; Article 30). It is forbidden to export or trade antiquities except under a license from NCAM (Appendix 3; Article 31).

It has to be noticed that the decree also attempted to invent a productive relationship between locals and modern artifacts by creating new institutions (such as the regional museums), new governmental positions (regional antiquities inspectors) and new modes of appreciation (such as tourism). These two tendencies – the prohibitor and the productive – appear clearly in the language of *the Antiquity Ordinance of 1999*.

3.2.2. Limitations and effectiveness of current law

One of the most crucial issues tackled by *the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999* is the property designation. Under the provision of the new law the property is currently protected.

Another important and pressing issue in modern heritage management is the effective protection and preservation of archaeological heritage through the use of heritage legislation. Over many years, many legislations have been passed to protect monuments but they were not effective in terms of protecting cultural property. In some countries, theft and the illegal export of antiquities were a recurring problem. This may relate to the types of legislations issued from one country to another or the lack of awareness of the value of archaeological heritage in the minds of citizens themselves. In particular, since the beginning of the 20th century up to date, Sudanese antiquities were (and still are) a subject to a lot of pillage, looting and destruction. Many people cut their names on pillars and pylons of temples, rob graves or damage architecture and sandstone blocks. The largest damage or destruction of antiquities is caused by agriculture. In Sudan, the major destruction force are also people/companies searching for gold. Another factor of deterioration is the action of sandy wind and insects (termite, mud wasps etc.). Another negative factor is flooding disasters which result in destruction of settlement on the River Nile banks. Moreover, there were some mural painting in Nubian churches that have been damaged by light, rain and people scribbling over them. Another example can be fortifications that were destroyed down to ground by local people – sites were quarried for stone blocks and other materials.

From the State point of view, traditional and popular interest in antiquities provides another layer of destruction. In many instances this layer recently is organized under traditional mining committees or local thieves operating from the localities surrounding sites such as at North and East regions. Moreover, the security is a major problem faced by all archaeological heritage institutions,

museums, monuments, and archaeological sites (Interview No. 6). The safety of visitors is also a major concern⁴³.

3.3. Management and protection in antiquities laws in Sudan. Comparison and critical analysis

The law for archaeological heritage (1905; updated with law of 1952 and finally with the law of 1999) regulates all issues concerning legislation regarding the protection, rights and duties of institutions operating in the field of archaeological heritage. The articles that deal with archaeological activities in these laws could be referred to the following paragraphs: Articles 5, 6, 7 in the law of 1905; Articles 19, 20, 21 in the law of 1952 and Articles 31, 32, 33 in the law of 1999. They include regulations that prohibit the illegal sale, export and possession of antiquities as well as destroying or causing damage to antiquities. However, these ordinances were all released in succession with a gap of 47 years from each one. It is clearly noticeable that the title remained the same in the first and second Ordinance while the change was applied in the law of 1999, where the phrase *Protection of Antiquities* was mentioned as the most important need for the archaeological heritage, since the presence of protection means the continuity of the legacy.

Today, all the archaeological activities and protection of monuments fall under the administration of NCAM and regional administrative of Antiquities and Tourism⁴⁴, especially the Department of Restoration, the Department of Museums and the Department of Antiquities Service, which is responsible for archaeological survey, research and rescue excavations.

Comparing approaches that were introduced in all Sudanese antiquity's ordinances, which were all successively issued at the beginning, middle and end of the 20th century, it appears that whenever a new law was issued, the interest and protection for the archaeological heritage was increased. The manifestation of this change is promoting Sudan National Museum to NCAM and granting it more authority in regards to protection of all antiquities in Sudan. Another visible progress in enhancing protection of antiquities was diversifying types of licenses and restricting the rights of licensees, especially in regards to property rights and selling rights.

⁴³ The International Committee for Museum Security raised and developed awareness through the publication of *The Guide to the Protection of Museums and Archaeological Heritage*, which now is more than doubled in size.

⁴⁴ After the constitution of 2005 where Sudan was separated from South Sudan, the state's Administrative of Antiquities and Tourism were formed. These administrations have their own legal requirement for the archaeological sites and museums located in their territories.

3.3.1. Definition of antiquities

The Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999 introduces more specific and thorough definition of *antiquities*, however, the concept itself is quite different from previous versions of the law, especially with the development of modern and contemporary archaeology and even the landscape of monuments.

First of all, the law of 1999 extended the classification age of antiquities. If the matter has been remained in accordance with the law of 1905, probably a little of the heritage would be remained underground. As for the law of 1952, it tried to cleanse the hand of the colonizer and its influence on the archaeological remains, by placing the classification age of antiquity before the beginning of the colonization in Sudan. The law of 1999 presents the most comprehensive classification because it was more specific for identifying and determining the antiquities.

Moreover, the Ordinance of 1999 gives the right to the state to consider any real estate or movable property as antiquity for technical and historical reasons, if the state has an interest in preserving and maintaining it, regardless of its history. For example: according to the law of 1999 a piece of pottery could be treated as a monument, which was not mention as a monument in the Ordinance of 1905 or 1952.

Thanks to the change of date, meaning and property of antiquities, the law became adjusted to the Sudanese specificity or privacy.

3.3.2. Licenses

The act of archaeological activities appeared for the first time in *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1905*, where the types of licenses and excavation were named. As for the law of 1952, there were two types of licenses mentioned: one allowing the licensee to search for antiquities with the possibility of conducting trial excavations (the action or process of identifying the presence of archaeological remains in a random area), and the other allowing digging (the long process of excavation). For these licenses no fees were introduced.

In the law of 1999, there are three types of licenses provided. The first one refers to the archaeological survey, but it doesn't allow its holder to conduct any kind of archaeological excavations. The second type is allowing to conduct an archaeological survey, with a permissibility to make trial excavations. The third license permits archaeological excavations and conducting a comprehensive scientific study on the site. The license is granted after paying fees. It has to be emphasized that licenses introduced in the law of 1999 provide more protection for archaeological sites with the financial benefit for NCAM. According to the law of 1999, the license is granted

for scientific institutions, such as: universities, research institutes and museums (NCAM have right to embark on archaeological excavation as well). Missions organized by these institutions are also committed to making proper archaeological documentation according to internationally and scientifically recognized standards. The mission must issue excavation results within a period of not more than two years from the end of the excavation and provide NCAM with 10 copies of every book, bulletin or article issued on prospecting work. It has to be noticed that similar article, including all aforementioned conditions and their importance, are found in the law of 1952 as well, but the Ordinance of 1999 guarantees better care and protection when it comes to conducting archaeological work.

There are some conditions that – although introduced first in 1952 – were developed in the law of 1999 in order to make them more effective, e.g. termination or cancelation of a license. Beside the licensee's commitment to maintenance of discovered sites and antiquities, and then to handing over all the discovered materials with a copy of the survey and excavation documents to the administration of NCAM, the authorities have the right to participate in any archaeological mission to investigate the existence of antiquities at a site. Moreover, the authorities keep the right to send the commission's representative to accompany the mission in the excavation work, which ensures that the commission keeps abreast of what is happening at a site. In addition, this is an opportunity for the delegate to acquire scientific experience and knowledge.

3.3.3. The ownership of antiquities

The protection process could be identified through a formulation of making provisions and the power of executing judgments, such as: the ownership of antiquities, confiscation and handover of antiquities. In both the laws of 1905 and 1952 the matter was limited to delegating antiquities to the state or its discoverer, while the 1999 law limited the ownership of antiquities to the state and expanded the authorities of NCAM employees such as: inspectors, curators, observers and guards of museums and sites to enter any archaeological sites for the further information and protection.

When it comes to the devolution of discovered antiquities, the 1905 law provides a regulation, that any antiquities obtained are owned by the government. Then, according to the 1952 law, the director of antiquities service has an authority to divide the discovered antiquities between the institute and the licensee, with a right to keep materials evaluated as necessary and a right to give the licensee a written permission that allows selling and exporting kept antiquities. The law of 1999 stipulates transferring the ownership of all antiquities discovered to the state, and the mission

may take the antiquities' templates, pictures, drawings or cast for object after the approval of the Minister. However, it is allowed for the licensee to take one from the set of identical items. It is also permissible to borrow some samples for the purpose of studying and temporary display, considering the obligation to display this heritage externally for the purpose of identifying it (Appendix 3; Article 28).

In addition, the NCAM employees are given rights similar to the police officers. They have the authority to arrest anyone who attempts to transgress the antiquities laws or to combat smuggling and attacks on museums and sites. In this way greater protection for antiquities was provided than leaving the power only in the hands of a policeman who may not be available at the time of the crime. Besides, it is obligatory to report the discovery of antiquities that was conducted by someone not authorized to dig.

The rights of antiquities discoverers were also described in the ordinances. In the law of 1905 it was mentioned, that the official could decide not to receive the antiquities from the one who found it. Then, the owner had the right to obtain a written license to dispose or to sell these antiquities. In the law of 1952 this clause was remained unchanged, however it was amended in the law of 1999 (Appendix 3; Article 28). It is mentioned that ownership of all discovered antiquities must reset with the Government to be kept in museums for exhibitions and study. Therefore, it is clear that the provisions of the Antiquities Ordinance of 1999 are more keening on the state ownership of antiquities.

3.3.4. Selling antiquities

In the subject of selling antiquities, the law of 1905 and 1952 allowed the license holders to purchase antiquities. Additionally, when unlicensed came into possession of antiquities, they were allowed to sold the artifacts after disclaiming responsibility for them, and then the ownership of these antiquities was reverted to the discoverer or the license holder for sale. The authority to process such cases was given to the commissioner who issues a written disclaimer and license (Appendix 1, Section 9/10; Appendix 2, Article 18). However, according to the law of 1999, registered antiquities may be donated, they must be preserved in museums and they are only released by legitimate means. In other words, this article protects the antiquities from waste and loss better than previous laws.

3.4. New proposal of Antiquities Ordinance (2016)

Since the implementation of the antiquity's ordinances in 1905, 1952 and 1999 certain gaps have been noticed that reduced the effectiveness of these acts. Simultaneously, with the growth

of the international market for antiquities and cultural artifacts, the global problem of smuggling antiquities has increased over the years. Consequently, tasks of law-enforcing agencies have become more difficult and complex. Therefore, the government has proposed amendments to current Ordinance in order to give the act more authority and bring it up to date considering current circumstances. Furthermore, an extension of limits of the area for bringing antiquities discovered in archaeological investigation within the preview of the act is needed.

Most of legislations and laws, that were approved regarding the archaeological heritage in Sudan, were issued in long intervals, which makes them to some extent not in line with the modernization, legislation and international laws. Unfortunately, the government does not pay much attention to problems of archaeology and cannot recognize new problems, as well as new possible solutions which should be introduced. Therefore, the administration of NCAM, along with scholars in this field who were aware of the need of changed for this law, suggested the direction of required changes. They would allow Sudanese legislation to correspond with international laws and advanced regulations in the field of preservation and management of archaeological heritage. It was necessary for the competent authorities to initiate the development of a plan to amend *the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999*. One of the most important issues was including underwater antiquities and regulating the problem of their ownership, as there are still some archaeological materials that were flooded as a result of building dams, which status is not accordingly determined. Another topic, that needs to be included, is expanding the effect of preserving the environment surrounding the archaeological site and encouraging local inhabitants to participate in the process of preservation and maintenance. Moreover, the issue of adding the archaeological sites to the UNESCO World Heritage list is crucial for further development of salvage archaeology in Sudan.

It has to be noticed that the proposed Ordinance of 2016 was not yet publicly presented and it has never been discussed in the public media, because there are not many studies in the field of archaeological management or preventive conservation and protection. However, recently there were some published opinions opting for changing the Ordinance of 1999⁴⁵. The author indicates the lack of activation and application of this law, the lack of knowledge of many workers in this field and discusses the powers of this law and its application.

The experience of the Merowe Dam⁴⁶ project may be useful in adding scrutiny and evaluation to many aspects of applying *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1999*. This Ordinance is fairly general in regards to archaeological activities and for this reason the new draft considers a broaden

⁴⁵ Jamal Abdel Qader Al-Badawi, *The antiquities of Sudan are victims of indiscriminate gold mining and agricultural encroachment*. Cf. <https://www.independentarabia.com/node/196266> [Access on 23.02.2021].

⁴⁶ Cf. subchapter 4.2. *Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project*.

understanding of archaeological management, including topics such as:

- human remains;
- underwater archaeology;
- gold mining activities;
- implementing the wide policy of protection and preservation for the perpetuation of ancient monuments and historical building;
- protecting and preserving ancient monuments, not allowing their further deterioration due to natural disaster or man-made destruction. This should be done by expanding the circle of communication with the concerned authorities;
- uplifting hereditary pride and causing dynamism of patriotic spirit by protecting and preserving ancient monuments and historical building;
- giving more consideration for consulting of conservation and restoration of antiquities;
- special security of antiquities;
- adding more concerning to the financial resources, accounts and audit;
- raising public awareness of the high value of ancient monuments.

Although the Ordinance should not be confused with policy of the country which looks complicated (much less implementation), it did establish a new kind of language, one based in preservationist principles of the site zone. It acknowledges that the value of preserving artifacts is connected with the international cooperation, it is not just the local interest. It needs to build a network of argument through interested scholars and researchers in this field.

3.5. Conclusions

General understanding of heritage in three described documents could be identified through the way these legislations functioned. There are three matters that all the laws have in common: definitions, objectives and practices.

Main objectives of these laws according to rescue projects can be summarized as follows:

- introducing license to research, excavate and obtain antiquities as well as regulations regarding the issuance, conditions and cancellation of the excavation license;
- protecting and preserving ancient monuments from destruction and violation;
- searching for and maintaining ancient monuments.

Another common point of all three Ordinances of Antiquities are penalties for destruction of antiquities. Further similarity is the necessity to report discovered antiquities and the prohibition

of excavation without prior permission. However, these laws provided paths to the ownership of antiquities by the state and ways for the government's authority to obtain ownership of the archaeological sites as well as export and release the antiquities.

On the other hand, the issue of assigning antiquities is a major difference between three discussed laws. In the law of 1905, the responsibility to prove the antiquity of objects not found in survey or excavation is delegated to the expert committee, but in the Ordinance of 1952 it was given to the Commissioner. Moreover, in the law of 1952 the rights of unlicensed to acquire antiquities were defined. When an artifact was discovered by a person not holding a license under section 13 or section 14, the Commissioner may have either claimed the antiquity on behalf of the government or purchased it from the person who found it. However, in the law of 1999, the issue of discovered artifacts by a person not holding a license stayed the same, nevertheless the responsibility for assessing the antiquities and archaeological value of objects is assigned to NCAM. This may describe as a positive change for NCAM.

It seems that people responsible for preparing *the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999* did not learn much from Nubian rescue project⁴⁷, as no direct solutions were introduced that could be applied in incoming big infrastructure projects and that would correspond with the problems determined during the campaign. However, somehow lessons learned from large-scale salvage projects have got some impact on the shape of law related to protection of archaeological heritage. Such undertakings open an opportunity to review the antiquities laws applied in the campaigns and the laws issued during the colonial era. Regrettably, there was no noticeable adjustment made in the current law that could indicate solutions for problems that occurred during the campaign, such as transferring monuments from its original place as well as protecting the cultural heritage and historical building. However, *the Antiquities Ordinances of 1999* included a provision that development project may be initiated only after the completion of archaeological studies (Appendix 3; Article 10–B). This amendment can be evaluated as positive in regards of rescue archaeology, as in this matter the law follows recommendations of Valletta Convention regarding the necessity of involving rescue works in projects before they are established. However, there were no specific recommendations for using advanced technology in large rescue projects, such as remote sensing methods.

It has to be emphasized that the necessity for changes came from periodic review. The issue of *the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999* came to align regulations with the development within the archaeological activities in the country. In view of the changes that occurred in Sudan, such as civil wars, regional division, development and prosperity, this law

⁴⁷ Cf. subchapter 4.1. *The Nubian Campaign*.

was later periodically reviewed and edited in order to adapt it to current developments.

The archaeological activities, that coincided with the issuance of *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1905* and especially of *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952*, were known as „rescue era”⁴⁸. They provided a wide scope for archaeological initiatives in the country. It served to shape public understanding of heritage and set standards in archaeological practice. Excavations that took place in many areas of Sudan were advanced, especially the work in Northern region around the area south of the Aswan. Basically, most of these works were related to archaeological rescue activities. Through the protection articles of *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1905*, it was obvious that the Governor General had the most tools to deal with antiquities in Sudan. This power was moved in the law of 1952 to the Director General of Antiquities Service and later to the NCAM (in *the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999*). This change could be seen as a good direction, because the power is given finally to NCAM as the responsible institution for archaeology in the country, not to the Director General. However, according to the Ordinance of 1905, all the archaeological remains produced after 1783 were not consider as antiquities, which means there was a lot of archaeological materials that were left without any consideration. Therefore, many of them could have been taken or sold as non-antiquities. In discussed laws the government’s authority lies in the confiscation of all archaeological sites and historical buildings that prove their antiquity according to the regulation in respective Ordinances (1905, 1952, 1999).

However, the weakness of discussed Ordinances appeared in the lack of deterrent provisions to face the antiquities trespassers, selling of antiquities, conservation of antiquities, types of licenses and dividing antiquities between the government and the licensee. One of the main problems in the Ordinance of 1999 lies in the fact that it had been drafted from the standpoint of archaeological activities, which are limited to research, excavations, fieldworks and archaeological materials, and not from the point of view of archaeological heritage, which is about developing deep concepts of heritage preservation, protection and management. This means that value must be given not only to archaeological materials, but to all remnants of things and traces of the human past.

Most of the archaeological studies refer to the nature of archaeological activities and archaeological materials, both on the surface or in the ground. These materials have to be studied through the archaeological methodology to contribute to the knowledge of the country’s history. Since the new proposal to regulate heritage for archaeological activities is still in the process of being drafted, the current law of 1999 is the only legal document valid to regulate them. However, the assessment of development projects and excavation permits have followed in recent years the regulations proposed in the newest draft from 2016.

⁴⁸ This period of time in Sudan is known as the rescue era due to the Nubian Campaigns that took place at that time.

The power of discussed laws appeared in the rules stating that archaeological landowners or land users are not allowed to dispose of or excavate without prior approval, as NCAM is the legal owner of all archaeological sites and materials in Sudan. The state has the responsibility of preservation, conservation, management and presentation of archaeological material. However, as valuable as these laws are, the archaeological sites cannot be protected simply by passing laws. They also require practical management such as the traditional forms of protection related to the local communities, combined with efforts of the security services, state institutions, archaeological work and education. It is also necessary for NCAM to develop the system of conducting survey before investments, expanding of urbanism or changing in agriculture techniques.

Moreover, presented laws refer to the displaying of antiquities and its external process. It regulates storing of antiquities, where the specific needs must be provided, such as preserving movable antiquities in stores in appropriate conditions that prevent any damage or loss of some components (e.g. colour loss, stone damage, metal and wood erosion). Ordinances also indicate the necessity of maintenance work under the supervision of the authority to ensure applying scientific methods.

Besides, to ensure highest standards and approaches, in order to obtain the license, the interested scholar must include detailed information in the license application, such as the applicant's affiliation with a recognized institution. This regulation has been already introduced first in the Ordinance of 1999 to proof specific academic qualifications of licensee and to ensure the integrity of archaeological fieldwork. Another issue is defining concession areas and their controls, which will contribute to regulating the continuity of this work. Besides, the important factor is integration of national and international foreign associations and organizations, where gaining of experience and qualification for the national cadre will take place.

It has to be mentioned that in the future NCAM will be more independent by increasing the number of scholars, which will contribute to the preservation, monitoring and protection of the heritage from theft and loss. Perhaps none of us knows the extent of the amount of antiquities that have been legally or illegally taken out of the country and have not been returned so far. It is very important to ensure that the new law contains an article that guarantees the recovery of lost antiquities, which will greatly contribute to the enrichment of local museums, and may also contribute to completing the missing links in this heritage.

Looking at development of the ordinances, it appears that a lot of protection, preservation and conservation measures have been added to the country's archaeological heritage with each new law, which is a great starting point for further development in this direction. In *the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999* the first step was taken through banning posting advertisements

or placing banners on the sites – they use to contribute negatively to the extension of the distortion caused to the archaeological material. Furthermore, the prohibition of any changes to historical buildings by introducing any modifications to them was, even if they are privately owned, was a necessary point, in addition to preventing the use or construction of anything that would harm the monument.

4. Rescue archaeology in Sudan – concepts and practices

Rescue or salvage archaeology (sometimes referred to as commercial archaeology, preventive archaeology, contract archaeology, developer-funded archaeology or compliance archaeology) is licensed by the state to be undertaken before construction or other activities. It can be also defined as “the collection of archaeological data and materials from a site in danger of imminent destruction, as from new construction or flooding”⁴⁹. This can also include archaeological surveys and excavations conducted prior to land development. Other causes of salvage excavations can be connected with looting and illegal constructions. Among conditions leading to rescue archaeology following events can be named: highway projects, large-scale construction, flood plains of planned dams, and even before the start of war. Unlike traditional surveys and excavations, rescue archaeology must be carried out quickly. Rescue archaeology falls under the broader categories of cultural resource management (CRM) and cultural heritage management (CHM). Furthermore, rescue archaeology takes place at sites that are about to be destroyed, but in some cases includes the *in-situ* preservation of artifacts and protective measures taken to preserve unexcavated sites beneath buildings. In some cases, urban areas with overlapping inhabited years are the subject of rescue archaeology as well⁵⁰.

Before delving into the discussion about the campaigns to save the monuments of Nubia and Sudan, the importance of the Nile River must be pointed out, as its role is crucial to understand events connected with the Nubian Campaigns. The Nile River is known as the longest river in the world. It is a major north-flowing river in northeastern Africa and it is 6,853 km (4,258 mi) long. It has two major tributaries, the White Nile and the Blue Nile. The White Nile is considered to be the primary stream of the Nile River. It is longer and it has got its source in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa, with the most distant source located in either Burundi or Rwanda in East Africa. It flows north through Tanzania, Lake Victoria, Uganda and Republic of South Sudan. The Blue Nile, however, is the main source of the Nile silt and water. It begins at Lake Tana in Ethiopia and flows into Sudan from the southeast to meet with the White Nile on the northern edge of Khartoum, the capital of Sudan (Tvedt, 2010: 574). Notably, the Nile is an "international" river as its drainage basin covers eleven countries, namely: Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Republic of the Sudan and Egypt. It has to be emphasized that the Nile with its tributaries is the primary water source of Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Egypt. The northern part of the Nile River flows north almost entirely through the Sudanese desert to Egypt, then ends in a large delta and flows into the Mediterranean Sea.

⁴⁹ Cf. <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/salvage-archaeology> [Access on 10.10.2023].

⁵⁰ Cf. <https://academic-accelerator.com/encyclopedia/rescue-archaeology> [Access on 10.10.2023].

The Egyptian civilization and Sudanese kingdoms were established in ancient times along the Nile River banks, using the water provided by it. The inhabitants of the Nile Valley had been known for practicing farming and grazing, depending on the rates of rise and decline of the Nile water. However, water of the Nile has been also used for irrigating the Nile Valley for few thousand years. Today, most of the population and cities of Sudan and Egypt are situated along the Nile River valley, and nearly all cultural and historical sites of ancient Sudan and Egypt are found along the river Nile banks.

In modern times, many of development and reconstruction projects in the Nile Valley were designed after the British invasion and occupation of Egypt and Sudan. The British colonizer saw the need to take advantage of the region's resources and to exploit them. In addition, the need to generate electricity and expand agricultural projects arose, which had a major impact on the idea of building dams on the Nile River. In particular, the most important factor was the need to increase the supply of water in order to meet requirements for expanding agriculture, especially the cotton crop in the Lower and Middle Egypt. All those factors had led to the establishment of plans to construct dams on the Nile River (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 50).

In the first half of the 20th century first projects related to the construction of dams in Sudan were conducted on the Blue and White Nile (such as dams in Sennar on the Blue Nile in 1920s, Jebel Aulia on the White Nile in 1930s and Roseires on the Blue Nile in 1960s), however they were not preceded with any salvage archaeological works (Ryle, Willis, Baldo and Jok, 2011: 60). Rescue archaeology was recognized in Sudan for the first time in the middle of the 20th century as a result of archaeological discoveries of the UNESCO International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, where the survey of Sudanese Nubia and intense archaeological work were carried out by the Sudan Antiquities Service and foreign archaeological expeditions. This chapter discusses outcomes of two major archaeological campaigns conducted in Sudan: the Nubian Campaign and Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project, including ideas on the structure of management plan, planning process, team building and public participation, site significance, conservation, monitoring, maintenance, presentation and interpretation, tourism and action plans.

4.1. The Nubian Campaign

This chapter tackles the topic of the Nubian Campaign conducted due to plans to heighten the Aswan Dam on the First Cataract. I will describe the historical background of this event. Further, the involvement of UNESCO and politics of the project will be discussed. The recommended methods and their execution in practice will be presented. Finally, I will discuss the problems identified during The Nubian Campaign and the assessment of the project.

4.1.1. Historical background

The idea of building a dam on the First Cataract, south to the city of Aswan, was proposed already at the end of the 19th century by William Willcocks KCMG⁵¹, who was a British civil engineer during the period of the British Empire prosperity. Moreover, he was an irrigation engineer who proposed and built the first dam on the Nile, known as the First Aswan Dam. A project of such scale had never been attempted previously in this region. The Egyptian authorities at the time decided to build the first dam on the Nile River in 1899, and the investment was completed in 1902. It was 130 ft high⁵² (Trigger, 1976: 7). The mechanism was simple: a large amount of water could be withdrawn from the Nile in November and December when the supply exceeds Egypt's needs. In May, June and July, when the normal discharge of the river is insufficient, this water supposed to be used for agricultural purposes. As a result of building this dam, a large area of the Nile Valley in Nubia was flooded for six months in a year (Hassan, 2007: 87).

In 1907–1912 the Egyptian authorities decided to increase the volume of the stored water. After a careful survey of the Nile Valley from Khartoum to Cairo, they found nearly one million acres of land on the northern edge of the Delta in Egypt that could be reclaimed, but the detailed study showed that the best site is at the top of the First Cataract in Aswan. Therefore, it was decided to raise the height of the dam at Aswan by seven meters, in order to increase the amount of water that could be stored downstream. Later, the dam was heightened again in 1929–1934 (Sutcliffe and Parks, 1999: 154). This investment was connected with dislocating of Nubian people from the area that supposed to be flooded.

During the period of constructing the Lower Aswan Dams, two campaigns were undertaken in the Middle Nile valley by Reisner with his team (Fig. 5). He was keen to understand the archaeology of the region south of Egypt. Moreover, it seems like he was aware of the possible infrastructural changes (building dam or creating artificial lake) and decided to extend his campaign to endangered regions to study their archaeology. Therefore, funds were set aside by the Egyptian Government to provide a systematic archaeological survey to the valleys that were to be submerged by the reservoir. These campaigns extended to the region of the Second Cataract and further. Nowadays Reisner's archaeological work is considered as the earliest programme of extensive salvage archaeology in this region (Reisner, 1910: 4).

⁵¹ KCMG – a British order of chivalry founded on 28 April 1818 by George, Prince Regent. It is described as the most distinguished order of Saint Michael and Saint George (cf. <https://royalleicestershireregiment.org.uk/view/592857-kcmg-the-most-distinguished-order-of-st-michael-st-george> [Access on 31.10.2023]).

⁵² The only archaeological work carried out in connection with constructing this dam was to survey and strengthen the temple of Philae (Trigger, 1976: 7).

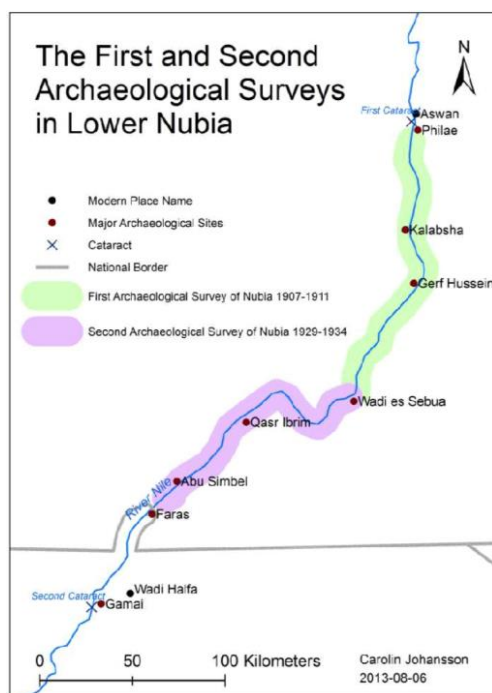


Fig. 5. The reach of the First and Second Archaeological Survey in Lower Nubia. The inset orients the map onto the continent of Africa (Johansson, 2014: 22).

However, it turned out that the Aswan Low Dam was not adequate to control the annual flooding, which brought the government to the idea of constructing a new, higher dam in 1952. The idea of building the High Dam on the First Cataract of the Nile was developed already in 1912, when the Greek-Egyptian agricultural engineer, Adrian Daninos, began to prepare the plan of the new Aswan Dam, but after the Low Dam was almost overtopped in 1946, the government of King Farouk showed no interest in Daninos's plan. Instead, the British hydrologist Harold Edwin Hurst planned to store water of the Nile in Sudan and Ethiopia, where evaporation is much lower and favoured. Therefore, Daninos's plan did not come into effect until the revolution of the group called free military officers in Egypt⁵³ (Sutcliffe and Parks, 1999: 154).

The military group forced the British colonizer to accept the withdrawal of his troops from Egypt in June 1956. This coup was initially aimed at overthrowing the King Farouk, who was the 10th ruler of Egypt from the Muhammad Ali dynasty. However, this movement had more political ambitions and soon abolished the constitutional monarchy and aristocracy of Egypt and Sudan. They established a republic, ended the British occupation of the country and secured the independence of Sudan (previously governed as an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium). After the resignation of the first President Mohammed Najib in 1954, Gamal Abdel Nasser became the head of the Free Officers. He was convinced that the Nile water had to be stored in Egypt and supported implementation of Daninos's plan (Carruthers, 2022: 58).

⁵³ It was the time of political unrest in the Middle East. In 1952, officers of the Egyptian army staged a military coup known as the July 23rd revolution, which led to the dismantling of the monarchy in Egypt.

In 1954 the decision to build the Aswan High Dam was undertaken. This dam would lead to the creation of a huge artificial lake covering the Nile Valley from Aswan in Egypt to the Dal Cataract in Sudan. It was an extremely rich area with cultural heritage and antiquities. In 1955 the establishment of the independent Republic of the Sudan was issued. However, after Sudan achieved its independence in 1956, the Egyptian authority decided to control the flow of the Nile water within its territory, initiating the implementation of construction of a high dam and creating a great reservoir known today as the Aswan High Dam and Nubian Lake (or Nasser Lake). Nevertheless, this decision put the governments of Egypt and Sudan in a great challenge of facing the problem of archaeological heritage in the area which was supposed to be flooded. It has to be noted that Egypt faced this challenge when part of remains of Nubia monuments were already submerged under water as a result of the construction of the first Aswan Dam and its heightening (Török, 1997: 20).

Eventually, the High Dam was built at the First Cataract on the Nile River, near to the city of Aswan in the South of Egypt. This enormous rock and clay dam was designed by the Soviet Hydroproject Institute along with Egyptian engineers. The main aims of building the dam were to help controlling water flow and mitigating the effects of Nile flooding, as well as to increase the irrigation capacity and the production of electrical power in Egypt. The length of the Aswan High Dam is 3600 m, the base width is 980 m, the height is 111 m and the peak width is 40 m (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 53). The size of the Aswan High Dam is about 43 million m³ of cement, iron and other materials. Moreover, it is possible to pass through the dam up to 11 000 m³ of water flow per second.

4.1.2. UNESCO and politics of Nubian Campaign. Regulations of international co-operation

The 20th century has been described as an age of dramatic transformations. It witnessed many different political and economic changes. Alike, the world cultural heritage started to face a major threat of being endangered. Thus, it was necessary at the time to create a body that would contribute to the protection of the world heritage. On 4th November 1946, UNESCO⁵⁴ organization was established. Since that time, it has been promoting regulations and methods for the protection of artworks, monuments and archaeological sites in all of its member states.

Establishing UNESCO coincided with designing construction of the Aswan High Dam. It was

⁵⁴ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1946: *Article I: the purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among 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 which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion* (UNESCO and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, cf. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/resources/educators/human-rights-education-training/1-unesco-constitution-1945> [Access on 31.10.2023]).

the main organization that expressed the necessity of carrying out an archaeological rescue campaign before building the dam (later called the Nubian rescue campaign). This was after responding to the appeal of the Egyptian government and Sudan to help them to save the monuments of Nubia. As a result of building this dam, the remains of archaeological sites in Lower Nubia would be covered by water under a permanent lake (Nubian Lake). This lake was considered at that time the world's second largest artificial lake after the Kariba Dam Lake in Rhodesia Zimbabwe. The reservoir of the High Dam covered the Nile Valley from a point of 7 km south of the old dam at Aswan and down to the Dal Cataract in Sudan. The whole length of the area is about 500 km long. The level of the Nile was heightened by 63 m (from 121 m a.s.l. to 182 m a.s.l.). The average width of the lake is 10 km, in some places even up to 20 km (Mohamed, 1980: 15).

The crucial moment for the rescue archaeology in Sudanese Nubia was the nomination of Jean Vercoutter⁵⁵ as Commissioner of Archaeology in Sudan Antiquity Service. His appointment had a significant impact on operations connected with building the Aswan High Dam, as he was the first person to rise the idea of Nubian salvage campaign in Sudan and he was one of the first to recognize the threat. He applied his methods and approaches to collect information about the region in advance, which helped him to persuade the Sudanese government and later UNESCO of the importance of safeguarding monuments of Nubia. He decided to ask UNESCO for assistance in 1958. His initial request was for an expert in the interpretation of aerial photographs⁵⁶ (Adams, 2005a: 10). This way of approaching UNESCO to the subject might have been caused by Vercoutter's background study of Egyptology and his knowledge of UNESCO objectives. He was also conscious of rescue work undertaken at the first and second Aswan Dam and he knew that they might have an impact on the cultural heritage of Sudan. Nevertheless, in the spirit of his job as Commissioner of Antiquities, his initiative was to involve UNESCO in organizing the campaign to save the Sudanese Nubian antiquities. In 1956 Vercoutter made the official contact with El Azhari, the first President of the new Republic of Sudan, to provide him with preliminary report on the Sudanese monuments and archaeological sites likely to be submerged by the High Dam Project. Vercoutter prepared also an urgent report and he intended to ask the Sudanese President to make an official representation to UNESCO (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 72).

Later, the Sudanese President addressed his strong statement to Vercoutter: "Don't worry. Sudan will never agree to the construction of new Aswan Dam" (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 72). However, few months later General Ibrahim Abboud became new President of Sudan and one of his

⁵⁵ Cf. subchapter 2.3.1. *Administration of the Antiquities Service after independent Sudan.*

⁵⁶ Vercoutter had previously commissioned taking of more than 2000 air photos of the area to be flooded by the Survey Department of Sudan Government and he hoped that an expert would be able to advise what kinds of archaeological sites were present (Adams, 2005a: 10).

first acts was to agree to construction of new Aswan Dam. It was a clear sign that antiquities and cultural heritage were not his priorities, unlike other politics issues. In this case Vercoutter had to put forward the proposal of asking UNESCO for help and support to organize a rescue campaign in Nubia. Later, in the mid-1960s, Thabit Hassan Thabit followed Vercoutter's administration approach after he became the first Sudanese director of Sudan Antiquities Service (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 72).

It has to be emphasized that the period of establishing the High Dam witnessed many difficulties and challenges resulting from the transformations and political changes in the internal, external and financial affairs of Egypt and Sudan. There had been multiple changes in leaders or governments in both Egypt and Sudan, as well as political and financial turmoil – national and international. Although on few official occasions these two governments expressed their interest in the campaign, they did not make any sincere commitment to these archaeological issues. For instance, in Egypt, the High Dam was supported by President Abdel Nasser or President Sadat who gave impetus to the Egyptian national effort. Likewise, Sudanese leaders from Aboud to Nimeiri had always supported the operational requirements of the campaign and the allocation of national funds, which was a great sacrifice for a developing country with limited resources and political problems. It has to be noted that the decision taken by the Government of Egypt to construct the Aswan High Dam was approved by the Government of Sudan. It had a huge impact on Sudanese and Egyptian people and both countries had to face a major challenge concerning the displacement of inhabitants. However, it has to be emphasized, that even though both countries were going through many political changes, they had not much impact on the process of rescue campaign.

Sudanese and Egyptian Nubia was practically unknown from archaeological and historical point of view at that time, although it offered archaeological remains from the Palaeolithic period up to the conquest of Sudan by Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt in 1820 AD. The attitude of leaders concerning heritage could be summed up in the words of President Nasser: "The preservation of the legacy of mankind is no less important than the construction of dams, the erection of factories and the greater prosperity of the people" (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 70). In addition, Ministers of Culture in both countries showed encouragement for this issue.

4.1.3. International call and preparations for the fieldwork

The Nubian region had never been scientifically thoroughly investigated. Thus, it was unthinkable to the Nubians that a region of such great importance should disappear beneath the water without any archaeological research. There was a number of monuments that were directly threatened by the new reservoir and had to be saved. The Sudanese government and Sudan Antiquities Service

realized that it was impossible for them to carry out this project alone, due to the lack of funds, experience and technical abilities. Hence, they were forced to search for international support and they turned to UNESCO with a request for aid (Adams, 1977: 81).

The first international preparations started on 24th October 1959, when the Sudanese government asked UNESCO for financial, technical and scientific help to save the antiquities of the Sudanese Nubia. The Sudanese Minister of Education at the time, Ziada Arbab, signed an appeal for international cooperation to save threatened monuments of Sudanese Nubia. He noted the enormity of the task that had to be undertaken and that the advice on expert level had to be sought. He particularly stressed that the government of Sudan had neither technical resources nor personnel to remove Nubian temples and rescue the archaeological sites, and therefore had to rely on aid from abroad. This was the main reason why he called for extensive action on the part of UNESCO (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 72).

Further, Minister Arbab authorized the Director-General of UNESCO to establish an “International Labor Committee”. The next step taken by the Government of Sudan was the agreement with UNESCO, whereby an Advisory Committee of international archaeologists to save the monuments of Sudanese Nubia was established. It was arranged that the Sudanese government together with UNESCO would draw up a list of experts, who the government was supposed to consult on the organization of operations, the allocation of financial contributions and the distribution of objects and monuments offered by the government of Sudan in recognition of international assistance⁵⁷.

The International Consultative Committee of the Nubian Campaign was responsible for advising the competent government authorities on the plans for prospective excavations, on the use made of financial contributions, as well as on the distribution of counterparts offered by the Egyptian government. The Committee met for the first time in Khartoum on 3rd–6th October and in Wadi Halfa on 7th–9th October 1960. Meetings were headed by Minister of Education Ziada Arbab with the assistance of UNESCO. On the proposal of the President, the Committee elected Jean Thomas as Vice-Chairman and Torgny Säve-Söderbergh was elected as Rapporteur. Furthermore, Thabit Hassan Thabit was designated as Secretary-General and he was assisted by Margaret Irwin and Andreas Kroonenberg. During the session, guests of the expert Committee visited the archaeological sites in Sudanese Nubia in order to preview the situation in the field. As the result of meetings, the Committee prepared a list of priority works of the campaign and discussed

⁵⁷ The Sudanese government set up a special Committee for the project, as well as other foreigner advisory committees that consisted of experts in the fields of archaeology, technology and finances. The detailed list of members can be found in UNESCO document entitled *Meeting of International Consultative Experts Concerning the Safeguarding of the Antiquities of Nubia Convened by the Government of the Sudan with the Assistance of UNESCO. Khartoum – Wadi Halfa, 3-9 October 1960. Report of the Meeting* (UNESCO, 1960b: 3).

its problems in many aspects (Sharif, 1971: 11; Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 73).

Later, the International Action Committee was formed in accordance with the Council's decision⁵⁸. They authorized the Director-General to launch an appeal for international cooperation to safeguard the sites and monuments of ancient Nubia and to take all appropriate steps to ensure the effectiveness of the appeal by setting up an international committee of eminent people to assist him in organizing a global campaign to secure contributions to funds, services and equipment, and thus to ensure the fullest participation of Member States in the international action to be undertaken⁵⁹ (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 76).

In addition to members appointed by the Director-General, the position of Chairperson of the National Committees was formed in the Member States for similar action at the national level, and in cooperation with the International Action Committee their participation in further meetings was ensured. Then, the Director-General convened the first meeting, securing the views and suggestions of the Committee with regard to the most effective means of promoting international action and fund-raising (Säve-Söderbergh 1987: 74; Sharif, 1971: 12).

The formal appeal was launched on 8th March 1960 by the Director General of UNESCO to all Member States and institutions, world governments, foundations, public and private institutions and to all people of goodwill, asking for technical contributions and financial support to save the cultural heritage of Nubia in Egypt and Sudan (Appendix 4). This international appeal aimed at saving the Nubian historical heritage as the embodiment of a civilization which had played a leading role in the history of that part of the Nile Valley. Afterwards, the Committee met in May 1960, and the meeting was chaired by the Director-General of UNESCO. It was then decided that UNESCO's actions would include both: archaeological works and fieldwork. In particular, it aimed at carrying out excavations, recording of hundreds of archaeological sites, as well as at recovering of thousands of objects. Moreover, an important point was the salvage and relocation of a number of temples to a higher or safer ground. The most famous were temple complexes of Abu Simbel and Philae in Egypt as well as Buhen and Aksha in Sudan (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 76).

It has to be emphasized that at the time the situation in Sudan was very different from the situation in Egypt. There were no previous spectacular and costly salvage operations to fire public imagination as there were across the border. Moreover, Egypt enjoyed a long, enviable tradition of archaeological discoveries and the Egyptian archaeological community had experience in the care

⁵⁸ The board expressed itself as conscious of the loss to the cultural heritage of mankind that would be caused by the submersion of sites. Säve-Söderbergh stressed that "the conservation and protection of works of art and monuments of history and science" was one of the essential tasks laid on UNESCO by its Constitution (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 71).

⁵⁹ Referring to Vittorino Veronese proposal, the Executive Board of UNESCO decided that the director General had to issue an appeal for international cooperation (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 74ff).

and preservation of ancient monuments. These assets were almost entirely lacking in Sudan at that time. What is more, the Sudan Antiquities Service was not capable to conduct the campaign on their own. This situation was especially hard for this institution, as it was the first time in its history when it was ruled by Sudanese scholars. The total number of staff did not exceed 10 people working on posts such as: The Commissioner for Archaeology (the name of the position at that time), Senior Inspector of Antiquities, Antiquities Officers, Curator of Museums and Assistant Curator (among most significant Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif, Sadiq el-Nur, Ahmed Hassan, Mubarak Babiker can be named) (Vercoutter, 1956–1957: 1). Therefore, the Sudan Antiquities Service decided to allow foreign concessionaires to confine themselves to sites of their own choosing, and to organize a survey similar to the earlier surveys in Egyptian Nubia from their own resources. The purpose of the survey was to find and define remains worth of excavation by foreign expeditions, as well as to supplement the work of the foreign expeditions by excavating anything not claimed by them (Adams, 1977: 82).

Obviously, the Sudanese authorities acknowledged that they did their best to bolster the campaign, giving all kinds of priorities along with administrative assistance and financial contributions far beyond what could be expected of a country suffering from significant financial constraints. This spirit of sincere cooperation with UNESCO, experts and foreign missions, as well as with the various international commissions set up by UNESCO and the governments concerned, called “Nubian Spirit”, was the fundamental support to the campaign to succeed (Sharif, 1971: 14).

It has to be noticed that this was the first action in which international organizations had played a role as a large party in policy-making in Sudan. Moreover, it was the first campaign which had involved coordinated efforts of many different nations in the field of world heritage protection. However, before 1959, UNESCO was not directly involved in any archaeological activities in Sudan⁶⁰, and none of its administrative department was equipped to deal with such issues. It was obvious that UNESCO was lacking experience in this field, as it was the first time to be responsible for such campaign and as a result the role of UNESCO was not clearly defined (Säve-Söderbergh, 1971–1972: 120). The work in frames of this campaign ended on 10th March 1980.

4.1.3.1. Organization of the rescue archaeology

In the case of protecting common archaeological and artistic heritage there must be global sense of responsibility, expressing the solidarity and acceptance, calling for the protection of world heritage. However, on the one hand, the concept of cooperation in the Nubian project of UNESCO was the only and natural consequence for some member countries that were teamed up with each

⁶⁰ The Nubian Campaign is considered the first international rescue project in the world (Hassan, 2007 :73).

other under the umbrella of the world heritage protection (UK, France, USA, Italy, Poland, the Scandinavian countries and others). Perhaps it was the time to put the idea of a joint international effort into practice through the project of Nubian Campaign – the international cooperation to save the endangered monuments of Nubia in Egypt and Sudan. On the other hand, the applicable legislation at that time was a motivational aspect – according to the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952 each institution or mission carrying out the excavations was entitled to receive 50% of the objects discovered, except for samples that were indispensable to the completion of national collections (Appendix 2). However, before the initiation of this project, all monuments within the Nubian borders were recognized as a national concern for Egypt and Sudan, and they had to be protected by these countries themselves. Thanks to the Campaign it seems like an entirely new concept of understanding heritage have been conceived, that viewed the national antiquities as a part of the cultural heritage of mankind, which it should therefore be a concern of the international community, and thus of UNESCO (Säve-Söderbergh, 1971–1972: 133).

The Nubian Campaign was also accompanied by the Director-General of UNESCO's reference to a new era in the field of Egyptology, together with announcements from both Cairo and Khartoum that the excavators would be entitled to half share of the results of their work. The response was very encouraging. Foreign museums organized and sent their own missions to the Nile Valley with the dual aim of promoting archaeological and historical knowledge and obtaining additional materials for their museums' collections. However, the Committee recommended that UNESCO had to plan the entire operations program, prioritize, and coordinate the work (Hassan, 2007: 82).

It has to be mentioned that the Executive Committee of UNESCO was authorized to issue a judgment on technical matters, besides to its financial role⁶¹. Alike, the Advisory Committee was authorized to advise on proposals received for archaeological surveys, prospecting, documentation and transferring of monuments. Its further task was also to ensure the proper use of donations and to link a group of Member States to the Nubian project (Hassan, 2007: 83).

The Nubian Campaign would not have succeeded without the attention of world public opinion. Therefore, in February 1960, a number of representatives of the mass media were invited to visit Nubia. Moreover, lectures on the history and civilization of Nubia were delivered every

⁶¹ The Executive Board of UNESCO was headed by a Swedish representative; it was a service for the Monuments of Nubia formed within the Department of Cultural Activities. There were 15 states invited to take part in its work: Brazil, Ecuador, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Lebanon, The Netherlands, Pakistan, Spain, Sweden, Sudan, the United Arab Republic (which was at the time Egypt and Syria), the United States of America and Yugoslavia. The Advisory Committee was responsible to the General Conference and had the specific task of laying down guidelines for the Campaign. Its main aim was to support the Director-General and his colleagues in their tasks as well as to encourage the Organization's Member States to cooperate in the unique undertaking launched by UNESCO (Säve-Söderbergh, 1971–1972: 122).

evening, Nubian folk dance were performed on board. American, Yugoslav and German diplomats visited Nubian villages, UNESCO media officials joined the trip to all the Nubian archaeological sites and monuments up to Semna in northern Sudan. Subsequently, the UNESCO Secretariat issued a large amount of information materials to be broadcast in press, radio, TV stations and to agencies for news bulletins and newsletters. There was a special pamphlet published in French and English, entitled *Duty of International Solidarity* that would draw attention of the international audience to the problem of the Nubian Campaign (Sharif, 1971: 74). The first edition of this publication reached 330 000 copies. Later it was reprinted in 100 000 copies. Moreover, a number of journalists from participating countries visited the Nubian region. Their visits resulted in publishing papers about the Campaign that were stressing and indicating its importance. It has to be emphasized that due to the politic situation traveling across Sudan was not easy – they had to have special permits or other governmental support to be able to visit Nubia. There were no mentionable political problems that hindered travelling and movement in Sudan, but the lack of roads and their ruggedness had an negative impact. In addition, reporters from various radio and television stations also participated in these visits, preparing programs about Nubia. They were presented later as series produced by the UNESCO Secretariat before the end of the 1960 in the form of filmstrips and a collection of colour slides of the Nubian monuments. Eventually, different governments, qualified institutions, organizations or individuals declared their interest in participating in the Nubian rescue campaign. Through UNESCO they could submit an offer of services or equipment to the Director-General that was later transmitted to the government of Sudan or Egypt, depending on the participant's intentions.

The promotion of the idea of rescue campaign began in Sudan through the organization of an event called *The Day of Archaeology*, organized by the Sudan Antiquities Service under the supervision of the Ministry of Education in Khartoum (Sharif, 1971: 11). On Saturday morning, 21st May 1960, there were vehicles traveling around the three cities of Khartoum with banners advertising Sudanese antiquities. Besides, the Ministry of Education in Sudan held a ceremony attended by the Head of the State and Ministers, representatives of the diplomatic corps and foreign dignitaries in Khartoum to inform them about the Campaign. On this occasion, the Ministry of Education issued a booklet in Arabic and English to introduce the citizens to the antiquities of the Sudanese Nubia and another booklet in English that would explain the importance of the Sudanese Nubia to international audience. However, the purpose of *The Day of Archeology* was mainly to raise funds to preserve Nubian monuments, as well as to draw attention of Sudanese people to the issue of saving the heritage of Sudan from the inevitable destruction (Sharif, 1971: 11). This event was carried out by teachers, Red Crescent, Scouts teams, students and pupils of schools. UNESCO also continued to inform the public audience about the Campaign and tried

to arouse their interest using the various available means, such as couriers, brochures and films. However, UNESCO's primary task was to act as a mediator between the Egyptian and Sudanese governments and the Member States that provided different types of contributions.

As UNESCO managed the Nubian Campaign and tried to ensure its success, the Director-General appointed a Campaign Officer who, as a personal representative, had the responsibility to promote the Campaign among governments and individual institutions that could possibly contribute to the project. Moreover, the Executive Committee⁶² developed lean plans for missions to complete, in order to reach the presumed goals. Eventually, the Nubian Campaign in Sudan began in the 1960 without precedent, when UNESCO had set clear goals for the Campaign.

However, the available resources were still insufficient and limited. Therefore, it was necessary to innovate and progress in stages. It meant that the national committees of each Member State of UNESCO had to be responsible for the organization of their part of the Campaign. The need to establish national committees in countries, where they had not existed yet, was also emphasized, and members of the International Committee could render valuable assistance for this purpose through an action in their various countries. In addition, the International Committee had a right to make useful suggestions concerning the composition of national committees and advise methods they should apply. Nevertheless, the Committee's task was also to ensure the proper use of donations and to link a group of Member States to the Nubian project. Actually, the Nubian Campaign began with the formation of the Executive Committee, which was constituted to take charge of the Campaign in 1962.

The Committee was composed of the representatives of 15 Member States who were elected during the General Conference at its 12th session. Later, meetings were organized twice a year to supervise and examine the technical, archaeological and financial reports of the campaign. Therefore, the Director-General of UNESCO Vittorino Veronese gave Member States the basic guidance on field operations and the allocation of trust fund assets that were established for the Campaign. The Committee adopted the following agenda (UNESCO, 1960b: 3):

1. The removal of the temples;
2. Archaeological works;
3. Distribution of financial resources between the removal of temples and other archaeological work:
 - a. Drawing up a detailed plan for the removal of the temples and church paintings;
 - b. Plan of priorities for the removal of temples and methods and standards to adopt, and final destination;
4. Drawing up a detailed plan, with priorities for the scientific work;

⁶² In 1961, the 'Service for the Monuments of Nubia' was formed within the department of Cultural Activities in UNESCO, with parallel offices in Cairo and Khartoum. UNESCO also established an Executive Committee, which included Joe Brew (USA), M. Almagro (Spain), and Sir Mortimer Wheeler (UK), as well as members from Sudan and Egypt. Prince S. Agha Khan served as a Special Consultant to the Committee (Hassan, 2007: 82).

5. Discussion of methods and standards to adopt concerning:
 - a. Survey and excavation;
 - b. Documentation;
6. Examination of offers of aid received;
7. Drawing up a list of needs in personnel and equipment;
8. In co-operation with the representatives of the various relevant Sudanese services, discussion of means of helping and speeding up the work, especially as regards:
 - a. Assistance from Sudanese technicians, trainees, etc.;
 - b. Visas;
 - c. Means of transport;
 - d. Customs formalities;
 - e. Accommodation;
 - f. Provision of labour;
 - g. Co-ordination problems regarding tile UAR (Quftis, UAR visas, etc.);
9. Any other business;
10. Discussion and adoption of the report.

When it came to financial issues, the Director-General established a trust fund that consisted of three special accounts: one for depositing amounts submitted to the Government of Egypt, one for amounts submitted to the Government of Sudan and one for unspecified amounts. The allocation of given money was based on the subjective assessment of the Director-General. However, in order to facilitate the deposit of contributions, UNESCO opened accounts in banks in Member States, where checks were payable to the UNESCO Nubia account. Besides, contributions were made in any currency with the possibility to be transferred directly to UNESCO (1960a: 5, 24).

Furthermore, on the Egyptian side, in exchange for assistance, the government agreed to (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987: 68ff):

- entrust half the proceeds of discoveries materials (except for certain elements that are unique or essential to national groups) to missions that carried out excavations in the threatened area;
- offer a mandate to extend exploration under the same conditions outside the area threatened by drowning;
- relinquish those archaeological materials, some Nubian temples and various other elements of the state's archaeological reserves, with a view to transferring them abroad.

It has to be noted that before the discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamen in 1921, the Antiquities Law in Egypt provided the excavator receiving half-share of the objects discovered⁶³.

⁶³ Cf. The Egyptian Antiquities Law – Decree of November 17, 1891, artic. 4: The Administration of the Antiquities Service and the excavator shall together divide these objects into two shares of equal value. The Administration and the excavator shall draw lots for the two shares if they prefer this method to a negotiated assignment of the shares.

This was a vitally important condition in the organization of many foreign missions that intended to conduct extensive campaigns of exploration and excavations, for they depended to considerable extent on subscriptions from the governing bodies of museums and similar institutions who wished to add to their collections the Egyptian antiquities. Moreover, foreign museums organized and dispatched their own expeditions to the Nile Valley in order to gain additional material for their collections. However, no one could expect the outcome. There was no precedent that could lead to any expectations, because never before people of the world had been asked to work together on a very large scale for purely cultural purpose. But their response was immediate and measurable. Finally, the international appeal to save the Nubian monuments met with a very positive response. As a result of the appeal made by UNESCO and the Government of Sudan to all countries of the world in cooperation with UNESCO, many foreign scientific bodies came forward to participate in the rescue Campaign of the Sudanese Nubia. Initially, six missions were launched in 1960. Once the nature of the tasks had been settled, the choice of country and territory was rather self-evident.

Of course, most of the missions expected to find objects suitable for their exhibitions in museums. Therefore some of them chose more extended sites, such as an Egyptian fortress or an administrative centre. But it was agreed that the main purpose of the expedition should not be just to bring home artifacts for their collections, but rather to study the cultural development and the interrelations of cultures in this country, which was the link between the Mediterranean and Africa's further South.

Later, the number of foreign scientific bodies increased to 22. The rescue plan referred to the fact that part of the work should be carried out by the Sudan Antiquities Service and another was provided by the missions and foreign bodies that were involved in the Campaign, provided that the supervision and control is carried out by the Sudan Antiquities Service (Sharif, 1971: 14). Notably, the management of a global Campaign such as Nubian Campaign would have never succeeded without involving a range of administrative and advisory bodies of UNESCO, Egypt and Sudan.

4.1.3.2. Selection of concessions and sites for archaeological excavations

The Sudan Antiquities Service concentrated on the area south of Egypt, until the Second Cataract, in order to be ready to allocate concession sites (Fig. 6). Therefore, the Sudan Antiquities Service carried out a reconnaissance of the region and prepared a brochure containing information about available sites that later would be distributed to all institutions interested in participating in Nubian Campaign (Thabit, 1964: 11). This work was carried out by Jean Vercoutter and Thabit

Hassan Thabit. This part presents an examination of the rules for choosing concessions and provides information on the concessions granted. The focus will be put on specific management of concessions and selecting sites for excavations.

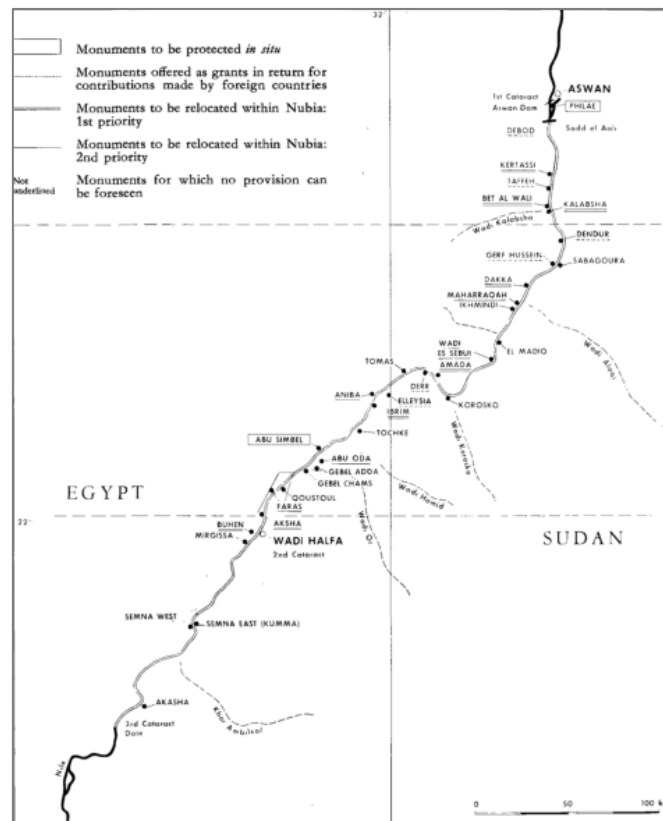


Fig. 6. List of monuments at risk in Lower Nubia in the 1960 (UNESCO, 1960a: 2).

The concession area in Lower Nubia was restricted on the east and west bank of the Nile, from the Egyptian border (Faras) in the north to Gemai on the Second Cataract in the south (a distance of approximately 60 km). In the centre of the target concession area there was a modern town – Wadi Halfa. It was used as the basis for the whole Campaign in Sudanese Nubia and authorities responsible for the administration of the Campaign (the Sudan Antiquities Service, the Governorate, the Customs Office, etc.) were located there. It has to be noted that this town was the only place with banking facilities, hospital, market and connections with the outer world – the railway southwards to Khartoum and boats to Egypt. The market was, however, a rather uncertain supply basis and in practice all the technical outfit and equipment had to be imported from abroad. Besides, Wadi Halfa itself was surrounded by large plains, formed by high silts covered with debris and sand. On one of these silt banks to the south of the town, there was the most important cemetery from the earliest historic times (A-Group). North of the town there were the districts (from north to south) of Faras, Serra, Debeira, Ashkeit and Sahaba, of which Island of Debeira was the largest and richest in archaeological sites.

This northern region was classified as a so-called mesa landscape and desert plateau sloping in terraces down to the riverside cultivation area. However, between the river and mountains there

were three different deposits: the newly cultivated alluvium at the 120-meter level, a series of 'lower-alluvium' deposits at the 130-meter level and the higher alluvium above 140 m a.s.l. (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 18). Some tombs were found as a base on alluvial deposits. In the district of Debeira, the sedimentary plains widened, and in the middle of the plain was an 'island' of sand and gravel. On this 'island' a large New Kingdom cemetery with about 700 tombs was found (No. 185) (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 18). The southern part of the concession area consisted of Abka and Gemai districts. This part was marked by the threshold of igneous rocks (granite, etc.) with steep boulders and ridges of silt, forming a labyrinth of narrow valleys leading to the rapids. This composition formed the landscape of the Second Cataract. However, in this area a number of prehistoric settlements and later fortifications was found, as well as one of the largest concentrations of rock drawings in East Africa.

Basically, the process of granting concessions area started with the preparation of aerial photographs and maps for the threatened area. The operation of taking aerial photographs was undertaken twice, as the first set of photographs was not satisfying and the quality was not sufficient enough to work with them. At the second attempt it was expected that infrared photography would reveal features beneath the ground that were not visible at the surface. The aerial survey of the Sudanese Nubia involved three separate photographic operations:

- complete photographic coverage of the portion of Sudan to be flooded, at a contact scale 1:15 000;
- complete photographic coverage of the region between the Second Cataract of the Nile and the Egyptian frontier, at a contact scale of 1:7 500;
- low-level photography (scale 1:3 000 or better) of selected known archaeological sites.

In addition, some experimental photographs with infrared film were undertaken (Adams, Allen and Verwers, 1961: 11).

This time results were better and the quality was good enough to identify the location on the map. Basing on the results, maps were created that were showing the grid system used in the numbering of archaeological sites from prehistory to Islamic Period. These sites included such monuments as: cemeteries, settlements, towns, fortresses, etc. (Adams, 2005a: 10). This provided assistance in investigation of the threatened area and therefore facilitated its distribution to concession sites.

Responsible Sudanese authorities made the most efficient and effective arrangements to ensure that appropriate work would be carried out. The project's Committee hold its sessions in Khartoum to study the aerial photographs and maps of the endangered area that were prepared by Sudan Antiquities Service – Jean Vercoutter, Thabit H. Thabit and William Y. Adams, as well as other documents related to the issue. Afterwards they organized a trip on a private plane to Wadi

Halfa, where most of the places of archaeological importance were inspected from the air, as special arrangements were made in Wadi Halfa for the Committee to continue studying on the ground archaeological and salvage problems, especially in places such as Aksha, Sira Sharq, Buhen and Semna (East and West, Fig. 7) (UNESCO, 1960b: 2).

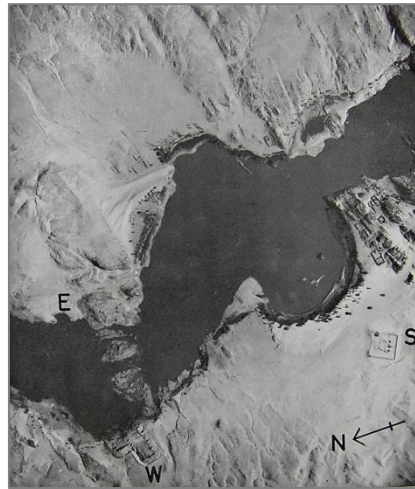


Fig. 7. Semna East and West-South. Aerial photo taken by Sudan Survey Department (Shinnie, 1955: 96).

The Sudan Antiquities Service conducted a ground survey in 1960 with its own resources. Its aim was to discover and define archaeological remains worth of excavation by foreign missions. This survey covered the full extent of Sudanese Nubia between Faras and the head of the proposed reservoir at Dal (Sharif, 1980: 16). The preliminary work of the Sudan Antiquities Service, with the assistance of the UNESCO experts and the Sudan Survey Department, provided an adequate topographical basis, which was indispensable to the salvage project. They carried out a reconnaissance of the whole region and published a brochure containing information about sites that would be distributed for every interested institution (Thabit, 1964: 11).

In practice, all sites known in the area have been marked on the topographical documents (maps and photographs). A full documentation (published and unpublished) of previous works conducted on the sites were assembled and arranged for easy reference in Wadi Halfa, so that missions had an adequate basis for their work in regards to topographical and other arrangements. The Sudan Antiquities Service had also anticipated other needs for the proper work of missions and had made arrangements to meet these needs in collaboration with other authorities involved. The Sudan Antiquities Service took also into consideration excavations in sites not chosen by the foreign expeditions.

The group of endangered monuments, that were in the flooded area, included those at Buhen, Semna East (Kumma), Semna West and Aksha. Besides, there was a group of ancient Egyptian fortresses that were built of mudbrick and hence were difficult to safeguard, but in view of their great importance for the history of military architecture they deserved a thorough architectural survey.

In addition, there were mural paintings found in the church of Sheikh Abdel Gadir. Another location was the 18th dynasty tomb at Debeira East. All of aforementioned monuments were of such quality, that their salvage was assessed by Committee as essential and possible to conduct.

The concept of granting concessions area (Fig. 8) in the Nubian Campaign in Sudan was based on the regulations of the standard-setting in UNESCO: conventions, recommendations, declaration and charters adopted by UNESCO from 1948 to the time of the Nubian Campaign. Another legal basis was the Sudanese Antiquities Ordinance of 1952 which was an important document that guaranteed better preservation of antiquities in Sudan.

In practice, the first stage of the general strategic planning process for the Nubian Campaign was granting licenses. While choosing a concession by foreign missions to carry out an archaeological works in the threatened area, it was crucial to determine whether missions and institutes had the scientific and material capacity to carry out costly archaeological operations. It has to be emphasized that the archaeological rescue operations (survey, excavation, etc.) had to be done in compliance with the law: the Sudanese Archaeology Ordinance of 1952 stated (sections 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16) that the license was necessary to explore antiquities and no field scholar should perform any archaeological work without proper permission (Appendix 2). Alike, the issue and conditions of a license and revocation of a license to excavate such as qualification, ability and the financial capability were stated in the Ordinance (Appendix 2). It was a contractual right to perform a particular work or activity in the concession area, such as: archaeological exploration, natural resource development or operating within the concession's premises.

Referring to the Committees' recommendations, the priority of the work was associated with the most threaten areas and archaeological sites. The whole concession area was about 60 km along the banks of the Nile and the average width of the zone, which should have been flooded, was few kilometres. Thus, approximately 150 km² had to be investigated. The need to cover large areas necessitated a massive concentration of experts and workers. Therefore, the expeditions should have had a large scale of operation and the strategy. Some expeditions had between 100 and 200 local workers, and a dozen of archaeologists, technicians, photographers, conservationists, architects and osteologists. Moreover, they tried to include many trained archaeologists, so that several larger sites could be taken care of at the same time (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 16).

As an example, the concession of Scandinavian Joint Expedition had a length of approximately 55 km on the east shore of the Nile and included following districts (from north to south): Faras, Serra, Debeira, Askeit and Sahaba, all north of Wadi Halfa and to the south of the town, Abka and Gamai (Säve-Söderbergh, 1962: 77). The map (Fig. 9) presents dated sites in the northern part of the concession area of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition (level line is 180 m a.s.l.; the dotted triangle in Serra East marks the American concession).

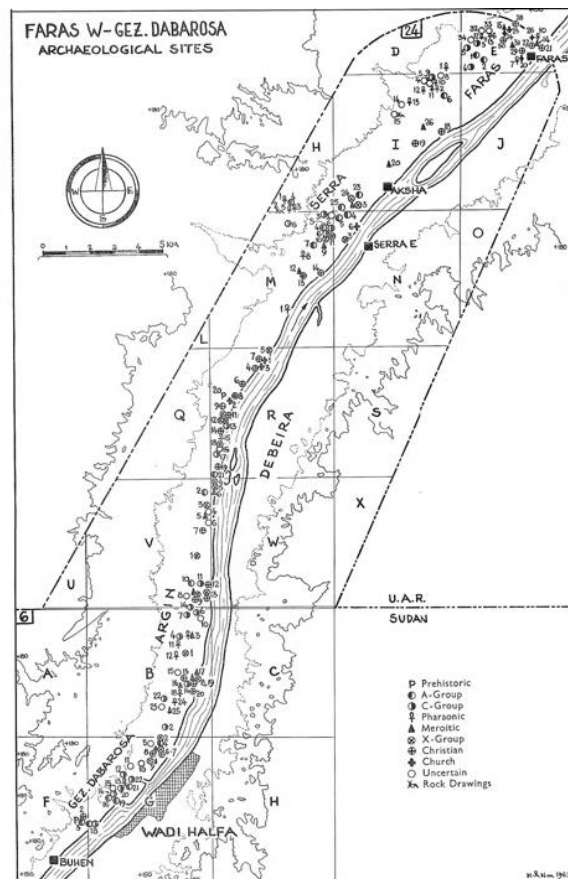


Fig. 8. Concession area of Sudan Antiquities Service Archaeological Survey on the west bank of the Nile (Ververs, Nordström, Hall and Adams, 1962: 11).

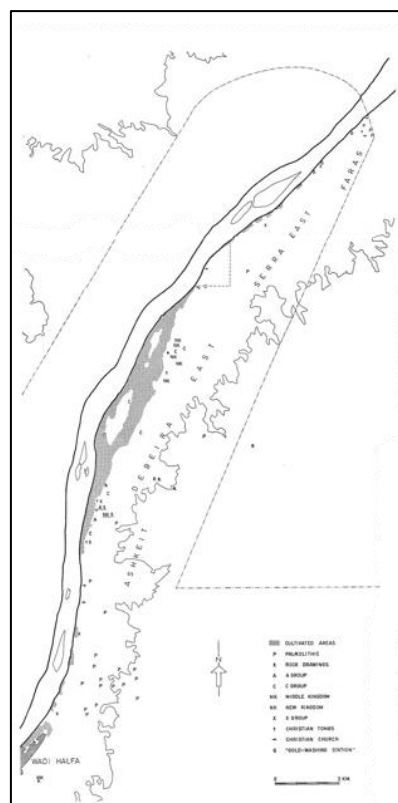


Fig. 9. Map of dated sites in the northern part of concession area of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition (Säve-Söderbergh, 1962: 76).

Eventually, large areas of the West bank were granted to foreign archaeological missions for excavation concessions (Fig. 10, 11). However, those concessions with no exception were granted after the time of the initial exploration that was conducted by Sudan Antiquities Service, and often on the basis of the initial discoveries/findings. In practice, the Sudan Antiquities Service surveyed the entire area between Faras and Gemai except for the Buhen concession, which had already been granted for the Egypt Exploration Society, before the work of Sudan Antiquities Service began. Further, the area that was assigned to the Museum of New Mexico Columbia University covered in length the whole of the inundation area; the whole length of the river was available only through the West bank. On the East bank, the area from north of Gemai to the frontier was allocated to the Scandinavian Joint Expedition and the stretch from Gemai south to the end of the inundation was granted to New Mexico Columbia University. Taking the inundation area as a whole, in the both banks of the Nile from Egyptian frontier to Dal Cataract, the distance is over 150 km, where two major geological features were present. They produced very different landscapes as well as different archaeological problems (Wendorf, Daugherty and Weacher, 1964: 14).

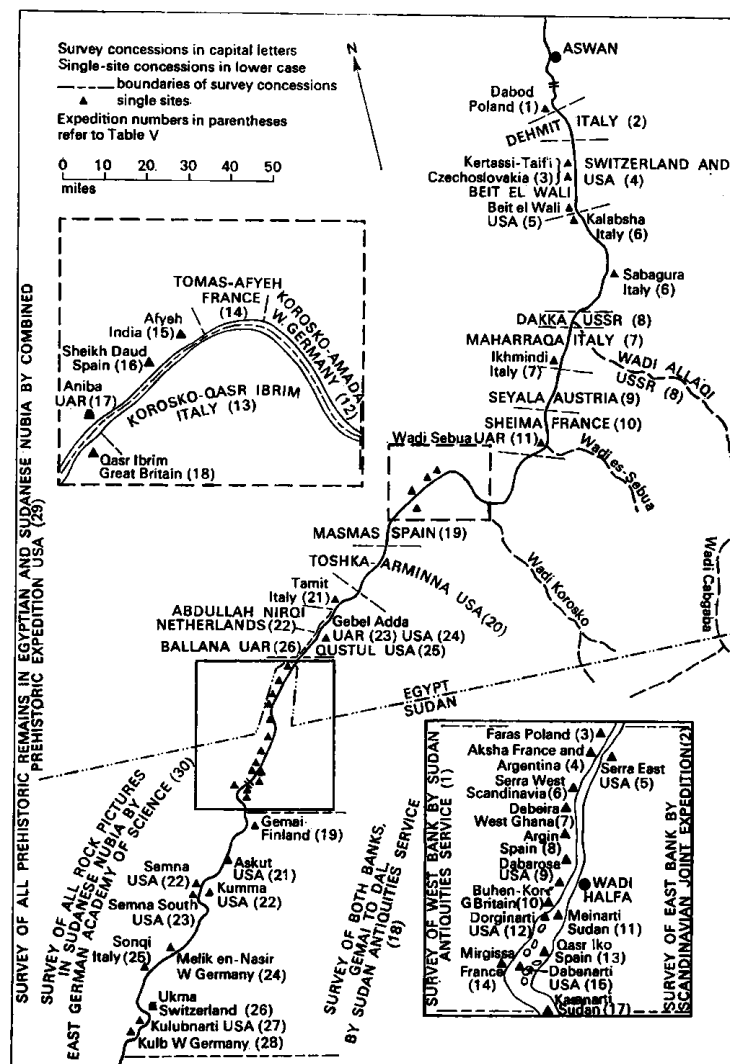


Fig. 10. Distribution of foreign concessions during the Sudanese Nubian Campaign (Adams, 1977: 87).

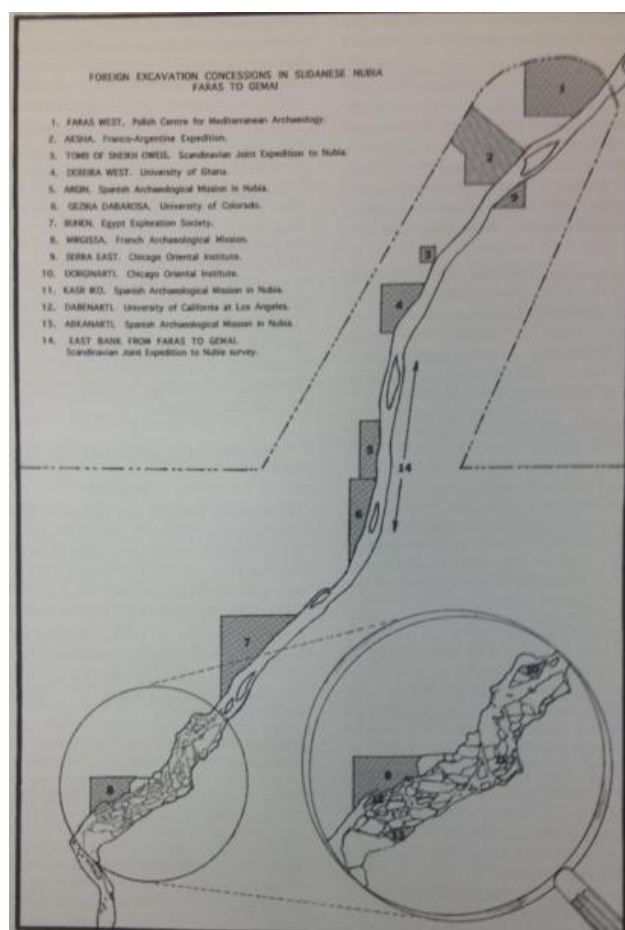


Fig. 11. Map of foreign excavation concession within the West Bank Survey area (Adams, 2005a: 8).

The Campaign to save the monuments of Sudanese Nubia began in 1960 and during the period between 1960 and 1970 Sudan witnessed intensive archaeological works of an unprecedented scale. There were 18 concessions eventually taken up by foreign expeditions and 19 foreign archaeological expeditions worked in the Sudanese territory endangered by the waters of the Aswan High Dam between Faras in the north and Dal Cataract in the south. The help was offered by 21 countries and 30 archaeological missions, such as: British, American, German, Polish, Spanish and even Indian, Argentine or Ghanaian teams (Sharif, 1960: 16). Below the division of concessions is presented in details (Table 6).

Country	Institution	Concession area	Types of investigation	Period
Argentina	Franco-Argentine Expedition National University of La Plata	Aksha (1962; 1963; 1964; 1967)	Excavations	Pharaonic temple, Christian town
Belgium	Cooperation with an excavation expedition			
Finland	Finnish Nubian Expedition	Gemai-Murshid	Survey, excavations	All periods
France	French Archaeological Mission	Mirgissa fort of Iken (1963; 1964; 1965; 1968; 1970; 1973; 1975; 1976)	Excavations	Pharaonic fortress, town and cemeteries Middle Kingdom

East Germany	The German National Academy of Sciences, Berlin (DDR) Leopodia	Survey up to the end of endangered area at Dal Cataract Whole area	Survey	Rock art and inscriptions prehistory
West Germany	German Archaeological Institute (DFR)	Melik en-Nasir	Survey	Christian remains
East Germany	German Institute (DFR)	Kulb	Survey	Christian fortified town
Ghana	The University of Ghana	Debeira West (1963; 1964; 1965; 1978)	Excavations	Christian town and churches
Italy	University of Rome	Sonqi West	Excavations	Christian church
Poland	Polish Center for Mediterranean Archaeology	Faras West (1962; 1963; 1964; 1965)	Excavations and mural painting transferring	Christian churches and palace
Scandinavian	Scandinavian Joint Expedition	East bank Faras East-Gemai East	Survey, excavations	All periods A-group to Christian
Scandinavian	Scandinavian Joint Expedition	Serra West (1963)	Survey, excavations	Pharaonic tomb
South America	Columbia University	Argin	Survey	Expedition of Prehistorians
Spain	Spanish National Committee for Cooperation with UNESCO	The cemeteries of Argin (1962; 1963; 1965; 1970)	Excavations	Cemeteries of Meroitic and Christian periods
Spain	Spanish National Committee for Cooperation with UNESCO	Qasr Iko	Excavations	Christian church
Spain	Spanish National Committee for Cooperation with UNESCO	Christian site of Abkanarti	Excavations	Christian fortified town
Sudan	Sudanese Antiquities Service (UNESCO)	Gemai-Dal	Survey, excavations	All periods
Sudan	Sudanese Antiquities Service (UNESCO)	Meinarti Island and Kagenarti	Survey, excavations	Meroitic to Christian town and church
Sudan	Sudanese Antiquities Service (UNESCO)	Faras West-Gemai West	Survey, excavations	All periods
Switzerland	University of Geneva	Akasha-Ukma	Survey, excavations	Christian churches
UK	The Egypt Exploration Society	Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen (1957; 1959; 1960; 1961; 1962; 1963; 1964; 1966)	Survey, excavations	Pharaonic fortress; New Kingdom
USA	Oriental Institute of Chicago	Serra East	Survey, excavations	Pharaonic fort; Christian town
USA	Oriental Institute of Chicago	Island of Dorginarti (1966)	Excavations	Pharaonic fortress Middle or New Kingdom
USA	Combined Prehistoric Expedition	Whole area	Survey	Christian fortress town
USA	Oriental Institute of Chicago	Semna East South	Excavations	Meroitic Cemetery
USA	University of Colorado Museum	Murshid-Dal West Bank	Excavations	Prehistoric sites
USA	Brown University	Semna East (Kumma)	Survey	Pharaonic New Kingdom temples
USA	University of California	Island of Askut	Eventual excavations	Pharaonic fortress: Christian town Middle Kingdom Fort
USA	University of California	Island of Dabnarti (1964)	Survey and excavations	Pharaonic fortress: late Christian

USA	University of Colorado Museum	Gezira Dabarosa West (1964; 1965)	Excavations	Prehistoric Remains X-Group and Christian settlement-village
USA	The New Mexico Museum	on both banks of the Nile	Survey	Stone Age
Yugoslavia	Yugoslavia National Committee for Nubian Campaign	Gemai-Aksha Village of Sheikh Abdel Gadir	Survey	Christian church

Table 6. Concessions distribution of Sudanese Nubian Campaign (the information in the table was combined from following sources: Adams, 1977: 84-86; UNESCO, 1960b: 1-3).

In conclusion, it is clear that concessions distribution showed the interest of the archaeological expeditions of Nubian Campaign. It has to be mentioned that these concessions were granted after the time of initial survey of Sudan Antiquities Service. Several of concessions were requested by the foreign expeditions, especially when it came to newly discovered sites, as they were very attractive to the foreign excavators. Although the contribution of foreign missions was crucial to the success of the archaeological campaign in Sudan, it was also noticeable that their interest was laid mainly in large, spectacular sites. Moreover, a big role in choosing the concession played the interest related to the field. Some of these expeditions were led by Egyptologists or museum's missions, who brought with them traditional Egyptologists preoccupied with monumental sites and cemeteries, which was reflected in the relative lack of interest in open settlement. These circumstances influenced the choice of what and how much to dig, but when grave sites were found, there was always a reasonable probability that these would be of higher interest to foreign missions, whereas in the case of a settlement site the probability was much lower (Adams, 2005a: 9). Another factor was the period in history that was assigned to the site. For instance, Italian and Polish expeditions were more interested in the Christian period, while the Scandinavian Joint Expedition was more focused in prehistory A-Group to Christian times. However, through the participation and support of these archaeological missions, Sudan Antiquities Service was able to carry out the necessary survey, excavations, removal and documentation work to ensure the protection of at least part of Sudan's history and thus of the world cultural heritage for future generations.

4.1.4. Methods applied during archaeological works (surveys, excavations, documentation, data publications)

This part will focus on the Nubian Campaign in its progress and post-project stages. It will be reflected on how much of recommended approaches and methods were implemented in practice in frames of rescue archaeology management. Such areas will be taken into consideration as survey, excavations, documentation and data publications.

4.1.4.1. Recommendations of Sudan Antiquities Service

The practical work of the Nubian Campaign in Sudan started through the cooperation between Government of Sudan and UNESCO. After the meetings in Khartoum and Wadi Halfa in October 1960, Advisory Committee of international archaeology experts was established. They prepared a list of priorities for the archaeological works and discussed issues of the upcoming Campaign in all aspects, laying foundations and ground rules for the archaeological missions to follow. During the meeting decisions were conducted basing on the report of the Director of Antiquities, which concerned issues of archaeological fieldwork, methods and a pragmatic approach to the problem. This concertation should have been fulfilled according to the provisions of the agreement between missions and the Sudan Antiquities Service (referring to the Committee's recommendations and license). This could be concerned as a starting point – what they decided and what sort of recommendation were proposed for the fieldwork. In addition, the Committee indicated the necessity of finding an expert⁶⁴ in natural history for human races so that missions could gain his/her expertise and benefit from his/her services (Sharif, 1971: 11).

The Subcommittee consisted of Sander-Hansen (the Chairman of the Board), Thabit, Vercoutter, Adams (members) and Lilies, Laesse, Nordstrom and Verwers (observers). They recommended to consider two parts of the preservation problem, namely:

- a) removal of temples;
- b) archaeological works.

The Subcommittee stressed that these two types of work should be seen as equally important, that the work should start as soon as possible in view of the danger already threatening in 1963 and that the final priorities might be decided by experts according to the facilities available (UNESCO, 1960b: 11). According to the analysis of the general situation it was clear that the equally important archaeological works must consist of:

- a) general survey and inventory;
- b) excavation of sites already known;
- c) excavation of important sites to be found during the survey.

⁶⁴ William Y. Adams was chosen for this role. He was American professor of anthropology at the University of Kentucky. During the late 1950s he was a director of archaeological salvage excavations in Glen Canyon on the Colorado River. He was invited by UNESCO and the Sudanese Government to assist in the salvage operations in Nubia. He planned and carried out excavations for the Sudan Antiquities Service from 1959 to 1966 and coordinated the activities of 14 other expeditions. He is the author of *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (1977).

The Subcommittee set points (a) and (b) as crucial and emphasized that their execution should start immediately. Moreover, they recommended to carry out survey work in the previously known sites simultaneously with the excavation. Priority should be given to the sites in Buhen, Faras, Serra East, Meinarti and Argin, because they required long-term work, as they represented a great number of cultures and were of great historical importance.

The Subcommittee considered three types of archaeological missions to be valid and more appropriate for the Campaign (UNESCO, 1960b: 11):

- a) survey expeditions;
- b) epigraphic and documentary expeditions;
- c) major excavations.

It was proposed that it should be the duty of each archaeological survey mission to systematically and completely explore the area granted in the concession and to record meticulously all archaeological remains encountered therein. However, the Committee stressed out that concessions for an archaeological survey should not be limited to the area immediately threatened with flooding, but rather cover the entire area that would eventually be inundated (UNESCO, 1960b: 11).

The records kept for each archaeological site by each archaeological survey mission included a standard survey of the site provided by the Sudan Antiquities Service, as well as photographs (where applicable), plans and drawings (where appropriate). It was also proposed to attach the copy of the archaeological site survey data conducted by Sudan Antiquities Service for all expeditions, along with a brief set of instructions that would explain its meaning and the intended use of the association. In practice, the Sudan Antiquities Service, through its office in Wadi Halfa⁶⁵, provided each archaeological survey mission with appropriate maps and aerial photographs to facilitate their fieldwork. It has to be noted that every expedition had to accurately record on maps and photographs the location of every site found. It was expected that all expeditions would keep such additional records as it was their customary practice (UNESCO, 1960b: 11).

Survey expeditions were allowed to collect surface collections as well as collections of objects from trial excavations, if it was convenient for their work. All groups were divided by the Sudan Antiquities Service in accordance with the Antiquities Ordinance of 1952. The survey of archaeological missions was expected to encounter archaeological sites that deserve extensive excavation. In such cases survey expeditions had a preliminary right to excavate, provided that such excavations required a separate excavation concession license from Sudan Antiquities Service.

⁶⁵ In the office in Wadi Halfa the participants could also get access to important sources, such as the four books of Verwers, who recorded his excavations; six books on the excavations of Nordstom, and seven books on Adams' excavations (exclusive of four books on Meinarti).

Expeditions were able to apply for such a license at any time during the survey work, given immediate consideration by the Commissioner of Archaeology. A survey mission could have expressed a specific intent to carry out excavation, or not to do so, at any particular location within its concession area. In case a given mission did not intend to excavate, the site was withdrawn from their concession and offered to another expedition.

4.1.4.1.1. Archaeological background of the targeted area

There had been a substantial amount of surveys and excavations done in the threatened area of Sudanese Nubia, particularly in the earliest years of the 20th century (before the Nubian Campaign), which allowed to get basic knowledge about the archaeological potential of the area. In the first decade of the 20th century, architect Somers Clarke made a survey of the most prominent Christian antiquities in the Nile Valley, all the way from Alexandria to Khartoum (Clarke, 1912). He recorded six churches within the area between Faras and Gemai. Furthermore, Geoffrey S. Mileham from University of Pennsylvania Museum compiled plans and descriptions of several churches at Faras, Deberia, and Buhen in the season of 1908–1909 (Mileham, 1910). Moreover, C. Leonard Woolley carried out limited excavation in the pharaonic fortress of Buhen (Randall-Maclver and Woolley, 1911). Next, F. L. Griffith along with Oxford University Expedition carried out extensive excavations for four seasons (1910–1912) in sites of all periods, in and around Faras. The result was published piecemeal over several years in the *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Griffith, 1923; 1924; 1926; 1927). Then, Noel Wheeler from Harvard-Boston Expedition carried out limited excavation in Pharaonic fortress of Mirgissa for longer period and one season in the Second Cataract in 1931–1932, but his work has never been fully published. Ugo Monneret de Villard undertook between 1929 and 1934 a survey and an inventory of all Christian sites in both Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia (Monneret de Villard, 1935: 188-224). There were also many others excavation of smaller range but more exhaustive, where the expedition recorded 23 Christian sites on the west bank and island between Faras and Gemai (Adams, 2005b: 6ff).

This earlier work was of high importance for Sudan Antiquities Service survey team for two reasons. Firstly, it provided a baseline of current state of the art, that gave them a basic chronological framework into which to fit all the different remains that the team encountered. It also gave them an idea of how much was and was not known about each of different periods in Nubian history. Moreover, it helped the team to take a decision about what to dig and what not to dig. Such decisions were influenced in part by how much was already known. Secondly, these earlier works saved a lot of digging that would otherwise have been team's responsibility. Especially the extensive work

of F. L. Griffith and the Oxford Excavations in the Faras area was valuable, where the Sudan Antiquities Service team could have spent four seasons working in this area, if it had not been excavated earlier. Eventually, the Sudan Antiquities Service team described comprehensively ca. 55 sites at Faras, 26 among them were previously investigated either by Griffith or by Mileham (Adams, 2005b: 7).

Nevertheless, the massive rescue operation of the archaeological sites of Lower Nubia had produced an immense amount of new archaeological data for the Middle Nile Valley that covered various periods, from Palaeolithic times to the medieval Christian era or later. This region partly had been investigated in connection with the construction of the older dam at Aswan (Adams 2005a: 7). It has to be noted that the initial proposal for the dam took place in 1955, and before the main fieldwork began in 1960, there was a lot of preparatory work, principally in the form of a preliminary ground survey, which took place between 1955 and 1956. This work was carried out on behalf of the Sudan Antiquities Service by J. Vercoutter, the Commissioner for Archaeology, and T. H. Thabit, Senior Inspector of Antiquities. Both banks of the Nile Valley between the Egyptian frontier and the Second Cataract were surveyed, resulting in the discovery of 25 new sites (Adams, 2005a: 7).

The ground survey was followed by an aerial survey between 1956 and 1957, conducted by Sudan Antiquities Service employers – J. Vercoutter and Thabit H. Thabit in cooperation with Sudan government. Later these aerial photographs were invaluable in targeting specific sites for the further study during the Campaign (Adams, Allen and Verwers, 1961: 11). This preparation of information about the region was a sort of assessment of potential threat, however, these aerial photographs were used later by missions that did not have their own photos. Unexpectedly, photos taken in 1956–1957 revealed almost nothing in the way of the archaeological features, because they had been taken from too high altitude. Thus, in 1959 the Sudan Antiquities Service suggested to re-photograph the whole area between Faras and Dal (area that would be flooded by the High Dam) at much lower altitudes. Eventually, two sets of photographs were taken for the threatened topographic area⁶⁶.

This time these vertical aerial photographs were taken by Adams and his team. They were flying for three months once a week with the photo crew back and forth over the target area between Faras and Dal Cataract. The team took series of “navigation strips”, where the plane crew had to turn around at the end of each photographic run (Adams, 2005a: 10). The aerial survey offered unexpected finds, including the natural rock barrier across the Nile at Semna, where traces of a barrage constructed by Egyptians were discovered (Fig. 12, 13).

⁶⁶ Cf. subchapter 4.1.2.2. *Selection of concessions and sites of archaeological excavations.*



Fig. 12. Aerial photo of a 3900-years-old barrage (Abubakr, 1980: 33).



Fig. 13. Unexcavated cemetery at Argin Wadi Halfa area (Adams, Allen and Verwers, 1961: 11).

Obviously, through the entire history of archaeology in the Middle Nile Valley, there has never been such close cooperation between different missions in the fieldwork of archaeology. After launching the Nubian Campaign, a bridge of knowledge and discussion was laid between working and research methods of a strictly archaeological kind. However, it was not clear at first what resources the Sudan Antiquities Service would be able to provide in order to contribute to the archaeological Campaign.

4.1.4.1.2. Surveys – recommendations

Regarding the approved archaeological works, the Advisory Committee accepted regulations issued by a Subcommittee headed by Sander Hansen about methods and standards that should have been adopted in the survey, excavations and documentation works. It was the unanimous understanding of the Subcommittee that the aim of the survey expedition was to ascertain general character, extent and location of all archaeological remains within a given concession area. The recommended basic field technique of the archaeological survey was surface observation and data recording, aided by auxiliary methods, such exploratory excavation, required to establish the age, cultural affinity, extent, or condition of any given archaeological site.

An example of the biggest concession areas, in which the archaeological survey method has been applied, were in west and east banks of the Nile Valley from Faras to Gemai. At first, two excavating expeditions, preceded by prospecting teams that made a ground survey, were sent out on each bank of the Nile. One mission represented Sudan Antiquities Service, which objectives referred to submerged area of Sudanese Nubia to the northern part of the Second Cataract – west bank of the Nile, from Faras to Gemai. The expedition worked for five seasons. Its task was to discover and record all sites within the threatened area and to dig as many of them as seemed worth of excavation. The expedition team from Khartoum was given the necessary preparation to introduce them to types of sites they might encounter (Adams, 2005a: 11). From the beginning there was no inclination to follow the model of the two prior Aswan Dam Surveys, that were carried out in Egyptian Nubia by Reisner (1910), Firth (1912; 1915; 1927), Emery and Kirwan (1935; 1938) and the Harvard-Boston Expedition in the central and northern Sudan (1913–1932). Aforementioned surveys concentrated almost exclusively on mortuary remains. However, in 1960, it seemed to Sudan Antiquities Service's expeditions and to UNESCO teams, that much more had been learned about how the early Nubian died than about how they lived. Moreover, none of UNESCO team was experienced in museum work, so they concerned primarily with the recovery of object for display. It has to be noted that UNESCO team's background were specifically in American and European prehistory, and their primary mission was to recover knowledge not just objects (Adams, 2005a: 11).

Another expedition was the Scandinavian Joint Expedition. They worked in the east bank of the Nile. Its scientific aims were to secure all possible evidence and make as complete investigation and documentation as possible. Their aim was also to survey the target areas in details in order to identify other sites that were overlooked during the rapid overall survey. The choice of the mission was determined by many factors. Thus, the Scandinavian team neither attempted to solve problems drawn from some preconception notions, nor focused on any particular period or type of remains. The team thought it would be better not to allow their program to be influenced or guided by personal interests or problems that were considered at that time of primary importance, but they tried to collect as many data as possible so that future generations would also have a chance to find answers to other questions that seemed more important to them (Säve-Söderbergh, 1971–1972: 14-15).

4.1.4.1.3. Excavations – recommendations

During the Nubian Campaign, two aspects were considered in regards to the issue of excavations:

1. Archaeological work:
 - a. excavations;
 - b. documentation;
2. The removal of the temples.

It was the understanding of the Subcommittee that the purpose of major excavations was to obtain the fullest possible historic, scientific and artistic information, consistent with limitations of time and funds, about one or more specific archaeological sites, as indicated in the excavation concession area. The basic recommended field technique for the large excavations was extensive digging supported by documentation, including photography and detailed drawing documentation.

Analyses of contents and geographical layouts of cemeteries in Lower Nubia were already carried out by Brunton and Reisner, successors of Petrie⁶⁷, in the first half of 20th century. Later, with the explosive development of the “New Archaeology” (later called processual archaeology) in the 1960s, a range of new techniques for cemetery analysis and seriation, often with a focus on European approach and data, have become available to researchers working with archaeological data from Egypt and Nubia.

Technological development influenced also other methods borrowed by archaeologists to their research. One of such methods is photogrammetry (the science of making measurements

⁶⁷ Flinders Petrie (1853–1942), a British Egyptologist and a pioneer of systematic methodology in archaeology and the preservation of artifacts, developed the system of dating layers based on pottery and ceramic findings (cf. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Flinders-Petrie> [Access on 5.11.2019]).

from photographs). However, not many people realized that the first instance of its systematic use occurred in the Nubian Campaign, when it was used not only in its simplest form (taking stereoscopic images), but also in the more complex operations of contour drawing and reshaping of pseudo 3D models or axonometric visualizations. Thus, one can state that the appeal of UNESCO had enabled archaeology to move forward into a new phase of progress in terms of applied techniques (Desroches-Noblecourt, 1964: 8).

The priority for excavation was to investigate area with sites to be flooded at first (e.g. district of Aksha), as well as known sites that were planned to be excavated during the first season of Sudan Antiquities Service team. The approach to excavations during the Nubian Campaign could be illustrated with the example of the Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition and Joint Scandinavian Expedition. By combining forces, the Joint Expedition of the Scandinavian countries became one of the largest, if not the largest, expedition in Nubia and had therefore both: personal and financial resources to survey a large territory, and, as it proved later, also to excavate practically all sites in the concession area (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 12). Hence, the scope of the expedition gradually changed to a total investigation or excavation of all sites in the concession area – an immense task in view of the size of the area (Table 7). Around 60 km had to be covered with survey and possible excavation during four winter campaigns (1961–1964), including also the documentation of thousands of rock drawings and a detailed analysis of the architectural remains of churches and fortifications. Thus, they faced the problem of identifying sites to excavate (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 12-13).

Period	Number of Sites
Palaeolithic	58 (+2)3
Mesolithic	14
Neolithic	41 (+7)
A-Group	41 (+13)
C-Group	68 (+22)
Kerma	10
Egyptian Middle Kingdom	2
New Kingdom	35 (+4)
Meroitic	8 (+9)
X-Group	23 (+21)
Christian	54 (+24)
Islamic	25 (+16)

Table 7. Sites of the Joint Scandinavian Expedition (Säve-Söderbergh, 1968: 213).

4.1.4.1.4. Documentation – recommendations

With reference to the authorization of the Sudanese Antiquities Authority to grant the concession, each survey mission was required to submit to the Sudan Antiquities Service in internal sessions a brief report on the progress of the field work. Moreover, at the end of the field season, the expeditions were required to submit to the Sudan Antiquities Service duplicate copies of the site survey forms grantee with photographs, drawings and appropriate plans for each site registered by them. These materials should have been received within six weeks of the completion of the fieldwork. There was no strictly defined format for the report, but there had to be a proper reference on the title page to the international Campaign for the safeguard of Nubian monuments. Documentation of the area threatened with drowning in Sudanese Nubia required following the traditional Egyptologist's practice of recording basic site with a budget of approximately 300 000 USD. That forced the Sudan Antiquities Service to seek for the support of foreign specialists (UNESCO, 1960b: 11f).

The recommended approach of Sudan Antiquities Service for documentation in Nubian Campaign covered following expectations (Adams, 2005a: 16-18):

- raw field notes;
- transcribed field notes;
- site plans in scale 1:50;
- cross-section and profiles;
- site photos;
- field registers;
- master site file;
- aerial photos;
- object photos;
- object registration cards.

The Sudan Antiquities Service in Wadi Halfa maintained a field office that served as a central repository for archaeological data of all kinds collected by field missions. In this office all reported sites were added on main archaeological survey maps at scale 1:250 000 (Adams, 2005a: 11). Information obtained from different expeditions and various site survey reports were combined into one main site file. This data was available for inspection of qualified scientists while they were in the field. Duplicate copies of all abovementioned documents were also sent to the Office of the Antiquities Commissioner in Khartoum, which later became the Central Coordination Office of the Nubian Archaeological Campaign. Due to extensive administrative work involved in transcribing records, the Subcommittee also recommended the use of photographic equipment.

4.1.4.1.5. Data publications – recommendations

The Committee stressed the importance of proper and rapid publication of results of archaeological works in the threatened area as an important basis for the planned investigations. Moreover, they recommended searching for means to ensure further publication. Sudan Antiquities Service planned and expected that after each field season a brief preliminary report from the fieldwork of each expedition would be submitted for publication in the succeeding number of *Kush*, the Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service (UNESCO, 1960b: 6, 13).

4.1.4.2. Recommendations in practice of missions

In the previous part the recommendations of Sudan Antiquities Service and main objectives of the biggest expeditions in regards to rescue archaeological activities were described. In this part I will focus on practical solutions applied during the Nubian Campaign. It will be analysed, to what extent they matched with the recommended measures. Two missions will serve as examples: Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition and Scandinavian Joint Project Expedition.

4.1.4.2.1. Surveys – practice

The ground survey widely applied after Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition showed that aerial photos were not going to reveal enough information, so the ground survey became a necessity. As Adams (2005a: 11) mentioned in his report, this condition was not foreseen when the survey was planned. However, two things were considered in regards to the preparation of the field survey. Firstly, the team devised a system for numbering of sites as they should be found. This was applied for the whole Sudanese territory that was covered by a series of map quadrangles, especially the target flooded area that lay within the Wadi Halfa quadrangle, at a scale of 1:250 000, each covering 1° of latitude and 1.5° of longitude. Then, it was divided into a series of 24 equal sections, each covering 15 minutes of longitude and latitude. Numbers from 1 to 24 were assigned, reading from left to right and top to bottom. Each section was further divided into a series of 25 three-minute grid sections, where they identified by the letters A through Y (Fig. 14). Later, when the sites were found, they were given a label indicating first the number of their 15-minute unit, then the letter for their three-minute unit, and finally an individual number assigned in the order of discovery, e.g. 24-E-15.

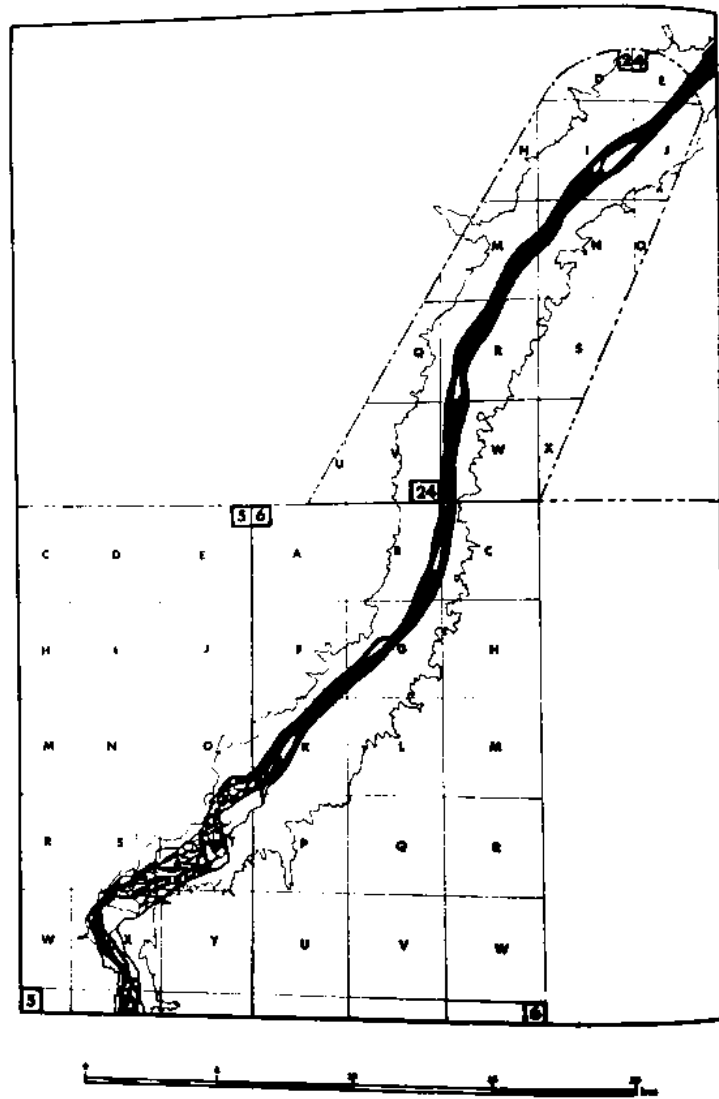


Fig. 14. Map showing the grid system used in the numbering of archaeological sites (Adams, 2005a: 12).

In the interest of compiling a comprehensive inventory, the team applied this system of numeration to all of sites in the target area between Faras and Gemai, including those found in earlier years and those found by other archaeological expeditions employed by the Antiquities Service throughout the Nile Valley. However, for complete recording, site numbers were preceded by the name of the map quadrangle on which they were found, e.g. *Wadi Halfa 24-E-15* or *Kosha 24-E-15*. Since all Sudan Antiquities Service sites laid within Wadi Halfa quadrangle, the team had omitted the named prefix when they were reporting sites for publications.

