EXPLORING AVAILABILITY FOR CONTEMPORARY NUBIAN PEOPLE TO ACCESS THEIR CULTURAL HISTORY AND REMOVED HERITAGE

A case study based on Egyptian Nubians, discussing the access they have to their heritage which is curated outside of Egypt, learning about their history, and preservation of memories about a past life.

Submitted by Claire Margaret Nicholas to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Archaeology, April 2017.

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(Signature) ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
ABSTRACT

This project examines the access Egyptian Nubian people have to published and curated knowledge about their history and culture, culminating in discussing whether such access is sufficient.

Seventy-two museums around the world were found to have Nubian artefacts in their collections. Museum staff were asked approximately how many Nubian pieces they had, together with the period represented and percentage on display. Their websites were then checked to identify the amount of information available online, and how much of this was in Arabic.

In order to discuss the hypothesis that people in Europe and the United States had access to more information about Nubia than the Nubian people did themselves, a study into selected UK universities was conducted. Fifty-eight universities were identified as offering relevant courses. Their library catalogues were searched to determine how many titles relating to Nubia they held, resulting in 340 books being identified, which reduced to 188 once the duplicates were removed.

Initial research into the number of books about Nubia printed in Arabic and available in Egypt found fewer than 20 titles, thereby proving the hypothesis to be justified.

Field research consisted of interviewing five elderly Egyptian Nubian people, to record and archive their memories of life in Old Nubia before the land was permanently lost as a result of building the Aswan High Dam. The recordings and transcripts, along with details of publications and museums with Nubian artefacts, are available on a website created with the Nubian people in mind (www.whithernubia.co.uk). Ultimately the research material will be stored at Open Research Exeter (ORE) to benefit researchers.

The impact of these research findings are discussed in the final chapter, after Chapter 6 discusses how many other populations might be similarly affected by a potential language difficulty when accessing information about their removed heritage.
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DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

The term ‘Nubia’ should be used with care when conducting searches on the internet, as it is used by businesses and people with no connection to the land or culture of Nubia, possibly because it is seen as an effective marketing name. Google searches have identified businesses such as pet grooming, cosmetic products, publishing and career guidance, but not relating to Nubian people. There was also a dance programme called Nubian Steps, albeit with no apparent connection to Nubia (Gray, 2001).

A company called Nubia markets smartphones in Russia (Nubia.com/ru/), which is the probable explanation for a surprising interest from Russia in the ‘Whither Nubia’ website.

The term ‘Nubian’ is sometimes adopted by African-Americans who wish to give a recognised heritage to their name. However, there is no evidence of an actual cultural connection. The term ‘Nubian’ has on occasion been used as a substitute for ‘negroid’, as shown in an article which initially suggests evidence of ancient Nubians having been found in Mexico (Roman 2012, 6) – in a similar way to ‘Ethiopian’ having been used by classic writers and some Victorian travellers to describe anyone with black-coloured skins (Morkot 2000, 2).

The museum in Aswan created to preserve and display the artefacts salvaged from Nubia during the UNESCO campaign of the 1960s is referred to as Nubia Museum or Nubian Museum in varying literature. The latter term is used throughout this thesis, unless it is being used as a quote or title of a publication which specifically employed the former term.

As explained on page 70, the lake created as a result of the Aswan High Dam has two names – Lake Nasser in Egypt, and Lake Nubia in Sudan. Also discussed in Chapter 3 is the variety of terms relating to Nubia, depending on the era and geography. Due to the extent of the research, it has not been possible to adopt a consistent usage of the same area or period throughout; if this affects when used in comparisons, an explanation is given.

Although there has been an aim to avoid offensive terminology, some terms prior to the current form of acceptable vocabulary have been used as they relate to the original text being cited. This has resulted in inconsistency in some
sections, where citations are used amongst passages that apply contemporary phrasing.

P1: Map of Ancient Nubia
P2: Map of modern Nubia
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter includes:

- Background to the research
- Justification for this particular project
- Involvement of Nubian people and the University of Exeter
- Hypotheses
- Research synopsis
- Literature review
- Aims of the research
- Constraints of the research
- Communicating the results
- Description of following chapters

1.1 Background to the research

As for so many people, I became aware of, and interested in, Nubia and its people via a holiday in Egypt, after which an interest in the country’s history became a focus of study. Having completed the Diploma in Egyptology with Birkbeck College (University of London), I was able to concentrate my research for a dissertation in Nubian monuments and gain an MA in Egyptian Archaeology (University College London), which is briefly summarised here to explain how this grew into the current research.

The research behind the MA degree concentrated on two hypotheses:

- That housing structural artefacts in overseas museums extends knowledge of the original structure to a wider audience;
- That appreciation of Nubian culture is more strongly displayed by people from countries that house a Nubian temple, indicating easier access results in improved appreciation.

Egyptian Nubia provided good material for the case-study, as research could be conducted contrasting four Nubian temples in Europe and US with temples in Egypt. In each case, visitors were asked to complete a questionnaire, addressing what their understanding of Nubia and its culture was before they visited the tourist attraction, and what they felt they had learned having seen it. An online survey was conducted with the wider public to ascertain general
opinions on whether structures should be moved away from their original site, their knowledge of Nubia, and whether they had been to Egypt and/or Sudan.

In addition to the main research, interviews were conducted with key people such as the Director of the Nubian Museum in Aswan, the UNESCO representative in Cairo, and Nubian people on how they felt about the removal of their heritage, such as the temples being studied.

The aim of the research was to collect sufficient feedback from visitors to Nubian temples in Egypt (that is, those relatively in-situ as, although moved to higher ground, they are still close to their original site), and from visitors to Nubian temples elsewhere, which could then be compared.

The online survey produced 380 responses, including some useful and interesting comments. The visitors’ survey yielded 126 results, and a survey conducted amongst local experts such as tour guides provided a different perspective.

The comparisons determined to what extent it mattered (according to the level of interest and knowledge) if the heritage had been exported or whether it was still in its homeland. Comparisons were also drawn between the nationalities of the tourists, and the countries that house a Nubian temple against those that do not. Similarly, comparisons were drawn between tourists, students, professionals and locals.

The overall number of responses deemed the surveys to have been successfully executed. However, the way the results were divided gave insufficient validation to prove or otherwise either hypothesis. The overall conclusion was that more research was required, although some useful findings had been made.

The project’s research centred in public archaeology and was the first time such a study had been conducted. The dissertation has been published as “Moving monuments: can heritage be exported and still be appreciated?”

In addition to the main reason for the research, some unexpected feedback was received which was immediately flagged as potential for a higher degree (discussed in 1.2) and has provided the core for this MPhil. The focus of the MA was on temple visitors, which shifted to locals for the current degree. The aim of
this new research is to identify in what way the Nubian people could feel reunited with their tangible heritage situated elsewhere, and preserve the traditions that are fading from daily life and, eventually, from memory.

1.2 Justification for this particular project

Discussions with Egyptian Nubians during my research for the MA in Egyptian Archaeology yielded the following two comments, neither of which were included in the Masters’ dissertation and are therefore used as new information to form the basis for conducting this particular research project:

‘The Americans and Europeans know more about our history than we do’, and ‘We feel no connection with those monuments that were saved [referring to the UNESCO salvage campaign of the 1960’s] as we grew up not knowing they had anything to do with our past’.

(pers. comm., Egyptian Nubian participants in MA research)

The first comment suggests experts in archaeology, Egyptology, history and culture, whose research was based in Nubia, rarely came from Egypt or Sudan, and their discoveries have not reached the Nubian communities. Reasons for this could be due to:

- The move towards involving local people in archaeological practice or decisions is relatively new (Nicholas 2011, 11 and Merriman 2004, 3);
- Access to archaeological publications in Arabic is limited in Egypt (see Initial exploration, later in this section, and 4.6).

It is the intention to examine access to publishing in Egypt in further detail for a separate paper, but the anticipation is that the internet could play a much bigger role in delivering academic papers to an Arabic-speaking population, in their own language.