Moreover, the Sudan Antiquities Service team devised and printed a set of standardized forms for the recording of information about each site discovered. It was a practice that long had been a routine in American archaeological survey, although it was actually introduced by George Reisner in Nubia. However, this proved to be wasted effort, given the enormous diversity of sites the team encountered, and the wealth of information yielded by many of them. No form less than 10 pages long could provide enough space to record information about: dwellings, pottery kilns, quarry sites,

rock art, churches, cemeteries, graves, and all other different types of sites the team encountered during the survey. What is more, during the survey the team was taking relevant photos, made a pin-hole to mark the location of each site, circled it on the backside of the photo, and wrote the site number alongside it.

Later, the team in the field abandoned the standard forms in favour of detailed reports, such as narrative field notes, in conformance with a checklist of information categories that later were included in the notes for each types of site (Adams, 2005a: 11). To facilitate naming and description of the site, the team divided the survey area into a series of 11 localities of 5 to 10 km each, where villages were located. Following the local practice of naming each district after the dominant villages, the concession locations were named after the most prominent ruin, such as Aksha, Buhen and Mirgissa (Adams, 2005a: 5). Out of more than 70 towns, individual houses and industrial sites discovered, only four were subsequently claimed in foreign concessions, and three were taken after a personal appeal of W. Adams by the University of Colorado Expedition (Adams, 2005a: 13).

The Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition's preliminary task was sand removal, especially in the case of cemeteries, which age or condition of the remains often could not have been determined without opening of graves. The operation involved surface observation and test excavation, where the amount of excavation, that was undertaken in relations to surface survey, was increased in each season. The fieldwork camp was initially at Faras as far south as Gezira Dabarosa, covering 32 km, almost half of the target area in the first season. Eventually, the Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition team had to change the strategy in the fourth season, when the team faced a challenge of exploring the numerous Second Cataract islands, after the survey had cover one-half of the total area from Faras to Gemai in the first three seasons (Fig. 15). The team found out that the technique of marching in line was not a very effective way of employing the labour force of the expedition. Then, the team learned to recognize site from surface indication, and with one or two labourers could walk ahead and locate sites while the others were carrying on excavations at sites already located (Adams, 2005a: 13).

Another team was the Scandinavian Joint Expedition. Their program was gradually changing. In the first agreement between Scandinavian Joint Expedition and Sudan Antiquities Service only a survey was envisaged and the expedition did not undertake any excavations of discovered sites. Only the date and the nature of the sites should be ascertained and other sites should be turned over to other expeditions.

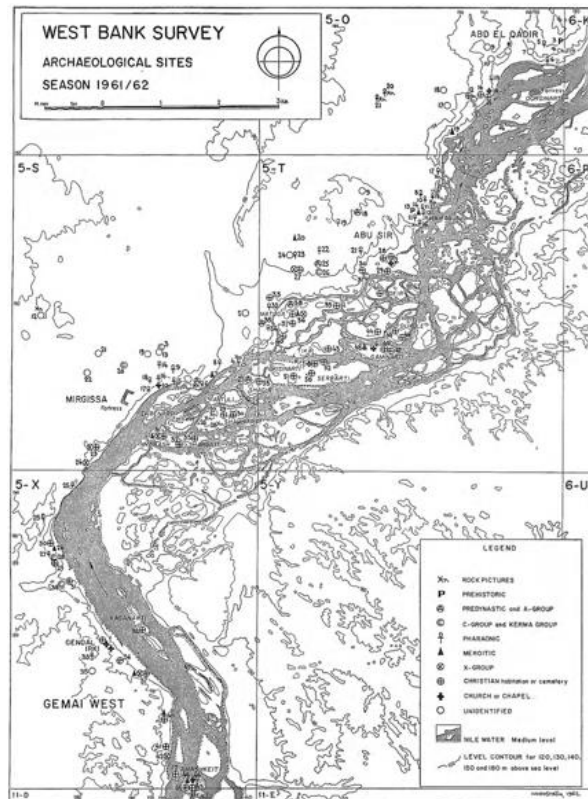


Fig. 15. Archaeological survey on the west bank of the Nile (Adams and Nordström, 1963: 12).

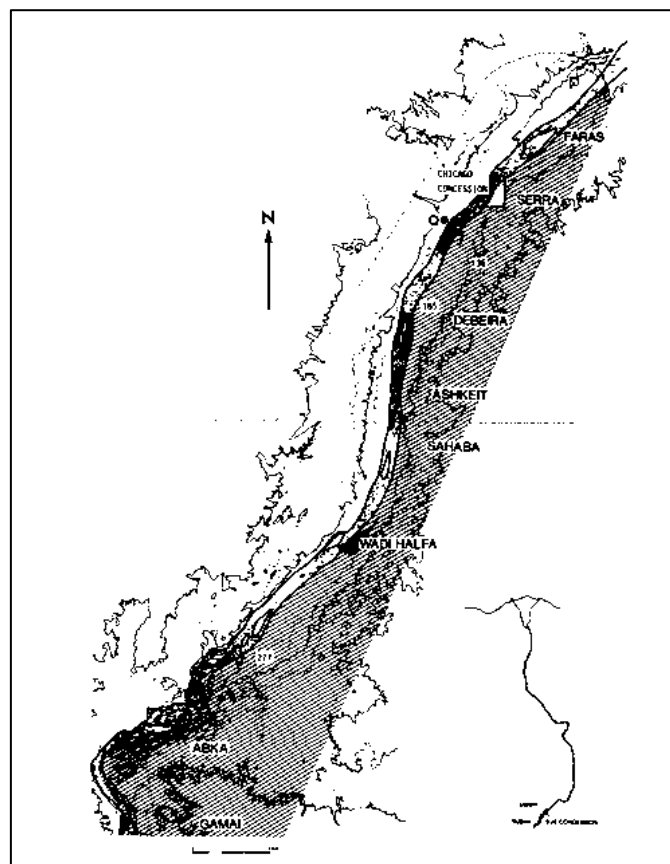


Fig. 16. The concession area of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition. Map of the districts and some important sites (277: A-Group cemetery; 185: New Kingdom cemetery; 36: tomb of Djehuti-hotep; Q: tomb of Amenemhet) (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 4).

The method applied by the Scandinavian Expedition was different than survey of other expeditions. They did not proceed systematically from north to south, but conducted instead a quick survey by car or on foot, using topographical maps at scale 1:250 000 and aerial photographs provided by the Sudanese authorities as a basis. Their goal was to obtain general idea of the entire concession area as fast as possible, in order to establish if the planned survey of an area of 60 km would be possible to conduct with available sources (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 17):

The survey was done in the way that all the ground was walked over, and trial trenches were opened on all suspect spots. Then the ground was again walked over with lines of men probing the ground systematically with iron rods and making extensive trial excavations. In this way numerous sites could be located which were entirely invisible because they had been levelled by wind erosion and had been covered with silt or sand.

The result of Scandinavian Joint Expeditions from the first and second seasons covered the whole concession from Faras to Gemai. They had more or less intensively investigated the number of 292 sites recorded (Säve-Söderbergh, 1963: 48). However, it was stressed in their report that sites were often extremely difficult to discover due to the wind erosion and sand drift, as well as they were covered with decomposed silt mixed with sand. The total number of new sites registered was 364, among them about dozen were Palaeolithic workshops or concentrations of implements on the higher terraces where more or less extensive sampling has been made. In all, over 490 sites were located (Fig. 16).

4.1.4.2.2. Excavations – practice

The first season of excavations of Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition involved digging in cemeteries. In the second season digging was conducted between two and five graves in each cemetery, because cemeteries were not a main focus of interest and the work continued partly due to the assumption that these sites might be of special interest to foreign expeditions that would hopefully follow up on the Campaign. It has to be noted that Franco-Argentine, Scandinavian, University of Ghana, Spanish, and University of Colorado expeditions had concessions granted in the area that had been surveyed by Sudan Antiquities Service team in the second season. The Sudanese team assumed that the foreign expeditions would later be interested in those sites for further excavations. This approach was sufficient to identify kinds of graves present and their conditions. Decisions in the case of habitation sites were more difficult, because in most cases there was no likelihood that they would later be of interest to other expeditions. However, the Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition team employed later much more work in excavation than exploration of a new site location. However, at the tactical level, their excavation method did not differ from those

of nearly all other expeditions in the Nile Valley. Actually, earth removal was done with the aid of the traditional method (short handled hoe) for clearing graves and house floors; excavated sand was carried away in baskets, for deposition of the site. It was mainly at the strategic level that team's approach differed from other teams. When the team began uncovering any site, it rarely had a clear idea of how much ought to be done, or in other words: when to stop. Besides, it had ascertained preliminary information about chronology, extent and condition of a site, which required more time of sand removal. Therefore, there were still three unanswered questions for the team:

- Did the team need the information that this site might provide?
- Did the team have time to undertake excavations, in view of the amount of work that was still ahead of them?
- Was there a possibility that a foreign expedition might be interested in this site?

Under these circumstances, the team often had to make only basic decisions and they did not always prove to be sound. This was especially true in the two first seasons, before the team fully realized its situation, potential and limitations (Adams, 2005a: 16). In practice, the mission carried out a thorough examination (a trial dig or a full excavation). It has to be noted that those sites, that were already excavated, produced material susceptible to dating by the C14 method. Moreover, a ground survey of the target area from the Egyptian frontier to Wadi Halfa and a preliminary aerial topographic survey from Wadi Halfa to Sarkamatto revealed ca. 100 sites, of which only around 10 were partially excavated to date. Many of A-Group burial grounds however have never been excavated (UNESCO, 1960a: 8). The total of 262 sites were recorded after four seasons, ranging in age from Neolithic to early modern. Further, the team carried out some excavations in over half of the discovered sites. They included 8 churches, 3 fortifications, 77 habitations sites, 21 industrial and miscellaneous sites, 18 rock art and/or inscription sites and 170 mortuary sites. However, some sites were included more than once in the above enumeration, because they involved remains of more than one type (Adams, 2005a: 1). Eventually excavations in the threaten area were carried out over a period of four years. About 100 sites and 4200 tombs were excavated. The findings represented collections from all periods. These excavations produced a huge amount of information and archaeological materials that contributed greatly to understanding and deepening the study of the archaeological history of the region.

4.1.4.2.3. Documentation – practice

According to recommendations, the Sudan Antiquities Service team had to write every field note, drew maps, take and print photos, as well as register each artifact, simultaneously keeping eye on things in progress. Documentation for every site supposed to be prepared in the form of narrative

field notes, written at-site at the time of excavation and completed immediately afterward. In practice, the team kept diaries, recording what was done each day, but they did not follow the traditional Egyptologist's practice of recording basic site information in this form. They rather adhered to a checklist of information categories to be included for each cemetery grave, with another checklist for each settlement feature, etc. Moreover, in the field notes sketch plans of many graves and many habitation sites were included. To facilitate both: writing and sketching, the team used 27x20cm "physics notebooks" having lines on the recto and a millimetre grid on the verso of each sheet. In some cases, the notes included cross-section and profiles, when it was necessary to show stratification of buildings or deposits. This was particularly practiced in the case of the Faras Potteries and at Kisanarti. It has to be emphasized that the Sudan Antiquities Service kept also photographic records. At that time, it was the most exhaustive documentation of the west bank survey with over 3000 site photos, all of which have been fully catalogued (Adams, 2005a: 16).

Another recommended documentation approach were raw field notes. They had the obvious deficiency that they produced only a kind of running narrative of what was found from day to day, since they were written at the moment of excavation. However, all notes could be compacted on one page or two successive pages. In case of Nubian Campaign, the excavations of settlements were usually going on in several rooms simultaneously and lasted a period of days or weeks. As the result, the information recorded for any given room was scattered among reports, sometimes in apart pages. Moreover, earlier notes of continuing excavation often revealed errors of observation or interpretation (Adams, 2005a: 16).

Furthermore, there was a field register of objects for each site, listing the registration number, provenience, a brief information about the form or function (pottery vessel, knife etc.), material and condition. More detailed information however was found only on the permanent register cards (Fig. 17).

SITE NO. 5-T-48	DISTRICT Abu Sir (Geminarti I.)	PERIOD Meroitic	TYPE SITE Houses
DESCRIPTION Remains of 2 rather large mud brick houses, each consisting of cluster of 10 or more rectangular rooms.			
EXTENT 2 large houses close together		CONDITION Rather damaged; floors intact	
EXCAV. RECORD Fully excavated by SAS-Unesco, 1962			
MAP SHEETS Abka		AIR PHOTOS 327007 (H) 624102 (27) 639109	
FIELD NOTES Adams VI: 4-9 Nordstrom IV: 8-15		PHOTOS F/090: 1-2, 4-11. F/091. F/092: 1-4. F/121: 1-6.	
RECORDED BY W. I. Adams SAS-Unesco		DATE Spring, 1962	BUILDING (OVER) X

Fig.17. Sample of site record card (Adams, 2005: 17).

The card shows the categories of information on the back, including the type of site, where the object was found (cemetery, habitation, etc.), the provenience or finding spot within the site, name of the finder, date of the finding, photo registration numbers of object photos, reference to any illustration other than those appearing on the card, any additional remarks and the Sudan National Museum accession number. The categories of information recorded for object other than pottery included: the culture period, material, type of object, field registration number, condition, dimensions, and a brief description. The card included considerable space on left for a drawing of the object. Entries on the back of the cards are the same as those on the pottery cards. The actual site number was always a part of the field registration number, shown on the front of the card. This information was filled out for every site discovered by every expedition in Sudanese Nubian from 1900 to 1966 (Adams, 2005a: 18). There were 3,325 object cards of both types recorded, including 1,507 for object from Meinarti.

A separate registration card was filled out for each object in Khartoum. Two different card types were employed, respectively for pottery (Adams' key system of ceramic classification) and for all other finds. Adams' registration system included following information: culture period, material, vessel type, field registration number, condition or portion, dimensions, vessel form, colours, decoration and surface treatment and small drawing of the vessel conform to any of the familiar forms.

Aerial photos at a scale of 1:7 500 were used in the field to record site locations as they were found. It was done by making pin holes and entering the site number beside them on back of photo. After the completion of the survey, the location of all sites of all periods was recorded on a master set of photos, at a scale of 1:25 000. In this case the site numbers and locations were written in ink on the front of photos (Adams, 2005a: 18).

Finally, there was the master site file, that included card at a size of 5 x 8 inches. Categories of information recorded, each in separate box, included as follows: site number, district, culture period, type of site (cemetery, church, etc.), a brief description, extent, condition, record of excavation, name of map sheet and aerial photo number on which the site appears, location of field notes, catalogue numbers of site photos, name of the first recorder of the site and date of first recording. In the final box a check mark was entered and if there were published references to the site, they were entered on the back of the form. White copies of these forms were filed according to site number, yellow ochre copies according to district, pink copies according to culture, and pale-yellow copies according to site type. The master site file included also object's photos. Nearly all archaeological material, other than small fragments, have been photographed in black and white (a few in colour). However, objects were nearly always photographed in groups rather than individually. For convenience, objects were grouped according to type rather than according

to provenience. In total, around 1 800 individual photos were taken (Adams 2005a: 18).

4.1.4.2.4 Data publications – practice

Among the most important publications connected with the Nubian Campaign following should be named: *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (1977) by Adams, the representative of UNESCO in Sudan; *The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* (1979) and *Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia* (1987; an accessible and informative compendium of the international rescue Campaign at Egypt and Sudan – Abu Simbel, Philae and other sites) by Säve-Söderbergh, the head of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition; as well as periodic reports on the progress of work in the Campaign (1971) by Thabit and Sharif, the commissioners of Sudan Antiquities Service in 1960s–1970s. Important articles were also published in periodicals, especially in *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service*, which took the lead in publishing reports and results of the Campaign's fieldwork.

Moreover, the documentation centre in Lower Nubia produced an archive of thousands of transcribed texts and architectural drawings. Archaeologists had also produced numerous of professional papers and monographs that continue to serve as a major scientific contribution from the Nubia Campaign. UNESCO published a bibliography listing 718 books and articles (Christophe, 1977). Currently, a new bibliography is now being compiled by UNESCO (A. Paulini, private contact; Hassan, 2007: 86). Important documents on the project can be also find in relevant UNESCO publications and the Officials' Report published by UNESCO (UNESCO/CUA 103, 106, 107, 109, 113, 118, 127 and UNESCO Nubia/1ff) (Hassan, 2007: 76).

It is worth to mention that publications of several expeditions (such as Sudan Antiquities Service Expedition and Joint Scandinavian Expedition) tried to present first of all the primary facts and documentation (descriptive approach) rather than lengthy interpretations or comparisons with other evidence outside of the concession area, which would delay the final publication. It has to be noted that the immense wealth of finds and facts made the publishing a difficult task, which lasted longer than the team members envisaged when they started the Campaign. However, this general policy did not, of course, prevent missions from drawing obvious conclusions from their evidence nor was comparative research by any means excluded but rather desirable (Säve-Söderbergh, 1979: 15).

4.1.5. Problems identified during the Nubian Campaign

The removal of temples along with transferring of mural paintings and rock inscriptions were the most discussable issues in Sudanese Nubian Campaign. In the target area there were several temples, tombs, rock inscription sites and churches threatened to be irretrievably lost unless they have been removed. They were located in sites at Buhen, Semna East (Kumma), Semna West and Aksha; then there was a group of ancient Egyptian fortresses, and the tomb of Djehuty-Hotep from the 18th Dynasty at Debeira East with painted scenes in the first chamber. Besides, at sites in Faras and Sheikh Abdel Gadir there were churches and others archaeological materials which salvage was essential. Further problems were connected with storing and displaying rescued material.

4.1.5.1. Removal and transfer of monuments during the Nubian Campaign – overview

Most of the considered monuments were built out of rock and sun-dried brick that could hardly be dismantled. Hence, they were difficult to safeguard, but in view of their great importance, especially for the history of military architecture, they deserved a thorough architectural survey, excavation, conservation and transferring. This led to an extensive discussion between the Committee of Sudanese Nubian Campaign and UNESCO, as both sides presented different concepts. One of them was seeing the importance of transferring monuments to the safe place near to the original location. Ideally, they would be preserved at their original location. However, the temples should be transferred to locations above the floodwaters. Another part of the Committee strongly supported removal of these temples, paintings and rock inscription, which loss they considered irreparable. They also stressed out that it was of great importance from an archaeological point of view to remove the temples in order to be able to conduct a proper investigation of the earlier history of the sites in question (Vercoutter, 1960: 47).

Later, based on the report of the preliminary mission on the removal of the temples sent to UNESCO under the supervision of architect-restorer Piero Gazzola (Italy), the Committee suggested priorities and the Buhen Temple was considered to be of the highest priority to be worked on for few reasons. Firstly, it has an outstanding value as a work of art. Secondly, it constituted the main administrative centre of the region in the Pharaonic era in early history and it was of great importance to research this area thoroughly. However, it has to be noted, that at the time the Egypt Exploration Society was already working there and they were able to excavate the site of the temples (UNESCO, 1960b: 4).

The Committee discussed various possible locations for the re-erection of more completely

preserved temples and recommended that the following principles should be adopted if possible (UNESCO, 1960b: 5):

- they should not be preserved in an indoor museum since architectural remains can hardly be seen to advantage in an enclosed space, which would detract from their artistic qualities and interest;
- they should remain in the Nubian region for which they were desired and constructed, where they have their historical and cultural setting, and where they will have unchanged climatic conditions⁶⁸;
- for touristic reasons and for their safety they should be brought together in a limited area, easily accessible by road or boat, and preserved in an “open air museum”.

It was stressed that these principles could only be applied provided that (UNESCO 1960b: 5):

- the temples could be properly guarded and supervised and that appropriate measures could be taken to safeguard them against damage, e.g. from wind erosion;
- detached wall paintings and small fragmental temples, such as that of Aksha, could be treated as loose finds and removed to museums.

The Committee also recommended that a thorough investigation should be made to find possible methods of removing parts of the city walls of Buhen, which were of fundamental interest for the international history of fortification (Fig. 18). The Committee also stressed out the importance of written, pictorial and architectural (and sometimes photogrammetric) documentation of each temple prior to its removal, and highlighted the need to make the topography the subject of thorough archaeological investigation after its removal. Finally, the decision was made to move the temples, cut the wall paintings and certain rock inscriptions, and then transfer them to the Sudan National Museum, which was under construction at the time. Later, the architect Hinkel was seconded by the German Academy of Sciences to the Sudan Antiquities Service to supervise the dismantling and transport of the temples at Aksha, Buhen, Semna West and Kumma (Semna East), as well as the rock-cut tomb from Debeira East and a large number of rock inscriptions to Khartoum in order to save them from their imminent destruction in connection with the construction of the Aswan High Dam (UNESCO, 1964: 68).

⁶⁸ This solution would probably also be most advantageous from an economic point of view.



Fig. 18. Fortification of Buhen⁶⁹.

In the spring of 1962, Hinkel with the Department of Antiquities prepared the necessary estimates, proposals, as well as technical and architectural problems for the removal of selected monuments (Hinkel 1965: 96; Fig. 19, 20). It was decided to reconstruct all the antiquities in the new Sudan National Museum in Khartoum. It was also decided to place the Buhen temple and the two temples of Semna as an external exhibition in the proposed Museum's garden. In years 1963–1967, these temples were dismantled, moved and reconstructed in the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum by Sudan Antiquities Service as follows (Interview No. 13; UNESCO, 1964: 52):

- the remains of the temple of Aksha with a financial contribution from France;
- the temples of Buhen with a financial contribution from the United Kingdom and the United States of America⁷⁰;
- the temples of Semna East with a financial contribution from the Netherlands;
- the temples of Semna West with a financial contribution from Belgium.

⁶⁹ The fort covered an area of 13 000 square meters, extending more than 150 meters in length, and was defended by a 10-metre-high wall made of brick and stone with a surrounding moat. Cf. Nubian Image Archive – CC BY 2.0, <https://www.heritagedaily.com/2020/09/buhen-the-sunken-ancient-egyptian-fortress/135148> [Access on 10.08.2023].

⁷⁰ The Sudanese Government transmitted to UNESCO a detailed financial and technical report on the work for the removal of the temple of Buhen to Khartoum. Then, the Executive Committee authorized the Director-General to transfer the amount of the United States contribution to the Sudanese Government, following the conclusion of an agreement in the form of an exchange of letters between that Government and UNESCO (UNESCO, 1964: 5).

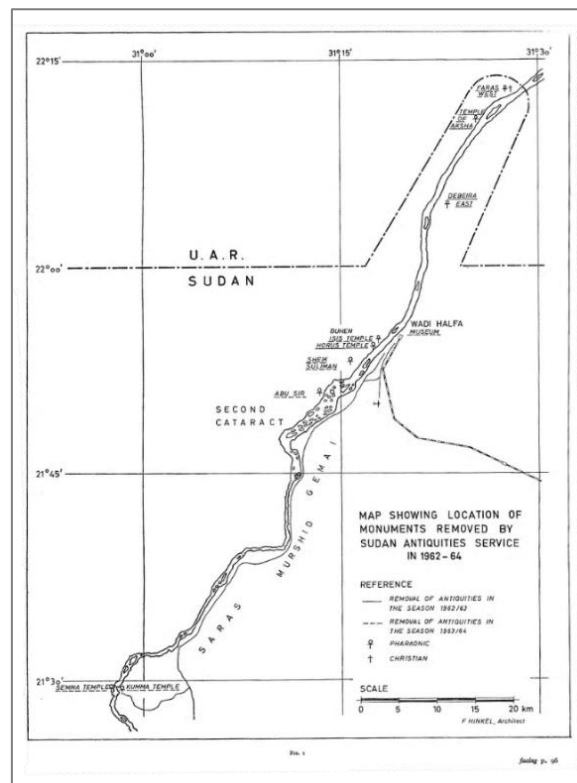


Fig. 19. Map of removed monuments (Hinkel, 1965: 96).

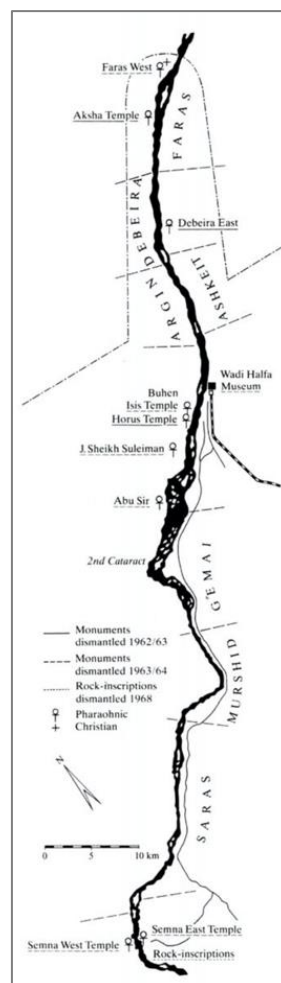


Fig. 20. Location of the ancient monuments dismantled in Sudanese Nubia between 1962 and 1968 (Hinkel, 1978: 41).

In practice, the temple of Ramses II at Aksha, the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen, the temple of Khnum at Semna East – Kumma, and the temple of Dedwen and Sesostris III at Semna West were re-erected in transparent structures that enclosed each temple, so as to give protection against unfavourable weather conditions in the garden of the Sudan National Museum. In regards to the concept, they were built according to the orientation of their original location and were surrounded by an artificial strip of water that symbolized the Nile. However, walking in this part of the garden, visitors have the view of at least one of the temples on the other side of the water. It has to be noted that, besides the temples, five granite columns from the Coptic cathedral in Faras West and the tomb of Djehuti-hotep found their new place in the Museum's garden (Fig. 21) (Interview No. 13).

A.M.S. N°	Site	Object	for/date	Removed year	Removed to
NF-36-E/24-E-7.C100	FARAS/NABINDIFFI	Stela (Setau)		N.K.	1963 Khartoum
NF-36-E/24-E-17.Ch.100	FARAS	Cathedral		Christ.	1962-64 Khartoum (murals only)
NF-36-E/24-E-17.Ch100	FARAS	Cathedral		Christ.	1963 Khartoum (3 columns)
NF-36-E/24-I-1.T100	AKSHA	Temple	Ramses II,	N.K.	1962-63 Khartoum
NF-36-E/24-S-1	DEBEIRA E.	R. Tomb	Djehuty Hotep,	N.K.	1962 Khartoum
NF-36-I/5-O-1.Ch100	ABD EL-GADIR	Church		Christ.	1962-63 Khartoum (murals only)
NF-36-I/5-T-17.164	ABU SIR	R. Inscription		N.K.	1963 Khartoum
NF-36-I/6-F-1.T200	BUHEN	Temple	Horus,	N.K.	1963 Khartoum
NF-36-I/6-F-1.T300	BUHEN	Temple	Isis,	N.K.	1963 Khartoum (3 blocks only)
NF-36-I/6-K-4.I	Sh. SULIMAN	R. Inscription		O.K.	1963 Khartoum
NF-36-I/16-E-1.T200	SEMNA W.	Temple	Dedwen, Sesostris III,	N.K.	1963-64 Khartoum
NF-36-I/16-E-1.I	SEMNA W.	R.Inscriptions		M.K.	1968 Khartoum
NF-36-I/16-E-2.T100	SEMNA E.	Temple	Khnum,	N.K.	1964 Khartoum
NF-36-I/16-E-2.I	SEMNA E.	R. Inscriptions		M.K.	1968 Khartoum
NF-36-I/21-D-5.Ch100	SONKI TINO	Church		Christ.	1964 Khartoum (murals only)
	WADI HALFA	Objects of the museum			1963 Khartoum

Fig. 21. Final location of the monuments rescued in Nubian Campaign (Hinkel, 1992: 175).

4.1.5.2. Removal and transfer of monuments during the Nubian Campaign – practice

Before discussing the project and measures in the work of preserving the transfer of Nubian antiquities, it was necessary to get acquainted with the risks that the sites were facing, the causes of deterioration and the history and architecture of buildings. It seemed reasonable that only after such thorough research had been completed, concepts of conservation measures could be extracted. In many cases, however, the situation on the site necessitated conservation and conservation decisions already while the excavations were in progress. In order to facilitate this review and to clarify its contents, Hinkel (1992: 148) had to distinguish between the following three categories:

- known and unknown, unexcavated, underground antiquities;
- exposed or excavated immovable monuments of architecture, art or history, and archaeological sites;
- movable objects in museums and collections of archaeological origin, books, manuscripts, etc.

After taking the decision to transfer the antiquities, the Sudan Antiquities Service asked the Sudanese government to transfer the temples to Khartoum using government's facilities. Since the temples were located hundreds of kilometres from the railway at Wadi Halfa and could not be reached by mechanical equipment, Hinkel was forced to use traditional methods with local materials: the ancient combination of wise men, stones, ropes, woods, cotton, leaf plant, timber and singing, to carry out that task⁷¹. It has to be emphasized that his choice was right, as he found the method surprisingly effective (Hinkel, 1978: 77). What is more, this method of work saved money by reducing quantity of materials.

The work started with preparation of a temporary storing place on the eastern bank between the river and Wadi Halfa, close to a siding, which greatly facilitated the loading of 28 railway wagons with the help of a crane loaned by Sudan Railways. Each stone was individually measured and related to its surroundings, numbered and registered. The blocks were about 282 and 59 cases – with a total weight of 600 tons – and all arrived intact in Khartoum, where they were stored in the new Sudan National Museum and awaited to be rebuild (UNESCO, 1964: 69). Moreover, lorry drivers covered a total of 90 000 km during the removal of the Semna temples without breakage.

The technical report on the dismantling and transportation of the endangered Buhan temple of Sudanese Nubia in 1962–1963 is an example to review the approach that was used in dismantling, moving and re-installing the temple in the garden yard of the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum. Another noteworthy source are works created in the process of moving the temple of Semna.

Buhen was the largest of temples that were deported from the Campaign area. The work begun with verification of temple's situation and condition. It was located on the west bank of the Nile, about 370 km south of the Aswan Dam and about 5 km southwest of Wadi Halfa. Approximate coordinates were 31°17'15"E, 21°54'25"N. The distance from the temple gate to the Nile was about 30 m. However, all parts of the temple were built of Nubian sandstone, except of the adobe perimeter wall. The poor condition of the sandstone was particularly noticeable in the lower masonry of the walls and pillars (UNESCO, 1964: 68f).

At the end of October 1962, the Sudan Antiquities team was able to begin preparations for the actual work which was linked to the detailed proposals. More than 100 tons of required materials and equipment were collected and then transferred from Khartoum to Wadi Halfa to work with in Buhen temple exclusively. All preparatory work was completed by the end of November 1962 (UNESCO, 1964: 69).

A further issue was connected to the sandstone and painted blocks. Before they were removed,

⁷¹ In 1973, the Democratic Republic of Sudan awarded the Medal of Merit, First Class, to Engineer Hinkel for his efforts in saving Sudanese antiquities from drowning as a result of the flooding of the Dam Lake (Lawrenz, 2017: 436).

it was necessary to consolidate them by chemical means (UNESCO, 1964: 69). This was done by Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, Director of the International Centre for the Conservation of Cultural Property in Rome. He was applying the chemical consolidation and preservation on the painted reliefs at Buhen Temple for fourteen days (Fig. 22). As a result of this treatment, the sandstone was greatly strengthened and the coloured paintings were securely fixed. Moreover, the colour of sandstones itself and of the paintings was a little darker and stronger in tone. Fortunately, the quality of the stones proved to be much better than it had been expected and the team were able to lift them vertically (UNESCO, 1964: 69).



Fig. 22. The Buhen temple (Horus and Pharaoh)⁷².

Later, at the beginning of January 1963, the actual work on Buhen temple started with the construction of a ramp from the temple site to the river bank. This ramp was covered with a plank causeway, which was necessary for the transportation of stones to the river (Hinkel, 1965: 97).

The actual dismantling was conducted in two stages. In the first stage the whole area of the temple (about 600 m²) was filled up with sand to a height of one meter and from this level the upper part of the walls was removed. In the second stage the sand was then taken out and the lower part of the walls was dismantled. In this way there was no danger of damaging the lower courses while working on the upper part of the walls. Then the work continued with lifting stones with a movable frame hoist, with roller blocks and a steel device (called Lewis) to hold heavy blocks of stone or concrete for lifting. Prior to that holes were prepared, so that Lewis can be pinned to its centre of gravity. Each stone was lifted and carried by the crane for about two meters and then lowered onto a hardwood sled covered with cotton wool. Then, more cotton was placed over it and such prepared artifact was covered with another structure of hard wood, which was secured with nuts and bolts. Over time, the team gained enough experience to improve working methods, gradually increasing the workload from two stones a day in the early weeks to about eight stones a day

⁷² Hans Birger Nilsen, 17.03.2017, cf. <https://www.flickr.com/people/110608682@N04> [Access on 11.08.2023].

at the end, which precipitated the completion of the work in about two months in time before the level of the Nile fell for transportation. A floating crane, belonging to Sudan Railways, was used to load and unload boats. In all, it took twelve trips with the pontoon stationed at Wadi Halfa and three trips by barge to ferry the stones across the river (UNESCO, 1964: 69).

Eventually, a settlement of Buhen's size could not have survived without external support. As it played a large role as a trading centre for commercial commodities, Buhen was also a centre for smelting copper, and a large number of workers had to be provided to work to save this edifice. These blocks, with total weight of 15 tons, were shipped to Wadi Halfa on 7th December and further to Khartoum. The second task at Buhen was the removal of three pillar blocks from the ruined temple of Isis built by Amenophis II, the total weight was 5 tons (Hinkel, 1965: 97).

On Jebel Sheikh Suleiman, another target site, there was the inscription of King Jer depicting Egyptians overthrowing the Nubians. This was incised on a huge boulder near the top of the hill, ca. 30 m above the surrounding plain. In order to remove the inscription, the team firstly had to build a ramp of stone and soil, on which a wooden slide was laid. The work begun with chemical treatment, after that the inscribed part of the boulder was cut away in one piece measuring 2.75x0.80x0.80 m and weighing 3.5 tons. It was then placed on a sledge and lowered down the slide to a lorry which moved it to Wadi Haifa station (Hinkel, 1965: 97).

Other monuments that required transferring by the team of Antiquities Service were architectural pieces from the Faras area retained by Sudan in the division of objects found during the course of the excavation of the Coptic cathedral there. This included five monolithic granite columns, their capitals and bases and a number of sandstone capitals, lintels and a complete door frame, 30 tons in all (Hinkel, 1965: 97).

Another challenge was the removal of the temple of Semna. Due to the fact that the river was receding rapidly at that time, great difficulties were encountered in finding a suitable landing place for unloading the stones at Wadi Halfa (Hinkel, 1965: 97).

After the decision was made to start work on the transfer of the Semna Temple, another challenge arose. It was found to be impossible to drive heavy trucks to Semna on the western bank of Wadi Halfa. In this case materials were transported to the eastern bank in Semna, north of Kumma fort, so the transmission line had to be the overland route that follows along the east bank and then crosses the river at the site (Hinkel, 1965: 98).

However, river transport at Semna was not well suited, therefore it was necessary to build a pontoon ferry (Fig. 23, 24, 25). The heaviest single block in the West Semna temple weighed 4 tons, therefore a safety margin of 50% was necessary, thus the pontoon had to be designed to carry 6 tons. What is more, its construction had to be as economical as possible, because there was no further need to use it later (Hinkel, 1965: 98).

The transportation took fifty-three crossings of the loaded pontoon for the entire temple to be moved to the east bank. From there the stones were transported by trucks from the river bank at Kumma to Wadi Halfa station, where railway waggons were needed to bring the temple to Khartoum. The distance to Wadi Halfa was 82 km and as the road was very bad, each truck took at least five hours to make the journey to minimize the risk of damage to the stones. The labour force consisted of ninety men; seventy people were continually busy hauling packed stones from the temple to the landing place. In the end, within twenty-eight days, the temple was completely dismantled and packed after removing nineteen large roofing stones, which had an average weight of 3.5 tons. However, in all, 146 blocks weighing a total of 130 tons were handled, with a daily average of over five stones. As for their poor condition, only six of the foundation blocks were taken – three from the western wall of the sanctuary and three others from the eastern row of columns (Hinkel, 1965: 99).

Two years after the reconstruction of the Buhen temple, some parts of the surface of the relief walls showed signs of disintegration and parts of the patina were found to have fallen to the ground with the white powder of disintegrated sandstone. Then, in 1970, the director of Antiquities Service, Nigm el-Din Mohamed Sharif, request to send an expert from ICCROM to inspect the temple. Moreover, he asked Hinkel for further preservation. Later, in September 1973, Zaky Iskander was sent to investigate the matter. Sharif mentioned in his report that (Hinkel, 1992: 176):

[...] the surface of the sandstone block was impregnated with two materials called Geiseltallack and Contraquin. The stones of the temple were rebuilt in their places with cement mortar, the missing parts were completed with baked bricks coated with a thick coat of cement plaster. After rebuilding, the whole surface of the temple, including the restoration areas, was treated with a material called Contraquin L. On examining the temple in September 1973, i.e. four years after rebuilding, it was noticed that the material with which the surface had been treated in 1969⁷³ has formed an impermeable crust which was pushed off in many places by salt crystallization under it. The exposed surface after the scaling off of the crust is white and very badly disintegrated. The disintegrated stone proved to contain some chlorides, traces of sulphates and a fair amount of Ca “+,1’3 and for the de-salting of the stone, the external coat of Geiseltallack, Contraquin and Contraquin L has to be removed.

However, the Geiseltallack had been diluted before application with a component of the Nitro-Group as thinner and therefore was no longer soluble. In 1973 it became clear that the demand by Zaky Iskander to remove the crust of Geiseltallack was unrealizable, because the repeated treatment and the damages were irreversible (Hinkel, 1992: 177).

Zaky Iskander (1973: 20-21 cited by Hinkel, 1992: 176) mentioned that he did not rule out the possibility that the contamination had partly originated from the ground, but most of salts found their way to the stone from the cement mortar that was used in the reconstruction.

⁷³ Treatment by “Geiseltallack” began already after the excavation of the temple in 1962/1963.



Fig. 23. Semna West: packed sandstone blocks, the sides not yet covered, waiting on the plank causeway leading to the pontoon (Hinkel, 1965: 104).



Fig. 24. Semna East: off-loading one of the 4-ton roof blocks from the pontoon (Hinkel, 1965: 104).

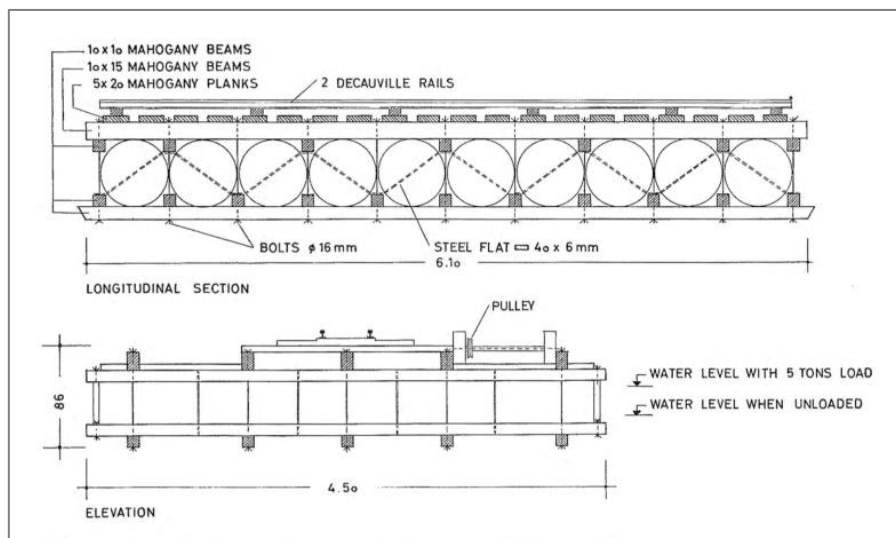


Fig. 25. Pontoon built for transport of Semna temple over the Nile River (Hinkel 1965: 99).

4.1.5.3. Removal and transfer of the mural paintings during the Nubian Campaign – overview

Another example of problematic rescue work in Sudanese Nubian Campaign was mural paintings transferring conducted in Cathedral of Faras and Church of Sheikh Abdel Gadir (Table 8.).

Site	Period	Description	Material
Faras – Cathedral	7 th -14 th century	mural painting + objects	stone, wall mud brick
Sheikh Abdel Gadir – Church	9 th century	mural painting + objects	stone, wall mud brick

Table 8. Detailed information to salvaged mural painting.

The site of Faras was considered as a potentially rich field for archaeological remains. It was built of stone and fired brick, unlike most other buildings of the period, including churches scattered along the Nile, whose sun-dried brick (mud-brick) construction suffered from weather and disasters.

Another example are remarkable mural paintings of the Christian church at Sheikh Abdel Gadir. It was also situated at such a low level, that it was threatened by the initial stage of flooding. It was recommended that the same specialists, who were in charge of the removal of these paintings, should also study similar problems in the 18th Dynasty tomb at Debeira East and in the grottos at Faras, if that were practicable. Before embarking on work, the Yugoslav Institute conducted a series of preliminary experiments that led to the development of techniques used successfully under the difficult conditions of the Nubian Campaign (Perello and Campana, 1980: 45). Because the roof of the church was almost completely destroyed by a storm in 1921, the murals were washed away during the following rainy season (Hinkel, 1992: 169). Despite this, the removal and preservation of these murals by the Yugoslav mission was a very significant technical achievement. In many cases, the mural paintings were liable to fall off with a single touch.

Basically, most of the mural paintings in Sudanese Nubia were painted on dry plaster. It contributed to the preservation of the majority of the paintings in a wonderful way and the bright and delicate colours looked as fresh as the day they were applied. Topics of the paintings included scenes from the Old and New Testaments, for example: the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace. There are also paintings of the Virgin, Saint Michael and the Apostles, and an a series of paintings of bishops who were successively crowned in mare.

The Polish archaeological mission highlighted an incomparable collection of Nubian-Sudanese wall paintings and rescued them in record time from the waters rising behind the High Dam in Aswan. The murals unearthed from Faras Cathedral constitute the largest group of murals ever found in Nubia and are widely considered representative of medieval Nubian art (Interview No. 4; Jakobielski and Martens-Czarnecka, 2017: 15). No one had suspected that Faras hid such an important cache of artistic value (Fig. 26, 27). Altogether 169 paintings were uncovered, including such spectacular works as a mural of the Nativity measuring 7 m x 4 m (Gerster, 1964a: 17).



Fig. 26. The interior of Faras Cathedral, view of the northern aisle to the east, the Nativity at back, 1962 (Jakobielski and Martens-Czarnecka, 2017: 14).



Fig. 27. Bishop Petros protected by St. Peter the Apostle (left), and King Georgios II protected by the Virgin Mary and Child (right) (Żurawski, 2020: 813).

4.1.5.4. Removal of the mural paintings during the Nubian Campaign – practice

Removal of mural paintings from ancient walls demanded infinite skill and patience. In an operation of this kind even a slight mistake may do irreparable damage to a masterpiece; risks increase when mural paintings were like those at Faras – most of them painted on a dry plaster background of 1 200 years old and thus extremely brittle. To meet the deadline connected with erecting the dam, Kazimierz Michałowski was obliged to mobilize the services of every available specialist he could find in Poland. The work began by recording the current state of the murals and examining them carefully on both sides, then recording all the details of their condition, such as the traces left by termites and digger wasps. The specialists also reviewed them, examining irregularities and imperfections under the coating and any flakes that could cause damage or discoloration (Gerster, 1964b: 20).

In the first phase of the removal process, the murals were cleaned and sprayed with a protective coating. Later, tracing papers were used to note the slightest irregularities, flakes, etc. Afterwards, a sheet of tissue paper was applied to the surface followed by layers of muslin impregnated with hot beeswax – this process of ironing from the top in front of the plaster was applied in order to melt the beeswax on which the motifs of the painting appear after its application. The size and condition of the mural determined the number of layers of gauze applied. In the second phase, when the construction dried, the plaster was cut away from the wall. This was applied from back of the paintings and later was scraped down almost to the painted layer, and then the plaster was chemically treated to get rid of harmful salts that could discolour and damage them. It sounds quite simple, but in reality it was delicate and arduous work (Jakobielski and Martens-Czarnecka, 2017: 20).

When the murals were completely separated from the wall from left to right and from top to bottom, all excess mud was carefully scraped from the back and the paintings were then attached to a prepared wooden frame. Next, the murals were pulled into wooden frames for packing for their final journey. It has to be emphasized, that when the murals were thoroughly dry and stiff, they were gently pried away from the wall with various instruments. This was an operation demanding infinite patience and skill, especially during separating one layer of paintings from another. It has to be noted, as many as three layers of paintings were found on some walls. In terms of the documentation aspect of the process of stripping the paintings, the Swiss photographer, Georg Gerster, photographed all the stages which show step by step how the murals, that were discovered in a mare of sand, were freed, removed from the walls and prepared for later transfer and recovery (Fig. 28, 29) (Gerster, 1964b: 19).

In May 1964, 57 cases with murals left Faras by boat to the Wadi Halfa, from which 25 cases

were sent to Khartoum, with the murals that were eventually placed in the Sudan National Museum. The other cases contained 52 murals presented to Poland by the Government of Sudan. They were transported to Port Sudan and embarked on a Polish freighter. After transferring the paintings to the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum, the restoration work continued with the participation of cadres of Department of Conservation and Restoration in Sudan Antiquities Service, under the supervision of Józef Gazy, the Polish specialist who was responsible for transferring them from the church in Faras. Similar processes took place in the Warsaw Museum workshops (Interview No. 4). However, while removing painting layers, some of the murals revealed older paintings underneath. In most cases there were two or three murals painted one on top of the other as a sign of temporal change (Interview No. 8, 9).



Fig. 28. Removal of Faras mural paintings (Jakobielski and Martens-Czarnecka, 2017: 20).



Fig. 29. Restoration work in Faras. Transportation of packed plates over the Nile to Wadi Halfa, 1964 (Jakobielski and Martens-Czarnecka, 2017: 21).

In 1968 Hinkel had to complete another task of cutting out and moving one hundred rock inscriptions from Semna and Kumma that were on rock boulders surrounding the forts, facing the Nile or the small overhanging valleys behind the forts, which were probably used as ancient land routes (Hinkel 1992: 175; Fig. 30). They were dated from Egyptian Middle Kingdom, a period that witnessed an important expansion of Egyptian power in Nubia, especially during the reigns of Senusret I and Senusret III. These two pharaohs had a great influence on the development of the Second Cataract region, as they reused ancient fortresses and built many new forts (Yvanez, 2010: 6). These inscriptions showed the series of Nile records, demonstrating the continuous involvement of the Middle Kingdom kings in Nubia and their interest in controlling the river. However, they were witness to and evidence of long periods, shedding light on the Egyptian political control of Nubia, the administration and exploitation of the region, the local religious cults, and more generally, the history and culture of Egypt and Sudan (Yvanez, 2010: 7). Some of them were referring to the Nile records noted at Semna and Kumma and played an important role in the Egyptian administration. They were also a supplementary illustration of the Egyptians's chief concern in controlling the river chiefly for agricultural and other economic reasons (trade, transport, etc.) (Tallet, 2005: 71 cited by Yvanez, 2010: 8).

Site no.	District	Type of site
24-I-15	Faras West	Rock pictures
24-H-2	Serra West	Rock inscriptions
5-O-4	Abdel Qadir	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-O-21	Abdel Qadir	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-O-20	Abdel Qadir	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-T-17	Abu Sir	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-T-15	Abu Sir	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-T-10	Abu Sir	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-T-16	Abu Sir	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-T-23	Mirgissa	Rock pictures (+ inscriptions)
5-S-12	Mirgissa	Rock pictures + cuttings
5-S-26	Shamnarti I.	Rock pictures
5-S-27	Shamnarti I.	Rock pictures

Fig. 30. Rock pictures listed by SAS-UNESCO mission (Nordström, 2014: 146).

4.1.5.5. Storing & museums

It is clear that the main goal of Nubian Campaign was to salvage as many artifacts and monuments as possible. However, after analysing plans and reports from the Nubian Campaign, it appears that there was no clear plan other than using the stores of the Sudan National Museum for storing all antiquities that were rescued from the Nubian region. By reviewing the Campaign plan

it caught my attention that no proper calculations were made to estimate how much could be stored, preserved and displayed. Considering that given number of objects should be divided among the missions that contributed to its rescue, the government of Sudan counted that the new Sudan National Museum would be a sufficient place for storage, conservation and display.

It has to be emphasized that Sudan Antiquities Service did not have at its disposal enough stores for keeping the rescued artifacts safe. There were galleries and warehouses built inside the building of the Antiquities Service, but they were not accommodated properly for archaeological materials that were rescued and brought from the area that was flooded with the waters of the dam. It resulted in their inappropriate preservation, that later contributed to the damage of many of them, especially the wall paintings and rock inscriptions⁷⁴.

Originally, there was a plan to rebuild the Wadi Halfa Museum, which was in the area flooded by the waters of the dam, and then to store there some of the salvaged archaeological materials. However, this project did not come into realization (instead, later the Nubian Antiquities Museum was established in Aswan with the support of UNESCO). The Government of Sudan contented itself with establishing the National Museum of Sudan, which coincided with the Campaign to save the Nubian monuments. Its map was modified accordingly to suit the antiquities that would be brought from the dam area (de Simone, 2009: 403; 410f).

What is more, there was no plan for further conservation and monitoring of the collection. It is noticeable especially on the example of rock inscriptions and drawings. First of all, there were preliminary deteriorations that happened before rescuing them (erosion caused by the wind and the sand) which resulted in making some of them completely unreadable. Secondly, the incorrect storing approach (they have been stored in the garden of the museum) exposed them to greater climatic variations and occasional rain, which generated surface alterations and breaks. Finally, it is important to note that between the observation of the German team, the removal of the blocks from the site, the storage at the museum, and the current study, many inscriptions appear to be broken in several blocks or incomplete. In some cases, the majority of the inscription has been lost, and only a block fragment and the thorough examination of the published data gives us the chance to identify the inscription. Moreover, many inscriptions recorded in situ were unfortunately missing. It has to be emphasized that most of the rock inscriptions collection after rescue were left without further consideration (Yvanez, 2010: 3).

⁷⁴ This observation comes from my experience as conservator, whose responsibility is taking care of this collection.

4.1.6. The Nubian Campaign – conclusions

In conclusion, the Nubian Campaign was the first international project of rescue archaeology in the Nile Valley on such a big scale. It was also the first time where UNESCO intervened and supported such project. The Nubian Campaign took place in years 1960–1970 and 22 teams contributed with their archaeological expeditions to salvage the heritage of the Nile Valley. These missions carried out enormous archaeological fieldwork in the target Nubian sites, such as ground survey, site excavations, documentation and then data publication. Among the most important of these sites in Sudanese Nubia can be named Buhen fortress, Semna, Kumma, Aksha temples and Faras church. One of the most important methods applied by the Sudan Antiquities Service was aerial photography. It was introduced widely for the first time in researching the sites of Sudanese Nubia and Nile Valley.

Moreover, the Committee consisted of Sudan Antiquities Service and UNESCO representatives drafted a plan for the rescue of endangered sites in Sudan and prepared a list of recommendation established specifically for organizing the Campaign. Consequently, the aerial photography, ground survey and excavations were carried out more or less as planned and recommended.

It has to be stressed that the documentation for some sites was not prepared correctly – it was inconsistent and chaotic, making it difficult to analyse and to prepare coherent conclusions. As a result, the publishing of result is still not completed. Adams listed various projects involved in the High Dam Campaign, where publications were still pending (Adams, Allen and Verwers, 1961: 83-86). Much material is yet to be studied, synthesized and published. Despite the intensive archaeological work during the Campaign to save the artifacts of the Sudanese Nubia and the abundance of information obtained in the Campaign, publishing of results had been delayed for many years, e.g. the latest book *The West Bank Survey from Faras to Gemai* edited by Hans-Åke Nordström was published in 2014. Perhaps there is something that has not been published yet. However, most of heads of missions and members of Committees published their results in Nubian Campaign, which included the reports of the fieldwork of the missions to which they were affiliated, in addition to the results of surveys and excavations, the rescue and restoration works that was accomplished.

From the findings, it was concluded that some expeditions were mainly interested in excavating cemeteries and that they had neglected other types of sites, because tombs as a rule yield a richer harvest of remarkable finds. One of the exceptions was Scandinavian Joint Expedition that had no such preconceptions as to what should or should not be excavated, but tried to cover the whole ground in every respect. That was especially after the expedition found out that settlements

needed more resources to work with. Hence, they were trying to do everything possible to increase the number of settlement sites in the expedition's records, as well as investigated in detail poor and destroyed settlements sites in their target area that most expeditions were not interested in as concession areas. The fact that so little settlements were investigated depended however on their local conditions. In all probability ancient settlements were in the same areas as the modern villages, i.e. on the lowest terraces above the cultivated areas near the river. Cemeteries were as a rule found on higher levels towards the mountains. Expeditions were not supposed to excavate in the cultivated or inhabited areas, but were permitted to do so if traces of settlements were found.

A negative aspect of Nubian Campaign was underestimating social issues and not protecting enough the intangible heritage of local communities. The erection of the Aswan Dam caused not only flooding of archaeological sites, but also inhabited areas – this aspect was largely marginalised in The Nubian Campaign. Nubians living in the area to be submerged had to leave their homes which led to lost of their cultural heritage (oral stories, traditions, etc.). Although there were studies conducted in order to rescue intangible heritage of Nubians (the most important researchers in this area were Hassan Dafaalla, Mohamed Fikri Abdul Wahab and Hussein Fahim), they were fast forgotten⁷⁵, causing irreversible damage to the Nubian heritage.

Finally, the Nubian Campaign in Sudan was significant not only because many archaeological remains and objects were saved from destruction, but also much was learned about important chapters of the local cultural development and human history in the region. Moreover, it changed the general attitude towards international salvage programs. Member States of UNESCO adopted on 19th November 1968 *Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works*, whereby it was stipulated that the costs of preservation should be included in the budget for construction costs. The Nubian Campaign also produced other results in the form of a series of conventions based on new concepts. As an example can serve decision undertook in 1972, when the General Conference of UNESCO adopted *the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, in which each member state recognizes its obligation to preserve its cultural heritage through the appropriate allocation of means and where the international community declares its desire to do so. Help must be provided when necessary (Säve-Söderbergh, 1971–1972: 53).

It has to be noted that the demonstration of force by the military components that controlled the governments in Egypt and Sudan had a clear impact on making the fateful decisions related to the preservation of heritage. The idea of implementing huge dams to express achievement

⁷⁵ Cf. Dafaalla (1975); more information about the research on Nubian intangible heritage conducted by Wahab and Fahim can be found in Hopkins, N. S. / Mehanna, S. R. (Eds.) (2010) *Nubian Encounters. The Story of The Nubian Ethnological Survey 1961-1964*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

and strength was evident in their mass speeches. The people of Nile Valley paid a high price for those decisions, namely the displacement and loss of a large part of the tangible and cultural heritage.

4.2. Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project

In this part I will present issues related to the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP). Following the general structure of the subchapter on the Nubian Campaign⁷⁶, I will describe the background and the preparation phase of the project. Moreover, I will discuss issues of the politics and international cooperation as well as applied methods and outcomes of the MDASP. Finally, I will summarize and evaluate the project, including identification of problems.

4.2.1. Historical background

The development of the hydropower potential of the Fourth Cataract had been investigated since 1937. It was proposed by the authorities of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan during the first half of the 20th century. It was supposed to equate the fluctuations of the large annual Nile flow, creating the potential for cotton cultivation and providing flood protection for the Lower Nile Valley (Al-Hakem, 1993: 1). The first plans to construct the dam of Merowe were made in the 1940s by the Anglo-Egyptian Government. In 1942–1952 the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works conducted a study on the Fourth Cataract region in Sudan for the purpose of building a dam on Merowe Island. Preliminary archaeological survey of the Fourth Cataract region was undertaken during the months of January and February 1949 (Gray, 1949: 120).

During negotiations in 1950 and 1951, Sudan agreed to allow the Egyptian government to begin the Merowe Dam construction project, but the decision to proceed with the construction of the Aswan High Dam led to the project being suspended. The idea of Merowe Dam was revived later by the President Jaafar Nimeiri who became a president of Sudan in 1969 (Welsby, 2008: 7).

Originally the Merowe Dam was meant to be a reservoir. The motivation for its construction was preventing flood risk and storing water for years of drought. According to the scientific studies conducted by the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works, the most appropriate location along the Nile to build this reservoir was the location on the Merowe Island on the Fourth Cataract, where water could be stored to the level of 298 m a.s.l., which protects floodwaters and provides strategic reserves of water. These reasons led Egypt to modify the idea of constructing the Fourth Cataract dam and replaced it with a solution that was considered safer, although less distinctive – namely they

⁷⁶ Cf. subchapter 4.1. *The Nubian Campaign*.

established the Aswan High Dam in southern Egypt. However, there was no intention to use this water to produce energy at that time (Welsby, 2008: 7).

After becoming independent in 1956, Sudan became one of the least developed countries in the world. This was mainly due to the civil wars that were devastating the country for decades. In the late 1970s, the lack of electricity was an additional barrier for development. In 1979, the feasibility studies for the dam were undertaken for Sudan Ministry of Irrigation for the Hydroelectric Plant. Similar studies were conducted later in 1983 and 1986, but the Ministry had not found any investor who would have been interested in financing the project. Since then, various project layouts had been prepared. In the early 1990s, the final plan was selected and evaluated in detail by Canadian company Monenco Agra. Between 1995 and 1999, the Russian Hydro-Project Institute (HPI) was working on the preferred design and preparation of tender documents for construction of the project (Grzymski, 2010: 68). In 1999, the Dam Implementation Unit (DIU) was established and finally, in mid-2000, the Merowe Dam Project Implementation Unit (MDPIU) of the Ministry of Irrigation and Water Resources in Sudan commissioned a German company Lahmeyer International to conduct an evaluation of the project documentation considering its appropriateness to attract international fundings (Castro, Torres and Planas, 2018: 9). As a result of that evaluation, some key recommendations were made in a number of areas to improve the project. Based on these recommendations, MDPIU undertook further work during 2001, including geotechnical investigations, project design modification and environmental planning. During the same period, MDPIU launched an international call for engineering services, covering preparation of new tender documents for various works, such as contracts, construction design and construction management, including supervision of construction work. In February 2002, Lahmeyer International were selected to execute the project. In addition, other companies (from Canada, Germany, Russia, and China) contributed to the feasibility studies of the Merowe Dam Project. These studies had an impact in determining the success or lack success of the project. It has to be pointed out that for the Chinese company it was the first such project outside of China (Failer, Mutaz and El Tayeb, 2006: 68-73).

To improve the economic situation in Sudan, the government came up with the plan of building the Merowe Dam. Building a large dam in the Fourth Cataract area should serve as a safety valve for Sudan. Moreover, it should contribute to improve Sudan's position among Arabian countries and make Sudanese land more attractive for potential investors from all over the world.

All the reasons stated above led the National Salvation Government, as it has claimed since its assumption of power on 30 June 1989, to seek for an opportunity to establish the Merowe Dam as a safety dam for the country and a large engine for economic, agricultural and industrial

development in Sudan. In October of the same year, the Sudanese former president Omer Al-Bashir promoted building the dam, announcing that “Merowe Dam Project is the end of poverty in Sudan”⁷⁷ (Al-Hakem, 1993: 2). However, in the mid-1990s, economic sanctions were imposed on Sudan by parts of the international community, which caused a lot of difficulties in finding outside investors and additional funding. The situation had fundamentally changed between the years 1999–2000, when the country began exporting oil in commercial quantities. Later, in 2002–2003, contracts for the construction of the Merowe Dam Project were prepared and signed due to the significant improvement in the creditworthiness of Sudan, which brought an influx of foreign investments.

The most recent study was conducted by a Canadian company Monenco Agra in 1993. Later, another study was prepared by the Hydro-Project Institute in September 1999. Finally, the construction began in 2003 with funding from China and the Arab world (loan), with technical expertise and workforce mainly provided by Chinese companies. The Merowe Dam Project, which is currently the largest completed hydroelectric power project in Sudan, has been described by Sudanese observers not only as a major feat in engineering and an economic boom, but also as “a national symbol” and “a dream come true” (Shaqlawi, 2004: 6). Former government ministers reportedly described the dam as “a big miracle in spite of the blockade being imposed on Sudan” and as “a victory for the Sudanese will” (Shaqlawi, 2004: 6). In the same vein, a government minister, referring to the Merowe Dam, was reported to have stated that “Sudanese people remained capable of realizing major accomplishments and development and effecting industrial and agricultural progress despite the sanctions being imposed on them” (Shaqlawi, 2004: 6).

The dam is located approximately 350 km north of Khartoum (direct line), which is westbound in the direction of Ed Debba–Dongla, and then heading east through the town of Merowe (Hildyard, 2008: 21). The dam lies across Merowe Island, from west to east, and across Hamdab Island from the north. It is stationed in the southwestern part of the Nubian region, in a desert characterized by a flat area, which mainly consists of granite and lava. It was built across the river at a point 500 m downstream from the upstream end of Merowe Island. It is a concrete rock-filled dam which crests at an elevation of 300 m to meet a maximum Flood Supply Level (298 m) and Low Supply Level (290 m). The dam extends to 8.6 km long. Thus, the reservoir formed a lake that is 176 km long upstream at Ras el Gezira of Mograta Island. The total surface area amounts to 724 km² (Failer, Mutaz and El Tayeb, 2006: 68-73).

The basic purposes of the Merowe Dam construction were:

- 1) to produce electric power to meet the growing demand for economic and social development (the dam generates around 1,250MW of electricity);

⁷⁷ Cf. <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=1511128&language=ar> [Access on 15.04.2020].

- 2) to provide a relatively cheap energy source to improve irrigated agriculture throughout the country;
- 3) to use the electric power to exploit underground water to expand agriculture (approximately 300,000 ha of agricultural projects were irrigated in the northern state);
- 4) to establish industrial projects, food industries and mining projects that rely on electricity as the main source of energy;
- 5) to enter fish industries in the projected lake (construction of industrial projects, mining projects and a fishery industry based on the 176 km water storage lagoon);
- 6) to protect the lower-lying areas from destructive floods (protection of northern state lands from the risk of flooding of the Nile);
- 7) to improve river navigation in the region;
- 8) to improve the standard of living of the population in the project area by creating new investments and jobs;
- 9) to reduce the burden on existing reservoirs, especially with regard to the conflict between the use of water in irrigation and energy production;
- 10) to create a sediment trap, reducing sedimentation at the Aswan High Dam further downstream in Egypt.

Due to the topographical conditions at the dam area, the project features a dam with a total length of ca. 9 km, which would accommodate ten power generating units. The irrigation outlet structures are provided on the right and left banks to release water for future irrigation development (Al-Hakem, 1993: 2).

It has to be emphasized that in the past the large centralized projects met massive social and environmental problems which contributed to Sudan's internal conflicts. The Merowe Dam Project was considered to be a test case of what the government and developers had learned from past experiences and how they used this knowledge.

4.2.2. Organization and methods of rescue archaeology

In this part I will focus on preparation and progress stages of Merowe Dam Project. Firstly, I will discuss the legal basis and project financing. Then, detailed information about project goals and concession areas will be presented. Furthermore, the methods of fieldwork and excavations will be described. The role of inspectors will be included as well. Finally, the issue of reports will be tackled.

4.2.2.1. Legal basis for the rescue plan

The economic and urban development in an area with archaeological relics often requires an archaeological fieldwork investigation or excavation. Therefore, when a site or its part has to be removed due to development projects such as constructing dams, then preservation by rescue archaeology must be undertaken. The Sudanese government regulates this procedure in Chapter 1, Article 10 of *the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities of 1999* (Appendix 3):

Developmental projects may be initiated after the completion of archaeological studies and surveys provided the benefiting parties bear the expenses incurred by the studies, surveys and salvage operations.

According to this article, the role of the rescue programs is to carry out an archaeological survey, excavation, conservation, recording or relocation of objects that are in the area where a developmental project is going to be conducted, especially if in this area any remains were, or presumably might be, discovered. It has to be mentioned that usually archaeologists have limited time to carry out their research and have to work as quickly as possible. In January 1988, the Sudan Antiquities Service had officially announced during the International Conference for Sudanese Studies held at the Institute of African and Asian Studies of University of Khartoum, that an archaeological and ethnographic survey of the area between the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts will be conducted, because it was threatened by drowning as a result of the construction of the Merowe Dam. SAS explained that all efforts in the field of archaeological research must be mobilized for this rescue work. In 1993, the first call for the salvage project of Fourth Cataract region was made by the Director General of NCAM to work in the region threatened by the construction of what was then known as the Hamdab or Merowe Dam (Al-Hakem, 1993: 12).

Based on this concept, later NCAM with the Merowe Dam Implementation Units (DIU) managed a rescue campaign known as the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP). The plan started with a pre-feasibility studies which included the study of available archive materials about the region, the preliminary explorations and the systemic surface survey of the area. This study provided NCAM with preliminary information, which helped later to develop a plan for the distribution of concession areas for national and international archaeological expeditions working in the Fourth Cataract region.

The archaeological entities undertaking the archaeological research in Sudan cannot freely choose the excavation of site, alike the extension of investigation or the methods involved in the excavation cannot be undertaken without NCAM's permission. It requires a special license. In order to obtain this license, several conditions must be met. They were described in detail

in Chapter III Article 22 of 1999 Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities (Appendix 3)⁷⁸.

4.2.2.2. Project goals⁷⁹

The first plan for MDASP was proposed in the early 1990s and its objectives were as follow:

- 1) conducting an archaeological and ethnographic surveys in the area located between the Fourth and Fifth Cataract that was threatened with flooding in the case of construction of the Merowe Dam;
- 2) saving archaeological sites located in the Fourth Cataract region;
- 3) registration and documentation of archaeological sites in the region;
- 4) conducting general archaeological excavations and rescue excavations;
- 5) protecting and fencing the archaeological sites that aren't threatened by flooding;
- 6) registration of folklore of the region by specialists which leads to the preservation of elements of the Sudanese heritage;
- 7) gaining global interest and involvement in rescue work of such kind.

Sectoral Objectives of the Project were following:

- 1) activating tourism movement by establishing a regional museum(s) where the discovered archaeological artifacts could be placed and presented;
- 2) supplying other museums in Sudan in archaeological relics;
- 3) increasing local awareness of the importance of heritage;
- 4) studying the types discovered of rocks and minerals and tools as well as their proportions.

⁷⁸ Most of the development project decisions were based on the current NCAM's Antiquities Ordinance of 1999. Those aspects may lead to the conclusion that in order to rescue a site or preserve monument, excavation in Sudan must not be taken without NCAM's permission. Decision of this type might affect the plans of a developer, which may have to make changes to an ongoing rescue project.

⁷⁹ These objectives based on the recommendations and mitigating actions proposed by a Canadian archaeologist K. Grzymski who companied the Canadian engaging company (Monaco) while conducting preliminary studies (Grzymski, 2010: 68). This company was awarded later with the contract of building the dam of the Fourth Cataract. However, throughout the duration of the project most of the objectives of NCAM remained the same, namely: to identify types of archaeological sites in the region, to assess the impacts of the dam construction and related activities, to formulate a plan for minimizing the damage to and/or loss of archaeological heritage, to develop an action plan for further studies and activities. However, the recommended mitigating actions focused on: completion of the survey with the reservoir area; archaeological sites, the resettlement area and the proposed power transmission route (Ahmed, 2003: 11-14).

Moreover, the project included the targeted beneficiaries, divided into two categories as described below:

1. First Category:

- a) National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums;
- b) tourism sector;
- c) all bodies of the cultural sector;
- d) geological institutions.

2. Second Category:

- a) a class of national – international researchers and scholars in the field of archaeology and human culture;
- b) all population groups in the region;
- c) geologists.

4.2.2.3. The project financing and execution

The financing of the project started with creating the development budget in the local currency, considering that the foreign archaeological expeditions would obtain their own financing. Gradually, many foreign expeditions agreed to participate with their own funding. Moreover, the project was finally included in NCAM's development budget for 1994–1995.

The NCAM with the Merowe DIU carried out the project under the supervision of Antiquities Service Department and with the participation of other NCAM departments, as well as foreign and national expeditions and Sudanese universities.

4.2.2.4 Archaeological concession areas for the Fourth Cataract Region

After aforementioned stages, NCAM was able to create an internal coordination with the DIU which enabled the established commission to gather information needed in order to develop the detailed plan. There were also semi-periodic meetings organized with the administration of the DIU and with the unit consultant of the German company (Lahmeyer International), which provided NCAM with information concerning the size and dimensions of the dam. In summary, the company provided all the information needed by NCAM for preparing the final plan, such as (Interview No. 3):

- a) identification of the resettlement area through aerial photographs;
- b) description of the path of the transmission line of the electric current from the dam (high pressure);

- c) granting a coordination budget and work with foreign and national archaeological missions.

In his interview, Salah M. Ahmed, who was the field director of the project, emphasized that at this point finally “there was a sufficient support and coordination to develop the plan” (Interview No. 3).

Further, in behalf of the Government of the Sudan, NCAM launched an appeal to rescue the archaeological materials of the Fourth Cataract region, inviting foreign expeditions to participate in this project by providing some incentives for them. The first abroad call to participate in the archaeological salvage project in the Fourth Cataract area took place in Cambridge in 1995. It was presented during the International Congress of Egyptologists, but did not meet with a great response, mainly due to the lack of sufficient information provided by NCAM to the archaeological community. There were only few institutions (e.g. Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk and SARS) who agreed to participate in the project at that time (Interview No. 3).

Ultimately, the available possibilities of NCAM were determined and identified to set up the frame of the rescue work. The first rescue works carried out were the archaeological survey and rapid reconnaissance that aimed to determine the importance, potential, and general content of the area. It let the NCAM commission to notice the possibility and necessity of cooperation with foreign archaeological expeditions. This survey was conducted urgently on both sides of the Nile River in the construction area of the dam and on the island, that the construction of the dam passes through (Merowe Island). The second rescue work was conducted in the initial resettlement area (El-Multga, now called the new Hamadab area). Therefore, it was necessary for NCAM to conduct a further systematic archaeological survey again on both banks of the Nile in order to identify more archaeological sites in the area for distribution of the concession areas. This work was done by NCAM cadres, the British Museum and the Polish Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk. The main goal of these archaeological studies was to identify the importance of archaeological materials and sites in the region (visible on the surface) as well as to prepare a preliminary map showing distribution of archaeological sites in the area (Ahmed, 2003: 11; Paner, 2003: 15).

Later, the second call was issued in London in 2002, which in comparison to the first call from 1995 was more comprehensive and contained detailed information that was not available earlier, namely (Interview No. 3):

- a) the height of the dam body and the percentage of water height;
- b) the area to be flooded by the dam water (land and islands in the area);
- c) the resettlement areas which were established for the displaced population;
- d) the five-line transmission lines, which course and nature were determined.

Therefore, this time the project met a great response from the foreign archaeological missions and some of them agreed to participate in it. The text of the appeal was following⁸⁰:

The Republic of the Sudan
Ministry of Tourism & National Heritage National Corporation for Antiquities & Museums
(NCAM)
Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP)
Appeal for rescuing a piece of Man's cultural heritage

In the name of the Government of the Sudan, I would like to invite all experts and International Institutions specialised in the fields of archaeology, history, ethnography, preservation and related sciences to contribute to the rescuing of sites endangered by the construction of a dam near the IV Cataract of the Nile (Merowe Dam).

The participating Institutions will benefit from the following:

- *Exemption of fees for the duration of work in the region.*
- *Exemption of fees for the regular study concessions of the mission for two successive seasons after the end of the rescue campaign.*
- *NCAM will try its best to solve any logistic problems.*
- *According to chapter III, article 28(b) of the Antiquities Protection Ordinance (1999), institutions participating in the salvage project will have the right to own a representative portion of their discoveries (objects).*

Please find herewith the essential information about this campaign, prepared by Dr. Salah M. Ahmed, the Project Field Director. We are confident that there will be a positive response from the International Scientific Community, which has always been a great help for all our Salvage projects since the UNESCO Nubian Campaign of the sixties of the last century.

Hassan H. Idriss, NCAM General Director and Project General Director⁸¹

It has to be mentioned that NCAM, in order to encourage organizations to actively participate in the Fourth Cataract salvage project, raised the proportion of reward for international archaeological expeditions to 50% of a total amount of the rescued archaeological materials. Basically, the same means were applied in the Nubian Campaign 1960–1964. Nevertheless, the Fourth Cataract region was an enough interesting research area for the national and international archaeological community to get involved in this project, even though the dam's developer (DIU) refused to cover the costs of any foreign work incurred (Interview No. 3).

Eventually, several foreign institutions decided to join the archaeological salvage project in the Fourth Cataract region. Among them were: Gdańsk Archaeological Museum Expedition (GAME), the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (SARS), ACACIA Project University of Cologne, Polish Academy of Sciences, Humboldt University of Berlin, the Italian Institute for Africa and the Orient (IsIAO), the University College London, the Hungarian Meroe Foundation,

⁸⁰ cf. <http://www.ceemo.org.ar/Appeal.html> [Access on 20.10.2018].

⁸¹International participation was based on an invitation of NCAM which coordinated the rescue campaign. The construction of dams and archaeological rescue was supervised by the Sudanese state administrations. These departments have worked for the benefit of the nation. State administrations and NCAM both have a lacked keen interest in the needs of local communities which has had the opposite effect.

University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB)-Arizona State University (ASU) consortium and the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago (Näser and Kleinitz, 2021: 273).

After meeting such a great response, NCAM divided the whole area designated to be flooded into concession areas for different archaeological expeditions (Fig. 31). NCAM continued to distribute concession areas gradually throughout the duration of the project, providing the fieldwork for every subsequent mission joining MDASP.

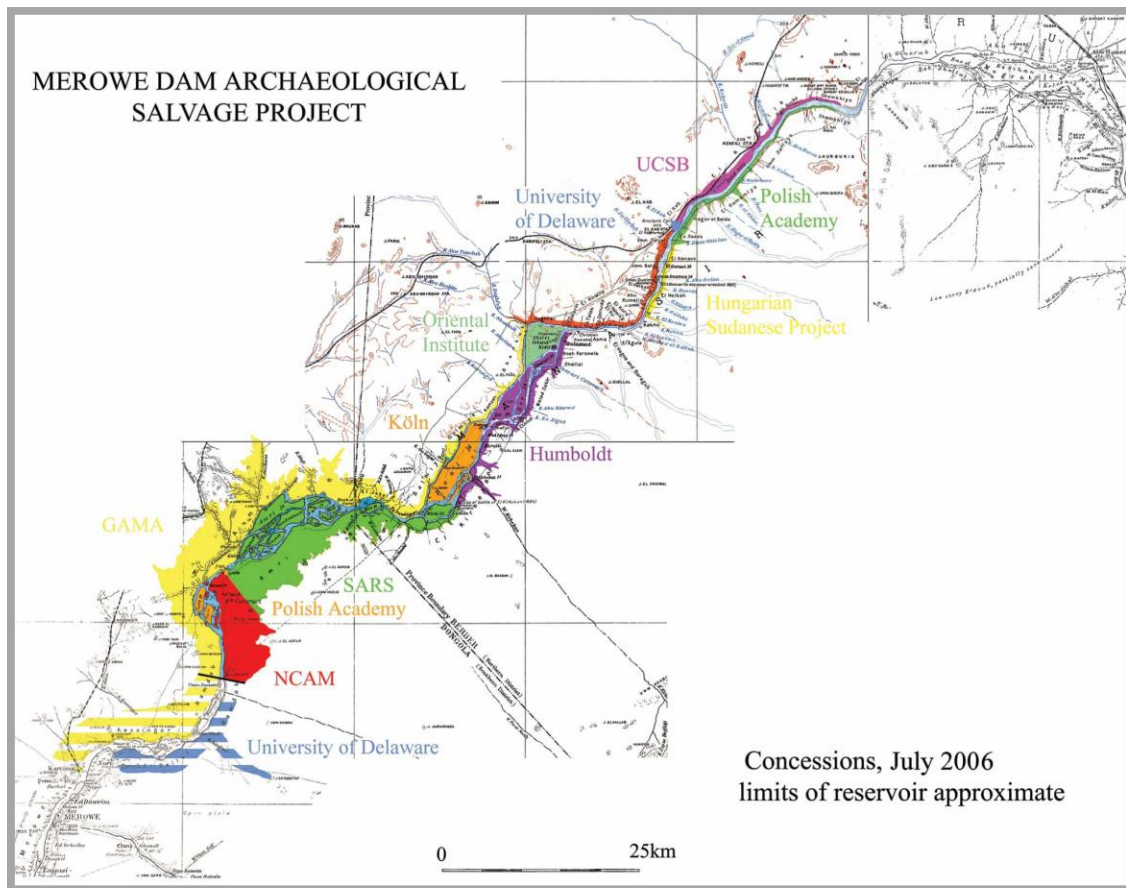


Fig. 31. Concessions areas in Fourth Cataract Region (Source: NCAM Archives).

The distribution of concession areas was based on direct discussions with foreign archaeological missions, which focused on the identification, interest, funding and scientific possibilities available to the missions, as well as the time and fieldwork that the missions wished to conduct. For example, SARS, which had considerable funds and scientific potential, preferred to work in a small area not exceeding 40 km. Moreover, they wanted to work on specific periods, such as the Meroitic period and the post-Meroitic period, according to the archaeological chronology of Sudan. The Archaeological Museum in Poznań (Poland) was also interested in a field of prehistory and the Polish mission from Warsaw was interested in medieval Christian fortresses. The mission of the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk was interested in the fieldwork of archaeological survey in large area. There were also some missions interested in the archaeology of islands (which were

large islands in the region), due to their locations being different and distinct from other settlements located on both banks of the Nile, as well as their sites being of different characteristics from their counterparts (Interview No. 7).

In general, the aforementioned contributions aimed at the following issues:

- the interest of archaeological missions, scientific skills, budget, capabilities of cadres and self-funding;
- the interest of archaeological missions with their wishes to work in a specific era of the archaeological chronology of Sudan, which is going with the considerable need of NCAM in saving the selected area (Interview No. 7).

It is noticeable that there was good coordination between NCAM and foreign archaeological expeditions. There was no lack of interest or forced work in an undesirable location (Interview No. 5, 6). The reason for this was that most of the archaeological sites of the Fourth Cataract region were immovable monuments (rock drawings, Christian fortresses and churches). However, most of the remains were relicts of dwellings and tombs or cemeteries. Thus, there was no real considerable competition for the concession areas in the region.

4.2.2.5. Field survey and excavations

Ground reconnaissance or surface surveys are the most common archaeological prospection methods. However, it is a primary survey which does not require any special or very expensive equipment. Through a surface survey, archaeologists walk always across the survey area, looking for any archaeological materials, artifacts or surface features. These are then either collected or recorded for a future analysis to identify a site location and type. This survey study depends on the basic background that represents a point of departure for a deeper investigation. The identification of sites and their dynamics results from the contextual analysis of the remains of archaeological materials such as: cemetery, tombs or graves, fortress, rock art and the settlements (Interview No. 10, 11).

In 1989–1990, the Sudan Antiquities Service led by Osama Abdel Rahman Al-Nour conducted inspection and exploration journey – archaeological preliminary surveying – which accompanied feasibility studies of the Hamadab (Merowe Dam) (Al-Hakem, 1993: 11). Later, in April 1991, the Board of Antiquities Service set up “Hamadab Dam Project Research Council” to coordinate fieldwork research of the various disciplines, namely: archaeology, ethnography,

history, archives, folklore, traditional technologies, etc. The action plan was developed into three stages:

- a) the low-intensity exploration and reconnaissance phase, scheduled to be completed by the end of 1993;
- b) evaluation phase and high-intensity field 1994–1995;
- c) work according to a list of priorities that would continue beyond the flood year of 2000.

These stages as conceived were not strictly exclusive, but complementary to each other. There was also much freedom in deciding what work would be done. This was clearly a coordination plan.

In view of the need for information for preliminary feasibility studies, it was hoped that the first phase would be completed in September 1993, and then the second phase would begin. From an archaeological standpoint, sufficient scientific information had been collected that would have allowed to recognize the basic structural cultural spectrum expected in the area between the dam site on Merowe Island and upstream to Mogerat Island, including both, right and left bank and the islands (Al-Hakem, 1993: 11).

In 1995 NCAM and the University of Dongola, Faculty of Arts and Human Studies, Dept of Archaeology, Karima, established a joint research project in the Fourth Cataract Region in the location called Jebel Kulgeili.

The main objectives of this research were:

- a) to train students of archaeology and related sciences in the fieldwork techniques;
- b) to rescue some sites that would be submerged by the waters of artificial lake created by Merowe Dam, while trying to assess the impact of the dam on the remaining archaeological sites;
- c) to establish a systematic documentation core for the area and provide archaeological information for comparative studies (Mohammad and Hussein, 1999: 60).

The project also aimed to shed light on an archaeological area that had received little archaeological attention. The concession area was located on the left bank of the river Nile, about 43 km (or 26.72 mi) from the city of Merowe (Fig. 32). It covered an area of about 8 km from Mount Kulgeili (the highest topographical feature in the region) to latitude N 18°45'. The concession area was identified and recorded with the aid of:

- Sudan Antiquities Service Survey Cards Map sheets, scale 1:250,000;
- aerial photographs at scale 1:66,000;
- Global Position System GPS.

During the archaeological surveys and excavations launched in 1995 and continued in 1998, the following results were achieved:

- a) the archaeological preliminary surveying;
- b) the archaeological sites recorded by the systematic survey consisted of prehistoric sites, post-Meroitic tumuli, Christian cemeteries, rock art, and small forts (Mohammad and Hussein, 1999: 60).

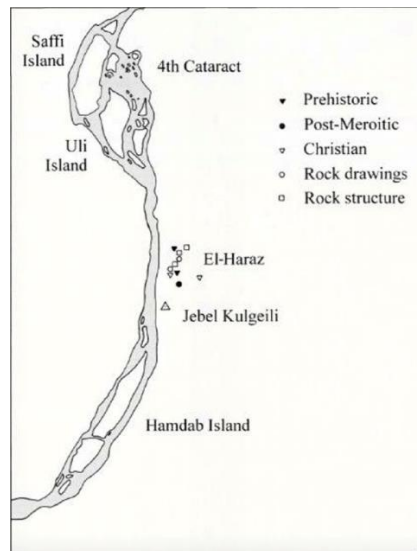


Fig. 32. Location map (Mohammad and Hussein, 1999: 60).

The practical work of the MDASP in Sudan started through the cooperation between NCAM and the expeditions of archaeological institutions. In this regard, NCAM with the participating expeditions applied archaeological survey and field-walking survey using different methods and approaches to rescue archaeological materials on the concession areas. The most applied approaches in the Fourth Cataract project for NCAM were based on non-invasive methods, such as: aerial photographs, satellite imagery and topographic maps in field-walking survey⁸². For example, on Ishashi Island all sites were recorded with the help of satellite imagery as background map, descriptions and co-ordinates positioned by GPS, as well as by reference to satellite imagery of Ishashi Island. The idea was to connect modern and traditional approaches in order to ensure that the information and features located at aerial photographs and topographic maps were in line with the reality of the nature of the area.

Accordingly, a large preliminary map was drawn up, showing the distribution of the known archaeological sites that were enumerated and classified. The concession area was then divided into 14 sectors. A detailed survey of the income of each of these sectors was carried out by conducting

⁸² All larger concentrations of rock art on Ishashi were identified by GPS coordinates taken from all rock art sites, followed by mapping on high-resolution aerial photographs. Digital and slide photography of motifs, decorations, panels and locations, as well as landscape setting, formed the primary method of graphic recording (Kleinitz, 2004: 12).

studies and experimental or trial excavations to determine the importance of the site, with respect to rescuing the possibly biggest amount of the archaeological materials. The method applied was a systematic survey (questionnaire), following a sampling strategy designed to access representative archaeological data (the area was divided into units and data was gathered from all the representative units)⁸³. The approach was based on reading the surface, identifying its components, and then choosing the site to be preserved and excavated (the selection was random, considering the proximity of the site to the mission's residence from a logistical standpoint) (Interview No. 11). For NCAM expedition the selective approach, that relies on multiplicity and similarity, was one of the approaches used in the rescue fieldwork in the MDASP. It relied on the categories that make up the site itself, it means if the site consists of tombs dating back to the Meroitic period, a part of them can be selected for excavation (the part that represents the whole). The maximum possibility of saving the site is working for a day and a half as integrated teamwork to dig one grave (Interview No. 11).

The fieldwork included an extensive rescue program that combined surveying and trial excavation. The rescue plan was prepared according to the desk study through aerial photographs and preliminary exploratory surveys of the Fourth Cataract area and the size of the area, a full assessment of the nature of the area and how to deal with it. Phase 2 of the plan included exploratory survey of each area to determine the size of the existing materials, then to divide them into sectors in order to determine the material potentially required to be saved.

When it comes to the foreign expeditions, in early 1996 the Gdańsk Archaeological Museum Expedition (GAME) was the first international institution to respond positively to NCAM's appeal for the rescue project in the Fourth Nile Cataract (Interview No. 5; Paner, 2010: 7). Later, research was undertaken by the Sudan Archaeological Research Society in 1999. Then, University of California Santa Barbara, Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology, Poznań Archaeological Museum, Humboldt University in Berlin, Cologne University, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, etc. joined the project as well. Their research brought the discovery of hundreds of archaeological sites, especially the Neolithic sites, although it was not possible to conduct test excavation in all of them (Chłodnicki, 2006: 86). Moreover, the publishing of papers connected with the project proceeded slowly and many of publications came out with delay (Interview No. 6). It has to be mentioned that surveys and excavations were not only initiated at the dam construction site and reservoir area, but also along the energy transmission lines and expected resettlement schemes (Näser and Kleinitz, 2021: 273). The archaeology in all these areas was virtually unknown when the project began (Interview No. 3, 5, 6).

⁸³ This is generally done by dividing the survey area into long transects (lines that cut across the landscape) 5 to 20 m apart, which are then walked by archaeologists.

The concession of the Gdańsk Archaeological Museum Expedition covered a wide area of about 250 km (or 155.34 mi) in length, stretching along the right bank of the Nile from Karima to Abu Hamed (Fig. 33, 34). In 1996, the expedition embarked on a systematic fieldwork project, including surveying and experimental trenching in the Fourth Cataract area (El-Tayeb, 1998: 35). It has to be noted that after the expedition got to the concession area, there was no specific direction from NCAM other than registering and inventorying the discovered sites (Interview No. 7). However, the work was largely limited to determining the type of site, the period, and then collecting archaeological materials as samples for study. The plan included following steps:

- 1) determining the sites that were discovered;
- 2) collecting samples of archaeological materials and then studying and classifying them (for example: using chemical analysis to determine the chemical composition of pottery sherds and to know the type of clay from which they were made).

To complete the work, maps from the Engineering Survey Department of the region were used, satellite imagery (which were more accurate than others) as well as records of the site's coordinates. The devices used were GPS and walkie-talkie. The latter was especially used to communicate in a varying area of 2 km or more from the Nile shore, extending to the desert, with separate groups that were located at the Nile shore, the Rocky Mountains and the desert. Communication was done via a radio device to exchange the information obtained about the site that was discovered and to give the site a serial number (to avoid duplication and misprinting of numbers). This enabled the expedition to conduct a survey for 10 km per day (Interview No. 7). It has to be noted that most of the excavations were carried out in burials, however, if there was a single grave, it was not given much attention. The work continued for seven consecutive seasons of fieldwork until 2008 and in some areas to 2010 (Interview No. 7).

In the case of multicultural sites in GAME concession area, all types of sites together with their chronologies were included separately. For example, if there was one number repeated two or three times and it was in the same location, this indicated that there was a Meroitic cemetery, a Christian cemetery, and a Muslim cemetery, which meant that three numbers match in this location. In a few cases no geographical position was given, because some sites were discovered by people who did not have GPS or by local people, so they were marked on maps only in some approximation (Interview No. 5).



Fig. 33. Concession map of Gdańsk Archaeological Museum Expedition (GAME) (Drawing: J. Szmit) (Paner and Pudło, 2010: 132).

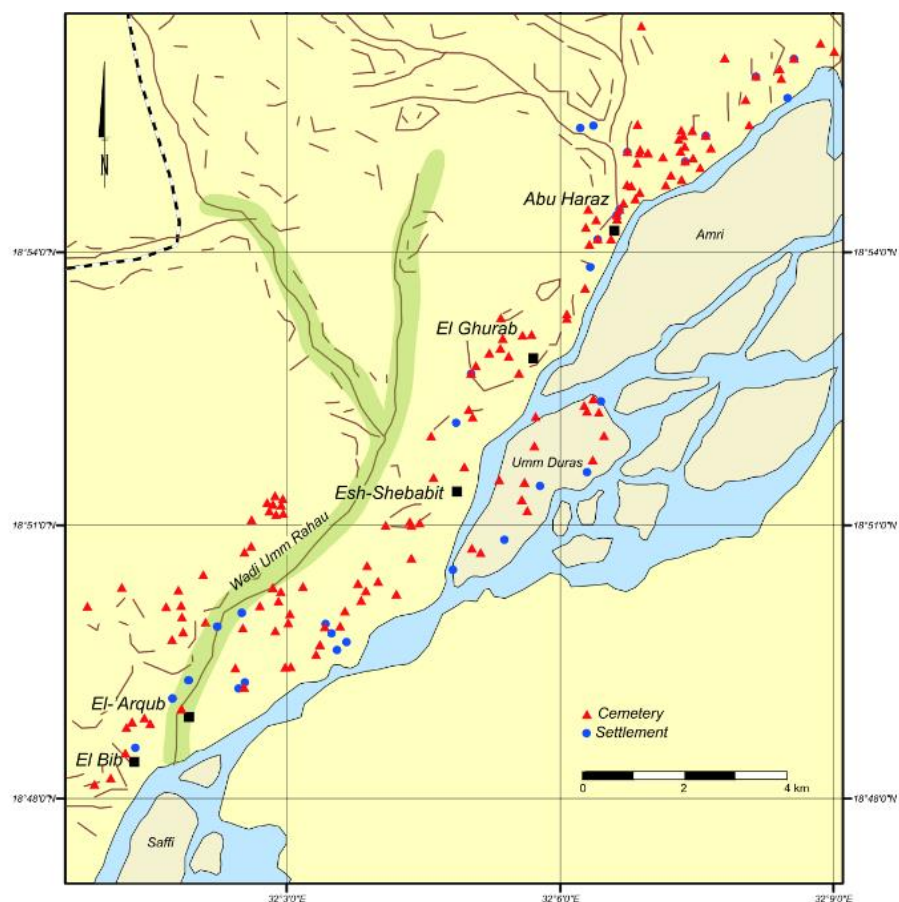


Fig. 34. The recorded list of sites discovered by the mission of Gdansk in Fourth Cataract region, in the Wadi Umm Rahau (Drawing: J. Szmit) (Paner and Pudło, 2010: 138).

In the case of the expansion of the archaeological site, the mission used the beehive method. For example, if there were about 30 graves in the single burial site, firstly the team must have determined the range of the burial area, especially if the ground was flat (high areas were usually chosen for the graveyards in the Kerma period, because the climate was different then). Secondly, points from middle part of the burial site were selected (according to the available time up to 5 points) in order determining the type of graves, their dating and possible differences in graves (different periods of origin, etc.). In the next step, few points were chosen on the border of the site and teams were moving slowly in direction to the centre of the site, excavating graves on the way. The extent of excavations depended on the amount of time and money that were available, especially since the funds were not sufficient. In addition, there were some areas that did not have enough workers, which forced the mission to bring in workers from neighbourhood areas, which exacerbated the financial cost (Interview No. 5).

The Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of Warsaw University (PCMA) can serve as another example. PCMA got the concession 50 km long, located at the up-river end of the 170-km-long strip, on the left bank of the Nile between Khor Umm Ghizlan in the south and Shemkhiya in the north (Shemkhiya, Gamamiya, Keheli, Hagar el-Beida and Es-Sadda). In addition, new sites were added to PCMA's concession during the fieldwork of 2005. They included surveys and excavations in Dar Al-Arab (Swueqi el-Gharb) and excavations on Saffi Island, which brought the sites gazetteer to a total of 109 sites (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, 2004: 323).

The fieldwork was conducted for five seasons 2003–2007. The first step in the PCMA's involvement in the rescue project was a survey and follow-up salvage operation on the islands of Saffi and Uli within the NCAM concession. The second season was organized by the PCMA in association with the Research Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Poznań Archaeological Museum. The concession was accordingly granted, and a brief survey was conducted in December 2003 with the former director of the Poznań Archaeological Museum – Lech Krzyżaniak (Fig. 36, 37). This was followed in 2004 by the survey conducted by Marek Chłodnicki (2006: 86). However, Poznań Archaeological Museum was more interested in prehistoric cemeteries, settlements, rock art, stone rings, inhabited site, churches. Short research was also conducted in the Keheli area. This work focused on documentation of rock art sites at Gebel Gurgurib, Al-Jamamiyah and Keheli. During the survey numerous petroglyphs were discovered on the huge hill (about 30 individual places with rock art images) (Chłodnicki, Longa and Osypiński, 2010: 377). The petroglyphs were executed on vertical rock surfaces and formed a rock art gallery. Their themes consist mostly of images of cattle, in a few cases associated with human figures (Fig. 35)⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ Cf. <http://www.old2.muzarp.poznan.pl/en/projects/africa/sudan/4th-nile-cataract/> [Access on 22.01.2024].



Fig. 35. Part of the rock art “gallery” at the Keheli 5 site (Photo M. Chłodnicki).



Fig. 36. Archaeological sites located in Poznań Archaeological Museum Concession in MDASP. GPS coordinates of Al-Jamamiyah, Keheli, Umm Saffaya – rock art, Shemkhiya⁸⁵.

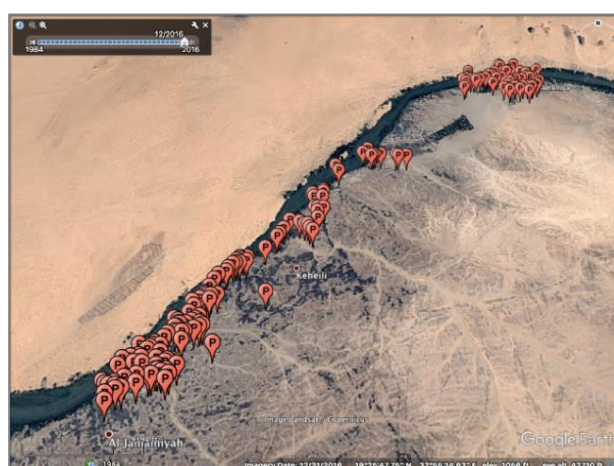


Fig. 37. Archaeological sites located in Poznań Archaeological Museum Concession in MDASP. GPS coordinates of Al-Jamamiyah, Keheli, Umm Saffaya – rock art, Shemkhiya⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ Cf. <https://www.google.pl/intl/pl/earth/> [Access on 23.07.2019].

⁸⁶ Cf. <https://www.google.pl/intl/pl/earth/> [Access on 23.07.2019].

Another important mission was conducted by the British Museum, in conjunction with the SARS. The expedition's concession included the left bank of the Nile and the islands between the fortress at Suweigi West (Dar el-Arab) upstream to Jebel Musa at Kirbeka (Fig. 38, 39). This concession extended along the Nile River for about 40 km (about 24.85 mi), including the area that was threatened by submergence and that extends far from the riverbanks. Considering the work, the decision was taken to conduct detailed surveys in selected areas of the concession, followed by excavation of a range of sites. Obviously, it was impossible to conduct a detailed survey and excavation of the entire area within the timeframe available (Welsby, 2003a: 1).

In frames of given timeline, the project aimed to recover as much information as possible about ancient settlements in the region, by studying all the remaining traces until the immediate pre-modern period. Among the materials recovered, there was a large collection of human skeletal material, allowing a detailed study of the people who lived in the area in the past as well as the study of their settlements and artifacts. The project also aimed to transfer some of the abundant rock art to eventually be displayed in the new museums that were to be built, which supposed to be dedicated to the ancient and modern cultures of the region. Additionally, 390 pieces of granite blocks were excavated from the discovered remains of the pyramid.

In the first phase the rescue mission's work on the islands was limited to an attempt to identify and record all the sites. Considering this, the strategy was to conduct a survey of small areas in detail, followed by excavating a sample of the sites recorded during those surveys. These included extensive occupation scatters, settlements, fortified enclosures, cemeteries and rock art. The work in 1999 consisted of a survey, focusing on a stretch of ca. 10 km (about 6.21 mi) in the centre of the concession area, which included numerous islands and part of the left bank (Fuller, 2004: 5). However, since 1999 the mission started to locate and describe sites that were surveyed in detail. Moreover, sketch plans were prepared at a scale of 1:500 or 1:100. The work was entirely limited to survey and the interpretation of the data, without the benefit of selective excavation (Welsby, 2003a: 121). In 2002–2003, excavations focused on sampling cemeteries, tomb monuments of various types and settlements. Additional survey was also conducted in the large island of Ishashi. It has to be emphasized that the discoveries of the season 2003–2004 were very promising for future work (Fuller, 2004: 5).

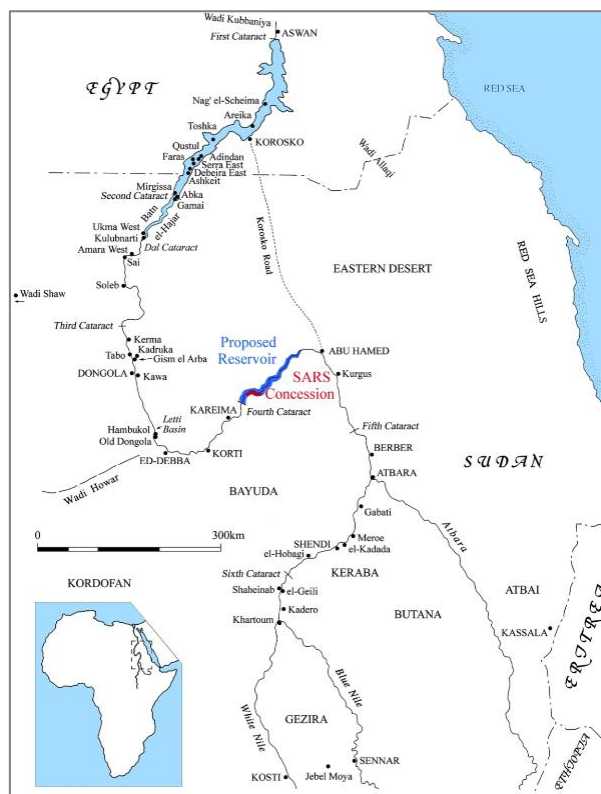


Fig. 38. Sites located between Mis Island and Ber (SARS Concession) (Welsby, 2003a:1-3).

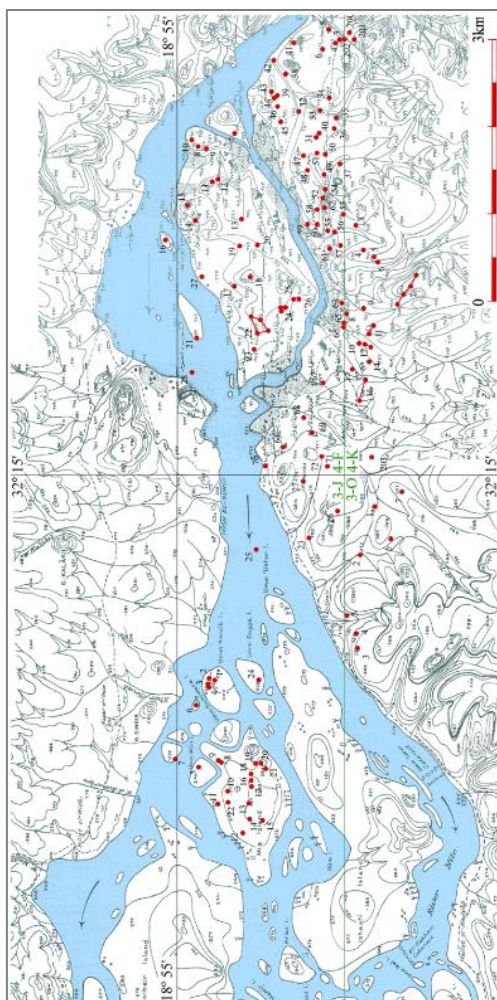


Fig. 39. Sites located between Mis Island and Ber (SARS Concession) (Welsby, 2003a:1-3).

The second phase included experiment or trial excavation, where missions were able to conduct some trial excavation to identify the sites. During this time the artifacts were collected, either from each feature or from transects across the sites. This material was studied by pottery, lithics and small finds specialists. Moreover, many of the rock pictures were traced onto acetate and their locations were plotted by GPS or in relation to their local environment by total station⁸⁷ (Welsby, 2003a: 4).

Since 2002, for four seasons, excavations of cemeteries and settlements on the left bank and on the islands of Umm Melyekta, el-Hilla, Umm Muri and Mis took place. Later, in season 2003–2004, survey and trial excavations also begun in the area around Dar al-Arab. The UCL–SARS archaeological expedition focused then its research on three main themes: settlement archaeology, ceramic industry (in the context of a larger trade network) and agricultural practices. Islands located in the SARS concession area and considered for potential future exploration (except Ishashi) were surveyed. The mission also conducted extensive studies on modern agricultural practices and crop cultivation within the concession area, in addition to rock art and “rock gong” sites. Furthermore, ceramics recovered from all sites were examined (Welsby, 2006: 8; Kleinitz, 2004: 12ff).

The 2003–2004 field season began with a survey of each of the islands, conducted on foot by two teams of four to six people. GPS was used to record points every 10 m, while the team was communicating via radio to give information about the location that had been discovered and giving it a number to distinguish it, so as to avoid repeating the number, as well as the found spots of important artifacts, rock art or visible architecture. Following a walking survey, on selected areas 10x10 m squares were set out and divided into four quadrants. Artifacts were collected from one quadrant of each square, and artifact density was then taken as an indication of the best place to begin test pits. Only in rare instances test pits lead to full excavations. These exceptions were the burials uncovered on Melyekta and the settlements on Umm Muri and Melyekta. Each island studied during this field season was described, and the findings for each island were summarized. It has to be mentioned that all the found sites were recorded with ground photographs, descriptions and positioned by GPS coordinates, as well as by reference to satellite imagery of Ishashi Island. Surface collections of artifacts were also prepared in order to suggest approximate dates or date ranges of sites whenever possible (Fuller, 2004: 5).

The archaeological investigations included the recognition of sites, their documentation and test excavations. After localization, basic recording of sites was done by conducting survey with handheld GPS, sketching and written description on pre-printed forms. A total number

⁸⁷ The survey archive, including the site recording sheets, survey data, maps, plans and photographs, forms the Amri to Kirbekan Survey Archive in the offices of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society, c/o. Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, The British Museum, London.

of 2500 GPS-points was taken (Wolf, 2004: 17). Further, in the season 2004–2005, the British Museum along with SARS began operating at the northern part of the concession, based at the village of Doma, where more than 650 sites were recorded (Welsby, 2005: 2). In the following season of 2005–2006, a number of these sites were excavated. The excavations were carried out by two teams, supported with funds from the British Museum, the Egyptian Exploration Society and the Institute of Bioarchaeology. In the central and eastern part of the SARS' concession prehistoric settlements were identified, apart from medieval and post-medieval settlements. Rock art and gongs recorded during the survey were also studied in more detail by two specialists during December 2005. It must be noted that fieldwork was not an easy task for the mission due to the difficulties and aridity of the region. When it comes to the methods used in the SARS concession, the initial investigation involved a topographic survey and controlled surface collection in 33 collection units each 6 m in diameter. It was followed by the controlled surface collection, using the preliminary analysis of the collection as a guide. Then, the team opened a series of 21 excavation units (mostly 5x5 m) across the site to locate the architectural remains at the site (Emberling and Williams, 2010: 20).