The second comment is a reflection on two aspects: that lack of knowledge or interest has been with the Nubian people for generations, as there has been little information passed down amongst villages and communities from the elders; and the modern schooling system in Egypt. Egypt has dominated Nubia for much of its history, the control being highlighted with the diaspora of the Egyptian Nubian people (discussed at 3.6). One of the results of integrating the Nubians with their Egyptian neighbours is that they all now share the same
schooling system. Nubian history only features in the curriculum as part of Egypt’s overall history, and does not reflect Nubian culture or heritage (Osman pers. comm., 2017). The opportunity, therefore, to correct gaps in the Nubian knowledge about their own history is not created within the existing schooling system.

**Initial exploration**

In preparation for this study, rudimentary exploration was conducted in order to test the potential for further in-depth research, as follows.

In order to find out how many publications are available in Arabic, a google search on ‘Books on Nubia” (translated into Arabic) was conducted, the results shown below. The returned results were then translated back into English using the same translation tool. Potential inconsistencies with the translation, due to the inadequacies of the tool, need to be recognised. Wikipedia and similar pages have been excluded, as have books that served a political purpose or basic guide books. Novels have been included where the content is believed to contain useful information about traditions and beliefs and were written by Nubian authors.

By the fifth and sixth pages of google results, all entries were blogs and news reports or non-Arabic; as a cursory exploration, the obtained results constituted an adequate sample for the intended aims, even though its representation amongst the total cannot be assessed.

The results produced just 19 publications on Nubia (shown in T1), including seven that were novels; after that, the information from the search results were blog sites, news reports or other non-related entries. They also included a request from a Nubian person asking exactly the same question – whether anyone knew of books containing information on Nubian culture and history.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyperlink to search</th>
<th>Author(s) and title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.hindawi.org/books/19507271/">http://www.hindawi.org/books/19507271/</a></td>
<td>Riaz, Dr M. &amp; Dr K. Abdul Rasul “Trip in the time of Nubia: the study of Ancient Nubia and indicators of future development”</td>
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16
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<th>Source</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<td>/o-o-o-uso-u-o-uso-uso-o-u-o-o-o-u-o-o-o-u-o-u/o</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.sasapost.com/nubia-literature/">http://www.sasapost.com/nubia-literature/</a></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>NOVEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Novel, Y. “Endo Mando”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>NOVEL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Noor, H. “Orbits of the South”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>NOVEL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Rahim Idris, A. “Palm Shades”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>NOVEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Saleh, M. “Swarm Alblachon”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>NOVEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ali, I. “Dongola”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="https://sites.google.com/site/nubianalphabet/nubian-alphabet-books">https://sites.google.com/site/nubianalphabet/nubian-alphabet-books</a></td>
<td>Centre for Nubian Studies &amp; Documentation in Egypt and Sudan “Learning the Nubian Language”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Centre for Nubian Studies &amp; Documentation in Egypt and Sudan “How we write to Dr Khalil Mokhtar Kabara”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.masress.com/boswtol/53781">http://www.masress.com/boswtol/53781</a></td>
<td>Chaib, Dr Y. “Nubian days”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T1: Results of preliminary book search:
publications about Nubia in Arabic, publicised on the internet
Source: Google search results showing weblinks

A contact in Aswan was similarly asked to do a literature search, as being in Egypt and not relying on Google Translate may have produced more success.
Her results returned the same seven novels, plus one interview, a book on Tutankhamun and a book on Khartoum, so was therefore less successful.

This precursory look is clearly neither scientific nor complete. For example, when in Alexandria I bought a book published jointly in Arabic and English (‘Nubia through two eras’ by A. Albert and M. Al Deen Hassan Saleh, 2008), so it is reasonable to assume there could be other books on the subject of Nubia, published in Arabic and on sale in Egypt. However, it does serve to show how Nubian people might be under the impression that not much information relating to their culture or history is easily available.

The subject matter in schools

According to El Meshad (2012), there are four different types of schools in Egypt:

- Public (responsibility of Egypt’s Ministry of Education, attended by approximately 92% of Egypt's students);
- National Institution (semi-private);
- Embassy (managed by various embassies in Egypt, each one offering that country’s curriculum);
- Private schools, educating 8% of Egypt’s student population (El Meshad 2012).

It is estimated by UNICEF that 95.4% of Egypt’s population from age 6 to 18 are enrolled in a school, but it also observes that education is a major challenge with few children reaching their full potential (El Meshad, 2012). This classification would seem to ignore the Community schools, not listed above, which are referred to in 5.2 where pedagogy is discussed.

It has not been possible to get a copy of the current national curriculum to identify the extent of history being taught in the schools. Discussions with Egyptian Nubians infer the subject does not include Nubian history, other than how Egypt dominated Nubia in ancient times. According to reporter Walaa Hussein (2014), the national curriculum changes with each new regime. This is not necessarily a dramatic statement, given that many democracies change
policies of their predecessors when opposing parties are voted into power – which, until recently, tends to happen more frequently than in Egypt's independent history that saw Hosni Mubarak in power for 20 years. The recent transferrals of power are therefore new to many of today's Egyptian people.

**Survey to assess level of interest**

An online survey (Survey 1) was conducted amongst various contacts to identify a general level of interest in, and knowledge of, a local person’s culture and heritage, and to what extent they would be interested in learning about their history if information was made more freely available. The online survey was primarily aimed at Nubian people so the base audience was small (consisting of contacts created via social media and field research over the previous five years); if non-Nubian people from Egypt or Sudan responded, their answers would form an interesting comparison. The questionnaire was only available in English, and received 44 responses, 36 of which came from Nubian people. Not every question was answered by all participants. The level of interest is depicted at C1.

![Survey Results](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, definitely</td>
<td>72.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is my dream to work in the industry</td>
<td>5.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, possibly</td>
<td>13.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C1: Results of survey 1: level of interest in learning more
Having examined the two comments received from Egyptian Nubian people at the beginning of this sub-section, a further two statements (considered later, at the end of 5.7) from John G. Kennedy provide further justification for this project:

“In spite of the intensive archaeological efforts prior to the completion of the dam, it is certain that much important evidence in this historically significant battleground of the ancient world has been irretrievably lost beneath the water. The loss of information with regard to the living Nubian peoples has been even more severe: it has been the loss of living culture.”

“Since many of the older generation have died since resettlement, by the time the predictable nativistic attempts to revive traditional customs are made, much of the ancient culture will be beyond retrieval.”

(Kennedy 2005, 1, 4)

1.3 Involvement of Nubian people and the University of Exeter

This section addresses why this work is being conducted by a student from the University of Exeter, and not by the Nubian people themselves.

There are several components to the research but the oral histories is the part that the Nubian people are most capable of conducting themselves. When I met with the Director of the Nubian Museum in 2014, he informed me that they had tried to do a similar project themselves but had not got very far. Had our research continued as hoped, the material from both projects could have been combined. As that outcome did not happen, access to the Museum’s material was not possible.

The impression was given that the Museum’s project had ended without producing the results they hoped for, and it is not known whether there was any intention to reinstate it.

There is a lot of interest among the Nubian people for ensuring their culture is maintained. There are a variety of groups on social media, such as Nubian Language Fans, NubaTube and Nubian Knights who collate and share
information amongst their members and friends. Some Nubian people have recorded and published their memories on life in Old Nubia (for example ‘Nights of Musk: stories from Old Nubia’ by Haggag Hassan Oddoul, 2005); most publications of this nature, however, have been compiled by outsiders with the help of local people, such as those by the Nubian Ethnological Survey, discussed in 5.7.

The results of Survey 1 shown in the previous sub-section imply Nubian people have the interest to be better informed about their heritage and culture. However, discussions with Egyptian Nubians suggest they are not sure how best to achieve this. Making better use of the Nubian Museum in Aswan in order to learn more about their past became a discussion point during the field research.