The method of recording rock art was based on documenting rock art panels and sites, and the amount of time available to the researcher was always reconciled with the comprehensiveness of the data collected. The Boni Island rock art survey included GPS measurement, brief descriptions, detailed photographic documentation, sketches of the site's location and landscape context. In addition, traces of selected engravings were produced on transparent plastic sheets. As an overview of the research approach to rock art, several observations and conclusions about Boni Island rock art and comparative evidence were noted. Rock art was described according to the system used by Huard and Leclent (1972; 1976) for their documentation of rock art in the Sahara and the Nile Valley.

To sum up, fieldwork for foreign missions in MDASP was not easy for several reasons: limited funding, organizational deficiencies and the remoteness of the research area. At that time there was lack of roads within the area. It took about eight hours to reach Merowe, the nearest city with regular shops and health services. The missions also had to rely on heavy equipment, including four-wheel drive cars and lorries, generators, water pumps and filters, as well as complete medical and food supplies, brought in from their home countries and from Khartoum. Working and living conditions were extremely poor, including restricted access to clean drinking water, food, fuel and electricity. However, the expeditions continued their work without questioning this situation and concentrated their efforts on documenting as much of the archaeology of the region as was possible in the limited time before the flood (Näser and Kleinitz, 2021: 274).

4.2.2.6. Role of inspectors

The antiquities inspectors are the main members of fieldwork teams for archaeological missions, whether national or foreign. They are authorized by the NCAM to accompany each archaeological mission in all their fieldworks. Their responsibility included following up all administrative and scientific aspects related to the mission's work and archaeological sites. However, they needed to divide their time between administrative responsibilities and coordinating the work of national or foreign missions in the region. They had to also submit administrative and scientific reports regularly to the central office in Khartoum, which should include issues of security, safety, conservation, restoration and archaeological research.

The current Antiquities Ordinance of 1999, is referring to Inspectors of Antiquities in Article 23 and Article 34 (Appendix 3):

23. Conditions for the issuance of licences.

3. The Corporation shall have the right to:

1. Participate with any archaeological mission to investigate the existence of antiquities on a site provided the Corporation states its financial, scientific and technical participation conditions on the excavation licence.
2. Any archaeological mission authorised to conduct archaeological activities shall be accompanied by a representative of the Corporation whose expenses shall be borne by the licence holder. This representative shall submit an administrative and scientific report to the Corporation at the end of the mission's work.

34. General Regulations

1. Inspectors of antiquities, museum curators and guards of museums and archaeological sites are endowed with police powers to arrest without prior legal authorisation in relation to their assigned duties, to combat illegitimate trading in antiquities and their smuggling and to combat damages against museums and archaeological sites.

The role of the archaeological inspectors, when accompanying national or foreign archaeological missions, can be summarized as follows:

- protecting antiquities within the area in which they work and following up on the administrative site;
- visiting the archaeological sites in the area (the role of the archaeological inspector in the open site for visitors is limited to monitoring the site and archaeological area periodically, to review and follow up on the safety of antiquities and visitors);

- reviewing the archaeological materials in an open site for visitors and ensure their safety, where it should not to be exposed or affected by any damage (biological, erosion factors, encroachment, etc.); if anything harmful to the antiquity is noticed, it must be reported immediately;
- participation in scientific archaeological research, e.g. survey, excavations and conservation work;
- ensuring the identity of mission members and employees;
- communicating with the security and administrative authorities to facilitate the mission's tasks;
- coordinating with the security authorities to provide protection and security for members of the mission in the field conditions;
- facilitating communication and coordination between the local community and the members of the mission to provide a suitable environment for work;
- checking the status of the mission's stores and archaeological materials that have not yet been delivered to NCAM and inventory of artifacts;
- monitoring visitors and group of tourists visiting archaeological sites;
- raising awareness of the importance of archaeological areas and sites and the necessity of preserving them;
- writing administrative and scientific reports on the work of the mission and the region during their escort to the mission.

Eventually, within the archaeological fieldwork there are no fixed rules by which the antiquities inspectors work. The working conditions are applied in accordance with each site. During archaeological field work operations, the archaeologist must follow up and register each archaeological material, review the recording and match it to the antiquity. However, passing through archaeological sites is considered one of the first tasks and duties of the antiquity's inspectors in their inspection department. It requires the development of a well-known monitoring program in which they determine the archaeological sites that they will pass through, where the date of passage is also registered. The rights and duties of the antiquity's inspectors in the administrative and technical work of NCAM can be summarized as follows:

- preserving antiquities and the authority's property, as it is the property of the state and the national heritage that must be preserved;
- inspection visits;
- examination of the seized effects;
- editing scientific records or notes on the seized antiquities;

- examining the encroachment on the antiquities and the authority's property;
- writing detailed reports on the state of the archaeological sites, the types of encroachment and the problems they are exposed.

In conclusion, the antiquities inspectors are working as a site manager in the listed heritage sites. Their main role is to coordinate fieldwork with site security and administrations bodies in the region government.

4.2.2.7. Reports

One of the requirements for archaeological and rescue fieldwork in Sudan is obtaining the license permit, which include formal conditions and regulations placed on national and international archaeologists working in Sudan⁸⁸. One of the most important conditions and regulations for license holder is writing fieldwork reports that include details concerning the mission, the personnel, description of the site and the project, the methodology and tools that were used in the fieldwork and the archaeological materials that were found. The report should also contain documentation and analysis of archaeological features, the geological conditions and character of the site. Finally, results and recommendations related to the possibility of continuation the work in the concession area, with the obligation to publish the results in the future, have to be included.

All above mentioned regulations stated in the *Antiquities Protection Ordinance of 1999*, The Section 25: Special licensing conditions (Appendix 3) were considered as recommendations for the foreign mission in MDASP when it comes to preparing and provided required reports:

1. The applicant for a license must satisfy the following:
 - d. Reports shall be submitted to the Corporation – NCAM for the archaeological work survey, excavation and conservation work with the results and all details on discovered archaeological remains.
 - e. Maps/plans and sections are drawn according to the internationally and scientifically recognized standards. These plans shall contain the details of conditions of archaeological remains at the time of discovery in a way so as to enable their re-structuring or rebuilding.
 - f. A list including the relevant scientific details on all the discovered and transported antiquities shall be compiled and submitted to the Corporation at the end of the excavations, together with a complete collection of copies of the maps, plans and photographs.
 - g. To publish, within two years after the termination of the excavation works, a scientific publication to show the general results of the excavations, mentioning the names of the sites

⁸⁸ Cf. 3.3.2. *Licenses*.

where the antiquities were found, and what has been done. To present two copies of such a report or publication to the Corporation.

2. The license holder must do the following:

- a. Present 10 books, with the publications of articles, he issues on his excavation works and results to the Corporation.

The fieldwork in the Fourth Cataract relied directly on the daily reports, as a recommendation required by the necessity of the stage to move forward with the construction and building works. It was obligatory for all archaeological missions to write and update reports, so that NCAM could inform DIU about the current progress. It also played a major role in informing interested parties and the local community about recent discoveries in the region. The results of this work have been published in various periodicals, e.g. *The Merowe Dam Monthly Magazine*, which was issued in Arabic language by DIU; *Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports*, which was mostly associated with activities of the survey and excavations of GAME in Fourth Cataract Salvage Project, but not limited to it; *Meroitica Journal* and *Archeologie du Nil Moyen* (published in French). Another example is SARS founded in 1991. It provided information to anyone interested in the archaeology of Sudan and Egypt south of the First Nile Cataract the Nubian territory. They organize seminars and lectures as well as publish fieldwork research in their journal *Sudan & Nubia*. This Society aims to promote interest in the Sudan's cultural heritage and raise awareness of its place in the history of mankind. Most importantly, the Society managed expeditions to excavate and record threatened sites before knowledge about them will be lost forever.

4.2.3. Results

The primary aim of MDASP was to rescue archaeological sites endangered by the construction of Merowe Dam. One of the goals of the basic NCAM plan was to prepare a preliminary map showing the archaeological sites in the Fourth Cataract area, in order to monitor the archaeological materials and sites present in the region and to show their importance.

The combined efforts of Sudanese and foreign archaeologists in MDASP led to many advances in improving understanding the past at the Fourth Cataract region. Selected areas of the region were surveyed and sites covering a wide range of human activities and periods were excavated. Large-scale surveys were conducted and as a result the knowledge of the rich history of the area, from the Early Stone Age up to the recent past, expanded rapidly. The fieldwork is now completed, but a considerable amount of material and data is still being studied, so the full publications of the results are still awaited (Interview No. 6). It has to be emphasized that during this project, which lasted almost until 2009, more scholars became interested in the history of Nubia –

still full archaeological research of this region is waiting to be conducted. Since the UNESCO Nubian Campaign in Lower Nubia in Sudan, the Fourth Cataract region is the second area of Nubia, where a large amount of similar archaeological material has come to light. The exciting results of the excavations, the rescue of priceless examples of prehistoric rock art, publications, conferences, museums and new exhibitions indicate the magnitude of the work that has been done in the Fourth Cataract area – and as a result, for the past few years archaeologists at many institutes and universities talked about the ancient Sudan and Nubia (Paner, 2010: 7). Still, it is an “impossible task” to provide a complete view of the prehistory of MDASP area. Studies on many sites, collections and gathered data are still ongoing and the results will be published in the future, to fill the blank pages of a book that we can call “The Prehistory of the Fourth Cataract” (Osypiński, 2014: 9).

The first major breakthrough in MDASP was made by archaeologists from the Gdańsk Expedition when they confirmed, after seven consecutive seasons of fieldwork in the Fourth Cataract region, the presence of a culture which bears many of the same characteristics as the Kerma culture. A noteworthy cluster of Old Kush sites existed between Ab-Silaem and el-Jebel in an area about 70 km in length. The area of about 124 km, starting from Kareima and heading upriver, had been fully surveyed and test excavations were conducted on selected sites. The expedition identified tombs and settlements relics of the so-called Kerma people belonging to the Kingdom of Kush located further north in the Dongola region during the Bronze Age (2500–1500 BCE). In addition, the rest of the GAME concession area up to Abu Hamad has been reconnoitred. Moreover, the whole of GAME’s original concession was photographed from the air. This has resulted in the recording of 711 sites, representing different cultural periods from the Palaeolithic to Early Islam – among them 93 sites, including both settlements and cemeteries, could be associated with the Old Kush culture (Paner, 2003: 15f).

Another important discovery were the remains of a pyramid from the Napatan period (800–400 BCE) that was discovered near El-Tereif by SARS (Welsby, 2003b: 30). The result is the recognition of the control of this region by the first Kingdom of Kush, the oldest urban civilization in sub-Saharan Africa, in the third and second millennia BC. The tomb monument of an important and wealthy individual highlights the importance of the area and is forcing a reappraisal of the role of Cataract zones in the Nile Valley (Welsby, 2003a: 2).

The most exciting discovery in the Fourth Cataract was the discovery made by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago – a gold mining site at Hosh el-Guruf. The main period of its activity was from 1700 to 1500 BC. The gold mining appeared to have been organized by the Kingdom of Kush, whose capital was in Kerma, located more than 200 km from this site (Emberling, 2009: 55).

Furthermore, the evidence from Ishashi Island provided other aspects to our understanding

of Nubian rock art. It showed that the invisible properties of rock surfaces may have played an important role in the making and use of rock art, and that some activities at rock art sites included an acoustic dimension. The making of sound leaves a number of recognizable visual traces, such as percussion stones and non-figurative areas of dispersed or dense peck marks, the latter with or without cup marks. Ongoing research would test if the close connection of cattle imagery and sound production is specific to Ishashi or common in the region. However, the investigations into the relationship of rock art to other archaeological sites and to landscape features focused on gaining insights into the process of symbolic marking of insular and mainland landscapes in the Fourth Cataract region (Fuller, 2004: 4-5).

Further example of one of the many unexpected discoveries was uncovering a literary treasure containing precious ecclesiastical objects, as well as hundreds of fragments of parchment and leather dating back to the Christian period, located in a church excavated by Humboldt University Nubian Expedition on the island of Sur. These fragments constitute the largest collection of medieval manuscripts and book bindings recovered from the Middle Nile Valley in the past fifty years (Billig, 2008: 111-112; Näser, 2008: 77).

Salah Mohamed Ahmed, the MDASP field director, evaluated his experience in this project as follows (Interview No. 3):

[...] it had many, many shortcomings, as it is the first problem facing the Sudanese archaeologists' staff due to the necessity of managing work of this size. There were many shortcomings that can be benefited from in the future [...].

Comparing what was rescued with the available financial and human capabilities at that time, taking into consideration the time factor, the results of the campaign were acceptable, although a lot of archaeological material of the Fourth Cataract area was lost.

The saved archaeological material and recording of archaeological sites discovered during the MDASP campaign in the Fourth Cataract area, which in turn contributed to enriching the Sudanese archaeological map, was only one part of the positive outcomes of the MDASP. Another important result for NCAM is significant contribution to forming a national team capable of dealing with archaeological rescue work. A very large number of Sudanese cadres from NCAM, researchers from various Sudanese universities and institutions were trained, so that they are able to conduct independent archaeological studies, including training for students, professors, teaching assistants and antiquities inspectors (Interview No. 11). Further positive outcome was improving field and administrative work, especially gaining experience in managing archaeological rescue works. Archaeologists are not only entrusted with the process of excavation and drawing, but also with managing money, time and personnel. They are responsible for employing adequate

cadres and taking advantage of their maximum capabilities according to their specializations (Interview No. 3).

However, we must not forget the knowledge that has been lost. There were many archaeological materials that time and money have not been able to save. The architecture and beautiful objects that attract Islamic archaeologists are lacking in Sudan, and it seems that foreign archaeologists working in the country are somewhat indifferent to the history of the region after the introduction of Islam around 1500 AD (El-Zein, 2000: 34). Thus, recent centuries have become underrepresented in the annals of the rescue campaign. In terms of the local population, this period should have been of the utmost importance as there are few written sources concerned with the area and the people who lived there. It is clear that we have lost the final chapter in the cultural history of the Fourth Cataract (Hafsaas-Tsakos, 2011: 59-61).

Field inspector Habab Idris evaluated MDASP' campaign in following words (Interview No. 12):

If we want to evaluate the negatives and positives in comparison with the campaign to save the antiquities of Lower Nubia, we find that the negatives are more in the Merowe Dam project, but on the other hand, opportunities were provided for study, research, and archaeological survey, and then recording many archaeological sites in the Fourth Cataract – area that had not been recorded before. [...] There are many priorities that were not set in the plan and were not set well, such as involving the local community in developing the plan and setting work priorities for future plans to study the discovered materials extensively etc. As well as the scientific reports were not as precise as they should have been and were not extensive [...].

The most significant impact of MDASP, according to final calculations, was social: more than 50,000 people had to be removed from the dam site and reservoir area (the forced displacement). In 2008, about 180 km of the Nile Valley were flooded. Immediately behind the barrage, the reservoir lake is more than 10 km wide (Ali, Salih and Ali, 2010: 6, as cited by: Näser and Kleinitz, 2021: 271). This was connected with lost of intangible heritage of Nubians. Positive aspect of the MDASP was the fact, that there was an attempt to save cultural heritage of the Forth Cataract region. In mid-2002, the General Administration of Information, Training and Information, in cooperation with the General Commission for Environmental and Social Affairs in the DIU, organized the first scientific campaign to document the public life of the Hamdab area, which supposed to be affected by the construction of the dam. The project targeted the Hamdab area from the eastern and western sides of the Nile and the borders of the islands adjacent to the Amri region. A number of scientists, researchers and specialists participated in the campaign, headed by Tariq Ahmed Othman, Professor of History at the International University of Africa. Moreover, a technical team was selected for various visual documentation techniques, headed by Mr. Khaled Othman, Director of Media Production. Further participants were Hamdab students from universities and higher institutes. What is more, students

of the College of Fine and Applied Arts documented the area through drawings and colouring works. The campaign's objectives were to document all aspects and activities of public life in the Hamdab region, as well as to record the traditions connected with weddings and festive rituals in the region (Abdelrahim, 2003: 7). In this was intangible heritage of Nubians from the Fourth Cataract region was (at least partially) preserved.

It has to be emphasized that not all aims of the project were fulfilled. Perhaps the failure in the provisions of the plan, especially with regard to the future preservation and study of the discovered archaeological materials, undermined the success of the campaign. As example can serve the Multaqa Museum, which was planned by NCAM and DIU in the first settlement area (Multaqa) to preserve and display the archaeological and ethnographic wealth of the Fourth Cataract. It did not see the light of day for the public and researchers due to state policies. Further, there were publications that all missions assigned to publish, choosing the language and style of publications freely. NCAM should receive collective volumes containing the general results of the work of all the expeditions involved in the rescue project submitted in English (with Arabic translation) immediately after the end of the campaign. These reports should have been published, at the latest, five years after the end of field activities (Ahmed, 2003: 14), however this has not yet been fully completed.

In conclusion, the archaeological rescue work in the Fourth Cataract region contributed greatly to the development of the archaeological map of the region. The discovered archaeological materials contributed to understanding the archaeological history in Sudan, in addition to enriching the collections of archaeological museums in the country with the discovered materials, and then providing archaeological materials to establish new museums. Regarding archaeological heritage management, the study investigation showed that most of the participating archaeological expeditions were trying to follow the correct methods of salvage excavations. What is more, NCAM and Sudanese national researches benefitted greatly from the project, as they received professional training and gained valuable experience. The negative side of MDASP is the fact, that there are still papers and reports awaiting publication.

4.2.4. MDASP from the perspective of archaeological managers and researchers – recognised issues

There were several difficulties encountered in the workflow of MDASP, due to the size of the project and the complexity of the political and economic situation in Sudan. Already during the project and after its completing archaeologists and other people involved were able to identify several issues which got an impact on the process and final results. After thorough analysis of interviews, I can distinguish following problems that the managers and researchers involved

in rescuing program faced:

- the sequence of government administrative processes;
- the finance;
- the time factor;
- the technical, human, and material potential;
- the storage and museums;
- the interest of field research;
- the local community of the region;
- the weather condition of the region;
- the insufficient information about the region and local communities.

I will discuss each of the listed problems in details in the next parts of the chapter.

4.2.4.1. The sequence of government administrative processes

The organization of the Nubian Campaign become sort of a role model for upcoming large-scale rescue projects such as MDASP. However, when it comes the latter, the DIU and NCAM were not following the exact structure and strategy applied in the Nubian Campaign. Although DIU is appreciated for its initiative and following the regulations in the Fourth Cataract rescue project, it might appear that there was no clear program of the work. The government in Sudan and NCAM did not have enough capacity and staff to carry out the project and to save the archaeological material in the Fourth Cataract region⁸⁹. Nevertheless, it was a very unique opportunity for the members of NCAM to take part in such venture. However, it has to be emphasized that there were some issues in coordination, especially when it comes to the practical aspects (Interview No. 12). The role of NCAM consisted in saving the archaeological material in the region, but DIU designated the frames of NCAM's participation in this project. For instance, in the area of Al-Multaqa the archaeological mission was undertaking their actions to save the archaeological material in the area after the work of the machines, when the correct order is opposite: first the archaeologists should do their research in the field, then the development work should be allowed. However, this matter depended on the personality of the engineers and their lack of understanding needs for the rescue works before the development works. Unfortunately, some of engineers shared this point of view with the management of DIU. As a result, NCAM had to show their high competence in resolving such cases, which means that the DIU was neither interested in the destruction nor preservation of archaeological site (Interview No. 12). Consequently, the archaeological works were

⁸⁹ Due to a combination of economic and political factors, the Merowe Dam project was conducted without involvement of any Western institutions, including UNESCO (Kleinitz and Näser, 2011: 257).

not scheduled or limited to a specific season or term, but they depended on the circumstances of funding and activities taken in frames of associated projects; e.g.: consultations of the involved companies, conducting preliminary studies, etc. The lack of a long-term plan due to the lack of sufficient funding provided on time was perhaps the main factor that was obstructing the work of the NCAM staff.

Another challenge was the lack of coordination and cooperation among DIU, NCAM and other companies working in the rescue area. However, DIU (the financier) had contracts with a number of companies operating in the rescue areas, which led to the conflict of work between these companies and the national team. Moreover, the tools, equipment and transport means were limited for NCAM team (Interview No. 12).

4.2.4.2. Finance

The authorities of NCAM had to comprehend from the very beginning of the project that saving all the archaeological material in the region was impossible, which might be a dream of every archaeologist involved in such projects. They did realize that the biggest obstacle was funding, or more specifically, the lack of sufficient funds. Qualified workers and proper equipment could have been provided only with appropriate funding. Another financial issue was delays of financial payments, which reduced the rescue time (commensurate with the waiting time calculated from the time of the rescue period according to the associated project movement, which should be considered according to the conditions of the other projects associated with it) (Interview No. 5, 11).

4.2.4.3. The time factors

The issue of the time factor is connected with the fact that the time given to complete a certain work is not commensurate with the nature and size of the work. Obviously, the problem of the time factor emerged at the beginning of the project implementation. However, interviewed project participants stressed out that in case of MDASP the two main factors, the time and finances, were overlapping. There was not enough time to conduct such a huge venture because the funding was not adequate⁹⁰ (Interview No. 5, 6). Abd-Alrahman Ali (Interview No. 2) mentioned that:

[...] the second factor is the time factor in the sense that the time was too short to complete the work required, and the reason was not to save all the archaeological sites, but to develop a plan to choose some, not all.

⁹⁰ Cf. 4.2.4.2. *The Finance*.

Firstly, the estimated period of the work was too short compared to the amount of required work, whether archaeological survey or rescue excavations. Secondly, the determined funding did not match the size of the work. Additionally, there was difficulties to obtaining the funding on time.

In the case of MDASP there was no clear plan of action in the particular place or area, which additionally reduced the time for work itself. Abd-Alrahman Ali also mentioned that this caused NCAM another issue connected with the time and finance factor: limited time and limited funding. The right approach to the problem should be as follows: first step should be assigning each mission to the concession area. Then the required time should be determined, based on the predictions about the amount of archaeological materials. Assuming that the designated eight-years period is not a long enough, next step should be determining the priorities for working in the region (Interview No. 2).

Another reason, why the problem of time factor occurred during the MDASP, is the fact that NCAM was not involved from the beginning in development of the plan. Their insights as specialists in the field could have been helpful in drawing the plan. Later, as the rescue excavations in the area started, NCAM tried to intervene at DIU, requesting for the extension of deadline for the completion of excavation works, but to no avail (Interview No. 12). Firmness in dealing and not allowing the authorities in the field of archaeology to set the timeline for the plan, while allowing consultants and companies involved in the project to deal with this matter, was another problem that contributed to fewer effects of the salvage project. However, it has to be noted that saving archaeological material was at the end of the priorities in the construction plan of the Merowe Dam. As aforementioned, rescue work and its funding were imposed on the DIU, therefore it was not a priority (Interview No. 12).

However, it has to be emphasized that the impact of time may vary from archaeological mission to another. Foreign archaeological missions had their own budgets to participate in the project, which means that they did not fully rely on any financial support granted by MDASP (Interview No. 11).

4.2.4.4. The technical, human, and material potential

The scale of the venture of rescuing archaeological materials in the region of the Forth Cataract was far greater than the capacity of NCAM. It was beyond the scope of its capabilities, especially in terms of the number of cadres and technicians (Interview No. 3). In addition, they were underfunded as the DIU did not consider any large financial budgets required for this rescue. In this situation NCAM had to rely heavily on external (global) participation, following the model adopted in the Nubian Campaign in the 1960s by UNESCO.

The size of the target area was very large (about 170 km along the banks of the Nile) with high numbers of islands in the region. Moreover, the four resettlement sites for the displaced population needed to be carefully investigated, as well as the area needed to be provided with the power grid. Another issue was the fact, that there was no thorough archaeological map of the existing archaeological sites in the area of the Fourth Cataract region, which could be useful for locating priority areas at that time. However, previously there was some available information helped to build the region's action plan (Interview No. 3). Finally, the difficulty of transferring many rock art from their threatened sites were occurred, due to the lack of possibilities to move them, especially within the islands.

4.2.4.5. The storage and museums

Initially, the plan did not include construction of stores, museums, laboratories or study offices. This idea came two years after the beginning of the work, when the huge amount of artifacts was found. Then NCAM was forced to think about how to collect those materials in one specific place, such as museum or a store area, which is not located outside of the region. It has to be mentioned, that at that time, the contacts and correspondence were established between DIU and the relevant authorities in the town of Merowe, which resulted in obtaining an approval for allocating the space of the old Merowe Centre to the proposed museum (Interview No. 3). The reasons for taking such a decision were following:

- the political changes – changing the governor of Merowe County who was sympathetic to the situation;
- many regional project managers and directorates have changed;
- the problem of Sudanese absence in the old administrative legacy that inherited from the alternative administrative staff in old work system;
- the financial situation of Sudan – there was a major enthusiasm, and there were funds flowing from oil extraction before the secession of the South from the North, which was promising to solve this problem.

There was a plan to store the salvaged archaeological material in the new museums in order to study them in the future. The first stage was to build an initial museum in the city of Merowe, then a large one in the region of Fourth Cataract, as well as a museum in Abu Hamad area. However, only establishing of one museum was executed in the whole region in the city of Merowe. On the other hand, some of the archaeological materials were transferred to Sudan National Museum in Khartoum, where they were improperly kept, due to further storage problems. Therefore,

those materials have not been properly displayed and studied well yet. Until now NCAM is waiting for the museum rehabilitation through the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project to manage all the new archaeological discovered materials (Interview No. 3).

Salah M. Ahmed (Interview No. 3) summed up the storing situation in MDASP in following words:

If I can participate in any such campaign, it will be a priority for me to focus on providing a saving storage and study space for salvaged artifacts and then planning to display them in the future. Therefore, I believe that in this area a museum and archaeological centre should be created, but I think that there is no hope.

The storing of archaeological resources is one of the biggest challenges for Sudan. The system of metal container storage in NCAM, that is currently in use, started within the beginning of rescue work in the Merowe Dam project. The missions that were participating in the project faced enormous problem of transferring and storing the archaeological materials that had been rescued (Interview No. 5, 6). This prompted them to make some mistakes, which they believed were the best solutions at the time. They brought massive iron containers and placed them in the courtyard of NCAM, then they filled them with archaeological materials without including any proper storage methodology (Fig. 40). The result were fires due to the storage of some of the mission's equipment, including a kitchen tools, along with archaeological materials.



Fig. 40. The view on Sudanese National Museum. Red frames mark the metal containers (Source: Google Earth).

Further issue occurred during the pandemic time (2020). Due to long absence of missions and suspension of archaeological works, the state of the containers and the stored material was not regularly checked and evaluated. This caused the damage of a large number of materials due to the high temperature of 50°C with the lack of necessary ventilation. Further, there are many objects stored in containers or labelled with tags made of acidic materials.

The NCAM archaeological storage hall building has its own characteristics that make it different from the rest of the museum's parts. It is supposed to collect the largest amount of artifacts in the least possible space and in the same time to provide easy access to the artifacts without causing any damage to them. These conditions, that may seem contradictory, required to create a special place for the warehouses in the museum construction plan. In addition, appropriate building materials had to be chosen, directions and room divisions had to be planned. What is more, the topographical and climatic data of the site had to be taken into account. It has to be noted that when museum collections are housed in a historic structure or archaeological site, then needs of both: collection and structure have to be identified and evaluated. Taking into account the introduction of environmental controlling measures, it is critical to be aware of the needs of objects and the historic structure in which they are housed in order to avoid damage. However, storages also require specific safeguards to protect collection. The building should also be constantly and regularly monitored in frames of construction supervision (Interview No. 3).

4.2.4.6. The interest in field research – the archaeological expeditions

The field of expedition research was restricted to specific period of Sudanese history. It should be noted that most of the international archaeological missions, that were participating in MDASP, were interested in the prehistoric or medieval periods, rather than the Islamic era. However, there were some archaeological expeditions that preferred to work on specific periods of the Sudanese history. In some cases, the archaeological material in the site was overlapping different periods, but researches and archaeologist were focusing on the missions' interest, giving less consideration to the artifacts from periods out of their main scope of work.

4.2.4.7. The local community of the region

The antiquities inspector Habab, who was accompanying the joint Sudanese-French mission, stated (Interview No. 12):

From the first day of work, it was clear that some of the local residents had a negative attitude towards the Merowe Dam construction project as well as the rescue program, and they strongly refused to cooperate with DIU and NCAM.

As a result, the mission had to face many additional problems, such as the problem of housing, as the missions were unable to find accommodation in the area. Additional issue was lack of workers, which disrupted the rescue program (Interview No. 12). However, in some areas after persuading a local mayor to rent his house for mission participants, some of residents accepted the necessity of the dam construction and rescue of antiquities, perhaps reluctantly.

Nevertheless, there were others who did not accept this work, even after the construction of the dam. In most extreme cases missions had to stop their work and escape the area due to safety reasons. As a result, there have been unexplored areas such as the Dagfali region (more than 30 km on the right bank of the Nile). This area was not rescued, as local residents refused any kind of archaeological work in their area (Interview No. 11). As another example can serve region of Hajar al Bayda (right bank of the river) inhabited by Manasir community. The Hungarian mission, that was supposed to work there, did not even manage to start the work due to resistance of the local residents. They were forced to escape and move to another site (Interview No. 6).

Further, some of the local communities had objections against the female staff that participated in the archaeological fieldwork. The gender discrimination was rooted in the local cultural tradition and it took a long time to resolve this problem. It has to be emphasized that this issue should have been considered before beginning of the work, which was not the case (Interview No. 12).

4.2.4.8. The nature and weather condition of the region

Further threats and difficulties included the rugged terrain in the region, which caused difficulties in using vehicles to reach archaeological sites in the area. This is something that was not taken into account in an appropriate approach by the archaeological missions. Additional problem was the harshness of the desert climate – it is very cold at night and very hot during the day. National missions were working all year long, whereas foreign missions were operating only in winter. It could be a matter of management of the project/missions to the impact of nature. However, this experience

was a test of the capabilities and the ability of the national staff to work in harsh conditions. The problem of ruggedness of the area was very repulsive and difficult in terms of logistics, services, movement and transportation, especially before the construction of the dam and roads leading to its site. It has to be mentioned, that the National Mission's place of residence was about 50 km from the work site, and it took three to four hours to reach it at night, due to the lack of paved roads. Participants needed special arrangements and special type of vehicles, as well as cadres to operate in such a hot summer area. Another issue were insects and crustaceans that exist in the region (some archaeologists were bitten by scorpions). All the problems mentioned above caused difficulties for conducting the preliminary studies (Interview No. 11).

Another problem were foreseen environmental impacts. Studies have shown that climate changes in this region are expected. The problem is that even though this information exists, no one did anything to prepare the artifacts for it. Perhaps it may indicate a lack of prior knowledge about those changes that were expected to occur. There are sandstone pyramids and sites inscribed on the World Heritage List which are threatened with damage due to the climate change and marine composition (Interview No. 11). Another issue is the problem of groundwater that appeared in the lower part of the pyramids in Nuri after the formation of Merowe Dam lake.

4.2.4.9. The insufficient information about the region and not utilizing the potential of methods available

There was not enough information available about the region and some of the missions were afraid to go to the area for starting the work in their concession, because they knew little about it, as well as about the people of the region, especially about their way of life and customs. There were extreme cases, when some of the missions started their work and the locals destroyed the excavation trenches. Some mission even had to escape from their areas because local groups were against the archaeological works and they were threatening the mission participants (Interview No. 6).

During the Fourth Cataract rescue campaigns archaeologists focused on salvaging knowledge about the deeper past of the Fourth Cataract region. It must be mentioned, that while conducting the research for this dissertation, I analysed documents and satellite imagery from the MDASP Campaign, as well as unpublished data from both: GAME and PAM⁹¹. I discovered that there are certain archaeological sites that were not recorded and therefore not excavated, and as a result not rescued. On the maps⁹² the three types of sites: Gdańsk Archaeological Museum (G), Poznań Archaeological Museum (P) and not listed (N) are presented accordingly (Fig. 41-49).

⁹¹ I am very grateful to both institutions for providing me unpublished data.

⁹² Source of all background imagery (Fig. 41-49): <https://www.google.pl/intl/pl/earth/> [Access on 23.07.2019].



Fig. 41. Location of recorded sites by Gdańsk Archaeological Museum (G) and Poznań Archaeological Museum (P) based on GPS coordinates acquired during survey in MDASP.

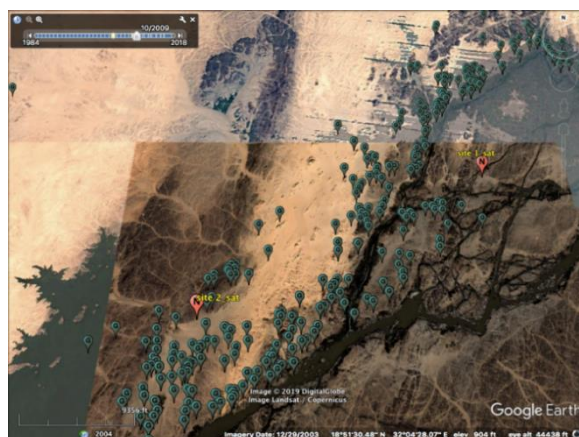


Fig. 42. Location of archaeological sites recorded by Gdańsk Archaeological Museum (G) based on survey in MDASP before flood and unlisted site (N) using GPS coordinates.

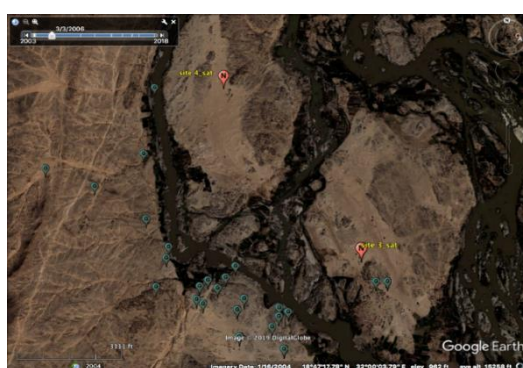


Fig. 43. Location of unlisted sites (N) in MDASP.



Fig. 44. Location of unlisted sites (N) in MDASP.



Fig. 45. Location of unlisted site (N) in MDASP.

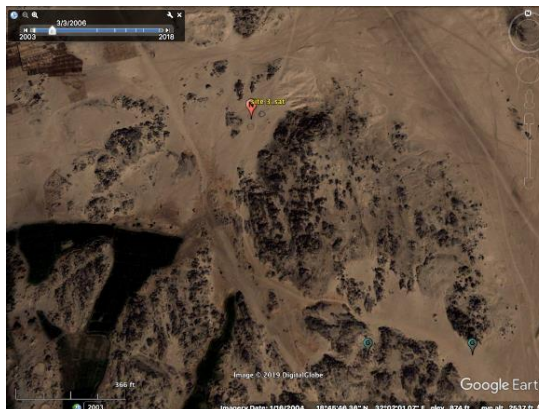


Fig.46. Location of unlisted site (N) in MDASP.



Fig.47. Location of unlisted site (N) in MDASP.



Fig. 48. Location of unlisted site (N) in MDASP.



Fig. 49. Location of unlisted site (N) in MDASP.

I raised this issue not to blame Polish archaeologists (!) but to illustrate that during MDASP (or its preparation phase) the full potential of already existed methods and available data was not used. High resolution satellite imagery was a very good background for data presentation due to lack of precise topographic maps at scale 1:25000 or 1:10000. Widely available satellite imagery allowed to skip this problem. The issue was the lack of skills in archaeological interpretation of remote sensing data (aerial photographs, satellite imagery) on both sides: NCAM administration and involved missions.

4.2.5. Conclusions

In years 2002–2003 the government of Sudan initiated the construction of the Merowe Dam that was meant to improve economic situation of the state. The developmental project was connected with establishing the biggest hydroelectric plant in Sudan. The side-effect of building the dam was creation of artificial lake, that would cover under water many archaeologically undiscovered sites. Therefore, NCAM along with DIU launched the salvage project MDASP, involving foreign and national archaeological expeditions in rescue activities.

The field work of MDASP was largely limited to salvaging the archaeological materials

of the region through determining the type of site, the time period, and then rescue and collecting archaeological materials as samples for study. The side effects of the construction of the Merowe Dam were not limited to the effects of the area in which it was built only, but also extended to the historical monuments such as Nabta, Nouri, Barkal, and others.

The major challenges, that the project faced, included the ruggedness of the area and the lack of complete information about it. Another issue was lack of sufficient fundings for archaeological rescue works, as the participating missions had to provide the necessary funding for their activities by themselves. Important problem was also the necessity to displace a large number of the population and to compensate the affected inhabitants. This venture did not meet with acceptance, which contributed to hindering rescue work. Further issue was the time factor – due to limited time not all planned antiquities could have been rescued.

However, many archaeological materials have been preserved, which can be displayed in regional museums in the future. Many of the materials, that were donated to participating missions, were also displayed in international museums, which served to enhance the international community's knowledge of Sudanese antiquities. Furthermore, the project achieved great success in training national staff and building a national team to work on archaeological rescue projects. It has to be emphasized, that for the first time NCAM almost independently planned and launched the project, without external support. It was also the first time when independent national mission (from NCAM) was actively taking part in the project. The MDASP contributed to building the spirit of confidence among the Antiquities Institution in Sudan in its ability to plan better archaeological rescue works in the future.

MDASP was another lesson in topic of preparing and organising huge rescue projects in Sudan. How much Sudanese archaeologists, politicians, managers could learn from this lesson? Comments (in form of interviews) presented by several people involved show that many issues were already recognised and identified.

4.3. Nubian Campaign vs Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project: a comparison

The Nubian Campaign and MDASP were two major large-scale archaeological projects undertaken in 20th and 21st centuries in Sudan, as thoroughly described above. Although the two ventures are 40 years apart, we can still observe both: similarities and differences in management strategies and approaches applied in analysed projects. I will present the comparison of two major rescue archaeological projects conducted in Sudan in this part of my thesis. The aim will be to detect solutions that can be seen as improvements (lessons learned) that differ the Nubian Campaign

and MDASP, as well as to seek for weak points that still need to be resolved in future large-scale archaeological rescue projects in Sudan.

When it comes to similarities between the two projects, it has to be noted that no specific international charters were applied in the Nubian Campaign or MDASP. The main legal basis in both cases was constructed based on the national Antiquities Ordinance. Nevertheless, what had happened during the both large rescue projects in Sudan (response to the appeal of protection Nubian's antiquities by many institutions and member states of UNESCO, later response to the launch of MDASP) expressed the faith and commitment of many of participating countries that applied the guidelines of the conventions and supported heritage preservation.

Furthermore, I can observe similarities between the Nubian Campaign and the Fourth Cataract Salvage Project in regards to management of concessions. In both cases Antiquities Service (NCAM) carried out a reconnaissance of the target regions and prepared a brochure containing information about available sites for archaeological concession. Then the survey and test excavations begun with the assistance of the Antiquities Service in the most threatened areas, and was followed by surveying by foreign missions. The national and international expeditions were applying almost the same approaches to locate and salvage the archaeological material. Moreover, the division of obtained archaeological material was performed in similar way, i.e. the participating missions were entitled to receive part of rescued antiquities.

When it comes to methods applied in the conservation, in both projects I can observe cutting and transferring rock art from threaten area. This technique was applied in both projects without further plan for conservation and restoration of this collection in NCAM.

Another similarity that can be observed in both analysed projects is the inappropriate approach to storing. The archaeological finds of NCAM are usually kept in museums storage rooms, additionally excavation teams might have their own storage in the mission house or in buildings of the archaeological site. There are a lot of archaeological materials brought from the Nubian Campaign and MDASP that are still placed in the corridors, containers and courtyard of NCAM, much of it in the open air. Moreover, some materials are kept in archaeological sites or mission's homes under the pretext of studying and missions procrastinate their return to NCAM (due to high costs of transportation and lack of storage capacity at NCAM).

The differences between the Nubian Campaign and MDASP can be observed already in the preparation phase. In case of the Nubian Campaign Sudanese government represented by Sudan Antiquities Service asked for international support and they turned to UNESCO with a request for aid in attracting the international community as well as outlining and organizing the rescue project. It was UNESCO that launched the appeal for salvage of the Sudanese Nubian monuments. However, in MDASP the Sudanese government represented by NCAM in collaboration with DIU launched

the appeal by themselves.

Further difference between both projects is provision of funds. In planning the Nubian Campaign, due to the lack of funds, experience and technical abilities of NCAM, UNESCO took over the financing of the project. In the MDASP, DIU financed the archaeological fieldwork of the national missions, whereas the international archaeological missions that participated in the project had to come up with their own funding.

The issue of assigning concessions was also handled differently. In MDASP this problem was tackled much better, compared to what happened in the Nubian Campaign 1960–1964. During MDASP concessions were divided with cooperation and according to missions' interests, whereas during the Nubian Campaign foreign expeditions were forced to work in locations that did not correspond with their interest or experience. At that time the situation was caused by the decision of the UNESCO Committee, which was responsible for the distribution of concession areas⁹³. As a result, some missions felt that there was a distinction between them. The difference between the approaches in both analysed rescue campaigns resulted from the fact that most of the sites in the Nubian Campaign were stable (Pharaonic, Meroitic, Christian temples and churches, e.g. temple of Abu Simbel). In comparison to the Forth Cataract area, most of the antiquities were unclassified, excluding the rock drawing and Christian fortresses (no large monumental structures were there to be saved) (Interview No. 7).

Moreover, what differ two described projects, is the approach toward intangible heritage. In the Nubian Campaign there was no clear plan developed to protect the intangible heritage. This was changed in the MDASP, where a plan was developed to record and some actions were undertaken to save the intangible heritage in the Fourth Cataract area.

Another differentiating issue is the maintenance and restoration work. In the plan to save the Nubia monuments, there was a prepared plan to transfer the temples and reconstruct them in the National Museum garden. In addition, there was a clear strategy for removing the wall paintings, restoring them, and then displaying them in the hall of the National Museum. In case of MDASP no plan has been drawn up for conservation and restoration works.

The table (Table 9) juxtaposes the approaches taken in different areas of large-scale rescue projects of the Nubian Campaign and MDASP, and specifies if we can observe subsequent improvement between the two ventures.

⁹³ Cf. subchapter 4.1.3.2. *Selection of concessions and sites for archaeological excavations.*

Issue	Nubian Campaign	MDASP	Improvement
Attracting international community to the large-scale project	Sudan government asked for international support; appeal launched by UNESCO	NCAM lunched appeal by themselves	Yes: lesson learned (more independency gained)
Legal basis	Ordinance for Antiquities; no international legal base	Ordinance for Antiquities; no international legal base	No: no lesson learned (need to orientate actions according to existed international charters)
Project funding	UNESCO took over financing	DIU provided funding for national missions; other missions had to take care of their own fundings	No: no lesson learned (no central project funding organized/available)
Concessions strategy	Antiquities Service carried out a reconnaissance of the region and prepared a brochure containing information about available sites	NCAM carried out a reconnaissance of the region and prepared a brochure containing information about available sites	No: similar solution introduced
Selection of archaeological concessions	Archaeological expedition interest	Archaeological expedition interest	No: similar solution introduced (limited impact on the scale of research)
Surveys	non-invasive methods: aerial photographs, maps, descriptions and photographs; survey of the dam area conducted by Sudan Antiquities Service and Museum (SASM)	non-invasive methods: aerial photographs, maps, descriptions, photographs and GPS coordinates, satellite imagery; survey of the dam area conducted by NCAM	Yes: use of newest available technology (but not to full extent)
Excavations	excavations of the dam area conducted by Sudan Antiquities Service and Museum (SASM)	excavations of the dam area conducted by NCAM	Yes: use of newest available technology (but not to full extent)
Expeditions	Mostly foreign archaeological expeditions	Foreign and some national archaeological expeditions	Yes: lesson learned (involvement of national institutions is results of training and gaining practical experience by national cadres)
Conservation	Transferring monument (temples, mural paintings and rock art) with a well-structured plan for conservation	Transferring monument (pyramid, rock art) with no conservation plan	No: no lesson learned (setback in area of conservation)
Storing and museum	No storing plan	No storing plan	No: no lesson learned (need to develop and/or adopt storing methodology still exists)
Documentation	including photography and detailed drawing documentation	including photography, detailed drawing, GIS, satellite imagery documentation	Yes: use of newest available technology
Publication	conferences and publications	internet publication – conducting more conferences and publications	Yes: use of newest available technology

Local communities (public archaeology, social issues)	No clear plan was covering all aspects, no recognition of public archaeology	No clear plan was covering all aspects, no recognition of public archaeology	No: no lesson learned
Salvage of intangible cultural heritage	No clear plan was conducted	Plan was conducted for collecting part of intangible cultural heritage	Yes: lesson learned
The promotion of the idea of rescue campaigns	Media momentum	Media momentum (publicizing the project)	No: similar solution introduced

Table 9. Comparison of approaches in the Nubian Campaign and the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project.

In general, there is a visible improvement in many areas between the Nubian Campaign and MDASP. The progress is especially noticeable in the sophistication of approaches in regards to recording locations of sites using aerial photographs, map descriptions, photographs, and GPS coordinates, as well as referring to satellite imagery. In addition, there is a great progress in training researchers and students in archaeology, especially Sudanese ones, which is manifested in NCAM gaining more independency in organizing the project and in the involvement of more national archaeological institutions in rescue work. It has to be emphasized that in the time between the Nubian Campaign and MDASP the expertise of NCAM's employees increased and NCAM managed to build a national team to work on future archaeological rescue projects.

However, the comparative analysis showed that there are still areas, where Sudanese archaeology could improve when it comes to conducting large-scale rescue projects. The wider, international context is also changing so it is worth to take it into account for future planning. I will discuss those issues thoroughly in the next chapter.

5. Perspectives for the large-scale of archaeological rescue projects in Sudan

Saving and preserving archaeological heritage is essential to a knowledge of the history of mankind. In the final part of my research, I would like to introduce new, proposed model for future rescue projects in Sudan. It will be based on previous chapters describing the results of the analysis of the Nubian Campaign and the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project, as well as various sources related to major rescue projects. Another crucial source of information are the results of the interviews with participants of the rescue works that took place in Sudan. I will also take into consideration the national and international conventions and legislations related to the large rescue projects. Moreover, the experience I gained during my study in Europe, that allowed me the exchange of knowledge with international specialists and fellow researches, will be additional asset that supplements my perspective. All above mentioned sources serve as basis for creating a new concept that may contribute to the development of future rescue projects in Sudan and make them more effective, sufficient and goal-oriented.

The main objective of this chapter is to prepare and list directions for future large archaeological salvage projects in Sudan. I will present the terms of legislation and assess the impact of studies, contributors and interviews. Furthermore, I will discuss the most efficient methods, adopted by most experience archaeologists and regional projects' managers from Europe and North Africa. Ultimately, I will introduce the effective system of archaeological heritage protection, study and publication of endangered sites in Sudan.

5.1. Current challenges in the large-scale of archaeological salvage projects

In the 21st century, increasing public interest and involvement in archaeology have ensured that the relationship between archaeology, heritage and the public have become a separate and independent discipline. Nowadays, rising of global issues in rescue archaeology are affecting the way we see and use the past (or rather knowledge about the past). For example, transformation of the world's political economy over the past century has endangered many societies, as well as threatened the tangible and intangible forms of heritage that are important for providing a sense of place and identity. The study of projects financed by the World Bank in the developing world has caused displacement of objects and exodus of a large number of people, due to the construction of dams, urban projects, cultivation and transportation infrastructure projects (Cernea, 1996: 300).

According to the study, in the early 1990s about 300 new high dams (above 15 m) entered construction each year in the world, displacing about 4 million people. Moreover, urban

and transportation infrastructure projects initiated each year entailed the displacement of about 6 million people on average. Consequently, at least 10 million people in both sectors are displaced by a new set of development programs each year (Cernea, 1996: 300). Many of those people suffer as their basic human and environmental rights were violated. Ethnic nationalism, globalization, energy development, urban renewal also threatens the heritage of millions of people.

In general, heritage is associated with power and control over a community's collective memory, which revolves around choices about what to preserve and protect from this heritage. There are many issues that show many complications related to the creation of a diverse and comprehensive world heritage. Hence, creating a sense of place, while communities, regions and the world become more homogenized in the new global economy, presents a challenge. The recovery, celebration and interpretation of the past are necessary components of sustaining identity and creating a sense of place. The representation and inclusiveness on a global scale are increasingly important issues that heritage professionals must face. Therefore, an innovative and functioning model for the large scale of rescue archaeological projects is necessary, as it will help future researchers and decision-makers to provide a high-level protection to the endangered heritage and will enable to preserve it for future generations.

5.2. Introduction to the new model for the large scale of rescue archaeological projects

The proposed new model for the large scale of rescue archaeological projects in Sudan is constituted of five complementary elements (Fig. 50). It is presumed that the common base for all actions connected with salvage projects is general legislation: national regulations and international conventions. The subsequent phases, that have to be undertaken in frames of any project, are: project preparation, project in progress and post project activities. A separate component is public awareness, which influences, and should be taken into consideration, especially during phase of preparations and post project activities. In further divagations of this chapter, detailed and direct recommendation for each component will be thoroughly described and presented.

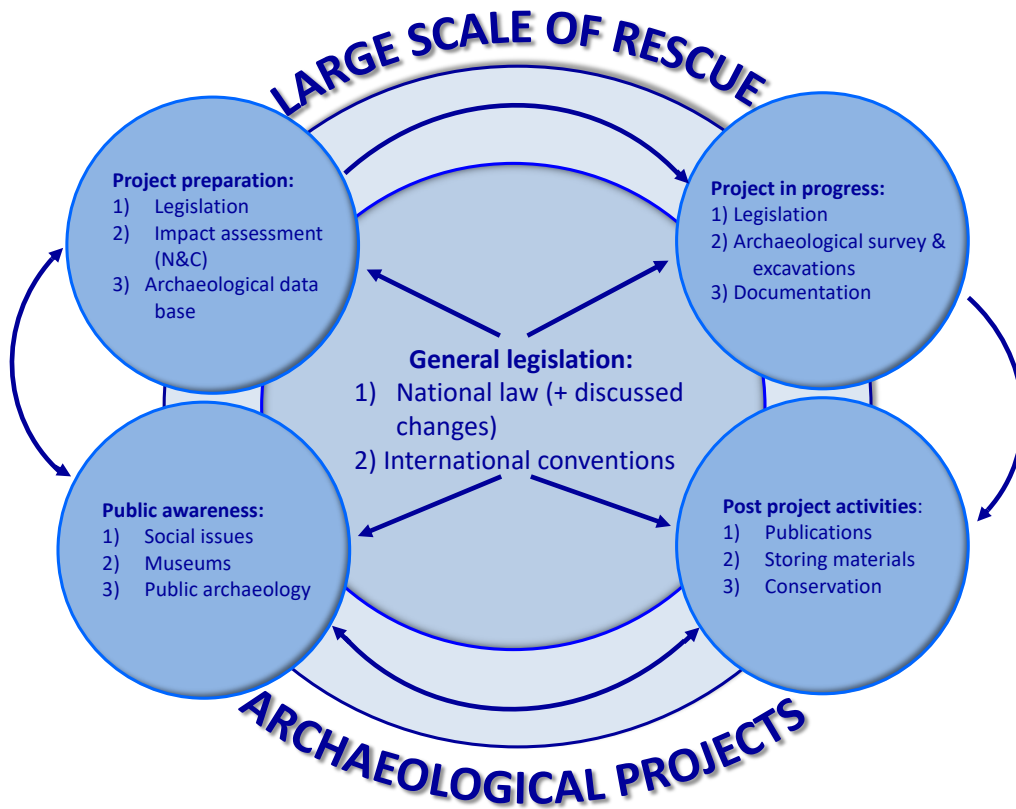


Fig. 50. New model for the large scale of rescue archaeological project

5.3. General legislation in the large-scale of archaeological salvage projects

In this part, I will present the general legislation, that should establish a base for the large-scale archaeological salvage projects in Sudan. The focus will be laid on Sudanese national law, especially the role of NCAM, along with the international conventions, that contain universal guidelines for modern archaeology. It has to be noted, that the Republic of Sudan has ratified a number of international treaties affecting or relating to culture and heritage. These international treaties are not constitutional law and currently have no direct force in planning or other approval decisions. Nevertheless, ratifying or signing international treaties represents a promise on the part of states to abide by the principles of those treaties. In general, principles that were codified more than 100 years ago and continue today in World Heritage conventions and recommendations should be respected.

5.3.1. National law. The role of NCAM

In 1991 the former Sudan Antiquities Service was restructured and became the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums⁹⁴. According to the *Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999*, Chapter 2., Article 4.2., NCAM is the official government institution responsible for the protection of heritage and archaeological work in the country, including the World Heritage sites of Meroe and Jebel Barkal, as well as 16 museums. It is also the administrative institution that is responsible for the implementation of the terms of national antiquities law. The further responsibilities of NCAM are: encompassing the regulation of all archaeological surveys, excavations, preservation and scientific study of Sudan's archaeological and ethnographical heritage, as well as curation and presentation in museums. All the obligations were listed in details in Sudanese *Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999* (Appendix 3).

The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums contains three main components: Archaeological Survey, Museum Section, and Laboratory for Conservation and Restoration (Fig. 51).

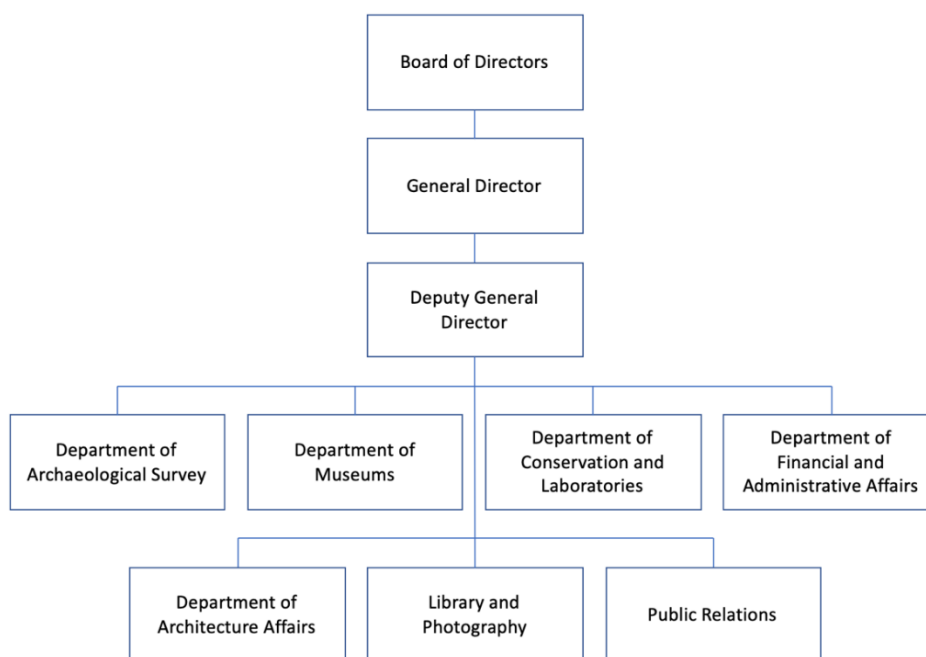


Fig. 51. Administrative units of the current organizational structure of NCAM.

There are certainly many recommendations to management plans for large rescue projects available already, but there is no binding model or index for consulting department for management plans in NCAM. Therefore, the respective contents should be orientated towards the World Heritage property and its specific particularities, as well as toward existing laws and procedures at the national or regional level (Bandarin, 2015: 40).

⁹⁴ Cf. subchapter 2.3. *Archaeology in independent Sudan (since 1956)*.

The Department of Archaeological Survey (or the fieldwork section) undertakes archaeological surveys and excavations or rescue excavations as necessary according to the conditions of various development projects. It supervises fieldwork of national and foreign missions and guards' sites containing significant (monumental) remains and those at which excavations are being undertaken⁹⁵. This work is carried out by an appointed staff of NCAM – antiquities officers and inspectors. The sites are guarded by appointed site guards and the Antiquities and Tourism Police.

The Museum Section is responsible for establishing, managing and developing the museums sector in Sudan. It is dealing with antiquities in terms of documentation, storage and arranging exhibitions in various museums. Another responsibility is the administration of regional museums and the establishment of new museums in all parts of the country. Moreover, it provides service and technical advice to national institutions for the establishment of specialized museums and supervises the establishment of internal and external temporary or permanent exhibitions. Basically, the artifacts from excavations become part of museum's permanent collection. These objects may remain in storage for research and study purposes. Further it can be placed on permanent display, form part of temporary exhibitions within the National Museum or may be allocated in regional museums within Sudan or lent to museums abroad for temporary exhibitions.

The Laboratory for Conservation and Restoration section is responsible for the conservation and restoration of movable or immovable antiquities in the whole country. Its cadres also participate in work with archaeological missions in archaeological fieldwork. Besides, they are taking part in the continuous monitoring and restoration of monuments at archaeological sites. The section's activities are closely integrated with the Museum section, especially when it comes to monitoring of objects in storages, on display and the conservation of items when required.

The general powers and authority of NCAM can be summarized in administration of Sudanese antiquities and everything related to it, whether in museums, storerooms, archaeological sites, rescue excavation, above ground or underground, etc. However, one of the most important parts of NCAM's role is dedicated to protection and raising awareness of Sudan's heritage for the population (NCAM administrative law of 1991). From the formal point of view NCAM's structure fulfil the basic needs

⁹⁵ The Department of Archaeological Survey was established as a distinct section of NCAM. It was entrusted with the task of conducting a complete archaeological research over the whole country. The main goal was to systematically record and describe all remains (architectural and others) that are either remarkable for their antiquity, or their beauty or their historical values. The results should be published as scientific reports in the *Kush: Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums*. The department also grants licenses for the foreign missions to conduct archeological works after meeting necessary conditions listed in the *Antiquities Ordinance 1999*, as well as provides necessary information for foreign archaeological expeditions wishing to obtain a concession for surveying or archaeological excavation in Sudan, and then follow up the work of these missions to ensure the safety of the methods used in surveying or excavation, in accordance with the *Antiquities Ordinance of 1999*.

to manage future rescue projects – only proper tools are necessary.

It has to be emphasized that The Council of Ministers in Sudan on the 25.02.2007, on its session No. 8, approved the decree establishing of the General Authority for Antiquities. During the meeting the reference was made to the powers of the General Corporation for Antiquities and Museums as the corporation to supervise all antiquities and related matters, including the tasks of discovery, excavation, maintenance, conservation, preservation, coordinating the activities of international missions and implementing (predominantly international) rescue projects as well as the establishment and management of museums. As I mentioned, NCAM is also involved in the state's infrastructure projects before they are started. Its role is to identify factors for planned development, and define how they relate to laws connected with the protection of archaeological materials and antiquities, as well as with local community's cultural heritage and the environment.

There are also further national legislations related to the protection and management of Sudanese cultural heritage, attached to other ministries and institutions in the country, e.g.:

- Documents Act 1982, Amendment 2005;
- Customs Law 1986, Amendment 2010;
- The Antiquities Ordinance of 1999 (currently under amendment);
- Tourism and National Heritage Insurance Police, 2003;
- The Interim National Constitution of 2005 (laws issued under the 2005 constitution remain in force unless they are amended or repealed);
- Regulation for the development of culture in Sudan for the year 2007 (Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports);
- Constitutional Document for the Transitional Period, 2019.

However, one of the most important obstacles in rescue work in Sudan is the establishment of regional antiquities laws⁹⁶ which intersects with the National Antiquities Law of NCAM in many legislations related to regional museums and field work for foreign missions and tourist missions. It has to be ensured that these legislations will be consistent with the currently National Antiquities Laws of NCAM for planning rescue archaeological projects.

⁹⁶ According to the Constitution of 2005, each region of Sudan can issue its independent regulations considering heritage and tourism.

5.3.2. International conventions

The cultural heritage strongly expresses national identity, which makes humans a group with their own characteristics that distinguish them from other groups. Damaging the antiquities of any country is a general harm to the common human heritage of all, and many countries of the world have sought to provide broad protection for antiquities through the development of common laws to protect these antiquities, especially from vandalism, wars, illegal trade, etc. The enactment of international laws enabled reaching this goal, considering that any encroachment against antiquities is an attack on humanity as a whole. International conventions or agreements in the field of cultural and archaeological heritage preservation were drafted and adopted, based on the request of International Member States. The aim was to develop international standards that could serve as a basis for drawing up national cultural policies and strengthen cooperation among them.

The archaeological heritage in Sudan represents the regional and international value, as within its lands ancient civilization had been developing through ages. Therefore, the field of archaeological work in Sudan is also considered one of the most attractive and active research opportunities that bring scholars from abroad, as it opens a wide gate for universities, higher education institutes and museums. The characteristics of cultural heritage, the values associated with it and subsequent policies for its protection and treatment have been referred to various international documents – charters. These charters are issued by many governmental and non-governmental organizations in the field of heritage, such as UNESCO, ICOM⁹⁷, ICCROM and ICOMOS.

Historically, one of the most important agreements concluded by the international community is *the Paris Convention* of 1815, which provided the protection of museums and artistic works of any country. Another important document is *the Hague Convention* of 1907, which included laws and customs to protect antiquities during conflict. The artistic property was also protected under *the Geneva Convention* of 1949, which prohibited hostilities against antiquities, works of art, and places of worship that constitute cultural heritage. Further, *the Hague Convention* of 1954 concerned the development of special provisions for cultural property during armed conflicts. The international community has tried to conclude many international agreements in order to impose international protection for antiquities on the shoulders of the parties to the armed conflict in order

⁹⁷ International Council of Museums (ICOM) is an international organization affiliated with UNESCO, based in Paris. It was founded in 1946 by experts and museum curators. It currently includes about thirty thousand members of museum curators and specialists from more than 137 countries around the world. Its aim is to develop museum work and face the challenges facing workers in this sector (cf. <https://icom.museum/en/about-us/missions-and-objectives/> [Access on: 22.11.2023]).

to limit encroachments on antiquities during armed conflicts and to prevent the use of antiquities in military operations.

Nowadays, one of the most crucial and still valid agreements is *the Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*. It is a set of guidelines, drawn up in 1964 by a group of conservation professionals in Venice, that provides general principles and an international framework for the conservation-restoration of cultural heritage, in particular historic buildings.

Further, in 2003, The General Conference of UNESCO adopted *the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Its adoption was a milestone in the evolution of international policies for promoting cultural diversity. It was the first time when the international community recognized the need to support cultural manifestations and admitted, that so far they had not benefited from a large legal and programmatic framework. The first evaluation of the Convention in the preliminary findings showed that in many countries Government institutions lack the financial and human resources to successfully implement the Convention. However, understanding the concepts of the Convention often remains a challenge, both at the Government and community levels. This is especially evident when it comes to inventorying, design and implementation of safeguarding measures, cooperation with other States Parties, preparation of nomination files (both national and multinational), community consultation and participation in all of these areas⁹⁸.

The recommendations from international conventions, that archaeologists should involve in planning the large-scale of rescue archaeological project, are summarized by UNESCO as *Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations*⁹⁹. According to the resolution, the term *rescue archaeology* refers to archaeologists standing behind bulldozers and trying to salvage what they can. However, with preventive archaeology, archaeologists are now in front of the bulldozers. Excavations are integrated within the planning of the entire development project: they became a part of the project, planned in advance, and therefore will not disrupt the pace of planned construction (Demoule, 2012: 612). The lesson of international conventions for the protection of cultural heritage is the moral commitment of states towards human heritage. This commitment contributes significantly to creating a sound environment for the development of heritage preventive conservation strategies. It is also an important step to establish rules for future work in rescue projects to save the archaeological heritage threatened from destruction and to contribute to the enactment of national laws and legislation that are in line with the global trend in preserving heritage.

For the future large rescue projects in Sudan it is crucial to ensure that the international laws

⁹⁸ Cf. https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/Press_Kit_13COM_EN.pdf [Access on 8.06.2023].

⁹⁹ *Records of the General Conference. Resolutions* (1956), UNESCO: New Delhi.

will be officially incorporated into planning. The necessity is the greater, as NCAM is establishing diplomatic relations due to relationship with the archaeological missions that have continued their work in Sudan in the field of archaeology since the Nubian Campaign. Currently, the number increased to more than 30 archaeological missions. Ensuring that universal guidelines are followed during conducting a large-scale project will strengthen Sudan's position on the international archaeology stage and will show that Sudanese archaeology is keeping pace with modern approaches.

Recommendation included in following international treaties must be taken into account in planning joint rescue projects:

- Convention on the Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage (1972):
 - Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage (Art. 4.);
 - each State Party to this Convention shall endeavour, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage (Art. 5c);
 - each State Party to this Convention shall endeavour, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage (Art. 5d);
 - The States Parties to this Convention recognize that such heritage constitutes a world heritage for whose protection it is the duty of the international community as a whole to co-operate (Art. 6.2);
- European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, Valetta (1992):
 - The archaeological heritage shall include structures, constructions, groups of buildings, developed sites, moveable objects, monuments of other kinds as well as their context, whether situated on land or under water (Article 1.3.);
 - Financing of archaeological research and conservation (Article 6): Each Party undertakes:
 - I) to arrange for public financial support for archaeological research from national, regional and local authorities in accordance with their respective competence;
 - II) to increase the material resources for rescue archaeology:
 - a) by taking suitable measures to ensure that provision is made in major public or private development schemes for covering, from public sector or private sector resources, as appropriate, the total costs of any necessary related archaeological operations;
 - b) by making provision in the budget relating to these schemes in the same way as for the impact studies necessitated by environmental and regional planning , for preliminary archaeological study and prospection, for a scientific summary record as well as for the full publication and recording of the findings;
- Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, Granada (1985);
- Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO (2003):
 - Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development at the national level (Chap. 6.);
- Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter 1987);
- Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990);

- Charter on the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage (1996);
- International Cultural Tourism Charter (1999);
- ICOMOS Charter – Principles for the analysis, conservation and structural restoration of architectural heritage (2003);
- ICOMOS Principles for the preservation and conservation/restoration of wall paintings (2003).

Aforementioned international conventions emphasize the need of protecting the cultural heritage of any country and provide detailed and thorough framework for the large scale of rescue archaeology projects. Any actions taken during such project should reflect premises included in those documents.

5.4. Preparation of large-scale archaeological salvage projects

This part is dedicated to the preparation stage of large-scale archaeological salvage projects. Appropriate legislation that should be applied in this step will be discussed. The necessity of creating archaeological database for the project as well as relevant methods will be presented.

5.4.1. Legislation applied in project preparations

According to *the Venice Charter*, regarding the protection of archaeological heritage, in Article 3. *Legislation and economy*, it is mentioned as follows¹⁰⁰:

The protection of the archaeological heritage should be considered as a moral obligation upon all human beings; it is also a collective public responsibility. This obligation must be acknowledged through relevant legislation and the provision of adequate funds for the supporting programmes necessary for effective heritage management.

In regards to the archaeological salvage activates, NCAM usually organizes national and international campaigns to save the antiquities threatened by the state's infrastructure projects. The international support is highly appreciated and needed due to the lack of NCAM's financial capabilities and understaffing. In case of small projects, it usually sets up a team consisted of representatives from three sections: Archaeological Survey, Museums and Conservation Departments. The team is then assigned to conduct all necessary tasks. However, it has to be mentioned, that still a lack of communication and cooperation between NCAM and the government can be observed, especially when it comes to coordinating planned infrastructural development

¹⁰⁰ Cf. https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/venice_e.pdf [Access on 2.03.2023].

projects, with adequate strategies of rescue archaeology. Protection of Sudanese cultural heritage should be a common objective of the Sudanese nation and it cannot be reached without cooperation of the administrative party and the NCAM. Therefore, it is crucial to improve the communication between NCAM and government. Only in this way timely and appropriate preparation and conduction of rescue archaeological projects can be ensured.

The Antiquities Ordinance of 1999 stipulates in Article 10. 1-2 (Appendix 3) that NCAM should be involved before embarking on the implementation of development projects in the country. The developer should pay the cost for excavations, it does not matter public or private (it is often a private company but it may be also be a state agency that finances or undertakes works affecting an archaeological site or a monument). The developer is obliged to operate within legal framework of NCAM. This means that the archaeological entity undertaking the excavation is not free to choose the excavation object, the extension of investigation or the methods involved in the excavation. Management planning should focus on values, using them as an explicit basis for decision making. The decisions about these in general are instead based on cultural heritage management (CHM) and NCAM's laws connected with it.

Basically, NCAM gives the investor existing documentation from database archive, however, they should also discuss with investor what might be the cost of operation, what should be conducted by archaeological expedition, as well as if an additional survey applying new possible methods to update information is necessary. This will help NCAM to recognize the existing heritage. It is also possible to use the advanced experiences that were used in major rescue projects in the region.

Only under such circumstances the NCAM authorities can gather precise data related to the targeted areas and schedule an effective plan of preserving endangered monuments. In order to provide the most efficient service, NCAM reaches out to international archaeological community with call of rescue. This step however is preceded by administrative and political arrangements related to foreign affairs and diplomatic issues, such as discussing the executive aspects of entry permits, residence fees and permissions for transportation within the country. Others important issues are cancelling archaeological research license fees and providing incentives, e.g. granting foreign missions some discovered archaeological materials for display in the museums of their country according to the indications of *the Antiquities Ordinance of 1999*, Article 26. 1, 28. 2-3. Security aspects and facilities for the missions that may affect extending the time of the project also have to be discussed.

In conclusion, the project preparation phase should be ideally organized according to national regulation (*The Antiquities Ordinance of 1999*). In the first step, the interested party, that is planning any developmental or infrastructural investment, should contact NCAM and inform them about planned venture in order to discuss potential risks and draft a rescue archaeological project

that will precede any endeavours. As the next step, NCAM within its organization and staff should undertake necessary actions to prepare a rescue plan and, if needed, look out for international support for the large-scale rescue projects. After all arrangements are made, the rescue work can begin with the feasibility study – collecting the assessed information about the project, its location, objectives, implementing agencies and financing. Next steps should include drawing up a work plan, defining the needs and requirements for the campaign appeal, or starting the fieldwork under supervision of the NCAM's cadres (in small rescue projects).

5.4.2. Impact assessment (N&C)

A very important aspect of preparation phase for large-scale rescue project is treating the local community as a stakeholder. One of the most crucial issues is determining the impact of the project to inhabitants in the area of archaeological sites. The recommended approach for involving residents is introducing “notice-and-comment” (N&C) method. The project draft should be presented and discussed with the local community of endangered area. The feedback of public opinion should be taken into consideration in order to prepare the final version of the project plan.

Assessing the impact of the project to local community and involving them in the preparation phase through N&C methodology can lead to many benefits for all interested parties. On the one hand, it helps the project management to avoid obvious mistakes and unintended errors. On the other hand, considering inhabitants as valid partner in discussion increases the legitimacy of resulting rules from the community's perspective. This results in more sustainable compliance and better cooperation during the project as the local residents feel that their needs and opinions have been recognized and appreciate that authorities protect public and private interests¹⁰¹.

However, the risks connected with involving community as stakeholder include their refusal to cooperate or demanding cancelling the project at all. In this case the responsible body (NCAM or developer) should introduce mediation measures that would allow to find a compromise satisfactory for both sides.

5.4.3. Creating digital archaeological database

Nowadays, we can observe a dynamic development of modern tools and methods practiced in archaeology that can be applied in the preparation phase of the rescue project. This is due, in part, to the *Valletta Convention*, as it obliges all signatory states to regulate preventive archaeology in their

¹⁰¹ Cf. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/notice-and-comment-and-business-regulation-in-the-developing-world-the-promises-and-pitfalls-of-digital-technology/> [Access on 20.11.2023].

countries. It is concerned in particular with arrangements to be made for co-operation among archaeologists and regional planners in order to ensure optimum conservation of archaeological heritage¹⁰². In Article 3.I.b¹⁰³ of *Valletta Convention* it is recommended to use non-invasive methods for 'scientific investigation' as they are quick, reasonable, exhilarating and extensive, e.g. aerial photography, satellite imagery or precise documentation (geophysical methods) combined with field walking survey, etc. At the level of 'rescue' those methods should play important role at the stage of preparation. The focus should be laid on quantitative data, lab works and scientific analysis.

While preparing database for the project, it is favourable to use recently invented tools and techniques in salvage archaeology projects. Right methods with a good selection of innovative tools and techniques is an indication for meticulous preservation of the past for the future. Correctly applied, they can improve the preparation phase of the project. The relevant rescue methods, recommended for large scale project in Sudan, can be put into following categories: research design, selecting sites, using technology for documentation, excavation, collecting and ordering artifacts.

A thorough research design is a first and necessary step in order to rescue a site in a sufficient and effective way. A proper archaeological database is the right tool that will support preparation of the research design. The main purpose is to track all the possible methods that will help to discover archaeological sites and artifacts. Next step is determining the archaeological sites and selecting suitable survey: aerial photographs, satellite imagery, field walking, geophysical methods, etc. It has to be emphasized, that remains from prehistoric times may contain organic and nonorganic materials and they can undergo immediate destruction when exposed to atmosphere. Therefore, applying Non-Destructive Techniques (NDT) like the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) are potentially the most suitable methods. The study and analysis of the best methods and techniques, that could be used in the present and future rescue archaeology in Sudan, shows that the remote sensing can be important and valuable tool as well.

In conclusion, access to proper archaeological database is a crucial requirement for the project preparation phase. *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* (1990), Art. 4¹⁰⁴ stipulates that:

¹⁰² Valletta or Malta Convention reflected to the change in the nature of threats to the archaeological heritage, which now came less from unauthorized excavations, as in the 1960s, and more from the major construction projects carried out all over Europe from 1980 onwards. It established a body of new basic legal standards for Europe, to be met by national policies for the protection of archaeological assets as sources of scientific and documentary evidence, in line with the principles of integrated conservation. It established a body of new basic legal standards for Europe, to be met by national policies for the protection of archaeological assets as sources of scientific and documentary evidence, in line with the principles of integrated conservation (cf. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/valletta-convention> [Access on: 22.11.2023]).

¹⁰³ Cf. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/valletta-convention> [Access on: 22.11.2023].

¹⁰⁴ Cf. https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/arch_e.pdf [Access on 02.03.2023].

The protection of the archaeological heritage must be based upon the fullest possible knowledge of its extent and nature. [...] inventories [must] constitute primary resource databases for scientific study and research.

In conclusion, there are at least two levels: 1) the project's database and 2) the national database. In the current situation (lack of a suitable database based on spatial technologies – GIS) it is necessary to build local databases but following current recommendations. In parallel, the government (NCAM) should work on a “national database” that also follows international standards (as example can serve National Archaeological Database – NADB)¹⁰⁵. Therefore, it is very important for future archaeological endeavours in Sudan, that NCAM ensures creation of the Sudanese national database of the highest quality and easily accessible (digital database).

5.5. Large-scale of archaeological salvage projects in progress

In this part I will focus on projects in progression phase. I will also discuss recommendations of appropriate legislation that should be applied in this stage. I will mostly emphasize the recommended methods for archaeological survey, excavations and documentation.

5.5.1. Legislation applied for large-scale archaeological salvage projects in progress

In an attempt to discuss trends that could be proposed as new legislation to regulate archaeological rescue work in Sudan, it is important to start with the consideration of national and international cultural heritage legislation as an appropriate context for salvage project.

Although Sudan is considered one of the earliest countries to become a member of UNESCO, it was very slow in ratifying many international conventions concerned with the protection of cultural and archaeological heritage. On 13th July 1970 Sudan ratified the first *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention* (the Hague, 14th May 1954). Then, on 6th June 1974, *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* was signed by Sudanese authorities (Paris, 16th November 1972)¹⁰⁶. It was the first international codification of the protection of antiquities. This agreement sought to identify, protect and transfer antiquities of universal value to the next

¹⁰⁵ Cf. <https://core.tdar.org/collection/31020/national-archeological-database-nadb> [Access on 03.04.2024].

¹⁰⁶ Cultural heritage includes man-made structures like palaces, buildings, forts, temples, mosques, tombs, sculptures and historical places, whereas, natural heritage includes natural features like mountains, forests, deserts, rivers, trees, plants, animals, etc. According to Article 19.: *Any State Party to this Convention may request international assistance for property forming part of the cultural or natural heritage of outstanding universal value situated within its territory.* Cf. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> [Access on 08.03.2023].

generations, in accordance with specific conditions and criteria adopted in the principles of implementation of this agreement¹⁰⁷. It indicates the need for states to join hands in the protection of heritage:

[...] However, The States Parties to the Convention, by joining hands to protect and cherish the world's natural and cultural heritage, express a shared commitment to preserving our legacy for future generations.

Considering that deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world,

Considering that protection of this heritage at the national level often remains incomplete because of the scale of the resources which it requires and of the insufficient economic, scientific, and technological resources of the country where the property to be protected is situated [...]¹⁰⁸.

The agreement also provided for the establishment of a fund for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage called the “World Heritage Fund”, and the resources of this fund consist of voluntary and compulsory contributions paid by member states, payments and gifts provided by other countries or organizations, donations organized for the benefit of the fund.

The Commission ratified *the World Heritage Convention*, which one of main objectives is to identify specific cultural or natural heritage sites that will be nominated for inclusion in the World Heritage List. Being included on this list is considered a factor of progress in protecting the country's archaeological heritage. However, to be eligible, cultural heritage must be of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’, and the qualitative criteria for nomination to the World Heritage List are set out in the guidelines for the application of *the World Heritage Convention* (Chapter IIIC, paras. 134-139)¹⁰⁹. Ratification of this Convention by Sudan may greatly assist NCAM in providing the necessary support for future rescue and preservation projects that threaten its sites, especially those already registered on the heritage list. It should be noted that Sudan has made progress in the archaeological heritage preservation program by registering the most important archaeological sites in the World Heritage List. Moreover, ratification of the Convention provides the opportunity to exchange scientific advisory expertise with institutes and institutions specialized in heritage protection.

Sudan also ratified following international agreements: on 7th January 2005 *the Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Waterfowl Habitat* (Ramsar, 2nd February 1971), on 19th June 2008 – *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. *The Convention on Cultural and Natural Heritage* stipulated in Article 8. the establishment of an intergovernmental committee for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage at UNESCO called the “World Heritage Committee.” The World Heritage in Danger list includes the costs of operations necessary to preserve this heritage, and the committee decides the measures to be taken regarding these requests.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> [Access on 08.03.2023].

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (2023), <https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/> [Access on 25.01.2024].

(Paris, 17th October 2003), on 19th June 2008 – *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (Paris, 20th October 2005). Finally, in February 2019, the State Party started the process of ratifying the 1970 Convention, as well as the second protocol of the *Hague Convention*. After Sudan ratified these international treaties and agreements, it became obligated to implement them on the ground by linking them to Sudanese legislation that falls in the same field with them. Perhaps the ratification of all these treaties did not widely deal with archaeological rescue work, but they can be directly used in planning future rescue projects, particularly in the term of local communities, documentation and nominating archaeological sites for the World Heritage List. It can also be an opportunity to benefit from the expertise and financial support that can be employed in recording, monitoring and maintaining archaeological sites threatened by infrastructure projects.

What is more, in regard to archaeological rescue projects, NCAM can benefit from *Valletta Convention* (1992), especially since most of the countries that ratified it have missions and treaties involved in archaeological work in Sudan.

The necessity of adopting and recommending appropriate international legislations in the large-scale rescue archaeological projects in the progression stage can be derived from *the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage* – Article 6¹¹⁰:

- [...] ii. to increase the material resources for rescue archaeology:
 - a. by taking suitable measures to ensure that provision is made in major public or private development schemes for covering, from public sector or private sector resources, as appropriate, the total costs of any necessary related archaeological operations;
 - b. by making provision in the budget relating to these schemes in the same way as for the impact studies necessitated by environmental and regional planning precautions, for preliminary archaeological study and prospection, for a scientific summary record as well as for the full publication and recording of the findings.

5.5.2. Archaeological surveys & excavations

The archaeological sites in Sudan are discovered by several different methods, among them the one of most popular is the field-walking survey. Sometimes archaeological materials, that indicate possible site, are found coincidentally by regular people. Archaeological surveys are usually followed by excavations, which require accurate specialization. One might assume that the abundance of archaeological material and documentation was in some way responsible for the development of new quantitative methods and techniques used in archaeology (Demoule, 2012: 6).

Referring to *the Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage*, adopted and ratified by ICOMOS in Lausanne – Article 4, 5, 15. Survey, Investigation

¹¹⁰ Cf. <https://rm.coe.int/168007bd25> [Access on 6.03.2024].

and Excavation¹¹¹, NCAM should adopt following recommendations:

Article 4. Survey

The protection of the archaeological heritage must be based upon the fullest possible knowledge of its extent and nature. General survey of archaeological resources is therefore an essential working tool in developing strategies for the protection of the archaeological heritage. Consequently, archaeological survey should be a basic obligation in the protection and management of the archaeological heritage. At the same time, inventories constitute primary resource databases for scientific study and research. The compilation of inventories should therefore be regarded as a continuous, dynamic process. It follows that inventories should comprise information at various levels of significance and reliability, since even superficial knowledge can form the starting point for protectional measures.

Article 5. Investigation

Archaeological knowledge is based principally on the scientific investigation of the archaeological heritage. Such investigation embraces the **whole range of methods from non-destructive techniques through sampling to total excavation**. It must be an overriding principle that the gathering of information about the archaeological heritage should not destroy any more archaeological evidence than is necessary for the protectional or scientific objectives of the investigation. Non-destructive techniques, aerial and ground survey, and sampling should therefore be encouraged wherever possible, in preference to total excavation. As excavation always implies the necessity of making a selection of evidence to be documented and preserved at the cost of losing other information and possibly even the total destruction of the monument, a decision to excavate should only be taken after thorough consideration. Excavation should be carried out on sites and monuments threatened by development, land-use change, looting, or natural deterioration. In exceptional cases, unthreatened sites may be excavated to elucidate research problems or to interpret them more effectively for the purpose of presenting them to the public. In such cases excavation must be preceded by thorough scientific evaluation of the significance of the site. Excavation should be partial, leaving a portion un-disturbed for future research.

Article 15. Excavation

Excavations should be carried out in accordance with scientific standards and the recommendation defining international principles to be applied in the case of archaeological excavation adopted by UNESCO in 1956.

Ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features and of objects discovered must be taken. Furthermore, every means must be taken to facilitate the understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning.

What is more, further recommendations can be found in the new fields developing within archaeology, such as Excavation Recording Systems (Moullou, Vital, Sylaiou and Ragia, 2024: 114):

Archaeological research relies on excavation as a fundamental process to access and interpret archaeological material, which serves as a rich source of information about past events and societies. Excavation is essentially a scientific procedure conducted to retrieve and observe material remains associated with past human activities. It is a process that involves not only data collection but also the creation of a detailed record, transforming the excavation site into a valuable information archive. Despite the destruction of the physical artifacts during excavation, the documentation and systematic recording of findings are considered essential as the excavation is viewed as an «unrepeatable experiment».

¹¹¹ Cf. <https://www.icomos.org/en/participer/179-articles-enfrancais/ressources/charters-and-standards?start=22> [Access on 6.03.2024].

Further important step for establishing a modern approach for surveys and excavations in Sudan would be adopting recommendations from *Valletta Convention*¹¹²:

Acknowledging that the European archaeological heritage, which provides evidence of ancient history, is seriously threatened with deterioration because of the increasing number of major planning schemes, natural risks, clandestine or unscientific excavations and insufficient public awareness;

Article 1

- ii. for which excavations or discoveries and other methods of research into mankind and the related environment are the main sources of information; and
- iii. which are located in any area within the jurisdiction of the Parties.

Article 3

To preserve the archaeological heritage and guarantee the scientific significance of archaeological research work, each Party undertakes:

- i. to apply procedures for the authorisation and supervision of excavation and other archaeological activities in such a way as:
 - a. to prevent any illicit excavation or removal of elements of the archaeological heritage;
 - b. to ensure that archaeological excavations and prospecting are undertaken in a scientific manner and provided that:
 - non-destructive methods of investigation are applied wherever possible;
 - the elements of the archaeological heritage are not uncovered or left exposed during or after excavation without provision being made for their proper preservation, conservation and management;
- ii. to ensure that excavations and other potentially destructive techniques are carried out only by qualified, specially authorised persons;
- iii. to subject to specific prior authorisation, whenever foreseen by the domestic law of the State, the use of metal detectors and any other detection equipment or process for archaeological investigation.

Article 7. For the purpose of facilitating the study of, and dissemination of knowledge about, archaeological discoveries, each Party undertakes:

- i. to make or bring up to date surveys, inventories and maps of archaeological sites in the areas within its jurisdiction;
- ii. to take all practical measures to ensure the drafting, following archaeological operations, of a publishable scientific summary record before the necessary comprehensive publication of specialized studies.

Moreover, it would be crucial for NCAM to adopt following recommendation included in *Salalah Guidelines for the Management of Public Archaeological Sites*¹¹³:

1 Management Planning

1.1 Inventory and evaluation

Every effort should be made to employ cost effective, non-intrusive, and non-destructive technologies for the inventory and evaluation of cultural and natural resources. These technologies shall include, for example, direct detection of sites and resources or modelling the distribution of sites and resources.

[...]

¹¹² Cf. <https://rm.coe.int/168007bd25> [Access on 06.03.2023].

¹¹³ Cf. https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/GA2017_6-3-3_SalalahGuidelines_EN_adopted-15122017.pdf [Access on 08.03.2023].

1.1.1 Cultural resources.

An inventory and evaluation of cultural resources is the first step in establishing the feasibility of developing a sustainable management system for archaeological sites, features, and landscapes. The evaluation should address vulnerability and threats as well as importance of cultural resources. [...]

1.1.3 Infrastructure. As-built surveys and specifications and current conditions of all infrastructure should be provided, along with known or estimated numbers of users.

Infrastructure includes all buildings, utilities, roads, communication networks, and means of access and travel.

Apart from direct adoption of recommendations from international charters, NCAM should also pay attention to the newest technologies. Currently, GIS is considered an essential tool in archaeology. It is widely used for their ability to store, reference, analyse and visualize spatial information. This system can accurately identify and map the target area without destruction. Many of the tasks performed in the post-excavation period are now performed during the excavation, and GIS in this regard plays an extraordinary role as a data management tool. It also allows rapid visualizations of spatial data in the process of collection during or after excavations. Therefore, it would be with advantage for future large-scale archaeological rescue project to seek for possibilities and areas where GIS can be implemented to make the best use out of this method.

Moreover, we must benefit from the technological development that help to achieve goals of good preservation in the archaeological heritage (including all steps of the process, starting from the excavations). Examples of recommended modern methods and approaches for archaeological survey are aerial photography, satellite imagery and other remote sensing methods. In terms of using the new technologies in restoring and conservation, 3D scanning and printing can be recommended. Thanks to these methods the conservators can assess the damage, make preparational measurements and determine appropriate restoring methods.

It is also possible to benefit from advanced experiences that were already successfully used in other major rescue projects conducted in the MENA region, such as *Mapping Africa's Endangered Archaeological Sites and Monuments (MAEASaM)* and *The Aerial Archaeology in Jordan Project*. In frames of these projects governmental, national databases were created. They based on previous archaeological experiences and excavation, and what is more – during rescue excavations missions could immediately add any new information they had just discovered.

The *Mapping Africa's Endangered Archaeological Sites and Monuments – MAEASaM*¹¹⁴ started in 2021 in MENA region. The primary objective is to rapidly record and assess the state of the archaeological landscape in the Middle East and North Africa in order to create an accessible set of databases, that can be used by national and international heritage professionals.

¹¹⁴ MAEASaM is supported by Arcadia – a charitable fund of Lisbet Rausing and Peter Baldwin. Cf. <https://maeasam.org/> [Access on 8.07.2023].

The end-product of the project is Arches Geospatial Database, which is being developed with project partners and collaborators in Africa and beyond. In particular, it aims to help document and protect archaeological sites and monuments in Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Senegal, Sudan, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, in collaboration with governmental bodies and cultural institutions in these countries. The goal is to target sites that are most endangered. Next step is planning and implementing the best solutions to conserve and protect this heritage. The aims and values for this program can be summarized as follow:

- identifying, understanding and monitoring the endangered archaeology of MENA;
- creating a record of sites and monuments for each country in MENA;
- training and empowering heritage defenders in the region;
- making information freely accessible;
- helping to protect and conserve MENA's archaeological heritage;
- raising awareness and encourage informed debate;
- creating networks and sharing knowledge, within MENA and abroad;
- assisting customs and law enforcement agencies tackling looting and the illegal trade in antiquities¹¹⁵.

Another project, funded by the British Council, is *Green Heritage Project*. In its framework, a different approach had been taken. Looking to the past through the future, this concept was reformulated from an archaeological heritage management perspective, initially looking at rates of environmental, political and economic change over the past thirty years in Sudan¹¹⁶.

These projects can serve as an inspiration and role model for NCAM how to conduct similar projects in the future. It should be aspiration for what should be done in the future similar projects conducted in Sudan. Following the example of planning the project, structuring database and choosing most effective methods and approaches, Sudan can ensure to prepare and manage future projects in modern and professional way.

Currently, an understanding of the urgent need for professional expertise in the field of salvage archaeology at NCAM is growing. This is mostly due to the growing circumstance that threatens antiquities in the country. Therefore, my recommendation for improving NCAM's competences in the topic of surveys and fieldwork are following:

- adopt the approaches and strategies described in international charters;
- seek wider for possibilities to implement GIS technology;
- increase use of modern technologies such as: aerial photography, satellite imagery,

¹¹⁵ <https://eamena.org/background-and-aims> [Access on 25.02.2023].

¹¹⁶ Source: NCAM internal committee projects report, 2019.

geophysical methods, 3D scanning and printing;

- follow the models and standards implemented in international projects already conducted in MENA region.

Therefore, two recommendations can be formulated for NCAM. First of all, they should take care of getting access to these databases, as they already include data regarding Sudan. Second of all, NCAM should lay the groundworks for creation of similar database by their own. In the latter case NCAM could use experience in both areas: data collection that the project obtained or the approaches applied for managing database for planning new projects.

5.5.3. Documentation

A very important issue connected with conducting large-scale archaeological rescue project is documentation. Merriman (2010: 271) mentioned that:

If the records of excavations cannot be adequately cared for, then the rationale of preservation »by record« is challenged. It is argued that the way forward must be to achieve improved resourcing for this role.

In current and future archaeology studies the focus should be lied on developing methodologies for rescue field works in the aspect of data recording and accurate documentation, especially with use of modern technologies. Methods and techniques of archaeological documentation are selected to obtain the required information. The chosen method must be the most effective, least destructive, most efficient and economical. Hence, digital technologies' combined within GIS, e.g. application of GPS recording, photogrammetry etc., should be applied (Drzewiecki *et al.*, 2020: 235f). This should be preferred whenever appropriate, and focus should be laid on clearly defined goals. In other words, such methods and techniques should be selected, that can provide the best results in given case. It should be also possible to verify the obtained information if necessary. It is also important to evaluate gathered data in terms of objectives stated in the research. In this way we can assess the utility of the selected method. If gained results are not satisfactory, it is worth to try another approach, so that in the future the rescue efforts can be adjusted accordingly

Referring to the recommendations on international principles applicable to archaeological excavations (UNESCO, 1956)¹¹⁷, the standard of archaeological scientific documentation can be referred to the process of obtaining, recording and documenting all the available information that are related to the archaeological materials, including its natural characteristics, history, description and dimensions, forms of decorations it contains, damages or problems as well as the appropriate

¹¹⁷ Cf. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000263687?posInSet=1&queryId=N-EXPLORE-2a0affc2-75c2-4a7d-bd78-0623a205cac2> [Access on 10.03.2023].

solutions for rescuing or reconstructing. Furthermore, archaeological documentation files often include recording of the current state of antiquities (whether immovable or movable), architectural information, digital photography or line drawing. Documentation work has to be carried out by specialists, committee or mission consisted of a group of experts who have experience in the field of heritage preservation, for example: archaeologists, anthropologists, conservators, museum curators, engineers, technicians, photographers, painters, etc.

Currently, the digital documentation in rescue archaeology is one of the most necessary tools that include data connected to sites, regions, buildings and artifacts. Information should be stored in digital databases, because they are more accessible and occupy less space than traditional paper-based registration systems. It has to be emphasized, that it is necessary to prepare copies for digital storage backup. It facilitates the storage of information in an orderly and organized manner and accelerates the search for specific information. Cultural heritage sites are vulnerable and directly exposed to the constant threat of natural disasters, climate change and man-made actions, especially infrastructure projects. The protection of heritage sites is important and necessary due to their role in society in terms of preserving objects, values, and the entire cultural and archaeological heritage for future generations, allowing for representation and interpretation. The documentation methods referred to above produce a large amount of three-dimensional, pictorial, textual and numeric digital data. This data can be processed to generate different types of outputs that can be used to represent and analyse cultural heritage site¹¹⁸.

Nowadays, when the paper-based system is still in use in NCAM, the loss of archaeological materials or records of museums can result in a real disaster, as it would be difficult to recover the lost antiquities or information. Thorough the history we witnessed looting and plundering of museums (especially during various wars) that resulted in loss of the antiquities and destroying documentation. Therefore, the process of post-excavation archaeological documentation represents one of the most important primary procedures in the system of preserving and sustaining cultural heritage, as it has been subjected to devastation, destruction, damage or extinction as a result of some political or natural changes. Remote sensing methods are often the only way to recover what's left without destruction, as it is the only remaining reference for the destroyed antiquities e.g. the project of large-scale geophysical prospection of archaeological site of Soba East (cf. Ryndziewicz, 2020: 8ff).

The digital documentation system facilitates the exchange of archaeological and historical data between different departments, researchers or government institutions. This is another reason why integration of paper and digital recording and documentation is necessary. Hence, it is crucial to make digital documentation standard in Sudanese archaeology to improve the efficiency

¹¹⁸ Cf. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S2212054822000017> [Access on 3.03.2024].

and simplify the access to the gathered data for future use.

The biggest challenge connected with implementation of digital documentation in the field of archaeological heritage in Sudan is the lack of technical, financial and administrative support. Currently, the first steps towards modernization of NCAM have been undertaken – the archive in NCAM has been re-established with the aim of modernization and supporting the interdisciplinary archaeological, ethno-archaeological or historical research. It has been one of the most crucial projects conducted for rescue archaeology in Sudan and concerns the Heritage Registry & Archive Unit, that takes care of archaeological and ethno-archaeological documentation. The project developed as a result of the measures taken by NCAM for introducing digital transformation and is carried out in coordination and cooperation with a number of governmental and foreigner institutions, such as the German Archaeological Institute and the British Council (Sudan Memory Project)¹¹⁹. The goal is to initiate the establishment of a central database for recording and documenting artifacts, as well as to digitalize and link all available materials (whether those displayed in museums or exhibitions). What is more, this project works to provide the necessary information for current and future rescue undertakings, especially with regard to large development projects.

Furthermore, all relevant documentation literature related to archaeological sites should be collected, catalogued, and made available to researchers and interested parties. The statement of importance must also take this matter into account. If this is not done, this omission should be corrected as a matter of urgency.

The recommended solutions for improving documentation process, connected with activities of both: Sudanese and foreign missions within large-scale archaeological salvage projects, are following:

- both: Sudanese and foreign missions should submit reports that summarize the objectives, methods, techniques, and documentation activities; it should also include the information about repository of the materials, so in case of further research they can be accessed easily;
- the data should be accessible to broad range of users, including appropriate institutions, the professional community and the general public (the public may also benefit from this knowledge);
- the disseminating of information must be carefully balanced, sensitive information has to be protected. Its disclosure might result in damage to property or antiquities;
- adequate organizational arrangements have to be made for the preservation of artifacts, along with samples and records resulting from the investigation to ensure that these materials are available for future use;

¹¹⁹ Cf. <https://www.sudanmemory.org> [Access on 31.03.2024].

- supporting the expertise and competencies required in NCAM to fill the shortage in the field of digital documentation (training of staff in regards to digital documentation; obtaining funds for implementing new solutions).

In conclusion, the development of digital documentation technology is the highest priority. It is recommended, because it could be a chance for better documentation records of many archaeological sites and materials in the states and regional museums of NCAM.

5.6. Post-project activities

In this part I will focus on the activities in the post-project stage of large-scale archaeological salvage programs. I will discuss the issues of publications of results as well as conservation and storing of archaeological materials. Moreover, I will present direct recommendations connected with the aforementioned topics.

5.6.1. Publications

European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Valetta, 16.I.1992) touches upon the issue of publication in Articles 7 and 8. Collection and dissemination of scientific information¹²⁰:

Article 7

For the purpose of facilitating the study of, and dissemination of knowledge about, archaeological discoveries, each Party undertakes:

- I) to make or bring up to date surveys, inventories and maps of archaeological sites in the areas within its jurisdiction;
- II) to take all practical measures to ensure the drafting, following archaeological operations, of a publishable scientific summary record before the necessary comprehensive publication of specialized studies.

Article 8

- I) to facilitate the national and international exchange of elements of the archaeological heritage for professional scientific purposes while taking appropriate steps to ensure that such circulation in no way prejudices the cultural and scientific value of those elements;
- II) pooling of information on archaeological research and excavations in progress and contributing to the organization of international research programmes.

According to this recommendations, NCAM, along with foreign missions, should work together on preparing publications that would contribute to broadening the knowledge about Sudan

¹²⁰ Cf. <https://rm.coe.int/168007bd25> [Access on 2.03.2023].

within the international archaeology community and discourse.

The primary publication and documentation aspect of archaeological rescue fieldworks in Sudan focuses on fieldwork reports, most of which review nature of the fieldwork and the circumstances surrounding it. The topics of interest include also archaeological discoveries and materials with implicit references to the tools and devices used, but without going into details of the methods that were applied and the challenges or difficulties that accompanied the completion of this work. The reason why reports published by foreign scholars do not contain specific details is connected with permissions given to the foreign missions. Namely, they have the right to keep archaeological materials for ten years in order to conduct research and gather data. In this way the publications of results are usually delayed (it can take up to ten years) and do not contain a comprehensive description of the work conducted. Therefore, this regulation should be revised and adjusted in order to accelerate the time of publishing of articles that include up-to-date results and discoveries.

The overview below shows selected national and international journals that currently publish results of fieldworks in Sudan. The selection based on a subjective assessment of the importance of presented papers for scholars working in Sudanese archaeological field. It has to be emphasized that the list serves only as general overview of current publishing possibilities for researchers.

The national, scientific journal, published by NCAM, is entitled *Kush*. It has been issued since 1954. This journal publishes the scientific research related to the archaeology of Sudan and its ancient history. It has gained international fame and is one of the most distinguished scientific journals in the field of archaeology in Sudan (Al-Nour, 1990: 18).

Furthermore, the publications of Sudan Archaeological Research Society (SARS, established in 1997) has to be mentioned. Firstly, they are responsible for the annual journal *Sudan & Nubia*. Secondly, they publish in cooperation with SFDAS (French archaeological unit in NCAM) the collection of *Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication*. It is a numbered book series containing reports from the fieldworks conducted by SARS.

Another important publication connected to archaeology in Sudan is Sudanese open access journal *Arkamani*, established in 2001 by *Arkamani.net* (previously *Arkamani.org*)¹²¹ and edited by Osama Abdel Rahman Al-Nour (NCAM former director). The objective of this journal is to assist Sudanese students who are studying history, archaeology, anthropology and sociology to follow up with the results of the previous and current fieldworks, which are no longer accessible due to the present state of poverty-stricken universities and official libraries. It also gives an opportunity to publish papers in archaeology and anthropology in Sudan in both Arabic and English.

¹²¹ Due to current situation in Sudan access to the website can be temporarily limited.

A Journal of Nubian Studies (Dotawo), established 2017, is also a noticeable periodical. It was established as a platform where the old meets the new. There are papers published that dealt with archaeological, papyrological and philological research into Meroitic, Old Nubian, Coptic, Greek, and Arabic sources. It confronts also ongoing investigations in modern anthropology, ethnography, Nilo-Saharan linguistics, as well as critical and theoretical approaches present in post-colonial and African studies. It brings various disciplines together, opening a cross-cultural and diachronic field where divergent approaches meet on common ground.

Moreover, *The Journal of African Archaeology* has to be mentioned. It is an international peer-reviewed periodical academic journal. It publishes original papers addressing recent research and developments in archaeological studies on Africa. It was established by Sonja Magnavita in 2003.

What is more, there are daily newspapers¹²² that are active in publishing topics related to antiquities when some infringements occur, such as: theft of antiquities, encroachment of archaeological sites by expanding agricultural and urban projects or encroachment by local inhabitants, which has become the main threat to archaeological sites in Sudan. Additionally, there are some articles shared on social networking sites, which relate most to the historical and descriptive aspect of Sudanese civilization.

The abovementioned list uncovers the imbalance among Sudanese and international publication possibilities. The root cause of this problems lays in issues such as: the inequality of education and career opportunities for graduates in field of archaeology, the lack of sufficient experience with modern technologies related to scientific research, limited access to the literature especially in Arabic language, equipment and skills necessary to master advanced techniques for recording and analysing data and publishing research results. Furthermore, Arabic is not a widely recognized language in the international discourse on the subject. It has to be noted that Western practitioners in this field cannot read and write in Arabic, as sufficiency in Arabic language is not a requirement in Western curricula to train future archaeologists to work in the Middle East region. Therefore, it would be recommended to implement training programs (bi-lingual publications in English and Arabic languages, academic writing, use of advanced technology/devices, etc.) dedicated to development of NCAM employees and Sudanese archaeologists. A further solution would be drafting a global campaign among research to raise awareness about the importance of Arabic language in regard to conducting study in the region.

Another important recommendation in the topic of publications is to increase interest in supporting the development of archaeological documentation in the direction of digitization. It has to be mentioned that currently the task of NCAM is to publish the result of archaeological excavations

¹²² E.g.: www.alrakoba.net [Access on 18.02.2023]; www.independentarabia.com [Access on 18.02.2023]; www.suna-news.net [Access on 18.02.2023].

and fieldworks in the form of paper books or periodicals. They also issue booklets that present various archaeological topics in a simplified way. There are also collections of articles published that present results of workshops held at different institutions – universities, regional museums, which brought together Sudanese archaeology scholars, from architecture to iron production through pottery and textile industry¹²³. It would be recommended for NCAM to move forward into the direction of academic on-line publications, which will allow them to keep pace with the modernization in the publishing world. It is also an opportunity to make financial savings, as the cost of digital publication is much lower than the paper one.

It has to be noted that on-line publications (especially in open-access format) accelerate the exchange of knowledge within the archaeology community. The journals listed above are also available on-line. They were digitalized as a solution to fill the void in Sudan's archaeological resources. Most of them have free access and were created by archaeological community from different institutions that work or are interested in Sudanese archaeological heritage. However, still the most common language for publishing is English.

The on-line journals contain a lot of interesting information about recent archaeological fieldwork in Sudan, including many articles on recently undertaken surveys and excavations, which constructs another argument in favour of digital publishing. It is an ideal way to keep abreast of current archaeological activities in the country and is profusely illustrated with colour photographs, maps and line drawings with limited financial effort.

To sum up, the recommended solutions for improving publications connected with large-scale archaeological salvage projects are following:

- NCAM should work closely with foreign missions on preparing publications to broaden the knowledge about Sudan within the international archaeology community and discourse;
- revise and adjust the timeframe for publishing of results to max. 5 years after completing the work to keep the flow of the information up to date;
- organize training programs (English language, academic writing, use of advanced technology/devices, etc.) dedicated to development of NCAM employees and Sudanese archaeologists to increase the number of publications of Sudanese researchers;
- raise awareness about the importance of Arabic language in regard to conducting study in the region;
- digitalize the publications.

¹²³ Cf. <https://www.iccrom.org/news/community-museums-western-sudan-workshops> [Access on 31.03.2024].

5.6.2. Conservation

The heritage conservation is a multidisciplinary activity. However, the conservation of tangible archaeological heritage (objects or buildings) is strongly focused on materials and their treatment. The term *structures* or *building* refers in archaeology to architectural elements that are not portable, ordinarily made of durable materials such as soil, stone, or wood and other. The forms in which such structures are found range from land-levelling bedrock levels to walls, floors, houses, or even monumental buildings such as temples, pyramids, etc. This archaeological material always poses a great challenge in salvage work, as it is difficult to transport, which makes it vulnerable to damage and loss. It needs the availability of many factors to transfer it, represented in financial funding, specialized experts with experience, etc. Therefore, a solid plan should be developed to avoid such challenges.

Conservation work is the action taken to prevent decay and manage change in archaeological materials dynamically. It embraces all acts that prolong the life of these materials' cultural heritage (Feilden, 2003: 215). The former director of ICCROM Bernard M. Feilden (2003: 215) defined objective of conservation as follows:

[...] the fundamental purpose of conservation is to ensure the transmission of our cultural heritage to those who follow us, its significant messages intact and accessible to the greatest degree possible.

The base for optimal managing the conservation issue in Sudan is to be found in international conventions. NCAM can rely on the guidance mentioned in *the Venice Charter*¹²⁴ (1964) in planning future rescue projects in Sudan, which indicates:

It is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis, with each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions.

Detailed recommendations can be found in Articles 4 and 16 of the Charter¹²⁵:

Article 4. It is essential to the conservation of monuments that they be maintained on a permanent basis

[...]

Article 16. In all works of preservation, restoration or excavation, there should always be precise documentation in the form of analytical and critical reports, illustrated with drawings and photographs.

¹²⁴ *The Venice Charter*, or officially *the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, signed in 1964, led to the creation in 1965, in Warsaw, of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (ICOMOS 1965). Cf. https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/venice_e.pdf [Access on 2.03.2023].

¹²⁵ Ibid.

Every stage of the work of clearing, consolidation, rearrangement and integration, as well as technical and formal features identified during the course of the work, should be included. This record should be placed in the archives of a public institution and made available to research workers. It is recommended that the report should be published.

Further guidelines for obtaining successful conservation management in Sudanese archaeology can be found in *The Charter of the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage – Maintenance and Conservation* (1990)¹²⁶:

Article 6

The overall objective of archaeological heritage management should be the preservation of monuments and sites in situ, including proper long-term conservation and curation of all related records and collections etc. Any transfer of elements of the heritage to new locations represents a violation of the principle of preserving the heritage in its original context. This principle stresses the need for proper maintenance, conservation and management. It also asserts the principle that the archaeological heritage should not be exposed by excavation or left exposed after excavation if provision for its proper maintenance and management after excavation cannot be guaranteed.

In case of Sudanese archaeology, conservation and restoration work in NCAM is related to the competence of Conservation Department, which generally focuses on monitoring the extent of changes and deterioration that have occurred to the archaeological resources in Sudan. They are responsible for carrying out the necessary conservation and restoration works according to the abilities and capabilities of the institution. In addition, they participate in archaeological expeditions that undertake restoration work in the archaeological sites – they send the government bodies and the conservators who have been given the charges and tasks for recording and managing different archaeological resources in Sudan. In order to facilitate the supervision of conservation in the fieldwork, NCAM should prepare guidelines for national and international missions to deal with archaeological materials in a proper way. The basis for the recommendations should be national law and international conventions.

The future of the restorations work in NCAM is closely related to the archaeological rescue projects. The main challenge of Sudan's archaeological heritage management is the preservation and protection of archaeological resources, buildings and materials, thus laying out a solid plan for its preventive conservation is crucial. The first step should be gathering knowledge about the sites considered to be rescued. It will help the researchers to anticipate what kind of material can be encountered and to prepare beforehand adequate conservation methods and equipment for the materials that are to be salvaged. The better we know heritage places, the more we value them. After gaining the material, the next step should be preparing conditional report (understanding the status of the material). In archaeology, the lack of recording of the archaeological resources is considered to be equivalent to the destruction of discovered remains, and it is evident

¹²⁶ Cf. https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/arch_e.pdf [Access on 02.03.2023].

that the significance of an excavated site depends largely on the quality of documented knowledge. The last step should be determining final tools and methods to carry out the restoration works.

Another solution for conservation management in Sudan would be prevention of deterioration or indirect conservation. This would be the right direction for facing NCAM's conservation issues. It deals directly with cultural property and aims to preserve it in its present condition. It is the process of extending the life of the archaeological site and archaeological materials.

NCAM should adopt the new approaches to the conservation and management of archaeological sites and resources that are used in modern archaeology. They should consider the complexity of the social context associated with the range of values and rights involved in decision-making related to heritage conservation and take it into account. Technological, scientific and traditional methods to document and sustain archaeological heritage should be also incorporated. Applying the inspection and documentation approaches would protect the archaeological sites or cultural property by controlling the environment around them, and thus preventing the activation of damage factors through continuous periodic monitoring and maintenance.

Further solution for enhancing conservation methodology adopted by NCAM, and therefore improvement of the conditions of Sudanese antiquities, is implementing conservation *in-situ* as soon as possible. It is important to preserve the archaeological material, especially the non-tangible ones, in their original conditions (Merriman, 2010: 274):

The conservation philosophy of in situ preservation is relatively straightforward: by protecting the site from depredation, it is preserved for future generations. Increasingly around the world archaeological resource management philosophy is seeing the option of preserving sites in situ as the preferred mitigation strategy in the face of development pressures

The value of *in-situ* conservation has been already proven during the Nubian Campaign, when the antiquities were transferred to Khartoum National Museum and they faced the deterioration due to change of climate and environment, whereas the Abu Simbel temple, that was conserved using *in-situ* method, has been well preserved.

Another important issue connected with conservation is examination and documentation of materials. These processes are two complementary steps, and according to international conventions in the field of preservation, they are considered one of the most important steps in the process of preserving archaeological heritage. It helps to understand archaeological resources and their cultural values, as well as to identify conditions of the archaeological materials and the problems it faces. It assists in the decision-making process and the selection of appropriate interventions and correct methods of restoration and maintenance. It also helps to easily display information to visitors and promote the archaeological sites and facilitate researchers to obtain

information. The research and investigation are used to describe a variety of activities aimed at the acquisition of information pertinent to increasing knowledge of the current state of archaeological heritage. Recording is an essential component of research and investigation at each step and at each level of the conservation process.

There is a close link between museum and the archaeological rescue projects, represented in the basic plan for the archaeological rescue operation. Archaeological materials cannot be preserved without considering their preservation and continuity of survival, and then making them available to researchers, scholars, and the public. Therefore, museums have to be properly equipped in order to be able to receive materials rescued from archaeological rescue projects. Equipping museums in an advanced way (optical microscopy, X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, scanning electron microscope) would enable preserving archaeological material. It is an imperative that must be given priority in archaeological rescue operations (Interview No. 3). In order to ensure the high-quality preservation of antiquities, museums should cooperate closely also with the NCAM Conservation Department to follow the newest methodologies, approaches and techniques in this regard.

A further important aspect is creating a conservation database for conservation and restoration work. New technologies, such as digital databases, help to manage information efficiently and enable integration of complex and highly diversified data. Recording, documenting, and managing the information of archaeological sites and materials should be not only an integral part of every conservation project, but also an activity that continues long after the intervention is completed. It is the basis for the monitoring, management, and routine maintenance of sites (Letellier, 2007: vii). This kind of database would also be an excellent tool for drafting and preparing a management plan for archaeological sites and materials in Sudan for the future research and salvage projects.

A very important step for NCAM would be tightening the relationship with UNESCO and following the UNESCO approach. *The UNESCO World Heritage Convention* has become one of the most successful UN instruments for promoting cultural diplomacy and dialogue on cultural heritage preservation (Cave and Negussie, 2017: 1). The need for joint international action to conserve and manage cultural resources appears to be more plausible than ever before, as evidenced by the evolution of theory and practice in World Heritage conservation and more broadly in the *United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*¹²⁷. As Christos Doumas (1998: 6) points out, the philosophy of site preservation should be clearly defined and understood so that public policy aims at both: safeguarding of cultural heritage and protecting society from pointless effort and expense. Moreover, NCAM should make an effort to include more of Sudanese archaeological

¹²⁷ Cf. <https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda> [Access on 12.05.2024].

sites in the UNESCO World Heritage List (so far there are only 2 UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites in Sudan). When a site is inscribed on the World Heritage List, it is recognized as having outstanding universal value, being one of about 500 such sites in the whole world (Feilden and Jokilehto, 1998: x).

The new strategy to improve the management and preservation of archaeological heritage in NCAM must be in line with the current development of planning strategies for large-scale project, including conservation and maintenance procedures, where recording has become one of the key activities in conservation management of movable and immovable cultural heritage. The idea that economic development must be accountable and non-intrusive, and that progress cannot be achieved without accountability, must be respected. Therefore, a preservation policy must be prepared in advance in the form of archaeological rescue projects, as a strategy for implementing preservation work is prepared in consultation with the parties participating in the project. The conservation policy should identify a management structure through which the conservation policy is capable of being implemented. In developing a conservation policy for large rescue project is necessary to assess all the information relevant to the future care of archaeological materials. The strategy may include information about:

- the management structure;
- the financial resources to be used;
- the technical and other staff to be involved;
- the sequence of events;
- the timing of events;
- the necessary materials and equipment;
- the restoration work decisions;
- the training and skills development;
- the documentation and dissemination of results;
- the future monitoring and treatment;
- the means of providing security and regular maintenance.

The strategy must also allow the implementation of the conservation policy under changing circumstances.

In conclusion, in order to enhance the conservation management for large-scale rescue projects in Sudan, the following recommendations should be considered:

- NCAM should prepare guidelines for national and international missions to deal with archaeological materials in a proper way;
- drafting a solid plan preventive conservation;

- implementing prevention of deterioration or indirect conservation when needed;
- adopting the new approaches to the conservation and management of archaeological sites and resource used in modern archaeology;
- taking into account the social context of conservation;
- conducting thorough examination and documentation of archaeological materials and creating a digital database for conservation;
- tightening the relationship with UNESCO in order to increase the number of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Sudan.

5.6.3. Storing

Another important issue is archaeological storage domain, however not a lot of attention have been paid to storing within the international discourse. The *Recommendation on International Principles applicable to Archaeological Excavations* adopted by UNESCO General Conference at its Ninth Session, New Delhi, 5 December 1956, includes one of very few implications to the matter of storing (Price 1995: 11):

d) take the necessary measures for adequate, safe and secure storage facilities for archaeological finds to avoid the loss and deterioration of scientific and cultural evidence, thus causing possible illicit traffic.

While many practical and technical guides for museum storage have been published for decades¹²⁸, the storing of archaeological resources is one of the biggest challenges for Sudan. The system of metal container storage in NCAM, that is currently in use, started within the beginning of rescue work in the Merowe Dam project.

It is critical to be aware of the needs of objects and the historic structure in which they are housed in order to avoid damage. However, storage also requires specific safeguards to protect collection. The building should also be constantly and regularly monitored in frames of construction supervision.

Storing archaeological artifacts certainly needs a distinct building and certain methods, as well as specific storage is required to ensure good preservation of these antiquities and prevent them from damage. Definitely for the future large-scale project a new, modern storage, that would be constructed according to the current methodology and technology, is necessary.

There are some other factors to consider, especially regarding site requirements, layout

¹²⁸ E.g. books from the UNESCO Collection: *Cultural Heritage Protection Handbook* (cf. Biasotti and Migliorati (2006); Paolini, Stiff and Migliorati (2007).

and structural features of storage space, while planning the strategy for modern storing, for example: when long-term preservation is the only solution, a museum storage facility is preferable to on-site storage in a structure that lacks adequate environmental, security, or other control.

The proper microclimate for archaeological material preservation is one of the factors that should be taken into account. It can be achieved through housing objects in a well-sealed, gasketed cabinet. It is an effective way to create a stable microclimate within a larger storage space that may be prone to relative humidity and temperature fluctuations. There are several methods that can be used to reduce deterioration factors. For instance, using containers combined with the use of moisture-protected substances (e.g. silica gel) can further deter damaging fluctuations in relative humidity. It may also contribute significantly to light levels, whether visible or ultraviolet, easily being blocked in the storage spaces without damaging the components of the historical building. Additional conservation can be provided by the availability of a UV filter film and shutters or heavy curtains to provide a sustainable method of controlling light and minimizing temperature and relative humidity (RH) extremes and fluctuations.

There are many different storage methods used for protecting artifacts, however, to choose an adequate in the given case, several factors must be taken into account, such as: the nature of the climate, the purity of air and the nature of the collectibles. Since the collections have to be thoroughly researched, studied and tested, they should be stored in a way that makes them easy to access without causing any damage to them or others. In order to facilitate the process, the materials should be separated according to the nature and type of each artifact. Organic materials should also be kept away from natural light sources, i.e. from storage rooms that have windows overlooking the outside, and spaces should be left between artifacts to facilitate the passage of air and prevent it from stagnating.

The collected objects should be also appropriately registered, because when such records are easily available, then staff can find given artifacts quicker and work with them accordingly. The main responsibility of museum curators is to record and register arrived objects in the registration index. This proves the ownership of an object as well as records the condition and processing, including recommendation treatment reports and location. Recording condition assessments of museum artifacts in storage rooms is one of the most important works for the museum staff. They have to observe the extent of changes and deterioration that the material underwent. The condition of the object can be recorded in the museum's catalogue or database. It is worth updating the record if any alterations to the object's storage conditions are required. Nevertheless, when findings arrive at NCAM storage, they must all be recorded in the storage register and cards should be placed on them, in which all the information related to them is noted, such as: the inventory number, date of entry, nature of the object, type of material, source of the object, dimensions, a brief description

and the date of arrival. There should be two copies of the note – one should be attached to the object in the storage room and the other should be kept by the curator. The inventory number must be also recorded on the object itself so that if the object or card is lost, they can be easily identified.

Therefore, recommended storage management solution for future large-scale projects in Sudan would be moving collections to more environmentally secure off-site storage. This can greatly enhance their long-term preservation. On the other hand, it makes collections less accessible to staff and visitors on-site. Following solutions should be also considered and carefully weighed:

- long-term preservation of the object and structure;
- improving the accessibility of collections for interpretive or program needs;
- implementing multiple strategies by museums curators to make storage visible (creating a new visible storage area, which will give people an idea of what storage looks like and what is in there);
- making visible storage areas and curatorial practices, such as conservation work and scholars study section;
- choosing the right team to consult with in case of contemplating construction or planning a new storage space, renovation or upgrade;
- construct special outer enclosures or boxes to house materials separately from other collections and to protect against pest infestations;
- developing storage planning documents (the museum curators should create updating planning documents for the collection storage space);
- ensuring that only organic materials touch the items by choosing the possible methods to avoid direct contact with artifacts by using foams, acid free tissue, paper or unbleached muslin;
- keeping artifacts in different depositories, ranging from open-rack storage to high-security vaults;
- calibrating each depot's climate control to suit the particular material such as mural paintings, textiles, metalwork etc. that is kept within it;
- giving half of the space to state-of-the-artifacts conservation laboratories, which preserve and restore the objects in the museum's collection.

5.7. Public awareness

The lack of public awareness in regards to the importance of archaeological sites and the deteriorating economic situation of many residents living in and around these sites constitute a major challenge in saving endangered antiquities. It is clear that the circle of challenges,

that the archaeological heritage in Sudan has to face, has expanded in the past two decades. This is mainly due to the increase in infrastructure projects, especially the construction of dams. However, as number of threats to archaeological sites in Sudan increases, new approaches must be developed that focus more on public participation. This form of collaborative work is based on the well-established principles of public participation in protecting archaeological heritage threatened by destruction, which applies to the adaptation of reconstruction project plans and management of the country's archaeological heritage.

Therefore, it is necessary to plan large-scale archaeology rescue project with consideration of social issues and implementation of solutions that take public opinion into account. Applying new successful approaches related to involving the largest number of local community and stakeholders can result in more sufficient way of saving sites that are exposed to an increasing threat of destruction. This chapter aims to highlights recent pioneering recommendations and developments in this aspect. It also shows how public participation can have real benefits for managing endangered sites. What is more, the important role of museums in the large rescue project and the further social issues will be discussed.

5.7.1. Museums

To discuss the role of the museums in large-scale rescue archaeology projects, it is necessary to define what is understood under the term *museum*. In frames of this dissertation, the term *museum* will be used in meaning promulgated by the International Council of Museums (ICOM):

[Museum is] a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment.¹²⁹

Referring to the role of museums Merriman (2010: 272) highlights that:

[...] twin roles of the museum in both preserving and making accessible the remains of the past have always been in a certain degree of tension. The most successful method of preservation would be to store material in climate-controlled stores and allow little or no access to it; while total access to material would in most cases lead to deterioration. This tension reflects the two temporal orientations of the museum. One of these is towards future generations, for which the material should be preserved. The other is towards the present generation, which should be encouraged to use the material and the knowledge contained within it for their education and enjoyment.

¹²⁹ Cf. <https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/> [Access on 14.03.2023].

It is noticeable that museums play diverse roles in preserving archaeological sites and monuments. Some museums undertake the tasks of protecting and managing archaeological heritage themselves, especially in remote areas¹³⁰. Museums also can assist in the preservation of archaeological sites and monuments by helping to preserve archaeological materials on-site or by preserving the records of off-site investigations. Regardless of the mentioned tasks of the museum¹³¹, they also contribute to rescue projects by promoting the preservation and appreciation of archaeological sites through their displays as well as through cultural and educational programs (Merriman, 2010: 271-272).

On the other hand, it would be beneficiary for development and large-scale archaeological rescue project to invite experts from the regional museums to the planning phase of the venture. They can help to plan the strategy and advise on the materials that can potentially be encountered during the survey or fieldwork. Taking into account their knowledge about the region can result in preparing the most efficient plan for salvage activities.

It has to be emphasized that a very large part of Sudanese heritage is in museum storage and has never been seen by anyone except a few curators. It has to be noted, that in many countries of the world, there are local, regional and national museums that provide an overview of the art and culture of their area. Very often these will contain substantial archaeological collections with their own dedicated galleries and specialist staff, while in other cases the archaeological material will be under the care of a more general curator who also has responsibility for other material. Very important voice in the discussion about the community role of museum, especially archaeological museums, raises Barker (2010: 293) who notices that:

[...] archaeological museums play an active role in both preserving and shaping the public's view of the past and reflect the prospects and perils of being at once a temple to the museums and a forum for sometimes contentious public discourse¹³².

Therefore, to help rescue and preserve, but also to showcase the Sudanese heritage, is would be beneficial to establish regional (archaeological) museums near to the most important sites. In this way the public awareness not only of Sudanese culture and history, but also of the importance of salvage projects would be increased.

Furthermore, the public mission of a museum has to be emphasized. It should be achieved

¹³⁰ Sometimes, as at the ancient cities of Meroe, they are fully-fledged museums which house the material excavated from the site itself and fulfil the role of research centers, being equipped with stores, laboratories, and facilities for post-excavation processing and analysis.

¹³¹ Cf. subchapter 5.6.2. *Conservation* and 5.6.3. *Storing*.

¹³² Cf. <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.anthro.012809.105115#:~:text=Meeting%20the%20complex%20requirements%20of,both%20preserving%20and%20shaping%20the> [Access on 9.03.2024].

through educational and interactive programs tailored to target groups. Thus, museum curators should choose and develop appropriate formats and methods for transferring museum content digitally. They must also increase the organization of participatory and interactive projects with the public, and place a strong emphasis on awareness programs. An exemplary solution would be creating a platform for museum education experts to exchange knowledge and ideas, with the aim of improving the professional status of those responsible for museum management.

5.7.2. Public archaeology (within the context of rescue archaeology)

Archaeology has been a subject of public interest for centuries, and archaeological records has fascinated people for even longer. Contemporary archaeologists must communicate with the public and provide them with understandable interpretations and explanations of their research and findings. Thus, heritage protection institutions must also follow this approach, if appreciation of archaeology and the importance of archaeological preservation is to grow in Sudan.

Throughout the world, professional heritage institutions, associations and individual archaeologists have recognized the need for more and better public education about archaeology and value of relics from the past. Therefore, it is clear that NCAM faces a challenge to act in accordance with this recognition by providing opportunities for the public to learn about, and even participate in, archaeological investigations and interpretations (e.g. Marshall, 2002). The audience for these efforts includes the general public, students, teachers, legislators, public administrators, and local communities¹³³.

Recommendations on managing the public archaeology can be found in UNESCO *International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations Education of the Public*¹³⁴:

12. The competent authority should initiate educational measures in order to arouse and develop respect and affection for the remains of the past by the teaching of history, the participation of students in certain excavations, the publication in the press of archaeological information supplied by recognized specialists, the organization of guided tours, exhibitions and lectures dealing with methods of excavation and results achieved, the clear display of archaeological sites explored and monuments discovered, and the publication of cheap and simply written monographs and guides. In order to encourage the public to visit these sites, Member States should make all necessary arrangements to facilitate access to them.

¹³³ Cf. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-antiquity/article/abs/many-publics-for-archaeology/D9EE47EE5E85D13291B6A026C506E202> [Access on 12.03.2023].

¹³⁴ Cf. <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/legal-affairs/recommendation-international-principles-applicable-archaeological-excavations> [Access on 12.03.2023].

Further implications for addressing the issue of public archaeology can be found in *ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites* (Québec, 2008)¹³⁵:

Interpretation refers to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage site. These can include print and electronic publications, public lectures, on-site and directly related off-site installations, educational programmes, community activities, and ongoing research, training, and evaluation of the interpretation process itself.

[...]

International cooperation and sharing of experience are essential to developing and maintaining standards in interpretation methods and technologies. To that end, international conferences, workshops and exchanges of professional staff as well as national and regional meetings should be encouraged. These will provide an opportunity for the regular sharing of information about the diversity of interpretive approaches and experiences in various regions and cultures.

[...] the objectives of this Charter are to:

1. Communicate the meaning of cultural heritage sites to a range of audiences through careful, documented recognition of significance, through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions.

[...]

7. Develop technical and professional guidelines for heritage interpretation and presentation, including technologies, research, and training. Such guidelines must be appropriate and sustainable in their social contexts.

Furthermore, *the Valletta Convention*¹³⁶ sets guidelines for the funding of excavation, research work and publication of research findings. It also deals with public access, in particular to archaeological sites, and educational actions that should be undertaken in order to develop public awareness of the archaeological heritage value.

It is a general practice that any developmental activities by the government are also prescribed for a clearance from the archaeological point of view. However, with a respect to the issue of community's heritage and the problems of forced resettlement requirements, there may be a general agreement between the government, stakeholders and the local community about the benefits that can be gained through infrastructure and dams construction, such as: generating electric power, irrigating huge agricultural projects for millions of acres of agricultural land, providing a potable water for the locals and the large fisheries wealth. Further, the construction of dams represents an essential line of defence against floods and droughts. Therefore, the benefits of infrastructural development outweigh the cultural value of archaeological sites in the perspective of involved parties. Salah Ahamed mentioned this issue (Interview No. 3):

I believe, if anyone wants to convince any person or local government at this time to preserve the antiquities in their area, it will not happen unless that archaeological site brings them a return, and in the absence of it will be easy to forfeit it whenever needed.

¹³⁵ Cf. https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/interpretation_e.pdf [Access on 12.03.2023].

¹³⁶ Cf. <https://rm.coe.int/168007bd25> [Access on 12.03.2023].

An example of such approach for solving the issue is Egypt, where no governor or local official can encroach on any antiquity or archaeological land in the region, because they know very well that it represents a great source of livelihood for the inhabitants of the region (e.g. in tourism). For Egyptians antiquities represent a great economic income, so they must be preserved, as their revenues represent a material value greater than using their lands in agricultural projects or others (Interview No. 3).

It is clear that the threat to archaeological materials is not limited only to the circle of creating dams and flooding with water, but also to the threat from local residents and visitors to archaeological sites. Salah (Interview No. 3) believes that archaeological sites should be exploited commercially, so that people can benefit from them. For example, if people would sell products to tourists in the area near the archaeological site, then they would not allow this land to be cultivated, wasted or devastated, because it would become a source of income for them. As a result, the site will be protected, because it represents a source of livelihood for local inhabitants.

Local community problems, regarding progress of works on sites threatened by infrastructure projects, and questions about who should lead this work, are leading to stagnation in the project progression, because archaeological missions face unreasonable pressure from the inhabitants. Therefore, it is necessary to involve the local community in such projects and simultaneously involve local stakeholder groups to monitor threats to the archaeological sites.

Another crucial factor is the educational aspect that is mentioned in the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*¹³⁷:

“Safeguarding” means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.

It has to be noted that the introduction of archaeological methodology in educational settings proves to be a valuable and effective resource. Improving public understanding of archaeological heritage creates better citizens, who will be more able to make informed democratic decisions in regards to culture. In order to examine foundlings of professional archaeology, it is important to engage public more closely. It is necessary to develop and to promote the public understanding of science: to conduct and publish research; to organize and participate in conferences, scientific seminars and training courses; as well as to organize conferences abroad with the aim of extrapolating the Sudanese archaeology and heritage, especially among the community of participants

¹³⁷ Cf. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention> [Access on 14.03.2024].

in archaeological research work in Sudan and researchers in Sudanese archaeology.

Raising the level of awareness of the Sudan's heritage among the local community through including heritage education into national school system is another issue. Teaching about the importance of antiquities will lead to familiarizing students with the role of heritage and ways to preserve it. Marek Chłodnicki (Interview No. 6) also highlights the importance of education in regard to protection of the antiquities. Therefore, an important approach would be to stimulate dialogue and discussion sessions between teachers and students. Part of the curriculum should be visiting museums and archaeological sites. In this way students will have an opportunity to learn more about their identity and the civilization of their country. It will also contribute directly to the creation of a generation that is aware and proud of their country's heritage, which will give them confidence in themselves and their country. According to van den Dries (2021: 1) participation in archaeological fieldwork has active benefits for mental and physical wellbeing. Moreover, the practice of archaeology and the knowledge it generates also has the useful potential to help address important contemporary issues such as identity and connection to land and homeland.

Hence, NCAM should focus on developing its attention in presenting innovation into teaching practice: introducing heritage as a resource and archaeology as a strategy in history teaching. This approach would focus on development of educational activities and programs, based on archaeological methods and primary sources (in formal and non-formal education), as well as on the introduction of historical procedures and skills in Early Years Education and on the analysis of students' narratives. Another goal is developing close relations with universities and institutions interested in the fields of archaeology, so the students can have an opportunity to benefit from their scientific and specialized capabilities.

The approach of cooperation with local communities in Sudan in frames of large-scale rescue archaeological projects has been already applied in 2000s by German archaeological expedition working in Nile River region and Sudan National Museum in frames of cooperation between NCAM and UNESCO. At that time students' narratives were part of the research. It is based on a qualitative descriptive study of students' responses to an educational and archaeological project developed in primary, secondary and high schools. This program aimed to expand the concepts of archaeology activity as well as to analyse instructional experiences that include primary and secondary school students as active agents in the history teaching and learning process (Kleinitz and Merlo, 2014: 163).

The implications from the charters, internationally applied successful practices and the lessons learned from the German project experience can help to set recommendations for including the topic of public archaeology in the large-scale archaeology rescue projects:

- the government, stakeholders and local communities should collaborate to undertake projects at vulnerable sites, including prioritizing of actions as well as recording and updating

information;

- citizen science approach should be implemented that can contribute to the creation of meaningful public archaeology projects, where communities and professionals work together to preserve information that might otherwise be lost (Dawson, Hambly and Graham, 2017: 164);
- NCAM should adopt the concept of community archaeology that brings people into direct engagement with their surroundings, contributing to local identity and lowering the resilience;
- archaeological sites should be exploited commercially, so that people can benefit from them (e.g. in tourism);
- the public understanding of science should be developed and promoted (conducting and publishing research; organizing and participating in conferences, scientific seminars and training courses);
- heritage education should be included in national schools' curricula;
- students should be involved in archaeological activities (visiting museums and sites);
- NCAM should work to embrace and build an interested, informed and engaged community that helps promote and consolidate a broader understanding and appreciation of the public value of archaeology in Sudan. It should also work towards encouraging advocacy for the importance of the broader historical environment;
- NCAM should use the potential of archaeology heritage to help build communities, inspire place-making, improve wellbeing and contribute to local identity (van den Dries, 2021: 1).

5.7.3. Social issues

While talking about large-scale rescue archaeological projects, especially connected with planned developmental projects, the topic of social issues cannot be omitted. In this context, the biggest challenge is the problem of forced relocation. In development projects they are usually related to limiting archaeological salvage activity in the area. Through what we learned from previous projects, it became clear that the emotional and psychological connection to the land comes first among the reasons for rejection of the project. The policy of forced displacement has also proven its inability to preserve the heritage of the displaced area, due to the refusal of many of the residents to cooperate with researchers and workers in the field of heritage protection. Moreover, the problem of compensation for property, especially agricultural land, played a major role in occupying displacement areas with protests and demonstrations that reached the intensity of attacks on researchers and members of companies implementing development projects.

To solve this problem in future large-scale rescue archaeology projects, NCAM should first

of all follow the guidelines set in the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*¹³⁸:

1. The »Intangible Cultural Heritage« means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

[...]

2. The »Intangible Cultural Heritage«, as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

- a) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- b) Performing arts;
- c) Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- d) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- e) Traditional craftsmanship.

[...]

III. SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Article 11

Role of States Parties

Each State Party shall:

- a) take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory;
- b) among the safeguarding measures referred to in Article 2, paragraph 3, identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations.

Thanks to this convention definition and meaning of cultural heritage within the international discourse started to be reformulated. Intangible cultural heritage is now recognized as a valuable and integral part of people's cultural heritage. It creates the sense of identity within communities. However, in many countries governmental (including Sudan) institutions do not have sufficient funds or cadres at disposal to implement the recommendations included in the Convention. Understanding the concepts presented in the Convention also remains a challenge, both at the government and community levels. This is especially noticeable when it comes to inventorying, designing and implementing safeguarding measures, cooperating with other States Parties, preparing of nomination files (both national and multinational), and consulting community to participate in all of these areas¹³⁹.

Further recommendation is included in the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*¹⁴⁰:

To ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, each State Party to this Convention shall endeavour, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country:

¹³⁸ Cf. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention> [Access on 5.03.2024].

¹³⁹ Cf. <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/18440-EN.pdf> [Access on 14.03.2024].

¹⁴⁰ Cf. <https://www.refworld.org/legal/agreements/unesco/1972/en/35057> [Access on 14.03.2024].

- (a) to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes;
- (b) to set up within its territories, where such services do not exist, one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions;
- (c) to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage;
- (d) to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage; and
- (e) to foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in this field.

The social issues in the large-scale archaeological rescue projects mostly revolve around land problems, displacement and compensation. Thus, building social recognition of the archaeological heritage value has to be connected with enhancing awareness of different populations involved. Building community awareness of the importance of archaeological resources, antiquities and museums is crucial in Sudan. Besides, well-working and transparent cooperation between the state and its institutions is needed in order to activate the national and international antiquities protection laws approved by the state. If the law does not protect the heritage sufficiently, society must take over. The awareness-raising activities seem to be necessary and valuable as legislative acts do not contain all the information needed for different groups of people. Awareness raising, achieved by information dissemination, concerning protected archaeological resource and related issues, seems to be accelerated comparing to other possible solutions. However, in the context of the current political, social and economic situation, understanding why the measures taken are not sufficiently effective may be a key reason to facilitate the protection of cultural heritage. Therefore, the combination of informational, legal and analytical measures with coordination, organization and mutual cooperation activities is important for more effective protection and building social awareness (Sudan-UNESCO/ICOMOS World Heritage Site Report 2019¹⁴¹).

Very important lesson comes also from the testimony of people who experienced forced relocation. One of the residents, who refused to be displaced from the old Wadi Halfa area, stated during the interview that he refused to move out from his home because he found the compensation not satisfactory. However, he emphasized that his insistence on staying in the old Wadi Halfa area deprived him of communicating with his extended family for long periods, as he was not able to see his brothers and sisters, their sons, and their grandchildren for very long periods. He also mentioned that the elderly were unable to travel to see their families and grandchildren, which made them live in sadness and distress. He also regretted the loss of the beautiful city, its buildings, its farms,

¹⁴¹ Cf. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000384358?posInSet=1&queryId=N-EXPLORE-1a93d05c-c557-4d4d-8da0-8b0da3685e9e> [Access on 14.03.2024].

and the life in which it was full of joy and communication that distinguished it due to the close ties of kinship between its people. He also regretted the loss of the heritage of his country and his tribe, which he cherished. In addition, he experiences a great sadness due to the submergence of his country's antiquities, which expressed previous civilizations that they inherited from their ancestors (Interview No. 14).

In order to prevent the resistance and dissatisfaction of local community, it should be considered a party in designing the plan for the project (developmental or/and large-scale salvage archaeology). The involvement of inhabitants from the region that will undergo infrastructural changes and subsequent rescue activities should take part in preparation phase and in negotiations, especially in topics such as relocation and compensation¹⁴².

To sum up, in regards to social issues in context of large-scale rescue archaeology projects following recommendations can be formulated:

- NCAM should focus on adopting recommendations from international charters regarding resolving social issues caused by infrastructure projects;
- NCAM must cooperate with the governmental and local bodies to raise awareness about the importance of cultural heritage protection;
- local community should be involved in designing plans for project and be able to negotiate the conditions of displacing and compensating.

5.8. Perspectives and recommendations for future archaeological rescue projects

These reflections aim to contribute to filling the need for an integrated approach to understanding and managing future large archaeological rescue projects in Sudan. The experience of rescue archaeological work in Sudan (especially the Nubian Campaign and the MDSAP campaign) provided great success in expanding the concept of Sudanese archaeology in the areas in which the projects were undertaken. Sufficient evidence was also gathered to confirm that the applied planning system and strategy for archaeological activities in those projects did not provide the desired benefit in saving the antiquities, that NCAM aspired to achieve. In my studies I concluded, that the structure of the archaeological sector did not cover all the aspects required for the comprehensive realization of archaeological resource rescue projects in Sudan, and thus it indicates the space for improvement, especially the necessity of researching or encouraging innovation and cooperation in order to achieve further success in this regard. Therefore, there is a need to develop a comprehensive system that would cover the most important phases of a large-scale

¹⁴² Cf. subchapter 5.2.2. *Impact Assessment (N&C)*.

archaeological rescue project and that would serve as universal strategy for any similar future endeavours. Having a structured outline will ensure the improvement of archaeological research and practice that as a result will bring benefit in form of properly rescued, restored and displayed archaeological materials.

In response to these needs, in this thesis I have proposed the new model for future large-scale rescue projects. It implies that the common basis for any future salvage archaeology ventures should be laid in accordance with national (especially the Antiquities Ordinance) and international law (especially *The Venice Charters*, *The Valetta Conventions*, Charters issued by UNESCO and ICOMOS). Then the work should be thoroughly planned in three subsequent phases: project preparation, project in progress, post-project activities. The fifth crucial component of the model is public awareness that overlaps especially two levels: project preparation and post-project activities.

In future large-scale archaeological projects, in the project preparation phase, it will be crucial to implement the *notice-and-comment* (N&C) methodology which will allow the project organizers to assess the social impact of the venture. To ensure the success of the project it should be first presented and discussed with the local communities. The project coordinator should take into account the feedback from public opinion in the final draft.

Another aspect that will enhance the efficiency of the salvage activities undertaken in frames of large-scale archaeological projects is creation of digital archaeological databases. Development of specialized national database, that would follow international standards, will provide a great support in planning the rescue methods and techniques according to the given conditions and circumstances. An ideal database should include precise documentation based on spatial technologies (GIS), satellite imagery and aerial photographs, etc. A national database would also facilitate establishing of local project databases for future endeavours.

There is also a room for improvement in the phase of conducting the project in practice (project in progress stage). The implementation of non-destructive techniques, such as aerial and ground survey, photogrammetry, satellite imagery, geophysical methods, sampling, as well as 3D printing and scanning, should be encouraged. NCAM should also seek for possibilities to maximize the use of GIS technology. It is also crucial to improve the documentation process. The reports of missions should be unified to include all important information available in digital format. The gathered data should be also easily accessible for authorized people.

In the post project phase, the attention has to be paid to three issues: publications, conservation and storing. In area of publications, the establishing of appropriate information flow is crucial. The timeframe for publishing results should be shortened to max. 5 years to ensure that the information is up-to-date. Moreover, the publication should be available in open-access format. Furthermore, NCAM' employees and Sudanese archaeologists should be provided

with dedicated, specialized training to increase the number of publications prepared by national researchers.

The issue of conservation has to be also taken very seriously. NCAM should adopt the newest approaches to managing restoration and prepare thorough guidelines for national and international missions. The proper direction would be also tightening relationship with UNESCO in order to increase the number of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Sudan.

Further crucial matter is storing. NCAM should develop and adopt storage and documentation strategy (including proper methods and techniques of storing) to ensure long-term preservation and to prevent any deterioration of stored material. It would require establishing of new storing depositories that would be adapted to the various types of archaeological materials.

The fifth component that needs to be included in organizing any large-scale rescue archaeological project is public awareness. The key factors are here museums, public archaeology and social issues. As for museums, they play an important role in rising social awareness. They should extend their offer and include educational and interactive programs tailored to target groups. It would need also developing of appropriate formats and methods for transferring museum content digitally, e.g. in form of a platform for museum education experts to exchange knowledge and ideas.

In the area of public archaeology, it is vital to encourage collaboration among the government, stakeholders and local communities. Including all those parties will ensure creation of meaningful public archaeology projects that will result in preserving Sudanese heritage. Moreover, heritage education should be implemented in the school's curricula. It would include involvement of students in various archaeological activities. Furthermore, archaeological sites should be exploited commercially, e.g. in form of tourism. If archaeological sites create any income opportunities for inhabitants, the matter of archaeology immediately becomes an important issue for them.

Further social issues connected with developmental projects should be also taken into account. The government should follow international charters regarding resolving problems such as displacing and compensating. Furthermore, the public opinion should be taken into account and local communities should be involved in preparing any future large-scale archaeological rescue project.

The presented model in comprehensive and thorough way covers all strategic levels and spheres of large-scale archaeological rescue projects. Following the subsequent stages, with the national and international regulations in the background, will ensure efficient and successful salvage of endangered archaeological material. Focusing on preventive archaeology, strengthening the strategies for archaeology management, investing in digitalization, building strong international partnerships and collaborations as well as raising public awareness about the importance of heritage protection is the path that Sudan should follow in their future large-scale archaeological ventures. With progressing industrial development of the country, the implementation of outlined, universal

model proposed in the thesis and implementing the recommendations included, is crucial for protection of Sudanese heritage.

6. Final remarks

This dissertation tackles the problem of the archaeological resource management in Sudan. Its aim was to analyze theories, methods and contexts of past rescue projects to build a new model for salvage archaeology in Sudan, especially for large-scale archaeological rescue projects that can be universally implemented when necessary. The base for the model consists of results of critical, comparative analysis of two case studies, namely the Nubian Campaign and the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project, as well as of the information obtained in the in-depth interviews with researchers and archaeologists involved in rescue projects in Sudan.

The first step of drafting the new model for large-scale rescue projects was formulating and building the historic contexts, that allowed me to comprehend how the needs of archaeological heritage were understood in the past by both: Sudanese archaeologists and politicians as well as foreign archaeologists. I analysed and thoroughly studied theoretical visions and political views on practices related to the management of archaeological materials in Sudan since the beginning of discoveries and first actions, that nowadays could be called archaeological, until today. As a result, I observed the clear path of subsequent development in archaeological management in Sudan. The results enabled me to determine further recommendations, that later were adopted in the new model.

The process of building knowledge about the Nubian and Sudanese past and its value was long and started already in ancient times. Early travellers from Europe, Asia and Arab countries were visiting this land and writing about Sudan already in first centuries AD. They were mostly interested in the life of inhabitants, climate of the region and natural resources, however they included in their memoirs and descriptions information about history and seen archaeological remains, which contributed to building awareness about the value of Nubian heritage. Since the beginning of the 19th century, Sudan has been recognized as the source of valuable archaeological artifacts and the interest for ancient treasures had been awakened. Only in the late 19th century the first researchers and Egyptologists started to notice the archaeological potential of Sudanese remains. First excavations were conducted at Jebel Barkal in 1897 by Wallis Budge, starting the age of archaeological research in Sudan.

The beginning of the 20th century was the time when the archaeological needs of Sudan had been fully recognized and as the awareness and knowledge about Nubian past was more and more advanced, the first activities in frames of archaeological management were undertaken. At that time, under the Anglo-Egyptian rule, the first Antiquities Service was established and the first Antiquities Ordinance was released. The first half of the 20th century witnessed also the first program of salvage archaeology connected with building dams, organized by Reisner, establishing of the first museum

and beginning of scientific publications with data about the Sudanese Nubia. From this point archaeologists could start discussing the real archaeological resource management in Sudan. It has to be noted, that all these accomplishments belonged to European and American archaeologists. Only in the second half of the 20th century, after Sudan become independent, the development of Sudanese national cadres could be observed. Just 60 years ago the first generation of Sudanese archaeologist took over the responsibility in SAS, however they mostly received their education and trainings abroad. In this period, one could observe progress in Sudanese archaeology – new projects, new partners, new funds were obtained and started in order to rescue and promote the Sudanese heritage. The biggest accomplishment of this time was opening of the new National Museum and including Sudanese sites on UNESCO World Heritage Lists. Still, there is a room for improvement, especially when it comes to the education and training of future Sudanese archeologists, but the development of the archeology as study field and the archeological resource management within the last century is undeniable.

Along with the development of archaeological research in Sudan, the national antiquities protection law progressed gradually. The systematical renewal of Antiquities Ordinances (of 1905, 1952 and 1999) showed that the Sudanese authorities tried continuously to enhance the protection level of the national antiquities. It is clear that subsequent charters contained more detailed definitions and regulations that corresponded with current global trends and approaches. Along with modernization of the law, the ownership of antiquities was limited to the state, NCAM gained more authority, more comprehensive classification of antiquities was introduced, as well as the issue of licenses was more comprehensively tackled (diversifying of licenses' types and restricting rights of licensees). All this measures prove deeper understanding of the importance of heritage protection that served not only the development of national identity but also improved the knowledge about the history of mankind. However, as since the last amendment to the Sudanese heritage protection law the world and science witnessed an abrupt progress, nowadays certain gaps can be noticed in the regulations that would require further adjustments. The national law should correspond better with international heritage protection laws, especially the regulation in field of preservation and securing of antiquities should be advanced. Moreover, further crucial topics that have not been included in the current law are social and awareness issues. The proposal of *The Antiquities Ordinance of 2016* was an attempt to leverage Sudanese heritage protection law to the higher level. Although it has not been published yet, it is a sign of further progress of Sudanese archaeological resource management in general.

The outlining of historical background provided better understanding for the circumstances of two case studies discussed in the dissertation, namely the Nubian Campaign and the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project. These two large-scale archaeological rescue projects shaped

the national archaeology in Sudan, therefore their critical and comparative analysis delivered many valuable observations and conclusions that helped to structured new universal model of future large-scale archaeological salvage projects in Sudan.

In this part of my research, I identified methods and approaches applied during the Nubian Campaign and MDASP and I reviewed the criteria, laws and approaches that were applied to save the monuments of Nubia. I looked for best practices, that could be adopted, as well as for pain-points that could be solved and improved in framework of the new model. Furthermore, I determined most important challenges and difficulties that occurred during those two archaeological campaigns. It helped me to formulate adequate recommendations that would allow to avoid repeating mistakes in future large-scale rescue projects. Moreover, I identified the procedures, theories, political context and scope of foreign archaeological missions involvement that shaped both campaigns. In this way, I became more aware of different dimensions connected with management of archaeological resources and large-scale rescue campaigns that I took into account while constructing my model. What is more, I discussed, analysed and evaluated the archaeological works and materials based on the collections of artifacts stored in the Sudanese museums and NCAM. I focused on identifying the current status of archaeological material preserved in the Nubian Campaign and in the MDASP as well as observing the extent of changes and deterioration that occurred to these substances. In this way, I was able to detect conservation and preservation issues connected with both analysed campaigns and to formulate adequate recommendations for future projects to ensure the most effective and sufficient protection for rescued archaeological materials.

The pioneer large-scale archaeological rescue project, that was undertaken in Sudan, was the Nubian Campaign. It took place in 1960–1970 and was connected with heightening the Aswan Dam at the First Cataract, which resulted in flooding lands of Lower Nubia. That were the first years of Sudan independence and first years when Sudanese cadres took over the responsibility of the Sudanese Antiquities Service, therefore there were no experience, knowledge and funds within the country to independently conduct salvage project for Nubian heritage. It was decided to turn to UNESCO, newly created international organization for promoting and securing culture of mankind, for support. With its help an international project for rescuing Nubian archaeological treasures had started. In the result of the Campaign, 22 monuments and architectural complexes were relocated with the assistance of 40 technical missions from five continents.

The success of the Nubian Campaign laid in well-structured plan and preparation of recommendations before embarking on the practical work. The positive aspect was also use of the aerial photography as survey method in Sudan for such a scale. It has to be emphasized that the missions had to find solutions for such problems as removal of temples and mural paintings. Furthermore, the experiences of the Nubian Campaign allowed to change the general attitude towards

international salvage programs and resulted in preparation of new Conventions by UNESCO.

However, as it was the first Campaign of this scale, some negative aspects have to be named. Firstly, the documentation was not prepared properly. In many cases, it was inconsistent and chaotic, therefore difficult to analyze and to prepare coherent conclusions. As a result, publications of the findings were delayed for many years (the most recent publication connected with the Nubian Campaign was published in 2014!). Secondly, the project plan did not include storing, which became a crucial problem in the post-project part. It seems like the missions tried to save as much archaeological material as possible, but in the end it turned out there were not enough storing facilities available to secure the gathered artifacts. Another challenge was the conservation of all the rescued materials. As a result, some of rescued antiquities underwent deterioration and destruction due to incorrect storing methods. Thirdly, a social aspect has to be mentioned. The erection of Aswan Dam and the Nubian Campaign were connected with relocation of the local inhabitants, as their homeland had been submerged by the Nasser Lake. Moreover, these circumstances caused the loss of intangible cultural heritage of the local community.

The second analyzed large-scale rescue campaign was Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project (MDASP). It was connected with establishment of the Merowe Dam at the Fourth Cataract and took place in 1999–2007. It was the first large-scale archaeological salvage project independently planned and organized by NCAM (along with Dam Implementation Unit). In frames of the international project, teams of 10 missions were working at the endangered region to save Sudanese and Nubian heritage.

The greatest success for MDASP was salvaging a great number of archaeological materials from various periods. To the most important belong discovering and saving antiquities connected with Kingdom of Kush and unique Nubian rock art. Moreover, it proved the progress in training of Sudanese national cadres. They were able to organize the international rescue project and actively participate as independent archaeological mission.

On the other hand, there were some administrative and organizational problems that were not appropriately approached (from the current perspective). Firstly, there was no detailed plan prepared which resulted in issues connected with time management. Secondly, the storage and conservation topic were not included in the plan, which contributed later to inappropriate storing methods, thus to the deterioration of some rescued materials. Furthermore, the social factor was not taken into account, which caused many problems to the missions active on the fieldwork (reluctance, resistance and violence experienced from local inhabitants). A separate issue was the fact, that the Fourth Cataract region was barely researched before, therefore there were not enough information available before embarking on the fieldwork. Moreover, the study conducted in frames of this dissertation showed, that the potential of survey methods and tools available was not fully

utilized. Some sites were not recognized, therefore they were not rescued.

The critical comparative study of both case studies showed that there was a visible progress in many aspects in terms of organizing large-scale archeological salvage projects in Sudan. Sudanese national staff become educated, trained and experienced in the field of their responsibilities, therefore they gained more independency as organization. The progress is also manifested in the development of approaches in regard to recording locations of sites using aerial photographs, topographic maps, photographs, and GPS coordinates, as well as referring to satellite imagery. However, the comparative analysis showed that there are still areas, where Sudanese archaeology could improve when it comes to conducting large-scale rescue projects. Firstly, not only national, but also international laws should be taken into account. Secondly, the strategy for obtaining sufficient funding should be developed. Thirdly, topics such as conservation, storing and social issues should be included in plans for the project.

As solution for the current issues of Sudanese archeology, basing on the study conducted, new, universal model for future large-scale rescue archeological projects has been created and proposed.

The new model for the large scale rescue archaeological projects in Sudan is constituted of five complementary elements. The common base for all actions is general legislation: national regulations and international conventions. Then, the work in frames of large-scale archaeological rescue projects is divided into three subsequent phases: project preparation, project in progress and post-project activities. A separate component is public awareness, which has special connection to the phase of preparations and post-project activities.

As for legal basis for any rescue activities in frames of large-scale rescue projects, it should follow national (especially the Antiquities Ordinance) and international law (especially The Venice Charters, The Valetta Conventions, charters issued by UNESCO and ICOMOS). The provisions included in those charters should be a starting point for drafting strategy and plans for any future salvage campaign.

In preparation phase, two aspects are crucial: implementation of the *notice-and-comment* (N&C) methodology and creation of digital archaeological databases. The N&C method includes local community as the party in the project and stipulates that the feedback from public opinion should influence the final draft of the project plan. When it comes to the database, there is a need to develop a specialized national database, that would follow international standards. It would be a tool that could support and accelerate the planning of large-scale rescue project. Ideally, it should include precise documentation based on spatial technologies (GIS), satellite imagery, aerial photographs, etc.

The stage in progress includes two topics: archaeological survey & excavations and documentation. When it comes to the methods and techniques used in the fieldwork, non-destructive techniques, such as aerial and ground survey, photogrammetry, satellite imagery,

geophysical methods, sampling, as well as 3D modelling and scanning, should be implemented. Moreover, possibilities to maximize the utilization of GIS technology should be sought. In frames of documentation, the reports of missions should be unified and available in digital format. The data should be also accessible only for authorized people.

The post-project phase is connected with three issues: publications, conservation and storing. In the topic of publications, the timeframe for publishing results should be shortened to max. 5 years in order to ensure that the published data is up-to-date. Moreover, the publication should be digitalized and available in open-access format. Furthermore, the national cadres should be provided with specialized training to increase the number of publications prepared by Sudanese researchers. As for the issue of conservation, the newest approaches to managing restoration should be adopted. Dedicated guidelines should be prepared for national and international missions. There is also a need to tighten the relationship with UNESCO in order to increase the number of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Sudan. When it comes to storing, NCAM should develop storage and documentation strategy (including proper methods and techniques of storing) to ensure long-term preservation and to prevent any deterioration of stored material. Establishing of new storing depositories, adapted to the various types of archaeological materials, would be required.

In the dimension of public awareness the crucial topics are museums, public archaeology and social issues. Museums should serve as an organization that rises social awareness. They should extend their offer and include educational and interactive programs tailored to target groups. Adequate formats and methods should be developed for transferring museum content digitally. In the aspect of public archaeology, it is crucial to encourage cooperation among the government, stakeholders and local communities. Including all those parties will ensure creation of meaningful public archaeology projects connected with preserving Sudanese heritage. Moreover, heritage education should be included in the school's curricula. Furthermore, archaeological sites should be exploited commercially in various form of tourism. Other social issues connected with developmental projects are displacing and compensating inhabitants. The government should follow international charters in this matter. Furthermore, public opinion should be taken into account and local communities should be involved in preparing any future large-scale archaeological rescue project.

The developed and presented model for any future large-scale archaeological rescue projects is universal and comprehensive. It could be used by the Sudanese authorities as a framework for establishing strategy and plan for any developmental and industrial endeavors that could be undertaken in the future in the country. It thoroughly describes all stages of a project and includes direct recommendations that ensure the success of any venture connected with salvage archaeology. Therefore, the goal of the dissertation has been met, as the results of the research can contribute to the formulation of standard rescue strategy for any large-scale archaeological project.

The proposed solutions are derived from Sudan's experience in similar endeavors undertaken in the past, from experience of participants of those ventures, from the best international practices and from my personal experience as NCAM employee (conservator and inspector) and as participant of international courses. I have proposed a universal tool that can be applied in future large-scale archaeological rescue projects and I believe its practical implementation can ensure the most effective and efficient management and protection of archaeological material in Sudan.

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Appendix 1. Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1905

THE ANTIQUITIES ORDINANCE (1905 Ordinance No. 1)

The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905. Ordinance for making provision for the better preservation of Antiquities in the Sudan. No. 8 of 1905. It is hereby enacted as follows: Short Title.

1- This Ordinance may be cited as The Antiquities Ordinance, 1905.

2- (I.) In this ordinance

“Antiquities” mean all buildings monuments remains or objects of whatever age or people which are illustrative of art science industry history religion literature or custom and were built produced or made in the Sudan or brought there into before the year 1783 of the Gregorian Calendar,

“Immovable Antiquities” mean antiquities attached to the soil or only removed with difficulty therefrom and “Movable Antiquities” mean all antiquities other than immovable antiquities.

“Conservation of Antiquities” shall include any person appointed to officiate for or to act as the deputy of the Conservator of Antiquities and also until a Conservator of Antiquities is appointed and during any vacancy in the appointment any person appointed by the Governor General to perform the duties of the Conservator of Antiquities under this Ordinance.

(II.) The Governor General shall have power by notice published in the *Sudan Gazette* to constitute any building or other thing attached to the soil or hardly removable therefrom with difficulty which was built or made in or after the year 1783 an immovable antiquity within the meaning of this Ordinance.

Antiquities to be property of Government.

3- Every antiquity whether movable or immovable that now is or hereafter is found on or under the surface of the soil shall be the property of the Government and no such antiquity and no movable of Antiquity now in the hands of private persons shall be alienable without the consent of the Conservator of Antiquities and no person shall acquire by purchase or otherwise a good title to any such antiquity without such consent.

Power of Government to acquire Site of Antiquities.

4- The Government shall have power to acquire under the Land Acquisition Ordinance 1903 or any similar Ordinance for the time being in force the site of any immovable antiquity which is not situated on Government hands and necessary right of way or means of access thereto and also shall be entitled to render movable and to remove at any time from any antiquity which has vested in the Government under loss occasioned to the owner and occupier of the land. In valuing land for such acquisition no account shall be taken of the existence or value of antiquities which are existing or have been found on or in such hand.

Discovery of Immovable Antiquities to be reported.

5- Any person who discovers an immovable antiquity and any owner or occupier of land where an immovable antiquity has been discovered who knows of such discovery and any Sheikh or Omda who knows of such discovery and does not report the same within a reasonable time to the inspector or Mamur of his district shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment

for a term not exceeding one month or to fine or to both. A reasonable time shall mean such time as seems reasonable to the magistrate trying the case in all the circumstances thereof.

Punishment for Injury or Destruction of Immovable Antiquity.

- 6- Any person who wilfully injury or destroys any immovable antiquity without the consent of the Conservator of Antiquities or who without the consent of the Conservator of Antiquities takes possession of or removes any materials and thereby causes the injury or destruction of any immovable Antiquity or who converts any immovable Antiquity to any use which is likely to injure or destroy it or alter its character shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or to fine of to both.

Discovery of Movable Antiquities to be reported.

- 7- (I.) Any person who finds a movable antiquity on or under the surface of the soil and does not report the finding or bring or send the article within a reasonable time as hereinbefore defined to the Inspector or Mamur of his district shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment not exceeding one month or to a fine or to both.

Receipt to be taken.

- (II.) Any person bringing or sending an article as aforesaid shall take a receipt from the person to whom he delivers it.

Election of purchase to Government of Movable Antiquities.

(III.) Where an article has been reported or brought as in the last section mentioned the Conservator of Antiquities shall elect whether or not to take the article on behalf of the Government. If the Conservator of Antiquities elects to take the article he shall pay the finder if the article consists of gold silver or precious stones the intrinsic value of the article without reference to its workmanship or antiquity and if the article does not consist of gold silver or precious stones he shall pay the finder value of the article shall be fixed by the Conservator of Antiquities and his decision shall be final subject only to the right of the finder if he refuses the sum offered by the Conservator of Antiquities to appeal within three months to the Governor General.

When finder Entitled.

(IV.) If the Conservator of Antiquities elects not to take the article as aforesaid the finder shall be entitled to the article and to a statement of disclaimer from the Conservator of Antiquities and a license in writing to sell or otherwise deal the said article. Such license shall be in such a form as shall be fixed from time to time by the Government.

Excavation without permission forbidden.

- 8- Any person carrying on digging excavations or clearing whether in his own land or in another person is for the purpose of looking for antiquities except under an authorization from the Conservator of Antiquities shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for term not exceeding one year or to a fine or to both. Such authorization shall be in writing and shall specify the place where and the time within which such digging excavations or clearing may be carried on and may be made subject to any arrangement between the person to whom the permission is given and the Government as to the Government ending its right of ownership in any articles found.
- 9- No person shall sell or offer for sale any antiquity unless he holds a license in writing of the Conservator of Antiquities to sell the same. On every sale, the license shall be handed over to the purchaser and no such sale shall be valid unless such license is so handed over. Any

person selling or offering for sale any antiquity without such license or without handing over such license to the purchaser any person purchasing any antiquity without taking over such license shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to a fine or to both.

Export of Antiquities.

10- Any person exporting or attempting to export any antiquity without being in possession of the license for sale as aforesaid or of a special permission from the Conservator of Antiquities to export such antiquity shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to fine or to both.

Possession of Antiquity not obtained lawfully and in Good Faith.

11- Any person found in possession movable antiquity which he is unable to show that he obtained lawfully and in good faith shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to fine or to both.

Sebakh Digging may be prohibited

12- The Governor of a Province shall have power to forbid digging for sebakh in any place except under such restrictions as are thought fit and any person digging in any forbidden place shall be liable on conviction to a term of imprisonment not exceeding one month or to a fine or to both.

Confiscation of Antiquities

13- Any antiquity the subject of an offence under this Ordinance may be confiscated to the government by the Court trying the offence.

How offence may be Tried

14- Where an offence under this Ordinance is also an offence under the Sudan Penal Code the offender may be proceeded against either under this Ordinance or under the said Code.

Court where Offences may be Tried

15- Offences under this Ordinance may be tried by the court of a magistrate of the second class or any higher court and summarily or otherwise.

Burden of Proof

16- In the trial of any offence under this Ordinance where there is any doubt whether an alleged antiquity was built produced or made before the year 1783 the production of the written opinion of the Conservator of Antiquities that such alleged antiquity was built produced or made before that date shall throw the burden of proof that it was not so on the person alleging the contrary and if it is asserted that any alleged antiquity was brought into the Sudan since the first January 1783 it shall rest with the person making such assertion to prove the same.

Source: Durham University Archive

https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/sudan/sudan_gazettes/

Special Sudan Gazette., Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1905. Chapter II, Article 13,2. The Sudan Gazette. Published by Authority of the Sudan Government, Khartoum 24th August,190, No 80, Pp, 6 – 376-377-379

Appendix 2. Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1952

(Translated from the Arabic)

THE ANTIQUITIES ORDINANCE (1952 Ordinance No. 2)

An ordinance for making provision for better preservation of antiquities in the Sudan.

BE IT HEREBY ENACTED in accordance with the provisions of the Executive Council and Legislative Assembly Ordinance 1948 as follows:

1. Title

This ordinance may be cited as the Antiquities Ordinance.

2. Repeal and savings

The Antiquities Ordinance 1905 (Vol: III, Tit: XII, Sub-tit: 10) is hereby repealed:

Provided that all orders made or permissions granted there under and in force at the date hereof shall remain in force and be deemed to have been made under this ordinance.

3. Interpretation

In this ordinance unless the context otherwise requires “Antiquities” means

- a) any object, whether movable, immovable or a part of the soil, which has been constructed, shaped, inscribed, erected, excavated or otherwise produced or modified by human agency earlier than the year 1821 A.D. and includes any part of any such object which has at any later date been added, reconstructed or restored;
- b) any historical monument;
- c) any human or animal remains of a date earlier than 1340 A.D.

“Board”

means the Museum Board set up under section 5 of the Ordinance.

“ Commissioner”

means the commissioner of Archaeology.

“ monument”

means any building, construction, excavation, cemetery, immovable remains or immovable object produced or modified by human agency.

“ historical monument”

means any monument set out in the First Schedule hereto.

“ historical site”

means any area containing or believed to contain antiquates or any area

associated with important historical events and set out in the Second Schedule hereto.

4. Burden of Proof of alleged antiquity

In any trial or action in connection with any alleged antiquity the written opinion of the Commissioner as to the date thereof shall throw upon any person asserting the contrary the burden of proving that such is not the date and the burden of proving that any alleged antiquity was brought into the Sudan since 1st January 1821 shall rest upon the person asserting the same.

5. Constitution of Board

(1) There is hereby constitutes a Board to be known as the Archaeological and Museums Board, which shall be responsible to the Minister of Education for carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance in accordance with the general policy from time to time laid down by the Board Council of Ministers.

(2) The Board shall consist of the following members:

Director of Education

President

Commissioner for Archaeology

Secretary

Not more than 8 nor less than 4 members, to be appointed by the Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the Minister of Education.

(3) Appointed members shall serve for 3 years, but shall be eligible for re-appointment.

(4) Four members shall constitute a quorum.

(5) The Board may make rules for the conduct of its business not inconsistent with the provisions of this Ordinance.

6. Relations between Board and Commissioner

In exercising the powers conferred on him by this Ordinance the Commissioner shall be subject to the general supervision of the Board, and to such specific directions as may from time to time be given to him by the Board.

7. Property in antiquities

Every antiquity except antiquities brought into the Sudan since 1st January 1821 shall be the property of the government, but the commissioner on behalf of the Government shall have power to disclaim the ownership of any antiquity upon such conditions as the Board may approve.

8. Power of government to acquire sites of antiquities

The government shall have power to acquire under the Land Acquisition Ordinance 1930 or any similar ordinance for the time being in force any historical site and any necessary right of way or means of access thereto and shall also have power to remove any antiquity from any land and land not belonging to the government, paying only for actual loss occasioned to the owner and occupier of the land. In valuing land for such acquisition no account shall be

taken of the existence or value of antiquities which are existing or have been found on or in such land.

9. Discovery of antiquities by persons not holding a licence to excavate to be reported

The person who does not hold a licence under section 14 hereof and discovers any antiquity or any object which may reasonably be supposed to be an antiquity, and the owner or occupier of any land on or under the surface of which any antiquity or any such object has been discovered and who knows of such discovery, and any Sheikh or Omda who knows of such discovery, shall report the same within a reasonable time either to the Commissioner or to the nearest administrative officer: any such person who dishonestly omits to report a discovery shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month or to a fine not exceeding £50 or to both.

10. Punishment for injury to or destruction of antiquities or historical sites

Any person who wilfully injures or destroys any anti Punish-site without the consent of the Commissioner or who without such consent takes possession of or removes any materials and thereby causes the injury to or destruction of any antiquity or historical site or who converts any antiquity or historical site to any use which is likely to injure or destroy it or alter its character shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding £20 or to both.

11. Rights of unlicensed of antiquities

When the discovery of any antiquity by a person not holding a licence under Section 13 or section 14 hereof has been reported the commissioner may either (i) claim the antiquity on behalf of the government; in which case he shall pay to the finder.

(a) if the antiquity be an article consisting of gold or silver or precious stones, the intrinsic value of the metal or precious stones without reference to the artistic or archaeological value of the article; and

(b) if the antiquity be any other article, the market value thereof, which value shall be assessed by the Commissioner, subject to the right of a finder who is not satisfied with such assessment to appeal within three months of the tender of the assessed value to a Judge of the High Court.

or (ii) disclaim the antiquity in which case the property therein shall vest in the finder to whom the commissioner shall issue a written disclaimer and also such licence as is required by Section 18 hereof.

12. Licence necessary to explore for antiquities

No person, except the Commissioner or any person acting on his behalf, shall explore or excavate for antiquities whether on his own land or necessary not unless he hold the appropriate licence issued by the Commissioner.

13. Types of license

Licences shall be of two kinds:

(a) a licence to explore for antiquities the holder to search for antique- ties in any way other than by excavation and to make soundings or trial diggings to ascertain the probable presence of antiquities: and

(b) a licence to excavate for antiquities.

Such licences shall be valid for the period therein stated unless previously revoked and no fee shall be payable in respect thereof.

14. Issue and Conditions of a licence to explore

With the consent of the Board, the commissioner may issue, and when issued may revoke, a licence to explore to any person whom he may think fit and proper on such conditions as he may with a like consent from time to time prescribe.

15. Issue, Conditions and revocation of a licence to excavate

(1) With the consent of the Board, the Commissioner may issue a licence to excavate.

(2) If the land in respect of which a licence to excavate is applied for be not Government and the Commissioner shall before issuing a licence require the applicant to produce satisfactory evidence that he has acquired from the owner and where necessary from the occupier thereof a right to excavate.

(3) Commissioner shall not issue a licence to any person or persons except to those who

(a) satisfy him that they are prepared to expend on the excavations a sum of money sufficient to secure archaeologically

(b) satisfy him of their scientific competence: and

(c) have published, or have made adequate provision for the publication of, the scientific results of any excavations previously undertaken by them.

(4) Every licence to excavate shall be issued subject to the following conditions the licensee

(a) shall take all responsible steps for the preservation of any antiquities discovered by him; and

(b) shall deliver to the commissioner, at such time or times as the latter may require, plans of any excavations made and lists of all antiquities discovered therein and shall supply such other information as the Commissioner may require; and

(c) shall make available to the commissioner when required by him any or all the antiquities discovered in the course of the excavation.

(5) The Commissioner with the consent of the Board shall have power to annex to any licence to excavate such special conditions as he may think fit.

(6) The Commissioner with the consent of the Board may suspend or revoke any licence to excavate in the event of breach of any of the conditions, general or special, subject to which such licence was issued or if for any reason it appear to him desirable in the public interest so to do.

16. Division of antiquities between Government and licenses

(1) 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 Sudan Government Museum or for the purpose of illustrating

- the history or art of the Sudan.

(2) 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 possible equal in intrinsic and archaeological value and shall allow the licensee to choose one such group;

(3) 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 issue a written disclaimer and the Commissioner shall claim and take possession on behalf of the Government of the other group;

(4) It shall not be lawful for 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 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 license, with the consent of the commissioner, presenting any antiquity to any museum or educational institution in the Sudan.

17. Licensee to supply reproductions of antiquities vesting him

The licensee shall if so required supply such photographs, casts. squeezes or other reproductions of the antiquities vesting in him to supply as the Commissioner may think fit.

18. Licensee to publish report of his excavations

(1) Within two years of the ending of the excavations, unless such period be extended or exemption from this section be granted by the Commissioner, the licensee shall prepare and publish a report on the scientific results of his excavations and shall supply two copies of such report to the Commissioner.

(2) To ensure compliance with subsection (1) of this section the Commissioner shall have power to require from any applicant for a licence to excavate such deposit, guarantee or other security as he may think fit.

(3) The Licensee shall also supply to the Commissioner two copies of any preliminary report on his excavations that he may publish.

19. Sale of antiquities

No person shall sell or offer for sale any antiquity unless he holds a licence in writing from the Commissioner to sell the same. On every sale the licence shall handed over to the purchaser and no such sale shall be valid unless such licence is so handed over. Any person selling or offering for sale any antiquity without such licence or without handing over such licence to the purchaser and any person purchasing any antiquity without taking over such licence shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to fine or to both.

20. Export of antiquities

Any person exporting or attempting to export any antiquity without being in possession of the licence for sale as aforesaid or of a special permission from the Commissioner to export such antiquity shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to fine or to both.

21. Possession of antiquity not obtained lawfully and in good faith to be punishable

Any person found in possession of a movable antiquity which he is unable to show that he obtained lawfully and in good faith shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to fine or both.

22. Monuments and sites to be scheduled

(1) The First Schedule hereto shall contain the name, description, map reference and coordinates of all known monuments which are, or should become, antiquities and the Second Schedule hereto shall contain the like details of all known sites containing or believed to contain antiquities or associated with historical events.

(2) The Commissioner shall have power by order published in the Sudan Government Gazette to alter or delete from either Schedule and to add any monument, which is an antiquity in virtue of paragraph (a) of the definition of antiquity in Section 2, to the first Schedule or any site to the Second Schedule and shall also have power with the consent of the Executive Council by similar order to the First Schedule any monument which is not an antiquity in virtue of the paragraph aforesaid.

23. Surrender of antiquities

The Court trying on offence under this ordinance of which any antiquity is the subject shall order such antiquity to be surrendered to the Commissioner.

24. Jurisdiction

Offences under this ordinance may be tried by the Court of a Magistrate of the second class or by any higher Court and summarily or non-summarily.
Translated by Friedrich Hinkel.

Source: NCAM Archives

Appendix 3. Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999

THE ANTIQUITIES ORDINANCE (1999 Ordinance No. 3)

The Republic of the Sudan
Ministry of Tourism & National Heritage
Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999
National Corporation for Antiquities & Museums

In the name of Allah, Most Compassionate, Most Merciful
Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999

(Translated from the Arabic)

TTH NATIONAL CORPORATION FOR ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS

Chapter I **Preliminary Regulations**

1. The name of the Act and the date it is effective

This Act shall be called The Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999 and is effective on the date it is signed.

2. Revocation or exclusion

The new Ordinance cancels the Antiquities Protection Act 1952, but all regulations issued on its strength shall remain in force until they are either modified or cancelled on the strength of this Ordinance.

3. Explanation

In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the following words mean the statement before each.

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 Antiquities Corporation could for technical or historical reasons consider any premises or relics of archaeological value if there is any interest for the country in its preservation. Documents, prints, some human, animal or botanical remains are also considered as part of antiquities.

Archaeological Land:

Means the land which accommodates the site of archaeological interest, or a historical building. The limits of such land shall be defined by the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums.

Excavations:

Means all the prospecting, surveying, excavation, sounding and investigation activities for the purpose of finding antiquities deep in the earth or on the surface, or in water courses, lakes or regional waters.

A Historical Building:

Means any building or part thereof surviving from the past generations or civilisations. It becomes an object of archaeological interest according to the terms of this law.

The Director General:

Signifies the post held by the Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums.

The Discoverer:

Means anyone who finds anything of archaeological interest and includes local or foreign archaeological missions.

The Archaeological Site:

Means any site of archaeological interest defined by the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, which is established by the law of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums 1991.

The Minister:

Means the Minister defined by the Council of Ministers.

Chapter II

Antiquities and Archaeological Sites

4. Ownership of antiquities

1. All relics or objects of archaeological interest, whether buried deep in the earth or found on the surface, are considered property of the State.
2. The Corporation is responsible for the preservation of antiquities and for assessing the archaeological value of objects, historical buildings, the archaeological sites and recording such information and is also responsible for the implementation of the terms of this law.

5. The State Power to take possession of archaeological sites

1. The State is empowered, within the terms of the law, to dispossess and to take into possession any site or historical building and has the right to invalidate any right of property essential for a passage or for a road to lead to such a site. The State also has the right to take any antiquity from a land the State does not own, provided the State pays adequate compensation to the landlord or occupant of the land for the actual losses incurred.
2. On assessing the value of land in which objects of archaeological interest are found, the value of the antiquities found deep in the earth or on the surface is not taken into consideration.

6. Prohibition of disposal of objects of archaeological interest

1. The landlord is not permitted to dispose of objects of archaeological interest found on the surface of his land, nor is he/she allowed to excavate for any relics without prior approval of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums.
2. Whoever excavates or disposes of relics or objects of archaeological interest thereby acting contrary to item (1) shall be punished with imprisonment for a period not exceeding 5 years, or be fined, or receive both punishments.

7. Placing posters or notice-boards on archaeological sites

1. It is not permissible to place advertisements or posters on registered buildings of historical importance, or on sites of archaeological interest, or on museums.
2. Whoever places a notice board or an advertisement poster on a registered archaeological site, a historical building or a museum shall be fined.

8. Prohibition of any modification to historical buildings

1. The landlord of any registered building of historical interest shall make no changes whatsoever and does not possess any right to demolish the building concerned, or make any modification that may change the historical shape of the structure or its artistic character. It is forbidden to construct a new building near an archaeological or historical building without the prior approval of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums.
2. Whoever violates the regulations of item (1) shall be imprisoned for a period not exceeding 3 years, or be fined, or receive both punishments.

9. Prohibition of the use of archaeological land for purposes part from those earmarked for its utilisation

1. It is not permitted to build, or dig irrigation channels, or make a cemetery, or a water tower, or any other activity leading to the erosion of traces of antiquities on archaeological or historically registered land. Both the planting of trees and their cutting on such land is forbidden without prior permission from the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums.
2. Whoever is found guilty is liable to a fine punishment, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding 6 months, or may receive both punishments and should remove the damage.

10. Prohibition of building bakeries, laboratories or factories on archaeological sites

1. It is not allowed to build any sort of structures or roads at a distance that may affect buildings or sites of archaeological interest without the prior approval of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums.
2. Developmental projects may be initiated after the completion of archaeological studies and surveys provided the benefiting parties bear the expenses incurred by the studies, surveys and salvage operations.

11. Site admission powers of the staff of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums

1. It is possible for any staff member of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums to enter any archaeological or historical building or land that contains antiquities for the purpose of inspection, observation, mapping, research or taking photographs. But he/she shall observe the conditions of inspection stated in the procedures of the Sudanese criminal law 1991, provided somebody else owns the land or the building.
2. Whoever objects or hinders the staff member of the Corporation to exercise his/her powers as stated in Article 11 (1) shall receive prison indictment for a period not to exceed a year, or a fine, or both punishments.

12. Preparing archaeological sites to receive visitors

The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums prepares registered archaeological sites and historical buildings owned by the State for visits by the citizens, research students and tourists, and shall demonstrate or reveal the technical aspects and the historical properties for the visitors.

13. Preservation of antiquities

1. The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums is assigned to preserve movable antiquities in museums, where they would be studied, conserved and exhibited in permanent or temporary exhibitions. The remaining antiquities shall be kept in the antiquities stores and provided with the relevant temperature conditions.

2. The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums shall provide an authenticated and recognised map of all archaeological sites that are discovered, or are in the process of being so, or expected to yield antiquities findings.

14. The sale of antiquities

The sale or donation of registered antiquities owned by the State is prohibited. These shall be kept in museums and shall not be removed from the sphere of influence of the Corporation, except through legitimate ways according to the terms of this law.

15. Exchange of antiquities with other museums and foreign scientific institutes

It is possible for the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museum, having obtained the approval of the Minister, to exchange portable and duplicate archaeological objects with similar organisations, international museums and educational institutions provided that the Corporation feels that it will provide some benefit to the Sudan.

16. Mounting temporary exhibitions of antiquities

It is possible for the Corporation, with the approval of the Minister, to arrange temporary exhibitions of archaeological and other heritage material within the Sudan or overseas to disseminate knowledge and present Sudanese culture.

17. Reporting any new archaeological discovery to the Government

It is imperative upon whoever discovers anything assumed to be of archaeological interest or leads to such an assumption, whether he is an occupant or proprietor of such land, whether on its surface or below the surface, to report such incidents to the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, or to the nearest possible administrative authority. The authority thus informed shall report the news to the Corporation at their earliest possible convenience.

18. The rights of antiquities discoverer

It is possible for the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, with the approval of the Minister, to decide whether they would like to add the discovered antiquities to the already preserved collections in museums or to leave them in the possession of the person who found them, or in the possession of his descendants according to the following conditions:

- a. In case that the Corporation decides to keep the discovered antiquity, the Corporation shall pay the equivalent current market value of the discovered object whether it is a piece of gold, silver or jewellery, without taking into consideration the artistic or archaeological value. But if it is a treasure, the Corporation pays the discoverer four fifths of the value of the discovered treasure.
- b. The Corporation shall assess the value of the antiquity according to the current market value. The person who made the discovery may sue the Corporation into court if he is not satisfied with the value assessment made by the Corporation. He shall do so within three months after being informed of the assessed value.
- c. The person concerned, who possesses the antiquity, shall sign a concession to confirm the right of possession of the Corporation of the discovered object, after payment of compensation by the Corporation.
- d. If, on the contrary, the Corporation decides to allow the discoverer to retain possession of the object concerned, they shall then write and sign a concession to this effect and register the object concerned under the name of the discoverer. In this case possession devolves to the discoverer.
- e. The owner of the antiquity is not permitted to dispose of his/her object without prior approval of the Corporation.

19. The right of the Corporation to demand an antiquity from its proprietor

It is legally possible for the Corporation to demand from owners of registered antiquities to temporarily hand over their property to the Corporation for the purpose of study, drawing, photographing or taking a mould of it, or for the purpose of temporary exhibition. It will thereafter be returned to the owner.

20. Conservation and restoration of antiquities

Conservation and restoration of antiquities shall not be allowed without approval of the Corporation. Conservation and restoration shall be conducted under the supervision of the Corporation.

21. Prohibition of imitation and falsification of Archaeology

1. Imitation and falsification or trading in transportable antiquities is prohibited.
2. Despite the regulations of item (1) it is possible to make models, moulds or photographs of antiquities with the approval of the Corporation according to the conditions the Corporation deems appropriate.
3. Whoever violates the regulations of item (1) shall be imprisoned for a period not exceeding 7 years, or be fined, or receive both punishments.

Chapter III

Archaeological Excavation

22. Licences

1. The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums enjoys the right to embark on archaeological excavation and to authorise missions of universities and museums to excavate on the basis of a special licence in accordance to the terms of this law.
2. It is forbidden to start excavation works on any land owned by the government, or individuals, without prior receipt of a licence issued by the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums, or from whoever is delegated by the Corporation.
3. Licences are divided into three types:
 - a. A licence to search for archaeological sites without making any excavations.
 - b. A licence to make an archaeological survey authorising the holder to use any means of search except excavation, but authorising the holder to make preliminary diggings to ascertain the existence of archaeological objects.
 - c. A licence for archaeological excavations and to conduct a comprehensive scientific study on the site, on the archaeological findings and the environment.
4. The licences are issued, on the strength of the signature of whoever is authorised by the Corporation, after payment of the relevant fee charged by the Corporation.

23. Conditions for the issuance of licences

1. It is possible for the Corporation, or whoever it may authorise, to issue licences referred to in Section 23 (3) for individuals, institutions or missions which satisfy the following conditions :
 - a. The institution must possess an adequate scientific competence to enable it to complete surveys, prospection, study and excavation work in this field.
 - b. The institution must have the financial capability to pay for all the operations carried out according to the approved plans, on the specified period and to pay the expenses of maintenance, study and publication activities.
 - c. The institution concerned has already published or made arrangements for the publication of results of excavation work they conducted in the past.

2. The licensed authority shall undertake to do the following:
 - a. To maintain the site and any antiquities he discovers and to submit a comprehensive report on his achievements.
 - b. To hand over to the Corporation all antiquities he has discovered and all copies of the documents pertinent to the special survey, prospection and excavation.
3. The Corporation shall have the right to:
 - a. Participate with any archaeological mission to investigate the existence of antiquities on a site provided the Corporation states its financial, scientific and technical participation conditions on the excavation licence.
 - b. Add any conditions the Corporation deems appropriate to any licence.
4. Any archaeological mission authorised to conduct archaeological activities shall be accompanied by a representative of the Corporation whose expenses shall be borne by the licence holder. This representative shall submit an administrative and scientific report to the Corporation at the end of the mission's work.

24. Request for licence

The application for a licence made to the Corporation shall include the following details:

1. Name of applicant, academic qualifications and his past experience in archaeological excavation and publication works.
2. The boundaries of the archaeological site intended to be surveyed and excavated.
3. A summary of the excavation plan and the work programme.

25. Special licensing conditions

1. The applicant for a licence must satisfy the following:
 - a. Shall be a representative of a non-profit seeking scientific institution or is affiliated with a non-profit scientific institution.
 - b. The archaeological mission shall be composed of a panel of specialised scientists in archaeology, architecture, drawing, survey and excavation, documentation, maintenance or affiliated sciences.
 - c. Excavation works shall be continued as agreed with the Corporation.
 - d. Reports shall be submitted to the Corporation on the excavation work with the results and all details on discovered archaeological remains.
 - e. Maps/plans and sections are drawn according to the internationally and scientifically recognised standards. These plans shall contain the details of conditions of archaeological remains at the time of discovery in a way so as to enable their re-structuring or rebuilding.
 - f. A list including the relevant scientific details on all the discovered and transported antiquities shall be compiled and submitted to the Corporation at the end of the excavations, together with a complete collection of copies of the maps, plans and photographs.
 - g. To publish, within two years after the termination of the excavation works, a scientific publication to show the general results of the excavations, mentioning the names of the sites where the antiquities were found, and what has been done. To present two copies of such a report or publication to the Corporation.
2. The licence holder must do the following:
 - a. Present 10 books, with the publications of articles, he issues on his excavation works and results to the Corporation.
 - b. Arrange at his own expense the area in which he made his excavations and display the most important archaeological remains left on site. Provide clues or indications to show the sequences of archaeological stratifications and the different eras that have survived.

3. No part of any building shall be removed or transported before satisfying item (e) of Section (25).

26. The termination of a licence, its withdrawal or cancellation

1. The Corporation shall either terminate or withdraw the licence if the holder deviates from or violates any conditions of the licence.
2. The licence shall be terminated if the holder suspends his activities for two seasons in two consecutive years without permission or an acceptable reason. A new licence may be authorised for another archaeological mission, which satisfies the conditions, on the same archaeological site.

27. Rights of scientific property

1. 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 publications of the antiquities they discovered and will register the photographs of their discoveries in the publications 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 the discovery.
2. The Corporation undertakes to create links among national societies and organisations functioning in the field of archaeology and similar foreign societies, institutions and organisations and co-ordinate archaeological activities among them for the aim of gaining experience and effecting close observation so as to avoid loss of antiquities.

28. Ownership of discovered antiquities

Ownership of all discovered antiquities rests with the Government and is kept in museums for exhibitions and study, whereas it is possible for the mission which made the discovery, after the approval of the Minister to:

- a. Take moulds of the discovered antiquities and their photographs, drawings, maps and plans.
- b. Take duplicate pieces of antiquities discovered on the same site and which are similar in material, type, description, historical significance and artistic value, which the Corporation may dispose of on duplication grounds, after the publication of all information related to these antiquities for the sake of briefing countries overseas on the civilisations of the Sudan which prospered in the past. The licence holder may specify such artefacts for exhibition in museums open to the public in his/her own country for an exhibition period not exceeding two years.
- c. Borrow antiquities for the purpose of temporary exhibition or study.
- d. Study, draw or photograph objects he/she discovered, which are kept in museums or stores.

29. Exemption from Customs

1. The foreign archaeological mission holding a licence is allowed to import its equipment free of customs and other levied taxes on the entry of such equipment into the Sudan.
2. Customs law is applied in case of disposal of equipment belonging to archaeological missions to non-government organisations or individuals.

30. Recovery of lost antiquities

1. The National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums endeavours to recover antiquities that were taken out of the country by illegitimate means.
2. The Corporation undertakes to preserve and to recover stolen antiquities in co-operation with the judicial procedures.
3. The police is assigned to antiquities.

31. Prohibition of export and trading in antiquities

1. Trading in and exporting of antiquities is forbidden except under a licence from the Corporation.
2. Whoever breaks the rules of item (1) shall receive 3 years' imprisonment, or be fined, or receive both punishments.

32. Destruction of antiquities or demolition of an archaeological building

1. Whoever intentionally destroys a recorded or recently discovered archaeological site, or demolishes with ill intention a recorded archaeological building, or part thereof, or takes one of its stones or decorations or does anything that may change the features, shall be imprisoned for a period of not less than 3 years, or be fined, or receive both punishments.
2. If the wrong-doer of a crime stated in item (1) is a staff member of the National Corporation, or in the field of antiquities, museums, conservation, restoration at universities, or missions working in the field of archaeology, or that the piece of antiquity is important, or one of the prominent antiquities the destruction or demolition or collapse of which would lead to the loss of part of the national archaeological heritage, the wrong-doer shall be punished with imprisonment for a period of not less than 5 years, or be fined, or receive both punishments.

33. Conducting unlicensed archaeological activity

Whoever carries out survey, prospection or archaeological operations, or helps, or instigates or encroach upon registered archaeological land or site and transports antiquities from one place to another within the Sudan without a licence, shall be punished with imprisonment for not less than 3 years, or be fined, or receive both punishments.

Chapter VI

Conclusion Regulations

34. General Regulations

1. Inspectors of antiquities, museum curators and guards of museums and archaeological sites are endowed with police powers to arrest without prior legal authorisation in relation to their assigned duties, to combat illegitimate trading in antiquities and their smuggling and to combat damages against museums and archaeological sites.
2. Any antiquities which are the subject of a dispute shall be handed to the Corporation until the dispute is legally settled.

35. Power to issue regulations

The Minister, on the strength of a recommendation from the Corporation, shall issue the relevant regulations for the implementation of this law.

Certificate

This is to certify that The National Assembly has passed the Ordinance for the Protection of Antiquities 1999 in their session No. 20 of the eighth tournament dated 8th Shaaban of the year 1420 Hijriyah, which conforms to the 16th November 1999.

Dr. Hassan Abdalla Al Turabi
Chairman of the National Assembly

I agree

General (PSC) Omar Hassan Ahmed El Beshir
President of the Republic

Date: 23rd Shaaban 1420
1st December 1999

Source: <https://whc.unesco.org/document/169000>

Appendix 4. Appeals to save monuments of Nubia

The Minster of Education Appeal

In our country, according to the *Antiquities Ordinance* (1952 Ordinance 2) every excavator has always been, and is still, entitled to 50 percent of the objects by him; but this is the only counterpart we can offer. 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 if the finds from an endangered site are insufficient; furthermore, we do not have enough temple and chapels in the threatened area to allow some of them to be transported to foreign countries. So the only hope that is left to us, after the United Arab Republic's offer, 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, in the short time available, the necessary work of survey, prospection, excavation, removal and documentation, necessary to ensure that at least a part of the history of our country – and thus of the world in general – will be safeguarded for future generations. It is because we need considerable aid from abroad to accomplish the above – mentioned work that our Government applies to your Organization in order that they may launch an appeal for financial, technical and scientific participation in the action our Government is planning for this purpose. It would be of the utmost help to us if participants would be prepared to undertake – under the general direction of our Antiquities Service – a specific part of the work to be done, for instance the prehistoric and archaeological survey of a definite part of the threatened area, or the removal of a certain temple from that zone.

Ziada Arbab, Minister of Education, Republic of the Sudan.

Extract from a letter from the Minster of Education of the Sudan *A common Trust*
(International Campaign to save monuments of Nubia, 1960, p. 28)

Source: UNESCO (1960a) *A Common Trust: The Preservation of the Ancient Monuments in Nubia*. Paris: Paul Dupont

<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000066328>

UNESCO Appeal

UNESCO APPEAL BY VITTORINO VERONESE;
Director General of UNESCO,
8 March 1960

The works on the great dam of Aswan have begun. Within five years, the middle valley of the Nile will be transformed into an immense lake. Remarkable buildings, among the most impressive on the planet, are at risk of being flooded by the waters, the damming of which will give fertility to vast expanses of desert. But what frightening a price do we risk paying for the new fields ready for the tractors, the sources of energy promised to the future factories? Certainly, when it is a matter of the survival of living and suffering men, this cannot be compared with the sacrifice of effigies of granite or porphyry. But no one can be faced with such a choice without being desperate at having to make it. Between the legacy of the past and the immediate care of a disinherited population in the shadow of one of the most sumptuous heritages of History, between the harvests and the temples, it certainly is not easy to decide. For myself, in any case, I would feel sorry for he who, having to make the decision, could choose without anguish, and who, having made the decision, whatever it was, could carry the responsibility for it without remorse. Therefore, it is not surprising that the governments of the United Arab Republic and of the Sudan should have turned to an international organization, to UNESCO, to ask it to try to save the riches in danger. In fact, these riches, which it is painful to have to say that the loss of may be close, do not belong only to the nations that today harbour them. The whole world has a right to their survival. They are part of a common patrimony that also comprises the message of Socrates, the frescoes of Ajanta, the walls of Uxmal as well as the symphonies of Beethoven. Universal protection is due to the monuments of universal importance. Each time that even one of these riches, which, according to the poet, do not diminish, but increase through sharing is lost, all men are equally frustrated. Furthermore, it is not simply the case of saving that which may disappear: we need to expand and multiply an opulence that is still secret. As a counterpart for the help that the world gives them, the governments of Cairo and Khartoum open the whole of their territories to the excavations of the archaeologists and agree that half of the works of art that see the light through science and chance, should go to enrich foreign museums. They accept the transport, stone by stone, of some buildings from Nubia. A new era, a superb development is thus offered to Egyptology, so that instead of a world impoverished through the loss of its masterpieces, there is suddenly for mankind the hope of the revelation of its unknown splendours. Such a beautiful cause deserves a commensurate effort. This is why I am inviting with confidence the governments, the institutions and the public or private foundations, and all individuals of good will, to contribute to the success of an enterprise without parallel in History: services, machines, money will equally be necessary. All can contribute, and in a thousand ways. It is fitting that a land that was, many times in the course of the centuries, the theatre or the motive for conflict based on greed should now be a convincing proof of international brotherhood. 'Egypt is the gift of the Nile'. This is the first Greek phrase that innumerable school children have learnt to translate. May the peoples unite to avoid that the Nile, source of

fertility and energy, become the liquid grave of part of the marvels that the men of today have received from the men of the past.

Source: <http://ancien.nubie-international.fr/ajaxfilemanager/uploaded/annVittorinoEng.pdf>

Appendix 5. Interviews

INTERVIEW 1.

Date: 30st September 2015

Interviewee: Hassan Hussain Idris, former General Director of NCAM during the period of the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project. He graduated from the Faculty of Archeology, University of Khartoum. He worked as a museum curator and then was promoted to the position of the General Director of NCAM.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (١)

التاريخ: ٣٠ سبتمبر ٢٠١٥ م
الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: حسن حسين إدريس
المهنة: المدير السابق للهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف (١٩٩٤-٢٠١٤)
تخرج في كلية الآثار جامعة الخرطوم ثم عمل في مصلحة الآثار في وظيفة أمين متحف، و تدرج فيها حتى أصبح المدير العام للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف.

نص مادة المقابلات

تتضمن المقابلة في ثلاثة محاور أساسية هي:
المشاركة في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، الصعوبات والتحديات التي تخللت قيام المشروع وإمكانيات الهيئة في ذلك الوقت، ثم تقييم التجربة من وجهة نظر الشخص المسؤول، المتخصص، المتابع والمساهم في تنفيذ المشروع، وأخيراً رؤيته في مستقبل الآثار السودانية.

المحور الأول:

قبل الخوض في الحديث والإجابة عن الأسئلة أود أن أوضح سعادتي بدراسة الابن المنتصر دفع الله لنيل درجة الدكتوراه وهو من الذين عملوا معي في فترة عملي بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، وقد أخبرت مديرة المباشر بأنه سوف يكون له شأن كبير إن شاء الله. وبإشادتي بعمله وبإشادة البروفيسور فرانسيس غيس الذي كان متخوفاً من العمل مع شخص لا يعرفه، إلا إنه قد أشاد بعمله معه في تلك الفترة في جزيرة صاي. فأنا في غاية السعادة بأن يقوم الابن المنتصر بهذا العمل المهم، والموضع الضروري لحماية الآثار والتراث السوداني الثابت والمنقول، بالتزكيز على ما تم إنقاذه في الحملات العالمية والمحلية، حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي ومشروع إنقاذ آثار خزان الحامداب.

١/ كيف وقع الخبر عليكم بحتمية بناء سد مروي وانتم الجهة المسنولة عن حماية الآثار في السودان؟

أولاً، فكرة إنشاء خزان سد مروي كانت من قبل ظهور فكرة بناء السد العالي، عندما كان السودان تحت سيطرة الحكم الثنائي الإنجليزي المصري من خلال زيادة حاجة الجارحة مصر للماء والكهرباء. فقد كانت الدراسات الأولى التي تم عملها أشارت إلى إختيار منطقة الشلال الرابع مروي، ولكن لم يستقر الأمر على تلك المنطقة نسبة لتخوفهم من إستقلال السودان في

المستقبل وأيلولة المشروع إليه، ومن ثم قد يتعذر عليهم إدارة هذا المشروع. لذا فقد امنوا على ان يكون السد العالي في موقع سد اسوان، وهذا ما قد يرجعنا إلى الحملة الأولى عند قيام سد أسوان ١٩٠٢، والتي كانت من أجل إنقاذ المنطقة المتأثرة بقيام سد أسوان والتي امتدت من جنوب مدينة أسوان وحتى الأراضي السودانية والتي كانت تعتبر منطقة واحدة، وهي منطقة النوبة، التي كانت تدار من قبل الحكومة الإنجليزية المصرية دون حواجز وقيود لسكان المنطقة. في تلك الفترة شهد السودان كثيراً من أعمال المسح والكشف الأثري والإنقاذ للمنطقة، ومن ثم وضعت خريطة لبعض المناطق التي يمكن أن تتأثر بقيام السد. كما توصلت هذه الأعمال مع تعاقب تعليقات سد أسوان، وقد شهدت المنطقة مشاركة كبيرة من البعثات الأجنبية ومنها: متحف بوستون جامعة هارفرد التي كان يقود بعثتها جوزج رايزنر، وبعثات بريطانية أيضاً عملت في المناطق الشمالية.

يعتبر السودان من أوئل الدول التي إهتمت بشأن الآثار، خاصة في مجال قوانين الآثار، فقد كان أول قانون للآثار في السودان عام ١٩٠٥م والذي يعتبر صدوره سابقة بين كثير من الدول الأفريقية والعربية ما عدى مصر و العراق وهم الدولتين اللتين سبقتنا تقريباً. وقانون الآثار هو القانون الذي يحدد كيفية حماية الآثار و المواقع الأثرية و التصديق للعمل الحفلي التنقيب الأثري بشروط معينة، و على أسس معينة. كما ينظم إقامة المتاحف وكيفية العرض للمقتنيات التي يتم الكشف عنها، ومن ثم تحديد نصيب البعثات التي تقوم بالأعمال الأثرية بطريقة قانونية، ثم تقوم بعرض تلك الآثار في متاحفها. على الرغم من أن السودان كان في ذلك الوقت تحت حكم المستعمر وهو الذي وضع هذا القانون إلا إنه ألزم البعثات بأن تتحمل تكلفة العمل الأثري كاملة، ثم بعد ذلك يمكنها أن تحصل على جزء من الآثار بشرط إنها يجب ان تعرضها باسم السودان. هذا الأمر قد أعطى فكرة عن عمل الآثار في السودان خاصة عندما تم الإعلان عام ١٩٥٨ عن قيام السد العالي، فكان السودان ومصر قد طلبوا من منظمة اليونسكو أن تتبني أو تدعو لحملة عالمية لإنقاذ الآثار المتأثرة في مصر والسودان بقيام السد العالي. عندها كلفت أو أوفد اليونسكو بروفيسر وليم آدم الأمريكي الذي كان له الخبرة الواسعة في هذا المجال بأن يقود ذلك العمل في السودان. وذلك نسبة لأنه في ذلك الوقت كان عدد الذين يعملون في حقل الآثار في السودان ثلاثة: عبد الرحمن، والذي قد توفي في مصر، ثم ثابت حسن ثابت وهو أول مدير سوداني للآثار ١٩٦٠م، ثم خليفته نجم الدين محمد شريف الذي أصبح مديراً بعده لمصلحة الآثار. فقط هؤلاء هم من كانوا يمثلون السودان في هذا العمل آنذاك، وأنا أعتقد إنهم قد أدوا دوراً كبيراً بتوليهم الرعاية والإشراف والتصديق لهذا العمل، بالإضافة إلى المشاركة في العمل نفسه. كما كان احدهم مستقراً في منطقة النوبة (نجم الدين محمد شريف) نسبة لأن كل البعثات التي كانت تعمل في منطقة النوبة كانت بعثات أجنبية، نذكر منها: البعثة البولندية التي كان لها دوراً كبيراً في إبراز كادرائية فرس، بلوحاتها الجميلة التي يوجد جزء منها في متحف السودان والآخر في متحف وارسو. وبحسب هذا العمل حقيقة بأنه عمل كبير جداً.

٢/ في بعض الأحيان يتساءل الناس: لماذا أعطيت الآثار السودانية إلى البعثات الأجنبية، ولماذا يتم عرضها في الخارج؟

هم لا يصدقون بأن هذه الآثار التي أصبحت تراثاً عالمياً، كان من المفترض لها أن تغمر في بحيرة النوبة، لولا أن تم إنقاذها. كما حدث لمباني مدينة حلفا القديمة والتي كان غرق مسجدها شاهداً على ذلك. لهذا أعتقد بأن لولا الجهد الذي بذل، والتعاون الذي حدث من قبل البعثات العالمية في مجال الآثار مع الدول المانحة وهي التي قامت بتوفير الدعم المادي لتلك البعثات لتقوم بهذا العمل، لما إستطاعت دولة السودان أن تنفذ هذا التراث القيم، الذي كان له الفضل في أسس دراسة علم السودانويات الأثري علم الآثار السودانية، الذي كان من قبل ينسب إلى المصريات علم الآثار المصرية وليست النوبية فقط. بل إرتباطت هذه الاكتشافات بدراسة آثار السودان ، وهذا ما يجعلني أعتبره من المكاسب الأولى رغم عدم توفر عدد كبير من علماء الآثار السودانيين، خلاف ثابت حسن ثابت ونجم الدين محمد شريف في ذلك الوقت. إن إشرافهم على عمل البعثات ومشاركتهم في بعثات مستقلة كان عملاً مقدراً. كما كانت مساهمتهم في جلب عدد كبير من المقتنيات الهامة اسهاماً كبيراً في الكشف عن حضارة وتاريخ السودان وعراقته منذ ممالك ما قبل التاريخ وحتى وكرمه ونبته ومروي والممالك المسيحية التي قد وجدت في المناطق التي تأثرت بقيام السد. أيضاً ما تم عرضه خارج السودان، كان له دور كبير جداً في الكشف عن حضارة السودان، وقد كان كثير من سكان أمريكا الأفارقة يعتقدون بأن وطنهم الأصلي هو السودان. بمعنى أن مملكة كوش هي المملكة الأم لكل البشرية. وأثيوبيا كان هو إحدى الأسماء التي عرفت بها بلاد السودان.

ملخصاً، أنا أعتقد بأنه كان لهذه الحملة دور كبيراً جداً، خاصة فيما يتعلق بالشق الثاني من الحملة وهو ترحيل المعابد الذي تم بدعم من البعثة الألمانية بإشراف الدكتور هنكل الذي كان له دوراً كبيراً جداً. الدكتور هنكل حب الآثار، فقد عمل أكثر من

خمسین عام فی إنقاذ وترمیم آثار السودان، كما قام بتوثیقها وترحیل المعابد من المنطقة المتأثر بالسد إلى متحف السودان القومي.

٣/ كان هنالك سؤال من قبل العامة لماذا مصر قامت بترحیل معابدها إلى مناطق قريبة من النيل أو من مناطقها الأصلیة، بینما قامت السودان بترحیلها إلى مناطق بعيدة جداً؟

فقد كان هنالك تخوف لدي السودانیین، بأن البحيرة قد تمتد إلى ما هو أبعد مما حدد لها، بمعنی إنها یمكن أن ترحل إلى منطقة قريبة من موقعها الأصلی علی النيل، لكنها فی المستقبل قد تغمر بمیاء البحيرة. و السبب الآخر بأن المنطقة كان من الصعب الوصول إليها أي بأن هذه المواقع قد یصعب الوصول إليها لزیارتها وتفقدھا والعمل بها، مع تهديد البحيرة لها. فكان الراي الأرجح هو أن یتم نقلها إلى متحف السودان القومي بالخرطوم، وفي حدیقة یكون هنالك عرض مفتوح بمعنی متحف مفتوح تعرض فیہ هذه المعابد.

٤/ هل كانت هنالك الإستفاده كبریة من حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلی ؟

عندما جاءت فكرة مشروع إنقاذ المنطقة المتأثرة ببناء سد مروی كانت هنالك إستفاده كبریة من تجربة حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلی، وأنا حقیقة عندما عملت فی الهيئة فی النصف الثاني من السبعینیات، كانت الحملة تقربیاً قد إنتهت ما عدی بعض أعمال الترمیم، فقد كان هنالك المرمم البولندي غازی، یعمل معه المرمم السودانی عبد الرحیم فی ترمیم اللوحات الجداریة فی الصالة المسیحیة، من خلال تفکیکها وترمیمها ثم حفظها. وقد كانت الدراسات متواصله، فقد كان فی كل مؤتمر تقدم أوراق عن نتائج العمل الذی تم وخاصة فی العمل الإنقاذی لأنه یختلف عن العمل المتواصل، ومثال علی ذلك شارلز بونیة یعمل فی کرمة أكثر من اربعین عاما، یوصف عمله بالعمل المستقر وبشكل مریح، فهو یعمل ثلاثة شهور للموسم ثم یتفرغ لتوثیق و دراسة ما تم إكتشافه فی هذا الموسم، ومن ثم یضع خطه للموسم القادم وهكذا. خاصة إذا كان الأمر متعلق بالعمل الإنقاذی فأنتك تكون ملزم ومرهون بزمن محدد لانجاز عملك وإلا سوف تغمر المنطقة بالمیاء.

INTERVIEW 2.

Date: 30st September 2015

Interviewee: Abd-Alrahman Ali Rahma, graduated from University of Juba, College of Natural Resources and Environmental Studies. Participant of the First Archaeological Reconnaissance Surveys of the Fourth Cataract organized by NCAM, former Director of NCAM's Department of Museums, former General Director of NCAM and Antiquities Advisor to the Sudanese National Commission for UNESCO.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (٢)

التاريخ: ٣٠ أكتوبر ٢٠١٥ م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: عبد الرحمن علي رحمة

تخرج في كلية العلوم قسم الجيولوجيا جامعة جوبا، ثم عمل موظفاً في قسم الكشف الأثري بمصلحة الآثار و المتاحف آنذاك، ومن ثم تدرج حتى أصبح أمين أمانة المتاحف ثم مديراً عاماً للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، وأخيراً مستشار الآثار باللجنة الوطنية السودانية لليونسكو.

نص مادة المقابلات

تتخصص المقابلة في ثلاثة محاور أساسية هي:

المشاركة في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، الصعوبات والتحديات التي تخللت قيام المشروع وإمكانيات الهيئة في ذلك الوقت، ثم تقييم التجربة من وجهة نظر الشخص المسئول، المتخصص، المتابع والمساهم في تنفيذ المشروع، وأخيراً رؤيته في مستقبل الآثار السودانية.