Nubian people are disadvantaged by their low numbers of specialists - affecting the amount of detailed and factual information they have access to - and the political structure within which they live. Although it is equally difficult for outsiders to gain access to, or information from, Egyptian Ministry departments, students like myself have the benefit of access to academia and libraries from which most of the useful information can be obtained.

1.4 Hypotheses

Having concluded there was justification in proceeding with the research project, the following hypotheses were formed around the two initial statements given at the beginning of 1.2:

Hypothesis 1: The perception of Nubian people that Westerners know more about Nubian history and culture than the local people can be validated, by identifying and comparing the amount of published information accessible in the UK and Egypt;

Hypothesis 2: The diaspora due to the construction of the Aswan High Dam has resulted in past traditions being discontinued, affecting the culture of post-diaspora Egyptian Nubian people.
1.5 Research synopsis

The research contained in this paper concentrates on:

- Identifying where Nubian heritage (curated abroad) can be found;
- Exploring to what extent it can be accessed via the internet;
- Considering how published information relating to Nubian history and traditions can be accessed by Nubian people;
- Recording memories of past lifestyles, now being discontinued or changed.

1.6 Literature review

Introduction

A discussion of relevant publications is conducted in three main places in this thesis:

- The precursory look at the amount of literature available in Arabic was to examine whether the perception that Nubian people in Egypt have little access to published knowledge about their history is actually valid;
- In item 4.6 where a detailed look is given at the amount of information on Nubian culture and history available in UK universities, further supported by a full list given at Appendix 4 (survey 4h). The intention was to compare this with a list of publications available in Egypt, in Arabic, but it will be seen how difficult it was to acquire such a comparative list;
- Here, in this literature review, where the key publications are discussed, and others mentioned.

References are used throughout the thesis. Some of these may come from publications not mentioned in the literature review, which just concentrates on the main sources. Similarly, in the early stages of the research when potential avenues of discussion were explored, publications were read and summarised which were not used in the final outcome. These include areas such as population movements around the world, a global history of invading powers into other countries, and the development of Nubian people from ‘a savage race’ wearing little or no clothing into the peaceful society of today where the traditional head-to-ankle costume is worn. This provided interesting reading as it included works of early travellers, such as Thomas Legh, Jean Louis Burckhardt
and Amelia Edwards. Equally interesting were works relating to discovering the source of the Nile, such as those written by John Hanning Speke, Henry Morton Stanley and Pat Shipman.

It is worth mentioning the importance of including novels and biographies in background reading. Whilst academic work is valuable and provides a knowledgeable and trustworthy source of information, it is sometimes clinical, excluding the personalities of the subjects. When studying cultures and their love of the land, it is necessary to become non-academic in order to try and understand the peoples’ feelings, and what motivates them. With the exception of a few authors, most of the books used in this research did not convey the passion the Nubians, or indeed Egyptians in general, feel for their homeland, which is at the very heart of the impact of the diaspora and their discontinued traditions. Books that did provide useful contextual information include ‘A bend in the Nile’ by Chris McIvor (2008), ‘Down the Nile’ by Rosemary Mahoney (2007), ‘Khul-Khaal’ by Nayra Atiya (1984), ‘Growing up in an Egyptian village’ by Hamed Ammar (1954) and ‘Nights of Musk’ by Haggag Hassan Oddoul (2005).

The bibliography does not include works which are not subsequently referenced in the thesis, and the above background reading is not described elsewhere in the main body of the thesis.

The literature examined in this section concentrates on the following aspects:

- Nubian history and archaeology;
- Nubian traditions, culture and heritage;
- Indigenous populations who have joined the sphere of local archaeology or cultural heritage;
- The role of the museum in the 21st century, and how to improve engagement with its audience;
- Cultural heritage in general;
- Advice on conducting Oral Histories.

It is the work relating to the first two bullet points which is further discussed at Sections 4.3 and 4.5.
Reading that supported other aspects, such as the theories adopted in this research and comparative studies, are discussed in detail in the relevant sections (Chapters 2 and 6) and are omitted from the review.

When doing the background reading for the research, it was important to include works of local authors to minimise the bias towards westernised opinions. As the land of Nubia has, to a significant extent, been permanently lost to the waters of Lake Nasser, publications written before this happened are more likely to give a truer account of lifestyle and geography of pre-Aswan High Dam Nubia.