المحور الأول:

١ / المشاركة في العمل، ومن ثم وقع خبر حتمية قيام سد مروي عليكم كجهة معنية بحماية الآثار في السودان؟

٢ / كيف كان الشروع في وضع خطة العمل ؟

قد حظيت أن أكون من الأوائل الذين عاصروا الإنطلاقة الأولى لحملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، والتي زامنت بداياتها تعييننا بمصلحة الآثار التي كان مديرها آنذاك البروفسور أسامة عبد الرحمن النور. في بادئ الأمر أوكلت لشركة مونيكو الكندية القيام بعمل الدراسات الاستكشافية الأولية ودراسات الجدوى للمشروع. قامت الشركة بالإتصال بإدارة مصلحة الآثار لتعين شخص للمتابعة معها لمعرفة متطلبات العمل الحقلي المطلوب. تم وضع مقترح لإحتياجات العمل والتي إنحصرت في ذلك الوقت في بعض الأليات وسيارتين وجهاز جي بي إس المستوي الأول متصل بالأقمار الصناعية، وهو أول جهاز جي بي إس تمتلكه مصلحة الآثار. بعد ذلك قمنا بعمل أول رحلة لزيارة المنطقة مع الخبير الكندي كريستوفر آدم جنسكي، كانت الرحلة بالطائرة، بدأت من منطقة مروي إلى شيري والشرري وحولها، كان الغرض من تلك الرحلة أخذ نظرة عامة من خلالها قمنا بوضع التقرير الأولي.

كانت أول مرحلة تمت في المشروع هي المرحلة الإستكشافية كزيارة أولية بواسطة الخبير الكندي كريستوفر آدم جنسكي.

٣/ وقع الخبر؟

أي مشروع تنموي يقوم في مناطق بها آثار بلا شك هو مهدد مباشر للآثار، وهو بمثابة شيء مخيف بالنسبة لنا كأثاريين. (في البداية لم يكن هنالك تناسق بحيث أن القرار السياسي كان يجب أن يتكامل مع القرار العلمي، للوصول لحماية أفضل للتراث) ولكن في ذلك الوقت بعد قيام ثورة الإنقاذ في عام ١٩٨٩م والتي كانت تدعو إلى تنفيذ مشاريع تنموية من أجل تطوير البلاد، وجدت مصلحة الآثار إنها يجب أن تستجيب لهذه التوجهات، ومن ثم مواكبة المستجدات التي تمر بها البلاد. وذلك من خلال التفاعل معها وفي نفس الوقت بالعمل على كيفية حماية التراث. (نحن كحماة للتراث يجب أن نوازن بين حماية التراث والقرارات السياسية المتعلقة بتنمية البلاد. بمعنى إذا وقفت متشدداً أمام شيء دون الآخر سوف تخسر). بمعنى إذا عاندنا السياسيين بعدم قيام السد سوف يقوموا ببساطة باعفاننا عن العمل، ومن ثم تنفيذ المشروع حسب هوائهم. وإذا إستجبنا دون مراعاة للجوانب العلمية، سوف نكون قد قصرنا في جانب المحافظة على الآثار. فقد كان وقع الخبر بالنسبة لنا صعب، (وأي مشروع تنموي هو دمار للآثار). خاصة إن هذه المنطقة جديدة وكان هنالك تعويل كبير بأن تكون هنالك إكتشافات كبيرة جداً قد تساهم في كتابة تاريخ هذا البلد. لهذا تم التنسيق مع لجنة سد مروي لعمل الدراسات الأولية الإستكشافية-المسح الأثري.

٤/ بدأت الفكرة في الثلاثينيات ثم عند الثمانينيات أصبحت أقرب للتطبيق ومن ثم التطبيق الفعلي في التسعينيات بعد ثورة الإنقاذ. بالنسبة لمصلحة الآثار هل كان هناك إحساس بجدية الأمر بمعنى أن هنالك جدية من الدولة لتنفيذ مشاريع تنموية بعد قيام ثورة الإنقاذ، علماً بأن كل ما كان من قبل عبارة عن طموحات ووعود؟

بدأ الترتيب للعمل في مصلحة الآثار في التسعينيات، والسبب في ذلك ظهور بعض المقترحات بإنشاء سد في مروي وكجبار، ثم بدأ التطبيق العملي في سد مروي في نفس فترة التسعينيات التي تم اتخاذ الإجراءات الحاسمة لبداية العمل فيها. فقد كانت هنالك مقول مشهور أن هنالك امرأة تقول: (بأنها تسمع بالقيامة وسد مروي وليس هنالك واحد منهم قد صدق). كانت هنالك إرهابات وإشاعات بقيام مشروع سد مروي، ولكنها لم تؤخذ بعين الإعتبار، إلا أن مصلحة الآثار وضعت الأمر موضع الجد وعلى ضوء ذلك بدأت بالتعامل الجاد مع الوضع. ومن ثم وضعت بعض الإحتياطات المسبقة لدى مصلحة الآثار، لشعورها بجدية الدولة في تنفيذ مشاريع تنموية بالبلاد. فقبل ثورة الإنقاذ لم تكن هنالك جدية في قيام هذا المشروع.

٥/ هل هذا يعني أن عدم الجدية لها أثر على وضع خطة العمل لمشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي؟

نعم بكل تأكيد، فقد كان للوضع السياسي والتغيرات السياسية في البلاد أثرها الكبير على موقف العمل الأثري، خاصة بعد حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة التي كانت في نهاية فترة حكم المشير جعفر محمد نميري (حكم العسكر) وبدايات حكم الصادق المهدي (الديمقراطية) من بعده، ثم أخيراً ثورة الإنقاذ الوطني. حيث تأثرت مصلحة الآثار بذلك الوضع، كما كانت هنالك إجتماعات ومشاورات بخصوص قيام متحف النوبة في مدينة حلفا، الذي زامن عدم قدرة مصلحة الآثار على متابعة تلك الإجتماعات والمشاورات المتعلقة بقيام المتحف، وقد كان لغياب السودان من تلك اللقاءات والمشاورات العالمية بعد الحملة أثره السلبي الذي قاد إلى فقدان السودان إمكانية الحصول على التمويل لقيام (متحف وادي حلفا). كان ذلك نتيجة لغياب الهيئة، ونسبة لعدم مشاركتنا في تلك المشاورات، على الرغم من أن متحف وادي حلفا أقدم من متحف أسوان، والنوبة السودانية أكبر من النوبة المصرية. لم تكن هنالك متابعة للأحداث من قبل مصلحة الآثار. ملخصاً كان لتلك التقلبات السياسية أثرها الواضح على عدم قيام المشاريع التنموية في البلاد.

لكن بعد قيام ثورة الإنقاذ شعرة مصلحة الآثار بجدية الدولة في تنفيذ تلك المشاريع التنموية، ومن ثم تم التفاعل معها و التخطيط لإنقاذ الآثار في تلك المنطقة، حسب المراحل العلمية المختلفة مثل: دراسات الجدوى، الإستطلاعات بغرض عمل التقييم لطبيعة الآثار الموجودة في المنطقة، ومن ثم تقسيم المنطقة إلى قطاعات إمتياز.

٦/ هل توفرت الإمكانيات الأولية لوضع الخطة على الفور؟

نعم، ومن الغرائب في هذا المشروع، هو إستجابة وحدة تنفيذ السدود في التعاون منذ البداية، وتلبية متطلبات العمل الأثري. كما قامت بإخطار المصلحة بمراحل العمل خطوة بخطوة. فقد طلبت وحدة تنفيذ السدود من الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في بادئ الأمر، عمل دراسات إستكشافية، وقامت الوحدة بتوفير الترحيل (سيارتان) والتكلفة المادية لذلك. فكانت المصلحة تقوم بوضع خطة العمل الأثري والإداري، ومن ثم تقوم وحدة تنفيذ السدود بتوفير المعينات الفنية، مثل الخرائط وغيرها. ذلك بعد توقيع المدير العام على خطة العمل التي يتم إجازتها مع وحدة السدود، وبعد تنفيذها تقوم المصلحة بكتابة تقريراً بالعمل الإنفاذي الذي تم. بعد أن قامت المصلحة بإعداد تقييم للمنطقة كلها، كانت هنالك خيارات لدى وحدة تنفيذ السدود تتعلق بمناطق تنفيذ السد في المنطقة المحصورة ما بين مروي والحامداب وحتى منطقة أبو حمد، حيث قامت الهيئة بمسح كل تلك المنطقة. كان هنالك منطقتين مرشحتين لتنفيذ المشروع: منطقة مروي ومنطقة الحامداب وأخيراً وقع الاختيار على منطقة الحامداب، وعندها بدأ العمل الإداري والأكاديمي الفعلي.

أولاً: بدأ العمل بشكل فعلي في منطقة جسم السد، في ١٩٩٢، و ١٩٩٥.

٧/ هل كان هنالك إمكانيات مادية وأكاديمية وإدارية كافية لدي مصلحة الآثار في ذلك الوقع حتى تقدم على التصدي لهذا المشروع؟

الإمكانيات البشرية مقارنة مع الوقت الحاضر كانت أضعف، نسبة لقلّة عدد الكوادر في ذلك الوقت. ولحسن الحظ مزمنة لقيام هذا المشروع تم تعيين ١٢ من ضابط الآثار، وبتنسيق مع الوحدة الفرنسية بتوصية المدير العام، كان هنالك عمل إستكشافي وتدريب في المنطقة قبل الشروع في العمل الفعلي. كما كان للإحداث السياسية أثرها في إعفاء نصف الأشخاص الذين تم تعيينهم، لتواصل البقية (٦ اشخاص) العمل بمشاركة بعض الكوادر من جامعة دنقلا التي كانت ما تزال وليده. فقامت مصلحة الآثار بإعطائهم (منطقة بولقي) منطقة ما قبل جسم السد كممنطقة إمتياز لتدريب الطلاب، (فترة ما بعد مروي).

٨/ هل يمكن القول بأن الكادر الوطني المؤهل كان متوفراً في ذلك الوقت؟

نعم، كان متوفراً، مع الإمكانيات الفنية والإستجابة باعتبارها هي الأمر الأهم، ففي ذلك الوقت وجدت أول مؤسسة وطنية تستجيب لقانون حماية الآثار، وتخطر المصلحة بخطط العمل في مشاريع التنمية. وذلك من خلال إستجابتها وتوفيرها الإمكانيات الضرورية للعمل مع مصلحة الآثار. ربما يمكن تصنيف التعاون مع وحدة تنفيذ السدود بأنه أحد الدروس المستفادة في هذا الجانب).

إدارياً أنا أعتقد، أن التجربة ناجحة بالنسبة لنا ككادر وطني، باعتبار أنها أعطتنا الفرصة للتعاون بين مؤسسات الآثار والجامعات، وهي الفرصة التي كانت في السابق غير متاحة بشكل كبير. فقد ساهمت تلك الفرصة من رفع مقدرات مصلحة الآثار الفنية، باستخدام الأجهزة الحديثة، كأجهزة الإستشعار عن بعد، الجيودادار، الأقمار الصناعية والصور الجوية، صور الأقمار الصناعية، والتي تم التدريب عليها من خلال الإمكانيات التي وفرها المشروع. ومن أهم الفوائد التي تحصلت عليها المصلحة إنها قامت بتكوين فريق وطني قادر على التصدي لمثل هذه المشاريع.

٩/ كيف تم إعداد الخطة؟

أولاً: الدراسة المكتبية من خلال الصور الجوية، والمسوحات الأولية الإستكشافية للمنطقة، من حجم المنطقة والتقييم الكامل لطبيعة المنطقة وكيفية التعامل معها. المرحلة الثانية: المسح الإستكشافي لكل المنطقة لتحديد حجم الآثار الموجودة، ثم تقسيمها لقطاعات لتحديد الإمكانيات المادية المطلوبة لإنقاذها.

١٠/ ماهي الوسائل التي تم إستخدامها في المسح الإستكشافي؟

تمت الإستفادة من الصور الجوية، و الأقمار الصناعية، و الخرائط الطبوغرافية، وذلك بواسطة متطابقتها على أرض الواقع، و حسب المتطلبات كان يجب علينا الذهاب بالأرجل حتى يمكننا الربط بين الوسائل الحديثة والوسائل التقليدية، للتأكد من مطابقة الملامح التي وجدت في الصور الجوية والخرائط الطبوغرافية، هل هي مطابقة أم لا. ومن هنا قمنا بعمل خريطة أولية كبيرة جداً لتوزيع المواقع الأثرية وتمركزها، ثم تقسيم المنطقة لقطاعات، إلى ١٤ قطاع، دخل كل قطاع من هذه القطاعات كان لا بد أن يتم فيه مسح تفصيلي، وحفريات إختبارية، لتحديد أهمية الموقع، ومن ثم عمل الحفريات المنتظمة لإنقاذ أكبر قدر من الآثار.

ملخص بأن المسح الأولي كان بمثابة تقييم للوضع الأثري في المنطقة ووضع خريطة له، والذي يعتبر في مجمل إنجاز به باعتباره عمل وطني. (تقييم حجم الآثار الموجودة).

تقدير الإمكانيات الوطنية من مادية وأكاديمية؟ بأن هذا المشروع كبير ولا يمكن للفريق الوطني القيام به لوحده، لذا لا بد من إشراك مؤسسات علمية تعليمية أخرى.

١١/ أسباب دعوة البعثات الأجنبية للمشاركة في الحملة كيف كانت ولماذا؟

بعد عمل الدراسات الإستكشافية ومن ثم الخريطة الأثرية للمنطقة تم تحديد ١٠٠٠ موقع أثري. عندها إتضح ضخامة هذا العمل وتم التسليم بإستحالة تنفيذ هذا العمل بقدرات الفريق الوطني بمفرده، ولا بد من إشراك مؤسسات علمية أخرى في الإنقاذ، كما هو التقليد في المشاريع التنموية الإنقاذية الكبيرة. فبعد أن تم تقسيم المنطقة إلى ١٤ قطاع، قمنا بتنظيم أول لقاء بمثابة الدعوة للمعاهد والبعثات الأجنبية والوطنية للمشاركة في عملية الإنقاذ، بإعطائها مناطق إمتياز للعمل الأثري. ثم قمنا بكتابة نداء عالمي مخاطبين فيه الجمعية العالمية للدراسات النوبية واليونيسكو، وكل البعثات الأثرية التي تعمل في السودان والتي تم إرساله لها. بعد إرسال النداء كان هنالك من قام بالإستجابة و آخر بعدمها. كما تم التواصل أيضاً مع المتحف البريطاني ولكن نسبة للأحوال السياسية في البلاد التي كانت تخيف الأجانب من العمل بالبلاد (٢٠٠٤) تأخرت الإستجابة. بعد ذلك قام المتحف البريطاني بدعوة مشتركة بين المصلحة والمتحف البريطاني تم من خلالها عقد أول إجتماع للبعثات التي سوف تشارك في حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي. نتجت عن تلك الدعوة إستجابة عدد ١٤ بعثة عالمية كانت قد شاركت في حضور ذلك الإجتماع. قامت تلك البعثات بطرح بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة بالتخطيط والتنفيذ، الإمكانيات المتوفرة، المشاكل، المعوقات التي يمكن أن تزيلها المصلحة لوجود بعض المشاكل السياسية الخارجية على الساحة آنذاك، فلم يكن لدي الأجانب أي رغبة في زيارة السودان. عليه تمت الإجابة على كل تلك الأسئلة، ومن ثم إلترمت مصلحة الآثار بمعالجة المشاكل المتعلقة بالتأشيرات، والتنقل والأمان، بالنسبة للبعثات التي سوف تعمل في هذا المشروع، وذلك بموافقة وحدة سد مروي التي أفادت بمجانية التأشيرات لدخول البلاد. بالإضافة إلى توفير كل الخرائط والمتطلبات الفنية للمشروع. عليه طلبت المصلحة من هذه البعثات مساهمتها بإستقطاب الدعم المادي من مؤسساتها لإنجاح هذا المشروع. عليه فقد كان هنالك مكونين مكون يمثل البعثات الأجنبية، والآخر يمثل البعثات الوطنية. وأفقت البعثات الأجنبية في جلب الدعم المادي لعملهم، كما طلبت مصلحة الآثار التقدير المادي لها من وحدة مشروع سد مروي، والتي إلترمت بتوفيره، بمعنى إنه كان هنالك مكون وطني بالإضافة إلى ما قامت باستقطابه البعثات الأجنبية من مؤسساتها.

وقد عملت هذه البعثات لمدة ٦ سنوات، كان مجمل إستقطاب الدعم المادي فيها بحوالي ٤,٥٠٠,٠٠٠ مليون دولار، جاءت من البعثات الأجنبية، من معدات وعماله ومتطلبات العمل الذي تم. والمكون الوطني كان حوالي ٦٠٠,٠٠٠ مليون دولار، بمعنى أن مجمل الكتلة النقدية كانت تقدر بحوالي ١١,٠٠٠,٠٠٠ مليون دولار وهي تقريباً كانت مجمل التكلفة المستخدمة لإنقاذ آثار سد مروي. سار العمل التخطيطي والتنفيذي بشكل جيد، ما عدى في بعض المناطق التي كانت بها بعض المشاكل، كمناطق المناصير، وذلك بسبب رفض المواطنين لعمل البعثات في مناطقهم. لم تكون هنالك مساومة مرضية لهم- تعويضات مرضية.

المحور الثاني:

١٢ / ماهي المهددات والمعوقات التي وأجهتكم في تأدية عملكم؟

وأحدة من المعوقات هي عدم إستجابة بعض المواطنين، في بعض المناطق للعمل الأثري، نسبة لرفض بعضهم للترحيل وإعادة التوطين، والبعض الآخر للتعويض، وعدم إستلام بعضهم للتعويضات.

١٣ / هل مشاكل السكان المحلية بدأت منذ بدايات العمل ام جاءت لاحقاً؟

جاءت لاحقاً، بل كان بعضهم يردد كيف أن أهلهم كانوا يعيشون في تلك المنطقة الفاحلة، بل ذهب بعضهم بشكر الحكومة لنقلهم من هذه المنطقة الوعره. بمعنى إنه كان هنالك تعاون من قبل السكان المحليين في بادئ الأمر. ولكن بعد دخول الأجندة السياسية، وتأثير السياسيين على قرارات السكان المحليين، تحركت المطالب وبدأت أشكال الرفض تظهر بتوقيف العمل الأثري والمشاريع الأخرى، حتى تستجيب الدولة لذلك، ويعتبر ذلك واحد من أكبر المعوقات التي وأجهت العمل الأثري الإنفاذي.

١٤ / السؤال هل كان الوعي الأثري كافي لدي السكان المحليين في ذلك الوقت؟

كانت لديهم الرغبة في التعلم والمعرفة عن تاريخ بلدهم في بادئ الأمر بل كانوا يقومون بتقديم بعض الدعم الخدمي (اللوجستي) ويستضيفوا كوادر البعثات الأثرية.

ملخصاً يمكن القول بأنه كانت هنالك إستجابة كبيرة من قبل السكان المحليين في ذلك الوقت للعمل الأثري، وذلك من خلال تقديم بعض الدعم اللوجستي وإستضافتهم للبعثة و رغبتهم في معرفة تاريخ منطقتهم وآثارها، ولكن بعد دخول الأجندة السياسية تغير الأمر برفضهم مواصلة العمل الأثري. فقد أثر السياسيون على القرارات الخاصة بالسكان المحلية، ومن ثم بدأت المطالب بالظهور. وواحدة من هذه المطالب أن تكون هنالك ضغوطات على الحكومة بتوقيف العمل الأثري في المنطقة، بالإضافة إلى المشاريع الأخرى حتى تستجيب الدولة لمطالبهم. وهذا يعد من المعوقات الكبيرة التي وأجهت العمل الأثري في المنطقة.

١٥ / هل كانت هنالك توعية مسبقة بأهمية المنطقة الأثرية أم جاءت مع العمل الأثري؟

لا لم تكن هناك معلومة مسبقة لدي السكان المحليين بأهمية الآثار. ولكن جاءت مع بدايات العمل الأثري في المنطقة من خلال: الذهاب إلى كبير المنطقة سواء كان الشيخ أو زعيم القبيلة أو رئيس اللجنة الشعبية، لإعلامه بالبعثة وطبيعة عملها وأهمية الآثار... ومن ثم الحصول على مأوى أو مسكن من خلاله حتى يكون مطمئناً من عدم وجود خطورة من هذه البعثة على منطقتهم، ومن ثم يقوم بإخطار أهله بذلك. ويعتبر الذهاب إلى الشيخ أو كبير المنطقة واحدة من الأشياء التي جعلت من مهمتنا سهلة. فقد كانت واحدة من أهدافنا التوعية إستهداف القيادات في المنطقة لتسهيل العمل. نسبة لإنهم هم الذين يقومون بمساعدتنا من خلال التوعية بعملنا وطبيعته وأهمية الآثار، ثم طلب المساعدة والإعانة في ذلك.

١٦ / هل كان هنالك تجاوباً كبيراً من قبل السكان المحليين؟

نعم، قد كان هنالك تجاوباً كبيراً من قبل السكان المحليين في ذلك الشأن، ولكن بعد تأثير القرارات السياسية أصبحت بعض اللجان الشعبية، هي التي تمنع مواصلة العمل الأثري في المنطقة.

١٧ / ماهي طبيعة القرارات السياسية؟ هل هي رفض ام عدم قبول بالتعويضات؟

لا ليس كذلك فقد كانت هنالك جهات سياسية معارضة للحكومة، خاطبة المواطنين بأن نسبة التعويض المالي ليست بكافية أي قليلة.

١٨ / هذا يعني أن إحدى الأسباب كانت مادية؟

نعم، أن قيمة التعويض قليلة.

الشق الثاني بالنسبة للمناصير أفادوا بأنهم لا يريدون إعادة التوطين في المناطق التي أعدت لهم، بل يريدون أن يستوطنوا حول البحيرة، بمعنى إنهم يمكن أن يستثمروا في الأراضي حول البحيرة. وقد يكون العائد أفضل من العائد في منطقة إعادة التوطين. وحتى ذلك الوقت لم يصل السكان المحليين مع السلطات إلى حل في ذلك الشأن. فقد كانت ردود أفعالهم بإفتعال مشاكل مع كثير من الشركات التي كانت تعمل في المنطقة، وبالنسبة للبعثات الأثرية، كان الاعتراض عبارة عن تحزير بعدم مواصلة العمل، عليه كانت البعثات الأثرية تستجيب لذلك لمنع الإشتباك مع المجتمع المحلي. لكن في نهاية الأمر تمت التسوية بين السلطات والأهالي ومن ثم تم إستئناف العمل. كان ذلك في مقارنة مع ما حدث لسكان منطقة حلفا القديم الذين رفضوا الترحيل ومن ثم قاموا بتكوين مدينة جديدة حول منطقة البحيرة (بحيرة النوبة) عرفت اليوم بحلفا القديمة، والتي تطور نموها وتزايد عدد سكانها.

١٩ / هل كانت هناك إمكانية مشابهة بصلاحيات المنطقة لتوطين الأهالي حول بحيرة السد كما حدث اليوم في منطقة وادي حلفا؟

قد تختلف منطقة إعادة توطين المناصير عن منطقة النوبة، وذلك نسبة لان المنطقتين: المنطقة التي أريد ترحيل السكان منها ومنطقة إعادة توطينهم، فالمنطقتين تقعان في محافظة واحدة، من منطقة كريمة إلى منطقة أبو حمد. بمعنى أن السكان لم يتعرضوا إلى هجرات قسرية. بالإضافة إلى عدم وجد تغيير مناخي كبير بين المنطقتين، بمقارنه مع ما حدث بالنسبة لسكان النوبة بمنطقة وادي حلفا القديمة. حيث تم نقلهم من منطقة صحراوية جافة إلى منطقة مطيرة رطبة، عرفت بأنها بيئة غير مناسبة تتسم بتوالد البعوض والحشرات التي لم يعرفونها من قبل في منطقتهم القديمة. وكان هنالك مشكلة كثير فلم يستطيعوا التأقلم على تلك البيئة. لذا فقد كانت الدراسات التي تمت في إعادة التوطين لسد مروي تختلف في هذا الجانب. فقد كانت هنالك دراسة لكل مجموعة إثنية بمعدل عن غيرها، حتى يتم إعادة إستوطانها في منطقة مستقلة، مع تركيز الخدمات الصحية والتعليمية في منطقة واحدة. فقد كانت واحدة من المشاكل في تلك المنطقة، أن المدارس كانت قليلة ومتمركزة في قرية واحدة أو أكثر، وأن الطلبة كانوا يذهبون إلى مسافات بعيدة بالدواب إلى مدرسة واحدة أو اثنتان في المنطقة بأكملها. وأتذكر بأن هنالك امرأة كانت على وضوح-إنجاب ولم تكن هنالك أي رعاية صحية في المنطقة فكان علينا أن نأخذها لأقرب مشفى يستقبل حالتها ولكن لم نجد، فاضطررنا لقطع مسافة لمدة أربعة ساعات إلى مدينة كريمة كأقرب مدينة لتلقي الرعاية الصحية حتى نتحصل على مستشفى. فقد كانت هنالك ندرة في المراكز الصحية، والمدارس التي كانت تشكل مشكلة كبيرة بالنسبة لأهالي المنطقة.

علية فقد تلافى تلك السلبات في مناطق إعادة التوطين بتوفير الخدمات، من مسجد، ومدرسة، ومركز صحي، تم توفيرها في منطقة واحدة حول مناطق إعادة التوطين، بالإضافة للمشاريع الزراعية.

أنا أعتقد أن تجربة سد مروي ربما تكون أنجح في إعادة مناطق التوطين من تجربة توطين سكان وادي حلفا النوبة. ذلك لانه قد تم تقسيم السكان المرحلين إلى مجموعات، ثم توفير الخدمات والمساكن والمشاريع الزراعية لهم، وأخيراً ترحيلهم.

٢٠ / ما هي المعوقات والمهدات الأخرى، هل البيئة، المال، عدم توفر الأدوات المتطورة، والزمن، كانا عائقاً للعمل في المنطقة؟

أولاً: المهدات والصعوبات كانت مثل؛

أ/ وعورة المنطقة نفسها، وأحيانا كان يصعب إستخدام العربات في الوصول إليها، مما تطلب التنقل بالأقدام.

ب/ وعورة مناخ المنطقة الصحراوية.

العامل الثاني: كان هو عامل الزمن، بمعنى أن الزمن كان قليل جداً لإنجاز العمل المطلوب، فقد كان السبب في عدم إمكانية إنفاذ كل الآثار ووضع خطة لإختيار بعضها وليس كلها.

ثالثاً: في نهاية الفترة ظهرت مشاكل مالية، تتعلق بتأخير الدفعيات المالية، والذي كان سبباً في تقليل زمن الإنفاذ (نسبة لطول الإنتظار الذي يحسب من مدة الإنفاذ المجدولة حسب حركة المشاريع المصاحبة. بمعنى إذا وضعت خطة لثلاثة أشهر تحصل على التمويل بعد مرور شهر من تاريخ بداية الخطة التي وضعت، مع مراعاة ظروف المشاريع الأخرى المصاحبة. بالإضافة

إلى الطقس القاسي جداً، بارد ليلاً وحار نهاراً. فقد كان عمل البعثات الوطنية طوال العام وكانت البعثات الأجنبية تعمل في فصل الشتاء فقط. وتعتبر التجربة بمثابة اختبار لقدرات وإمكانية الكادر الوطني بالعمل في مثل تلك الظروف وفي مثل هذا الطقس القاسي.

٢١ / كيف كانت عملية التنقل في هذه المنطقة التي إتسمت بالطبيعة القاسية وكثرة الجزر...؟

في بادئ الأمر، تم استخدام المراكب المحلية بتأجيرها من السكان المحليين، ولكن بعد مرور وقت قليل تم تصنيع بعض المراكب الخاصة بالبعثات لتقليل التكلفة والتحكم في توفيرها متى ما طلب ذلك. كما كان يتم العمل داخل الجزر بالأرجل، بعد نقل كل المعينات إلى تلك الجزر، ولكن كانت العمالة متوفرة من سكان تلك الجزر نفسها، ويعتبر ذلك من التسهيلات التي توفرت في المنطقة.

٢٢ / هل كان هنالك تعدي من السكان المحليون على أفراد البعثة؟

لا لم يكن هنالك أي تعدي، ولكن في منطقة أمري تمت كتابة خطابات تهديدية (إذا لم يتم إنسحابكم من المنطقة سوف نعتدي عليكم)، فلم يكن من البعثات إلا أن تستجيب وتتسحب من المنطقة.

٢٣ / هل كان لإستخدام التقنيات الحديثة من أجهزة الإستشعار عن بعد والأقمار الصناعية حظها الكافي، وهل تم وضعها في خطة العمل الأولى، أم كان إستخدام البعثات الأجنبية لها سبباً في إستخدامها كما حدث من إحدى البعثات التي كانت تعمل في تلك الجزر؟

نعم تم وضع إمكانية استخدام كل التقنيات الحديثة، مثل الصور الجوية وصور الأقمار الصناعية، والتوتل استيشن (المحطة الشاملة و هي أداة إلكترونية، بصرية تستخدم في المسح الحديث وتشبيد المباني)، وقد كانت مصلحة الآثار قد إمتلك جهاز واحد منذ العام (٢٠٠ - ٢٠٠٦)، ولكن البعثات الأجنبية قامت ب جلب معدات أكثر حداثة من أجهزة البعثات الوطنية، وقد كان ذلك بمثابة إضافة كبيرة للكادر الوطني حتى يتدرب على مثل تلك الأجهزة والمعدات المتطورة. تم وضع ذلك في الخطة إستخدام التقنيات الحديثة. بمعنى إنه قد تم إستخدام تقنيات حديثة متقدمة في حملة إنقاذ سد مروي، خاصة في دراسة تحليل العظام والجيولوجيا.

٢٤ / هل كان في وضع الخطة نفسها إستخدام المنهج الإنتقائي كمنهج للعمل؟

كان لا بد من إختيار، فقمنا بتقسيم المنطقة إلى قطاعات كل قطاع نقوم بأخذ نموذج منه، ومن ثم دراسة مطابقة وتصنيف الفترات الزمنية من خلال الدارسة مثال: أن هل هنالك إلتقاء طبقي ام لا، وهل هنالك فترة زمنية محدده ام لا... وملخصاً يمكن القول، بأن معظم مقابر العصر الحجري وكرمة تم إنقاذها، ولكن ما بعد مروي والفترة المسيحية لم يتم إنقاذها كلها نسبة لأن عددها كبير جداً. فقمنا بعمل إختيار نسبة منها لأن عددها كبير، بمعنى أن أغلب التركيز كان في فترة كرمة، والفترة الكوشية، والفترة المروية، التي تم إنقاذ ٦٠٪ منها، وقد وصفت المنطقة بوجود كل الفترات التاريخية التي عرفت بوجودها في البلاد. هذا يعني إنه كان هنالك تواصل حضاري في المنطقة، ومن المكتشفات المهم التي وجود إمتداد لفترة كرمة في المنطقة مع إمتدادها حتي منطقة الشلال الخامس. هذا يعد إكتشاف مهم جداً من الناحية التاريخية، لأن الإعتقاد الذي كان سائداً في الدراسات السابقة أن قدماء المصريون الذين إحتلوا أراضي النوبة وصلوا حتي منطقة أبو حمد عن طريق كروسكو و إستوطنوا بها، و هنالك موقع للمملكة المصرية الحديثة في منطقة (كرقس). هذا يعني أن قدماء المصريون قد إحتلوا كل تلك المنطقة حتى منطقة جبل البركل، وربما يشير إكتشاف حضارة كرمة في هذه المنطقة، بأن هيمنة الحضارة الكوشية (حضارة كرمة) كانت قد شملت أغلب منطقة نهر النيل، و هذا قد يكون مهما جداً لعلماء الآثار المتخصصين في هذه المنطقة. بمعنى أن حضارة كرمة إحتلت كل المنطقة حتى أن فخار كرمة قد وجد في منطقة المكابر، أي الهيمنة كانت من الشلال الأول حتى الشلال الخامس أو بين الشلال الخامس والسادس.

المحور الثالث:

٢٥ / إلى أي مدى ساهمت حملة إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع ومنطقة سد مروي في تعميق وتأسيس فكرة دراسة السودانويات؟ (خاصة بعد توفير كثير من المواد الأثرية التي قد تتيح دراسة ما كان مجهولاً لكثير من علماء الآثار والباحثين و المهتمين بالبحث الأثري في تلك المنطقة، إلى أي مدى كان تأثير هذا المشروع على ذلك؟

من أهم نتائجها إنها أكدت على السيادة الكوشية في المنطقة، الدولة المستقلة الأولى كرمة على كل الأراضي السودانية في تلك الفترة (٢٥٠٠) قبل الميلاد، بأن منطقة النيل الأوسط المحصورة ما بين الشلال الأول وحتى السادس، كانت أراضي سودانية، وهذا من مردود وطني يؤكد سيادتنا للمنطقة. كما يشير إلى أن علم الآثار يساهم في إحكام سيادة الدول على أراضيها وإثبات حقوقها. ذلك الإثبات جاء نتيجة للحفريات الإنقاذية لآثار منطقة سد مروي. من جانب آخر، ساهم هذا العمل في توسيع فهم الهوية السودانية وأرضها التي وجدت منذ القدم، منذ وجود أول دولة مستقلة في المنطقة. بمعنى إنها ساهمت في تعميق فهم السيادة الوطنية على أراضيها. وهذه هي رؤيتي ورؤيت كثير من الباحثين (بأن كرمة هي أول دولة سودانية مستقلة وكان لها تحكم في كل السودان القديم) والأنا نحن بصدد البحث عن إمتدادات هذه الدولة، هل وصلت الخرطوم وغرب السودان؟ شارلز يونيه يذكر بإنها من المحتمل أن تكون عندها ترابط بمنطقة غرب السودان. فإذا أثبت ذلك هذا يعني أن السودان منذ القدم كان بهذا الإمتداد.

٢٦ / إلى أي مدى تعتقد بأن هذا العمل الضخم ساهم في تحفيز البعثات الأجنبية والباحثين في مجال الآثار السودانية في تعميق رغبتهم في البحث في منطقة السودان والسودانويات؟

نعم فمظم البعثات كانت تتسابق في عمل سبق علمي يحسب لها في هذا المجال، وفي إكتشافاتهم للمنطقة نسبة لأن المنطقة ليس معروفة أثرياً بشكل كبير.

٢٧ / هل كان هنالك ترابط بين تلك البعثات؟

نعم، قد كان هنالك ترابط وتنسيق وتعاون كبير جداً بينهم، فهناك مجموعات منهم كانت تنظم مؤتمرات سنوية تناقش فيها طرق العمل والنتائج التي تم التوصل إليها. مثال: المؤتمر التاسع عشر للدراسات النوبية الذي خصص لسد مروي، والذي احتوي على إكتشافات مهمة جداً، كان لها الأثر الأكبر في تحفيز البعثات الأجنبية في عملها بالمنطقة. باعتبار أن البعثات لها أهدافها من تدريب كوادرها وتطوير مقدراتها البحثية في هذا المجال. كما تساهم في إثراء منشوراتهم وبحوثهم، بالإضافة، إلى فتح باب لتسليط الضوء على بعض القطع المتحفية التي قد تساهم في إستقطاب المهتمين.

٢٨ / إلى أي مدى تم إنقاذ الآثار في المنطقة، وما هو مفهومك لعملية الإنقاذ التي تمت من مسح وحفريات وإنقاذ، ثم الدراسات التي تمت والمواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها؟

(تسلسل عملية الإنقاذ إلى أي مدى تم)

أعتقد بأن هذه التجربة تجربة جيدة جداً، وقد تم إنقاذ الآثار بصورة سليمة بتطبيق كل المعايير العلمية المتعلقة بالإنقاذ الأثري، كما قد كان هنالك تعاون وطني وعالمي مسر جداً، مكنا من تأسيس فريق وطني قادر على حماية الآثار وإنجاز أعمال وطنية في المستقبل.

ملخص تم إنقاذ الآثار بصورة سليمة، بالإضافة إلى تدريب الكادر الوطني حتى أصبح يتساوى في عمله مع عمل البعثات الأجنبية دون مشكلة.

بالإضافة إلى التدريب على الأجهزة الحديثة، كما تم جمع كثير من الآثار التي يمكن أن تثرى المتاحف الوطنية والأجنبية في المستقبل، بمعنى أن كل بعثة شاركة في الحملة لها الحق في ٥٠٪ من الآثار التي تم إنقاذها، حسب الإتفاق الذي تم، مع الإلتزام بعرض تلك المواد الأثرية في متاحف تلك البعثات العالمية بإسم السودان، باعتبارها واحدة من بنود الإتفاقية، لهذا تعد إكتشافات منطقة الشلال الرابع من الإكتشافات المهمة.

٢٩/ هل إذا توفر الكادر الوطني كان يمكن الإستغناء عن اللجوء للكوادر الأجنبية في هذا المشروع؟

لا في مثل هذه المشاريع يستحب مشاركة البعثات الأجنبية، حتى إذا توفر الزمن أو الكادر الوطني. بل يفضل الإستعانة بالكادر الأجنبي، باعتبار أن هذا المجال يحبذ التواصل فيه مع الخبرات والمؤسسات العلمية الأخرى بالمشاركة فيه باعتباره عمل جماعي تشارك فيه المدارس الأثرية المتعددة، حتى يكون هنالك وصول إلى نتائج مثمرة. على الرغم من تدريب الكادر الوطني إلا أن الحاجة للتفسيرات العلمية المختلف يكون لها وقعها، يجب وجود أفكار أخرى تساعد على التفسير السليم، لكن بالنسبة للمشاريع الصغيرة الكادر الوطني قادر على ذلك، أما بالنسبة للمشاريع الكبيرة فيحبذ ذلك التعاون العالمي.

٣٠/ هل ما تم نشره وما كتب بقلم الكوادر الوطنية من مصلحة الآثار ووحدة السدود، سواء كان بالعربية أو الانجليزية هل كان كافياً؟

إذا ما قورن مع المشاريع الكبرى الأخرى فهو أكثر من كفاية، فقد كان هنالك ثلاثة مجلات فصلية تصدر باستمرار، وهذا ما لم يحدث في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلى، فقد كانت المنشورات في ذلك الوقت تصدر سنوياً بمعنى أن المعلومات الخاصة بعمل إنقاذ آثار سد مروي كانت تملك للباحثين المهتمين بصورة دورية.

٣١/ هل ساهمت الحملة في توعية الإنسان السوداني بقيمة الآثار؟

نعم، فقد ساهمت بشكل كبير في ذلك نسبة لأن عملية إنشاء السد والمشاكل التي صاحبتة كان لها أثرها في خلق نقاش مستمر لتوضيح العمل الأثري وضرورته، وذلك من خلال وسائل الإعلام وغيرها. وتعتبر تجربة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي هي تجربة مهمة لأن وحدة تنفيذ سد مروي قامت بتطبيق قانون الآثار للعام ١٩٩٩م مع توفير المعينات لإنقاذ آثار المنطقة. كما كانت هنالك إكتشافات أثرية لها مردود وطني ومردود عالمي، والتي ساهمت بشكل كبيرة في توعية المواطنين بأهمية الآثار. على سبيل المثال: عند زيارة الزوار لمنطقة سد مروي يقومون بزيارة متحف مروي، و المواقع الأثرية المجاورة كأهرامات نوري، ومن ثم يتعرفون عن آثار المنطقة وأهميتها.

٣٢/ هل كانت هناك خطة بأن تعرض المواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها في متاحف مقترحة ويخزن بعضها للدراسة والعرض المستقبلي، هل تم تنفيذ هذه الخطط من إنشاء متاحف محلية وتخزين مناسب لتلك المواد التي تم إنقاذها؟

لم يتم تنفيذ الخطة بصورة سليمة، تم تنفيذ المرحلة الأولى منها فقط، لأن المرحلة الأولى كان من المفترض إن ينشأ فيها متحف أولي في مروي، ثم متحف كبيرة في مروي، بالإضافة إلى متحف في منطقة أبو حمد، فقد تم تنفيذ متحف واحد فقط. أما فيما يتعلق بجانب الآثار التي تم جلبها إلى متحف السودان القومي في الخرطوم، فقد تم تخزينها ولكن ليس بصورة مناسبة، نسبة لوجود مشاكل في التخزين، ومن ثم لم تدرس بصورة مناسبة ولم يتم عرضها أيضاً، وذلك لأن الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بصدد إنتظار تأهيل متحف السودان القومي من قبل منحة المشروع القطري، حتى تتم إعادة فلسفة العرض بشكل جديد، تدخل فيه كل المكتشفات الأثرية الجديدة.

٣٣/ هل كان في وضع الخطة الإعتبار لأساليب متطورة لتخزين المواد التي سوف يتم إنقاذها، بالإضافة إلى إثراء المتاحف الإقليمية بتلك المكتشفات حتى تساهم في توعية المواطن السوداني بآثار بلاده؟

٣٤/ هل إنحصر التقصير في التمويل ام في وضع الخطة نفسها؟

نعم كانت هنالك خطة بتخزينها في المخزن المقترح في مبنى صالة التاريخ الحديث، بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، على أن يتم تخزين كل مادة بمفردها بمواصفات عالمية. لكن التقصير من وزارة المالية في تمويل هذا المشروع حال عن ذلك، بالإضافة إلى المشاكل الفنية الأخرى التي أخرت هذا المشروع. ملخاً، الخطة وضعت على أن يتم تخزين تلك الآثار بشكل مناسب ثم يعرض بعضها في مشروع متحف لكل ولايات السودان بما فيها متحف السودان القومي، على أن يتم تخزين المتبقي

لدارسين الوطنيين والعالمين. ولعدم حدوث ذلك اضطررنا إلى تخزين الآثار في حاويات وغيرها بصورة غير مناسبة، وهذا ما قد يؤثر عليها مستقبلياً.

٣٥/ هل المشاريع التنموية مهددة للآثار أم محفزة للآثار؟

أي مشروع تنموي هو مهدد للآثار إذا لم يكون هنالك تنسيق بين هيئة الآثار والجهة المنفذة للمشروع. وحتى تقلل التلف وإنقاذ ما يمكن إنقاذه لأبد من وجود تنسيق مع الجسم المعني بالعمل الأثاري في البلاد. وواحدة من المشاكل التي تهدد الآثار في السودان عدم وجود التنسيق الكافي في مثل هذه المشاريع مع الجهات الحكومية التي تتعامل مع قطاع الأراضي. وعلى سبيل المثال: هنالك مشاكل مع هيئة الأراضي، الطرق والجسور، والجيولوجيا والكهرباء وغيرها من الهيئات الحكومية.

٣٦/ هل كان هنالك مشكلة تنسيق في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي بين الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف ووحدة تنفيذ السدود؟

لا، في حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي كان هنالك تنسيق مميز بين وحدة تنفيذ السدود والهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف. عكس ما حدث في منطقة سوبا، مع وزارة الزراعة والتخطيط العمراني، فقد كان عملهم بمعزل عن التنسيق مع الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف. وفي الرؤية الجديد لقانون الآثار المقترح (٢٠١٦) نريد أن نوضح (بند خلو الطرف) بمعنى إنه لا يمكن لأي مشروع تنموي أن يقوم دون إحضار خلو طرف من الآثار. فإذا حدث ذلك قد يساهم كثيراً في تحسين التنسيق مع هيئة الآثار وغيرها من الوزارات. هذا قد يساهم في إنقاذ الآثار بشكل جيد ومن ثم تنفيذ المشاريع التنموية، وقد تكون هذه المشاريع محفزة لنا إذا تم وضع رؤية لاستغلال مواردها المالية. ففي حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، كانت هنالك رؤية وخطط لعملية الإنقاذ، ولكن لم تكن هنالك خطة لما بعد الإنقاذ للتخزين، للتحليل، للعرض المتحفي، لم يكن هنالك رؤية كافية، مما جعلنا الآن نضع مثل تلك الخطط، وهذا ما تعلمناه من تلك الحملة.

٣٧/ مستقبل الآثار والعمل الأثاري والإنقاذي وأعمال الترميم في السودان؟

أعتقد بأن الآثار في السودان لها مستقبل مشرق، لأنها سوف تساهم مساهم فعالة في قضايا قائمة الآن، مثل مسألة الهوية السودانية، بمعنى إذا رجعنا للعمق الحضاري، ليس لدينا مشكلة هوية على الإطلاق. كما أن الآثار تساهم في التنمية الاقتصادية للبلاد وذلك عبر السياحة الثقافية، إذا قمنا بعمل متاحف.

٣٨/ هل لديك كادر وطني كافي لتنفيذ تلك المشاريع؟

يعتبر الكادر الوطني كافي إذا تم التنسيق بين الهيئة والولايات نسبة لوجود كادر وطني في الولايات، فهئية الآثار تعتبر الزراع التنفيذي للدولة في المركز و الولايات. عليه يجب إستوابع الكادر الوطني وتدريبه وتأهيله حتى يستطيع إدارة هذه المتاحف و المواقع الأثرية مع إشراف المركز على ذلك خاصة في أعمال الترميم والصيانة وغيرها. فيجب أن تكون هنالك رؤية جماعية حتى لا يفشل العمل بتركيزه في المركز فقط. بمعنى إنه إذا تم قيام أي مشروع تنموي في الولايات يكون من السهل المتابعه من خلال هذه الإدارات مما يقلل من التكلفة ويزيد من إمكانية الإدارة.

٣٩/ ما هو رأيك كمسؤول عن الآثار، فيما حدث في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة ومشروع سد مروي، مقارنة بما تم فقده واكتسابه؟

هي عبارة عن تجربة جيدة تعتبر نموذجية، بها دروس وعبر تم الاستفادة منها، بالإضافة إلى إنها قد ساهمت في إعداد كوادر وطنية لرؤية مستقبلية لإدارة الآثار في المستقبل، على الرغم من كل ما تم فقده. في اعتقادي، لولا مشروع سد مروي وكل هذا الجهد الداخلي والخارجي لما تحصلنا على نتائج علمية قد لا نحصل عليها في ٥٠ سنة قادمة، وذلك نسبة لحركة العمل التي نسلوها الآن والتي توصف بالضعيف. بمعنى أن النتائج التي تحصلنا عليها تتناسب مع الخسارة التي حدثت، بل قد تكون الفائدة أكبر من الخسارة. وقد يكون للتقنيات الحديث اليوم المتمثلة في علم الآثار تحت الماء أثره في إنقاذ تلك الآثار التي

غمرت تحت الماء في المستقبل. بمعنى أن كل ما هو قد يتأثر بالمياه قد تم إنقاذه فوراً، وما ترك من حصون وغيره، ربما يكون من الممكن إنقاذها في المستقبل من خلال علم الآثار تحت الماء. وفيما يتعلق بحملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة كان التركيز على الصروح الكبيرة، أما في حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي لم يتم إنقاذ صروح كبيرة بها، والمردود العلمي الوطني لنتائج إنقاذ آثار سد مروي أكبر من حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة، وكلهما له قدره.

٤٠ / المواقع الأثرية التي تم تسجيلها ضمن قائمة التراث العالمي هل هي أهم المواقع التي كان يجب تسجيلها؟

الأهمية بالنسبة لليونسكو كانت تتركز في الصروح الشاخصة التي لها دلالات فنية وتاريخية، وهذا هو الأهم، وتم بناء توصيات التسجيل على جوانب رمزية: منها ما يتعلق بجزيرة مروي التي بها أكبر تجمع أهرامات في العالم، ثم جبل البركل باعتبار إنه كان مركزاً للأسرة ٢٥، التي حكمت وادي النيل لفترة طويلة. وهناك خصائص تتميز بها المواقع حتى يتم تسجيلها في قائمة التراث العالمي مثل: الأصالة والجوانب العلمية وغيرها من اعتبارات. بمعنى أن كل ما كان الموقع محافظاً على هيئته، ولم يتم تدخل وتعدي السكان عليه بشكل كبير، من خلال التوسع الزراعي أو المعماري إلخ... ومثال لذلك: موقع كرمة، لذا كان قبول الطلب أكبر لجبل البركل من كرمة. وهذا التسجيل يؤكد بأن آثار السودان هي جزء من الآثار التي تشكل التراث العالمي. وتسجيل بعض المواقع الأثرية السودانية في قائمة التراث العالمي يؤكد بأن الآثار السودانية هي جزء من التراث الإنساني العالمي.

٤١ / هل تعتقد بأن السودان يحتاج إلى مجهود كبير حتى يستطيع المحافظة على آثاره وتراثه؟

نعم، لأن التوجه العالمي اليوم هو أن علم الآثار يتركز في المحافظة عليها، وهي أضعف الحلقات في الهيئة فلا بد من توفير كادر وطني وتدريبه في مجال الترميم، والترميم الوقائي، وكيفية إدارة وحماية الآثار. فقد كان قديماً أهم علماء الآثار هم الذين يقومون بالحفريات والعمل المتحفي، وذلك ما جعل قديماً أساتذة الترميم في الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف أن يشعروا بالدونية ولم يحركوا ساكناً، مما انعكس في عدم نشاطهم في أعمال الترميم ولربما كان من الممكن أن يكون الحال أفضل من ذلك إذا تعمقت رؤيتهم وجهدهم في ذلك الحقل. وواحدة من الخطط المستقبلية أن يكون ٥٠٪ من كوادر الهيئة يعملون في مجال الترميم في المستقبل إن شاء الله.

٤٢ / كلمة أخيرة؟

أعتقد أن مثل هذه الدراسة هي تجربة جيدة جداً، تساهم في حل كثير من المشاكل المتعلقة بإدارة وحماية المواد الأثرية في البلاد.

٤٣ / في ماذا تتركز الآن حاجة الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف ؟

نحتاج لغرس روح الفريق الواحد، يمكن أن يكون هنالك عمل كبير جداً إذا تم توحيدنا وعلنا بروح الفريق الواحد، وعلنا على تقوية الجوانب الضعيفة، وتعليم الكوادر، ويمكن للهيئة مستقبلياً أن تكون من أكثر المؤسسات الحكومية تأهيلاً لكوادرها. يمكن أن تكون جهة بحثية إدارية يمكن أن تكون أقوى جهة علمية في البلاد، وأنا أحفز بالتدريب والمشاركة الخارجية في المؤتمرات.

والآن نحن بصدد سيطرة قانون شامل كامل يحافظ على الآثار و يكون مواكباً للاتفاقيات الدولية يشترك في سياقته كثير من الخبراء والمختصين، كما يجب أن يكون مواكباً للتطورات المتعلقة بالجرائم المرتكبة في حق الآثار، وذلك من خلا عمل ورشة عمل يشارك فيها نخبة من الخبراء و اليونسكو..... ونحن الآن بصدد تقديمه. كما اننا نأمل في تمويل من قبل المشروع القطري يهدف إلى توعية المواطن والسكان المحليين بأهمية الآثار وضرورة المحافظة عليها، والإستفادة منها، وعدم السماح لأي شخص بالعمل فيها إلا بوجود تصريح عمل. وذلك من خلال الوصول إليهم في أماكنهم وعمل ورش عمل وعرض سينمائي يوضح الآثار وأهميتها. وهذا العمل بطبيعة الحال يحتاج إلى كثير من الصبر والعمل، والآن نحن بصدد عمل أرشيف رقمي، لنحفظ كل ما كتب ونشر عن الآثار السودانية، ومن ثم نتيح الفرص للدارسين والباحثين من الداخل والخارج للإطلاع عليه والإستفادة منه. بل يجب على كل الكوادر المشاركة في نشر تقارير عملها العلمي حتى تعينهم على التدرج في

وظائفهم. فلا بد من وجود خطة قصير المدى وطويلة المدى وبرنامج تنفيذي بشكل متدرج مع التقييم الدوري للعمل ومعرفة معوقات العمل الذي يجب إنجازه، حتى تتمكن من معالجة تلك المشاكل مستقبلا وهكذا... وقبل كل ذلك لا بد من توفير بيئة العمل السليمة وتدريب الكوادر حتى يعرف كل فرد ما هو مطلوب منه، ومن ثم عمل فريق واحد بخطة محكمة يتم إعماله من الكل.

INTERVIEW 3.

Date: 1st October 2015

Interviewee: Salah Mohamed Ahmed, the field director of MDASP, former Director of NCAM's Department of Archaeological Survey, Director of Nubian Archaeological Development Organization (Qatar-Sudan).

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (٣)

التاريخ: ١ أكتوبر ٢٠١٥م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: صلاح محمد أحمد

المهنة: مدير المشروع القطري – مدير العمل الحفلي بمشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي.

تخرج في كلية الآثار جامعة الخرطوم، ثم عمل في مصلحة الآثار و المتاحف آنذاك، ومن ثم تدرج حتى أصبح أمين أمانة الكشف الأثري بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، ثم مديراً لإدارة المشروع القطري السوداني للآثار، ثم أثاري بالمعاش .

نص مادة المقابلات

تتخصص المقابلة في ثلاثة محاور أساسية هي:

المشاركة في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، الصعوبات والتحديات التي تخللت قيام المشروع وإمكانيات الهيئة في ذلك الوقت، ثم تقييم التجربة من وجهة نظر الشخص المسئول، المتخصص، المتابع والمساهم في تنفيذ المشروع، وأخيراً رؤيته في مستقبل الآثار السودانية.

المحور الأول:

١/ المشاركة في العمل، وكيفية استقبال خبر حتمية قيام سد مروي (وقع الخبر عليكم من الجانب الأكاديمي والنفسي)؟

الخبر جاء وأنا عائد إلى السودان بشكل نهائي، فقد كنت مقيم جزئياً في فرنسا وألمانيا، وبعد عودتي بشكل نهائي أو شبه نهائي إلى السودان إستلمت مقاليد وظيفة أمين أمانة الآثار، والتي كانت تمثل الجسم المناط به متابعة وتنسيق مثل هذا العمل (العمل الحفلي لمشروع إنقاذ آثار سد الحامداب).

حقيقة، في بادئ الأمر أنا وكثير من زملائي لم نأخذ الأمر مأخذ الجد، وذلك نسبة لأن فكرة قيام هذا المشروع كانت قديمة، بدأ التفكير فيه منذ الأربعينيات حوالي ١٩٤٣م، في عهد الإدارة المصرية البريطانية و منذ ذلك الوقت لم يحدث أي جديد في هذا الأمر، والسبب يعود إلى أن أغلب الحكومات التي تعاقبت على الحكم في السودان لم تنفذ هذا المشروع. كانت معظم تلك الحكومات تقوم بفتح هذا الملف ومحاوله إيجاد الدعم المالي لإنشائه، إلا أن أغلب تلك المحاولات باءت بالفشل، وقد إستمر هذا الفشل لأكثر من ٦٠ عاماً، حتى أصبح من الفكاهة في المنطقة أن هنالك شيئين نسمع بقيامهما ولا نري شيئاً منهم، (القيامه و سد الحامداب).

فلم تكن هنالك بداية حقيقة إلا في العام (٢٠٠٠ – ٢٠٠١)، حيث تشكلت وحدة السدود، وأصبح لها مكاتب وإستشاريين قدموا لها من الخارج، فاصبح الأمر حقيقة، ومن ثم كان وقع الخبر علينا في الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف صعب جداً جداً وذلك نسبة للاتي:

أ/ ضخامة المساحة المستهدفة، كانت كبيرة جداً حوالي (١٧٠ كيلومتر) على إمتداد ضفتي نهر النيل.

ب/ إرتفاع عدد الجزر بالمنطقة، (عشرات الجزر)

ت/ عدد أربعة مواقع لإعادة التوطين للسكان المرحلين

ث/ شبكة الكهرباء (خطوط شبكة أعمدة الكهرباء)

فقد كان حجم الإنقاذ المطلوب للآثار أكبر بكثير جداً من إمكانيات الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بشكل أساسي، أي خارج عن نطاق مقدراتها وإمكانياتها، المالية وعدد الكوادر أو الفنيين. بالإضافة إلى أن وحدة إنشاء السدود، لم تكن تضع في إعتبارها ميزانيات مالية كبيرة لهذا الإنقاذ (إنقاذ الآثار) وكانت تعول كثيراً على المشاركة الخارجية، أي مشاركات عالمية، على قرار حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة في الستينيات والتي تبنتها منظمة اليونسكو، لذلك فقد كان وقع الخبر علينا صعب جداً جداً، بل كان مخيفاً.

٢/ بعد وقع الخبر والتسليم بمصداقيته، كيف كانت بداية الشروع في الخطة ومن ثم العمل؟

أولاً: تمت معرفة الإمكانيات المتاحة لدى الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف وتحديدها، ومن ثم تقرر القيام بأول عمل وهو عملية المسح الأثري والاستطلاع السريع، لتحديد إمكانيات المنطقة وأهميتها وما هو موجود بها بشكل عام. كما فكرنا في الاستعانة ببعض أصدقائنا من البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية للمساعدة في هذا الأمر. عليه كانت البداية بقيام عمليتين كبيرتين تركزا على المسح الأثري الأولي السريع جداً للمنطقة كجزء أول، (فقد كانت مسألة مستعجلة جداً جداً) في المنطقة الهندسية التي أنشئ عليها جسم السد نفسه على ضفتي نهر النيل. بالإضافة إلى الجزيرة التي يمر من خلالها جسم السد نفسه (جزيرة مروي) و منطقة إعادة التوطين الأولى في الملتقي، والتي تسمى الآن بمنطقة الحامدات الجديدة.

عليه فقد توصلنا إلى أننا في الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بإمكانياتنا المتوفرة وبتمويل من وحدة تنفيذ السدود، قد يمكننا أن نقوم بهذا الأمر لأنه مستعجل، ولكننا لا نستطيع أن ندعو أي بعثة أجنبية، لأن معظم البعثات الأجنبية في ذلك الوقت لم تكن مستعدة مالياً بالقيام بهذا العمل، الذي ليس مضمن في خطتها مسبقاً. فما كان علينا إلا أن نلجأ إلى وضع خطة لمسح ما تبقى من المنطقة التي سوف تغمر بمياه البحيرة، والتي لم تتم فيها عمليات المسح الأثري من قبل. حيث كانت تقدر بحوالي ١٧٠ كيلومتر على ضفتي نهر النيل والجزر. تم العمل بمساعدة بعض الزملاء من البعثات الأجنبية، كجمعية أبحاث الآثار السودانية في المتحف البريطاني، والتي قامت بمسح سريع على الضفة اليسرى للنيل (غرب النيل) وأيضاً بعثة متحف غدانيسك البولندية على الضفة اليمنى (شرق النيل) وذلك لمعرفة ما تحويه المنطقة من مواد أثرية تساهم في معرفة طبيعة المنطقة، ومن ثم الشروع في وضع الخطة اللازمة للعمل الإنقاذي.

٣/ هل كان هنالك خطة للمواقع الأثرية بمنطقة الشلال الرابع أعانتمكم في تحديد المواقع التي يجب إنقاذها في ذلك الوقت؟

٤/ هل كانت الهيئة لديها الإمكانيات الكافية من كادر مؤهل وغيره للشروع في وضع الخطة لمشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي؟ بمعنى أن أول التحديات التي واجهتكم كانت عدم توفر الكادر المؤهل الكافي لوضع الخطة للعمل؟

٥/ هل كانت هنالك إمكانيات كافية لبداية العمل؟

٦/ هل كانت المعلومة عن المنطقة التي سوف يتم بناء السد بها متوفرة وكافية؟

تقريباً قد بدأنا من الصفر، فقد كان هنالك عمل محدود قد تم في المنطقة. فهناك بعض المسح الأثري كانت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف قد قامت به في عهد أحد مدراءها، أسامة عبد الرحمن النور، في عام (١٩٨٨ - ١٩٨٩)، تم ذلك بمرافقة خبير من منظمة اليونسكو وهو بروفيسور يتبع للأكاديمية الفرنسية، قبل ذلك كانت جامعة روما في عام (١٩٨٦م)، قامت ببعض الأبحاث على الضفة اليمنى للنيل، في المنطقة شمال مدينة كريمة (منطقة جزر)، كما قامت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف أيضاً في الأعوام (١٩٩١-١٩٩٢)، ببعض من المسح الأثري على الضفة اليسرى للنيل. قبل كل ذلك كانت هنالك التقارير التفتيشية التي قام بها المفتشين البريطانيون الذين تعاقبوا على إدارة منطقة مركز مروي، و الذين كانوا يسجلون زيارات لمنطقة الشلال الرابع لشئون إدارية، وقد كانت الآثار وخاصة الشاحصة منها جزء من إهتماماتهم. بالإضافة إلى جمعهم بعض القطع الأثرية التي كان يجدها السكان المحليين في المنطقة، حيث كانوا يقومون بجمعها والكتابة عنها. كما قامت جامعة دنقلا أيضاً ببعض العمل في منطقة (كول قيل) منطقة السد حالياً.

بمعنى إنه كان هنالك شتات من المعلومات حول المنطقة، لكن لم تكن هنالك خريطة حقيقة منهجية متكاملة لما هو موجود من مواقع أثرية في منطقة الشلال الرابع.

بشكل عام كانت هنالك بعض المعلومات المتوفرة سابقاً عن المنطقة، تم إعتادها كأساس في بناء خطة العمل بالمنطقة. لكن على الرغم من ذلك، كان لا بد من مسح أثري منهجي على ضفتي نهر النيل، حتى تتمكن الهيئة من معرفة حقيقة المواد الأثرية الموجودة في المنطقة، وهذا ما قامت به كوادر الهيئة القومية للآثار المتاحف وبعثتي المتحف البريطاني ومتحف غدانيسك البولندي.

٧/ إذاً هل يمكن أن نستنتج بأن بداية العمل كانت بوضع الخريطة الأولية للمواقع الأثرية في منطقة الشلال الرابع؟

نعم، فقد كان ذلك هو الأساس أو الهدف بأن تعد خريطة أولية توضح المواقع الأثرية في المنطقة، أو ربما أقل من ذلك، بمعنى رصد المواد والمواقع الأثرية الموجودة في المنطقة وأهميتها، أقلها عمل قائمة بحصر المواقع الموجودة الظاهرة على سطح الأرض في المنطقة.

٨/ على أي أساس تم بناء خطة العمل؟

بدأت الخطة بإطلاق نداء في إجتماع جمعية الآثار السودانية بالمتحف البريطاني في عام (٢٠٠٢ - ٢٠٠٣م)، ولكن أول نداء كان في كامبيردج عام ١٩٩٥م في جمعية الآثار المصرية ولم تكن هنالك إستجابة كبيرة، لذا فقد كان النداء الثاني بأكثر جدية، تحدثنا فيه عن المطلوب عمله بالتفصيل. بالإضافة إلى معلومات على المساحة التي سوف تغمرها المياه، وذلك نسبة لأن المعلومات التي كانت تتوفر للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في العام ١٩٩٥م لمن تكن كافية، ولكن عند النداء الثاني في العام ٢٠٠٢م كانت هنالك معلومات أساسية متوفرة، تنحصر في:

أ/ إرتفاع جسم السد ونسبة إرتفاع المياه،

ب/ المساحة التي سوف تغمرها مياه بحيرة السد، و أي المناطق والجزر في المنطقة المهددة بالغرق،
ت/ أين سوف تكون مناطق إعادة توطين السكان تقريباً،

ج/ الخطوط الناقلة للكهرباء والتي كان عددها خمسة خطوط تم تحديد مسارها وطبيعتها عملها.

بمعنى إنه كان هنالك ما يمكن تقديمه للمجتمع الأثري العالمي، حتى يبنى عليه إمكانياته، وهذا ما تم تقديمه في لندن عام ٢٠٠٢م، بتوضيح مبسط لحجم المشكلة ومن ثم الدعوة للمشاركة في الحملة. حقيقة الإستجابة كانت ممتازة، وعلى ضوء ذلك، قامت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بتقسيم المنطقة الي إمتيازات، بعد أن قامت بعض البعثات الأجنبية بالإستجابة للنداء، والتقديم للعمل حسب الحاجة والإهتمام الخاص بها، أي البعثات.

٩/ هل كان هنالك تنسيق داخلي قوي وحقيقي أعانكم على جمع المعلومات المطلوبة لوضع الخطة المرجوة بين الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف ووحدة تنفيذ السدود؟

نعم قد كان هنالك تنسيق حقيقي وجيد جداً، وكانت هنالك إجتماعات شبه دورية مع إدارة وحدة تنفيذ السدود ومع الإستشاري الخاص بالوحدة التابع لإدارة الشركة الألمانية (شركة لامير العالمية)، هي عبارة عن هيئة إستشارية هندسية مستقلة مقرها الرئيسي ألمانيا، هذه الهيئة متخصصة في عمل الدراسات والجانب الإستشاري في مجالات الطاقة والموارد المائية والتقنية الخاصة بالبيئة. فهي الشركة التي كانت تزود الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بالمعلومات التي تختص بطبيعة حجم جسم السد وأبعاده.... ملخصاً كانت هذه الشركة توفر كل ما تحتاجه الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف من معلومات تعينها في وضع خطتها مثل:

أ/ الخريطة الكنتورية التي توضح إمتداد البحيرة

ب/ معرفة منطقة إعادة التوطين في الملتقي وتحديد ما من خلال الصور الجوية

ت/ مسار الخط الناقل للتيار الكهربائي من السد (الضغط العالي)

ج/ منح الهيئة ميزانية التنسيق والعمل مع البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية والوطنية.

يمكن أن نخلص بإنه، كانت هنالك إعانة كافية وتنسيق كافي لوضع الخطة.

١٠ / سؤال على ماذا إعتد توزيع مناطق الإمتياز للبعثات الأثرية الأجنبية؟

إعتد على لقاءات تفكريه مباشرة مع البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية نفسها، وتحديد الإمكانات المادية والعلمية المتوفرة لديها، على سبيل المثال: جمعية الآثار السودانية كانت لديها إمكانيات كبيرة ولكن كانت تفضل العمل في منطقة صغيرة لا تتجاوز ٤٠ كيلومتر، بالإضافة الي التركيز على فترات محددة مثل: الفترة المروية، وما بعد الفترة المروية، حسب التسلسل التاريخي للآثار السودانية. كما كان لبعثة متحف بوزنان البولندية الإهتمام بالعمل في فترة ما قبل التاريخ، وبعثة بولندية أخرى مهتمة بالقلاع المسيحية القديمة، فقمنا بمنحهم المناطق التي بها القلاع المسيحية. ثم بعثة متحف غدانسك البولندية والتي كان إهتمامها ينصب في عمل المسح الأثري الميداني، في مساحات كبيرة، فكانت منطقة عملهم كبيرة جدا وهكذا... فقد كانت هنالك بعض البعثات تهتم بالآثار الموجودة على الجزر والتي كان عددها كبير، باعتبارها مستوطنات مختلفة عن المستوطنات الأخرى حول ضفتي نهر النيل وإن أثارها لها ميزات مختلفة عن نظيراتها.

يمكن تفصيل ذلك في الاتي:

أ/ إهتمام البعثات الأثرية، قدراتها العلمية والمادية من كوادرات وتمويل.

ب/ إهتمام البعثات الأثرية، او رغباتها في العمل في عصر محدد من العصور الموجودة في السودان، والتي تتماشى مع حوجه الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في إنقاذ المنطقة المحددة.

عليه، يمكن القول بأن توزيع مواقع الإمتياز تم بشكل مرضي لكل الأطراف من البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية والهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، فلم يكن هنالك أي إختلاف على ذلك أو ضجر أو إجبار على العمل في موقع غير مرغوب فيه. نعم، لم تكن هنالك أي بعثة قد تضجرت من هذا التوزيع خاصة إذا قارنا ذلك بما حدث في توزيع مناطق الإمتياز في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي والتي إتسمت بشيء من التحيز الوطني في بعض الأحيان. فقد أجبرت فيها بعض البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية، بالعمل في مواقع ليس من إهتماماتها أو تخصصاتها، وذلك بقرار من لجنة اليونسكو التي قامت بتوزيع مناطق الإمتياز في ذلك الوقت. وربما يعزى ذلك إلى أن منطقة النوبة السفلي تميزت بالآثار الشاخصة كالمروية، الفرعونية، المسيحية وغيرها من معابد وكنائس كبيرة، و التي كان لها صداً واسعاً عند إنقاذها بين البعثات العاملة، مثل إنقاذ معبد أبو سمبل. ولربما قد ترك هذا التوزيع بعض الآثار السالبة في بعض البعثات الأجنبية بإعتقادها أن هنالك تميز بينهم. بينما اتسمت معظم آثار منطقة الشلال الرابع بأنها كانت غير شاخصة، فقط الرسوم الصخرية والقلاع المسيحية، فمعظم الآثار كانت عبارة عن بقايا مساكن ومقابر، لذلك لم يكن هنالك تنافس ملحوظ على مناطق الإمتياز في منطقة الشلال الرابع.

١١ / كيف كانت إستجابة البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية للنداء، وهل كانت إستجاباتهم تدريجية ام أغلبها في وقت واحد؟

يمكن القول أن في بادئ الأمر كانت هنالك إستجابة فورية لبعض البعثات الأثرية الأجنبية بنسبة كبيرة حوالي (٩-١٠)، تم منحهم مناطق الإمتياز مباشرة، ثم تركت بعض المناطق تحسبنا لإنضمام عدد إضافي من البعثات الأخرى للمجموعة والتي كان عددها ٣-٤ بعثات تقريبا.

١٢ / السؤال هل كانت هنالك متابعة دقيقة لعمل البعثات، وكيف كان ذلك، هل كان هنالك مراجعة للتقارير ومناقشتها دوريا، كيف كانت الرقابة على العمل؟

كان هنالك توجيه عام لعمل البعثات، بأن تركز على الفترات التاريخية التي لم تكن معروفة في تاريخ المنطقة من قبل، مثل: حضارة كرمه، او الفترة المروية، ... هذه الفترات لمن تكن معروفة بوجودها في تلك المنطقة. فقد عرفت أساسا المنطقة بوجود آثار الفترة المسيحية الشاخصة، مما جعل الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف متحمسة إلى معرفة الفترات التي لم يسبق ذكر وجودها في تلك المنطقة.

كما كانت وحدة تنفيذ السود تطلب الهيئة بتقارير دورية كل ثلاثة أو أربعة أشهر، عن طبيعة عمل البعثات الأثرية الوطنية والأجنبية، وذلك لإستمرارية التمويل المادي لها، بالإضافة الي قيام بعض المؤتمرات بمشاركة البعثات الأثرية العاملة في منطقة الشلال الرابع، او التي شاركت في العمل الميداني عموماً، و مثال لتلك المناطق التي قامت فيها هذه المؤتمرات: جامعة كولون الألمانية، و ليل الفرنسية، كان ذلك أثناء قيام الحملة نفسها. كان خلال تلك المؤتمرات إستعراض للأعمال والنتائج الأثرية التي تمت في المنطقة، ومن ثم مناقشتها في شكل إختلاف وإتفاق على كثير من النظريات العلمية، ثم وضع توجيهات مفيدة، تم الإستفادة منها في إضافة وتعديل بعض إستراتيجية العمل الميدان للحملة. فقد كان الأمر يتم بالتشاور والإستشارة،

مع تبادل المعلومات المطلوبة لمصلحة العمل. كما كان هنالك موقع إلكتروني لجمع المعلومات تم إنشاؤه من قبل بعثة المتحف البريطاني لتبادل تلك المعلومات.

١٣ / هل كان سير العمل خلال فترة الحملة يسير حسب الخطة الموضوعية، أم كانت هنالك بعض الاختراقات؟

من الصعب وضع خطة مسبقة ثابتة للعمل لمنطقة كبيرة مثل منطقة الشلال الرابع ومن ثم يتم تنفيذها دون تغيير! ولكن على سبيل المثال: يمكن أن توضع برنامج للبحث عن آثار حضارة فترة كرمه، ولكن قد تتفاجأ أننا عملك بوجود آثار حضارة الفترة المروية، وهي فترة مهمه جداً في تاريخ السودان، وقد حدث ذلك في هرم الشلال الرابع المبني من حجر الجرانيت، والذي يتطلب مجهوداً كبيراً بالعمل فيه، فهو يقود إلى إيجاد أصول لسلاسة الملوك الكوشيين في منطقة الشلال الرابع. فقد كان لذلك الأمر أثره على تغيير وتعديل إستراتيجية الخطة الموضوعية حسب ضرورة المرحلة. لكن بشكل عام كان هنالك إحترام في توجهات الخطة الأساسية من قبل البعثات الأثرية، وخاصة في المواقع التي وجدت بها بقايا حضارة كرمه، والتي لم يكن متوقع وجودها في تلك المنطقة، حتى (جزيره مكرات) لم يكن معروف وجودها في تلك المنطقة من قبل.

المحور الثاني:

١٤ / الصعوبات التي واجهت سير العمل أثناء الحملة، باعتبارها مشروع كبير جداً في ذلك الوقت، وهل تمت الاستفادة من تجربة حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي في ذلك؟

من خلال الدرس المأخوذ من حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي، تم التوصل إلى الحقيقة التي تشير إلى صعوبة إنقاذ كل المواد الأثرية، في مثل تلك المشاريع الإنقاذية. وذلك نسبة لأن الإمكانات الفنية و البشرية والمادية والعامل الزمني قد لا يتوافقا بشكل كامل حتى تتمكن من إنقاذ كل المواد الأثرية في المنطقة. فقد كانت الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف، منذ الوهلة الأولى متفهمة ومسلمة بعدم إمكانية إنقاذ كل المواد الأثرية. عليه فقد كان التركيز على نموذج أثري حضاري يمثل منطقة الشلال الرابع، وذلك من خلال التركيز على الفترات التي لم تكن معروفة في تاريخ المنطقة. فقد كان هنالك سؤال يطرح نفسه، هل يعقل أن تتركز معظم البعثات الأثرية في منطقة تحتوي على مئات الألوف من المقابر التي تمثل حقبة زمنية واحد مثل ما بعد مروي، أو عشرات الألوف من المقابر المسيحية؟.

خلاصة، في مشروع كبير مثل ذلك تجد نفسك مجبر على أخذ بعض الخيارات، ولكن هذه الاختيارات يجب أن تكون من خلال التشاور و التفكير مع بعض المتخصصين في آثار المنطقة، ومن ثم يجب أن يكون إختيار ذكي، بمعنى أن ما يتم إختياره يجب فعلياً أن يمثل المنطقة.

١٥ / هل يمكن أن نصف ذلك بأنه كان منهجاً إنتقائياً إنقاذي؟

نعم إنه كان منهجاً إنتقائياً إنقاذي. عليه فقد كان السؤال بأنه ما هي الفائدة من حفر عدد كبير من مقابر فترة زمنية محدده، كالفتره المروية مثلاً، ثم ملء وإكتظاظ المتاحف بالجرار الأثرية المتكررة لتلك الفترة، والتي قد لا نجد مكان لتخزينها. لذلك كان لا بد من وجود ضحية! بمعنى إنه يجب العلم بأن هنالك جزء من المواد الأثرية سوف تضيع" وهذا ما حدث بأن هناك بعض المقابر تمثل فترة ما بعد مروي والفترة المسيحية، لم تنل كلها حظها من الإنقاذ، فتركزت.

إذاً يكمن تصنيف ذلك بأن المشكلة الأولى: كانت هي التسليم منذ البداية بصعوبة إنقاذ كل المواد الأثرية بالمنطقة، والتي قد تكون حلم لك أثري يشارك في مثل هذه المشاريع. هذه الحقيقة كانت الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف على علم بها منذ البداية، وتعود دوافعها إلى المال والوقت. فإذا توفرنا سوف يتوفر الكادر المتخصص المؤهل للعمل.

المشكلة الثانية: وهي مشكلة وعورة المنطقة؛ كانت طاردة وصعبه جداً من ناحية لوجستية، من خدمات وحركة وتنقل، مع صعوبة الإقامة بها، طاردة، خاصة قبل بناء السد والطرق التي توصل إلى المنطقة. فعلى سبيل المثال المنطقة من جبل كولليل إلى مستشفى مروي وهي المنطقة التي كانت تقيم فيها البعثة الأثرية القومية، كانت تستقر ثلاثة أو أربعة ساعات في الليل، مع العلم أن المسافة لا تتجاوز فقط الخمسين كيلومتر. وذلك نسبة لعدم وجود طرق معبدة للحركة البسيطة. فكان العمل في المنطقة يحتاج إلى ترتيبات خاصة ونوع عربات خاصة. بالإضافة إلى كواادر لديهم قابلية للعمل في مثل هذه المنطقة التي تتسم بشدة الحرارة في الصيف وتوالد الحشرات بشكل كبير جداً.

المشكلة الثالثة والأكبر: كانت تتعلق برد فعل بعض السكان المحليين، في رفضهم في الفترة الأولى لعمل البعثات الأثرية في المنطقة. حيث كان السكان يعتبرون أن البعثات الأثرية تنتمي إلى إدارة السد، وقد ظهرت هذه المعارضة منذ أول يوم للعمل، مما تعثر على البعثة وجود منزل للإقامة بالمنطقة. ولكن بعد إقناع أحد السكان المحليين بحتمية قيام السد وافق باستئجار بيته، ثم إقناع السكان بحتمية قيام السد وضروره إنقاذ الآثار. تقبل السكان الأمر وسمحوا لنا بالإقامة في المنطقة لفترة وجيزة، إلا أن بعضهم قد قبل ذلك على مضض وهناك آخرون لم يتقبلوا الأمر تماماً، حتى بعد قيام السد نفسه.

١٦/ هل يمكن القول بأن السكان المحليين لم يكونوا متفهمين أو متعاونين بشكل كفاي لعملكم؟

١٧/ هل كان جزء من الخطة وضع برامج توعوية للسكان المحليين بأهمية إنقاذ الآثار؟

هنالك أماكن محددة كانت رافضة لقيام السد ونتيجة لذلك لم يتم إجراء أي أعمال إنقاذه بها مثل: منطقة الدقلي والتي تمثل قطاع كامل أكثر من ٣٠ كيلو متر على الضفة اليمنى لنهر النيل، لم تتال حظها من الإنقاذ، نسبة لرفض السكان المحليين لأي نوع من العمل الأثري في المنطقة. أيضاً جزء من جزيرة شيلي كان قد بدأ العمل بها ومن ثم تم توقيفه.

١٨/ هل كان هنالك بعض التعدي أم تم الإكتفاء فقط برفض العمل في المنطقة؟

نعم هنالك بعض الأماكن قد حدث بها تعدي، وأنا شخصياً أذكر التعدي الذي حدث مع بعثة الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، التي كانت قد أنهت عملها في جسم السد وبصدد جمع أدواتها وأمتعتها للتوجه إلى منطقة وأدي المقدم منطقة إعادة الإستيطان، حيث جوبهت البعثة من قبل السكان المحليين، برفض أخذ أمتعة أفرادها وأدواتهم التي أطروا لأخذها سراً.

١٩/ هل كان هنالك أي تعدي على المواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها؟

لا، لم يكن هنالك أي تعدي على المواقع الأثرية أو الأشخاص بالضرب، بل كان التعدي عبارة عن إنزار مكتوب بعدم العمل وإخلاء المنطقة. هنالك مناطق أظرت الهيئة إلى إخطار البعثات التي تعمل فيها بضرورة الإستجابة لرغبة السكان المحليين وترك المنطقة حفاظاً على سلامتهم، لكن في بعض المناطق الأخرى وهي الأكثر وتقدر بحوالي ٧٠٪، كانت نسبة القبول والتجاوب كبيرة من قبل السكان المحليين خاصة بعد لجوء الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف للتفاوض معهم وإقناعهم بضرورة إنقاذ الآثار، مما أظفر بقبولهم بمواصلة العمل وإنقاذ ما يمكن إنقاذه من الآثار. كانت طبيعة النقاش مع السكان المحليين من جانب الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف تنحصر في:

أ/ أن الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف كجسم مسؤول ومعني بحماية الآثار يشارك السكان في الضرر بسبب قيام السد، وذلك نسبة لتسببه في غمر مناطق كثيرة حافلة بالمواد الأثرية، التي قد تساهم في توسيع مفهوم تاريخ المنطقة.

ب/ اتفاق الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف مع السكان المحليين في حقهم في معارضة قيام السد، ولكن يجب إنقاذ آثار المنطقة، التي سوف تغمر بالمياه، بمعنى أن الحكومة إذا أرادت أن تغرق المنطقة سوف تغرقها بأكملها بما فيها المواقع الأثرية نفسها. بمعنى أن الحكومة قادرة على إغراق المنطقة بأكملها من مساكن وأشجار مثمرة وآثار وكل ما تحويه من مواد قيمة، عليه فقد تجاوب وتفهم كثير منهم الأمر. كما كان هنالك تحزير من قبل الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، للسكان المحليين، بأنه إذا تم الرفض بقيام السد ومن ثم تم إجبارهم على قيامه، قد يكون الوقت غير كافي لإنقاذ آثار المنطقة. وبطبيعة الحال هذا الشيء قد حدث في بعض المناطق التي عارض أهلها العمل الأثري، ثم أجبروا أخيراً على قيام السد، لكن للأسف لم يكن هنالك وقت كافي لإنقاذ الآثار فتركت تغرق. تحديداً منطقة الدغلي في الضفة اليمنى للنيل وجزيرة شيلي، لم يتم بهم عمل يمكن أن نطلق عليه عمل أثري.

المشكلة الرابعة: عامل الزمن، فقد كان لعامل الزمن أثراً كبيراً في إنجاز العمل، إنحصرت فترة العمل تقريبا في ثمانية أعوام من العام ٢٠٠١م، البعثة الوطنية ثم ٢٠٠٣م، البعثات الأجنبية حتى بداية الإعمار في ٢٠٠٩م.

٢٠ / هل كان الزمن كافياً ولماذا؟

لا لم يكن الزمن كافياً بكل تأكيد، نسبة لارتباطه بعامل التمويل أيضاً، فقد كان هو المشكلة والمعضلة الحقيقية، خصوصاً بأنه كان من المستحيل أن تستجلب كوادر للعمل على إنقاذ الآثار إذا لم يتوفر المال الكافي لذلك. وعلى الرغم من كل ذلك، يمكن القول بأن هذا هو الحقل الوحيد الذي ساهمت فيه الدولة بالدعم المادي لإنقاذ الآثار في منطقة السد بتفهمهم إلى حد ما لضرورة العمل الإنقاذي.

"مقارنة مع كل الفترة التي عملت بها في الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف لم تتجرأ الدولة بالصرف على العمل الأثري كما فعلت بالمساهمة في حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي"

٢١ / هل كان هنالك في خطة العمل رؤية جيدة لحفظ المواد الأثرية بعد إنقاذها للدراسة والعرض؟

تعتبر مشكلة التخزين هي المشكلة الحقيقية، لم تنال حظها من التخزين الجيد، ولا تزال هنالك مواد كثيرة مبعثرة في المخازن مثل متحف مروي وغيره، لكن كانت هنالك خطة مع إدارة السد بأن يقام متحف متكامل لهذه الحملة لعرض الآثار وحفظها . بمعنى، عرض بعض المواد الصالحة للعرض وتخزين الجزء الآخر. بالإضافة إلى مواد التراث الشعبي الذي يعبر عن المنطقة والذي قد إندثر كثير منه، كان في الخطة أن يتم عرضه أيضاً في هذا المتحف. كانت الفكرة أن يكون متحف واحد فقط، على الرغم من رغبة ومطالبة السكان المحليين بقيام عدة متاحف، مثل: متحف في وأدي المكابر، الكحيلة، وفي منطقة السد نفسها ومروي، بينما كانت فكرة الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف أن يكون متحفاً واحداً متكاملاً. لكن للأسف كل ذلك لم يتحقق، فقط تم قيام متحف مروي وهو لا يعرض آثار منطقة مروي التي تم إنقاذها، فهو يعرض الآثار بشكل عام - الآثار القومية، مع وجود جزء من آثار سد مروي، ويرجع السبب في فشل قيام ذلك، أن أغلب الذين كانوا متحمسين لقيام هذا المتحف وهم في مواقع قرار تم نقلهم من مواقعهم.

٢٢ / هل يمكن القول بأنه لم يكن هنالك تمويل كافٍ لتخزين المواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها؟

يتضح الخطأ الكبير في أن منذ بدايات الحملة لم يتم التنسيق مع هيئة السدود بتحديد موقع لحفظ هذا التراث بمساحة معينة من الأرض وتجهيزها لتخزين هذه المواد. ومن ثم إجراء أعمال الترميم والدراسات عليها في شكل ورش عمل، ثم بعد ذلك يمكن أن يتم بناء المتحف في نفس المنطقة، ومن ثم تحويل هذا المواد إليه.

٢٣ / هل تضمنت الخطة أي تنسيق بين الهيئة وإدارة السدود فيما يتعلق بحفظ المواد الأثرية التي سوف يتم إنقاذها ومن ثم إجراء بعد الدراسات وأعمال الترميم ثم عرضها في المتاحف؟ بمعنى آخر هل كانت عملية التخزين والعرض من الأولويات؟

أكيد، أكيد، ربما أكون قد تقدمت في العمر، لكن إذا قدر لي أن أشارك في أي حملة مثل ذلك سوف يكون من أولياتي التركيز على توفير أماكن التخزين والدراسة، ثم العرض المستقبلي. وربما هنالك شيء واحد قد تم إنجازه، وهو إنشاء مكاتب بمباني الهيئة في قسم الكشف الأثري لتسهيل عملية الدراسة والبحوث للمواد الأثرية، والتي قامت بتشبيدها هيئة تنفيذ السدود. عليه إذا كان قد قدر استمرار عمل الأشخاص الذين بدأوا العمل مع الهيئة في وحدة تنفيذ السدود لفترة طويلة (ودن ذكر الأسماء) لكان من الممكن أن نحافظ على هذه المواد بشكل أفضل، فقد كان للتغيرات السياسية أثرها على ذلك. علماً بأن موقع المتحف المقترح قد حدد لاحقاً في مركز مروي السابق، وهو أرض حكومية يفترض تسجيلها باسم المتحف، ومن ثم يبدأ العمل في تجهيز مخازن ومعامل إلخ...، إلا أن ذلك لم يحدث.

٢٤ / هل تضمنت الخطة كل ذلك من إنشاء متحف ومخزن وغيره من البداية؟

لا لم تتضمن من البداية، ولكن جاءت بعد عامين من بداية العمل، عندما وجدنا ذاك الكم الهائل من الآثار، فلزم علينا التفكير في الموضوع لحفظ هذه الآثار في مكان واحد ومحدد، بمعنى إنها لا توزع خارج المنطقة، ومن ثم تمت في ذلك الوقت

إتصالات ومكاتبات بين وحدة تنفيذ السدود والسلطات المعنية في محلية مروي، والتي أثمرت عن بعض الموافقات المكتوبة بتخصيص مساحة مركز مروي القديم لبناء متحف سد مروي المقترح.

هنالك بعض الأسباب التي ساهمت في عدم حفظ هذه المواد الأثرية بشكل مناسب مثل:
أ/ التغييرات السياسية (تغير معتمد منطقة مروي الذي كان متعاطفاً مع ذلك الأمر).

ب/ تغير كثير من الإداريين في المنطقة والمشروع،

ت/ مشكلة عدم وجود إرث إداري متوارث في السودان للكوادر الإدارية البديلة في العمل،

ج/ الوضع المالي للسودان، في ذلك الوقت كان هناك حماس كبير وكانت هنالك أموال متدفقة نتيجة لإستخراج البترول قبل إنفصال الجنوب عن الشمال، والتي كانت تبشر بإمكانية حل مثل هذه المشكلة.

عليه، أعتقد بأنه كان يجب أن يتواصل السعي في تخصيص هذه المنطقة لتكون مركز متحف وأثرى متكامل، كما أعتقد بأنه لا زال هنالك أمل يرجى في هذا الأمر.

٢٥ / هل كان من الممكن أن تتم عملية الإنقاذ بشكل أفضل إذا توفرت الأجهزة والمعدات الحديثة في ذلك الوقت، علماً بأن وعورة المنطقة قد تحتاج لمثل هذه الأجهزة التي تعين في تسهيل العمل؟

نعم، و بكل تأكيد، خاصة في مثل أماكن عملنا التي لم تكن مواقع الإستيطان السكاني بها كثيرة. عدا أماكن محدده، لم يكن من السهولة معرفتها، بعكس المقابر التي كان يمكن معرفتها بطرق عديدة وسهلة مثل: المخلفات والمسح الأثري وغيرها من الطرق، وذلك نسبة لأن مواقع الإستيطان السكاني قد تكون من مواد غير ثابتة، كالطين اللبن أو المواد الخشبية، وهذا هو المتوقع في المنطقة أو بعض المباني التي إندثرت. لذلك كان هنالك حوجه إلى وسائل مثل الإستشعار عن بعد للعثور عليها، كما أن كمية المقابر المكتشفة لم تكن مكافئة لأماكن الإستيطان، وذلك نسبة لأن أغلب السكان كانوا يسكنون بالقرب من النيل الذي قد يتكرر فيضانه فيدمر مثل هذه المباني. مقارنة مع المستوطنات التي تكون في المنطقة القريبة من الصحراء. حتى في مناطق السهل الفيضي كان بإمكان جهاز الإستشعار عن بعد أن يساهم في وجود بعض هذه المستوطنات السكانية.

٢٦ / هذا يعني أن الأجهزة كان بإمكانها أن تسهل العمل بشكل كبير و تعينكم في المنهج الإنتقائي ؟

نعم نعم، خاصة داخل الموقع الذي قد يكون كبيراً جداً، والذي قد يحتاج أحياناً لعملية الإنتقاء الدقيق، ومثال لذلك: مقبرة كولقيلي في موقع مقابر الحراز التي كان بها ٣١٩ مقبرة، والتي لم يكن من الممكن حفرها بأكملها، ولكن إذا توفرت مثل هذه الأجهزة كان من الممكن أن ننتقي منها حسب إختلافاتها في التركيبة البنائية لها وهذا ما كان غائباً.

٢٧ / هل كان هنالك صعوبة للحصول على مثل هذه الأجهزة ولماذا لم يتم جلبها ومن ثم أستخدامها في المشروع؟

أولاً: ربما الآن قد أصبحت شيء أساسي في العمل الأثري، لكنها لم تكن في أذهان الأجيال السابقة لحدائتها في ذلك الوقت، بالإضافة إلى أن المواقع الظاهرة على السطح كانت كثيرة جداً، والتي قد تغني عن البحث فيما داخل الأرض.

٢٨ / هل يمكن القول بأن الأجهزة في ذلك الوقت لم يتم تجربتها في بيئة مشابهة حتى يتم التعرف على مدى نجاحها؟

لم تكن طرق إستخدام تلك الأجهزة متاحة أو دائمة في ذلك الوقت، وكل ما أستخدم منها بشكل مكثف كان في التصوير الجوي، أما تحت الأرض فلم يكن كثيراً.

المحور الثالث:

٢٩ / تقييمك للتجربة نفسها؟

تقيمي الشخصي للتجربة إنها كانت بها نواقص كثيرة جداً، باعتبارها أول مشكلة تواجه الكوادر السودانية لضرورة إدارة عمل بمثل هذا الحجم. فهنالك كان كثير من النواقص يمكن الإستفادة من تجنبها في المستقبل. كما أعتقد بأن ما تم إنقاذه في مقارنة مع الإمكانيات المالية و البشرية وعامل الزمن، أعتقد إنه لا بأس به، على الرغم من أن ما ضاع من آثار منطقة الشلال الرابع كثير جداً، كما أعتقد بأن كل من عمل في هذه المنطقة سواء سودانيين أو أجانب، قد بذلوا كل ما في وسعهم من جهود وإدخار للأموال للحصول على نتيجة إيجابية. وأعتقد أن من النتائج المهمة جداً التي حققتها هذه الحملة: أ/ تم تدريب عدد كبير جداً من الكوادر السودانية من الهيئة العامة للآثار و المتاحف، ومن الجامعات السودانية المختلفة التي بها دراسات للآثار من خلال تدريب للطلاب والأساتذة ومساعدين تدريس ومفتشين آثار في: أ- ١/ تدريبهم على الأعمال الأثرية الحقلية والأعمال الإدارية الحقلية، وكيفية إدارة عمل بمثل هذا الشكل. وذلك لأن الأثاريين ليس مناط بهم فقط عملية الحفر والرسم الأثري، بل كيفية إدارة الأموال والزمن والكوادر، وذلك من خلال توظيفهم والإستفادة من قدراتهم القصوى حسب تخصصاتهم. إضافة إلى القدرة على إستقلال المال المحدود وكيفية توجيهه توجيهاً صحيحاً، حتى تحصل على النتائج المرجوة أو الممتازة.

٣٠ / هل هذا يفسر أنك مطمئن على مقدرات الكادر الوطني في مجال الحقل الأثري في السودان الآن؟

أنا أعتقد أن الكادر الذي يعمل في الحقل الأثري في السودان، مقارنة بالمناطق المجاورة للسودان، هو من أميز الكوادر المؤهلة في المنطقة. فقد عملت في كثير من الدول ولي علاقات كثيرة جداً مع الدول حول السودان. عليه أعتقد بأن كوادر الكشف الأثري في السودان كوادر مميزة وقادرة على العمل، فقط إنها ليست كافية، وذلك نسبة للاتي: أ/ إتساع أرض السودان، ب/ ثرائه بالمواقع الأثرية، ت/ مواجهته لهجمات كبيرة تساهم في تدمير الآثار مثل: مشاريع التنمية والنمو السكاني والعمراني والزراعي و الطرق والسدود....

وفي إعتقادي أن الموجود من الكوادر السودانية في مجال الكشف الأثري قد يكون كافي لتغطية ولأية واحدة فقط من ولايات السودان. كما أن عدد الكوادر الموجودة لا يمكن أن يغطي كل ولايات السودان، خاصة أن السودان ما زال يعتبر بلداً وأعداً في مجال البحث الأثري. مع الوضع في الإعتبار لكمية المواد الأثرية التي قد تسقط سهواً، وقد تضيع دون التعرف عليها، نسبة لعدم وجود أي نفوذ للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في تلك المناطق. وأقرب مثال لذلك: ولأية الجزيرة التي تعرف بأنها أكبر الولايات الزراعية في وسط السودان، والتي يمكن القول بأن بها أحداث متكررة يومياً في شكل تعدي وتدمير مستمر للآثار. بمعنى أن ما تتم معرفته ولم يتم إنقاذه كثير جداً، بل هنالك ما هو أعمق من ذلك، وهو ما لم يتم التعرف عليه وهو قد يكون أكثر بكثير. وذلك نسبة لأن الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف ليس لديها أي كادر أو مسئول أكلت إليه مهمة متابعة ما يحدث من تعديات في تلك المنطقة.

وإذا أجرينا مقارنة لإدارة الآثار على سبيل المثال: في جمهورية مصر العربية كأقرب جارة للسودان، ربما تمثل إدارة موقع واحد فقط في جمهورية مصر العربية، كل إدارات الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في السودان. ومثال لذلك: إدارة موقع الأقصر، والتي قد تساوي في قوامها حجم إدارة الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بأكملها، من عمال وموظفين وغير ذلك. عليه يتضح جلياً أن إحتياج السودان إلى عدد أكبر من الكوادر في حقل العمل الأثري ضروري .

٣١ / هل المشاريع التنموية هي مهدد ام محفز للعمل الأثري في السودان؟

بالتأكيد هو مهدد، ولكن إذا تم توجيهها قد يكون محفزاً، بمعنى إنها قد تتيح فرصة للعمل في مناطق و عرة تحتاج إلى إمكانيات كبيرة يصعب توفرها للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في الوقت الحاضر. وفي إعتقادي بأنه إذا لم يكن هنالك مشروع تنموي في منطقة الشلال الرابع لما جرأت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بالعمل في تلك المنطقة، وذلك نسبة لوعورة المنطقة وتعدد مشاكلها. بمعنى أن قيام مشاريع التنموية قد تكون مهدداً أو محفزاً في نفس الوقت، محفز فيما يتعلق بجانب إنقاذ الآثار.

٣٢/ من أجل حصر ومراقبة المواقع الأثرية في السودان، ما هي الإحتياجات الضرورية التي يجب أن تتوفر للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في الوقت الحاضر؟

أنا أعتقد إنه يجب ان يكون هنالك تنسيق بين الهيئة و كليات الآثار في الجامعات السودانية والتي معظم كوادرها من خريجي قسم الآثار، ليس لديهم وظائف في المركز ومعظمهم تحصل على وظائف إدارية في ولايات السودان المختلفة، وليس وظائف معنية بالعمل الأثري، كإدارة السياحة والثقافية مثلاً. معظم هؤلاء الخريجون لم توكل لهم مهام تتعلق بالعمل الأثري، كما قد لا تتوفر لهم في بعض المناطق مكاتب مناسبة لإدارة أعمالهم، على الرغم من أن الحكومة الاتحادية توفر فرص كثيرة جداً لتوظيف الخريجين في الولايات لكن فقط لاستيعابهم دون وضع إعتبار كبير لتخصصاتهم.

في إعتقادي بأن الجانب السياسي، من إتفاقية نيفاشا والدستور الإنتقالي وسلطات الولايات والمركز، وهذا الزخم من القوانين وحقوق الولايات، قد خلق مشكلة كبيرة جداً، مما نتج عنها عدم توفر التنسيق الإداري الواضح في مجال الآثار بين السلطات الولائية والسلطات المركزية. ومثال لذلك غالباً ما يكون هنالك شخص مسئول من العمل الأثري في ولاية محددة، ومعه بعض من كوادر الآثار في ولايته وليس لهم أي إتصال او تنسيق إداري مع الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف. بمعنى إنه ليس هنالك ربط إداري بين المركز والولايات على الإطلاق. فإذا كان هنالك التنسيق الإداري السليم بين المركز والولايات، لكان للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف القدرة على تشغيل هؤلاء الكوادر بالصورة المطلوبة. على سبيل المثال يمكن تتبعهم للمركز في تنفيذ أعمال الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف مع الإحتفاظ بوظائفهم ومستحقاتهم المالية في الولايات. على سبيل المثال: إذا كان هنالك حوالي ٤٠ خريج من قسم الآثار ويعمل كل منهم في إدارات مختلفة في ولاية كردفان إحدى الولايات الغربية في السودان، يمكن للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف أن تحصر أسمائهم ومن ثم توظيف قدراتهم في رفع تقارير دورية للمركز عن الحقل الأثري في المنطقة، وهو الجهة الرسمية المعنية بذلك. عليه سوف يكون هنالك سد للنقص الذي تعاني منه الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في معرفة وضعية الحقل الأثري في المنطقة المعنية. وبتعميم ذلك يمكن للمركز أن يسيطر على كل المناطق الأثرية في السودان. وأنا لا أتخيل يوماً ما بأن الحكومة الاتحادية أو وزارة المالية سوف تقوم بالتصديق بوظائف تغطي حاجة الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف من كوادر، بل قد يكون من المستحيلات ذلك، لكن يمكن إعطائها لإدارات الولايات، عليه يجب أن تتم الإستفادة من كوادر الولايات.

٣٣/ هل الشروع في إصدار قانون جديد للآثار، تعالج فيه مشاكل المركز والولايات في التنسيق معاً، قد يساهم في تغطية العمل الأثري في السودان بشكل أفضل؟

نعم، لا بد من مراجعة القانون الذي أصدر عام ١٩٩٩م ومنذ ذلك الوقت وحتى يومنا هذا، هنالك أشياء كثيرة جداً قد طرأت جديدة على وضعية البلاد. على سبيل المثال: تنامي عدد المشاريع التنموية في البلاد بالإضافة إلى الهجمة الكبيرة جداً على مناطق التعدين التقليدي، والتي تمثل أحد المهددات الخطيرة على المواقع الأثرية. بالرغم من أن هنالك إلام في قانون الآثار، بوجوب المسح الأثري قبل قيام تلك المشاريع، لكن ليس هنالك إلزام بضرورة أخذ الإذن من الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف قبل قيام تلك المشاريع، وهو الأمر المهم جداً الذي يجب إتخاذ. على سبيل المثال في دولة مصر الجارة، أي شخص يود البناء يجب عليه أخذ موافقه من بعض المؤسسات مثل الصحة المجاري الشؤون الهندسية... يجب أن يكون هنالك خلو طرف من الآثار أيضاً. لكن في السودان المشكلة تكمن في إمكانية وقدرة الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بإجراء مثل هذا العمل في جميع أنحاء السودان، خاصة وإنها تفتقر للكوادر والمواد والأدوات. عليه، يجب أن يكون العمل تكافئ بين التركيبة الأساسية للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف وقدراتها، والقوانين التي يجب أن تكون قادرة على إنفاذها. بمعنى تنسيق القانون مع الثورة الإدارية، يجب أن يكون هنالك وجود للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في كل مناطق البلاد يساهم في عملها و إدارتها.

٣٤/ هل يمكن القول بأنك راضي عن قانون ١٩٩٩م لحماية الآثار في السودان؟

لا ليس راضياً عنه، هنالك بنود لا بد من تغييرها وهنالك عقوبات لا بد من رفع مدتها، هذا ما تم النقاش عليه وتم إجازته. لكن مع الشروع في تغيير القانون يجب أن يكون هنالك تعديل في البنية الإدارية يتمشى مع هذا التغيير. بمعنى توفر الأدوات التي تنفذ هذا القانون، على سبيل المثال: يجب توفير الكوادر في جميع أنحاء البلاد كمنطقة كرمه ودنقلا وكريمة وادي حلفا وغيرها

في الشمال، و في الغرب في الأبيض كادوقلي نبالا ... إلخ. هؤلاء الكوادر يجب أن يكونوا قادرين على تنفيذ مثل هذا القانون، وفي حالة عدم توفرهم يصبح القانون ليس له معنى.

٣٥/ هل تعتقد أن هنالك توازن بين ما تم كسبه من فوائد عادت لدولة السودان من حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي، وحملة الشلال الرابع، مع ما تم فقدانه وخسارته، هل هنالك توازن في ذلك ام لا؟

قد تصعب المقارنة، خاصة أن الحملة الثانية لإنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي، كانت حملة هندسية أكثر من إنها حملة آثارية علمية، لأن معظم الأموال والجهود وظفت للمباني الشاخصة الكبيرة، في كيفية ترحيلها، وإعادة تفكيكها وتركيبها، كما حدث في معبد أبو سمبل في مصر، ثم في السودان معبد بوهين وكلايشا وغيرهم. فمعظم العمل المهم والكبير الذي وجد دعماً من المال والدول الداعمة إنحصر في الأعمال الهندسية، وهو ليس بعمل آثاري صرف، وإذا تمت مقارنة الناتج الأثري كمادة أثرية علمية تعطي فكرة عن دراسة المنطقة، أعتقد أن إنقاذ آثار سد مروي ساهمت بقدر كبير جداً، قد تكون مقابلة لحملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة، أو ربما أكثر منها. أما فيما يتعلق بمجال الأعمال الهندسية، فقد تفوقت حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة على نظيرتها في الشلال الرابع، لأن الأعمال الهندسية لم تكن كثير في منطقة الشلال الرابع، بل إنحصرت معظمها في ترحيل هرم الشلال الرابع والرسوم الصخرية المحدود.