**Nubian history and archaeology**

Although several books were used in this section, it is dominated by W.Y. Adams’s classic study, ‘Nubia, corridor to Africa’ (1977). This was a seminal work, full of information about Nubian archaeology, landscape, culture and history. Experts today still refer to Adams’s work.

Adams’s description of the land of Nubia is a thorough and important work. Few travellers before him would have had the same ability to explore and document the land together with its archaeology and people in detail. Clearly, no-one since is able to give such documentary evidence as a large part of Nubia has now been consumed by Lake Nasser/Nubia.

The main thrust of the book is a very detailed history of Nubia, of its occupants and invasions, and the relationships between the various tribes, together with their prime languages and residential areas. A good explanation is offered about the confusion between the various terms that Nubia has been called, and the periods they relate to.

Adams’s work falls into the category identified earlier, in that his work is clinical and expresses no concern over the plight of the Nubian people once their land became flooded. It is a history book, giving explicit detail but no projections into the future other than in the final chapter where the author addresses the lessons that could be learned from the case of Nubia.

The following quote is an example of how the work concentrated on the archaeology and not the people:
“The irony of simultaneously spending millions for the destruction of Nubia and millions more to save its antiquities has been noted by much of this world. Yet few thoughtful observers question the legitimacy of either expenditure. At the heart of this paradox lies an essential truth: Nubia in modern times has lost the importance which long gave it a unique place in history.”

(Adams 1977, 19)

Bill Adams’s work was based on unearthing the past and, being employed to manage the UNESCO campaign in Sudan, meant his remit did not cover any concerns with the modern day inhabitants, or what was to become of them. The book’s usefulness in this project is limited to Chapter 3, on the background to Nubia.

Adams comments that nearly all of the cultural developments in Nubia over the last 4,000 years have come to them by way of Egypt (Adams 1977, 669). This observation is noted because Adams is not an Egyptologist; although this removes any Egypt-related bias from his own work, he may have been influenced by the work of others, so there is scope to challenge some of his writing.

Bill Adams is not only seen as a true Nubiologist, but one who brings the subject to the modern world. I interviewed him in December 2009, at the beginning of my MA research into Nubian monuments, during which he stated the following:

- That his work in Nubia began almost as a mistake, in that he was hired to take aerial photography of the land in Sudan, to aid the work of the excavators;
- Until then, his work was as an anthropologist and centred on the Navajo Native Americans;
- That, at the time of publication, he had not set foot in Egypt.

The latter confession seemed surprising given that his deep knowledge of the Nubian people seemed to be based on an area which excluded a significant number, and whose culture could be quite different to the analysis made in the book. However, those statements were upheld in a subsequent lecture given by Bill Adams at the NINO symposium at Leiden in December 2009.
During conversations with Robert Morkot in 2016, a conclusion was formed that Adams’s use of the term ‘Egypt’ was quite loose, and that he must have perceived the land south of Aswan (Nubia) as being a separate entity. Adams’s statement about not having been in Egypt therefore referred to all that lay north of Aswan.

The fact that, prior to the UNESCO campaign, Adams had no experience of Nubia is testament to his ability to adapt his work not only to other cultures but also to other areas of skill. Whilst, in America, archaeology is taught alongside anthropology, it would not be wise to assume that an anthropologist is automatically also an archaeologist. Therefore, to assemble such experience in both humanistic aspects implies a dedication and enthusiasm which is not always met by other experts who specialise in just one field.

Finally, it should be noted that ‘Nubia, corridor to Africa’ is now 40 years old. Although there are aspects that cannot be updated, such as the information about the landscape, the villages and its history, newer publications need to be consulted in any work that concentrates on its archaeology and how the findings might be interpreted.

Rex Keating’s ‘Nubian rescue’ (1975) is another example of a book authored by someone who was actually at the salvage campaign of the 1960’s. Rex Keating is an expert in Middle Eastern archaeology, notably Egyptology, although his expertise is from the aspect of the media, as a broadcaster, writer and lecturer. He joined the UNESCO Secretariat in Paris in 1955, and became involved in the Nubian campaign.