٣٦/ هل كان لحملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي تأثير قوي في خلق ترابط بين البعثات الأثرية التي كانت مشاركة في الحملة، مع تعميق فكرة دراسة السودانيات باعتبارها دراسة حديثة للآثار السودانية؟

نعم بكل تأكيد، وقد قمت بذكر ذلك في بعض منشوراتي، أن من أجمل ما ميز الاكتشافات في حملة الشلال الرابع أن معظم الاكتشافات السابقة للعصور القديمة في السودان مثل كريمة، مروي و نيته كانت ملكية، تخص الملوك، مثل: آثار ومدافن الملوك، الإهرامات والمعابد، والقصور وغيرها من آثار كانت تمثل النخبة من المجتمع السوداني، غير أن آثار الشلال الرابع كانت تمثل آثار عامة الشعب، (الطبقة العامة) آثار بسيطة، بمعنى إنها آثار تمثل حياة الريف والإنسان البسيط. وقد قمت بتسميتها (بالجانب الريفي من الحضارة السودانية)، ويمكن أن تكون قد ظهرت لأول مرة في مناطق السكن والمقابر، باعتبارها آثار عامة السكان وليس من طبقة الملوك. يمكن القول بإنها آثار لحياة المزارعين البسطاء في الجزر أو منقبين في مناجم الذهب، بكميات بسيطة، حرفين، صناعات فخار، رعاة، طبقة فقراء الناس. لم نعثر على أي آثار ملك في هذه المنطقة، خلاف الحصون المسيحية التي تشير إلى وجود دولة في المنطقة في ذلك الوقت، والهرم، (هرم الشلال الرابع)، الذي لم يعرف صاحبه بعد. وكل ما تم العثور عليه في المنطقة خلاف ذلك، كان يمثل آثار عامة الشعب. عليه، أتمنى أن تنتشر هذه المادة، والتي تعتبر أول مادة شعبية تعبر عن تاريخ الشعب السوداني، وكل ما عدى ذلك يعتبر تاريخاً لحياة الملوك، وتاريخ الملوك ليس هو تاريخ كل الشعب.

٣٧/ هل كل ذلك ساهم في تعميق فهم خصوصية الإنسان السوداني؟

نعم، هو يوضح الثقافة الحقيقية للشعب السوداني، ليس بالثقافة التي لها صلات بالفرعونية، أو الثقافة المتأثرة بمنطقة البحر الأبيض المتوسط، والذين يمثلون الطبقة العليا في المجتمعات التي عادة ما تمتلك خلاصة ما توصل إليه العالم في ذلك الوقت. مثال: إذا أردنا الآن أن ندرس الشعب السوداني من خلال دراسة البيت السوداني البسيط لا يمكن أن نقوم بدراسة منزل في حي الطائف، (أحد أحياء العاصمة السودانية الغنية)، لأننا سوف نجد أن الأبناء يحملون أدوات الإتصالات المتطورة من (اي فون واي باد وغيرها من وسائل الإتصال المتطورة، ومطبخ كهربائي وإضاءة و تكيف يعمل بالتأثير عن بعد وغيره، وهذا بكل تأكيد لا يعبر عن كل الشعب السوداني. فإذا أردت معرفة الشعب السوداني يجب أن تذهب مثلاً إلى البطانة، (منطقة في شرق السودان) أو الريف أو ضواحي العاصمة، فقد تجد هناك مثلاً ما يمثل الشكل الحقيقي للشعب السوداني. أيضاً إذا أردت أن تعبر عن عامة الشعب، يجب أن تذهب إلى ضواحي العاصمة أو قراها، ولهذا يمكن أن تكون هذه إحدى مشاكل الآثار عموماً، بأن الآثاريين، يؤرخون فقط حسب الأسر الحاكمة في تاريخ الشعوب. وأنا أعتقد بأن في منطقة الشلال الرابع، قد إتجه الباحثون إلى أن يؤرخوا لحياة شعب الشلال الرابع.

٣٨ / هذا يعني بأن البصمة كانت واضحة؟

كانت هي البصمة الشعبية أو الريفية، حيث يتضح التأثير السياسي والإداري في الآثار التي تعود لحضارة مروي وكرمة، التي وجدت في منطقة الشلال الرابع. ويمكن وصف ذلك في: إنتاج فخارهم وأدواتهم، حيث يطغى عليه شكل الجانب الشعبي، بمعنى إنه لم يتم إنتاجه في أفران ملكية كأفران مملكة كرمة مثلاً، لكن تم إنتاجه في أفران خاصة بالطبقة الشعبية مع الاحتفاظ بنفس السمات والأسلوب الذي أنتج به الفخار الملكي لكن بإمكانيات شعبية.

٣٩ / بعد مساهمتكم في تسجيل بعض المواقع الأثرية في قائمة التراث العالمي، هل تعتقدن بأنه كان الاختيار السليم لهذه المواقع، أم أن هنالك مواقع واعدة وأكثر ثراء وحاجة، في مجال العمل الأثري؟

جاء إختيار موقع جبل البركل وموقع جزيرة مروي، لأهميتهم الكبيرة في تعاقب حكم السودان. كما إتسموا بالآثار الشاخصة، والأعمال الفنية واللغوية التي وجدت رواجاً عالمياً كبيراً. بالإضافة إلى العلاقة المسبقة مع أسرة التراث العالمي التي لها معرفه مسبقه بأهمية هذه المواقع واستعدادها لقبولها. كما أن الموقعين كانا مهديين بأشياء كثيرة، مما قد يجعل تسجيلهم تحفيزاً للدولة في حمايتهم.

لكن أنا أعتقد بأنه يجب أن يكون هنالك تنوع في المستقبل في تسجيل مواقع تشير إلى أنواع أخرى من الحضارات السودانية في قائمة مواقع التراث العالمي. فعلى سبيل المثال: موقع يمثل الفترة المسيحية، (موقع دنقلا العجوز وبنقنارتي)، يمكن ترشيحهم في شكل ترشيح تسلسلي، ثم المواقع الفرعونية مجتمعه، (موقع صاي، وصولب، وصادنقا وسسبي) يمكن تقديمها مجتمعه، كموقع واحد متسلسل، وقد حدث ذلك فعليا عند تقديمهم للتسجيل كمكلف واحد، مع الاختلاف في موقع حضارة كرمة الذي تم تقديمه بمفرده، وذلك نسبة لتفرد هذه الحضارة في تاريخ السودان، فيجب أن تكون لوحدها. والأن هنالك فكرة لورشة عمل مع اليونسكو بخصوص إضافة مواقع أخرى لقائمة التراث العالمي، (موقع دنقلا العجوز، وكرمه وسواكن)، إلى قائمة الترشيح التي سوف ترفع إلى لجنة التراث العالمي.

٤٠ / نأتي إلى الغرض من الدراسة، وهو كيفية حماية وإدارة الآثار في السودان، هل كان هنالك تحسب لنتائج ما بعد الحملة؟

بمعنى أن هنالك اشياء ظهرت بعد الحملة لم تكن موضوعه في الإعتبار، مثل:
أ/ المياه الجوفية التي ظهرت في المنطقة نتيجة لتكوين بحيرة السد،
ب/ تغير المناخ بالمنطقة بعد ملء البحيرة، والذي قد أثر الآن على المواقع التي تم تسجيلها في قائمة التراث العالمي، مثال: موقع جبل البركل وإمتداد منطقة الشلال الرابع.

٤١ / هل الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف باعتبارها هي الجسم المسؤول عن هذا الأمر بكل كوادرها، معتبرا في ذلك جانب العمل التكاملي بين ضباط الآثار وأمناء المتاحف والمرممين... إلخ. هل تعتقد بأنه كان هنالك تناسق، وتوافق، وإنسجام وعمل جماعي حقيقي في منظومة العمل في الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف كجهة مسؤولة عن هذا العمل؟

٤٢ / رؤيتك في مستقبل إدارة وحماية الآثار في السودان من قبل الجسم المسؤول عن حمايتها ؟

٤٣ / هل لديه القدرة والإمكانية لإدارة وحماية الكم الهائل من الآثار في السودان؟

نعم حجم الكوادر أقل بكثير من المطلوب، لكن ما يبزل من مجهود هو كبير جداً، وفي كثير من الأحيان فوق الطاقة، فالأمر يحتاج إلى:

أ/ سن قوانين جديدة أو تعديل بعض القوانين المطبقة،

ب/ يحتاج إلى كوادر بشرية أكثر من ذلك،

ت/ كما يحتاج إلى إمكانيات مالية ومعدات،

ج/ إضافة إلى إحتياج الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف للدعم، لأنها لا تستطيع القيام بمفردها بكل هذا الدور.

لذا يجب إشراك كل أصحاب المصلحة في المحافظة على الآثار، على سبيل المثال: السلطات المحلية، المحليات والولايات، وزارات الثقافة والزراعة في الولايات، بمعنى أن تدار بشكل جماعي، مع كل أصحاب المصلحة، وهم يمكن تقسيمهم الي قسمين:

إيجابين وسلبين، وكلهما يعمل على المساعدة في الإدارة، مثلاً: يجب الاستفادة من كوادر وزارة الثقافة والسياحة، لأن من أهداف وزارتهم الاستفادة من هذه الآثار بشكل أو آخر، لذا يجب أن يحافظوا عليها. أيضاً كوادر وزارة الزراعة والمساحة، لأن وزاراتهم تحتاج إلى توزيع وإستغلال هذه الأرض، فكل هؤلاء يجب أن يكون هنالك جسم واحد يجمعهم حتى يتفكروا ويتناقشوا في الأمر للمحافظة على هذه الآثار.

أنا من وجهة نظري ورؤيتي الخاصة، ونظراً إلى ما يحدث في وأقعدنا اليوم في السودان، من هجمة إستثمارية كبيرة جداً، متمثلة في بيع الأراضي الزراعية وظروف إقتصادية صعبة جداً تمر بها البلاد، سوف لا تترك فرص للشعب او الحكومة نفسها بالتفكير او مجرد الإهتمام بالآثار، لان الهم الأكبر الآن هو قوت الشعب. لذا يجب أن تكون مهمة الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف، أن تجعل من هذه المواقع (أكل عيش للناس) بمعنى إنها تستغل استغلال تجاري، حتى تصبح مصدر دخل للسكان الذين يعيشون بالقرب من المواقع الأثرية.

٤٤ / يمكن أن نستخلص من ذلك بأنها توصيات أو اقتراحات؟

أنا أعتقد بأنه إذا أردت أن تتفق أي شخص أو حكومة محليه في هذا الوقت بأن تحافظ على الآثار في منطقتها، سوف لا يحدث ذلك إلا إذا كان ذلك الموقع الأثري يجلب لها عائداً، وفي عدم توفره سوف يكون من السهل التفريط فيه متى ما تم الإحتياج إليه.

فيجب أن يكون هنالك تنسيق مع الأجسام المحلية، كما يجب أن يكون للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف الحق بالإستثمار في هذه المواقع بشكل قانوني، قبل أن يتم إستقلالها بغير ذلك. مثال:

- بشراكة مع البنوك، مع المجتمع المحلي، مع رجال الأعمال المحليين أو مع المحليات، وقد نأخذ بتجربة واحدة مع السلطات المحلية أو مع رأس المال المحلي أو أياً من ذلك، مثال: إذا أردنا أن نستغل موقع جبل البركل استغلالاً تجارياً، من خلال إنشاء مشاريع صغيرة مع مراعاة ضوابط وزارة المالية والإستثمار، ثم نقيم التجربة. وبكل تأكيد إذا نجحت التجربة وأثمرت بعائدات مادية مربحة، سوف نجد أن الشعب والمجتمع سوف يحافظ على الآثار بشكل لا يمكن وصفه، ومثال لذلك جمهورية مصر العربية، التي لا يمكن لأي محافظ أو ضابط محلية أن يتعدى على أي أثر أو أرض أثرية في المنطقة، وذلك لأنه يعلم تماماً إنها تمثل مصدر رزق كبير لسكان المنطقة. هذا لا يعني بأن الشعب المصري كله شعب مثقف ويجب الآثار ويفخر بتاريخه، ولكنها تمثل دخل إقتصادي كبير له، لذا يجب أن يحافظ عليها فعائداتها تمثل قيمة مادية أكبر من استغلال أرضها في مشاريع زراعية أو غيرها.

٤٥ / هل يمكن القول بأن الشعب السوداني هو شعب مثقف كفايه بأهمية الآثار ام لا؟

أكيد ليست بكافيه، ولكنه يحتاج إلى مجهود بسيط قد يجعله مهتم أكثر، قد يكون هو مهتم وفخور بماضية وبكل الآثار الموجودة، ولكن عندما يكون الخيار بين (أكل العيش) مصدر رزق والآثار يغلب (أكل العيش) مصدر الرزق، لذا يجب أن أجعل من هذه المواقع (أكل عيش) مصدر رزق وهذا هو الحل الوحيد.

٤٦ / هل يمكن أن تعتبر ذلك واحد من كيفية إدارة المصادر الأثرية في السودان؟

أنا أعتقد بأنه يجب أن تستغل المواقع الأثرية استغلال تجارياً حتى يستفيد منها الناس. بمعنى إنهم سوف يقوموا بحمايتها لأنها تمثل مصدر رزق لهم. ومثال إذا كان هنالك شخص يستغل منطقة بالقرب من الموقع الأثري في بيع بعض المنتجات للسائح، فهو بشكل أو آخر لا يسمح بزراعة هذه الأرض أو تضييعها، لأنها أصبحت مصدر رزق له، خاصة إن الزراعة في مساحات صغير قد لا تجلب له أموال كثيره مثل الموقع التجاري، الذي يستغل مساحة صغير ويجلب ربح أكبر، و من ثم يمكن القياس على ذلك في كل المواقع.

أنا أعتقد بأن مهمة الآثار بين اليوم في حماية المواقع الأثرية تكمن في كيفية الاستفادة من هذه المواقع، باعتبارها عقارات استثمارية ضخمة جداً. مثال إذا تم تسوير بعض المواقع الأثرية الشاخصة المهمة، ثم تخصيص أماكن للترفيه بها علماً

بأن معظم مناطق الأثرية تفتقر لأماكن الترفيه، عندها يمكن أن تكون متنفس للأسر ومجتمع المنطقة دون أن يؤثر ذلك على الموقع الأثري. بمعنى خلق منطقة سياحية حول الموقع تكون بمسابة جانب ترفيهي لأهل المنطقة والسياح الأجانب، باعتبار إنها تمثل المنفذ الأول للسكان المحليين، ومن ثم إعداد معلومات سياحية جيدة عن المنطقة وأهمية الموقع الأثري، ثم تحسينه في هيئة عرض متحف، ووضع تذاكر دخول رمزية، تكون في متناول الجميع. أنا أعتقد أن ذلك سوف يجلب أموال كبيرة جداً للجهة الراعية.

٤٧/ رويتك بعد كل هذا المشوار الطويل في العمل الأثري داخلياً وخارجياً، ما هو مستقبل الآثار في السودان وماهي الخطط المستقبلية؟

أعتقد بأن الوضع الراهن للآثار في السودان غير مريح، بل مخيف، وذلك نسبة إلى الاتي:
أ/ قلة الإمكانيات والكوادر، كما ذكرت سابقاً،

ب/ ما يتم اكتشافه من آثار ولا تعجز الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف إنقاذه كثير جداً. بالإضافة إلى عدم الإلمام بكل المواقع الأثرية، بمعنى أن ما لم نعلمه من آثار أكثر مما نعلمه، وذلك نسبة لقلة الإمكانيات، فهناك كثير من الآثار ضاعت دون أن تتم معرفتها،

ت/ التعدين التقليدي، وهو الكارثة الأكبر التي إنتشرت في أنحاء البلاد، وليس هنالك إمكانية من قبل الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف لمتابعتها.

وهذه واحدة من الأشياء التي توضع غلبة المنفعة المالية على المنفعة الثقافية، ويتضح ذلك في سلطة المحليات بالولايات، التي تعطي مناطق إمتياز للمقربين، حتى تحصل منهم على عوائد مالية، تساهم في تحسين وضع المحلية، وذلك لأن المحلية لا تري بأن هذه المنطقة تجلب إليها فائدة مالية. ولكن إذا طرحت فكرة استغلال هذه المناطق، بمعنى إنها يكمن أن تستغل في مجال السياحة، وسوف تجلب للمحلية مبالغ مالية مربحة، قد لا تجرؤ المحلية في ذلك الوقت على منحها إلى أي مستثمر آخر. وأنا أرى الآن أن وضع الآثار حرج ومخيف، لكن أعتقد إذا بذل بعض المجهود مع المحليات والولايات وتم إقناعهم بالاستثمار في الممتلكات الثقافية، سوف يقود ذلك إلى إحترامها والمحافظة عليها.

٤٨/ هل تعتقد أن هذا الوضع يعتبر تحدي كبير؟

نعم، إنه تحدي كبير جداً جداً، والحل هو ليس التفكير في مثل هذه المشاريع في كل مواقع السودان في وقت واحد، بل يمكن أن تبدأ بموقع واحد ومن ثم يدرس الناتج (الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف مع وزارات السياحة والثقافة الولائية او المحليات، جمعية تعاونية، مستثمر محلي أو خارجي)، بالإتفاق على إختيار موقع محدد ثم استثماره إقتصادياً، عندها سوف تتضح النتيجة، وقد تؤدي إلى إتجاه كل السودانيين للاستثمار في المستقبل في مثل هذه المشاريع.

٤٩/ مستقبل الآثار في السودان؟

مستقبل غير واضح مخيف وهو مرتبط بالوضع الحالي الآن، يمكن أن نفقدها إذا لم تتأشد كل هذه المؤسسات للعمل معا على الحفاظ عليها. وخصوصا في هذه الظروف الإقتصادية الخائفة. كل ما يمكن أن يقال للمحافظ على الموقع الأثري، هو إنه يمكن الإستفادة منه مالياً وثقافياً في المستقبل. قد تتوفر لدي السكان المحليين قيمة الإعتراز بالآثار والتراث والتاريخ الخ...، لكن إذا كان الأمر يتعلق (بأكل العيش) مصدر الدخل، للمحلية او المواطن أو زعماء المنطقة (العمد) أو سكان المنطقة، قد تسقط تماماً هذه القيم.

٥٠/ في إطار التوجه العالمي للترميم الوقائي والمحافظة على الآثار دون التدخل، أنت ترى بأن استثمار المواقع الأثرية هو الحل الأمثل للمحافظة عليها؟

نعم في مثل هذه الظروف الإقتصادية الخائفة، هو تعامل مع الواقع، بمعنى إنها قد تكون هي اللغة التي يسهل فهمها لدى المواطن اليوم. بقصد تملك حق المحافظة على الموقع من خلال الإستفادة منه ليصبح مصدر دخله له. عليه إذا لم تتوفر

الإستفادة للمواطن، قد لا يساهم في المحافظة على الموقع الأثري. مثال موقع جبل البركل- الكرو، الزومه، نوري، صنم أبودوم المسجل في قائمة التراث العالمي بامتداده على شريط مجري النيل حوالى ٢٣ كيلومتر إذا توفرة البنية التحتية من جسور وطرق تربط كل مواقعه، ثم وضع خطة في هذه المنطقة لحمايتها و إستثمارها تجارياً، سوف يكون الناتج كبير جداً.

بعد الشكر!

٥١ / ماهو رأيك في مثل هذه الدراسات؟

سعدت وتشرفت كثير جداً بهذا اللقاء، وأتمنى أن يكون كل ما ذكرته ذو علاقة، ويساعد في دراستك، رغم أنني أثري حقلي، أهتم كثير جداً بالعمل الحقلي وهذه هي تجارتي. كما أهتم أيضاً بالقضايا النظرية المتعلقة بالمحافظة على التراث الثقافي والتراث الأثري، وتعتبر إدارة المصادر الثقافية بالنسبة لي إنها واحدة من العلوم المهمة والمهمة جداً في هذه الفترة. مقارنة مع بدايات حياتنا الأثرية في ثمانينيات القرن الماضي لم تكن بتلك الكيفية الآن، نسبة لأن في ذلك الوقت لم يكن هنالك وجود لإشكاليات كبيرة جداً تواجه حماية التراث الأثري والتراث الثقافي في السودان. إم الآن فالتراث عموماً مهدد من كل الجوانب، وهنالك جوانب أخرى لم نتطرق إليها، لذلك أنا فخور جداً وسعيد جداً أن يكون هنالك شباب يهتمون بهذا المجال وهو مجال كان مفقوداً في السودان بشكل كبير، ومعظم الأثريين الذين عملوا كانوا فقط يهتمون بالأعمال الحقلية والأعمال المتحفية، وجهلوا العمل في أداراه المصادر الأثرية والثقافية في السودان. وقد تشرفت بزيارة بعض الدول في أفريقيا خاصة دول جنوب خط الإستواء، كينيا، بوتسوانا، جنوب أفريقيا، ناميبيا وأثيوبيا والذي أدهشني كثيراً وجود الإمكانات البشرية الكبيرة في مجال إدارة المصادر الثقافية. عليه فأنا أعتقد بأننا في حاجة كبيرة إلى الكثيرين من أمثالك الذين يهتمون بهذا المجال. خاصة ونحن نحتاج كثيراً لمثل هذه الدراسات، ومن ثم تطبيقها على أرض الواقع، حتي تصبح وثيقة يشارك في مناقشتها كل أصحاب المصلحة معاً (الذين يعملون على حماية الآثار، والذين يقوموا بتدميرها) وذلك حتي تخرج في صيغة تساهم بالمحافظة على التراث الثقافي والتراث الحضاري، كما تحافظ على إحتياجات المجتمعات المحلية الاقتصادية والثقافية والاجتماعية إن شاء الله.

INTERVIEW 4.

Date: 27th November 2016

Interviewee: Prof. Stefan Jakobielski, former Director of Polish Archaeological Mission in Old Dongola, participant of the Nubian Campaign within the first Polish archaeological mission that worked in Sudan.

Transcript

Elmontaser Elmoubark: Thank you very much for accepting me and giving me the opportunity to visit you and having conversation with you about your experience. I would start with short explanation of my study. This interview is part of my PhD study, which concentrates on archaeological management in Sudan. The study focuses on Nubian Campaign and the Fourth Cataract project, especially on studies approached and methods applied to salvage the archaeological materials and making comparison between them. The aim is to detect positive aspects and challenges of the Sudanese archaeology and to contribute to designing new approach for this topic. For starters, could you tell me about your first visit to Sudan? How did the archaeological work look like at that time?

Prof. Stefan Jakobielski: I started already in 1961. I was not a member of the first campaign in Faras, which is very known, because of the objects found. Especially the paintings in the cathedral, which formed later two galleries: in Warsaw and in Khartoum. I already came to the Sudan when the work started. I mean, first Campaign was over.

By the first Campaign do you mean the first year of the Campaign?

Yes, first year was over. But seasons of Campaign were very short, I must say. This is very important.

Was it survey or was it excavation?

Excavations. The first survey in Sudan was made by UNESCO. Bill Adams was the leading figure in that field, there were people from Holland and was later also Tony Mills. They made the survey and they divided all the area to be flooded into individual concessions. When we actually came to Faras, the sites were numbered and identified. Well, Faras was excavated before. Sort of magazine of not used materials. Michałowski realised that perhaps if such a big hill is being formed, so it must be a big building there inside. And it was. But that was not the temple as we thought, but Christian cathedral built from pharaonic material, I mean reused pharaonic material. Michałowski realized, that this is a huge mass of sand, shells. So he would be able to make a trench from the site when there was no architecture. Mind you, on the top there was a late medieval citadel. So he chose the place from the east, close to the Nile. When there was no architecture on the slope, just to cut the hill to get knowledge what was inside. You know, so this is very easy archaeological work, in fact, because this is a sand dune. He had no problems, it was real archaeology, just a case which never happened.

Was all this side covered by sand?

Yes, all was covered by sand.

Did you get earlier photographs of this area?

Because the dune was formed on the walls of big building, so he could allow himself to cut it, the half of this hill to get quickly to the heart of it. We stopped on the wall of the cathedral. Just in place where there were two commemorative chapels of bishops. So the first campaign, nevertheless, it took only 28 days, I think altogether. It gave the result that the interior of this hill was identified as a building as well. We were not able to determine that this was a Christian even, because the lower part was built in pharaonic blocks and the upper with red brick. And there was a window with Meroitic grille. Complete mess. [laugh] But that was at least, you know, two Christian chapels and the Christian tomb. So that was the first time. That was the first discovery.

What about the funds for the first season?

We had funds from the Warsaw University. I mean, this was in frames of UNESCO but every expedition was provided with their own funds. UNESCO was there to announce their action, to encourage people to come. There were many missions, altogether 24 missions acting during the Nubian campaign in Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia. Well, some concessions were offered to choose. The concession were divided in 1960 or 1961 by the UNESCO committee composed of three prominent archaeologists. But you know, because of the site of Faras was actually very big and needed a lot of work to achieve any results. So Faras was refused by many people, who couldn't decide simply whether this is a worth effort. Because the people were saying, there must be just a hill with nothing inside it, but a lot of work. In the first campaign we had 30 something workers, and the second campaign we had 100 workers. And that took three months. So this was really a big effort, financially, for the university. But fortunately we had the budget. Michałowski was organizing work very well. I mean, firstly he settled the center in Cairo. Scientific Center, but also a logistic base for the expeditions which already were to Egypt. I must say that finding the Christian paintings at that time in Nubia it was quite an achievement. Coming back to Poland, he could show something, you know, that is worthy. And he received the funds for the continuation. So this was the result of the first campaign, I came in the second campaign. Because Michałowski needed someone to read the texts from the set of the tombs. At least there was somebody needed to read Coptic and Greek. In the second campaign we were uncovering the Cathedral from outside. It was sufficiently strong, one archaeologist could take it this way. Because normally this is not the way one excavates the building. You know, dig the both sides. But in this case we could make it around first and then enter to the cathedral. When we entered, the top layers fell and we noticed the mural paintings appearing. There were altogether 169 inventory numbers. That not means that there was such amount of paintings, because every trace of paint was counted as separate inventory number, but we may say that there were about 150 that can be regarded as pieces of art, and 120 got museum value. A great effort, because that was connected with the cathedral. It was not pharaonic temple made of blocks, which you may transport and put in the another place, like most of the Old Egyptian temples were done and also pharaonic objects in Sudan, for instance Buhen temple or Aksha Temple, that were removed. That was quite an adventure, I must say, because it was first archaeological campaign in my

life, what was discovering splendid interior of the building in the middle of the desert. You know, that's adventure. At that time we did not have cars, we used taxis.

Let us stop in this place and continue with the topic of challenges. What were the challenges that you faced during the Campaign?

As archaeology is concerned, they were very easy excavation. I learned about the stratification and about the real archaeology in 1965 in Dongola. Well, there was quite a lot of ceramics in Faras, but there was no tool for dating. Adams worked on pottery, because he was quite new in Nubia and what he did was what a qualified archaeologist should do, I mean to found a tool for dating. Because there were potteries during the survey in Farris in 1960, so he got good strata material or products to settle provisional chronology. He produced a sort of field manual for archaeologists. So in the second campaign, we actually had a certain tool to start with. There is a copy with us in our library. In a certain sense, that was the pioneer beginning of systematizing. The other thing he made was the classification of already known churches. I'm speaking about the Christian period only because it that was the theme of our excavation. There was one monumental, I'm not hesitating to use this word, work of Hugo Monneret de Villard, who described every Christian remains seen on the ground. There was a small book of Peter Shinnie about the history of Christian Nubia published in Khartoum in 1950s. Well, so there was no clue, for instance, for paintings. The paintings were known few from fortresses and from other churches. And that's all. What we had was the cathedral. Church, with three layers of plaster. Superimposed, so that was as if the beginning of chronology of paintings can be established. First plaster was made in 8th century. The second plaster in the beginning of the 10th century. The third plaster by the end of the 10th century. That formed chronological frame to begin with. And then we have the portraits of consecutive bishops in the cathedral. And then there was found the list of Bishops of Faras in very important inscriptions, which I was playing for several weeks to establish the dates and to combine all this sources to compose the chronology of bishops, whose list was already there.

Does that mean that one of the approaches applied was to compare?

We made the comparison, we made the beginning of periodization. That was joint effort because there were many missions. We were in contact, we exchanged opinions, we were meeting each other in Wadi Halfa in the Nubian Office.

Were you gathering together, exchanging ideas, having discussions?

Well, we were visiting each other, just even to know what they are doing, what they found. Or there were accidental encounters in Nubian Office. But we knew what was going on. Well, there were no mobile telephones, there were no telephones at all. This was a peculiar time. I mean, there was one telephone on the frontier post and on the other bank, which we were allowed to use. There were no roads, of course. But Wadi Halfa was very well provided, there was everything available. During excavation you need many things, you need wool, wood, scaffoldings and all these things which have to be built. We were in peculiar situation, because we had paintings, we had to develop the process of taking them off from the walls. So this was done by experiments, I must say. We had very good

specialist, Mr. Jasiewicz, and later a genius Józef Gazy who took 118 paintings within two campaigns, actually within one to seven months.

I will stop here because I would like to hear more details. After the second year professor Michałowski came back to Poland and he brought conservators or artists to transfer these paintings, is that right? How did it happen?

Yes. Well, restorer, there was one qualified restorer, but they joined the second Campaign. The two first paintings from the chapels were taken off and they were immediately sent to Rome to be conserved.

Do I understand correctly that there were two paintings that were sent to Rome?

Sent to Rome, and after Rome it was sent for exhibition to New York, as far as I remember.

Who transferred those paintings?

Jasiewicz. But, well, I don't know. That was sent from Khartoum to New York, but without our escort. I don't know who went with them for the exhibition. I know that the paintings were exhibited in Paris on the Conference of Coptic studies. Immediately it was shown to the whole world that Nubian paintings exist. You know, so that were the first journeys, the rest was taken in 63. We started actually taking down paintings, but most of them were taken in the fourth campaign. It was actually very little archaeology or very little stress was put on archaeology of other objects because Michałowski knew that his first duty is to save what we found. The last months of the Campaign were consecrated only for saving, packing and dismantling. We dismantled the cathedral nearly completely. No, not completely, in fact, because there were many blocks reused, and not only pharaonic. But the 7th century architectural details from the area, a cathedral of 7th century, was dismantled in the end of the 7th century. Beautifully decorated with architectural detail. It was used simply as building material in 707, when Bishop Paulus decided to rebuild, or to build a larger cathedral, so it should be dismantled. The question was also to which extent it may be reconstructed or transported. The first projects were to transfer the cathedral somewhere, I mean to dismantle it.

Did the study focus on transferring these materials?

Yes. That was planned and then it appeared that there were no means of transportation. It was impossible to build something, not fully of the stone blocks, because this were reused stone blocks jointed by mortar. I mean like bricks. Another issue was how to reconstruct the plaster? Well, it may be plastered all through and paintings could be glued to the walls, but it will not be a structure, which is really a substitute for this cathedral. That would be just a curious building, artificially made. So it was better to hang them in the museum, in good condition, when you may keep the temperature, keep the humidity proper than to make such a curious arrangement. Some architectural elements, columns for instance, Hinkel who was the Chief architect of UNESCO at that time you know, specializing in reconstructing stone structures, he managed to transport the columns from Faras Cathedral and resettled them in the garden of the museum in Khartoum. Several granite blocks and other

elements architectural elements were saved as well and transported to Khartoum but it was more or less easy.

It means that there were difficulties with transport, is it correct?

That means, the decision was taken by the Antiquity Service to divide the paintings. Well, that was the archaeological law of the Sudan at that time, that every findings during the Nubian Campaign will be divided half and half.

Was is a reason for people to join the Campaign?

Yes, that was a sort of advance given by the Antiquity Service to provide people, to encourage people to undertake the excavation. Well, certainly. I mean, Sudan always had this rule of dividing the finds, however with reservation of unique objects. And that clause of unique objects was suspended for the Nubian Campaign. When the time of partition came, Michałowski thinking, that that some of the paintings, the biggest two pieces, best from artistic point of view, museum point of view, exhibition point of view – Nativity and the Hebrews in Fiery Furnace – were treated as national heritage which cannot be divided. And by his decision these two objects were excluded from the partition, as the two important pieces of cultural heritage. So that was sort of given to the Sudan. The rest of paintings were divided into two groups. That was proposal from the expedition to choose proper pieces to each set. And there were two sets to choose, because every museum should have the paintings that are representative for each period. But one period must be prevailing in this group. So in one group there was an 8th century art as privileged period and other was early 11th century. And Sudan chose this with early 11th centuries because it contained more portraits of dignitaries. Dignitaries represented as the local people, just to have the more historical personages represented, for instance, bishops, This set was chosen. Michałowski, however, was very satisfied because he as an archaeologist would like to have something older. That is normal for archaeologists to want something older than earlier. So both sides were very satisfied, I must say. That was quite fair, I think. I was the youngest man of the expedition, you know? So I was not taking part in the partition. I was just hearing everything that was going on from the other side of the door.

What about the challenges?

What about the challenge? You know, it was very hot in March and in April 1964. Well, first of all, the evacuation of people was on 4th January 1964. There was no people in the Faras. There was no one citizen union. It was done perfectly well, I must say. I remembered it very well, because I came on 3rd of January to Faras. I was watching the evacuation, which was done by train. That was the old train line not used for several years. And it was restored for the evacuation. Every person, every family. I was sitting, near the train, I spoke to people. This is a very dramatic thing, so they needed help. They needed some good work, simply. They were receiving some money for houses, not very big money in fact. And they received the houses. But I spoke to one man, who returned later, just to see how his villages is after the evacuation. He came to Faras, and he said “Well, I have a nice house, you know, but of concrete. And there are no palms”. So I can imagine that people were not happy, you know, with the whole thing. But nevertheless, you know, I returned to that exploration

and the workers, they were living in these houses. The workers were there. We had 30 people of Egyptian origin. They were not Nubian. They were Egyptian. You know why? Because the population there was very little. There were mostly women. The men emigrated to Cairo or Alexandria for the better work. And Wadi Halfa was in stage of evacuation. Not whole city was evacuated, some shops were still open. And suburbs of Halfa, however, begun to be evacuated. So we still were able to buy wood in vertical for boxes to pack the objects, mattresses of cotton, for packing materials. We had one carpenter, from the village, who simply stayed with us. He understood that he is needed, that was the man who was well trained with us. In his primary work he didn't used nails still. I mean he joined the wood with wood, with wood and pieces, but he helped us.

How many restorers were there?

Well, one, one qualified restorer. And two ladies: one Egyptologist and other Arabic scholar to help him. That was the group of three actually doing the work. The rest of people helped them.

Was there excavation as well?

Well, there were excavations in the meantime, continued until, let's say February. After that, there was no excavation, there was only dismantling and packing and business with paintings. You know, we used to work like this, that every two hours we were going to swim in the Nile. Really. And coming back to work. Michałowski was coming with us, sat on the old boat which was just on the shore and looked. We were swimming. I caught him once on this, that he was all the time counting, whether we were all present in the water. [laugh] But it was fine, there were no crocodiles in Faras.

What about the snakes and scorpions?

There were many, not necessarily snakes. You know, snake is afraid of people normally. So you just have to take care, so there's no problem. But scorpions are there, this is normal. I remember, there were two situations on the excavations that the member of the staff was bitten by scorpion.

Can we go back to the topic of transportation? Can you share more details on that?

Yes, the transport was not especially easy thing, because, first of all, the paintings were packed two in each case. The case was made according to the size of the picture. Actually, the task was to choose the same dimensions and to pack it together. There was a sort of table, put than on the painting, I mean their own scaffold, and then the mattress, and then next one, and the mattress. And they were supported by small pieces of wood, screwed to the side walls of the box and closed it.

Does it mean that the perfect material for packing was available?

Well, the material was available. I mean, we gathered this all earlier, and then at the end of the campaign, and the end of the evacuation of Halfa we still were able to leave Halfa when part of the city was not yet evacuated. And there was the ferry boat, you know, from Halfa, to take one part of boxes and the other was transported on a sandal, and steamer of Sudan Airways. It was hired

to come to Faras, then from Faras toward the Halfa we took it by ferry. And then by train. The dose which was going to Poland was sent by ship. It was already said, that there will be Polish ship coming through Port Sudan and to take this route.

How many archeologists were in the mission?

Well, it depends. You know, Michałowski was one of pioneers in one way. He used to make the mission from specialists. I mean, there must be a professional photographer. One of the things which was not always a practice at that time. There must have been a qualified architect for ancient architecture to draw plans. Measurements need some practice. Those times there was no total station for measurements. And this was quite another thing. I mean there must be professional architect. The other must be a restorer. There was a person needed who can read texts or transcribe texts.

And that was you?

That was me in this case, Gazy and Jasiewicz were restorers. Antoni Ostrasz was an architect.

Were they are Polish?

Yes, they were all Polish. And there must be somebody, you know, to dig, I mean the archaeologist, real archaeologists. But not necessarily more than one, in his thinking. Well, sometimes it must be anthropologist, you know, but only in time when you're doing cemeteries. Anthropologist must know medicine, at least know a little . But we were not having a custom to have a medicine doctor like English did. Most missions got doctor. English mission needed drawings, so there was painter, chemists sometimes, archaeologists, one or two. That was the set, but the other thing are books. Everyone took what he would need to work. I mean, I cannot imagine to go without the dictionary or Coptic grammar or something like this. I have to have a tool to check. You know, there was no Internet and there were no computers. We had to have a library. And it was just simply heavy.

Could you please tell me about the concessions? How did professor Michałowski got the concession?

Well, several sites were proposed by Sudanese Antiquities, actually, by Thabit Hassan. At that time he was the director. And it was suggested also by Vercutter, who was the Commissioner one year, to take some, what was included, I think Sai or Faras. Sai was outside the reach, because there was no danger. Still, there was no danger. Faras was on the list of concessions to take and Shinnie refused. Shinnie was first proposed to work in Faras, he was at that time a professor in Ghana. And I could can imagine that he couldn't decide to take Faras because of money. That might have been problem with the university to find the proper money for the big dig, costly. Recently I learned that the men who really moved Michałowski to undertake the excavation in Faras it was Andrzejewski, Doctor of Egyptology. My master, a genius I must say. This was the man who was best in Demotic. The best in reading Demotic in the world. Andrzejewski was in Egypt with Michalowski in 1960 or 1959. And he was pressing Michalowski to the decide for Faras. Because it was always a problem: how high is this hill and how many effort you would need, you know to make something sensible. So that was the beginning.

What about the support from Polish government?

Michałowski was regarded as a good ambassador of Poland. Communist authorities saw a possibility, they wanted to make a propaganda for the country. Because not many people were allowed to go out of the country, the authority liked Michałowski. He was very important man for them, he was not member of the party, he was not engaged in politics. He was known abroad as a member of school, the man who was in Berlin and in Paris. Such a name in Egypt... They realized that they have no means of propaganda but through the cultural channels. Because they didn't have men, which were counted internationally. But in this case, they counted that at least somebody will know that there is Poland, Peoples' Republic. You know, just this sort of thinking. He could fix many things. He was the director, vice director of National Museum. So if there was something to show to the people coming from abroad, politicians from other countries, it was National Museum. So they have to contact Michałowski in such cases. So, he had to create his own institution, I mean the Center in Cairo, quite independent. He figured that the Academy will pay for the publications. The museum gave equipment. And the university had given teaching. And he was powerful enough to ask Ministry of Finance to make a special university account which would be depending on Ministry of Finance, not on the authorities of the university. So budget of the Centre was going from this account.

Could you tell me a bit about the time when the murals arrived to Poland?

The murals arrived in April to Gdynia. I must say that the oldest troubles we had, it was first of all loading. Because we had trapezoidal room with two columns in the center. The question was: how to fix the boxes in such a space. Fortunately, Gazy provided us with models of boxes in scale, so we took it, we made the dimension of this loading place. I sat with Abdelrahim in the hotel the whole night and tried to put these boxes in a proper way with numbers. This plan was ready for in the morning and Monday morning. It was in Port Sudan. In Poland Michałowski was waiting on the museum on the steps. He was there to meet us.

What about the conservation?

When we arrived we deposited the boxes in the museum. The next day there was opening of the boxes with the assistance of the customs. They were in perfect condition because it was never deposited in Harbor magazines. And the ship carried cotton, so that was very good load for that. Conservation work was organized in full speed. Mrs. Jędrzejewska was working on the conservation. She was very keen to make a precise documentation of conservation. And that documentation is in the museum. She looked upon it like something curious. Everything was drawn in the piece of plaster, from the backside was drawn and examined. So that took time. The first 18 paintings were finished in 1968.

How many paintings were there before conservation?

There were 49 or 52 or something like this. But they were pieces, this is difficult to say paintings because for instance, some were taken in five pieces. Two paintings or three paintings were found in-between the layers of plaster in Warsaw. For instance, these two traces of two representations of the Holy Virgin in the niche.

Does it mean that they were professional and they found different layers of paintings during careful conservation?

Well, they separated the layers in two cases, yes, because normally there was not the case. You know for separation, because it was separated in Faras. We smooth the surface from the backside. This is the process and then immediately there was organized the exhibition of these 18 pieces in Warsaw.

After what period of time?

Three years conservation. 1964 they came, 1967 was the first exhibition of paintings in the National Museum. But we may have done some mistakes sometimes with conservation of Faras, because... That was very wise of Gazy, that he didn't took the whole wax from the surface. Because he knew that the roof might be leaking. And it was in fact, but he forgot about the dust. Later some people were sent and they were taking this wax off from the pictures. They were protected but the dust stayed on them and they lost the color, they are not so bright anymore.

What happened later?

In 1972 there was a permanent gallery created for the conference, for the first Conference of International Society of Nubian Studies. The gallery was created, practically the same month. The opening of the exhibition of the Khartoum gallery was in the same month.

What about the Faras Gallery in Warsaw?

Well, it was the same. It was the same, but there was another arrangement. They removed some galleries to create the gallery. But it was precisely the same place. The opening was very good because there was a international conference and the society was established. A lot of people came to Poland. The gallery was very modern that time, now looks old-fashioned but it was something, you know. It was looking very good, I must say.

How do you see the future of antiquities and heritage protection in Sudan?

Well, you know, this is a very complicated thing. Especially for me, because I don't know what was happening there for last 10 years. I must say I was trying to stay updated, as there were many people, who discussed this matter. If I should take the voice, I would say that this is the only country I know from the countries in the Middle East where the things are really guarded. Especially this organization, which was made by Antiquity Service to appoint the kafirs, local kafirs. But I'm not a proper person to judge because I have this very strong first feeling about the Sudan. I am sort of ready to forgive everything, because I remember some other attitudes... but I'm not speaking about archaeology now. We have been always welcomed. Really. I mean, we were always treated in indigenous service and everywhere quite nobly. And or us, the cooperation with the workers was good.

I'm really very pleased for that. At the end, could you share general opinion about your experience in Sudan?

You know, I like your country. I am used to it. I spent more than five years, counting every month. So even I can be a citizen of the Sudan. And you know, that 10 years is just the distance, the people changed. I mean, the people look unchanged, but the conditions have changed. You have to fight to afford the position in antiquities. I think that it's due to good ministers simply. So the ministers like you now, like a good ambassador, he will go and will make a good propaganda for the country.

Professor, thank you very much for this nice words and for the interview.

INTERVIEW 5.

Date: 27th October 2015

Interviewee: Dr hab. Henryk Paner, former director of Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk, who was one of the first to respond to the call for MDASP project.

Transcript

Elmontaser Elmoubark: I would clarify the objective of my study. I have the idea of conducting interviews with people who participated in this project. I would like to ask them questions about their work there and to find out details from them, not from what they wrote or what I found in their books. I prefer this kind of interview, as I believe it is a chance to get something that is otherwise not available. I will divide my question into three topic areas. But first I would like to say thank you very much for accepting me to have this conversation with you about this project. I'm really glad to be here with you. Let us start then. So first of all, I would like you to tell me about your acceptance of the appeal and participation in this project. When you got this information, that there it will be a project in Fourth Cataract, that they will build a dam in Fourth Cataract, you got the information about the call that NCAM needs help to rescue the archaeological materials, what did it mean for you? How did you feel about this appeal?

Dr hab. Henryk Paner: I think we should start from the very early beginning, when we first time met Professor Lech Krzyżaniak. He was my friend. He was former director of Archaeological Museum in Poznań, and he was very deeply engaged in work in Sudan for many, many years. Firstly, in the frame of Mediterranean Center, Polish Mediterranean Center from Warsaw; next as independent mission from Poznań, and next together with Germans, with whom he cooperated in Al-Musawwarat as-Safra and in Naga [archaeological sites], especially in Naga. I remember in 1993, we arranged a small exhibition about the professor Krzyżaniak's work in Sudan. So I met him, we discussed a little bit, and I told him, maybe we could be interested to visit Sudan with him, just to take a part in his excavations and to have a look what sort of cooperation is between Polish people and Sudanese people. It was especially done for our education department, just to show our local visitors that Polish archaeologists can work not only in bone but abroad as well, especially in Africa. So, in 1994, Professor Lech Krzyżaniak invited me to go with him to Kadero [archaeological site]. We worked together in Kadero a little bit. Next, I met dr Ahmed Hakim. At the time he was the head of National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums in Sudan. He proposed our small group of people, we were four people from Gdańsk together with prof. Lech Krzyżaniak, he proposed us to go to Sixth Cataract region, to site, which is called Jebel Jari [Jari mountain]. It was assessed as a Stone Age, but mainly Neolithic site and prof. Ahmed Hakim asked me to make some documentation from this site. So we did it for three weeks. And of course, we had some small adventures before the trip to Sudan. Before the trip we sent our small car, a Russian Jeep, which still is presented as a ruin, is in total ruin in the courtyard of Antiquity Service, we send this car together with our equipment by ship. The ship was called Władysław Jagiełło, Polish ship. Unfortunately, one day before our trip to Sudan, before our flight, this ship had some sort of collision with another ship in the Netherlands, in Holland. So this ship had to go again to Poland and we had to fly to Sudan without equipment, only with our backpacks, and our clothes, no sunglasses. [laugh] And we didn't

have any archaeological equipment, because everything was packed into this car and went back together with car to Poland. So when we arrived to Sudan and when I met prof. Ahmed Hakim for the first time, I told him about this situation. So he said: “No problem. Now you can join Leszek Krzyżaniak, go together to Kadero, work together with Leszek in Kadero. He has equipment, he has accommodation. But when we finished our work in Kadero, he thought we could be useful, more useful for Sudan, for Sudanese antiquities. He asked us whether we can do something in this Jebel Jari and he offered us a car from NCAM, 2 tents, a driver and another help, which was very nice from his side, because in another place we couldn't do anything. So we of course we were very grateful, we went to Jebel Jari and we finished this job and until now this whole documentation is stored in archive or library of National Corporation. But when we finished this, we still wanted to do something more. And I asked prof. Hakim: “Maybe we could do something more?” And he said to me: “OK, but we had some trouble with fuel” Because this time it was 1994...93, sorry. He said to me: “If you can arrange fuel for you, I can offer you a car and you could go to find the place of Old Sennar the capital of Funj. Of course, everybody at the time knew that there is something like Old Sennar, but it was not exactly located on the map. When we visited this area for the first time we asked people, we had some general map of the area, there was the name on the map Old Sennar, but not exactly in the place, just the name in the corner of map, something like that. When we asked local people, where we can find some ruins or something like that, nobody knew. So we spent... Firstly, we arrange this fuel from another Polish people, who at this time were building electricity power station in North Khartoum. Because not everybody knows, but this electricity power station is built by Polish people, Polish engineers, 20 years ago. And one of my friends was a director of this business, they build this power station from money of World Bank. And this guy, my friend, he helped me to meet Sadiq Magdy at that time. Sadiq Magdy, who knows a lot of people, just helped us to arrange the fuel for our mission. Long and complicated story, but it was such time in Sudan. Ahmed Hakim told me: “OK, Henryk, you can help us, you can go to Sennar, but it's not possible without fuel. And we in NCAM, we have for one month only four gallons of fuel. For all our cars”. So it was very little. When I arrange this fuel, he was very satisfied and he helped us to arrange accommodation in nest house near Sennar. We met a governor of this province. We met different people. We spend in Sennar nearly one month and we were successful. At last we have found this place and we made a sketch plan of the site. I have the photo of this. It's a piece of history. I can send you one day. I can send you this plan. Because I think this is only one such sketch plan in which Old Town of Sennar is exactly situated. When we finish this season, we went back to Poland. We said good bye to everybody and we hoped to come again next year. But in our case, we never had money from the side of Polish government. The last 20 years, which we have worked in Sudan, our money we gathered from sponsors, Polish sponsors, international sponsors and from our own income in museum, because we do some archaeological job for investors. As I told you, every investor has to pay for rescue excavations before any investment. Usually we do this work and they have to pay for the job and a part of this money we devoted for the rescue excavations in Sudan, just to protect this heritage, this archaeological heritage in Sudan, because in my opinion this is very important part of world heritage, world archaeological heritage.

In 1994, according to our agreement with prof. Ahmed Hakim, we went Sudan and immediately it'd appeared that Ahmed Hakim is not present. He was not the NCAM director anymore. There was some other person, prof. Ali Tijani, who was not interested with cooperation with Hawaja [white man]. We

had some papers, some agreements signed between our museum and prof. Hakim as a former head of NCAM. But Ali Tijani said to us, that we can go back home. We don't need your help.

Really?

Really, so it was not very polite from his side, because we spent the money for travel. We had this agreement which was still exists. Nobody cancelled this agreement. But I asked dr Salah Mohammed Ahmed for some help, to explain to prof. Ali Tijani, that it's not to be [incomprehensible]. After his negotiations with prof. Tijani, who was only one year the head of NCAM, after that he emigrated to Qatar, to Oman, to Bahrain... But at last dr Salah Mohammed Ahmed explained to him that we can be useful, that we can cooperate, that... I don't know what happened exactly, but I think that prof. Tijani was not a friend of prof. Ahmed, so he thought, if we were a friends of prof. Ahmed, we might have been his enemy. But anyway, it was allowed for us to stay in Sudan and do some work between Shendi and Kabushiya. That year, it was the time before Sudanese government planned to build new road between Khartoum and Atbara. So we did some survey in the stage of about 40 km long between Shendi and Atbara. We discovered some sites. We did [incomprehensible] and between another sides we discover Awlib. It was two sides close to each other, Abu Erteila and Awlib complex, temple complex. This Abu Erteila was a little bit known from literature, but about Awlib there was only a short information, it was mentioned in a book of prof. Hakim about Meroitic architecture. When we finished the survey, I asked the Sudanese authorities about possibility to have a concession for the Awlib temple complex, because we registered five Koms [hills], one – the biggest was the main temple, and three cemeteries in the area, so at that time I thought maybe it would be good to sit on this place and to do something more than only a survey. At that moment the authorities in NCAM had changed and new boss was dr Hassan Hussain. He told me, “OK, Henryk, you can have this license for Awlib. But firstly we would like to ask you to go to the Fourth Cataract”. And it was that moment in 1995... It was the moment when we were asked for the first time to go to the Fourth Cataract. So... I knew nothing about that area. And the only person who visited this area was dr Salah, who visited this area together with Jack Reynolds. And when I asked Jack Reynolds about this area, he told me that there is nothing, nothing to do from archaeological point of view. There's only a lot of mosquitoes, no markets, no water, no roads, no electricity... So everything in Fourth Cataract is very complicated, sometimes dangerous. He told me: “I spent only three days in Fourth Cataract and I never want to go back to this place”. [laugh] So you can imagine my feeling... We didn't have long experience in Africa, only two seasons, and when these guys who spent in Africa nearly 30 years told us that it is very complicated and very dangerous, from logistic point of view, it's very complicated management of such excavations or survey or any archeological effort... But we decided just to go for a few days, to have a look, and when we arrived using Russian Jeep, because after half of year, this Jeep arrived to Sudan and it was quite fine, wo we visited the area of Fourth Cataract. Then I took the decision that it is fine, we can start with this survey. And in 1996, we started with a survey exactly... not exactly from Jebel Barkal, but from Jebel Suwiegat, about 5 km from Karima.

Our concession started from Jebel Suwiegat and through Kassinger Bahri we went further Northeast. In 1996 we had our first season. After two seasons, if I remember well, we registered more than 150 sites, among them the rock art and very interesting sites like Kassinger Bahri cemetery, which was totally disturbed in the flooding in 1988. Some people used bulldozers to collect sand

and stones from the tumuli and they used it as a barrier against water. So they destroyed a lot of superstructure, primarily this cemetery. Probably you can count about 400 tumuli and now you can register not more than 60-70. But anyway, after two years there was another meeting, if I remember well in 1998 in London...or maybe in 2000, I don't know..

Excuse me, I will stop you here. If I understand correctly, at that time there was no another expedition working there? Were you the first archaeological expedition in the Fourth Cataract region?

Yes... I don't know exactly about NCAM activity, because they probably did something on the left bank, because our concession was primarily on the right bank, between Karima and Abu Hamad. Maybe some effort was done from the site of NCAM archaeologists, but I don't have proper information about. But certainly, from the foreign groups 1996-1997, we were the first, the first mission in the world that already gave positive response to this appeal of dr Hussein. That's an important point.

I would like to move on to further topic. You mentioned that you got information that this area is very difficult and you were stressed, you had maybe negative impression about starting work in this area. Could you tell me then what was the real challenge and difficulty when you started your work in the Fourth Cataract?

The challenge was firstly to take care about the health of people, this is the first, the most important thing. How to protect everybody, if you have no free access to the good water, to the good food. Especially some Hawaja [white men] are more fragile for hard condition. I'm not, but maybe other Polish people... [laugh] And of course, an important matter was communication, transportation... Communication, transportation and medical treatment, and how to protect people. So it was first three or four points of our logistic plan. Before we went to Sudan in 1997, after our first visit, we went to Germany, we bought 2 cars and we exported these cars to Sudan just to have 4-wheel drive cars of our own, in good conditions. Of course, up to now, all these matters connected with custom are very complicated in Sudan and usually very expensive. But in this case we had really real help of NCAM and as well dr Salah and dr Hassan Hussain helped us a lot. They prepared special documents, opinions which we could deliver to the customs officers. And these custom officers were really very polite, very helpful for us. And they made us free of custom, what was very important. Then we could start with our two own cars, and this Russian Jeep, altogether three. And we had good communication, using special radio, which is very important in this hard terrain. We arranged our first camp about 20 km from Karima in Kassinger Bahri.

Does that mean from the beginning you started with a advanced works? Because you collected, money and you bought the cars and needed equipment. Do I understand correctly that you were planning to have a big cooperation with Sudan from the first time?

Yes. Anyway, a lot of further information you can find in these volumes, *African Reports*, especially in first, second and third. Because I informed the public how we arranged everything, how we cooperate with NCAM. Maybe not only thing which I'm talking about, but from archaeological point of view a lot of information can be found there.

Could you tell me more about the challenges you encountered? You mentioned the climate or the features of the area, that it was very tough and difficult for people.

Firstly, water. Water was important. We used two type of protection. Firstly, we had special pills which you can put into the water and after half an hour you can drink it safely, because this is working against different bacteria. And secondly, we use typical water filters, but it was not very useful because water from the Nile, which we had to use at that time, was not mineral water. It's full of mud, it's like a clay. So we usually used this pills, special chemicals pills to make this water good for drinking. It was it was really, really very important. When it comes to food, we had different approach than other missions, because when we contacted Polish mission from Old Dongola, they usually were buying a lot of pasta or flour in Egypt, and they were sending it by train to Sudan. So when we visited them and I asked my colleagues in Dongola at that time he told me they never eat djibna [cheese], they never eat local food because they are afraid about their stomach and health. But I said to my people: "Guys, if everybody, all people from the area can eat local food, like fasolia [beans], fresh fruit, vegetables, we can do the same. We are the same people". So we started to eat every local food, we had local cook and everybody was healthy. No problems with stomach.

That is great. What about the challenges and difficulties connected with people? Did you have any issues with the workers? You told me that you brought good cars, what was the situation with fuel? Was is difficult to obtain all the permissions to work there?

In 1996-1997 a lot of permission were needed to work in in the field. Firstly, travel permit. Secondly, photo permits. Thirdly, special permit for camera, movies camera not only camera, digital camera. Looking for behaviour... Security Service. We had to contact them on the first day when we arrived to village, to Karima or to Kassinger Bahri. On the first day we should contact with local Security Service. We had to remember to have a lot of copies of our passport, all these travel permits were very important. So it was one of most important things on the first day when we arrived to some villages and small towns.

Do you think it was normal or you were treated differently for some reasons?

I think it was time of the war between the South and North Sudan and it was just control, special sort of control for everybody who was moving from one place to another. So I was not surprised because in our country, twenty five years ago it was something similar. Anyway, for me it was not awful, not terrible. Sometimes it was just a pit of time. But you know...

What about the local communities? Did they welcome you, were they helpful?

They welcomed us very, very nicely, very good. And from the early beginning we had very good contact with local people, especially in the all area of Fourth Cataract. We visited people. We took part in local ceremonies, weddings when a child was born, sometimes even in the funeral ceremony. Yes, sometimes not. Not very often, but especially when we knew people, when somebody from their friends or families died, we took a part in such ceremonies as well, especially after we met Onde [A famous person known for his cooperation with the Polish mission]. You know Onde?

Yes, of course.

Yeah, everybody knows Onde.

Does it mean that you has a good relation with the leader of the local community?

Yes, but not only with the leader, with all the other people as well. When we worked in our first excavation, it was in 1996 and 1997 in Kassinger Bahri. So if you work with people in the field, you know them better than only making shopping in their shop.

Let me specify, so even after the problem with the local people and with the government there, when they expressed that they are against the dam, was the relation still fine?

Yes, because I think because from the beginning we had very good relationships with local people. We visited, they visited us. Ahmed Babiker is a person who is a friend of us. His relative was Onde. And another local people, many people from Kassinger Bahri and they were talking about us in the area. You know, when they visited their families. And I think this opinion must have been good because all these people had very positive approach to us. What is important, after the first time we met Onde, at the same time in 1998 there was the first movement of Manasir. One season, a lot of people from another archaeological missions, a lot of foreign missions, were pressed to go out from the area of Fourth Cataract. And I visited this area after it happened and everybody packed luggage and flew away. I visited, together with Onde and Ahmed Babiker, the Manasir Committee people in the same island, in the north near Abu Hamad, Shiri Island. I visited these people from committee and I negotiated our future. It was long meeting. They were not very polite. They were not very friendly. Because in their imagination they were thinking: when we threw away every Hawaja from the area, the government will give us something. The government will be terrified about it. The government will be not happy, because this opinion in Europe will be bad for government, not for us. It was such, you know, such thinking.

Does it mean that the local community problems with the government were affecting you?

It was affecting us. After that, at last we had an agreement between Manasir Committee and me and we, as the only foreign mission, could have stayed on the spot. So it was very successful for us. Because of our good beginning, good relationship. I remember when we discussed with these people from the Committee, there was about 15 men with beards, guns, sitting very seriously, like this, and I was in center, I was talking with them with the help of Onde and Ahmed Babiker. Suddenly the door was opened and somebody came inside. A young man and I recognized, he was a guy from small village which we visited few weeks earlier and we discussed something and we explained what we do, how we collect the data about archaeological heritage. And we had the doctor, this doctor helped local people without money. This is our habit, our common habit in our mission that all the time we have the doctor, Medical Professor from Szczecin, Mirek Parafiniuk, and usually he helps local people if they have some problems, he give them, you know, medicals, pills and so on. We have special money for this aim, just to help local people, because it's needed. And this young guy, I don't remember now his name, but it's not important, he arrived because he had heard from somebody that we will have a meeting with his Manasir committee and he was afraid about us. Because he hosted

us in his house, and he treated us after this hosting like a friends. Like a part of his family. And anyway, we really helped his father, who was very ill and our doctor helped him a lot and this wife. So he was very grateful. And when he had heard about this meeting, he afraid about us. So he, without invitation from the site of this Manasir Ccommittee, he arrived to this meeting and just went inside and the older guy asked him: “What are you doing here? Nobody asked you to come!”. Very unpolite. And he told them: “Maybe you don’t care about such things, but I feel these guys are a friend of us. Not only one village, but more people, because they help us, they're friendly, they are normal, we can visit them anytime when you want. So please talk with this guy – with me – like with a friend, not like with enemy”. It was very beautiful really, because it was not without any other, how to say it, it was his own initiative. I didn't know he will arrive there. And anyway, it was a long trip through the desert, from the Karima to the Shiri Island, because it was deep in the desert. So you can imagine how good this relationships must have been, that local people protected us against Manasir Committee without us asking for it. It was really, really nice and it’s a good proof of our relationships with local people.

Let us go further, cause you mentioned very interesting thigs and I would like you to elaborate on that. Can you tell me more about the participant of the mission? You mentioned that there was a doctor. Could you tell me more about that?

It developed through the years. First, it was group of four people, 3 archaeologists and one technician. Photographer and driver and mechanist, and so on. 3 archaeologists.

Were they all Polish?

All of them Polish, yes. And from Gdańsk, people from Gdańsk Museum. After 2-3 season it developed and new people joined us: ethnographer Andrzej Błażyński, the professor of medical treatment, Mirek Parafiniuk, and the people who were interested in history of medicine in Sudan and other people from Szczecin. Paleobotanic, Monika Badura from Gdańsk University, another specialist from Wrocław University – Mirek Masojć who is an expert of Stone Age. So sometimes in one season, we can say, we employed even 20 people from different universities and museums in Poland. Before, we in Gdańsk Museum, we don’t have all the specialists. Some of us can specialize in some things, but we can find good people on Poland for Stone Age, for this medical things, ethnographer, a so on. We had our own land surveyors, technicians, archaeologists, especially of Bronze Age, Meroitic and Christian periods, pottery specialists, like Ela Kołosowska and now Professor Mahmoud El-Tayeb. He was a member of our mission a long, long time from 1996 until even 2008, when the dam was built.

Let us move to further topic, namely relations with other missions and expeditions. You were working in the same area, so did you develop any relation with them? Was there any idea of sharing information, discussing the archaeological excavated and founded materials? Or maybe were there other kinds of activities connected with building relations and sharing knowledge with other missions?

I think what should be stressed in this moment, that from the early beginning, from the first season, I had an idea how to divide our knowledge and how to take some knowledge from, you know, other

missions, from other people. So after the first season in 1994...maybe... we arranged first all Polish conference, Nubian archaeological conference. And we arrange these conferences each year for last 22 years, from 1994 until now. Each year we meet another Polish people from Polish missions. But many times we arranged international conferences devoted to the Fourth Cataract archaeology. First time such meeting was organized, I don't remember, 1998 or 2000 something like that. But one year later we arranged in Gdańsk, in Gniew Castle four days international conference and in this way we exchanged our experience with other missions. So it was very good idea and you can find the publications from this conference in that volumes. Second such conference... Next, these conferences were organized by Humboldt University, Berlin, by Cologne, Peter Vocka, by Lille University, again in London with Derek and next in 2009... Maybe in 2009 in Gdańsk... Which should be published in volume 6 or volume 7... Yes, this is volume 7 from International Conference which was arranged in Gdańsk. So this was a very good way. In 1998, we arranged an exhibition about... permanent, because earlier after each season we arranged temporary exhibitions for the public, just to inform them what we do in Sudan, what is our result, how we cooperate it with Sudanese authorities, because everybody in Europe, even now, are talking now: this awful country, full of blood, sweat and tears. Something like that. There is a war, how you can go. We can go, because we protect international world archaeological heritage together with Sudanese colleagues. That's the answer. We don't care about political situation, if this situation is not dangerous for us. If we still can work safely in the area, we will work, as long as it's possible, because this is our sort of mission, to protect this archaeological heritage, which is very important for the world heritage. If nobody will help Sudan, if everybody will stay back to Sudan, nobody will protect this heritage. Because for Sudan it is too much. This is big country. This is huge potential, I think it could be more money for this activity. I mean, for the heritage of monuments, it could be, but still it's not enough. So if another countries will not help Sudan on this way, maybe many, many monuments will disappear. Yes, especially now, when there is this gold fever, looking for the gold. But anyway, going back to your question. I think the good way to exchange this knowledge was this Polish and international conferences and our exhibitions. Because we presented materials. And between these conferences we arrange many small workshops, only for the pottery specialist with Jackie Phillips, with another specialist. They could go to Gdańsk anytime, we could offer them, free of charge guest rooms and so on.

Can we say than that this project, this international project, was a step to build good relations between missions working in this field?

Yes. Because anytime we offer them open hands, you know, open sources, our knowledge. There were no problems, never. When I was asked by Derek Welsby, for instance, to prepare a lecture in London in 2010... I never had problems to collect materials, starting from Derek Welsby, through the American expeditions, Paweł Wolf, any other people and Polish archaeologists from Poznań, from Warsaw, they gave me all the results without any problems. I could collect these materials and prepare this lecture and after lecture the subject article for this volume. So it was very, very important. It's good question, that from the early beginning between all these missions: British, French, Germans, Polish, Americans, there was very, very good cooperation. And of course, Sudan, it is obvious. More relationships like colleagues than from official point of view. This is very important.

Can we say that thanks to that deeper idea of Nubtology or Sudanology was created?

Yes, and what is important, a lot of young people from, for instance from Poland, took part in this expedition between 1996, 1998 up to 2008, and we can say we educated new generation of archaeologists who like Sudan, who have a lot of friends in Sudan and who understand Sudan more than normal Polish citizens, who know Sudan only from TV and from media. Which is not very positive picture sometimes, so this is very important matter that we explain to people: Sudan is not like you see in the media, Sudan is normal country, people are normal. All of them are not terrorists. Like sometimes Americans maybe are saying... This is very important work. All the time when we arrange, for instance, conference in Gdańsk, there are few interviews for local media, local press and interviews in local TV, especially together with our Sudanese friends. Sometimes it was Abdelrahman, now the director NCAM, sometimes it was Salah, who took part in few of our conferences. Sometimes it was Hassan Hussain as well. And even Onde, one day we asked Onde to visit Gdańsk, to pay a visit in Gdańsk. And Onde spent here two or three weeks, he was very popular. What can I say more? I don't know.

So maybe can move to another question. Let us go back a bit and think about the Nubian campaign. I assume, when you started your work in Fourth Cataract project, you had in your mind, as an archaeologist, some pictures from the Nubian campaign. You had an image of some political works, challenges, difficulties and success in Nubian Campaign. Comparing the information you had in your mind about the Nubian campaign and your field work in Fourth Cataract, what was positive and what was negative change?

When we compare the situation between this first huge Nubian Campaign in 60s, it was international matter from even political point of view. UNESCO helped a lot at that time to arrange all this rescue job with moving of temples and so on. And we have very good sources, very good information about that because one of the main head of historians, archaeologist was prof. Kazimierz Michałowski from Warsaw, who was a member of International Committee for the Nubian Rescue Campaign. So before we went to Sudan for the first time, we learned a lot from our Polish colleagues. Some of them even still remember this campaign, like Professor Stefan Jakobielski, who is really like an open book. [laugh] He told us a lot about different conditions. And when we compare our work, first: we didn't have such support from the site of international, political authorities. We, from Gdańsk, we even didn't have money from our government. It was our own money. We had a choice, we could spend this money for another aim. We could buy something for our museum from that money. Nobody forced us to spend this money for archaeological job in Sudan. But it was our own independent decision. I think it was very important that in this situation, when we didn't have such huge strong support from the site of international political community, from the site of UNESCO, It was... we helped each other as a mission, you know. For instance, sometimes we had some troubles with some equipment, so we could borrow this equipment from other mission. Mainly Polish missions but not only. And I think it was some sort of integration, all these missions: French, German, Polish, English, because of lack of support from the site of international, political bodies. In this case, we can say that, it was more our own initiative. Like, archaeologists who work quite long time in Sudan and a majority of them feel that this is good time to help. Good time to help, not only for government or for NCAM even, but for the monuments. Because without our activity in Fourth Cataract I cannot imagine that archaeologists from NCAM could be able to protect everything, to make such a lot of excavations.

to produce such a lot of publications. It should be stressed that it was more the own initiative of archaeologists who like Sudan, who respect Sudan, who respect this heritage than political decision. Nobody from our country pressed us: please go to Sudan to do that or that. No, it was our own initiative, like in case of Derek, like in the case of our archaeologists. And I think this is worth to stress it. This is this is the main difference. And if you are talking about difficulties... One thing could be arranged better in Sudan. In some later years, these problems with customs... All the time, some problems... Of course it was solved, but sometimes we just had to spend a lot of time. 2-3 weeks sitting in Khartoum and sending next letter and next, you know, documents, just to explain what for archaeologists can use total station for instance. Are they spies? No. They are not spies. They use this total station just for measurement work with monuments. In case of other equipment sometimes we had some trouble, so I think for the future, if somebody will be responsible for such cooperation between foreign missions and NCAM it should be really one person who will be respected by custom authorities and who can explain: tomorrow mission from Gdańsk will go to Sudan and they will take with them total station, two satellite phones, etc.

So was it a problem?

It was a problem. Sometimes we spend time, unfortunately, we spend a lot of time to explain, what is this equipment for. Sometimes we stuck at the airport because custom officers told us we cannot take this total station with you. We have to take it, we will store it at the airport and when you will go back to Poland, you can take it with you. What for should I stay in Sudan without my equipment? It was really a problem sometimes. And in this case we need, I think, many missions need some support, but it's only that. But from the other side, with local people, with local communities, we never had any problem. I don't know about other missions, but we didn't. It was very good, very positive side of our work in Sudan. If you can ask members of our mission if these people like Sudan... A majority of them have some friends in Sudan. They now communicate with them, they have contact through Facebook or other Internet tools.

What about the weather? Was it a big challenge for you? What about the insect in the area, were they an issue for your mission?

I think we were well protected. Look, through 20 years, among members of our mission, only one person had a problem with malaria. Only one person. Just. So it means we protected us well. How did we protect? Mosquito net. Mosquito net in the house. Mosquito net in the tents. Mosquito net in the camp, in the desert. We usually didn't arrange our camps near the river, rather deeply, in the desert that 2, 3, 4, 5 km from the Nile where the weather is dry. There are no mosquitoes, not such a lot of mosquitoes. Generally, I think the weather is not problem for Polish people in Sudan.

Could you share with me your general view about the campaign, what was positive and negative for you?

I think everything was positive. Really. I told you honestly about these problems with custom, and sometimes it was really irritating because when, for instance, we arranged our exhibition...

Let me specify... Let us talk about the issue of time. Was there enough time to cover all the concession?

No. In 2000, we received a message that the engineering work had started near the dam and in this year we did a survey on the stage about 150 km along the bank of the Nile between Karima up to Khor el-Daghfali. So the last 100 km, I told Hassan Hussain that it was not possible to continue this survey, because now, when he had started with this engineering work, we had to arrange rescue excavations on some sites, which are really very important. We decided to postpone this 100 km between Khor el-Daghfali and Abu Hamad and Hassan Hussein proposed this concession for Americans. So, from 2000, we started with rescue excavations and we did rescue excavations on about 50 or 60 sites. Now I don't remember, I can find it in publication, cemeteries and settlements.

Did you concentrate in settlement and cemeteries?

Yes, mainly. It was very important, because, for instance, when we registered 50 sites with similar superstructures, the idea was, we can recognize 1, 2, 3 such sites and we can establish the chronology for another 40. Because if there are similar, superstructures similar periods, similar topography and so on, we can expect that the chronology will be, maybe not the same, but from the same chronological horizon.

Do I understand correctly, that your method applied was choosing the part of the site...?

It was not possible to cover everything. We, for instance, discovered about 800 archaeological sites, majority of them was cemeteries and settlements, among them was maybe even 400 cemeteries and we did excavations on the probably 50 cemeteries and 15-16 settlements.

Do you think, if you had have more time, would you have been able to rescue more?

Yes, yes. We could do more. We could do more about it. Time was short between 2000 and 2008. Even in 2007, it was not possible to achieve some sites because it was wet. Because the level of water was changed by this dam, even when this dam was not open, like in 2008, but earlier, the level of water changed. In 2005, I arrived to Wadi Umm Raho and I had seen that still is green. And every year earlier, after the raining season, even in...

Does it mean that the climate has changed?

Climate has change and the level of water has changed. It was not possible, for instance, to drive by car at the bottom of Wadi Umm Raho like earlier, only on the bank of the river. So you cannot arrive to some sites which were at the bottom, inside of Wadi Umm Raho. So it was the problem. Some of this sites were... Access to the sites was not possible. That was the problem for us. But happily we did this job earlier. For instance, there was a very important settlement, Kerma settlement.

To sum up, can we say that the biggest problems were: firstly the customs and secondly the time?

There was not enough time, yes. That's all, I think.

What do you think about the archaeological management in Sudan? referring to the Antiquities Ordinance 1999, there are articles giving permissions and awarding foreign missions some archaeological material. For example; when NCAM launched the appeal, it mentioned that the participants will be rewarded by receiving a certain amount of the rescued archaeological material for their museum and exhibitions. What do you think about this kind of incentive and management?

I think this point was useful, for instance, to gather money in Poland. Because some sponsors asked us, OK, we can give you some money, but what your museum, what your region will have from this business, what Poland will have from this business. So in this case we could tell them it is probably possible to have some archaeological artefacts for our collection, which will be next presented in our permanent exhibition for the public, for better understanding of Sudanese and African culture. And it was a really important point, because many sponsors asked us this question. What you, what your museum will have, when we give you money and you spend your money for what? To have nice time in Sudan, with your colleagues? No. No. must be some result. And for many sponsor, I think, effect like publications or conferences are not important. So it was important.

So it was motivating?

It was motivating. Maybe not for us, because for us the most important are publications. And of course for the exhibition, we can have some temporary exhibitions, you know, but...

But also on the other hand, now you created the Sudanese sections...

I think... For instance, looking from organizing point of view, if Sudan National Corporation or National Museums in Sudan, they have 1000 of such cups, post-Meroitic cups, and they will give 10 out of this 1000 for the exhibition they will... there is no problem for them.

Yes, because this is knowledge. I'm talking about it, because, now what you did in the museum in Gdańsk, you opened the great Sudanese exhibitions. And now a lot of people in the region know what does it mean Sudan, Sudanese Archaeology and...

Exactly. And this exhibition is not only for visitors. Many times we arranged, for instance, some meetings, some meetings with tourist guides, with businessman, inside this exhibition room.

This exhibition was opened during this campaign, am I right?

Yes. And it is based on these artefacts that we collected. So this is very important place to spread, the knowledge about Sudanese culture, about African culture, about all these traditions which are not very well known among all citizens. Especially now it is very important, as now it will have new

quite new value. Because of this some sort of... situations which now are complicated between Muslims and Christian world. So it is very much more needed now than earlier even. because now we can really arrange...

We can talk about heritage, not about dividing countries.

Yes. And now we can explain people... Anyway, people now are more interested in this part of Africa. Because when in their imagination, this is quite conflicted country, still deep in the war, and they go to our... different groups of people, and they can see normal people working in the field, normal town like Khartoum, with a lot of place, which are now available for European people and so and so on. So they change their image about that.

What about the difficulties connected with rock drawings?

First difficulties was that no company from Poland would go with us to Sudan because they were afraid of war, they were afraid of illnesses, this difficulties. So our group arranged a special training, how to cut stones, so we, archaeologists know. We are not talented in this business but we visited stone factory in southern Poland and they taught us how to treat the stones, because the most important was how to cut stone and don't destroy the picture. And after this training, we were ready for the equipment. If I remember well, we preserved more than 170 pieces.

And it was done by archaeologist who had no experience with that?

It was done by archaeologists who had really short experience, but we were very engaged and full of good ideas how to do it. Maybe we are talented now.

Were there archaeologists with some engineer or just archaeologists?

One engineer, two technicians and six archaeologists, together we me.

Where was the technicians from?

From our museum. We had arranged some fuel, some mechanical work visa, somebody have to take care about this.

The last question will be about the Ordinance of 1999. Do you think the Antiquities Ordinance in Sudan is good enough to protect the archaeological materials in in Sudan or is a bit weak and it needs to be developed?

From my point of view, because I have some experience – for 25 years, I was a protection officer for the archaeological sites and monuments in all this region of northern Poland, I was responsible for that and there's a lack of point, which should be connected with investigation in this ordinance. It should be something like in our regulations, that if investors will destroy some monuments by buildings, by roads, they have to pay some money for rescue excavation. But anyway, I think this ordinance is good. The question is, whether this ordinance is respected by officers, by every member

of staff of NCAM or not. This is the question, because sometimes you can have feeling that some people have their own interpretation. From my point of view, law is law. This is governmental document. This is, you know, very important document and everything should be clear. It must be not that one person can change the ordinance because of something. This is important. If we have respect to each other, if Sudan and NCAM respect people who cooperate with them, many years and we respect them, both of us should respect these points of ordinance, all the ordinance. Not only we, but Sudanese people should respect, in the same way this Ordinance.

Do you think the movement now in Sudan, with the development projects, will help archaeological activities or is it a threat for archaeological fieldwork in Sudan?

It's hard to say. I don't have knowledge about recent events and initiatives in Sudan. I'm very sad because I'm not a member of Qatar project. I don't know why, because we are one of the oldest expedition in Sudan. And between another cooperation, for instance, we financed offices in the fourth floor. So I expected that it will be no problem to collect us to the first group of people, even if I didn't take the part in this first meeting in Doha in Qatar. But I have expected some sort of better cooperation in this case. Must say I'm really disappointed and a lot of people from Europe ask me, even last time in Münster: "Why Henryk you are not participant of this Qatar project?". So I'm saying: "I don't know. I don't know. I maybe you know something about it?".

Actually, I don't know, but if I understood very well, there were many people who applied for it and it was like deadline for accepting...

It was at first, but it is not true, because many other people joined later this project. Without such long experience like us, without such strong cooperation, and I think without such results, for instance, if we published 11 volumes about Sudanese archaeology, about Sudanese heritage... There is not... There's only three such publications in the world. So I think, really, I must stress, I'm disappointed that even nobody was talking with me about this matter, why we could join, especially we don't need this money for the holidays. Yes, now we have a really good project in Bayuda Desert. Bayuda Desert is extremely endangered by people's activity, by people looking for gold, but not only. Because they are more active in the Eastern desert. So we need some help at Bayuda, because Bayuda is endangered and year by year new farms and now new industrial activity destroyed this heritage. We do our job as much as we can, but it's not enough. It's not enough for Bayuda heritage.

Thank you very much for this opportunity and this meeting. Wszystkiego dobrego.

INTERVIEW 6.

Date: 24th November 2015

Interviewee: Dr Marek Chłodnicki, former Director of Archaeological Museum in Poznań – Head of the Expedition of Poznań Archaeological Museum that participated in MDASP.

Transcript

Elmontaser Elmoubark: First of all, thank you very much for giving me this chance to have a word with you. I'm really glad to be here with you in Poznań, in Poland – it's a nice city – and in Archaeological Museum in Poznań. Let me to clarify the purpose of this meeting. This interview is referring to my research study in the field of archaeology and archaeological resource management in Sudan within archaeological discourse, theory, practice and perspective. The study focuses on the idea of archaeological management in Sudan, referring to the Nubian Campaign (1960-1970) and to Hamdab or Merowe Dam Project at the Fourth Contract. I am researching the idea and the process of the fieldwork, of the archaeological activities in these two campaigns. Firstly, I would be interested to know your opinion about the fieldwork process in the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project. Could you tell me, what is your general view on this project?

Dr Marek Chłodnicki: As you know, we started our work on the Fourth Cataract in 2003. It was just after the appeal of the NCAM to join the project to rescue monuments of the Fourth Cataract. And we received a concession at the end of the Fourth Cataract Project. It is about 45 km on the left side of the Nile, it is in El-Sadda and in Gebel Gurgurib, it is Shemkhiya. When we went there for the first time, there was the director of the first mission, prof. Lech Krzyżaniak, to see the area. We were very afraid because we didn't know nothing about this area, even if there are people living there, if there are any villages, because there were no enough good maps. There were some people that said they were travelling there, but we didn't know nothing.

I'm sorry to disturb you. I just want to know more about accepting the appeal. When you got the information about the appeal, how did you get to know that they want you to involve in this project and to be a participant? How did you accept the appeal and how did you get the concession?

You know, we had contact with NCAM every year, because we were working in Kadero at that time. So for us it was normal to join the project, because we were so many years in Sudan, working in other areas. It was impossible not to join this project. Of course there were some missions which I know they refused. They were interested in some projects in Kassala and so on and they didn't want to do this. But we said, we should do it for Sudanese friends: to go there, to check what archaeology is there. Because there was a lot of things that must be done, so it's too much for just for Sudanese archaeologists. As we know, it's too much for all the missions, because archaeology in this region... we didn't expect that it's so rich. We thought that maybe we'd find some graves or something, but we didn't expect there are some fortresses, graveyards, settlements... Everything is there.

Does it mean that the reason was to support the Sudan Antiquities Service?

Yes, so it was one of the reasons. Second of all, as the scientists, we were interested what happened there, because nobody knew this region, there was no... Except some areas near Karima, because there was some archaeology before, the Gdańsk archaeologist were working there, since, I think, some years earlier they started, I think.

Yes, because they were the first there, yes.

Yes, but this area, for us, we didn't know nothing about it. Unfortunately for us, the Neolithic was very, very badly preserved. We couldn't say there is no Neolithic, because there is Neolithic and Paleolithic because they are mostly seen, but it's not solid. But the Kerma... Nobody knew that Kerma extends so far, like until the end of the Fourth Cataract, even longer. The huge post-Meroitic tumulus means that there is something, not just periphery of the Meroitic state, but this is important part of the state. Even Christian time was there. We had known cemeteries, which has more than 1000 graves and some fortresses, so this is it... I think it was rich area, it could be because there was also gold in this area. There are still people around mining goals. This must be rich, because there is a gold.

Yes, exactly. Now there are people working there, who are searching for gold in small mines.

Yes. So there was more gold probably in the ancient times. There was a lot of gold.

Yeah, definitely. So, we can go further to the concessions. How did you get the concession? Did you ask for it or offered by NCAM: that they have this area and this area, and then you should choose what is more interesting for you. Because you are more interested in prehistory and another in fortification, for example. How did you choose the concession? Could you tell me something about the topic of cooperation of choosing the concession?

Generally we received proposition from the NCAM: so there is this end of this area. At the beginning, we thought to take even longer one, because we had this proposition to have a long, even longer one. Finally we took the part of this area and the second part took by Hungarians. But even then there were some problems, because nobody worked in this area before, as you know. Generally about the concession, Lech Krzyżaniak discussed it with Hassan Hussein. He was the leader at the time.

So it wasn't a problem. No one forced you to take this area or this area. So you were free to choose the concessions?

You know, some areas had already been selected by NCAM and by British. Gdańsk had a huge concession of the opposite side. So there was possibility to choose on the left side, right side, but at the end we chose this one for us, because time was also important for us. In this this area we can work longer, because, you know, the water was going. We had more time. We worked until 2010, nobody worked until 2010 like we. Because there was area under the water, near the dam.

Yes, most of the areas were covered with water.

What is interesting for the future is, that this area was not completely destroyed by dam. There is still possibility to work there, because only some places were destroyed. Some other also, because people were resettled from there to the higher areas, but still there is some archaeology existing there. So it's possible to go there to finish some work even.

That means in this area, there is still a possibility to continue working on it?

Some other problems came to that, you know. Now it's easier because there's electricity in some villages. We didn't have electricity there at that time.

We will go to this questions now. Can you tell me about the challenges and the difficulties that you faced during your work? As you mentioned now, there was no electricity there at that time. There were no good asphalt roads there and something like that. Probably now it's better: there's electricity, there are good roads, bridges and a lot of stuff. Could you tell me about the challenges and difficulties that you faced during your archaeological work there?

As I told you, we were at the beginning afraid what will happen there. But when we arrived, we said the situation is not so bad. There's many villages. It's easy to rent the house. There is a water from cisterns, so there's water supply – no problems. People are very friendly. So, in 2003 and 2004, we worked without any problems. Everything started later, especially in Hajar al Bayda.

When you came for the first time, you started to talk to the local people, to the leader of the committee, or something like that, and you got a permission from him?

We got permission, yes. A house that we can rent. So everything was going well, we had no problems with workers. Everything was OK in 2004. Problem started in 2005, as you know, those problem from the side of the community. The works there were not so easy, because they destroyed some trenches there. Atmosphere was very bad, even in 2005 – because we had two seasons – the first season was OK, but the second season we shortened because people were afraid. The next season was even worse. So we escaped, we can say, from Hajar al Bayda to Shemkhiya, where the situation was quite different. So we even finished some work in the Manasir area, but just not living there with many problems. In Sadda we also finished some work, but for the next season in 2006, there was no archaeological work in area of Hajar al Bayda and Sadda, because Manasir society was against archaeologists, against to do anything. But few kilometers to the east, in Rubatab area, we excavated without any problem for the next three seasons, until the end of the Campaign.

Does it means that the problem was just in Hajar al Bayda?

Hajar al Bayda and Sadda and the area controlled by Manasir community. Because of that, you know, we should have had neighbours, Hungarians and other missions. They didn't start. They just came for a few days and then they escaped to work in the British concession. Because there was no possibility to work.

Why?

Because, Manasir didn't agree for anyone to work in this area.

Does it mean that other missions joined you after two seasons, when the problems started?

Yes, they wanted to study it later, but it was impossible at that time.

Can we go back to the features of the concession? How long, how big was it? How was the settlement and the lives there? Can you share some information about the concessions to make a compare with your living and working there? How big was the concessions and what was the feature of the area? Was it mountain or desert area?

You know, this is 45 km. It's quite long, but not very wide, because just the Nile Valley is very narrow in this area. We went a little bit to the desert also. On the desert we found only rock art sites, also in the mountains we found rock art sites and some traces of Neolithic and Palaeolithic. But no site was excavated in the desert. All sites were in the Nile Valley, near as close to the fields and on the border on the high desert, because there are some tumuli cemeteries. Anyway, we excavated, just we touched, their archaeology, because there was not enough time and money to do everything. We thought that Hajar al Bayda was the most important place in this part of the Forth Cataract, because we found there huge cemeteries, even with the huge tumuli which were six meter high and then 20 or 30 meter in diameter, and a lot of other small cemeteries around. We thought it was a local important place, the Hajar al Bayda. It was for sure very important at Kerma and post-Meroitic, probably Meroitic, but we didn't find any clear Meroitic sites, because, you know. There was generally no settlements preserved, because settlements were on the rocks. On the border, not in the fields. So if there were villages, there were destroyed, but we found a lot of cemeteries. We dig some Kerma cemeteries, a lot of post-Meroitic, some Christian cemeteries, but very few. We made documentation of all sites: photographs and description of all site. All tumuli have photographs, description, dimensions and so on. All these documentation is waiting for publication, which I hope will start next year, but it needs time.

Can we can go back to the questions about the challenges, problems and difficulties you faced while work there. Could you please tell me about the starting point of the work and the moment you were transferring and bringing some stuff from Poland? Were there any issues at the airport or with the local people? When the problem started, did any real attacks happen? Were there any problems connected with the weather and to the features of the area? Was it tough time for the members of the mission? Were there any illness?

You know, always there is some illness among the mission. We had some accident, even during the mission, when the car was broken. Sometimes there are some problems, some illness, especially among young people, who are on the mission for the first time. But there were no serious problems. No, relation with the local people was very good, when was possible. So, at first in Hajar al Bayda it was very good. And then, when we moved, it was impossible, there was no relation after that. Then we moved to Shemkhiya, it was even better. So we invited them to us. We were invited for the party by school, which was our neighbor, because we were living in the building, which was rented from

the school. So we had very good relation with the school, with teachers. There was an English teacher who came to us. So we had contact with school, they invited us for feast, we visited them during the lecture, lessons. So it was very, very good.

What about the workers? Was there a problem to find the workers there?

You know there was no problem, generally. There was one specific problem. You know, we had the one seasons, last season 2010, in Hajar al Bayda, it was impossible. Because in 2006 we started to excavate the huge tumuli, royal tumuli. It was not finished and we wanted to finish it because it's stupid to leave it partly excavated. And we came there with Paweł Polkowski and Ali Al-Mirghani. And its thanks to Ali Al-Mirghani, his mediation with the local people, so they agreed that we can finish this excavations. And what was very funny, I can say that now, there was nobody else. We only. So they said, OK, we can work. But every day we should take other workers, because everybody wanted to help.

So there were a lot of workers there.

There's a lot of people without work there. Generally, we had to train workers. After few days they know how to do. And here every day we needed to change to new workers, got it?

Was it a challenge?

It was a challenge. Also we had also a problem there, because at the end, when we almost reached the great Chamber during the night, even though there was a guard here, somebody entered the grave and destroyed part of the grave. It was one of the situations that somebody was looking for treasures, probably.

Did he want to steal something or to find something?

Yes. Fortunately for us, there were two chambers. They opened the chamber where were only pots, so they destroyed the pots. The other chamber, when we had a lot of bronze vessels, have been already erupted in the ancient times. But still we found remains of some vessels. One is now in National Museum in Warsaw, second is in our museum and I think four or five other are in Khartoum. So there's still treasure inside.

So, there were some attacks.

Yes, during the night. The guards said that they only slept one hour and probably during this time somebody came and destroyed it. [laugh] Ali Al-Mirghani can tell you more about these situations, because he was in discussions with the guards. Because they were asking for money, they guard all the night except one hour. So they didn't want money for this one hour. But Ali said: "No, no money!" You know, we were afraid. Even I would have paid them, but Ali said: "No money for them! They didn't take care, no money!" and...

Was there a conflict?

At the end there was a conflict. We finished, we took the objects and then we went back. But the situation, you know, there was this political problem in Sudan, but it was not conflict between us in general. They weren't against us, they were against the government and they didn't want anybody there.

How was the relation with you later?

People were very good with us, relations were good. They were generally against government. That's why they didn't want us – because we were sent by the government.

What about the other things? I heard from other missions, that there was some problems when they brought some equipment from Europe to Sudan. How was it in your case?

Fortunately, we had no problem. It was quite easy. We took all equipment, medicine, everything. So it wasn't a problem.

What about the inspector who was there with the mission. Was he the right person for this job?

Yes, I think so. The all of them are right people. We had no problem, they helped us a lot in different situation, especially contacts with local people and police. So I couldn't say any bad things about them.

I would like to talk about the security there, about the government. Did you face any kind of situation, when someone stopped you and talked to you and gave you some orders? Any kind of such event occurred?

No, we had no problem with the security here. At the beginning we went to Abu Hamad to register and then we didn't see any security around. We felt safe. Even in this dangerous situations, because I had some... You know, they really didn't want to do anything wrong against our sites.

Moving to the challenges connected to the weather and to the asphalt roads, because at that time there weren't any. I assume you were travelling through the desert without asphalt road. Was there a problem with your car, with oil?

At the first season, for the reconnaissance, we rented the car from Khartoum, so we had the car from Khartoum for these ten days, which was the reconnaissance. For the next season we had our own car, Bogdan's car, because Bogdan came with his car. So it wasn't a problem. We rented another car just for transportation from Khartoum to Hajar al Baida or Shemkhiya. Different situations happened in different times. Generally, we rented a car just to bring us from Khartoum or to the site. And then the car came back and we rented the local car. For example, in 2009 we had a huge mission. It was about 12 people. So we rented a bus, minibus, "Hafla" from Khartoum to Abu Hamad. Then we rented a lorry, because "Hafla" couldn't travel through this desert. Then we rented the lorry, with the lorry we went to Shemkhiya and then we rented a local car. Some sites were really close to our house, but some weren't, so the car took people and they spend day in different places and then the end

of the day it collected people back. Generally, we had very smart drivers. There was an especially smart guy. He was an old man who, when we were in the desert, he used to prepare tea or something for us. And even when something happened, some people had some problems, they police came to them in Abu Hamad. I don't know why they went and what happened exactly. Okay, Our driver with another, we had also other drivers, who probably didn't have a drive licence or something, he couldn't enter Abu Hamad. He just stopped the car outside and entered, he had some problems there and the other old man, solved this problem.

Well, because there's a kind of cultural respect for the old people.

Yeah. We had also a possibility to experience something similar to what we have here in Europe. When in afternoon we needed some vegetables, our cook made a call and during the night a lorry came and they put what we need in front of our house. Like delivery.

Yes, we have something like that. You just need to inform them and then they will bring what you want. Let us go further, let us talk about that mission, the member of the mission. Most of the members or participant, they were archaeologists, right? Or there was other kind of scientists there, like geologists?

Most of them were archaeologists and students of archaeology. But we have also paleobotanist, we had archaeozoologist. We had the anthropologists, physical anthropologists. Different specializations for what was necessary.

We can go now to the methods applied to salvage the archaeological material found there. First of all, can you tell me about the periods? Were most of them prehistory and another were Christian? Can you tell me more about the areas where you worked, what kind of periods were found there?

We have all periods. I can give you a paper, because I prepared paper about what we found there. It should be presented in conference in Khartoum. No, it should be prepared for publication, which never appeared. [laugh] So I have description of what we discovered there. We have very few Paleolithic sites, more Neolithic, but very destroyed. Just pot sherds, some fillings on the surface. And then was a lot of small tumuli of Kerma sites, along the Nile. In every village was groups of 1 to 3 tumuli, up to more than 100 tumuli. So a lot of cemeteries of the Kerma sites. We had some Napatan also, but you know, sometimes it's difficult to say what we have, because most of the sites were not excavated. We just know about the superstructure. So we thought, because this one was Kerma, supposedly the other was also Kerma. Maybe not. But it is difficult to say, because it's not excavated. And then there were huge cemeteries of post-Meroitic, there's a lot of cemeteries. I don't know how many, 50 cemeteries. Sometimes few graves, sometimes is many dozens and hundreds of graves. And the Christian cemeteries. And we had 3 fortresses on another concession. We made some test excavation. One was, generally, two of them were on this part, because, you know, our concession was divided in two parts really. One belonged to Bogdan and the second belonged to me. This was at the beginning, when it was possible. I was working in the Manasir society, Bogdan was in Napata. And then we moved together to Shemkhiya. Because Bogdan is specialists of the Christian times, so he made some test excavations in this Christian fortresses. There were also

some Christian cemeteries in this area of Rubatab and we excavated there, just tested, to be sure what it is. Because there were like 100 graves and we excavated just one or two, just to be sure that this is Christian time, and so on. We had another story, Piotr Osypiński can tell you. When we were digging in Sadda, there was a huge post-Meroitic cemetery. But close to it, there was also Islamic cemetery. And there was some nervous situations at the beginning, because they said that a group of this post-Meroitic cemeteries were very ancient Islamic cemetery. That they were some people connected with prophet that came here. But they allowed us to do some work and then finally it was not Islamic cemetery. So we could continue, but there was a long discussion about this time, what kind of cemetery it was.

Was it the discussion with the local people?

With the local people. They said that probably there is this idea that maybe this is... Because not far from there, also from Islamic cemetery. But for us that looked like other post-Meroitic cemeteries, so we were sure that it's not Islamic.

Can we go back to the first question? When you start to work, there wasn't enough information about the area, right?

There was no information. We didn't know nothing about this. Even these fortresses, which we discovered, they were not mentioned in ancient documents. Travellers should see some of this fortress, at least one, because it is on the hill. The other are just hidden, one was completely destroyed by the villagers and the second is between the palms. But still, nobody mentioned this. It was fortress built in Christian time, but used during the Turkish period, because we found some elements.

Yes, Sudan is still virgin there and there are a lot of sites.

And we found a lot of rock art. We didn't expect that there's so many rock art sites.

How did you apply the methods? How did you start to work? Can we say that you started with choosing certain things to make analysis? How you were choosing the graves and the area to make excavations for them?

You know, for the beginning we chose Hajar al Bayda, because there was a monumental tumuli, which we finally finished after years and a lot of others. So we saw that this was a kind of center for this area. And during the survey, we wanted to check different kinds of graves, to check if there are Meroitic, post-Meroitic. Still there are some very nice tumuli preserved. You can observe them from the satellite, because we looked at the satellite map, and we had some old photographs made from plane at the beginning. So you can see them and we didn't check them. For now we are not sure if they are post-meroitic. Not far from there are also Napatan graves, so we don't know exactly. So there are some places, which we don't know their chronology. Those are huge cemetery and it was a problem. It was easy to excavate more tumuli of Kerma, because they are generally small. We need two or five workers to excavate. When you excavate this huge tumuli, which it has 6 m height and 33 m in diameter, you meet a lot of problems. And there was a problem because one member of the mission was working on this huge tumuli. And he wanted to take some machine to remove

sand. Not to excavate, but to remove sand, because there is, you know, this huge hill. And especially that this machine was not from this village, but from the other village, people were afraid and the driver must have escaped. It was impossible to work there. And digging such huge tumuli, even with seven workers, it needs a lot of time, so the two season was enough just to remove sand from the top. So I'd need to come for several seasons. We didn't excavate the whole tumuli, because there was no chance. We just chose where could be a chamber. So we knew that we were very close to the chamber. And finally after two days we found the chamber and it needed some more days excavate. Just it was a problem to introduce people from other villages, especially with machines.

So you made your choice by looking for the easiest tumulus, or?

You know, not the easiest, but ones that there was a chance to finish the work.

Because the big challenge was the time?

Yes. Because we can excavate... You know, most of the tumuli have been robbed in the ancient times. Just very few were intact. I don't know, most of them were robbed. There were still pottery vessels, beads and arrowheads preserved. So we knew the chronology. Some textiles... But probably some metal was taken from people because people searching... The same in everywhere.

What about the storage? When you collect this material, where could you go to save this material? We can come back to the plan of work in this site. There should be a paragraph referring to storing of the archaeological materials which you will find in the excavation. Could you tell me more about storage?

After season, we transported at least almost all material to Karima. We took some cars and we transported to Karima. There were some broken pots and so on that we stored in the rented house. You know, we blocked the doors and paid money to take care of it. But most of the material was sent to... after the first season to Karima zone and later was sent to the store rooms in Banganarti. Maybe you have been there. So part was in Karima, before we made partition, part of our objects are in Karima, and part in Banganarti. And then we send everything outside the village. There was nothing there in the village.

So there was a problem with the storage? Was there a conservator cares about this materials or how was the process?

You know, when it was possible we made some conservation in the field. We restored the vessels. And then in the store room in Banganarti.

Was there a conservator among the mission members?

It was not real conservator. But you know, most of the archaeologist are trained how to restore, at least vessels. Some part of the objects that were metal objects had been sent to Khartoum. I forgot, some of the objects had been sent to Khartoum. And some of them had been sent then to Poland

for conservation. Some of them are still in our museum. Some objects are in the museum and some still under the conservation.

Can we go to the questions about the real problems?

According to what you said, do you think that the methods of storing and keeping archaeological materials found in the excavation were good enough to keep these materials for further research and further display in museums? Was this problem included in the plan? I remember, as I'm working in NCAM, it was a big challenge for us to store archaeological materials. What is your view about that?

You know, I think this could be a problem, because after the first season the stores in Karima, I think they were full of objects from the Fourth Cataracts. Our objects and other missions objects probably as well. It's the only thing that there was a big store house in Banganarti and this is how we solved this problem. I don't know what would happen if we had no possibility to store those objects in Banganarti. Because to send them to Khartoum was impossible, because there were too many objects. But we were afraid to leave it on the site, because there was, you know... Maybe in Rubatab, but we never left anything in Hajar al Bayda. Because the situation was that we were afraid. In Rubatab it was different, so we left our equipment there. Because in Rubatab we rented our house from school, not from people. So situation was quite different. So we closed all the doors, everything, and school was nearby and somebody took care. So at least we left something if I remember well.

So we can we can say so that the first problems you faced, or real problem, was conflict with the local community. And the second problem was the storing of archaeological materials. Is it correct?

You know, the conflict was not from the beginning. It happened later and just in the part of our concession.

Clear. But storing materials was a problem?

It could be a problem, but it wasn't a problem. The problem was that we needed to organize transport. Because you need to take two or three cars, to rent them. First we needed to transport everything to other side of the Nile, because it's easier to go and then...

Can we think about it from the perspective of archaeological management? I'm talking as a conservator, because I think there was kind of some argument between archaeologists and conservators in regards to the objects. Archaeologists discover and bring them, but later there is a huge process of protection and conservation to keep these archaeological materials in good condition. As an archaeologist, can you say that this storage was good enough to save these materials, to study these materials and to keep these materials?

No, there were not enough space for study and to work. It was just to temporary store for one or two years. After that it could be a problem. Even we had some problems, because we put just everything one to one. However, there was a possibility we had photographs, because some insects destroyed some labels and so on. So sometimes what we need to do, what's important is to make photography

of objects, because those dangers of insects, it happens everywhere. So the “arda” [termite] had eaten some labels, some organic materials and so on. You know, we didn’t know when it happened, we just discovered that it was already eaten. Just when we discovered we made photo of objects. So even those label was eaten. Even if we put numbers of each object, but sometimes the pot was broken and not on each piece there was a number. So I think 99% of the objects which we discovered, we know when we discovered them. So this is not the problem. All-important object we know, when they were discovered and we can make scientific publications.

Yes, in the history of NCAM, the most difficult and real problem, that we face even now, is the storage room.

This problem is everywhere. In our museum we have this problem too, when we received our part, where to put them. There’s not enough space, especially when we restore some objects. So there was the box of pot shells and now we have huge pot, as you see. Still, there are some objects in our the storage rooms, not in museum. I would like to bring them because there’s a place now to display everything. It is much better now, so we can put all the objects in the right position and to finish the conservations, because some of them need still work. How many years is it? Five years since they were brought here. Because we need space to force the conservation.

Maybe in Sudan it is a bit different, because we have a big land and the climate is different and the system of conservation is different. What is more, there are still free places, so we can build good storage room for the archaeological materials and prepare good conditions for them. For example, here, or in Europe, most of the museums building were built in 19th or 17th centuries even. So there is no free space to build additional storage. As you know in Sudan, still we have free space in some areas, even in archaeological sites, for different museums or local museums. So still we have area, but we don’t have the decisions to spend money and to build the good storages.

And here is the same situation. There is no money, so each museum has a problem to store the objects. We moved some objects to the fortress, which is near Poznań. Now the situation is much better, but that is the problem everywhere. Now, when I go to Sudan for any rescue excavation and people tell me I can take part of their objects to Poland I say: “No, I don’t want it! I have no place to store it”. [laugh] There are also a lot of problems to make conservation and to restore it.

How were the relation with another missions? Was there any exchange, was is good cooperation?

You know, we had that problem that we had no any neighbour missions. Because, you know, Hungarians escaped. On the opposite side should have worked Italians, but they didn’t came at all. There were Americans, we met them two or three times, just travelling because they worked, I think, in different time of the year. I think they worked earlier, I think in September, November maybe, because we met them at the beginning, when we were travelling to our concession, they were still there. Then after that we had no contact with Derek Welsby’s mission. We were just sometimes travelling from our mission to Karima. So we visited the other missions just to say hello. We visited

mission directed by Paweł Wolf to say hello. Just to stay overnight to enjoy. Sometimes we visited the Gdańsk mission. But you know, real contacts during the work.

What about the exchange of information? Because as I know, during The Nubian campaign, when it started in 1960s, there was kind of cooperation and exchange of the materials, ideas and great discussions about the classifications of the area, things like that. Was there something similar during the Fourth Cataract Project?

It wasn't in the field, but it was after. But generally yes, because as you know, every year we had a conference just about the Fourth Cataract, which was once in Gdańsk, and in Germany twice. Every year we met and we discussed this, so there was discussion about classification. There was big discussion and it was necessary because many of us didn't know nothing about this area.

Was the atmosphere good?

It was good. I think this cooperation was good. If I needed to ask somebody: "What do you think about this material?" Because I didn't know what it is. At the beginning I had the problem with Kerma, what it is, because we didn't know: Is it Kerma or not Kerma? So there was huge consultation with people. What do you think about this? Late Meroitic, post-Meroitic? It was necessary because we are not specialists of each periods. I can say what's Neolithic or not, but I don't know what... Now I can recognize because I participated in meetings, in these discussions, so I know much more. Even now we need some expertise from outside, because there are some objects we don't know how to classify them, so cooperation is still existing.

Can we say then that the Fourth Cataract Project was a step to make progress in better understanding of the Sudanese archaeology and Nubian archaeology in Sudan?

Yes, but for us it was necessary not to excavate only what we are interested in. For example, like others, I excavated only Neolithic for many years, nothing else. Now it was necessary to excavate, to touch material from each period to know the history. We couldn't concentrate only on certain period, like we are interesting only in Kerma and we don't care about the other sites. As I told you, from each period we excavated some sites. Just one tumuli, three tumuli, five, not so many and we moved to another site, but still most of the sites have been now excavated all. Just on the general form of the superstructure we said that it is Neolithic, post-Meroitic.

Could you tell me now about the positive and negative aspects of this project?

A positive thing is that we finally know the history of this region. It's a pity that most of the material is not yet published. There are some reports. We also published some reports. But after the campaign, we had no time to publish. Maybe except Derek Welsby, he published, I think, more. But the other missions had no time, because people were doing another job, and this problem everywhere, of all archaeologists. But I think soon, sooner or later, we will publish it. So I hope the next year we will start to publish some volumes of our concessions. This is, I consider this the negative aspect. There's a lot of material not yet published, it's negative. It is five years after we finished, 5-6 years after we finished.

Is there a lot of material still under studying?

There's a lot of materials. And there is not enough specialists for these materials. Because when we start excavation... Now, we can say that Piotr Osypiński is specialist of post-Meroitic. Because he excavated some excavation, but he is not discussing post-Meroitic because he's interested in Paleolithic, but he has some experience. He know how to properly excavate. But now he needs to teach, to learn more about it, if he would like to publish by himself, he needs to learn how to classify: the vessel – is it early Meroitic, late Meroitic, post-Meroitic? Now he knows more than at the beginning. At the beginning he knew nothing about it. The same happened in the First campaign. People came here, they didn't know nothing about the prehistory of Sudan. Nowadays, we have more specialists. Well, because after this campaign there are more people who know, who can recognize: Kerma, post-Meroitic, Meroitic. There were very few in Poland, because we were concentrated in the Christian and prehistory. In Poland there were no specialist of other periods. Now you can say, even if they are not specialists, they know how to recognize material, how to excavate tumuli. We had no practice to excavate any tumuli in Sudan, because they were working only on Christian time. Now we have many people who know how to do this.

In the soon future maybe more people can study archaeology of Sudan...?

Yes, it will be, for example: next campaign and the same people will be still working here, they will know how to do it much better than 10 years ago when we'd started.

Do you think that this kind of development in Sudan, like building dams projects– especially that Sudan is facing now the issue of building another dams in Kajbar, Setit and Atbara, is an opportunity for archaeologists to learn more about the archaeology of Sudan? Or is it just putting them in the real challenge of salvaging and rescuing the archaeological material? Is it just destroying the heritage?

You know, what can I say? Most of the heritage was destroyed, because there is no chance to save everything. What was the pity in Sudan was that there was no international money like in the first dam, with UNESCO. So we need to collect some not rich country, but money. This was a pity, if we had more money as the patronage of the UNESCO, it would have been much easier. The pity is that there wasn't something like that. Some governments didn't give money, because we hadn't have generally any governmental money. To excavate on the Fourth cataract, we closed Kadero for example, and this money instead for Kadero, we spend for the Fourth Cataract. You know, the dams are political problem. I can't say it is good to build dam or not. There's something good, something bad. Destroyed heritage, destroyed local society. Now there's the same discussion is everywhere. Maybe it's the wrong directions. Now they are starting to build solar electricity. So in Sudan it is much easier than in Europe. But we start, so maybe that's another way. You know, for archaeologists. For archaeologists it is sometimes good, because we have at least some money to do some work. If there was no dam, nobody would have come for the next 50 years to excavate on the Fourth cataract. Maybe near Karima yes, but here near Abu Hamad no. So our knowledge for next 100 year will be the same problem. Maybe somebody will dig one site, probably not because there's very bad accommodations, no electricity, now with electricity is easier to do it. But I don't know if it is good to build the dams, because there's many things against it.

There are two sides of this problem. It is good and bad at the same time.

You know, if there would be enough good money for archaeologists to organize projects without dams, it would be much better. There's the national project to make research on the Fourth Cataract. No dams, but we want to know. But who will give the money for such projects?

Do you think there was enough time to salvage the archaeological material?

I think there was not enough. There was not enough. Just, at least, I feel, that we didn't finish our work.

What about the plan? Do you think that the plan and the management of this appeal was good enough to salvage the archaeological material?

I think that everything, what was possible at that time, was done. This can be related to this political problem of Sudan, that not many people wanted to give money for archaeology in Sudan because of political reason. There are some countries that put embargo to export to Sudan, to import from Sudan. From the United States, they had some restrictions connected with this, it was also between Sudan and other countries the same, so it's not so easy. There's no restriction between Poland and Sudan, but there is no big money, so there's no investment from some countries, especially UNESCO. Such huge organization is not involved in such important projects. It is a pity.

Do you think that NCAM had learn from the First Campaign? Referring to the Antiquities Ordinance 1952, improved Ordinance of 1999 and also referring to the appeal, there was an incentive for the participants who will answer to the appeal to help Sudan Antiquities Service, namely for their help they will get percentage of rescued archaeological materials. Do you think that was enough to encourage archaeological exhibitions to participate in the project?

You know, that was good that it was there. Because if you have a look at what kind of mission participate in this in this project, they were missions which are working for many years, mostly in Sudan. So for us objects are not the most important thing. If there are some missions, I don't know, which came just for the first time and never excavated in Sudan, they came to Sudan to take some objects.

I mean, I would like to know your opinion. Because now you are working in the museums, and we are in Europe and there are many people who want to know about the archaeology of Sudan. Do you think including this aspect could help another people to understand what is going on in Sudan?

It should help. For example our galleries are now richer, are much better than before. We have many objects which are exhibited in the permanent exhibition and we have objects we can show in different cities in Poland. Also, not only here. So that's good. But, you know, we excavated because we felt

that we should have excavated. If there will be enough more campaigns, maybe other missions will come, which are interested to build their own collections.

For example, now many people in Poland know about, as they called it at that time, fresco Faras. In Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie. So most of the people, who are interested in history and archaeology, they are very excited about this mural painting. It helped a lot to...

Because we know what we are talking about. What is it, Sudan? We must explain. They don't know nothing about archaeology in Sudan. And we must explain that, especially in the northern Nubia, it's the same archaeology like in Egypt. There's no special difference and we have the same temples, we have pyramids, more pyramids than in Egypt, smaller but, but at least pyramid, but more interesting because there is something.

What has happened now? I had an interview with dr Paner, in Gdańsk. When they opened the Sudanese sections in archaeological museums in Gdańsk, a lot of people started to think about the Sudanese archaeology. The reason for that was this appeal and this material displayed in this gallery.

But he was interested to go to Sudan before appeal.

Of course, yes, of course.

He came earlier. He had no his own place, he really didn't have cadres but he tried. He wanted to excavate because Lech Krzyżaniak told him it is a beautiful country, Sudan, and he wanted to go there.

This also has happened, for example, in British museums and they also opened the Sudanese sections in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin. They opened there the Sudanese section which wasn't there before. So maybe it was the reason that helped archaeologist, researchers or scientists in the field of Sudanese Nubian to transfer the information to another visitor or interested researchers in this field. Do you think mentioning this incentive in the appeal helped?

It's true. For sure it helped. For sure it helped. Anyway, we didn't receive the most important objects, I must say, because the most important object have stayed in Sudan. But some of them are still interesting. There's nothing comparable in Europe, so still they are important, maybe not the highlights, as the best pieces should be in Sudan. But I think it is generally good policy to send objects outside for exhibitions to show culture of the land. I can say it's a pity because I worked in Egypt and I couldn't take even pot sherds from Egypt. An object like that could be, for our museum, which has no Egyptian objects, would be something. And now they are covered again in the sand and put in the storage because nobody take care because there are millions of this pots and they will never be showed in an exhibition in Egypt. It's better to send it somewhere, of course not the important object. But this is politics. From Poland also you can't take any objects.

What about the ordinance? So what do you think about it? Is it good enough?

You know, I don't remember now exactly. I need to read it again.

We are talking about the concessions, about how to protect archaeological materials. Some archaeologists say that the ordinance wasn't strong enough to protect the archaeological material. We're talking about it, because, as you said, since the ancient times there were criminals, things had been stolen, and nowadays people are also looking for the treasures and gold in this area. I would like to connect it with articles in this Ordinance.

This law should be maybe stronger, but this problem is everywhere. How to protect, to put the guard of every side, especially in the desert, but it is impossible. Even in Poland, it is very restricted. Even theoretically you can go to the prison. It's not true, because many people are going with this detectors by themselves. The same happens in Poland. The law is one thing. I think, Education is the most important. It is the most important to educate young people in school, not to destroy this. That there's nothing that have value in the market. Generally, you have to destroy a lot to find something. Even if you find a small piece of gold, so its value is less than destroying the grave for this piece of gold.

Do you think that as archaeologist we need to prepare more articles, help new generations at the schools to understand the importance of the heritage and to protect it?

New generation, yes. Education, education to protect the objects. To explain what they are, what are the objects, to teach about this. That this heritage and it cannot be destroyed.

We are close to finish the interview, so could you share your view on archaeological materials and archaeological management in Sudan? How to protect the archaeological material on sites in Sudan? Any advice after such long period of working in Sudan?

Without the education of people in the in the country, you can't do nothing. It is not enough to put a pole with the plate with information that it is forbidden to do anything, because nobody takes care of it. Even if you put some fences around. People must be educated so they don't destroy antiquities. I think this is the only chance. It is difficult everywhere. You have system of khafer [watchman]. I know, I met some of them, khafer [watchman]. They have no chance to do, because they are poor people, they have even no car to go, to check what happened inside this, and impossible to give to, to buy them some possible.

What do you think about the future of archaeology in Sudan. Is it threatened by development projects? Is the matter in danger or is there a bright future for the archaeology of Sudan?

I think that there's a big future, because we know still very little. You know, in Europe, excavations started 100 years ago I can see, maybe more than 100 years and we can excavate everything. How many missions are in Sudan 20-30? And how is big the country? In Poland there's a lot of missions. So we know almost nothing. We now know about the Fourth Cataract, we know some parts around Khartoum. But there are some areas that nobody visited them. As archaeologists we need... Like we made it in Poland, it was made also in Sudan. They are archaeological maps of Sudan.

It was started and it's continued, to know where are the sites. Now we have map of the all sides of the Fourth Cataract with the coordinates you can check and travel from site to site. Yes, because even from our mission you can find all sites, they are publicly published as coordinates. It's not this real description, but this is to my cemetery and so you can go and check. There's a chance to for protection. Because we know where are the sites. Because 20 years ago it was impossible to find the sites. I know because there was no GPS. There were no good maps. And somebody must have showed you where is this site. You couldn't find it without any... But some people knew about the monuments, because some of the monuments have been shown by the local people. For example the big fortress, the first one. They were sure, they said. We didn't believe, when they told us about the fortress. I was talking and some people said there has to be a mistake, that there's nothing. But there is a fortress. It was mentioned nowhere before.

I learned that some missions they use high technology to record and to discover the archaeological sites and materials. Do you think that it was helpful?

It was helpful. We use it in Egypt, but it needs... It is more expensive. And there could be a problem with the customs to bring this equipment, to take off and so on. It is helpful.

Yes, because we are fighting with the time, always the time factors...

Yes, it helped. It helped. It helped us, for example, to find the cemetery. We didn't know where is the cemetery. I made the research, geophysical research, and now we just know. And the same situation when something is covered by sand in the in the desert. Bogdan...

Aerial photography?

Aerial photography is very helpful in Sudan.

Especially now with drones...

Yes, now it's easier. I don't know if it's possible to bring it to Sudan.

I heard that it's possible, but you need permission.

We have a plan, if we go in next time to bring this.

Yes, I remember Bogdan who was a kind of inventor, he created his own kite drone. And you know, it was great. Great job.

New technologies, very strong so.

We will go to the last questions, dr Marek, I am really glad. I'm happy for this meetings. It was really useful, a lot of information. I would like to ask you for your last word about the campaign on the dam project. What do you think about the campaign after all this time. Five years ago you finished work there. What is your view on this subject now?

I think it was very important and it changed our mind about the archaeology of these regions. We can say there are no poor regions. All regions could be quite rich, especially on the Nile. We'll know about it much better, when everything will be published. So I think we need to wait five years to say about success of this research. Because success is not only to excavate, to put material in the storerooms. We need to publish it because when it is not published it is not existing, so nobody knows, that we excavated such nice places. So important for the history. Nobody. You should publish to show. The museums should organize exhibitions of what was found in the on the Fourth Cataract. We will be we are talking about vacation. Sometimes it's good to show it to local people and sometimes not. Because it's important to educate, but we found gold bits, so people will start to plan that. So you must know what to show, how to present this exhibition. They say is important, but not important because the objects. Important because of the history of this region. Object without context is nothing. Just to put on the shelf. Yeah, nice vessel. I don't know nothing about it, this is not important.

Are you satisfied with your work in Sudan for this more than 20 years?

Yes, yes. I would like to... For sure next year I will go to Sudan because we have money for just one project. And at least maybe soon I will be in Sudan. I prefer excavating in Sudan than in Egypt.

Why?

Because of people. Because of people. Because I camped in Egypt. It's also very interesting. I couldn't say nothing against it. But I would like to go to Sudan because what we excavated is very exciting. But people are much politer. Nicer.

I'm glad to hear that and I'm happy to hear that. And I wish you more success in Sudan.

I feel much more free in Sudan. I can travel without police behind me all the time. There are some problems, some guides... [laugh]

You are welcome. You are at your home, of course, in Sudan. And we are really glad to cooperate with Polish missions.

And also there is no such huge bureaucracy in Sudan like in Egypt.

There is... It's very important because especially...

This is important. What is important that going to Sudan I needed a specialist, I called to the cadres that I need anthropologists because I found the grave. So I sent the letter to Poland. Anthropologist

came. In Egypt, I need to inform half a year in advance, about the members of the missions. I don't know after half a year who will come, who will not come.

Because I need to send all these people for the security. This is the problem. I have huge mission. Because some people plan to go. But finally, after you know, half a year, they couldn't because they've a broken leg. I couldn't take another one because he's not on the list. In Sudan, I can take another specialist if he couldn't come. And this much, I know everybody in Sudan. To meet the general director of Egyptian Antiquities is impossible for me.

I never met these bosses of the office because there are so many people. In the inspectorate in Mansoura there are working 150 inspectors.

150 inspectors?

Yes, and they are doing nothing. Because there's no job for them. But they're working. Just going to the office. So many people. Of course I know the director of the Inspectorate, then older people, which I spent many years with. But Sudan is normal. They're coming. I'm going the general director, to the director of the museum. I know everybody. I figure I am home. In Egypt now I know the only director who's responsible for foreign missions. There's only one person which will contact with me.

I am glad to hear that. And finally, well, last but not least. Just last word from you. So what do you think about such study in the term of archaeological management in Sudan? Do you think. Archaeology in Sudan needs such study and research in the field of archaeological management?

Yes, of course. Everywhere.

I mean we are more in need in Sudan. Because there's not a lot of such studies that were conducted in the field of Archaeology in Sudan, especially for the archaeological management.

Yeah. There are so, so few. And it is such a big country.

So we need a lot of work.

A lot of work. You need more of your own specialist.

Yes, that's right.

Now you have more than some years ago, but it's huge country.

Thank you very much for this meeting. Dziękuję bardzo.

INTERVIEW 7.

Date: 14st July 2017

Interviewee: Mahmoud Al Tayeb, Director of Polish Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology, Khartoum Branch. He participated in fieldwork of Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (٧)

التاريخ: ١٤ يوليو ٢٠١٧م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: محمود الطيب

المهنة: مدير المركز البولندي لآثار البحر الأبيض المتوسط فرع الخرطوم جامعة وارسو، شارك في العمل الحفلي بمشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي. تخرج في كلية الآثار جامعة وارسو، ثم عمل في مصلحة الآثار و المتاحف آنذاك، أثاري بالمعاش .

نص مادة المقابلات

تتصدر المقابلة في ثلاثة محاور أساسية هي:

المشاركة في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، الصعوبات والتحديات التي تخللت قيام المشروع وإمكانيات الهيئة في ذلك الوقت، ثم تقييم التجربة من وجهة نظر الشخص المسئول، المتخصص، المتابع والمساهم في تنفيذ المشروع، وأخيراً رؤيته في مستقبل الآثار السودانية.

المحور الأول:

١/ كيف كانت طبيعة العمل الإداري و الحفلي والمهام التي كانت توكل للموظفين في مصلحة الآثار في ذلك الوقت؟
بداية العمل في مصلحة الآثار؟

بدايات العمل في مصلحة الآثار؛ بعد إكمال الدراسة في جمهورية بولندا، رجعت إلى السودان للعمل في مجال الآثار في عام ١٩٨٣. في ذلك الوقت كان مدير مصلحة الآثار بروفيسور نجم الدين محمد شريف، ولكن نسبة للظروف التي تعرض لها نتيجة حادث حركة في عام ١٩٨٠، ناب عنه في إدارة المصلحة عكاشة محمد علي. على الرغم من أن المصلحة كانت تحتاج إلى موظفين جدد إلا أن نافذة الوظائف كانت مغلقة للتعينات الجديدة بأمر من الوزير، ولكن من خلال بعض الاتصالات تم فتح الوظائف ومن ثم تم تعيين مجموعة من الخريجين كان أغلبهم من خريجي جامعة الخرطوم والقاهرة والعراق. كانت طبيعة العمل محصورة في مرافقة البعثات الأجنبية والبلاغات المتعلقة بالمواقع الأثرية، والتي كان ينحصر عمل المفتش بها في التحقيق من البلاغ و تسجيله وجلب القطع الأثرية التي وجدت في الموقع دون إجراء أي عمل إنقاذي، وذلك لعدم وجود ميزانية لإجراء أي عمل أثري. كانت الحفريات تتم فقط مع البعثات الأجنبية. فيما يتعلق بالعمل مع البعثات الأجنبية، لم تكن هنالك مهام واضحة توكل للمفتش يجب القيام بها مع تلك البعثات. حيث كانت المهام محصورة في مرافقة البعثة وإخطار مجلس المنطقة و الجهات الأمنية بتسليمه خطاب رسمي من المصلحة يفيد بأن هنالك وحده حكومية تعمل في المنطقة بمرافقة أجنبي فقط. هذا يعني بأنه لم تكن هنالك مهام ووصف وأضح للوظيفة. لكن إذا رجعت إلى ديودان العمل تجد أن هنالك وصف للوظيفة، و لكن عملياً لم نتحصل على هذا الوصف من أي شخص في المصلحة. كما كان سائداً إنه مهما طال فترة عملك مع البعثات الأجنبية ستظل في نظر المدير أنك لا تزال متدرب، وليس من حقه أن تنشر أي عمل بحثي، بل أكثر من ذلك، فقد كان ممنوع إجراء أي مقابلات صحفية فهي خاصة بالمدير العام فقط. وقبل أن يتم تعييننا كان ضابط الآثار المرافق للبعثة يتكفل بكل نفقاته من أكل وشرب وسكن وترحيل وغيرها. كما كان يتواصل مع البعثة فقط في الحفريات.

٢ / هل كانت البعثات تقوم بوضع برامج لتدريب الضابط المرافق للبعثة؟

لا، لم يكن هنالك أي برنامج كان هذا الأمر متروك لرغبة الضابط المرافقة في العمل الحقلي.

٣ / هل كانت هنالك مطالبة بكتابة التقرير بعد مرافقة البعثة؟

نعم، كان يجب على ضابط الآثار المرافق للبعثة كتابة تقرير عن سير العمل والحفريات التي تمت في المنطقة.

٤ / كم كان عدد القوة العاملة في المصلحة وكيف كانت الأقسام الإدارية بالمصلحة؟

كان التقسيم كالآتي؛

أولاً: المدير ونائب المدير يمثلون الإدارة، ثم مدير الشؤون المالية والإدارية وهو شخص واحد، ثم قسم الحسابات الذي كان به ثلاثة أشخاص؛ مدير الحسابات ومعه اثنان فقط، ثم قسم الباشكاتب الذي كان به ١٢ شخص تقريباً وكان مسئول عن الملفات والخطابات الخاصة بالمصلحة. وأخيراً قسم شؤون العاملين الذي كان به اثنان أو ثلاثة أشخاص، وهذا المكتب كان مسئول عن التعيينات والتنقلات وشؤون العاملين.

ثانياً: الإدارة الفنية كان أهم أقسامها هو:

قسم المتاحف، الذي كان أمين أمانته بدرجة ماجستير و عدد خمسة أمناء متاحف وأربعة مساعدين فنيين وعمال صالة. ثم قسم الترميم أو المعمل: والذي كان يترأسه أمين يعاونه أربعة مرممين. ثم قسم الكشف الأثري يترأسه الأمين برفقة سبعة من طباط الآثار.

٥ / هل كانت الأجور غير مجدية؟

لم تكن مجدية على الإطلاق، لذلك كان هنالك عدد من الموظفين تخلوا عن الوظيفة لأسباب عدة منها عدم رضاهم عن العمل نفسه. وأذكر أن هنالك أحد الضباط المميزين الذي كان يعمل مع البعثة الألماني التي وفرت له فرصة للدراسة (منحة دراسية) في ألمانيا تم تخصيصها له، لكن مدير المصلحة رفض هذا التخصيص مما أجبر البعثة على ترك المنحة. ثم تكرر الأمر مع بعثة إلمانيه أخرى ولكن تفادياً لتكرار نفس الأمر قام الضابط بأخذ إجازة سنوية وذهب للتسجيل في الجامعة وعندما علم المدير بأمره قام بفصله من المصلحة.

٦ / كيف كانت طبيعة التدريب في المصلحة؟

لم تكن هنالك خطة أو أسس معينة لتدريب الموظفين في المصلحة. وأنا أذكر عندما ذهب نجم الدين للمعاش عثر على عدد من المنح الدراسية في مكتبه لم يستفيد منها أحد. وأنا لي تجربة شخصية في هذا الأمر، عندما حصلت على منحة من البعثة البولندية لمولسة الدراسة تم رفضها. كما أن مرافقة البعثات كانت منحصرة فقط على ضباط الآثار وليس غيرهم.

٧ / كيف كانت العلاقة بين المفتشين و البعثات الأجنبية؟

العلاقة كانت علاقات صداقة خاصة بعد مرافقة المفتش مرافقه كاملة للبعثة، من ترحيل وسكن وأكل وشرب... إلخ. لم يكن هنالك إلزام بالعمل لكن إذا كان لدى المفتش رغبة في العمل والتدريب والدراسة فسوف يجد المساعدة والدعم في ذلك. وفيما يتعلق بالنشر أذكر أن شارلز بونيه قد أجبر نجم الدين على السماح للمفتشين بالنشر العلمي من خلال إصراره على ضرورة ذلك. وربما أول تدريب للعمل الإنقاذي كان في ١٩٨٣م، تم بالتعاون مع الوحدة الفرنسية التي كان العمل الإنقاذي من صميم عملها. فقد كانت مهمة الوحدة الفرنسية هي العمل الإنقاذي فقط في المقام الأول، ثم تدريب الكوار الوطنية، وهذا ما تم الإتفاق عليه في إتفاقية ١٩٦٩م بين الوحدة الفرنسية ومصلحة الآثار.

٨ / لماذا كان المدير لا يسمح للمفتشين بالنشر؟

كان ينظر إلى المفتشين بأنهم يجب أن يظلوا متدربين فقط.

٩/ كيف كانت حركة العمل الأثري في السودان بعد الاستقلال؟

بعد أن أصبح بروفيسور أسامة مديراً لمصلحة الآثار قام بقيادة ثورة تغيير كبيرة بالمصلحة (ثورة تيقظ أهل الكهف النيام) عمل على توسيع دائرة العمل الأثري من خلال فتح المكاتب الإقليمية التي كانت شبه مغلقة مثل: مكتب شندي ودنقلا، ثم تقديم مقترحات لمشاريع كبيرة مثل ترميم متحف الاثنوغرافيا وبيت الخليفة وموقع جبل البركل وغيرها من المشاريع. بالإضافة إلى توسيع دائرة النشر واستقطاب دعم خارجي لتنفيذ تلك المشاريع وجلب سيارات للعمل مع البعثات والمأموريات. كما عمل بجد كبير في تقديم مشروع لتغيير قانون مصلحة الآثار لتصبح هيئة بحثية ذات سيادة. وأذكر أن نجم الدين كان قد رفض إستلام المبني الذي تم تجهيزه ليكون متحف ومكتب إقليمي في مدينة كسلا، وذلك بحجة أن المبني لم يشيد هو ومبني متحف جبل البركل بمواصفات المتاحف. وربما أول عمل حقلي متكامل للفريق الوطني الذي شكله المدير كان قد تم في فترة أسامة، الذي شكله للعمل في منطقة دنقلا العجوز (القدار) وكنت أنا مدير هذا الفريق. هذا كان هو أول عمل أقوم بنشره في مؤتمر جنيف في عام ١٩٩٠م. كما كان المدير أسامة دائماً يحفز المفتشين على العمل بمفردهم، على عكس ذلك تماماً كان في فترة المدير نجم الدين وعكاش فاكناهم فقط من يمثلون الهيئة في المؤتمرات، وإذا قمت بحصر الكادر الوطني الذي ترك العمل في مصلحة الآثار منذ فترة الخمسينيات وحتى الآن سوف تجد أن عددهم أكثر من ٢٥ شخصاً، وكان السبب يعود إلى إنعدام الفرص فكان معظمهم لم تتاح لهم فرصة للدراسة والبحث العلمي. فتركوا المصلحة للبحث عن مكان آخر يلبي طموحاتهم البحثية، وقد نجح كثيراً منهم وأصبحوا أصحاب درجات علمية رفيعة. مثل: أحمد حسن إبراهيم، بدين، مبارك بابكر الريح، فريد عوض وغيرهم.

١٠/ هل كان هنالك تعيينات جاءت بعد تعيينكم؟

نعم بعد مرور ٥ أعوام في عام ١٩٨٨م تم تعيين مجموعة من خريجي قسم الجيولوجيا في فترة أسامة وكان السبب في ذلك هو عدم توفر كوادر ممتازة من خريجي قسم الآثار في ذلك الوقت. وللامانة هذه المجموع تعد من الكوادر الممتازة والمدير الحالي عبد الرحمن كان واحد منهم.

١١/ ماهي المتاحف الإقليمية التي كانت تتبع لمصلحة الآثار في ذلك الوقت؟

متحف على دينار وشيكان وكان المسئول عنهم هو رئيس العمال.

١٢/ كيف كانت الزيارات الميدانية من قبل الإدارة وكيف كانت إدارة المواقع الأثرية؟

كان الخفير هو الشخص المسئول عن حماية الموقع، كما كان ضباط الآثار يقومون بزيارات تفتيشية لتفقد المواقع الأثرية.

١٣/ كيف كانت علاقة مؤسسات الدراسات العليا وكليات الآثار مع مصلحة الآثار في ذلك الوقت؟

كان هنالك عداء كبير جداً بين قسم الآثار جامعة الخرطوم ومصلحة الآثار لكن لا نعرف ما هو السبب، على الرغم من أننا نتواصل مع أساتذتنا من جامعة الخرطوم، ونتشاور معهم بشكل جيد مثل: حاكم، وخضر عبد الكريم وعلى عثمان. كما أن مدير الآثار كان خريج قسم التاريخ جامعة الخرطوم ونائبه خريج قسم الاقتصاد. علماً بأن الرعييل الأول من الأثاريين معظمهم تخرج من قسم التاريخ قبل إنشاء قسم الآثار، وأنا أعتقد بأنه مازالت هنالك مشكلة لدى أساتذة جامعة الخرطوم قسم الآثار بأن المعرفة تقف عند بابهم بمعنى أن غيرهم أقل معرفة بالآثار السودانية.

١٤/ هل كان تأهيل الكادر الوطني وعدمه له تأثير في عجلة حركة العمل الأثري في السودان؟

مهما كان لديك من كوادر مؤهلة، لا يمكن للعمل الأثري أن يتطور إذا لم تتوفر الإمكانيات المادية بل من الصعب جداً أن يتطور خاصة وأن السودان عموماً لا يكتسب بوضع ميزانية للعمل الأثري في السودان.

١٥/ هذا يعني أن تأهيل الكادر يساهم في تطوير العمل الأثري؟

ربما يمكن القول بأن الإهتمام بالآثار في فترة الحكم الإنجليزي في السودان كان أكبر مقارنة مع كل الحكومات السابقة التي عقت فترة الاستعمار. خاصة عندما يأتي أحد الوزراء ويقول بأنه سوف يقوم برمي الآثار بعيداً وهو مسئول من الثقافة والاعلام .

١٦ / متى شرعة المصلحة في مراجعة قانون حماية الآثار للعام ١٩٥٢؟

إن جزور المشكل لم تكن في قانون الآثار ، بل في تطبيق القانون، ونجد أن الدولة نفسها قد خرقت القانون ومثال لذلك: ما حدث في دار الرياضة أمدرمان وموقع سوبا شرق. وإذا كانت الدولة لا تعتبر أن الآثار شيء مهم ولا تعمل على دعم العمل الأثري إذاً ليس هنالك فائدة من قانون الآثار نفسه، بالإضافة إلى تعدد تبعية الآثار لكثير من الوزارات.

١٧ / هل كان هنالك أي توجه من قبل الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بخصوص كيفية طبيعة العمل في مناطق الامتياز؟

لم يكن هناك أي توجه محدد من الهيئة بعد منحها منطقة الإمتياز للبعثات خلاف تسجيل المواقع المكتشفة وحصرها.

١٨ / هل قامت الهيئة منحكم معلومات كافية عن المنطقة قبل الشروع في العمل من خرائط جوية واحداثيات للمواقع المكتشفة وغيرها؟

لم تقم الهيئة بإعطائنا أي نوع من المعلومات بخلاف تحديدها منطقة الإمتياز. لكن كانت هنالك خرائط من قسم المساحة الهندسية للمنطقة، بالإضافة إلى خرائط الأقمار الصناعية وهي التي كانت الأكثر دقة من غيرها، ومن ثم عملنا على تسجيل الإحداثيات الخاصة بالموقع، نوع الموقع الفترة والمواد الأثرية التي تم جمعها كعينات للدراسة.

١٩ / هل كانت هنالك توجهات خاصة من الهيئة للبعثات؟

لا، لم يكن هنالك أي نوع من التوجهات أو استراتيجيات محددة للعمل في مناطق الإمتياز من قبل الهيئة. فقط المسح الأثري وتسجيل المواقع الأثرية.

٢٠ / ماهي الأجهزة التي تم استخدامها في العمل الحقل؟

الأجهزة المستخدمة هي الجي بي اس ، جهاز إتصال اللاسلكي (وكي توكي). كان يستخدم للتواصل في مساحة متفاوتة ٢ كيلومتر أو أكثر، من شاطي النيل إلى الصحراء في شكل مجموعات متفرقة، إنتشرت على طول شاطي النيل، الجبال الصخرية و الصحراء. حيث كان يتم التواصل عبر جهاز اللاسلكي لإعطاء المعلومات المتحصل عليها حول الموقع الذي تم إكتشافه وإعطائه الرقم المتسلسل لتمييزه عن سابقه، وذلك لتجنب تكرار الأرقام وضبيتها. كما ساعد ذلك في بعض الحالات إلى مسح حوالي ١٠ كيلومتر في اليوم الواحد.

٢١ / على ماذا اشتملت خطة العمل الميداني؟

إشتملت الخطة على الاتي:

أ/ تحديد المواقع التي يتم إكتشافها

ب/ جمع عينات من المواد الأثرية ومن ثم دراستها وتصنيفها، (على سبيل المثال: استخدام التحليل الكيميائي لمعرفة التركيبة الكيميائية للقطع الفخارية ومعرفة نوع التربة التي صنعت منها، وذلك لأن معظم الحفريات التي تمت كانت في المدافن.

٢١ / ماهو المنهج الذي استخدم في العمل الحقلّي؟

كان المسح الأثري والحفريات يسيران معاً بمعنى خلال عملية المسح إذا وجدت الضرورة للحفرية يقوم الفريق بإجراء حفرة لتحديد نوع المدفن والفترة الزمنية، ثم جمع المواد الأثرية كعينات للدراسة، ونسبة لاتساع منطقة الإمتياز وكثرة المواقع الأثرية، تم استخدام طريقة النحل، وهي إذا كان في المقبرة ٣٠ مدفن مثلاً يجب على الفريق معرفة وتحديد بداية المدفن، خاصة إذا كانت الأرض مسطحة، وعادة ما تختار المناطق العالية للمدفن خاصة مدافن فترة كرمة لأن المناخ كان مختلفاً. بمعنى يتم إختيار نقاط حسب الوقت المتاح من ٤ إلى ٥ نقاط من نصف المدافن وذلك للتحقق من طبيعة المدافن هل هي بطريقة واحدة أم مختلفة. ثم نبدأ من الأطراف ثم نتوغل في الإتجاهات المختلفة التي ربما تقودنا إلى منتصف المقبرة وهذا يعتمد على كمية الوقت والمال المتاحين خاصة أن المال لم يكن كافياً. بالإضافة إلى أن هنالك بعض المناطق ليس بها عمال كفاية مما يطر البعثة لجلب عمالة من مناطق مجاورة وهو ما يفاقم التكلفة المالية. في مساحة ١٨٠ كيلومتر تم اكتشاف ١٠٠ موقع يعود لأثار فترة كرمة، مابين مدافن ومواقع سكنية وتم التفريق بين السكن والمخيمات.

٢٢ / كيف كان تصنيف الموقع؟

إذا كان عدد المقابر في الموقع لا تقل عن ١٠ مقابر أو مدافن.

٢٣ / هل إذا تم العثور على مقبرة واحدة يتم تسجيلها باعتبارها موقع؟

لا، إذا كانت هنالك مقبرة واحدة لا نعطيها إهتمام كثيراً.

INTERVIEW 8.

Date: 3st September 2015

Interviewee: Haidar Hamid Mukhtar, the former Director of NCAM's Department of Conservation, retired professional restorer in archaeology, employee of NCAM in year 1972-2008; he is still participating in the restoration work at Jebel Barkal Project in Sudan (the site registered on the World Heritage List).

Transcript

رقم التسجيل (٨)

التاريخ: ١٣ سبتمبر ٢٠١٥ م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: حيدر حامد مختار

المهنة: مرمم آثار بالمعاش، عمل في وظيفة أمين أمانة الترميم بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في الفترة من ١٩٧١م وحتى ٢٠٠٨م وما زال يشارك في أعمال الترميم في جبل البركل بتمويل من المشروع القطري كخبير ترميم

نص مادة المقابلات

تتصدر المقابلة في وصف تجربة أعمال الترميم بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في فترة مابعد حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة.

١/ كيف كانت بداية عملك في الهيئة ومن ثم في أمانة الترميم ؟

بدايات العمل بالهيئة العامة للآثار و المتاحف بعد التخرج من كلية الفنون الجميلة والتطبيقية وذلك كان ١٩٧١ و في ذلك الوقت لم يكن في مصلحة الآثار إدارة أو قسم ترميم بالمعنى المعروف الآن. فقد كان هنالك القسم الهندسي وكان به مهندس سوداني ومهندس من ألمانيا الشرقية، وكانت مهمة هذا القسم صيانة الآثار في المواقع الاثرية. قام هذا القسم في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة بنقل المعابد التي تم تشييدها وعرضها في حديقة متحف السودان القومي الآن. هذا كل ما كان يعرف عن أعمال الترميم في تلك الفترة. بمعنى أن الترميم لم يعرف بصورة علمية إلا بعد أو أثناء حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة. وذلك نتيجة للكشوفات الأثرية الضخمة التي صاحبت الحملة، خاصة في الفترة المسيحية، و التي إكتشافاتها قد لفتت أنظار معظم الباحثين في مجال الآثار إلى الفترة المسيحية وأثارها في السودان.

٢/ إذا يمكن أن نقول بأن مشاركة المدير نجم الدين في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة أكسبته فهم للخلفية الأكاديمية للمرمم ؟

نعم وليس لنجم الدين فقط بل حتي للبولنديين أنفسهم بل ولكل البعثات التي كانت تعمل في الحملة، لأنهم كانوا قديما يجدون آثار عبارة عن تماثيل وفخار وأشياء أخرى منقولة لذا لم تواجههم مشكلة مرمم، ولكن عندما أصبحت المشكلة تتعلق بنقل مبني كامل بل أكبر من ذلك بنقل جزء من مبني مثل نقل المعابد التي تمت بخبرات ألمانية بفك الحجاره وترميمها مرة أخرى بصحبة مهندس سوداني شارك في نقل الحجاره وتركيبها. فقد كان هنالك اساليب معينة اتبعت في نقل المعابد. حتي البولنديين عندما اكتشفوا فرس وعلموا بضرورة نقل اللوحات الجدارية والتي كانت أكثر تقيدا فقاموا بجلب مرممين من بولندا لنزع هذه اللوحات.

٣/ هل يمكن أن تحدثنا عن تاريخ الترميم و بدايات أعمال الترميم التي تمت بخبرات سودانية أو أجنبية في السودان؟

٤/ هل حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي كان لها الدور الأساسي في خلق جسم أو إدارة مسنول عن الترميم في مصلحة الآثار؟

نعم، تماماً، لان قبل ذلك كانت عملية الترميم عبارة عن جمع جزئين مع بعضهما البعض وكان يقوم بها أي شخص سواء كان مفتش آثار أو غيره من أساتذه متدربين من وزارة التربية والتعليم. فقد كان هنالك جسم يعني بالترميم ولكن ليس بالحجم الحقيقي الذي يستند

إلى منهجية فلسفة علم الترميم التي كانت سائدة من ناحية علمية، فلم تكن هنالك بداية فعلية بهذا المفهوم إلى بعد قيام حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة، وذلك تم بمعاونة البعثة الألمانية والبولندية اللذان لعبا الدور الكبير في تحفيز السودان لتوجهه إلى هذا المجال. كان تمويل الحملة من قبل اليونسكو وبعد ذلك بدأت مصلحة الآثار بتوظيف الخبراء الأجانب في مجال الترميم مثال: هنكل الألماني وغازي البولندي وذلك لمواصلة العمل في ترميم الآثار التي جلبت من منطقة وادي حلفا. هنكل كان في القسم الهندسي والذي كانت به ورشة كاملة متكاملة، تحتوي على فنيين في النجارة والبناء وخلافة، من جميع التخصصات التي كانت مطلوبة و متوفرة وكان النشاط فيها كاملاً. كانت الورشة تعمل في مجال المباني والمنشآت عموماً وخاصة المباني الأثرية القديمة سواء كان بنقلها أو ترميمها كما حدث في إهرامات البجراوية (من أعمال ترميم ثابتة).

أما فيما يتعلق بالترميم عندما نقلت اللوحات إلى متحف السودان القومي، كان عبد الرحيم حاج الأمين قد أثبت جدارته في هذا العمل بعد عمله مع البعثة البولندية في نزع اللوحات، ثم إستمر بعد توظيفة ككادر من كوادر الترميم. فقد كان تعينه في الأول عبارة عن وظيفة إنتداب فقط، ثم بعدها أصبح موظفاً ثابتاً في مصلحة الآثار.

٥/ كيف كان أول توجية بالعمل في إدارة الترميم و ماهي التحديات التي واجهتكم ؟

٦/ كيف كان التعامل مع الخبير الأجنبي (التواصل، اللغة، التعامل والإنسجام)؟

كنا نعمل على تقليد الخبير في عمله (كما كان يعمل كنا نعمل) ، وكان التواصل عبر اللغة الانجليزية والتي كانت ليس بالسيئ بل كافية للتواصل وليس لاعطاء تفاصيل علمية أوشرح المنهج الذي كان يعمل به. فقد كنا في معظم الأحيان نقوم بتقليده فقط حتى نفهم كل شيء من حلولنا وذلك لحرصنا على التعلم. كما كنا في الغالب نلجأ إلى عبد الرحيم حاج الأمين لشرح بعض الأشياء والذي كان مؤهلاً لاعطاء المعلومة الجيدة، عكس غازي الذي كان حتي التقرير يكتبه بإحصائية وليس بالمفهوم العلمي الذي كان يجب أن يكون .

٧/ هل هذا يعني إنه لم يكون هنال توثيق علمي لعملية ترميم اللوحات الجدارية بالصورة العلمية الدقيقة، لم يكن هنالك تحليل للألوان أو تحليل للأملح؟

٨/ هل كان هنالك شرح للكيفة التي تمت بها نزع اللوحات وترحيلها؟

لم نمتلك معلومة عن عملة، ماهو و كيف تم، لم يكن هنالك شرح أو توضيح لعملية النزع ماهي وكيف تمت، فقد علمنا ذلك بعد الدارسة في المستقبل .

٩/ هل كانت مشاركة نجم الدين محمد شريف في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي أكسبتة فهم للخلفية الأكاديمية للمرمم؟

نعم أكيد، ليس هو فقط بل حتي للبعثات البولندية ولاغلب البعثات التي كانت تعمل في الحملة. وذلك لان معظم الآثار التي تم إكتشافها عبارة عن آثار منقولة؛ تماثيل وفخار قد تحتاج لاعمال ترميم ضخمة تتطلب وجود مرمم في العمل الحقل حسب المفهوم آنذاك. وعندما دعت الحاجة لنقل مبني كامل، أصبحت هنالك مشكلة وقد تكون اكثر تعقيدا عندما تقوم بنقل جزء من المبني و مثال لذلك؛ نقل المعابد النوبية التي تمت بواسطة خبرات ألمانية بمشاركة مهندس سوداني في عملية نقل الحجارة وتشيدها بحديق المتحف القومي. أيضاً بعد أكتشاف البولنديين لكاتدرائية فرس شعروا بأن عملية نقلها وترميمها قد تكون معقدة وتحتاج إلى خبرات لنقلها وترميمها.

١٠/ هل المعلومة كانت موجودة في أذهان الناس في ذلك الوقت وأنتم كطلاب مثقفين كنتم تعلمون بهذا الحدث من خلال الازاعة أو التلفزيون أو الصحف اليومية ؟

١١/ هل كان الشارع السوداني والوتمتقف الجامعي في ذلك الوقت، يمتلك المعلومة الكافية بفكرة إنقاذ آثار النوبة و ترحيل سكان النوبة نسبة لتعليق خزان أسوان ؟

كانت فكرة الترحيل تنصب في الجانب الإنساني أكثر من الجانب الآخر المتعلق بإنقاذ الآثار و التراث العالمي وكان معظم الناس محتجين و يهتفون بعدم ترحيلهم من منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة إلى منطقة خشم القربة (حلف تقوم ولا بيروت)، في ذلك الوقت نحن

كنا طلبة في كلية الفنون والتي تخرجنا فيها عام ١٩٧٠م. الإهتمام الحقيقي كان قد تركز في إنشاء متحف السودان القومي الذي بدأت فكرته فعلياً في عام ١٩٥٩م والذي قام بوضع حجر أساسه الرئيس عبود، فقد كانت مباني متحف السودان القومي بمكتب مدير جامعة الخرطوم في ذلك الوقت (الأستاذ الدكتور عبد الله الطيب).

أما فيما يتعلق بعملية الترميم والتي تكاد أن تكون ليست موجودة من قبل، فقد كان كل الهم هو الكشف عن الآثار ونقلها ثم تقسيمها بين حكومة السودان و البعثة الأثرية الأجنبية، التي قامت بالعمل على إنقاذ هذه الآثار وكانت الفكرة أن تقسم الآثار إلى قسمين. عندما إكتشف البولنديين فرس تبين لهم إنها عملية صعبة ومعقدة قليلاً، فتم جلب مرممين بولنديين لتنفيذ أعمال الترميم من نزع اللوحات وترحيلها.

١٢ / ما هو سبب إستيعاب خريجي كلية الفنون في مصلحة الآثار و من ثم تعيينهم كمرممين للآثار؟

رجوعاً للبداية فقد كانت العلاقة مع كلية الفنون قد جاءت نسبة لأن الكوادر اللذين تم جلبهم من بولندا كانت خلفيتهم الدراسية من كليات الفنون، لذا قرر المدير السوداني آنذاك نجم الدين محمد شريف استيعاب كوادر من كلية الفنون الجميلة بالسودان، كما كانت أيضاً مصلحة الآثار تتبع إلى وزارة التربية والتعليم، فقد كان ليدها معلمين فنون يعملون بها. وربما كان إختيار نحائين بخلفية المرمم البولندي غازي الذي كان نحائنا أيضاً (الخبير البولندي الذي كان يعمل في ترميم اللوحات)، ولكنه كان يعمل في ترميم اللوحات الجدارية.

١٣ / عند بداية مصلحة الآثار هل كان في هيكلها الوظيفي وظيفة مرمم آثار يشغلها أحد خريجي كلية الفنون؟

لا، لم يكن ولكن كان هنالك أساتذة تخرجوا في كلية الفنون منتدبين بها، وكان الأستاذ عبد الرحيم حاج الأمين هو الذي يعمل مع البولنديين في المواقع في عملية توثيق اللوحات، وهو أول مرمم سوداني عمل في مصلحة الآثار وشارك في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة وهو خريج كلية الفنون.

١٤ / هل إستعانت البعثات التي كانت تعمل في نزع اللوحات الجدارية في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة بخريجي كلية الفنون؟ وكيف تمت مشاركة الكادر السوداني في هذا العمل؟

ليس باستعانه ولكن كان الغرض هو تدريب كادر وطني معهم . فقد كان تعين أول كادر وطني بعد إنتدابه إلى مصلحة الآثار من قبل وزاره التربية والتعليم التي كانت تابعة لها المصلحة آنذاك، فقد كان إلزاماً على كل بعثة تعمل في المواقع الأثرية أن يكون بها كادر سوداني، أي مفتش آثار. ونسبة لأن البعثة البولندية التي كانت تعمل في موقع فرس كانت تعمل في حقل الترميم تمت الإستعانه بمرمم لمرفقة البعثة (لأن الترميم والفنون لا بد أن يكون التعامل معهم بحزر، بمعنى إنه لا يمكن أن تقول أنا فنان وتقوم بأعمال الترميم باعتبارها عمل فني دون مراعاة قواعد الترميم).

١٥ / هل كان الأستاذ عبد الرحيم الشخص المناسب الذي تم إختياره وتدريبه من قبل مصلحة الآثار للعمل مع البعثة البولندية في فرس؟

لم تكن المسألة مسألة إختيار في ذلك الوقت بل أن مدير مصلحة الآثار في ذاك الوقت (ثابت حسن ثابت) كان قد شعر بأن هذا مجال جديد ومن ضمن خواصة أن يكون أساس الشخص الذي يعمل به خريج كلية الفنون، وكانت هنالك حوجة لمرممين لنزع اللوحات الجدارية وترميمها.

INTERVIEW 9.

Date: 13st September 2015

Interviewee: Bushra Mohamed Ismail, former Director of NCAM's Department of Conservation Department and former Director of the Department of Antiquities in Khartoum State. Visual artist, graduated from the College of Fine and Applied Arts in sculpture.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (٩)

التاريخ: ١٣ سبتمبر ٢٠١٥ م
الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: بشري محمد إسماعيل
المهنة: مرمم آثار بالمعاش وفنان تشكيلي
تخرج في كلية الفنون الجميلة والتطبيقية تخصص نحت، جامعة السودان - المعهد الفني سابقاً، ثم عمل بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف حتى أصبح أمين أمانة الترميم، ثم مدير إدارة الآثار بولاية الخرطوم .

نص مادة المقابلات

تنحصر المقابلة في وصف تجربة أعمال الترميم بالهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف في فترة مابعد حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة.

١/ بدايات العمل في مصلحة الآثار؟

تم تعييننا اثنين انا و صديق ابراهيم النقر بوظيفة ممولة لتوظيف خريجين فنون تخصص نحت.

٢/ كيف كانت فترة التدريب؟

عندما تم تعييننا في مصلحة الآثار لم يكن هنالك قسم للترميم بالمعني الحقيقي وكانت أغلب أعمال الترميم تنحصر في ترميم الفخار وبقية المواد مثل المعادن كان يتم ترميمها خارج السودان، كما كانت المواد المستخدمة بدائية جداً. في البداية عملنا في ترميم الفخار بأشراف المرمم عبد اللطيف عمر أن الذي كان جاداً في تعليمه و اعتبر فترة تدريبه كانت هي التدريب الحقيقي لنا في ترميم الفخار.

٣/ ماذا عن العمل في ترميم اللوحات الجدارية؟

تم ترميم لوحات الصالة المسيحية بواسطة البعثة الإيطالية، اليوغسلافية، والبولندية، وربما يكون هنالك إختلاف في طريقة ترميمها، فكل بعثة لها أسلوبها ومدرستها في ترميم اللوحات الجدارية. بكل تأكيد هنالك مأخذ على أعمال الترميم التي تمت في الهيئة. كانت عملية ترميم اللوحات الجدارية التي تم نزاعها من كنيسة فرس تحتاج إلى فترة عام على الأقل لترميمها، لكن نسبة للعوامل السياسية تم تقليصها إلى شهرين حتي يتزامن إفتتاح متحف السودان القومي مع أعياد ثورة مايو، مع العلم بأن معظم اللوحات التي تم نزاعها كانت اللوحة الواحدة تحتوي على أكثر من لوحة تم رسمها في فترات سابقة. وأذكر أن الجو كان حاراً جداً وظروف العمل قاسية جداً، وكانت هنالك مواد كيميائية ذات روائح نفاذة، كنا نستخدمها دون محازير وكمامات.

٤/ كيف كان التعامل مع الخبير الأجنبي؟

لم يكون متعاوناً معاً ولم يسعى لتعليمنا، كنا لا نعلم المواد التي كان يستخدمها ومقاديرها وكيفية تجهيزها. كما كان يستعجل في العمل ولا يعطيه الوقت الكافي، خاصة وأن أغلب اللوحات كانت من طبقات بمعني أن بها أكثر من مشهد، فكان يكتفي بالمشهد الأكثر وضوحاً ويتجاوز على بقية الطبقات.

٥/ كيف كانت لغة التواصل بينكم وبين الخبير البولندي؟

كنا نتواصل باللغة الإنجليزية، ولكن لم تكن باللغة الجيدة التي تمكن الخبير من الشرح والنقاش، وكنا نستعيد برئيس القسم عبد الرحيم عند السؤال عن شيء ما.

INTERVIEW 10.

Date: 5th October 2015

Interviewee: Alhassan Mohamed, former Director of NCAM's Department of Archaeological Survey, field director of NCAM's team who participated in MDASP.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (١٠)

التاريخ: ٥ أكتوبر ٢٠١٥م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: الحسن محمد الحسن

المهنة: أمين أمانة الكشف الأثري بالهيئة العامة للآثار و المتاحف سابقاً. المدير الميداني لفريق الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف الذي شارك في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي.

تخرج في كلية الآثار جامعة الخرطوم، ثم عمل في مصلحة الآثار و المتاحف آنذاك، ومن ثم تدرج حتى أصبح أمين أمانة الكشف الأثري بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، ثم مديراً لإدارة المشروع القطري السوداني للآثار ، أثري بالمعاش .

نص مادة المقابلات

تتضمن المقابلة في ثلاثة محاور أساسية هي:

المشاركة في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، الصعوبات والتحديات التي تخللت قيام المشروع وإمكانيات الهيئة في ذلك الوقت، ثم تقييم التجربة من وجهة نظر الشخص المسئول، المتخصص، المتابع والمساهم في تنفيذ المشروع، وأخيراً رؤيته في مستقبل الآثار السودانية.

المحور الأول:

١/ المشاركة في العمل وكيفية إستقبال خبر بناء سد مروي؟

في الأول تم تقييم حجم العمل، حيث كانت تبلغ المنطقة المستهدفة حوالي ١٨٠ كيلومتر، على أن يبدأ العمل بالمدينة العمالية وملحقاتها لأنها كانت هي المنطقة المستعجلة، ثم منطقة جسم السد نفسه. لاحقاً عرفت هذه المناطق معا بمنطقة جسم السد. بدأ العمل الإنقاذي في هذه المناطق تمهيداً لتوطين العمال الذين سوف يشاركون في التجهيزات الأولية لبناء السد. كنا في سباق مع الزمن لإنقاذ هذه المنطقة، وذلك نسبة لأن الأليات كانت في طريقها إلى الموقع، حيث تزامن وصولها مع إنتهاء العمل في تلك المنطقة. كانت المنطقة جبلية ووعره جداً، كما كان بها بعض المواقع التي تعود إلى فترة (نبته) كانت هنالك بعض أعمال المسح الأثري قد تمت على إمتداد هذه المنطقة.

٢/ هل ساهمت في وضع خطة الإنقاذ؟

لا، لم أساهم في وضع الخطة، ولكن كانت هنالك رؤية شاملة من دكتور صلاح محمد أحمد، رؤية تشمل التقسيمات الزمانية والمكانية للمشروع، بالإضافة إلى ما سوف يحدث نتيجة لقيام المشروع. بمعنى أن هنالك أشياء مرئية وأشياء مخفية و كان من ضمنها عمليات التبخر للبحيرة وتغير المناخ.

٣/ كيف كان بناء الخطة؟

كانت أولوية العمل في الأول خاصة بالكادر الوطني (الهيئة) وكان العمل في منطقة جسم السد، بعد ذلك تم الإعلان عن النداء لتقسيم المنطقة المهددة بالغرق والتي كانت تقدر بحوالي ١٨٠ كيلومتر على ضفتي النيل شرقاً وغرباً بالإضافة إلى جزيرة مروي. كان أهمها منطقة الإنشاءات وحتى وادي المكابراب.

المحور الثاني:

الصعوبات والتحديات التي صاحبة العمل والتي كان لها الأثر في إعاقة العمل بشكل أو آخر.

٤/ الصعوبات والمهددات التي أجهتكم أثناء العمل؟

أولاً: المناخ، مناخياً لا يمكن أن تعمل في السودان طوال العام، بالرغم من أن هنالك بعثات كانت تعمل من شهر أكتوبر وحتى شهر أبريل – على الرغم من قلتها إلا أنهم كانوا يعملون في فترة الشتاء وفي الصيف، حيث تبدأ درجات الحرارة في الإرتفاع الصيف القاسي.

ثانياً: مشاكل المواطنين، ولربما كان من الإمكان وضع خطة للإنقاذ لمدة ثمان سنوات ولكن المشاكل التي قامت بين إدارة السد والمتأثرين بالتهجير وإلجبار الحكومة على منحهم حقوقهم وتعويضاتهم علموا على إيقاف اغلب المشاريع المصاحب لبناء السد في مناطقهم سواء كانت آثار أو غيرها. فقد كان هنالك تعدي وتوقف وتهديد بل وصل الأمر إلى حجز بعض المواد الأثرية من البعثات ومنعهم من أخذها.

ثالثاً: الفترة الزمنية، لم تكن كافية لأن حجم العمل كان كبير جداً، وأذكر عندما كنا نعمل في جبانة مقبرة الحراز التي كانت تتبع لمنطقة إمتياز الهيئة مع جامعة دنقلا والخرطوم كان بها ٣١٨ قبر، تم حفر جزء كبير منهم ولكن لضيق الوقت أضطررنا للجوء لأخذ عينات فقط من كل مجموعة متشابهة من القبور حسب شكلها الخارجي وتقسيماتها. بمعنى أن المنهج الإنتقائي كان يعتمد على التصنيف: الشكل الخارجي، القياسات تقسيمات الفترة الزمنية، على سبيل المثال: إذا كان هنالك عدد عشرة مقابر متشابهة في الشكل الخارجي يتم إختيار خمس أو ثلاثة منها ويترك الباقي. وذلك لضيق الفترة الزمنية مقارنة مع حجم العمل المراد إنجازه من حيث المسح والحفر والتوثيق الكامل.

٥/ هل الزمن لم يكن كافياً؟

كان الزمن يمثل تحدياً كبيراً، وإذا كان المواطنون قد قبلوا بمواصلة العمل لربما كان الإنجاز قد يكون أكبراً. فالسكان كانوا عدائين في موقع الجزيرة التي كانت تعمل بها بعثة جامعة كولون، فقد تم توقيفهم لأكثر من مرة خلال أسبوعين كانوا قد رجعوا إلى بلادهم وحضروا مرة أخرى. بعدها تم توقيفهم بشكل كامل مما جعلهم يتوقفوا عن مواصلة العمل مستقبلاً. أيضاً (جزيرة اس وصور، لم تتمكن البعثات في العمل بها).

رابعاً: وعورة المنطقة، فقد كانت معظم البعثات تنزود من مدينة كريمة التي لم تكن الطرق المتصلة بها معبدة.

خامساً: الحشرات، كان هنالك نوع من الزباب والبعوض المؤذي، كما كان الوضع الصحي ليس بالجيد حتى أننا كنا في بعض المناطق نسكن في المراكز الصحية لعدم دخولها الخدمة.

سادساً: التمويل المالي، لم يأتي في وقته مما فاقم الوضع الاقتصادي للفريق الوطني، إضافة الي المشاكل الإدارية.

كانت هنالك ثلاثة مجموعات واحدة تعمل في المسح وآخر في التنقيب و الثالثة في جسم السد منطقة وجنوب وشرق قري الحراز حتى الحامداب. بعد ذلك جاءت البعثات الأجنبية والتي كان جزء كبير منهم راضياً عن عمله لكن المنطقة من الكاب وحتى أبوحمند كانت مساحة كبيرة جداً و لم تكن مأهولة بالسكان، و كان لا بد من مسح المساحة المحصورة بين النيل والصحراء مع إمتداد طول مجري النيل. فكان من الصعب أن يتم التنقيب في كل تلك المنطقة، ولربما ما تزال هنالك بعثة تعمل في التنقيب في جزء من المناطق

التي لم تغمرها المياه (الكثيفات مغرات) فهي لم تتأثر. لكن هنالك كثير من البعثات استخدمت المنهج الانتقائي بإختيار بعض النماذج وترك الباقي.

٦/ هل كان هنالك أي نوع من التوعية للسكان لتجنب الاحتكاك مع المواطنين ؟

كانت هنالك مناشدة وتوعية إلى أهالي تلك المناطق، الذين كان كثير منهم على صلات ببعض ضباط الآثار بالهيئة، ولكن كانوا ينصحونهم بالمغادرة وعدم مواصلة العمل، بل كانوا يساعدونهم بإقناع أهلهم بالسماح لهم بالمغادرة والخروج من المنطقة وأخذ ألياتهم ومعداتهم دون أن يتعرض لهم أحد. فقد تم أغلاق بعض المناطق ومنع إدارة السد ومنسوبيها من الدخول إليها. وهنالك بعثات أجنبية كانت قد خرجت من بعض المناطق ورفضت العودة للعمل مرة أخرى، مثل بعثة جامعة ساوز ساوتون الأمريكية التي كانت تعمل في منطقة الكاب وتم تغيير منطقة إمتياز البعثة، وأعتقد أن البعثة عملت لموسم واحد فقد بعد ذلك.

٧/ هل كان هنالك تنسيق كامل بين الهيئة وهيئة تنسيق السدود؟

كان هنالك بعض الوعود بالإعفاء الجمركي للبعثات الأجنبية، ولكن لم توافق شرطة الجمارك على ذلك الإعفاء فكان لها أثرها السلبي. كما كان توفير العمال وترحيلهم في بعض المناطق مشكلة لأن أغلبهم يعملون في الزراعة في مناطق بعيدة. فهم يسغلون أراضيهم الصغيرة لتمويل منطقة كريمة بالخضروات.

٨/ هل عملية إنقاذ الآثار نفسها ساهمت في إضافة معلومة جديدة كانت غائبة في تاريخ الحقب الأثرية في السودان؟

بلا شك كل العمل الذي تم في إنقاذ آثار سد مروي ساهم في توضيح أشياء جديدة في منظومة التاريخ القديمة للسودان، ولكن للأسف أغلب تلك المناطق قد غمرت بالمياه.

٩/ هل أثرت تلك الإكتشافات في مفهوم الآثار السودانيه؟

نعم، فوجود فترة كريمة في المنطقة أثبت تواصلها حتى منطقة الشلال الرابع، كما كان لوجود الهرم الذي يعود لفترة نبته في منطقة الشلال الرابع اثره في توسيع مفهوم الآثار السودانية.

بكل تأكيد هنالك كثير من الأشياء قد أهملت أو ربما لم يسعفا الزمن لإنقاذ كل شي، لكن ما تم إنقاذه يعطي مؤشر بأن المنطقة كانت غنية جداً وكانت تحتاج إلى بحث متأن. ولكن كان لا بد من التضحية من أجل قيام المشروع الذي كانت فكرته منذ أربعينيات القرن الماضي. فاذا كان أمر تنفيذ المشروع أخذ بصورة جادة منذ الاربعينيات لكان يمكن أن يكون الزمن كافي لإنقاذ تلك المواد القيمة. مع العلم بأن العمل الأثري لم ينشط في تلك المنطقة إلا بعد أن تم الإعلان الرسمي لقيام السد ليبدأ العمل في ٢٠٠١م.

١٠/ هل تعتقد بأن ما تم إنجازه عمق فكرة كبيرة عن الآثار السودانية لذا البعثات التي تعمل في السودان؟

بكل تأكيد فقد زاد من معرفة البعثات بالآثار السودانية.

١١/ هل ما تم نشره ودراسته من مواد أثرية كفاي ؟

لا، ومازالت هنالك مواد كثيرة جداً لم تتم دراستها، وهنالك بعثات كثيرة لم تدرس المواد التي تم استخراجها من الحفريات بل أصبحت في طي النسيان.

١٢/ هل تعتقد بأن تلك المواد التي تم خرجت من الحفريات الإنقاذ وجدت حظها من التخزين السليم حتى تدرس في المستقبل؟

أغلب المواد الخاصة بالبعثات في حوزة الباحثين لكن لم يفتح تلك الملف بعد، فهي محفوظة إلى حد ما، وجزء منها تم عرضة في متحف مروي.

١٣ / هل تم عرض أو تخزين الآثار حسب ما كان مخطط له في الخطة؟

لا، وحتى المتحف الذي تم إنشائه يعتبر في منطقة حبيسة من العامة والزوار، وهي منطقة تتبع لجهاز الأمن. بالإضافة إلى أن المتحف لا يضم جزء كبير من المواد الأثرية المستخرجة من منطقة الشلال الرابع. لا توجد مخازن مهيئة ولا توجد متاحف مؤسسة.

المحور الثالث:

تقيم التجربة - السليبات والإيجابيات و الرؤية المستقبلية لمستقبل الآثار في السودان

١٤ / تقييمك للتجربة التي تمت وقرأتك للعمل الذي تم في تلك الحملة، هل تمت الاستفادة من حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة في تجربة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي؟

هنالك جزء مثالي، ولكن كان يمكن أن يكون أفضل من ذلك إذا تم تدريب أكبر قدر من الكادر السوداني، خاصة إذا أتخذت الجهات الأخرى نفس المنحى الذي إتخذته وحدة تنفيذ السدود في التعاون مع الهيئة.

١٥ / ماهي رؤيتك في إدارة وحماية الآثار في السودان ؟

رفع درجة الوعي بالآثار من خلال المحاضرات في القرى والأندية وإدخال مادة التاريخ القديم في المدارس و نشر صور من القطع الأثرية في الطوابع البريدية وغير ذلك. كما يجب أن نبتعد عن فكره التحريم والتحليل للقطع الأثرية وتنمية الشعور بالعزة والفخر بالآثار. لا بد من قومية الآثار، ثم حراسة وحماية الآثار من التعدي عليها، بمعنى أن أي مواطن عادي أو تنفيذي يجب أن يقع عليه هذا العبء مع الهيئة. بالإضافة إلى الزيادة في تأهيل الكادر الوطني.

١٦ / هل المشاريع التنموية مهدد أم محفز للعمل الأثري؟

التنسيق ضعيف جدا بين الهيئة والمؤسسات التي تشترك معها في العمل، فما زالت الهيئة حتى الآن لا تعرف كثير من مناطق الإمتياز الممنوحة من وزارة التعدين لبعض شركات التعدين .

١٧ / هنالك مناطق تم تسجيلها في قائمة التراث العالمي؟

يجب المحافظة على الآثار جميعها معاً دون التمييز بين الذي تم تسجيله أو لم يسجل.

١٨ / هل كان هنالك موازنه بين ما تم إنقاذه وما تم تركه للغرق داخل البحيرة؟

مواقع الاستيطان ٣٪ فقط تم العمل بها، بينما هنالك مواقع أخرى قد وجدت حظها من التنقيب ويمكن القول بأن مجمل ماتم إنقاذه يمثل ٦٥٪ من آثار المنطقة. وربما في المستقبل إمكانية إنقاذ بعضها من خلال علم الآثار تحت الماء.

١٩ / كلمة أخيرة؛ ماهو رأيك في مثل هذه الدراسات - إدارة المواد الاثرية في السودان؟

قد تساهم في إظهار نتائج ما يمكن تفاديه في المستقبل، وما يجب أن تفعله الجهات الحكومة والجهات الشعبية. كما تساهم في منهجية العمل دون تقاطعات بين الحكومة والمواطن.

٢٠ / مستقبل الآثار في السودان وحمايتها؟

الآن الهيئة تترنح مابين القومية للآثار ونزاعات الولايات في إمتلاك الآثار. إضافة إلى تحدي تأهيل الكوادر الوطنية القوية في الهيئة. كما أن تبعية الهيئة للوزارات الوهمية ساهم في إعاقه تنفيذ مهامها.

INTERVIEW 11.

Date: 5th October 2015

Interviewee: Althahir Adam Al-Nor, field director of NCAM's team who participated in MDASP, Deputy Director of NCAM's Department of Archaeological Survey.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (١١)

التاريخ: ٥ أكتوبر ٢٠١٥

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: الطاهر آدم النور

المهنة: كبير مفتشي الآثار بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، أحد المشاركين في حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي- مدير لأحد فرق الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، نائب أمين أمانة الكشف الأثري بالهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف.

نص مادة المقابلات

تتصدر المقابلة في ثلاثة محاور أساسية هي:

المشاركة في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، الصعوبات والتحديات التي تخللت قيام المشروع وإمكانيات الهيئة في ذلك الوقت، ثم تقييم التجربة من وجهة نظر الشخص المسئول، المتخصص، المتابع والمساهم في تنفيذ المشروع، وأخيراً رؤيته في مستقبل الآثار السودانية.

المشاركة في العمل وكيفية إستقبال خبر بناء سد مروي

١/ كيف كان إستقبال خبر بناء سد مروي بالنسبة لكم (أكاديمياً ونفسياً) من الجانب الأكاديمي والنفسي؟

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والصلاة والسلام على أشرف المرسلين سيدنا محمد وعلى أهله وصحبه أجمعين. في البدء أهنتك على إختيارك لهذا الموضوع بإعتباره في حد ذاته موضوع شائك، وربما قد يؤدي التعامل معه إلى الخوض في مجالات كثيرة لم يتم الإلمام بها في مسيرة البحث الأثري في البلاد. فيما يتعلق بمشروع سد مروي او الحماداب، هو فكرة قديمة منذ فترة الحكم الإنجليزي المصري في السودان، تحديدا في فترة الأربعينيات ولكن نسبة لأسباب كثيرة لم يتم تنفيذه. ومن ثم في ظل الحكم الحالي رأت إدارة الحكومة الضرورة لا نشائه في الوقت الراهن، وذلك نسبة لأسباب كثيرة منها الإقتصادية، الإجتماعية و غير ذلك. يعتبر الموقع الذي اختير لأنشأ السد موقعا أثريا وهو من المناطق الأثرية المنسية، التي لم تحظى بعمليات البحث الأثري المنظم. هذا إذا استثنى بعض الزيارات التي قام بها الرحالة القادمة للمنطقة، بالإضافة إلى الدراسات الأولية التقييمية المصاحبة لدراسات التربة والمناخ ... ولكن عندما أصبح هذا المشروع حقيقة أنا كنت في جمهورية بولندا سمعت بتداول الأمر واعتبرته شيء إيجابي، باعتبار ان المنطقة منطقة أثرية لم تنال حظها الجيد من الدراسة، والتي لربما سوف تكون فرصة لنوع من الدراسة العميقة في منطقة التي لم تنال حظها من الدراسة بعد.

بداية أجريت بعض الدراسات الأولية عن المنطقة، بيئتها، مناخها وغير ذلك من التغيرات التي سوف تحدث مستقبلاً في المنطقة، نتيجة لقيام المشروع. صاحبت تلك الدراسات بعض أعمال البحث الأثري في فترة التسعينات من القرن الماضي ، والتي استطاع من خلالها تحديد الوجهة العامة للعمل الأثري في المنطقة. تم تحديد ١٧٥ كيلومتر من منطقة جسم السد وحتى جزيرة مفراد كم منطقة مستهدفة للبحث الأثري، حيث تم تحديد أولي لكل المواقع الأثرية بالمنطقة دون إجراء حفريات اختبارية، وقد ذكر ذلك بروفيسور حاكم في مجلة كوش العدد ١٨ ص ١-١٥.

بعد ذلك قامت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بعمل نداء بالدعوة للمشاركة في مشروع انقاذ اثار سد مروي، وذلك بعد الإجراءات الاولى التي سبقت ذلك من مسح أثرى ودراسة للمنطقة وتقيم للمتطلبات. عليه لم تكن الإستجابة كبيرة في ذلك الوقت باستثناء بعثة غدانسك وجمعية الآثار السودانية المتحف البريطاني، والذي كان عملهم محدود حتى تحقق العمل الفعلي في أوائل القرن الواحد وعشرين (٢٠٠٠) بعد تكرار الدعوة من قبل الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بالمشاركة في انقاذ اثار سد مروي (من خلال توسيع النداء) ليشمل كل البعثات الوطنية و الأجنبية التي كانت تعمل في السودان وغيرها. عليه فقد قامت الهيئة بتقسيم منطقة الشلال الرابع من جسم السد بامتداد ١٧٥ كيلومتر لمناطق إمتياز تمنح للبعثات التي تود المشاركة. أما فيما يتعلق بدور الهيئة في ذلك العمل، فقد كانت هي الجهة المسؤولة عن تنظيم هذا العمل والأشراف عليه. كما كانت هنالك مواقع تم تخصيصها لفريق الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، وهذه المنطقة هي منطقة بناء السد. حيث كانت مسئولية العمل الحقلية الإنقاذ في منطقة جسم السد وحتى منطقة دار العرب تقع على عاتق الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، بالإضافة الي المشاريع التي صاحبه إنشاء السد، كمشاريع مناطق إعادة التوطين وهي أربعة مواقع:(المكابرات، وادي المقدم، الكحيلة شرق و الملتقى). وهي المواقع التي كانت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف معنية بالعمل بها. بالإضافة الي متابعة المحطات الفرعية أو الثانوية، وخطوط الإرسال التي تمتد من منطقة الخزان وحتى الخرطوم ثم بورتسودان و إلى أبعد من ذلك، فهو بكل تأكيد عمل ضخم جداً.

بداية الحملة؟

- ٢/ بدأت الحملة بمعنى أول عمل فعلى للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف كان في منطقة التوطين الأولى- منطقة الملتقى أو (الحامداب الجديدة) وهي التي تمثل إنطلاقة حملة الإنقاذ للمنطقة، ثم بعدها إنتقل العمل لمنطقة جسم السد.
- ٣/ المشاركة في العمل، إستقبال خبر حتمية قيام سد مروي (وقع الخبر عليكم)؟

كنا من أسعد الناس بقيام السد وذلك نسبه لإتاحة الفرصة لدراسة المناطق التي لم تحظى بالدارسة باعتبار أن منطقة الشلال الرابع منطقة معزولة فممنطقة شمال الشلال الرابع والمنطقة المحصورة بين جزيرة مقراد وحتى وسط السودان ومنطقة ما بين النيلين قد تمت عليها بعض الدراسات مقارنة بمنطقة الشلال الرابع. كان وقوع الخبر إيجابيا باعتبار أن المنطقة سوف تتال حظها من الدراسة. خطة العمل:

٤/ كيف كانت بداية العمل وكيف تم الترتيب لخطة العمل؟

مناطق العمل إنحصرت في يادي الأمر في المناطق التي تحصلت عليها البعثات التي إستجابت للنداء أولا. وهم بعثة متحف غدانسك وجمعية الآثار السودانية اللذان إنحصر عملهم في يادي الأمر في المسح الأثري للمناطق التي حصلوا عليها. ثم تطور الأمر بعد إستجابة عدد آخر من البعثات الأجنبية للعمل في هذا المشروع، ومن ثم تم منحهم مناطق إمتياز حسب إهتمام البعثة ورغبتها في العمل في فترة تاريخية محددة. فقد قامت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بمشاركة الوحدة الفرنسية بوضع دراسة أولية لمناطق الإمتياز. حيث أن من البديهي عند إجراء أي عمل أثري إنه يبدأ بإستهداف المنطقة المعنية ثم إجراء استطلاعات حولها لتحديد الإمكانات و الإحتمالات التي على ضوءها تبني الخطة.

٥/ هل الدراسات الأولية ساهمت في وضع خطة للمواقع الأثرية لمنطقة الشلال الرابع، ومن ثم تم تقسيم مناطق الإمتياز؟

نعم بكل تأكيد، فقد كانت هي الأساس لمعرفة المنطقة أثريا ومن ثم تقسيمها لمناطق الإمتياز.

٦/ هل كانت هنالك أي خطة أثرية لمنطقة الشلال الرابع قبل الحملة؟

لا، لا توجد أي خطة أثرية لمنطقة الشلال الرابع قبل مشروع سد مروي، بل حتى التقرير الذي تم إعداده لوضع الخطة لم يذكر بتفصيل التصنيف الدقيق لبعض المواقع. و الجدير بالذكر أن التقرير الأولي الذي تم إعداده من قبل الهيئة، لم يذكر وجود موقع أثري واحد لفترة ما بعد مروي في المنطقة على الإطلاق، بل تم الإشارة الى ان أغلب الأكوام - المواقع الأثرية التي وجدت تعود لفترة كوش وما بعد مروي وقليل من المورية. لكن يحسب على هذا التقرير بأنه قد ساهم في تحديد كثير من الفترات الزمنية للمواقع الأثرية التي وجدت بعد المسح فهو يعتبر الأساس لتقييم المنطقة. على الرغم من إنه قد اتضح لاحقا أن هنالك مواقع كثير تعود لفترة ما بعد

مروي وقليل من المروية وكرمة وغيرها. منطقة الشلال الرابع تحتوي على مواقع ما قبل التاريخ وحتى الفترة الإسلامية في السودان (المخلفات الأثرية كانت موجودة).

٧/ هل كان هنالك تنسيق كامل بين البعثات الأثرية التي تعمل في منطقة الشلال الرابع والهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف؟

يمكن الإشارة للتنسيق بأنه تنسيق إداري في المقام الأول، استصحب معه قانون الآثار الذي إستند إليه توزيع مناطق الإمتياز. حيث يشير القانون عند منح مناطق الإمتياز إلى ضرورة المسح الأثري الأولي قبل الحفريات. ثم إستعراض نتائج البحث الأولي التي توضع الموقع وإقتراحات العمل في الموسم القادم، حتي تتمكن الهيئة من دراسة النتائج ومقترحات البعثة، للمصادقة عليها إذا كانت تتوافق مع خطة الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في هذا المشروع، وهو الأمر الذي كان سائداً قبل قيام المشروع.

بيئة العمل:

٨/ هل كانت هنالك بيئة عمل ممتازة ساهمت في نجاح العمل بين البعثات الوطنية والأجنبية؟

لم تتاح لي الفرصة للعمل مع البعثات الأجنبية في هذا المشروع، لكن يمكن تقييم ذلك من خلال ما تم نشره من نتائج أعمال البعثات الأثرية في المنطقة في فترة قيام المشروع، مقارنة بما أتيح ليها من إمكانيات.

٩/ هل كان هنالك أي مشاكل بين البعثات تمت ملاحظتها؟

كان هنالك توافق بين كوادرات الهيئة للقومية للآثار و المتاحف. و أريد أن أؤكد أن الهيئة قد أتاحت فرصة لبقية المؤسسات الأكاديمية الوطنية للمشاركة مع فريق الهيئة للعمل سوياً، مما ساهم في خلق تواصل للخبرات بين الكوادرات الوطنية. فقد كان نوع من الإنصهار بين الكوادرات الوطنية لم يكن متوفر مسبقاً - كان هنالك تلاحق بين الكوادرات السودانية التي شاركت في الحملة (إتسم بروح العمل الجماعي المميز). أما فيما يتعلق بالبعثات الأجنبية فكان معظمها لديها خبرة سابقة في العمل في السودان، بالإضافة إلى الإستفادة من خبرة تجربة حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلى، فقد كان هنالك توافق وإنسجام كبير بين تلك البعثات. كما أن وجود هذه البعثات في منطقة واحدة ساعدها في العمل اليومي من خلال تبادل المعلومات والبحوث والمقترحات بشكل عرضي لم يرتب له، يكن وصفه بأنه كان مخيم تلقائي للبحث العلمي الأثري.

المحور الثاني:

١٠/ الصعوبات التي واجهت سير العمل أثناء الحملة، باعتبارها مشروع كبير جداً في ذلك الوقت، وهل تمت الإستفادة من تجربة حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلى في ذلك؟

يعتبر هذا الأمر كثير التعقيد خاصة ان مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي قد فتح لنا باباً لم يكن مطروحاً من قبل لمعرفة آثار منطقة الشلال الرابع. أما فيما يتعلق بالبعثات الأجنبية فقد كانت تعتمد على ميزانياتها الخاصة لذلك كان من السهل تحديد فترة العمل. أما بالنسبة لبعثة الهيئة فقد كانت تعتمد في تنفيذ المشروع على الدعم المالي المخصص من وحدة تنفيذ السدود والذي يشكر لها على ذلك، فقد كان لها دور مقدّر في جانب التمويل المالي لتنفيذ المشروع. الشكر لوحدة تنفيذ السدود على الجهد المقدّر في مسألة التمويل التي كانت تشكل العمود الفقري في نجاح أو فشل أي مشروع.

١١/ ألم يكن جانب تمويل المشروع من واجبات وحدة تنفيذ السدود وهي ملزمة بذلك؟

نعم بكل تأكيد ولكنني أعتقد إنه منذ قيام حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلى إلى قيام سد مروي كانت هنالك عدد من المشاريع التنموية التي قامت في البلاد ولكن لم يكن هنالك أي جهة وضعت إعتبار لضرورة دعم أعمال الإنفاذي الأثري في برامجها (لم يتم استصحاب علميات إنقاذ أثري ممول من أي جهة). لذلك نشكر وحدة تنفيذ السدود لقيامها بهذا الأمر في مشروع إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع ولإعادة هذا الحق لأهله.

١٢ / كيف كان لعامل الزمن تأثيره على العمل؟

يمكن حصر المشكلة في أن الجهة التي تقدم التمويل تلزم الجهة الممولة بفترة زمنية محددة لإنجاز العمل، وهو الأمر الذي لم يتم التخطيط له جيداً. بمعنى أن الصيغة السليمة التي كان يجب إتباعها هي أن يقوم فريق الهيئة بإجراء الإستطلاع اللازم لمعرفة احتياجات منطقة الإمتياز و من ثم تقدير الصرف المالي و تحديد الفترة الزمنية المناسبة لإنقاذ الآثار.

١٣ / هل كانت الفترة الزمنية المحددة لإنقاذ الآثار- الثمانية أعوام كافية لإنقاذ كل آثار المنطقة خاصة إذا توفرت كل الظروف من طقس وتمويل وكادر ومعدات وغيرها؟

حتى إذا لم تكن فترة الثمانية أعوام كافية فكان يمكن لفريق الهيئة أن يحدد أولويات العمل الإنقاذي في المنطقة قبل بدء العمل، نسبة لأن المنطقة لم تنال حظها من الدراسة. إن الهيئة ليس ضد مشاريع التنمية لكن لا يمكن للتنمية أن تقوم على تدمير الآثار والتراث القومي والإرث الإنساني للمنطقة، خاصة في المناطق التي لم تنال حظها الكافي من الدراسة.

١٤ / هل لنا أن نستخلص توصية بأنه من الضرورة لأن يتم إشراك الهيئة منذ الوهلة الأولى في عملية التخطيط للمشاريع التنموية ووضع الزمن لتنفيذها؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد خاصة وأنها نتعامل مع احتمالات غير معروفة لما تخبأه الأرض من آثار وتراث، لذا من وجهة نظري المتواضعة، كان من الضروري ان يتم إشراك الهيئة في أعمال التخطيط الأولية للمشروع (تقييم التربة والمناخ وغير ذلك من دراسات أولية) خاصة أن تلك الدراسات ضرورية لأعمال الإنقاذ الأثري نفسه. عندها يمكن وضع رؤية واضحة للزمن والإحتياجات المطلوبة.

١٥ / إذاً يمكن أن نستخلص أن عدم مشاركة الهيئة في التخطيط الأولي للمشروع كان لها أثرها في تحديد الزمن المناسب لإنجاز أعمال الإنقاذ الأثري؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد!

١٦ / هل كان هنالك جانب آخر لمشكلة الزمن عند بداية العمل الميداني؟

يمكن تلخص المشكلة في ان فريق الهيئة كان ملتزم بعقد عمل لتنفيذ أعمال الإنقاذ في فترة محددة ويتمويل محدد من قبل وحدة تنفيذ السدود. مع العلم بانني لم أكن مشاركاً في تحديد الفترة الزمنية لإنجاز العمل وليس لي علم بكيفية تحديدها. مع العلم بأن ميزانية العمل الإنقاذي كانت تخضع إلي شد وجذب في إجازتها. حيث كانت تقدر التكلفة المالية بعدد الأيام التي تم تحديدها مسبقاً لإنجاز العمل. علماً بأن ظروف العمل قد تتغير حسب طبيعة الموقع. (زمن محدد و اعتماد مالي محدود) مما إنعكس سلباً على سير العمل. خاصة اذا تطلب الموقع عمل أكثر من الأيام التي تم تحديدها (يرفض تمويلها مالياً). ايضاً، تحديد فترة العمل والتي تميزت بالقليلة مقارنة بحجم العمل المطلوب إنجازه، سواء كان مسح أثرى أو حفريات إنقاذه. ثم تحديد تمويل العمل والذي لم يتناسب مع حجم العمل وصعوبة الحصول على التمويل نفسه في الوقت المحدد. ومثال على ذلك ما حدث في مشاريع مشابه مثل مشروع المسح الأثري لمنطقة دأل، الذي كان يتأخر وصول التمويل المالي كثيراً، مما أثر بعض الشيء على سير العمل.

١٧ / هل كان زمن العمل الحقلية كافي؟

لم يكن كافي بكل تأكيد مقارنة بحجم العمل المطلوب من مسح وحفريات في المواقع التي كان مستهدف إنقاذها. هذا الأمر كان خصماً على انجاز العمل نفسه، لذلك انا أؤكد على ان عامل الزمن كان مهما جداً وله التأثير الأكبر في إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع.

١٨ / البعثات الأجنبية كانت لها ميزانياتها المالية الخاصة وبرامجها المعلومة في الفترة الزمنية المحددة (فصل الشتاء) هل البعثات الوطنية كان لها توقيت محدد للعمل ام كانت تعمل في كل فصول السنة، وهل كان لذلك تأثير علي سير العلم ؟

كما ذكرت سابقاً أن تلك الحملة كانت بمثابة فرصة نادرة لكوادر الهيئة و لا تعوض بمعني توفر إمكانية نشاط أثري كبير فتي تلك الفترة من خلال إجراء بحث أثري ممول في مناطق كانت منسيه تماماً، كما كان يتوقع الحصول على نتائج بحثية مفيدة بها. كما قد كان تحدياً كبير وفرصة لكوادر الهيئة للعمل في مثل هذا المشروع. أما فيما يتعلق ببرامج العمل وتحديد الفترة الزمنية ومناطق العمل، فلم نكن مشاركين في ذلك. لذا لم ينحصر العمل الإنقاذي لفريق الهيئة في موسم محدد أو فصل محدد، بمعني جدول العمل يعتمد على ظروف التمويل من الجهة الممولة وظروف أولوياتها مع المشاريع المصاحبة، ومثال لذلك الشركات الاستشارية وشركات الدراسات الأولية وغيرها. خاصة وان المسائل المالية لم تكون متوفرة دائماً. فكانت الجهة الممولة عند توفر المال (وحدة تنفيذ السدود) تعلم الهيئة باستئناف العمل في المرحلة التالية.

١٩ / هل كان هنالك خطة ثابتة لتنظيم العمل في وضع الزمان والمكان؟

عدم وجود خطة طويلة المدى للعمل الأثري نسبة لعدم توفر المال الكافي في الوقت المحدد وهو ما كان عامل التحدي لكوادر الهيئة في الجانب العلمي والجانب الوطني لإنقاذ ما يمكن إنقاذه من آثار المنطقة. (الخطة طويلة المدى في تنفيذ المشروع فيما يختص بعمل البعثة الوطنية لم تكن موجوده، فقد كان مرتبط بشكل أساسي بالتمويل المالي وأشياء أخرى كثيرة).

٢٠ / هل مثل هذه الأمر إنزعاج لكم ؟

نعم قد مثل إزعاجاً كبير جداً. وأذكر أننا كنا نعمل في فترة الصيف في منطقة الشلال الرابع في ظروف سيئة للغاية ليس من السهولة لشخص العمل فيها. فقد كان بمثابة تحدي بالنسبة لنا وكان يجب علينا ان ننحز اعمال الإنقاذ. ونتيجة طاقة الدفع للعمل التي كان فريق الهيئة بمشبع بها تم إكتشاف تمثال وحيد يعود لفترة ما بعد مروي وجد في محتوى صنف بأنه يعود لفترة ما بعد مروي. ولولا الروح الوطنية والعلمية والتفاني في العمل لما كانت مثل تلك النتائج.

٢١ / هل يمكن اعتبار ذلك نوع من الروح الوطنية؟

نعم يمكن تصنيفها بأنها روح وطنية وعلمية فقد كان طوح علمي مما ساهم في تجاوز مرارات كثير جداً من أجل إنجاز العمل

العامل البيني:

٢٢ / هل كان لعامل الطقس ووعورة بيئة المنطقة من رياح وحشرات بالإضافة إلى عدم تحديد زمن محدد للعمل أثره على سير العمل؟

أتذكر في احد الأيام كنا نعمل في منطقة الكحيلة شرق، فصادف ان هبت رياح شديدة جدا كادت ان تحجب الرؤية لمسافة واحد كيلو تقريبا، مما اجبرنا على التحرك باستخدام نظام تحديد المواقع جي بي أس. كما كان هنالك تحزير من أهل المنطقة متعارف عليه وهو: عندما تأتي رياح شديدة مثل هذه يجب على كل سكان المنطقة أخذ الحبطة و الحزر لأنها تشير إلى ان الحشرات و العقارب سوف تخرج إلى السطح بشكل متزايد. وبالفعل فقد حدث ذلك في احد المرات وكان احد الزملاء (المهندس يس) قد أصيب إصابة بالغة جدا بلدغة عقرب وكادت ان تودي بحياته لولا لطف الله به. بكل تأكيد لم تكن هنالك أي أمصال بحوزة الفريق لإسعافه ولحسن الحظ كان هنالك مساعد طبي بالمنطقة قام بإسعافه أولياً، ونتيجة لذلك فقد تعطل الفريق الذي كان مراف له عن العمل لفترة يوم بأكمله.

٢٣ / هل كان الفريق محتاط طبياً بمعني لديه إسعافات أولية (أمصال عقارب و ثعابين وغير ها من الحشرات السامة)؟

لا لم يكن هنالك أي تجهيز طبي. أحب أن أضيف، أن وعورة بيئة منطقة الشلال الرابع ربما كانت تشكل مشكلة لسكانها انفسهم . خاصة فيما يتعلق بالنساء الحوامل الأتي كثير منهن كانوا لا يجدوا العناية الطبية عند الانجاب مما يفقدهم أرواحهم. و أحد المواقف التي عشناها في منطقة الكاب خور الدقلي كان هنالك أحد الأشخاص مريض نفسي حاول الإنتحار بذبح نفسه وعند اخذه إلى المركز الصحي لم تتوفر إمكانيات إسعافه مما تطلب أخذه إلى اقرب مدينة (كريمة) علما بأن المنطقة لم تتوفر بها سيارة في ذلك الوقت خلاف سيارات فريق الهيئة، وقبل الوصول الى المدينة كان الشخص قد فارق الحياة. هذا بشكل موجز يصف المنطقة التي استوطنت

منذ قديم الزمان وحتى تاريخ قيام السد. كما واجهتنا كثير من المشاكل المتعلقة بتعطّل السيارات وكثيراً ما كانت تعلق في الكثبان الرملية والصخور التي في عدد من المرات كادت ان تغلب السيارة. بالإضافة إلى انتشار الثعابين في المنطقة بكثرة (كلها كانت ظروف صعبة للعمل لكن الروح والدافعية للعمل في تلك الظروف القاسية باعتبار إنها أول تجربة للكادر الوطني ويرد أن يثبت وجوده و يحقق أهدافه.

٢٤ / هل كان هنالك مزيد من المشاكل؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد فقد كان هنالك مشكلة واضحة بين المناصب ووحدة تنفيذ السدود في شأن التعويضات وغيرها. كما تبدو بإنها مشكلة سياسة في المقام الأول. فهي مشكلة مقعده انعكست سلباً على نشاط بعض البعثات الأجنبية من خلال تعرضها لمضايقات وطردها من المنطقة ثم تهديد.

٢٥ / هل كان هنالك تعدي على البعثات؟

في مرات عديدة وصل الأمر إلى شبه تعدي وليس تعدي حققي على الأشخاص ولكن في نهاية المطاف كان ممكن أن تؤدي إلى تعدي. ففي كثير من الأحيان اطر الفريق للتعامل بحكم وتركه الموقع باعتباره معالجة لتفادي التعدي. مما ساهم في تأخير العمل وهو ما كان خصماً على زمن العمل وضياح للعمل في أماكن كانت مستهدفة .

٢٦ / هل الإحساس بالتهديد والتعدي بدا منذ بداية العمل الميداني ام جاء لاحقاً؟ وهل قامت البعثات بتقديم التوعية اللازمة لإنسان المنطقة بضرورة العمل الانقاذي؟

تعرض فريق الهيئة لشبه كمين في منطقة جسم السد حيث كان يعمل الفريق، فقامت الجماعات المعارضة لقيام السد بمحاصرتهم وكاد الأمر ان يتطور ويروح ضحيته احد افراد الفريق لولا استخدام الحكم واليقظة. أما فيما يتعلق بجانب التوعية فكان لا بد من توفر مجتمع مقبل للأمر وليس رافض بمعنى ان سكان تلك المواقع لم يكونوا مهينين لقبول أي نقاش معهم. بطبيعة الحال هذا الأمر لا ينطبق على كل المناطق فهناك بعض السكان كانوا متفهمين ومتعاونين ويعتبروا إنهم مستفيدين من قيام هذا السد بمعنى ان السكان كانوا منقسمين ما بين مؤيد ورافض.

٢٧ / هل كانت هنالك مشكلة متعلقة بوجود عمالة من المنطقة؟

لا، بالعكس فقد كان العمل مع البعثات بالنسبة لسكان معظم المناطق مصدر رزق. وعلى سبيل المثال اذكر واحده من التجارب التي واجهتنا عندما كان فريق الهيئة يجهز للأعمال المسح الأثري الأولي في منطقة الدقلي والكاب وان يتحرك الفريق الذي كان في الخرطوم للعمل، علم من الجهات الأمنية بان هنالك بعض المشاكل في المنطقة بين السكان ووحدة تنفيذ السدود ولكنها ليست بمعيقة للعمل. علماً بأن تحرك الفريق كان دائماً مرتبطاً بإعطاء الضوء الأخضر من الجهات الأمنية قبل التحرك. ثم تحرك الفريق من مدينة الى آخر مع جراً مقابلات مع كبار موظفي الحكومة مثل معتمد منطقة أبو حمد الذي طمئننا بأن الأوضاع أمنه بل ان هنالك قوة امينة في تلك المنطقة. وبعد وصلنا وجدنا ان هنالك فعلاً قوة امنية من الشرطة في المنطقة وعليه تم ترتيب الوضع بالعمل ولكن في الصباح الباكر فوجئنا بزيارة ممثل السكان الذي أعلننا بأن الوضع قابل للإنفجار وإنه غير مناسب للعمل. مما اطرنا لمطالبته بمكتوب يوضح فيه مسؤوليته في عدم إمكانية عملنا في هذه المنطقة لأنه يمثل خطر على حياتنا. والذي فعلاً قام بكتابته واعتماده باعتباره ممثلة لأهل المنطقة. بعد ذلك قام الفريق بالرجوع ولم يشرع في تنفيذ العمل في تلك المنطقة حتى اليوم.

٢٨ / هذا يعني ان خلافات السكان كانت سبب في عدم إجراء أعمال الإنقاذ الأثري في المنطق؟

نعم، بل لم يستأنف العمل فيها بعد ذلك وهي كانت تقع في المنطقة التي سوف تغمرها مياه بحيرة السد.

٢٩ / هل كان هنالك سرقات أو تعدي على ممتلكات البعثات أو على المواقع الأثرية أثناء أعمال الإنقاذ؟

ربما قد وصلت إلى هذا الحد مع البعثات الأجنبية مثل بعثة الآثار البولندية التي كانت تعمل في منطقة حجر البيضة. ولكن عموماً هذه الخلافات كانت تمثل تهديد للبعثات كما كان لها التأثير المباشر في توقف العمل في تلك المناطق. وأنا أذكر أثناء أعمال المسح الأثري في تلك المناطق من قبل الفريق الوطني تم التعرض لنا مرتين من شخصين وكادوا أن يشتبكوا معنا اشتباك مباشر بل أجبرونا على عدم أخذ عينات فخارية من مخلفات الآثار لتصنيف الموقع. وكان حديثهم بأن من الذي سمح لكم أصلاً بالعمل في هذه المنطقة. وفي كثير من الأحيان تفاديا للمشاكل في كنا نأخذ فقط عينات من المخلفات الأثرية مع إحداثيات المواقع دون إجراء أي أعمال إنقاذه بها.

٣٠ / هل هنالك ما تود أن تضيفه في هذا الجانب، على سبيل المثال هل عدم توفر المعدات والأجهزة المتطورة كان لها أثر واضح في عدم إنجاز العمل بالصورة المثلى؟

ربما في فترة التسعينيات عندما اجر بروفيسور حاكم المسح الأثري الأولي تم استخدام الصور الجوية وبعض المعدات المتطورة في ذلك الوقت. لكن أريد أن أشير أن مشكلة الشلال الرابع هو إمكانية الوصول إلى المواقع بداخلها خاصة الجزر التي كانت تغطي جزء كبير منها بالإضافة إلى وعورة المنطقة نفسها من صخور ورمال وغير ذلك. لذلك كانت إمكانية استخدام الأليات فيها ربما يكون محدود جداً، وكان ملزم علينا التحرك سيراً على الأقدام في كثير من الأحيان مما عرض عدد كبير من الفريق للإصابة في أرجلهم. ملخصاً لا أريد أن أقول بأن كان هنالك غياب للأليات الحديث لأن إمكانية استخدامها كان محدود نسبة لوعورة المنطقة.

٣١ / هذا يعني أن هنالك بعثات كانت تعمل في مناطق توفرت بها إمكانية إستخدام تلك التكنولوجيا مثل؛ الأقمار الصناعية وأجهزة التأثير عن بعد في عمليات المسح الأثري، وحدثت نتائج جيدة في عملها مثل؛ جامعة هامبورج الألمانية؟

نعم بالنسبة للبعثات الأجنبية كان من السهولة أن تتحصل على تلك التقنيات والتكنولوجيا من بلادها (الأقمار الصناعية وأجهزة التأثير عن بعد وغيرها) لأنه كانت متاحة. أما بالنسبة للفريق الوطني فكانت شبه مستحيلة بالإضافة إلى صعوبة إستخدامها في تلك المنطقة. مع الإقرار بأنه كان هنالك قصور بعض الشيء في مثل هذه التكنولوجيا لدى الفريق الوطني ولم تكن متاحة له في ذلك الوقت.

٣٢ / هذا يعني إذاً كانت قد توفرت مثل تلك التقنيات والتكنولوجيا لدى الفريق الوطني، كانت ربما قد تساهم في تحسين نتائج العمل وقد تقلل الجهد المبذول، أم لم تكن هنالك حوجة لها، بمعنى إنه من الضرورة وضعها في الخطط المستقبلية باعتبارها واحده من المعينات و الأدوات المتطورة الضرورة في أعمال الإنقاذ الأثري؟

بكل تأكيد هي مهمة وكان الفريق في حوجة لها، فيه معين ولكن عدم وجودها لا يعني أنك لا تستطيع أن تنجز العمل المراد إنجازه دونها، فهي واحد من مسهلات العمل.

٣٣ / بمعنى إنه من الضرورة وضعها في الخطط المستقبلية باعتبارها واحده من المعينات و الأدوات المتطورة الضرورة في أعمال الإنقاذ الأثري؟

٣٤ / هل أنت توصي بوجودها ووضعها في الخطط المستقبلية في أعمال الإنقاذ؟

نعم، باعتبارها شيء أساسي. أنا أعتقد أن أي منطقة في السودان يجب أن توضع في أولويات المسح، مستخدمين في ذلك تلك التقنيات الحديثة.

٣٥ / إذا طلب منك وضع خطة للعمل الإنقاذي الآن، سوف تضع هذه التقنيات من أولويات الخطة؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد، الأدوات والزمن وغير ذلك يعني أن أي جانب سلبي إستصحبته في هذه التجربة سوف اتجنب حدوثه ومعالجته بشكل إيجابي في أي عمل مستقبلي، فهي تجربه يجب الإستفادة من سلبياتها بمعالجتها وإيجابياتها بالمحافظة عليها.

٣٦ / هل كان فريق الهيئة يقوم بمقابلة كبار أهل المنطقة قبل بداية العمل؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد.

٣٧ / هل كان رفض بعض السكان المحليين لأعمال البحث الاثري أثرة في تعطيل العمل؟

٣٨ / هل أثرت مشكلة التعويضات والمشاكل السياسية في عمل البعثة؟

نعم، فقد تعرض كوادر الهيئة لعدد من التعديات بمعنى كمين وكانت قد تؤدي بحيات بعض الكوادر العاملة. على الرغم من أن هنالك بعضاً منهم يشعر بأنهم مستفيدين من هذا العمل راضي عنه. فقد كانت هنالك بعض القيادات فنهم من يوافق علي قيام السد ومنهم من يخالف. المسح الأثري في منطقة الدقفي والكاب. وبعد الترتيب لبداية العمل تسرب انباء بوجود مشاكل في هذه المنطقة مما جعل بعثة الهيئة قبل تحركها بإخطار الجهات الأمنية بسير العمل. وكانت الأنباء بان الأمر عند السيطرة ولكن عند وصلنا للمنطقة وجدنا الوضع مختلف حيث اخطرنا ممثل اللجنة الشعبية بعدم الشروع في العلم رقم تواجد القوات الأمنية لكن هنالك وضع ملتهب. فكان هنالك تعطيل لسير العمل وحتى هذه المنطقة لم يتم فيها أي عمل إنقاذي فيها. (اخطار العمدة او كبير القبيلة او المنطقة) هل كان هنالك تعدي على المواقع او على الكوادر العاملة؟ ربما حدثت مع البعثات الأجنبية في منطقة حجر البيضاء لكن بالنسبة للفريق الوطني كان الحادث التي قامت بطرد كل كوادر الهيئة من العمل في المنطقة. وذلك نسبة لان الذهاب للعمل عن طريق الدواب وقد تم اعتراض افراد البعثة وعدم السماح لهم حتى يأخذ نماذج من الموقع لتصيفه. وتفاديا لكثير من الاشتباكات يكتفي التيم العامل بأخذ احداثيات الموقع فقط دون اخذ عينات منه هذا كان واحد من المهددات التي كانت تمنع كوادر الهيئة من انجاز العمل نفسه.

٣٩ / هل كان عدم توفر الآليات، المعدات المتطورة أو غيرها أثرها على سير العمل؟

وعورة المنطقة تحتم على الفريق عدم استخدام مثل تلك الآليات، لصعوبة استخدامها و ترحيلها لأن المنطقة عباره عن جزور والحركة فيها بالواب. أما فيما يتعلق بالبرامج المتقدمة قد تكون متوفرة للبعثات الأجنبية أكثر من توفرها للبعثات الوطنية.

المنطقة في حد ذاته ربما تعتبر مشكلة لإنسان المنطقة نفسه على سبيل المثال: خور الكاب منطقة الدقفي لم يكن لدي سكان المنطقة حتى سيارة يمكن استخدامها في حاله حدوث أي طاري. ربما يختلف تأثير عامل الزمن من بعثة لأخرى، فهناك بعض البعثات الأجنبية اعتمدت على ميزانياتها الخاصة في المشاركة في المشروع، بمعنى عدم اعتمادها على أي دعم مالي ممنوح من هيئة إدارة السدود.

٤٠ / المنهج والطرق التي استخدمت في عملية الإنقاذ؛ ما هو المنهج الذي استخدمه الفريق الوطني للهيئة القومية للأثار و المتاحف في إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع ؟

المنهج الإنتقائي الذي إعتمد على التعدد والتشابه، فقد اعتمد على الفئات التي يتكون منها الموقع نفسه بمعنى إذا كان الموقع عبارة عن مقابر مروية يمكن اختيار جزء منها (الجزء يمثل الكل) الامكانية القصوى لإنقاذ الموقع (يوم ونصف عمل فريق متكامل لحفر مقبرة واحدة فقط ليست بمعقده يقوم بتنفيذه تميم متكامل).

التجربة التعدد والتشابه

إعتمد المنهج على قراءة السطح وتحديد مكوناته ثم بعد ذلك إختيار الموقع المراد إنقاذه (اختيار عشوائي، القريب من السكن- الأكثر سهولة). إذا كان الموقع عباره عن مقابر: في البدا يمكن ان ننظر الي تركيبة السطح ثم التشابه القطر الارتفاع، مكون السطح، أكثر المناطق تميزاً من غيرها في الشكل والحجم والارتفاع وتركيب مكوناتها، ثم المتغيرات. بمعنى إذا تشابهت كل هذه المكونات يكون المنهج انتقائي بأخذ عينتين عشوائيتين من الكل موقع مراعي الأقل جهداً في إنجازة من حيث الأمور اللوجستية. تقيم المرجعية للنهج الإنتقائي، مثل الهياكل الفوقية المتوفرة إذا كانت جميعها متشابهة؛ الحجم والشكل والقطر والارتفاع وتكوين الهياكل الفوقية كلها عوامل أو معلومات أو متغيرات قابلة للقياس. إذا كانت جميعها متشابهة سأختار اثنين منهم بشكل عشوائي

٤١/ كيف تقيم أهمية الاكتشافات التي تمت خلال حملة إنقاذ الشلال الرابع؟

عمقت الفهم التاريخي والآثاري للمنطقة فقد كانت المعلومات عن المنطقة محصورة جداً، فكل ما كان يعرف عن المنطقة بأن تضاريسها صعبة كمنطقة بطن الحجر، فإمكانية إحتوائها على حقب تاريخية مختلفة ساهم في إعادة كتابته تاريخ الإقليم. إتضح ذلك من خلال إثبات وجود إمتداد لحضارة كريمة بكثافة في تلك المنطقة وذلك ما لم يتم ذكره مسبقاً. وحتى مخلفات حضارة نبتة وكل فترات العصر الحجري. أعطت إشارات ولكن إذا كان مثل هذا العمل قد تم في الظروف الطبيعية لكانت الإشارات أكثر والنتائج أكبر عن معرفة المنطقة وتاريخها. وذلك مقارنة مع حجم العمل الذي لم يتم إنجازه بعد، ومثال لذلك: موقع الحراز بعض الأكوام من مقابر الحراز تم حرف عشرات منها وترك ما يقارب الثلاث مائة دون إجراء أي حفريه بها.

٤٢/ هذا يعني أن ما تم إنقاذه نسبة قليلة جداً من كثير، والسبب الأساسي هو عامل الزمن؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد الزمن هو العامل الأساسي في عملية الإنقاذ.

٤٣/ هل إكتشافات منطقة الشلال الرابع عملت على تعميق فهم دراسات الآثار السودانية ؟

أنا أعتقد أن واحد من المشكلات التي صاحبة أعمال البحث الأثري في منطقة النوبة هو تمصير كل ما تم إكتشافه من مخلفات أثرية، بمعنى تصنيفها باعتبارها مصريات أو تنسب للحضارة المصرية القديمة. دون تحفظ؛ بداية من إعطاء مسمي مجموعة اكس والتي لاحقاً عرفت بإنها ما بعد مروي، بل حتى ذلك لم يرضي طموحاتنا البحثية فهي جزء من حضارة مروي، وإشياء كثيرة مثل ذلك.

٤٤/ إيجابيات حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي:

كثير من الباحثين قد شرعوا في العمل بكل واقعية ومهنية بمعنى بمعزل من التفكير الذي كان سائداً عن تبعية المنطقة للحضارة المصرية كما حدث في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة. وأصبحوا يتعاملوا مع المواقع الأثرية في المنطقة بكل واقعية وحياد بعيداً عن أي ميول مسبق بمعنى إنها سودانية أصليه. فقد كان البحث الأثري في منطقة النوبة قد تأثر بالميول المصري وتمصير كل ما هو سوداني ومثال لذلك (كتاب السوداني المصري) لماذا ذلك؟

٤٥/ هذا يعني أنك خلال تجربة العمل في الشلال الرابع إنتابك الإحساس بالخصوصية للآثار السودانية في المنطقة؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد بمعنى أن الباحثين تعاملوا من الإنتاج الأثري إذا صح التعبير باعتباره أصلي متأصل وأصيل. فقد تعامل أغلب الباحثين في منطقة النوبة قد بنى على الجانب الاثني (اثني يعود للمصريات) وفي الشلال الرابع تعامل الباحثون بتبني الجانب الثقافي مجموعات سكانية متأصلة. بحث علمي مبني على الدراسات المسبقة وليس الإنطباع والأفكار المسيطرة من المناهج السابقة المتعلقة بتمصير كل ما هو سوداني. كما يمكن القول بأن الباحثين الذين جاءوا للعمل في منطقة الشلال الرابع قد كانوا قد تشبعوا بتجارب علمية وبحثية كثيرة من خلال عملهم الأثري في السودان، كما كانت تجاربهم منزله وخاليه من مشاكل التفسيرات الخاطئة لفهم الآثار السودانية التي حدثت في حملة إنقاذ آثار السفلي. كما تزايد عدد الدوريات والمواد المنشورة عن الدارسات الأثرية السودانية التي كانت معظمها محصورة في مجلة كوش السوداني والمجلات المتخصصة فقط بالعمل الأثري. لكن من الملاحظة أن مع قيام حملة سد مروي زاد عدد تلك المجلات المتخصصة في نشر أعمال الحقل الأثري بشكل واضح مما ساهمت في التعريف بالآثار السودانية من خلال نشر النتائج العلمية للمشروع خاصة في كوش، السودان والنوبة، وإصدارات المجلات البولندية للآثار - التقارير الأفريقية، وغيرها. ونذكر واحد من مساهمات هذا المنتج الضخم تلك المشاريع التي صاحبة التعريف بهذا المنتج العلمي فقد كانت هناك أربعة مؤتمرات قامت في أوربا خصيصاً لاستعراض نتائج اعمال انقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع التي كانت معنية بنشر نتائج أعمال إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع، كما ساهمت في إثارة النقاش والمعلومات وتلاقح الأفكار وتقاربها.

٤٦ / تقييمك للمنهج الذي استخدم في المنطقة المنهج الانتقائي الإنقاذي؟

٤٧ / هل كان هناك حفظ جيد للمواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها؟

العمل الإنقاذي الميداني كمنظومة ليس بكافي لوحدة دون التواصل في دراسة المواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها. كما أن المكتشفات الأثرية بعد اكتشافه لا بد من وجود أماكن مخصصة لحفظها حتى تجري عليها الدراسات وتستخلص منها المعلومات حتى يتم الاستفادة منها. في تقديري إنه كان يجب وضع ميزانية مخصصة لحفظ المواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها، بمعنى تخصيص ميزانية للمخازن وعملية التخزين الجيد بالطرق العلمية السليمة. خاصة وأن المنطقة التي كانت مستهدفة كبيرة ١٧٥ كيلومتر، ومهما كان حجم العمل الانتقائي لإنقاذ الآثار إلا أن المتوقع من المواد الأثرية التي سوف يتم إنقاذها سوف يكون كبير جداً. فقد كان الاعتقاد بوجود مخازن معداً سلفاً لحفظ تلك المواد. وما يوسف له أن هذا الأمر لم يحدث خاصة وأن البعثات الأجنبية كانت تأخذ جزء من الآثار حسب الاتفاق والآخر يترك لحكومة السودان.

٤٨ / هل كانت وأحد من بنود الاتفاق بين الهيئة والبعثات المشاركة في الحملة أن الآثار التي سوف تمنح للبعثات الأجنبية يجب عرضها في المتاحف وليس حفظها في المخازن؟

أنا كنت أعتقد أن هناك كانت مخازن تم اعدادها مسبقاً قبل بدء الحملة لحفظ تلك المواد وتصنيفها بشكل جيد للدارسين والمهتمين. ولكن للأسف لم يتم ذلك بل كل ما حدث هو أن البعثات قامت بجلب حاويات شحن معدنية تم وضعها في ساحات مباني الهيئة وتعبئتها بالمواد الأثرية ثم وضع جزء آخر في مخازن الهيئة وربما كان هناك خطة بحفظ تلك المواد في الصالة الإسلامية الجديدة ولكن لمشاكل فنية لم يتم يحدث ذلك منها. علماً بأن تلك الحاويات لم تكن مهيئة لحفظ الأثرية بها وإمكانية دراستها أو تحريكها. هذا يقودنا إلى أن حتمية التعامل مع تخزين الآثار بعد إنقاذها لم يكن بالشكل المطلوب. كما كانت هناك حادثة حريق لإحدى الحاويات وكانت النتيجة هي احتراق الآثار المحفوظة في داخلها. وهذا كله يؤكد على أننا لم نكن مستعدين لجلب تلك الآثار بعد إنقاذها لتخزينها فيما بعد. لكن هناك بعض البعثات الأجنبية كانت قد استفادة من مخزن جبل البركل في مدينة كريمة، حيث قامت بتخزين كثير من المواد الأثرية في مخزن المتحف بعد تصنيع بعض الرفوف لحفظها. خاصة وأن الفكرة كانت أن تلك المواد يمكن أن تكون نواة لمتحف مروي المقترح لعرض الآثار التي تم إنقاذها من منطقة الشلال الرابع وتعريف الجمهور بالحملة نفسها. وربما هذا الوضع كان أفضل من وضع التخزين في الهيئة بكثير.

٤٩ / يمكن القول بأنه كان هناك غياب تام للمخزن المثالي في حملة إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد لم يكن هناك مخزن مثالي وكان هناك فقط مخزن الهيئة الكبير الذي كانت به كل المواد الأثرية بمختلف أنواعها. لم يكن هناك خطة ثابتة لكيفية التعااطي مع المواد الأثرية التي كان يجب أن تتم دراستها بعد وصولها مع تقديم المعالجات الأولية والترميم اللازم، ثم نشر نتائج تلك الدراسات. ومن السلبيات هو عدم إعطاء الفرصة الكبيرة للكوادر في عملية الدراسة والنشر والتخطيط. فمعظم المواد التي تم نشرها من قبل البعثة الوطنية تقدر بأنها قليلة جداً، وما تم نشره كان محصوراً في العمل الذي تم بمشاركة الوحدة الفرنسية في منطقة الملتقي. كما أن هناك كثير من الباحثين في مجال الماجستير والدكتوراه كان يمكن أن يستفيدوا من المشاركة في نشر تلك المواد ودراستها.

٥٠ / ما هو رأيك في حجم المواد الأثرية التي تم إنقاذها مقارنة مع ما تم غمره تحت الماء، ما تم إنقاذه مع ما تم غمره ما هي النسبة؟

مقارنه بحملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة كان العمل أضخم وكانت هناك مراحل متعددة في قيام الخزان (تعليق الخزان الأولى والثانية ثم قيام السد العالي) كما أن العمل كان بين دولتين مصر والسودان مع تبني منظمة اليونسكو إدارة الحملة. بالإضافة إلى واحد من الأشياء التي أعطت زخم كبير للمشروع، وهي الولع بالآثار المصرية الذي كان من المحفزات بالنسبة للبعثات الأجنبية للعمل والمشاركة في حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة بشكل فاعل ومشاركة أكبر للبعثات الأجنبية من المشاركة في منطقة الشلال الرابع. أما فيما يتعلق بشروع إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع نجد أن بداية العمل لم يكن بالسرعة المطلوبة، والاستجابة لم تكن كبيرة في الأول، مما ساهم في تقليل فترة العمل وإنعكس ذلك على ضياع كثير من المناطق التي غمرت تحت الماء و لم تنال حظها من البحث والتنقيب والإنقاذ حتى الآن. "بشكل دقيق يمكن القول بأن ما تم إنقاذه يعد جزء قليل مقارنه بما لم يتم إنقاذه".

٥١/ ما هو رأيك في الخطة والعمل الميداني وما تم إنجازه بعد إنتهاء الحملة في مقارنه مع ما حدث من تأثيرات ومهددات للآثار الأخرى القريبة من منطقة الشلال الرابع (أهرامات نوري منطقة جبل البركل)، هل كان هنالك إعتبار لمشاكل تغير المناخ في المنطقة وتوسع دائرة المياه الجوفية وغير ذلك على المناطق الأثرية التي لم تغمر بالمياه؟

هذا الأمر طبعا يفترض أن يكون متعلق بجاب الدراسات الأولية التي تم إجرائها، خاصه مشكلة التأثيرات البيئية و التغيرات في مناخ المنطقة حيث إشارة الدراسات الأولية إلى حدوثها، فهي لم تكن مفاجأة بل كانت هنالك توصيات في الشأن. المشكلة هي أن رغم وجود هذه المعلومات والتوصيات والمحاذير لم يحرك ساكن أو حتى وضع اعتبار لهذه التوصيات، وهو الأمر الذي يمكن وصفه بأنه نوع من القصور الكبير للمعرفة المسبقة عن تلك التغيرات، و التي كان قد توقع حدوثا. كما أن هنالك أهرامات من الحجر الرملي ومواقع مسجلة في قائمة التراث العالمي مهدده بالتلف الناتج عن تغير المناخ وتكوين البحرية وغير ذلك، بل أنا أعتقد أن هذا الجانب لا يقل أهمية عن إنقاذ المواد الأثرية المهددة في من منطقة السد نفسها. وإذا كان لا بد من ذلك كان من المفترض وضع خطة لترحيل الآثار المهددة كذلك كما حدث في حملة انقاذ اثار النوبة السفلي. وكان واحده من الحلول، ونحن لا ننكر ضرورة قيام مشروع كبير مثل هذا المشروع، لكن لا بد من وضع الإعتبار للمواد الأثرية ايضاً.

٥٢/ هل هذا يعتبر قصور في الخطة والتنفيذ؟

نعم، بكل تأكيد!

مشاكل قانون الآثار السوداني:

٥٣/ هل هنالك أي خطط من قبل الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف باعتبارها الجسم المسؤول عن حماية وحفظ الآثار في السودان لإدارة وحماية المصادر الأثرية في السودان بالشكل المطلوب؟

لا، طبعاً.

٥٤/ ما هو رأيك في المهددات ومشكلة سن القوانين التي تحافظ على الآثار، بالإشارة الي خلو الطرف للمناطق المراد قيام مشاريع التنمية فيها قبل الشروع في العمل؟

التوعية في المناهج الدراسية.

٥٥/ هل هنالك خطط إمتدت جزورها إلى المؤسسات الحكومية هنالك ضرورة للتعاون بينها وبين هيئة الآثار و المتاحف في انجاز أي مشروع تنموي؟

٥٦/ كيفية المساهمة في وضع خطة لحماية الآثار في البلاد دون التطرق للقوانين؟

على سبيل المثال من خلال إستهداف السكان المحليين، الإعلام، الندوات، المناهج الدراسية وتعريف المجتمعات المحلية بأهمية الآثار الموجودة في مناطقهم ودورها في بناء تاريخ بلادهم والمجتمعات.

٥٧/ هل هنالك خطة إمتدت جزورها لتنظم قوانين بين المؤسسات المختلف مثل الأبحاث الجيولوجية وغيرها من البعثات التي تشارك هيئة الآثار في العمل الحقلي للتعاون في حماية الآثار، ومثال لذلك ما يحدث في حقول التعدين والتعدين التقليدي؟

أنا أعتقد ان العمود الفقري لكل هذه الأمور هو القوانين التي تنظم العمل الاثري في السودان ووضعيه الآثار نفسها. دعنا نشرع في تقييمها في القام الأول، فاذا نظرنا إلى قانون ١٩٥٢، مثلاً: لم يلبى الطموحات في جانب العمل الاثري وحمايته من النقول والتعدي على الآثار في ذلك الوقت. ثم قانون ١٩٩٩، الذي ربما أعطى بصيص من الأمل فيما بضرورة إعطاء خلو الطرف من المناطق المراد تنفيذ المشاريع التنموية بها. ومثال لذلك ما ورد في إحدى تشريعات القانون بأحقية الهيئة في توقيف أي عمل في منطقة أثرية

دون الرجوع إليها وإعطاء تصريح بالعمل في تلك المنطقة. هذا يعني بأن هنالك إشارة وأضحة للدور الذي يجب ان تلعبه الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في هذا الشأن. هذا بشكل نظري، لكن من الناحية العملية، فقد ظهرت بعض المشاكل بعد التصديق على قانون نيفاشا بين حكومة السودان وجنوب السودان الذي اعطاء سلطات مركزية من ضمنها: سلطة المتاحف والآثار القومية للمركز ومن ثم نفس هذه الصلاحيات تم منحها للولايات، مما خلق إشكال كبير جداً بين المركز والولايات وحتى هذه اللحظة هو واحد من المأخذ الكبيرة على هذا القانون. عليه فقد وضعت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف حكومة البلاد، مسؤولية وضع حماية وإدارة الآثار في البلاد في صراع كبير مع سلطة الولايات الإقليمية، ومثال لذلك ما حدث في ولاية الخرطوم وولاية نهر النيل والولاية الشمالية وهي أكثر المناطق التي بها آثار وصروح، أي الآثار الشاخصة التي يمكن أن تصنف بإنها وجهة سياحية ذات عائد مادي، وهذا ما ظهر على الملاء مع التحفظ وعدم الاهتمام في الاعتراض على إدارة الآثار غير الشاخصة التي قد لا تعني كثير للسائح العابر. هذا يشير إلي أن أصل الأمر يتعلق بالتحصيل والكسب المادي من هذه المواقع بالنسبة للولايات وليس ضرورة إدارة الآثار. ومثال لذلك اذكر مشكلة قيام المنتجع الذي تم إنشائه بالقرب من موقع جبل البركل. فقد كنت على رأس اللجنة التي كان مناط بها دراسة هذا الأمر الذي كنت على المام تام بحديثاته قبل أن يبدأ العمل به. فبعد إجراء المسح الأولي ومعاينة مكان إقامة هذا المنتجع إتضح وجوده داخل حرم الموقع الأثري- موقع جبل البركل، وهو يعتبر أول المواقع التي تم تسجيلها في قائمة التراث العالمي في السودان. واسواء ما يمكن قوله هو أن حكومة الولاية كان لها المباركة بالتصديق وتسهيل إجراءات تنفيذ هذا المشروع باعتبارها تمتلك حق التصرف في ممتلكات الولاية. عليه فقد كانت الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف هي آخر الجهات الحكومية التي تم إخطارها للتصديق النهائي بتنفيذ هذا المشروع. ومن ثم كان قرار لجنة الهيئة واضح وهو عدم السماح بتنفيذ هذا المشروع داخل حرم الموقع الأثري، لكن يمكن وضع إقتراح بتنفيذه في مكان آخر خارج حرم الموقع الأثري. وان قيام هذا المشروع داخل حرم الموقع الأثري قد يهدد إستمرار تسجيله في قائمة التراث العالمي، بل سوف يآثر على تسجيل المواقع المقترحة تسجيلها مستقبلاً. وذلك حسب توجيهات شروط تسجيل المواقع الأثرية في قائمة التراث العالمي، التي تحذر في حالة حدوث أي تغييرات ناتجة عن تدخل متعمد أو إهمال من قبل الدولة في المحافظة على هذا الموقع قد تقود إلى إتخاذ إجراءات شطب الموقع من قائمة التراث العالمي (صورة من قوئل للمنتجع)

هذا الأمر حدث نسبة لغياب التطبيق السليم لقانون الآثار الرادع القوي لحماية الآثار، و هو الأمر الذي يقع في مسؤولية الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في المقام الأول وهو إشارة واضحة للتضارب الواضع في تفعيل القوانين بين الهيئة والولايات. عليه لا بد من تفعيل القانون والحث على خلق قوانين قادره على حماية التراث والآثار في البلاد. وغياب تطبيق القانون يعني فقدان الآثار والتراث.

٥٨/ من أجل المحافظة على الآثار و التوعية بأهميتها بالنسبة للمجتمع السوداني، كيف يكن أن نساهم في وضع خطة للمساهمة في حماية الموارد الأثرية في السودان، بعيداً عن ضرورة تطبيق قانون الآثار؟

واحدة من معينات حماية التراث بأنواعه المختلفة هو المجتمع المحلي وأصحاب المصلحة مثل: الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف، منظمات المجتمع المدني وغيرها من مؤسسات يجب ان تكون ممثلة ومساهمة في الحماية نفسها. كما ان المجتمع المحلي لسكان المناطق الأثري والذي يعتبر هذا التراث متوارث من أجدادهم قد يستفيدوا منه في المستقبل في جوانب علمية ومادية سياحية وغير ذلك . الإستفادة من طاقات المجتمع المحلي في حماية المواقع الأثرية وهي تعتبر واحدة من أساسيات طرق إدارة المواقع المسجلة في قائمة التراث العالمي. يمكن تنفيذ برامج توعوية في أجهزة الاعلام المرئية او المسموعة، والتي قد تستهدف كل قطاعات الجمهور، بالإضافة إلى تضمينها في المناهج التعليمية على المدى البعيد وهي قد تستهدف الطلائع من المتعلمين. ثم عمل الندوات المفتوحة بمصاحبة أجهزة العرض وبصوره عامة اوصال المعلومة للجمهور بضرورة المحافظة عن الآثار وتعريفه بقيمتها ومكانتها. خاصة أن الاهتمام يأتي من خلال المعرفة بأهمية المنطقة ومحتواها، وعدم المعرفة تعني عدم الاهتمام . التنسيق بين المؤسسات الحكومية التي تشترك في اعمالها مع الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف مثل أبحاث الجيولوجيا والتعدين وغيرها. خاصة فيما يحدث الان من تعدين تقليدي؟

الخطة الاثرية:

٥٩/ هل وضع خطة أثرية مسجلة للمواقع الأثرية في السودان يمكن أن يساهم في إدارة التراث الأثري في البلاد؟

بكل تأكيد، وقد كانت هنالك خطة لكن لم تكتمل، لكن اهم شيء هو وجود قوانين الآثار الرادعة و تنفيذها على الواقع ثم بعد ذلك يمكن للمعينات الأخرى التي ذكرت سابقا ان تساهم في ذلك. في المقام الأول يجب إحترام مؤسسات الدولة للقوانين التي تتواصل فيما بينها. ان تطور العالم الخارجي في مجال حفظ التراث جاء من خلال إحترام القوانين. هو معين لكن عدم وجود قوانين قوية وفاعله سلطتها تؤول للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف سوف لا يكون هنالك أي تقدم ملحوظ في هذا الأمر. والتي يجب احترامها من مؤسسات الدولة أولاً.

٦٠ / تقييمك للوضع الراهن للآثار والوضع المستقبلي لها؟

٦١ / هل مشاريع التنمية مهدد ام محفز للعمل الأثري في السودان؟

كما ذكرت سابقاً أن مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي تفرد بإنه المشروع التنموي الأول في السودان الذي صاحبه عمل إنفاذي مدعوم من الدولة. لم يتم تنفيذ عمل مماثل إنفاذي في أي مشروع تنموي سابق على كثرتها، وربما هنالك كثير من الآثار التي قد سقطت سهواً وضاعت دون دراستها ومعرفتها. لذلك ربما المنهج المتبع من قبله وحدة تنفيذ السدود في إشراك الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف في أعمال التنمية منهج مطلوب ومشجع إذا أصبح متفق عليه. بمعنى ان يمكن تصنيفها بإنها واحدة من الجهات التي أعطت هيئة الآثار الحق في المشاركة في تنفيذ المشاريع التنموية. وهو الأمر الذي لم يسبق تنفيذه من قبل في كثير من المشاريع التي قامت. عدم التقول على قوانين مؤسسات الدولة. التعدين الأهلي أثر على الخريطة الأثرية بصورة سلبية جداً، وذلك نسبة للبلاغات والآثار التي تم الإبلاغ عنها دون بحث أثري او عمل ميداني مسبق، وهذا يدل على ان هنالك فعلاً تقصير قد حدث. فلا بد من تفعيل القوانين. واذكر في إحدى ورش العمل التي نظمت حول التعدين الأهلي، قد ذكر في تصريح لوحده من القوات الأمنية ان في ظل تزايد نشاط التعدين التقليدي الغير يزداد التعدي على المواد الأثرية نسبة لغياب الرقابة الكاملة على المنقبين، صعوبة التميز بين المنقب عن الذهب والذي يبحث عن الآثار لسرقتها. عليه يجب وقف هذا التدهور عند هذا الحد، ثم الشروع في تنظم قوانين رادعة مع التنسيق الكامل بين الأبحاث الزراعية، المساحة، المعادن والجيولوجيا وغيرها من الوزارات الأخرى التي يتشارك معها العمل الأثري في مشاريعها.

٦٢ / هل الجسم المناط به سن القوانين الرادعة لحماية الآثار يوجد به كوادر مؤهلة لصياغتها؟

هنالك خبرات وكوادر كثيره في البلاد، ربما تكون قادره على سياقة مثل هذه القوانين. عند القول بأن القانون الحالي ١٩٩٩م غير مواكب لإنه يعطي الحق لكثير من الناس للتصرف في المواقع الأثرية وهذا الأمر ليس من إختصاصهم. وبشكل بسيط يمكن لهيئة الآثار بالتعاون مع الجهات القانونية أن تصيغ قانون يتماشى مع توجهاتها وأهدافها، بمعنى ان الازمة ليست أزمة كادر قادر على إعادة صياغة القانون، بل الازمة الحقيقية في وجود من يسمع هذه المشاكل ويساهم في حلها. والهيئة في ظل هذا الوضع لا تستطيع أن تطبق الحماية المطلوبة للآثار.

٦٣ / هل هنالك تهديد كبير للآثار السودانية في ظل القوانين السائد الآن؟

نعم، هي مهدد في ظل هذه القوانين القاصرة.

٦٤ / كلمة أخير ورأيك في مثل هذه الدراسة في مستقبل البحث الأثري في السودان؟

هي دراسة جريئة ليس فقط من أجل الدراسة بل هي تساهم في حل قضايا شائكة كثيرة تمثل عوائق كبيرة جداً في سبيل تنفيذ برامج وتطبيق خطط وأعمال ومشاريع تنموية تقوم بها كثير من المؤسسات الحكومية او التعليمية. كما قد تخلص أهميتها في الجراءة من خلال تلمس المشاكل التي قد تفتح الباب الي وجود الحلول المطلوبة لمعالجتها، فهي دراسة لمعالجة إشكاليات من خلال تشخيص أسباب تلك المشاكل من طرح مثل هذه الأسئلة التي تمثل العمود الفقري لجل مشاكل الآثار في السودان، وبكل تأكيد هي دراسة مطلوبة تمس الأشياء المسكوت عنها وهذا يضيف إليها بعد آخر في أهمية المحافظة على الآثار. كما اتمني أن تكتمل وتجد حظها من النشر ان شاء الله. معظم الدراسات المتعلقة بالعمل الأثري في السودان منحصرة في البحث الأثري والتنقيب والتحليل، وليس عن إمكانية توفير بيئة سليمة للمحافظة على المواد الأثرية ووضع خطط علمية لإنقاذها. وأنا أعتقد أن مثل هذه الدراسات مازال السودان بكر في اجراءها، لذا تعتبر هذه الدراسة محاولة او مساهمة متواضعة من قبل الكوادر الوطنية بالشروع بإجراء دراسات في هذا المجال لمعرفة التحديات والصعوبات التي تواجهه العمل الأثري في السودان حتي تساهم في وضع إستراتيجية لحل المشكلات التي تحتاج البلاد لحلها.

٦٥ / أرجو منكم السماح بتفريغ هذه المقابلة و تلخيصها وصياغتها ونشرها في رسالة الدكتوراه؟

بكل تأكيد، خاصة وأن الهدف من هذه المقابلة هو تزويد بالمعلومات للإستفادة منها في هذه الدراسة، ولك مطلق الحرية في أخذ كل ما تجده مفيداً من هذه المقابلة.

INTERVIEW 12.

Date: 4st September 2015

Interviewee: Habab Idris, member of the staff of NCAM who participated in MDASP, Senior Antiquities Inspector of NCAM.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (١٢)

التاريخ: ٤ أكتوبر ٢٠١٥م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: حباب إدريس

المهنة: كبيرة مفتشي آثار في الهيئة العامة للآثار و المتاحف

نص مادة المقابلات

تتخصر المقابلة في ثلاثة محاور أساسية هي:

المشاركة في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي، الصعوبات والتحديات التي تخللت قيام المشروع وإمكانيات الهيئة في ذلك الوقت، ثم تقييم التجربة من وجهة نظر الشخص المسؤول، المتخصص، المتابع والمساهم في تنفيذ المشروع، وأخيراً رؤيته في مستقبل الآثار السودانية.

المحور الأول:

١/ كيف تمت المشاركة في العمل ؟

تعتبر حملة إنقاذ آثار الشلال الرابع هي أكبر حملة سودانية خالصة للآثار بين السودانين مقارنة مع حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي، والتي كان معظم البعثات المشاركة فيها بعثات أجنبية، وذلك نسبة لعدم توفر المعاهد والمؤسسات الوطنية الأثرية كما هو الآن. كانت هنالك مشاركة كبيرة من قبل الكادر الوطني في الحملة، وقد كنت من أوائل المشاركين في هذا العمل منذ البداية، في أعمال المسح الأثري و الحفريات. كانت المشاركة في العام ٢٠٠٢م مع الفريق الوطني و الوحدة الفرنسية في منطقة الملتقى، منطقة ترحيل سكان الشلال الرابع القرى ٣،٢،١ في منطقة السكنات والبيارات والمشروع الزراعي. في البداية لم يكن هنالك أي عمل خلاف العمل الأثري ولكن بعد فترة قليل أصبحنا نعمل جنباً إلى جنب مع الآليات. كما كانت هنالك تسهيلات في البداية وكان الوضع مريحاً و العمل يسير حسب الصورة المطلوبة. (المسح أولاً ثم الحفريات مع الوحدة الفرنسية).

٢/ المشاركة في العمل، وكيفية إستقبال خبر حتمية قيام سد مروي (وقع الخبر عليكم من الجانب الأكاديمي والنفسي)؟

كانت فكرة المشاركة مشجعة جداً و مباشرة لنا باعتبارنا موظفين جدد، كما كان هناك تفاؤل خير بالمشاركة في دراسة المنطقة التي لم تشهد أعمال بحثية واسعة بعد. كان الأمل هو أن حجم العمل سوف يكون أكبر والتمويل سوف يكون لفترات طويلة مقارنة مع حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة، التي صاحبته بعد الإخفاقات خاصة فيما يتعلق بالبيانات والنتائج التي لم تنل حظها بعد من الدراسات الكاملة. على الرغم من أن أي مشروع تنموي هو مهدد للآثار ويجب أن تكون هنالك تضحية بمعنى أن هناك شريحة من الناس سوف تقوم بالتضحية أتذكر كيف كان الجانب الإنساني مؤثراً بالنسبة للسكان المحليين، وهو ما شاهدناه بكل وضوح خلال عملنا في المنطقة. هنالك قاعدة ثابتة في العمل الإنقاذي إنه لا يمكن أن يتم إنقاذ كل المواقع المراد إنقاذها. على سبيل المثال: في منطقة الشلال الرابع بعد إ معرفة تقسيمات مواقع الإمتياز تم إختيار العمل حسب الإهتمام والرغبة، وذلك حسب سياسات كل بعثة. وأغلب المواقع الأثرية في منطقة الشلال الرابع كانت آثار مساكن. بعد أعمال المسح الأثري الأولي، تحصلت الهيئة على المعلومات الأولية المتعلقة بالمواقع الأثرية في المنطقة وفتراتها وتصنيفا وتقسيمها إلى مساكن ومدافن ... وكما ذكرت سابقاً أن احد أسباب التفاؤل أن هذه المنطقة سوف

يتم مسحها أثرياً بشكل كامل من تسجيل للمواقع وتصنيفها عن طريق المسح الأثري، ثم بعد ذلك تحديد الحفريات الإنقاذية حسب إهتمام البعثة الأثرية وأهمية الموقع، بمعنى المتوقع إستخراجة من الموقع.

خطة العمل:

٣/ هل كان هنالك إخطار وتمليك معلومة بحجم العمل الذي يجب أن تقوموا بإنجازه في المشروع؟

لا، لا لم يكن هنالك توافق بين العمل المطلوب إنجازه والعمل المنجز، نسبة لقلّة التنسيق أو إنعدامه مثال لذلك: إذا وضعت الخطة بالعمل في المنطقة المحددة في التاريخ المحدد، فانك عندما تذهب للعمل على أرض الواقع حسب الخطة تجد بأن الآليات الخاصة ببعض شركات الإنشاء قد سبقت عمل الهيئة ولم تنتظر العمل الأثري الذي من المفترض أن يسبق عمل الحفريات والبناء والإنشاء. يمكن القول بأنه لم يكن هنالك تنسيق وأضح، خاصة عندما بدأ الجانب العملي. ربما كان وأضحاً بالنسبة لمصلحة الآثار أن الهم الأكبر هو إنقاذ الآثار، أما بالنسبة لوحدة تنفيذ السدود فقد كان هو تسمية مشاركة مصلحة الآثار في المشروع. خاصة في منطقة الملتقي، كنا نقوم بملاحقة عمل الآليات لإنقاذ الآثار والتي من المفترض أن يكون العكس، العمل الأثري أولاً ثم العمل التنموي لاحقاً. وفي بعض الأحيان تم توقيف عمل الآليات إستناداً إلى قانون الآثار حتى تستجيب الشركة العاملة للأمر اعتباراً أن مواصلة العمل يعتبر تعدي على الآثار بحسبه قانون الآثار. مع العلم بأن هذا قد يعتمد على تفهم شخصية المهندس الذي يثمل الشركة وإستيعابه لضرورة العمل الأثري الإنقاذي قبل العمل التنموي، مع غياب تام لوحدة تنفيذ السدود في هذا الأمر. بمعنى أن هنالك بعض الآليات التي تعترض العمل الأثري وتعيقه وقد تم السماح لها مسبقاً بالعمل داخل الموقع دون التنسيق مع مصلحة الآثار. فقد كانت مصلحة الآثار تتحري بالدبلوماسية في التعامل مع مثل هذه المواقف، بمعنى أن الشركة لا يعينها تهديم الموقع أو إنقاذه. ملخصاً الخطط كانت موجودة مع غياب التنسيق، ويمكن تلخيص المشكلة في أن وحدة تنفيذ السدود كانت تكتفي بذكر مشاركة الهيئة في المشروع بينما كان الهم الأول بالنسبة للهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف هو إنقاذ الأثر وليس فقط المشاركة. وهذه هي المشكلة الحقيقية التي تكررت في مشاريع الإنقاذ الأخرى مع وحدة تنفيذ السدود مثل؛ مشروع خزان ستيت وعطبرة.

٤/ هل كانت خطة الهيئة محكمة أي تتماشى مع متطلبات العمل الحقلي؟

نعم كانت هناك خطة جيدة لكن في تطبيق العمل لم تلتزم وحدة تنفيذ السدود بتطبيقها وتنفيذها.

٥/ هل كانت الهيئة تمتلك القدرة والكادر والمال لتنفيذ الحملة لإنقاذ آثار سد مروي؟

لا، حتى السلطة الحكومية لم تكن لديها القدرة، نسبة لأنه جانب سياسي، قرار الخزان هو قرار سياسي. كما أن الدولة تعلم أن الجهة المسؤولة عن تنفيذ عمل الإنقاذ الأثري هي الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف. تم إخطار الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف رسمياً بقرار قيام خزان سد مروي في منطقة الحماداب بشكل رسمي، مصحوباً بخرائط توضح موقع بناء السد والمنطقة المتأثرة بقيامه. بناءً على ذلك قامت الهيئة بوضع الخطة وتقسيم فرق العمل.

٦/ هل كانت مقدرات الهيئة كافية من كوادر ومعدات لإنجاز هذا العمل الضخم؟

لا، لم تكن هنالك قدرات كافية. كما أن الفترة الزمنية لإنجاز العمل في المشروع تم تحديدها من قبل وحدة تنفيذ السدود بينما كان من المفترض أن تحدد من قبل مصلحة الآثار أو الهيئة.

٧/ هل كان هنالك إستخدام للأجهزة والمعدات الحديثة في عملية الإنقاذ وتم وضعها في الخطة قبل تنفيذها؟

في الجانب الوطني لم يتم ذلك، ربما قد تكون وضعت في الخطة... قد كانت وحدة تنفيذ السدود هي المسؤولة عن توفير كل المتطلبات للجانب الوطني.

٨/ هنالك تفسيرين لعدم تضمين تلك المعدات و الإحتياجات في الخطة قبل تنفيذها: الأول يشير إلى عدم المعرفة الكاملة بإمكانياتها ووجودها، وهذا قد يعني عدم التأهيل الكافي للأشخاص الذين وضعوا الخطة، الأمر الثاني هو إنه قد تم وضعها في الخطة ولكن لم يتوفر الجانب الفني أو التمويل الكافي لجلبها، فأى الخيارين كان؟

لم أعلم ذلك لأن الخطة كانت من مهام كبار الموظفين و مدراء البعثات، ولا أستطيع القول بأننا لم نحتاج لمثل هذه المعدات في عملنا. أما فيما يتعلق بخرائط الأقمار الصناعية و الجوية والطبوغرافية وأجهزة الجي بي اس، فكانت تتوفر عن طريق وحدة تنفيذ السدود، لكن لم تكن هنالك أجهزة إستشعار عن بعد، فقط كانت لدى البعثات الأجنبية.

المحور الثاني:

٩/ الصعوبات والتحديات التي واجهتكم في العمل؟

أول الأشياء هي عدم التنسيق، باعتبار أن الهيئة كانت تتعامل بإنها جهة تنفيذية لا غير، تقوم بتنفيذ الأوامر التي توكل لها من قبل هيئة وحدة تنفيذ السدود. مثلها مثل الشركات التي كان لها عقود جزائية مربوطة بوقت محدد، بمعنى إتفاق مبرم للعمل يستوجب الإلتزام به، مما خلق بعض التصادم بين الهيئة وتلك الشركات أثناء تنفيذ العمل. معظم هذه الخلافات كانت تحل بمحاولة إقناع الشركات بأهمية الآثار و حتمية إنقاذها قبل بدء أعمالهم. عندها قد تسمح الشركات المتفهمة للأمر بتوقف العمل لفترة محدودة للسماح لفريق الهيئة بإنقاذ الآثار في تلك المنطقة، ومثال لذلك: شبكة بئر الماء وهي تقع في موقع يمثل الفترة المسيحية في منطقة إعادة التوطين، في منطقة الملتقي أبو شابي شمال القرية الإدارية، حيث بدأت أعمال الإنشاء بالموقع قبل العمل الأثري الإنقاذي. فوجدنا أن الموقع قد تم تدمير جزئياً قبل إنقاذه مما أجبرنا على إتخاذ القرار بعدم العمل في هذا الموقع نسبة لهذا التجاوز. لاحقاً تمت بعض الإتصالات والمكاتبات بين الهيئة ووحدة تنفيذ السدود لمعالجة المشكلة واستئناف العمل. وبعد استئناف العمل اتضح أن المصدر الأساسي لشبكة المياه الجديدة يقع في نفس منطقة مصدر المياه الأثري الذي عرف باستخدامه في الفترة المسيحية، ومن ثم تم إختياره كأنسب موقع لإنشاء بئر شبكة المياه الجديدة. ما يدل على فائدة العمل الأثري في المنطقة قبل إجراء أي أعمال إنشائية جديدة بها. ثانياً: ضيق الوقت،

كان هنالك تحديد جازم لفترة زمنية محددة لإنجاز أعمال الإنقاذ الأثري في المنطقة، ولكن عندما تطرأ الحاجة لزيادة الفترة لتوسع العمل الأثري لم يكن مسموح بذلك. بمعنى إنه إذا تم تحديد وقت لإنجاز الحفرية وكانت هنالك حاجة لزيادة الفترة لتوسع العمل الأثري لا يسمح لك بذلك. كما كان هنالك تدخل من قبل وحدة تنفيذ السدود في مجريات الحفريات الإنقاذية في المنطقة، فقد كانت الوحدة تقوم بتحديد سقف زمني لإنجاز الحفرية، وهذا ما تمت مناقشته مراراً وتكراراً في أمانة الكشف الأثري ولكن دون جدوى. على عكس ما كان يتم مع بقية الشركات والدوائر الاستشارية التي شاركت في المشروع والتي كانت تمنح وقتها الكافي لإنجاز أعمالها. كما أن الهيئة لم تشترك منذ الوهلة الأولى كبقية الشركات في وضع خطة العمل بل أتت متأخرة. أنا أعتقد أن هيئة تنفيذ السدود قد أجبرت على إنقاذ آثار المنطقة قبل بناء السد بمعنى إنها قد وجدت نفسها مجبرة على إشراك الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف بهذا العمل. وقد اتضح ذلك من خلال الحزم في التعامل وعدم السماح للهيئة بوضع الوقت المناسب لخطة العمل لإنقاذ الآثار. ملخصاً أنا أعتقد أن إنقاذ الآثار جاء في نهاية أولويات هيئة إنشاء سد مروي. بمعنى أن العمل الإنقاذي الأثري قد فرض على وحدة تنفيذ السدود ولم يكن من أولوياتها. وقد اتضح ذلك في مسألة التمويل لم يكن عملية تمويل العمل الإنقاذي من الأولويات.

الراي الشخصي بأن الآثار لم تكن بالنسبة لوحدة تنفيذ السدود بالمهمة، وربما قد تكون فرضت عليهم من قبل جهات أخرى. خاصة عندما نقارن ذلك مع شكل التمثيل المادي لبقية المشاريع الأخرى ودفع أموالها، لا أعتقد بأنه كان هنالك اعتبار مسبق لإنقاذ الآثار.

ثالثاً: التأهيل،

في بادئ الأمر تم إشراك كوادر الهيئة في العمل مع البعثات الأجنبية، ثم بعد ذلك البعثات الوطنية. من الضرورة الإشارة الى أن وحدة تنفيذ السدود كان من أهم أولوياتها في أعمال الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف أن تقوم بإنقاذ آثار جسم السد، أي منطقة بناء السد نفسها ما بقية المواقع فلم تكن بنفس الأهمية. علماً بأنه كان هنالك تفرقة في التعامل بين إنقاذ الآثار في منطقة جسم السد والمناطق الأخرى البعيدة عنه، بمعنى أن عملية الإنقاذ كانت يجب أن تكون مماثلة من مسح وتوثيق وحفريات وغيرها. وذلك لأن الأولوية كانت بالنسبة لوحدة السدود هو جسم السد فقط.

١٠ / كيف كان تفصيل عمل الخطة بالنسبة لأعمال الحفريات الإنقاذية؟

كانت خطة العمل الحفلي توضع على النحو التالي: تقييم الموقع ومحتوياته، ثم يتم تحديد جزء محدد يتم اختياره للعمل (الجزء من الكل) ثم تحديد فترة العمل، عدد الأيام و ساعات العمل، وأخيراً تحديد مقبرة الحفرية إذا كان الموقع مدافن أو مقابر (القبر عن المقبرة). ثم بعد ذلك يتم تحديد عدد العمال والفريق العامل في الموقع ومن وضع ميزانية العمل.

١١ / هل يعني ذلك أن المنهج الذي أستخدم هو المنهج الانتقائي ؟

نعم، وهو الأمر الذي كان لا يمكن فعل غيره، على سبيل المثال: إذا كان هناك مقبرة لعدد كبير من المقابر يكون الإختيار عشوائي، لكن هذا فيما يتعلق بالمواقع المعروفة. على الرغم من أن هنالك بعض المواقع أشارت من خلال المسح الأولي إلى أن بها إشارات للفترة الإسلامية، ولكن عند الحفرية وجد إنها بنيت فوق أطلال آثار مسيحية وهذا الأمر شائع. ويمكن القول بأن واحدة من الأشياء الأكثر خطورة في الأعمال الإنقاذية عند المسح الأثري، هي وصف الموقع الأثري الذي يجب أن يكون دقيقاً، نسبة لإمكانية تغير شكل سطح الموقع عند الحفرية الأثرية، وذلك بسبب عوامل التعرية والعوامل البيئية التي قد تضلل الباحث عن وصف الموقع وتصنيفه.

١٢ / على أي شيء تم بناء المنهج الانتقائي للعمل الإنقاذي؟

- على الفترات التاريخية الموجودة في المنطقة مثال؛ أغلب المواقع التي تم تسجيلها بالقرب من النيل كانت تمثل مواقع ما قبل التاريخ، ودونها في المناطق الأخرى البعيدة قليلاً عن النيل.

كان الإختيار العشوائي يعود إلى مدير البعثة أو المجموعة العاملة، كما كانت البعثات الأجنبية لها تخصصات مختلفة تم بناء العمل عليها مثل؛ الإهتمام بفترات معينة دون الأخرى، مما قد يؤثر على بعض المواقع. فقد تركزت المشاكل في ضخامة مواقع الإمتياز التي أعطيت للبعثات، مع ضيق الوقت لتنفيذ العمل الإنقاذي. فقد كانت فترة عمل البعثات الأجنبية موسم واحد لكل عام بمعدل فترة شهر أو شهرين للموسم.

وعن تجربتي الشخصية مع مدير إحدى البعثات الأجنبية التي عملت معها، عندما قمت بتوجيه سؤال مباشر له؛ لما التركيز على إنقاذ موقع يمثل حقبة زمنية معينة مثل حقبة ما قبل التاريخ في منطقة إمتياز البعثة دون غيره من المواقع؟ فكان الرد صريحاً بأن الفترات الأخرى ليست من إهتماماته أي تخصص البعثة.

١٣ / هل كانت مواقع الإمتياز أكبر من إمكانات البعثة؟

كان تركيز البعثات الأجنبية على المواقع التي تبشر بوجود مواد أثرية كثيرة حتى تحصل عليها وتضعها في متاحفها العالمية. وذلك نسبة لان التمويل المالي لعمل تلك البعثات كان في الغالب مرتبط بذلك الحافز- جلب قطع أثرية بغرض العرض في متاحف الدول التي جاءت منها البعثات الأجنبية. كان إختيار مناطق الإمتياز للبعثات الأجنبية مبني في شكله الظاهر على تخصص البعثة وإهتمامها البحثي. أما جوهرياً فكان هو الحصول على مواد أثرية جذابة يتم عرضها في متاحف دول تلك البعثات. وقد تم الوصل لهذه الفرضية بعض إدارة بعض النقاشات في هذا الجانب مع بعض البعثات الأجنبية. لذلك نجد انه قد تم الاقفال والتجاهل في بعض المواقع لفترات ما قبل التاريخ، وخاصة إذا لم يكن الموقع سكني توجد به مخلفات، ما عدا المقابر من تلك الفترات، وذلك نسبة لشمولها على معلومات وأدوات كثيرة. فقد كان معظم الإغفال عن مواقع فترات العصور الحجرية خاصة عندما تكون مخلفاتها وأدواتها متوزعة على السطح، لأن أغلبها تأخذ وقت كبير في الحفر والتنقيب، وكانت تلك هي إحدى المشاكل في ذلك الوقت.

١٤ / هل كان توقيت العمل مناسباً للبعثات؟

كان الفريق الوطني يعاني كثيراً من الصعوبات المتعلقة بالطقس، وذلك نسبة لتواصل عمله في فترات مختلفة من السنة (فصل الخريف، مشكلة الأمطار، الصيف، ارتفاع درجات الحرارة - المنطقة صحراوية)، عكس البعثات الأجنبية التي تعمل فقط في فصل الشتاء ولفترة زمنية محدودة. كما إرتباط إنجاز العمل بالتمويل المادي لبعثة الفريق الوطني . كانت المشكلة في تحديد الفترة الزمنية مثلاً؛ قد يتم إخطار الفريق اليوم بالعمل غداً، وهذا قد يتسبب في كثير من المشاكل.

١٥ / هذا يعني أن مشكلة التنسيق كانت تمثل أكبر التحديات؟

التنسيق ووضع الأولويات، أكرر بأن هدف الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف كان هو إنقاذ الآثار، ام وحدة تنفيذ السدود فكان هدفها هو الإجهار بأنها قد قامت بإنقاذ الآثار. وتوضيح لذلك ما كان يحدث في التصديقات المالية وعدم قبول ميزانيات العمل الإنقاذي التي كانت تضعها الهيئة الخ.... فقد كانت وحدة تنفيذ السدود تقبل بدفع جزء من ميزانيات العمل الغنقاذي مع رفض دفع الجزء الآخر من الميزانية وتأخير الدفع وغير ذلك. ربما يكون هذا الأمر هو الدافع الحقيقي لتقليل فترة وقت العمل و القوة العمالة و المعدات وبالتالي يقلل من إنقاذ الآثار. وهذه واحدة من المآخذ على الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف لأنها قبلت بتقليل التكاليف المالية والوقت على حساب إنقاذ الآثار لإرضاء وحدة تنفيذ السدود.

١٦ / هل كانت هنالك مشاكل ومعاناة في التنقل، خاصة في مناطق الجزر ؟

كانت مسألة التنقل متوفرة من قبل وحدة تنفيذ السدود بالنسبة للمنطقة التي كنا نعمل بها، وهي منطقة الملتقي، أما مناطق الجزر فكانت هنالك مشاكل في صعوبة الوصول إليها، وتأجير المراكب، وخطورة التنقل من جزيرة لأخرى، لكن أعتقد أن الترحيل كان ممول من وحدة تنفيذ السدود.

١٧ / كيف كان استيعاب السكان المحليين لهذا العمل الأثري الإنقاذي الضخم وكيف تجاوبوا معه؟

سيئ، سيئ! أعتقد إنه كان لا بد من وضع الاعتبار للدراسات السابقة في هذا الجانب، كما تم وضعها في دراسة المنطقة من النواحي الانشائية. ضرورة التهيئة النفسية للسكان المحليين، لم يكن هنالك أي اعتبار لذلك، فقد كنا نقوم بمخاطبة الأسر في أماكن تجمعهم وتوضيح وشرح الأمر لهم.

١٨ / هل كان جزء من عملكم هو التوعية بأهمية الآثار وضرورة إنقاذها ؟

نعم ولكن كان الغرض منها تقبل عملنا ووجودنا بينهم في أرضهم.

١٩ / هل كان هنالك بعض التعديات أو التهديدات من قبل السكان المحليين في بعض المناطق؟

نعم كانت لفظية وأنا شخصياً تعرضت إلى بعض التهديدات الشخصية بالخروج من المنطقة أو التعدي علي.

٢٠ / هل كان هنالك بعض المشاكل أو الاعتراض في مشاركة كادر المرأة في العمل الأثري، من قبل المؤسسات أو السكان المحليين؟

كان هنالك إعتراض من السكان المحليين في إقامة الفريق الوطني في مكان واحد من قبل الجنسين، فكان المقترح هو إقامة الكادر النسائي مع إحدى الأسر في مكان بعيداً عن مكان إقامة بقية الفريق. كان ذلك الأمر مؤلم نفسياً يعطي الشعور بالتمييز، وقد إستغرق ذلك الأمر وقتاً طويلاً حتى تم حسمه. كان لا بد من وضع هذه الأمور في الاعتبار قبل بدأ العمل، فهي لم توضع في الخطة على الإطلاق. وأعتقد أن هذه المشكلة اشتركت فيها الهيئة ووحدة تنفيذ السدود بسبب عدم مناقشتها في وضع الخطة.

٢١ / هل كان هنالك بعض المشاكل التي تتعلق بقيادة المرأة لبعض العمال من الرجال في مجتمعات تمثل المرأة فيها ربة المنزل فقط؟

هذا الأمر تم تركه لنا كعنصر نسائي للتعامل معه بمفردنا، في البداية كان هنالك صعوبة في العمل فكان العمال يشعرون بأن هذا الأمر غير مقبول مثال: شيل القفه دي، كان يجب علينا أخذ الحيلة في اللفظ وإصدار أي أمر للعمال، ولكن بعد فترة وجيزة تمكنا من كسر الحاجز معهم، وخلق شكل من أشكال التواصل المقبول. خاصة بعد زيارة أسرهم وخلق علاقات إجتماعية معهم، عندها تم تجاوز تلك الصعوبات التي تركت للكادر الوطني للتعامل معها بمفردة دون وضع الاعتبار لمناقشتها في الخطة والتي اعتبرها من الاولويات لسير العمل. يجب إشراك الكادر النسائي في الدراسات الأولية اللوجستية للعمل الميداني في مثل هذه المناطق من قبل الهيئة.

٢٢ / هل كان هنالك أعباء أخرى في العمل المنزلي من طببخ وضيافة وغيرها؟

لا لم يكن هنالك أي نوع من الأعباء بل كان هنالك تعاون بين الجنسين.

٢٣ / هل كانت بيئة العمل متجانسة؟

نعم، كانت مرضية.

٢٤ / هل كان هنالك أي نوع من التعديات أو السرقات أو مخاطر من الحشرات؟

لا، في المناطق التي عملت بها لا.

المحور الثالث:

٢٥ / هل تعتقدي أن عمل البعثات الوطنية والأجنبية في منطقة الشلال الرابع ساهم في تعميق مفهوم دراسة الآثار السودانية؟

نعم، كثيراً جداً، لكن هنالك كثير من المواد التي لم تدرس بعد، خاصة فيما يتعلق بجانب الفريق الوطني، نسبة لأن البعثات الأجنبية ربما تكون أكثر حرصاً على جانب النشر بعد العمل الميداني، وذلك لامتلاكها معينات التحليل للعينات والمعامل. على الرغم من تعدد السلبات إلا أن هنالك إيجابيات كثيرة جداً مرتبطة بالإكتشافات الأثرية في المنطقة، والتي لعبت دوراً مهماً في تعميق معرفة تاريخ السودان القديم. فهنالك مواقع كان من الصعب الوصول إليها وإجراء أعمال بحثية بها. لم نكن نتخيل أن هنالك حياة كانت في يوم من الأيام في مثل تلك المناطق، ولكن تم العثور على آثار مهمه جداً بها مثل؛ آثار فترة كرمه التي إتضح إمتدادها حتى جنوب الشلال الرابع وهذه واحدة من أكبر النتائج. بالإضافة إلى المناطق المتاخمة للنيل، التي وجدت بها مواقع ما قبل التاريخ، وهذا يدل على إضافة مقدرة لمعرفة تاريخ السودان القديم.

٢٦ / هل كان هنالك إنسجام وقبول لعمل الكادر الوطني مع الكادر الأجنبي في بعثة مشتركة واحدة، بمعنى هل كان هنالك بعض التضجر من البعثات أو التجاوزات؟

نعم، مع إحدى البعثات (البعثة البولندية فودك) عندما أخبرت مدير البعثة ببعض الملاحظات والتي كان الجواب عليها أن هذا العمل عمل إنفاذي يجب أن تكون هنالك تجاوزات به. فقد كان إعتراضي على منهجية الحفر في فترة ما بعد مروي التي تعلمنا في الجامعة كيفية التعامل مع حفرياتنا. إعتراضي كان إعتراضي عندما رأيت العمال يقفون فوق الجرار لتكملة الحفريات، علماً بأن مدير البعثة بروفيسور في الفترة المسيحية، لذا لم تكن له خلفية كافية في حفريات فترة ما بعد مروي.

٢٧ / هل التوثيق للعملية الإنقاذية كان بصورة جيدة؟

لا لم يكن هناك توثيق كافي وخاصة عندما جاءت الفرصة للمشاركة في (مؤتمر عن السدود على مر الحضارات)، لم نجد أي معلومات أو توثيق للحملة. مع العلم بأنه كانت هنالك تقارير دورية أثناء الحملة تم إرسالها لوحدة تنفيذ السدود، لكن لم يتم الاحتفاظ بها بالهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف. كما كانت هنالك حاجة للعمل الوثائقي ولكن لم يتم. على صعيد التوثيق لم يكن هنالك أي توثيق لهذه التجربة. التوثيق للعمل العملي تم، أما التوثيق للتجربة نفسها لم يكن هنالك أي توثيق مسجل سوى كان سينمائياً أو صوتياً. لم تكن موضوعية في الخطة أصلاً، على الرغم من إنها قد توضح كثير من المشاكل التي حدثت أثناء العمل. أتذكر أن كانت هنالك تجربة لنا في توثيق العمل الميداني اليومي بمصاحبة فريق تصوير مكتمل ليوم كامل في منطقة جزيرة دقش ومقرات.

٢٨ / كيف يمكن وصف الأماكن التي تم حفظ المواد الأثرية بها وهل كانت مناسبة؟

لا، بل لم يتم حفظ المواد الأثرية بشكل جيد حتى الآن، لا يوجد نظام لحفظ الآثار هنا. أما فيما يتعلق بالبعثات الأجنبية فقد أعطت الهيئة قائمة بالآثار التي تم تخزينها بوضعها داخل حاويات حديدية تم جلبها ووضعها في فناء الهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف، في بيئة أشبه بالأفران. ونسبة لعدم وجود مخازن جاءت الفكرة بتخصيص حاوية لكل بعثه واستخدامها كمخزن لوضع الآثار بها. وأذكر أن هنالك بعض القطع التي وضعت للتخزين داخل الحاويات بعد ترميمها، ولكن عند فتح الحاوية وجدت في حالة ما قبل ترميمها أو أسوأ، وهذه واحدة من المشاكل التي تم النقاش فيها مع الهيئة (التخزين).

٢٩ / هل كان هنالك إعداد مسبق لعملية التخزين والمخازن ؟

في عملي مع البعثات الأجنبية ربما نعم، فقد كانت تخزن المواد الأثرية بعد إنقاذها. لكن بقية الآثار تم وضعها في غرف متحف بيت الخليفة.

٣٠ / هل متحف بيت الخليفة كان معد لتخزين تلك المواد التي تم إنقاذها ؟

لا، لكن لم يكن هنالك مكان للتخزين سواء غرف متحف بيت الخليفة، لأن كل المخازن كانت مليئة بالمواد الأثرية. وأذكر عند زيارتي لمتحف غدانسك أطلعني مدير المتحف على مجلد ضخّم لمشروع عمل إنفاذي لمنطقة إنشاء خط سكة حديد، يوضح الحفريات التي تمت، بالإضافة إلى عملية التخزين وأماكن تواجد المواد التي تم إنقاذها ...، علماً بأن تلك المواد الأثرية لا تقارن مع مواد مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي.

٣١ / هذا يعني إنه لم يكن هنالك اعتبار لتخزين المواد الأثرية في الخطة؟

لا، لم يكن هنالك أي اعتبار للتخزين في الخطة.

٣٢ / ما هو تقييمك للعمل الذي تم إنجازه ورويتك للسلبات والإيجابيات؟

من خلال ما تم إنجازه من عمل مع الوضع الراهن في ذلك الوقت، خاصة ونحن كسودانيين تعودنا أن نقبل بأبسط الأشياء، وما حدث في مشروع سد مروي مثال لذلك. بمعنى أن مشروع سد مروي كان مشروعاً كبيراً جداً، كان يمكن الاستفادة منه بدرجة كبيرة، مثلاً: كان من الممكن أن يكون هنالك تأهيل بشكل أكبر للكوادر الوطني. كما كان قد وضع في الخطة، توفير معمل للبحث العلمي لتلك المواد، لكن لم يتم توفيره. أيضاً كان من الممكن أن تدرس المواد التي تم إنقاذها في المستقبل بشكل جيد إذا كان قد تم تخزينها في مخازن مناسبة. ثم نشر النتائج المثمرة خاصة وأن الهيئة تعتبر مؤسسة بحثية وبها كوادر مؤهلة لإجراء البحث الأثري بمفردها، ومواصلة أعمال الدراسة للمواد التي تم إنقاذها حتى يومنا هذا. لا أريد أن أقول أن الأمر سياسي لكن هذا ما حدث. نعم، تعودنا أن نقبل بأقل الأشياء، كانت السلبات أكثر من الإيجابيات، ولكن في المقابل تمت إتاحة الفرصة لدراسة منطقة الشلال الرابع التي لم يكن من السهل العمل فيها. ومن وجهة نظري كأثرية إن مشروع سد مروي قد أتاح فرصة كبيرة لدراسة المنطقة والعمل الأثري وتدريب الكادر وإنقاذ جزء كبير من الآثار. من جانب آخر كان المتوقع من حجم إنجاز العمل أن يكون أكبر من ذلك، خاصة إذا كانت هنالك خطة واضحة من الهيئة وتنسيق مسبق متفق عليه، كان قد يكون الأمر أفضل بكثير. أيضاً كان لقيام المؤتمرات أثرها في إثراء البحث الأثري في البلاد.

٣٣ / هل يعتبر ما نشر من تقارير ودراسات عن نتائج العمل من قبل الكادر الوطني مرضية؟

لم تكون كافية، وأغلب ما نشر عبارة عن العمل فقط ليس تحليل ودراسة للمواد الأثرية أو المناهج المستخدمة. على الرغم من أن هنالك بعض النشرات المقدرة منها.

٣٤ / هل تمت الاستفادة من تجربة حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي بشكل كبير في مشروع حملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروي؟

لا، لم تكن هنالك إستفادة كبيرة من التجربة السابقة فيما يتعلق بترحيل السكان من منطقة وادي حلفا، وربما قد تكررت نفس التجربة من حيث الخيارات والتعويضات والمشاكل المتعلقة بالترحيل والتهجير القسري. وما يؤسف له أن هنالك أشخاص قد فقدوا أرواحهم بسبب عدم تقدير الحكومة لأمرهم، خاصة بعد تلك الفترة الطويلة من تجربة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلي.

٣٥ / هل كانت هناك دراسات توقعيه للتأثيرات البيئية والجيولوجية من مياه جوفيه وغيرها على الآثار والمواقع الأثرية في المنطقة؟

نعم، كانت هنالك دراسات قد تمت في هذا الجانب من قبل هيئة تنفيذ السدود نفسها، وهم على علم بما سوف يحدث من تغيرات و تأثيرات مستقبلية على المدى الطويل في المنطقة. لكن هل كان هنالك معالجة تمت، هذا هو السؤال؟

٣٦ / أين كانت خطة الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف من نتائج تلك التأثيرات والمتغيرات المتوقعة في المنطقة؟

لا أعرف، أنا أشعر بالحزن على ذلك، وأتذكر أن بعد قيام الحملة كانت هنالك محاضرات من قبل كوادر الهيئة من جميع الأقسام تناقش هذه المشاكل، مما يدل على عدم إدراج كثير من هذه المشاكل في الخطة. حقيقة كان لا بد من تقييم تلك التجربة تحوطاً لحدوث مثلها في المستقبل، ولكن لم يحدث وتكررت نفس المشاكل في مشروع تلية خزان الروصيرص، وستيت وعطبرة وغيرها.

٣٧ / هل يمكن القول بشكل عام أن عملية الإنقاذ في منطقة الشلال الرابع تمت كما قدر لها ؟

أنا أعتقد إنها تمت كما قدر لها.

٣٨ / هل مشاريع التنمية في السودان هي مهدد ام محفز؟

مهدد، مهدد، مع العلم بأن الهيئة حتى إذا طبقت قانون الآثار في لا تستطيع إيقاف مثل هذه المشاريع، وأذكر في الجامعة كان احد أساتذتنا يقول "أن المستقبل الزاهر يهدد الماضي التليد" بمعنى أنك لا تستطيع توقيف بناء الطرق والجسور والمشاريع الزراعية، لكنك يمكن أن تنسق عملك مع تلك المشاريع. مثال تكون هنالك إدارة مشتركة بها ممثلين من معظم الإدارات التي تشارك الهيئة في العمل يقوموا معاً بمناقشة المشاريع المستقبلية التي تتطلب إشراك الهيئة بها.

٣٩ / هل هنالك ضرورة لإضافة فقرة في قانون الآثار تلزم كل من يرد إجراء مشروع تنموي إحضار إفادة من الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف توضح خلو المنطقة من الآثار، هل يجب إدراج ذلك في القانون الجديد المقترح؟

نعم، يجب أن تكون هنالك شهاده خلو طرف من الآثار لأي مشروع تنموي.

٤٠ / هل قانون الآثار للعام ١٩٩٩ ليس بكافي لحماية الآثار؟

ليس بكافي، به بنود غير مواكبة وفيه ثغرات كثيرة، خاصة أن هنالك كثيراً من الأشياء التي طرأت حديثاً نحن الآن أعلم بها، إذا تم جمعها يمكن تفصيل بنود جديدة مواكبه.

٤١ / ما هو الأمر الملح الذي يعيق حماية المصادر الأثرية في السودان؟

المركزية واللامركزية لإدارة الآثار، على الرغم من أن الهيئة هي الجسم المركزي المعني بإدارة كل الأثر في السودان إلا أن ما حدث من تضارب لإدارة الآثار بين المركز والولايات بعد قانون نيفاشا عمل على خلق مشاكل كبيرة في إدارة الآثار.

٤٢ / ما هو التوصيات المطلوبة لحماية المصادر الأثرية في السودان؟

التنسيق بين الولايات والمركز مع تفعيل القانون.

٤٣ / هل توعية السكان المحليين حول المناطق الأثرية بأهمية الآثار يساعد في حمايتها؟

نعم، التوعية مهمة جداً ولنا تجارب في ذلك، فقد كنا نقوم بعمل أجتامع تنوري لأهالي المنطقة قبل العمل، نوضح فيه طبيعة العمل وخطة العمل، ثم في نهاية العمل نعلمهم بالنتائج التي تم التوصل إليها عن المنطقة. كان هذا الأمر له أثره الإيجابي الكبير عند أهل المنطقة، خاصة وأن ما عرف عن الآثار القيمة المادية فقط.

٤٤ / هل هذا يعني ضرورة وجود مادة علمية أكاديمية لبرامج التوعية بالآثار وأهميتها وقوانينها؟

يجب وضع الآثار في المناهج (ضروري جداً) خاصة بالنسبة للأطفال الذين يمثلون المستقبل، وعندما يصبحوا في مناطق إتخاذ القرار سوف يكون لهم وعي بالآثار وأهميتها.

٤٥ / هل وعي الإنسان السوداني بالآثار وأهميتها ضعيف ام وقوي ؟

ضعيف، نسبة لأن الهيئة لم تجتهد في هذا الأمر بشكل كبير، ومعظم المدركين لأهمية الآثار هم الشريحة اللصيقة بالعمل الأثري الحقل، من عمال وطلاب وسكان محليين حول المواقع الأثرية، وذلك لمشاركتهم في هذا العمل. وهناك فئة كبيرة متعلمة ليس لها معرفة بأهمية الآثار وضرورة الحفاظ عليها.

٤٦ / كلمة أخيره: مستقبل الآثار في السودان؟

على كف أياديها، ونحن يجب أن نقوم بدراسات مثل هذه الدراسة، التي تفتح الطريق لوضع توصيات ومسودات لكيفية إدارة العمل الأثري في السودان ودراسة السلبيات والايجابيات.

٤٧ / هل هنالك أمل بمستقبل مشرق للآثار السودانية، مع كثرة المهددات من تعدين تقليدي وتغيرات المناخ، مشاريع التنمية، الصراعات السياسية والاقتصادية وغير ذلك ؟

لا بد من وجود أمل حتى إذا لم يكن هنالك مبشر مشرق، بما أن هنالك سلبيات وإيجابيات إذا يجب معالجة السلبيات بالبحوث والدراسات، بالإضافة إلى التنسيق والتوعية وغير ذلك. يمكن القول بأنني متفائلة لأن في إعتقادي معرفة المشكلة هو الخطوة الأولى لحلها ونحن الآن بصدد مناقشة تلك المشاكل ونعمل على حلها.

INTERVIEW 13.

Date: 1st October 2015

Interviewee: Wad Alshikh (Sheikh Mohamed Wad Ziada), one of the former employees of the Sudan Antiquities Service and later the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums who worked in transporting and reconstructing Sudanese monuments in Khartoum during the Nubian campaign. He was also a member of the national team participating in the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (١٣)

التاريخ: ١ سبتمبر ٢٠١٥ م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: ود الشيخ (شيخ محمد ود زياده)

المهنة: أحد العمال السابقين مصلحة الآثار والهيئة القومية للآثار والمتاحف الذين عملوا في ترحيل الآثار ضمن حملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة، كما شارك في العمل مع الفريق الوطني في مشروع إنقاذ آثار سد مروي.

نص مادة المقابلات

١/ كيف كانت المشاركة في إنقاذ وترحيل آثار النوبة؟

كانت مصلحة الآثار في ذلك الوقت بالقرب من جامعة الخرطوم، وفي سنة ١٩٦٤ م تم ترحيل العمال للعمل في مباني الهيئة القومية للآثار و المتاحف الآن. في بادئ الأمر تم ترحيل الآثار من منطقة وأدي حلفا وتخزينها في المباني القديم (جامعة الخرطوم) ثم بعد ذلك تم ترحيلها لمباني متحف السودان القومي، ومن ثم إعادة بنائها في حديقة المتحف. كان في ذلك الوقت المدير نجم الدين محمد شريف، الذي كانت له علاقة جيدة مع الرئيس جعفر نميري في ذلك الوقت فقد كان متحمساً و مستعداً لدعم أعمال ترحيل الآثار و تكملة بناء متحف السودان القومي. مما ساعد في توفير عربات كبيرة و باخرة لنقل الآثار عبر النيل.

٢/ كيف كان التواصل مع المهندسين هنكل؟

كان التواصل بواسطة مترجم.

٣/ هل كان هنالك بعض الإصابات أثناء العمل؟

لا لم تكن هنالك أي إصابات.

٤/ ماهي المواد التي تم إستخدامها في ترحيل وإعادة بناء الآثار؟

الرافعات، العتلات والمواسير، الحبال، أخشاب المهوقني، حجارة الجبل التي إستخدامها في الأرضيات، حيث كنا نذهب إلى شمال أمدرمان في منطقة جبل كرري وجلبها من هناك. من الجدير بالذكر أن أغلب المواد التي تم إستخدامها في إعادة بناء المعابد لم يتم شرائها من السوق، بل كان أغلبها تم جلبها من منطقة أمدرمان ومن ثم تصنيعها في المتحف.

٦/ هل كان العمل صعباً و شاق ؟

نعم كان العمل صعب جداً وكنا نبذل جهداً كبيراً في نقل المواد وترحيبها من مكان لآخر، كما كان نبدأ العمل باكراً في الصباح الباكر جداً نسبة لسخونه الجو وبعد الأماكن التي كنا نجلب منها المواد.

٧/ هل كان هنالك تعاون وتعامل جيد بين العامل فيما بينهم والموظفين؟

نعم، كان هنالك تعاون ولم تكن هنالك أي مشاكل بينهم.

٨/ كم كانت فترة العمل؟

من ١٩٦٤م وحتى إفتتاح المتحف ١٩٧١م سبع سنوات عمل. بدأنا باعمدة فرس، معبد سمرة شروق وغرب، معبد بوهين ثم المعابد الصغيرة وأخيراً مقبرة جحيتو حتوب. كما قمنا بحفر البحيرة الإصطناعية وصيها بالخرصانة ووضع المشمع بها لحفظ الماء من التسرب، وأذكر أن المشمع البلاستيك كان محفوظ في المصنع وتم توزيعه للعمال الذين تأثرت منازلهم بالسيول والأمطار في ١٩٨٨م تقريباً. كما أذكر بعض أعمال الصيانة التي تمت في البحيرة والتي قام فيها العمال بنزع المشمع البلاستيك والذي تسبب في تسريب الماء منها، وكنت قد أخبرتهم بضرورة عدم نزعه.

٩/ كيف كان السكن والإقامة ؟

كانت هنالك مجموعة من العمال تسكن دخال المتحف والبقية كانت تسكن بالقرب منه.

١٠/ كيف كانت مشاهد اللوحات في المعابد عند نقلها وكيف هي الآن؟

كانت جميلة وواضحة ام الآن فأصبح كثير منها بدره، رملة خاصة في معبد بوهين .

١١/ هل كانت هنالك مراقبة ومراجعة سنوية يقوم بها هنكل؟

نعم كانت هناك متابعة كل سنة، وكنا نقوم بفتح المعابد وتنظيفها و عمل بعض أعمال الترميم.

١٢/ متى تم توقف عمليات المراقبة وفتح المعابد، هل قبل وفاة هنكل ام بعدها؟

قبل وفاة هنكل، تم وقف المراقبة وأعمال الترميم، و اخر مرة تم فيها فتح المعابد كان في فترة المدير أسامة في عام ١٩٨٩م وبعد ذهابه لم يتم فتحها.

١٣/ ماهو رايك في الوضع الحالي للآثار بعد كل هذه الفترة؟

يجب عمل شيء إتجاهها، لآب من ترميمها وإعادة فتح المعابد وتنظيفها.

INTERVIEW 14.

Date: 4th October 2015

Interviewee: Ahmed Mohamed Salih, a Nubian local inhabitant from Nubian Campaign region who refused the evacuation to the new resettlement. He described how Nubian people felt about the removal of their heritage, such as the temples, churches, mosques and archaeological materials as a result of construction of the High Dam.

Transcript

مقابلة رقم (١٤)

التاريخ: ٤ أكتوبر ٢٠١٥م

الشخص الذي أجريت معه المقابلة: أحمد محمد صالح سليمان (المجري - أحمد دهب)، أحد السكان المحليين النوبيين في منطقة النوبة السودانية، من مواطني مدينة وادي حلفا القديمة الذين لم يستجيبوا إلى التهجير القسري والإخلاء إلى منطقة إعادة التوطين الجديدة. وصف من خلال المقابلة شعور الشعب النوبي تجاه تهجيريه وضياع تراثه وإرثه من المواد الأثرية والإثنوغرافية وغيرها من معابد وكنائس ومساجد نتيجة لقيام السد العالي.

نص مادة المقابلات

الغرض من الدراسة هو تقييم تجربة إنقاذ آثار النوبة السفلى، فيما يتعلق بجانب التهجير القسري لسكان منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة بعد مرور أكثر من ٥٠ عاماً على تهجيرهم، ومن ثم الوقوف على نتائج التجربة وماهي الفائدة التي جناها الشعب السوداني من هذه التجربة.

١/ هل من الممكن أن تحدثنا عن فترة التهجير لسكان منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة التي عشتها، وكيف كان المشهد ووقع الخبر عليكم في ذلك الوقت؟

بعض نضوج فكرة بناء السد العالي بأسوان في خمسينات القرن العشرين، كان لزاماً على الحكومة المصرية إقناع الحكومة السودانية بالسماح لها بتنفيذ هذا المشروع، والذي كان يعتبر النجاة والخلاص للشعب المصري. في ذلك الوقت كان السودان قد حصل على إستقلالة وشكل أول حكومة وطنية له. عندها ذكر عبد الله خليل (رئيسا الوزراء وقتها) للحكومة المصرية " أن قرار قبول التهجير ورفضه خاضع لسكان المنطقة، كما أن مكان التهجير وقيمة التعويضات المناسبة تخضع لتقديراتهم. بالإضافة إلى إختبار إراضي مناطق التهجير من جانب خصوبة الأراضي الزراعية وإنتاجها بعد تجربة زراعتها بأنفسهم". كان ذلك بمسابقة تعجيز أو رفض صريح لتهجير سكان وادي حلفا من قبل الحكومة السودانية آنذاك، ولكن بعد أن تقلدت حكومة عبود العسكرية عام ١٩٥٨ الحكم في السودان، قبلت بقيام السد العالي والتهجير القسري لسكان منطقة وادي حلفا.

كما أُرِدفت حكومة عبد الله خليل فيما يتعلق بجانب التعويضات إذا قبل السكان بالتهجير، إنه يجب على الحكومة المصرية أن تقوم ببناء مساكن بمواصفات مرضية للسكان المهجرين، مع دفع مبالغ مالية لهم من الحكومة المصرية تقدر بقيمة ٢٠ مليون جنية سوداني آنذاك، لكن حكومة عبود قبلت بقيمة ١٥ مليون جنية سوداني فقط لتعويض السكان كما تم دفع ٧ مليون جنية سوداني فقط منها، ولم يتم دفع بقية المبلغ. أنا أعتقد أن الفكرة كانت أن يضحي السودان بارضة وبيع منطقة وادي حلفا للحكومة المصرية.

كان خبر الإتفاق بين حكومة السودان ومصر، على قيام السد وتهجير سكان وادي حلفا القديمة قسرياً كارثياً على السكان. مما أدى إلى نشوء الخلافات بين السكان والحكومة، بسبب إجبارهم على الهجرة إلى منطقة خشم القربة (حلفا الجديدة).

أساساً، عندما تم إنشاء خزان خشم القربة في منطقة شرق السودان، كان الغرض منه توطين العرب الرحل (سكان منطقة البطانة) ولكن لتزامن ذلك الحدث مع قيام إتفاقية السد العالي بين مصر والسودان، رأت الحكومة السودانية بأن من الأفضل أن يرحل سكان منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة إلى منطقة خشم القربة بدلاً عن سكان منطقة البطانة. عندها تم تكوين (مصلحة التوطين - معتمد التوطين في حلفا الجديدة ومعتمد الهجرة في حلفا القديمة) بدأ العمل بتكوين لجنة التعويضات التي تتكون من وفود من المناطق المتضررة بقيام السد، حيث تختار كل منطقة ممثلين لها يتراوح عددهم ما بين ٧-٨ أشخاص ليشكلوا حلقة وصل بين سكان المنطقة والحكومة. كان على تلك اللجان إختيار منطقة واحدة من خمس مناطق مقترحة للتهجير، و هي:

- شمال الخرطوم،
- وادي الخوى،
- السليم،
- جنوب الخرطوم،
- خشم القربة.

في بداية الأمر كان يجب على اللجان إختيار المنطقة المناسبة لهم، وعند قبولهم بها سوف يتم ترحيلهم إليها. عليه قامت اللجان بزيارة المناطق لتحديد الإختيار، وعند زيارة منطقة خشم القربة، وجدوا إنها منطقة ذات طبيعة ومناخ لا تتناسب مع طبيعة وأجواء سكان وادي حلفا، لذلك تم إختيار منطقة شمال الخرطوم للترحيل. على الرغم من أن إختيار اللجنة كان لمنطقة شمال الخرطوم إلا أن الحكومة (حكومة عبود) وقتها كانت قد فرغت من إنشاء خزان خشم القربة وبعض المشاريع المصاحبة له، فرفضت القبول برغبة السكان في الهجرة إلى منطقة شمال الخرطوم، وعندها نشأت الخلافات. وربما هذا هو السبب الأساسي للخلاف مع الحكومة. قامت الحكومة بعدها بالشروع في العمل بتعداد وحصر المنازل والأسر، ثم الممتلكات من أراضي زراعية وأشجار مثمرة وعقارات وغيرها، وذلك لتقدير التعويضات و التي تم تقسيمها إلى تعويض مادي:

- يختص بقيمة الأشجار المثمرة والعقارات دون المنازل،

ثم تعويض عيني:

- متمثل في المنازل والأراضي الزراعية التي كان يجب إستلامها في منطقة خشم القربة بعد تنفيذ أمر التهجير.

كان هنالك مجموعة من السكان قد رفضوا فكرة الهجرة بالكامل وفضلوا البقاء في المنطقة، كما كانت هنالك مجموعة رفضت التهجير إلى منطقة خشم القربة وطالبوا بالتعويضات عن أراضيهم وعقاراتهم ومنازلهم وأشجار النخيل، ثم تركهم أحراراً في الهجرة إلى أي مكان يفضلونه. لكن لجنة الحكومة إشتربت على أولئك الذين يرغبون في الحصول على تعويضات عن أراضيهم الزراعية عليهم أن يذهبوا إلى منطقة خشم القربة حلفا الجديدة لإستلامها بعد تهجيرهم. كما وأصلت الحكومة في ضغوطها على السكان الراضين للتهجير، بالجام أصواتهم من خلال التلويح بقطع خط السكة حديد الرابط بين منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة و الخرطوم، عند محطة نمره ١٠، كأول كروت الضغط التي مارسها الحكومة. بالإضافة إلى إنشاء نقطة تفتيش على الطريق البري المتاخم للنيل عند منطقة السكوت (الجبيل والنيل) وذلك بغرض التحكم في دخول وخروج العربات القادمة من وإلى منطقة وادي حلفا. كان ذلك بغرض فرض حصار على المنطقة لإستسلام أهلها للتهجير.

كانت عملية التهجير على مراحل ومستويات عديدة، إلا أن إصرار السكان على البقاء في المنطقة كان كبيراً، فقد إتحدوا في مواجهة المشكلة من خلال تجميع أموال من كل البيوت، ثم شراء سيارتين لجلب المواد الغذائية بكميات كبيرة ووضعها في مخازن. كما كونا جمعية تعاونية لا تزال موجودة قامت بتوفير الدواء المطلوب، خاصة للأمراض المزمنة والمستعصية. عندها لجأت الحكومة إلى خلق بعض الفتن بين سكان وادي حلفا الأصليين وبعض المجموعات الوافدة، التي تأتي من صعيد مصر للعمل في الزراعة في المنطقة، مثل؛ (البصالة) إنهم مصريون كانوا يعيشون في منطقة وادي حلفا وكانوا يتغيرون من فترة لأخرة مع مواسم الزراعة. قامت الحكومة السودانية باغرائهم ومنحهم الجنسية السودانية وتهجيرهم إلى منطقة حلفا الجديدة ولا يزالوا موجودين حتى الآن.

٢/ كيف كان تمسككم بالبقاء في المنطقة بعد ترحيل أهلكم؟

كانت خطة التهجير قد قسمت إلى ثلاثة مراحل حسب تزايد مياه البحيرة، حيث كان السكان الراضين للتهجير يتنقلون من مكان إلى مكان مع فيضان البحيرة، في متابعة حزره لإرتفاع منسوب النيل. كما كانوا يبنون منازلهم الطينية في الأماكن المرتفعة عن الماء التي كانت خلفهم مباشرة. مع تزايد الضغوطات من الحكومة وتضييق الخنان على الراضين للتهجير، نشأت بعد الخلافات بين السكان و تصاعد القلق عندهم، فأصبح الشغل الشاغل لهم يدور حول ما هو مصير أبنائهم في المستقبل، وكيف يمكنهم أن يواجهوا كل تلك الصعاب، و نتيجة لذلك نشأت الجمعية التعاونية. كان هنالك تضامن من أبناء المنطقة الذين كانوا يعملون في الخرطوم وعطبرة من معلمين وأطباء وغيرهم، الذين قدموا إستقالاتهم من العمل وجاءوا لتعليم إخوانهم وفتح المستشفى التي تم بناءها من المواد المتبقية

من السكة حديد، و لحسن الحظ لم تكن هنالك أمراض خطيرة في المنطقة. ولحسن الحظ وقبل أن يتم ترحيل آخر دفعة من السكان، قامت ثورة ٢١ أكتوبر المجيدة، والتي تزامنت مع قيامها تعبئة السكان في العسيان المدني ورفض الترحيل لما تبقى منهم. عندها أجبر عبود على حل الحكومة وتكوين حكومة إنتقالية. تم إدراج بعض الأفراد من مواطني سكان حلفا القديمة في تلك الحكومة الإنتقالية، وأذكر منهم على سبيل المثال: في مجلس الوزراء كان صالح محمود إسماعيل، داؤود عبد اللطيف، محمد توفيق، سر الختم الخليفة الذي كان عميد كلية التربية في الدويم. كل هؤلاء كانوا من أبناءنا الرافضين لعملية التهجير ويمثلوا أهل منطقة وادي حلفا في الحكومة الإنتقالية. لذلك كان من الصعبة على الحكومة إجبار ما تبقى من السكان على الترحيل خاصة أن هنالك بعض من أبنائهم في الحكم، و الذين لاحقاً سعوا إلى تخطيط المنطقة والشروع في توفير الخدمات بها، وكانت الهتافات (القضيب ما حيتشال و راح التهديد). كما أذكر من الضغوطات أن جمال عبد الناصر قام بتوقيف البواخر التي كانت تأتي إلى منطقة وأدي حلفا، ومن ثم تم نقل البواخر السودانية لمنطقة الخرطوم وكريمة، إلا أن (أزبوني منديري الجنوبي)¹⁴³ الذي كان عضواً في المجلس التنفيذي، كان قد ذهب إلى مصر وهدد حكومتها قائلاً لهم: "إنهم يجب عليهم أن يعيدوا تشغيل الباخرة وإلا سوف يتم إخطار الأمم المتحدة رسمياً بأن هنالك سكان عالقون في منطقة وادي حلفا".

٣/ كم كان عدد السكان الذين رفضوا الهجرة؟

حوالي ٥٠ أسرة فقط، وهو عدد السكان الذين رفضوا التهجير وأصروا على البقاء في المنطقة، على الرغم من كل التحديات التي كانت تواجههم، والتي كانت أسوأها قرار الحكومة بإنها تريد أن يكون المكان خالياً من السكان، ليتم استثماره وعمله مدينة سياحية، وقد تم تسرب بعض الخرائط لتلك المشاريع. وصفوه السكان هذا الأمر بأنه ربما إحتلال لتلك المناطق من قبل الحكومة المصرية، التي رفضت دفع الجزء الثاني من التعويضات لحكومة السودان، وذلك لرفض تلك الأسر التهجير والبقاء حول المنطقة. كما كانت هنالك رسائل تهديد فهنالك من أرسل إلينا ليخبرنا بأننا قد نكون ظلمنا أنفسنا بعدم القبول بالهجرة فكلهم يتمتعون بالتعويضات والحياة الكريمة في منطقة حلفا الجديدة. كما كان هنالك تهديد بمنشورات وإنهم سوف يستخدموا القوة ضدنا، وللأسف لم تكن هنالك حكومة قد أولتنا الإهتمام طيلة تلك الفترات السابقة، حتى أن جاءت حكومة الإنقاذ. وربما كان أن يكون وصمت عارٍ في جبين كل السودانين إذا تم إحتلال تلك المناطق من قبل الحكومة المصرية. فقد كان صمودنا ورفضنا للتهجير سبب في إفشال مخطط الحكومة المصرية وإغضابها وغيظ رئيسها جمال عبد الناصر. فقد أنتج هذا الصمود ثقافة شفاهية ظهرت ملامحها في الأغاني التي كانت تندد بالمخططات والأجندة الخفية من قبل الحكومة المصرية والسودانية، كما عبرت عن المأساة التي كان يعيشها أهل المنطقة نتيجة لتهجيرهم القسري. فكانوا يقيمون الأفراح الوهمية لأخبار المواطنين وتوعيتهم بعواقب تلك المخططات. أتذكر أيضاً أن الحكومة كانت قد خططت لجلب مصريين للعمل في أراضينا الزراعية في منطقة أرقين، بالقرب من درب الأربعين، مقابل تأجيرها لهم وأخذهم الإنتاج، لكن السكان رفضوا بسبب تفشي مرض البلهارسيا في منطقة حلفا القديمة.

٤/ ما هي المصادر التي كان يعيش عليها سكان وادي حلفا الذين أصروا على البقاء في المنطقة، و هل كان هنالك مساحات كافية لزراعة الحبوب والخضروات ؟

إنحصرت المصادر التي كان يعيش عليها سكان وادي حلفا الرافضين للتهجير في؛ التجارة وصيد الأسماك وتصديرها للمناطق الأخرى عن طريق القطار، مع زراعة بعض الخضروات على الأراضي الصغيرة حول مجري النيل. بالإضافة إلى بعض الإعانات المالية التي كانت تأتي من بعض أبناء تلك الأسر، الذين كانوا يعملون في الخرطوم وعطبرة وغيرها مع ما تم تخزينه من مواد غذائية قبل التهجير. لكن كان الهم الشاغل هو مستقبل أبناءهم من حيث التعليم والصحة وغيرها. فكان الحل هو التعاون والتضامن الذين تم من قبل بعض المعلمين الذين تركوا وظائفهم في العاصمة وعطبرة وجاءوا لتعليم أبناء أهلهم والمحافظة على أراضيهم. وهم يعتقدون أن بقائهم في المنطقة قد ساهم في الحفاظ على الحدود السودانية من تعديات الحكومة المصرية المستمرة عليها. نحنا نعتبر أنفسنا حماة للحدود وربما واحدة من أسباب وفاة جمال عبد الناصر هي صدمته بعد حرب النكسة وعدم قدرته على الحصول على منطقة وادي حلفا.

٥/ هل هنالك جزء من سكان وادي حلفا فضلوا الذهاب والعيش في مصر عن التهجير لمنطقة خشم القربة ؟

¹⁴³ - أزبوني منديري: كان عضو المجلس التنفيذي، من قبيلة المورو بالمديرية الاستوائية، درس المدرسة الثانوية في يوغندا، وتخرج من جامعة الخرطوم وعمل لستينين مع شركة (شل)، ثم تم سجنه لدوره في تمرد الجنوب. وبعد ثورة أكتوبر سنة ١٩٦٤م، شغل منصب وزير المواصلات والطرق، وفي سنة ١٩٦٥م، هرب إلى الغابة، حيث عمل في الجناح العسكري للتمرد.

نعم، وأغلبهم من قبيلة الكنوز.
ويعتبر إصرارنا هو الحامي للحدود! فلم يكن هنالك أي جيش وكانت هنالك فقط الشرطة بعد ثورة أكتوبر، ام الجيش فقد جاء حديثاً.
كما كانت الآثار تؤخذ بالبوخر وكانت هنالك خرائط توضح أماكن الآثار.

٦/ هل كانت هنالك كهرباء توفرت في المنطقة بعد قيام السد؟

لا، لم يكن هنالك أي كهرباء، وكنا نستخدم (البوابير) المولدات فقط لتوليد الكهرباء و جلب الماء من النيل. علماً بأن واحدة من بنود إتفاقية التهجير كانت ضرورة إستفادة ماتبقي من منطقة وادي حلفا من الكهرباء. لكن الآن الحمد لله جاءت الكهرباء والماء وتم تفعيل عمل الميناء بمنطقة وادي حلفا القديمة.

٨/ كيف كانت الحياة بالنسبة للسكان الذين تم تهجيرهم لمنطقة خشم القربة ؟

فتكت بهم الأمراض مثل: البلهارسيا والملاريا وهي أمراض لم يعرفونها من قبل، فلم تكون موجوده في منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة. ومن أسبابها مياه ري المشاريع الزراعية (الترع) التي معظمها موبوءة بالبلهارسيا. فكنا نرسل لهم الدواء و الأمصال من الإمدادات الطبية في مستشفى وادي حلفا القديمة الذي تم تجهيزه بالعون الذاتي من السكان الذين رفضوا التهجير. وهنالك بعض الأسرة رجعت إلى منطقة وادي حلفا ولا يزال هنالك من يرغب في الرجوع. الماء مشكلة كبيره فكانوا يشربون من

الترع والأبار (الصهاريج). بالإضافة إلى مادة الاسبستوس¹⁴⁴ التي تم سقف المنازل بها وهي تحتوي على مواد سامة تسبب السرطان، والتي استخدمت في سقوف منازل التعويضات. وأغلب الشباب في منطقة خشم القربة يعانون من أمراض مزمنة وخطيرة مثل: الفشل الكلوي نتيجة لتلك المواد.

٩/ هل كان هنالك إرتباط بالسوق الخارجي في التبادل التجاري للسكان الذي رفضوا التهجير ؟

نعم، أغلب العاملين كانوا يذهبون إلى الخرطوم.

١٠/ هل كان هنالك عدد كافي من المستشفيات في منطقة خشم القربة؟

لا، فقد كانت هنالك فقط مستشفى واحدة لكل قري المهجرين، بالإضافة إلى طريق الأسفلت الوحيد.

١١/ كيف كانت مشاكل التعويضات؟

حسن دفع الله كان هو الشخص المسئول عن التهجير.
أنا على سبيل المثال كمواطن غمرت أرضي بالمياه كان من حقي أن يتم تعويضتي، إلا أنني لم أستلم تعويضتي في الأراضي الزراعية، لأن القرار كان يجب أن أستلمها بعد تهجري إلى منطقة حلفا الجديدة. كانت مساحة الحواشات الأراضي الزراعية ٥ فدان، وهي لا تملك لأي شخص، بمعنى إذا زرعت تأخذ إنتاجك وإذا لم تزرع تصادر منك الأرض وتعطي لشخص آخر. كما كان لا يسمح للسكان المهجرين بتسديد أي جمعية تعاونية، وكانت هنالك إعتقالات ومظاهرات، وكان التسديد للنشاطات الإجتماعية يتم فقط للأشخاص

144 - التأثيرات الصحية للأسبست:

خطورة الأسبست تكمن في نوع المواد المعدنية الموجودة فيه وتعتمد تأثيراته الصحية على الفترة الزمنية التي يتعرض فيها الإنسان لغياب ألياف الأسبست، وكذلك على عدد الألياف وطولها ومتانتها. فقد تبين وجود علاقة وثيقة بين الفترة الزمنية للتعرض لألياف الأسبست وشدة التعرض وبين التأثيرات السلبية على صحة الإنسان، إذ تظهر أعراض المرض بعد التعرض المزمّن لألياف الأسبست الذي قد يصل إلى أكثر من ٢٠ سنة. نتيجة لذلك يصاب الشخص بداء الأسبستوس وهو مرض رئوي مزمن يحدث بسبب استنشاق ألياف الأسبستوس. ومن أسباب الاصابة به هو التعرض للتعرض لهذه الألياف لفترة طويلة التي تعمل على تنذّب أنسجة الرئة وضيق التنفس. تتراوح أعراض داء الأسبستوس ما بين البسيطة إلى الحادة، ولا تظهر عادة إلا بعد عدة سنوات من التعرض الأولي. وقد صنفت الوكالة الدولية لأبحاث السرطان وهي تابعة لمنظمة الصحة العالمية أن الأسبست مادة مسرطنة، إذ أن تراكم ألياف الأسبست في الرئة يؤدي إلى سرطان الرئة.

<https://www.mayoclinic.org/ar/diseases-conditions/asbestosis/symptoms-causes/syc-20354637> [access on 10. 9.2023]

الذين لم يكن لهم أي ظهور سياسي. كما ظهرت بعض المشاكل القبلية بين المجموعات السكانية التي كانت تقيم في منطقة خشم القربة مثل: قبيلة (الشكرية) وبين المهاجرين من وادي حلفا (الحلفاويين) الذين شكلوا جمعية زراعية لأبناء حلفا، كانت معنية بحل مشكلات المزارعين الذين تم تهجيرهم من منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة، و التي أصبحت تابعة لإتحاد الفلاحين و المزارعين. لكن تم الإستيلاء عليها من قبل (الشكرية) بسبب مطالبتهم بحق إدارة هذه الجمعية على ان تتم (زراعتها سنة فول سنة قطن). كما كانت (الحواشات) الأراضي الزراعية ملك الحكومة، أما الأراضي الخاصة فكانت خاصة بالمهجرين. علماً بأن سكان حلفا القديمة لم يكن أغلبهم مزارعين ولكن أجبروا و أبنائهم على الزراعة وإلا سوف يتم نزع الأراضي منهم و إرجاعها إلى سكان المنطقة الأصليين (البجا) فهم يعرفون بأن تلك الأراضي كانت أراضي قبائل البجا.

١٢ / كيف كان الترابط بين المنطقتين؟

لم ينقطع التواصل بين السكان الذين رفضوا التهجر والذين تم تهجيرهم، فمازال هنالك تزواج وتواصل ومثال لذلك: أنا شخصياً أسرتي منقسمة بين المنطقتين، أخواتي النساء في حلفا الجديدة و البقية في حلفا القديمة ولا يزال هنالك تواصل، ومعظم الناس الذين أعيد توطينهم في حلفا الجديدة تم إغواءهم بالمال والأرض. الآن مرت ٥١ عاماً على التهجير ومازالت منازل المهجرين كما هي: المنازل تحتوي على غرفتين وفرندة وليس هنالك إمكانية للتوسع في المنطقة، خاصة مع الوضع الاقتصادي الحالي. فلم تكن هنالك خطة مستقبلية متعلقة بالسكن، وذلك نسبة لعدم وجود أماكن للتوسع في المنطقة، خاصة بالنسبة للأجيال الجديدة لأن التعويضات لم تضع إعتباراً لذلك (كانت العين بالعين لكن ليس هنالك اعتبار للأبناء والتوسع السكني).

١٣ / هل كنت متزوجاً في ذلك الوقت؟

نعم، أنا كنت متزوجاً في فترة التهجير ومازلت أمتلك أرضاً في منطقة خشم القربة لكنني رفضت التهجير وفضلت البقاء في منطقة حلفا القديمة فلم أستلمها.

١٤ / هل كان هنالك لجان تم تكوينها كانت تعلم على توعية السكان بأهمية الآثار بالمنطقة وضرورة المحافظة عليها؟

كانت هنالك ٥ لجان تم إنتخابها من السكان، ولكن كان الأمر عبارة عن مشاركة وهمية فقط، على الرغم من أن أغلب اللجان أجمعت برفض الترحيل إلى منطقة خشم القربة. كان هنالك متحف وادي حلفا وملابس عثمان دقنه كانت في المتحف، وكنا نذهب لمنطقة بوهين وأبوسمبل للزيارة وهنالك بيوت للفراغة وجدت تحت الأرض وفي بوهين كان هنالك خفرا متواجدين. هنالك بعض القصائد التي وصفت الحال في ذلك الوقت منها قصيدة؛ الدمة الأولى والثانية، كان شاعرهما من منطقة أرقين و مدير مدرسة ثانوية.

بوهين جد النوبة وهنالك قائد من ملوك النوبة الذين أرقوا العالم بقوتهم وهل تختفي

أماكن ترهاقا وباكان وباقي ملوك عظام دوخوا الأرض كلها
أحق عباد الله حلفا سوف تختفي ويخرجوا منها أهلها وعشيرها
وهل تختفي آثارها دون ناقلين وتعلوا مياه النيل فوق جبالها
أنا وليقف قطار الأسى في دبيرة لان يروي بالدموع شهابها و ترابها (وهو أول قطار أخذ السكان من الشمال)
دبيرة والجنات فيها كثيرة وهل تلكم الجنات تنتضب حظها
أشكيت ذات الباسقات نخيلها فهل أجهضت تلك النخيل جنينها
(فهو من منطقة أرقين غرب حلفا)

أرقين يا الله مرتع الصبا عواطفنا مدفونة في رمالها
أماكن أمجاد ومسرحة طفولتي ومقبر أجداد كرام أصولها
حلفا دغيم هل بكت نعس سادها حدائقها الغناء غابات نخيلها
كتب عن بوهين من خلال القائد والأب.

١٥ / كيف تبدو مدينة حلفا القديمة اليوم؟

تمام، وهناك كهرباء و طرق و بنايات والبيوت شامخة.

١٦ / هل هنالك بعض الأراضي التي ظهرت نتيجة حجز مياه سد مروي في البحيرة الجديدة؟

نعم. فنالك مشاريع سدود مقترحة و مياه كثيرة لم نستفيد منها.

١٧ / هل هنالك جزر ظهرت في منطقة حلفا القديمة نتيجة لقيام خزان سد مروي؟

نعم، ظهرت بعد الجزر والتي تم الاستفادة منها وأصبح سكان المنطقة يزرعونها بسبب تراكم الطمي بها وإنتاجها الزراعي الممتاز. فقد أصبحت فرصة لكل من لديه إمكانيات من السكان للزراعة وتربية الماشية في تلك الجزر مثل: جعفر داوود وغيره من أصحاب المشاريع و السماكة والمزارعين الذين أصبحوا يغذون سوق حلفا، وليس هنالك أي اعتراض أو خلاف بين السكان في زراعة تلك الجزر. أيضا الآن أصبح هنالك إمتداد للمرسى- الرصيف القديم والجديد، بعد قيام سد مروي وتوسعت المنطقة في الجزء الجنوبي لإنحسار المياه، كما وصلت الكهرباء من سد مروي للمنطقة. الآن هنالك هجرة عكسية إلى مناطق قسطل وأبو سميل، فقد قامت الحكومة المصرية بإعادة تشييد بعد المرافق الخدمية في تلك القرى لإستقطاب بعد السكان للرجوع والسكن مرة أخرى بالقرب من المناطق التي غمرت بالمياه. علما بأن المسافة بين حلفا وأسوان ٣١٥ كيلومتر وبين أسوان ومصر ١٢٠٠ كيلومتر، معظم العادات والتقاليد واللغة والملابس متشابهة ومثال لذلك قبيلة الكنوز التي تزوجت مع الحلفاويين ومازال هنالك تواصل بينهم، وكانوا يدفنون أمواتهم في حلفا القديمة. كما كان سكان وادي حلفا القديمة يقولوا للقطار الذي يأتي من الخرطوم إنه آتي من السودان.

١٨ / متى توصل السكان بأن منطقة حلفا الجديدة خشم القرية ليست جيدة؟

في السنوات الأولى بعد التهجير لم تكن الحقيقة واضحة بالنسبة للمزارعين، ولكن بعد مرور عدة سنوات لوحظ أن إنتاجية الأراضي الزراعية البكر قد إنخفضت، على الرغم من أن إنتاجها في البداية كان وفيرا للغاية، ولكن سرعان ما تراجع الإنتاج وانتشرت الأمراض في المنطقة. كما إن إقتناع الحكومة بعد ثورة ٢١ أكتوبر ١٩٦٤م بوجود بعض السكان الأصليين الذين رفضوا التهجير في منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة حفز أهلهم المهجرين إلى الرجوع خوفا من تفاقم الأمراض.

١٩ / هل أنت راضي عن التهجير الذي تم؟

لا، لم أكن راضي وإثباتاً لذلك أنني رفضت التهجير وفضلت البقاء في أرض أجدادي.

٢٠ / حتى بعد مرور ٥١ عاماً لا تزال غير راض عن ذلك التهجير؟

نعم لم أرضى لأن هنالك ضرر أحل بي والسبب في ذلك: أنا على سبيل المثال لم أرى أخي خلال ٥١ عاماً إلا كل سنة أو سنتين، وأتمنى أن أرى كل الأهل مع بعضهم البعض وأكون بالقرب منهم بالقرب من كل الأسرة.

٢١ / ما هو رأيك في كل ما حدث نتيجة للتهجير القسري لسكان منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة؟

حتى يومنا هذا لم يسلم سكان منطقة وادي حلفا القديمة مما حدث، وأنا حتى الآن إذا نمت أشعر بأنني أنام في حلفا القديمة التي غمرت تحت الماء، بمعنى أن الأجيال التي عاشت فترة التهجير من الكبار لا زال فؤادهم وقلوبهم معلق بمنطقة وادي حلفا القديمة التي غمرت تحت الماء، وهنالك من مات بالغين قبل التهجير.

مازلت ذكريات مناظر أشجار النخيل بالقرب من النيل والتمر، واستحمامنا في النيل وأكل ثمار التمر هندي وغيرها من ثمار. كل حياتنا كانت مرتبطة بشكل مباشر بالنيل، فما زال حتي الآن هنالك من يحلمون ويكون على تلك الأطلال. سوق حلفا والمباني الكثير الخرسانية التي لا تزال قائمة تحت الماء، و التي كنا نشاهد بعضها عند فتح الخزان وإنحسار المياه مثل؛ مطار حلفا ومئذنة مسجد

وادي حلفا. أنا لا أقبل بالسكن في الخرطوم، إن التهجير لازلت له سلبية تؤثر في شخصية الإنسان السوداني، فهو لا زال ينام ويحلم بوطنه القديم.
المثل يقول: "إذا تركت أمك للرجال لا تترك أرضك للرجال" فالأرض كنز وتاريخ، ونحن من رفضنا أن نستسلم لأمر التهجير. كما كان نخشى من أن يقال بأن (الحفاوين) قد فرطوا في أرضهم من بعض القبائل السودانية.

٢٢ / هل تسافر إلى حلفا الجديدة باستمرار؟

نعم أذهب الي المناسبات الأفراح والأفراح.

٢٣ / هل تتأثر عندما تذهب إلى حلفا الجديدة؟

بكل تأكيد فقد كنت مهندس ميكانيكي أعمل في القطار والتهجير وعاشت كل ذلك.
هل تعلم أن أبناء أختي لا أعرفهم، وهم لا يعرفوني، وإذا قابلتهم لا يعرفوني إلا بعد أن أعرفهم بنفسي. أنا أقول أن المجرم الأول هو عبد الناصر، ثم عيود، والمجرم الثالث هم الذين وافقوا على تهجيرهم وهذه تعتبر جريمة، فإذا لم يقبلوا لماكان ذلك حدث. فقد كنا نصلي و نسبح في المساجد وندعو ربنا أن يعيينا على هؤلاء الذين يريدون تهجيرنا من أرضنا!
أحمد محمد صالح سليمان (المجري) أحمد دهب، محمد طه دهب، وهذا لغب عائلة الوالده، فنحن الحفاويين ننادي أولادنا بأسماء عائلات أمهاتهم مما يعني أن المرأة لها وزنها في المجتمع الحفاوي.