Keating’s style of writing brings alive his experiences in Nubia. They are personal accounts of a professional's work, steeped in archaeological and historical information yet written with a wider audience in mind. His works include opinions as well as facts and, because the book is limited to the salvage campaign rather than a study of the people, there is less need to discuss research, analysis and outcomes. He concludes with the following observation:

“Before 1960 it is doubtful whether one student of ancient history in ten had any knowledge of or interest in Nubia. If considered at all, it tended to be seen as a cultural backwater with little in it worthy of serious scholarship. It is an attitude that has been radically changed by the
discoveries of the many expeditions who worked in the area in the 1960s.”

(Keating 1975, 237)

The title of the book is a little misleading, however. The first few chapters discuss the then current state of Nubia, and the final chapter yields a few pages on salvage archaeology, but at least two thirds of the book relates to Nubia’s past. As with ‘Nubia, corridor to Africa’ it is another history book despite being written by someone who attended the salvage campaign throughout.

Although Säve-Söderbergh’s ‘Temples and tombs of Ancient Nubia’ (1987) does include a potted history of Nubia, it concentrates on the part of the UNESCO salvage campaign that rescued the monuments. It describes the engineering skills required to dismantle and move the various sections of each temple, and then reconstruct them on higher ground away from the anticipated maximum levels of the newly formed Lake Nasser/Nubia. Details of which countries participated in the campaign are given, together with which particular expeditions they contributed to, and the level of financial aid. Out of the reading relating to the UNESCO campaign, Säve-Söderbergh’s offered the greatest depth of explanation and content.

Nubian traditions, culture and heritage

Works produced as the result of the Nubian Ethnological Survey (NES) 1961-1964 have been invaluable to this project’s research. The NES survey was conducted prior to the Nubian people losing their homeland. Unfortunately the NES was only based on the Egyptian Nubians, for the same reason as this project (see 1.8). The lack of in-depth study across the whole land splits the Egyptian and Sudanese Nubians, with the latter being covered under a series of individual studies and publications. Two of the most useful titles covering the Sudanese (not cited in this work) are ‘The Nubian exodus’, by Hassan Dafalla (1975) and ‘Arabs and Nubians in New Halfa’ by Muneera Salem-Murdock (1989). The latter concentrates on how the relocated Nubian people were settling in to their new homes and lifestyles.

Comments from Hopkins and Mehanna’s ‘Nubian encounters: the story of the Nubian Ethnological Survey 1961-1964’ (2010) have been quoted throughout, especially in Chapter 5. As explained, the Nubian Ethnology Survey
concentrated on Egyptian Nubians and, in particular, those living in areas that were going to form the new lake. There is some logic in limiting the participants to the crux of the project’s research, as these were the people who were being relocated; however, as an ethnological survey recording peoples’ cultures, languages and traditions, arguably the study should have included Nubians living across the whole land; therefore those resident in Cairo and Alexandria should have had larger representation. Although there is a suggestion that northern Egyptian cities were included in the research (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 88-89), it is not apparent from the book that these residents were studied in as much depth as those from the southern villages. There is expectation that a wider geographic area will be included in a new study.

Publications such as ‘Nubian encounters’ are the most important and thorough documents we have of modern Nubian culture and traditions. Although Adams is a specialist of Nubian history, the ethnology team and authors such as Hopkins and Mehanna are experts in modern-day Egyptian Nubian culture.

‘Nubian encounters’ does not include conversations with the local people in depth, rather it analyses the results and applies them to the various situations within the villages. The readers, therefore, do not get to ‘hear’ the background or the words used by the Nubian people. The end of the book does, however, include some interesting comments by some of the researchers who reflect back on their work:

“Before going into detail, I wish to briefly explain how and why I was selected for this enterprise. I had worked among the Egyptian Bedouins before and was somehow familiar with the area, so when Professor Alfred Métraux from UNESCO, Paris, visited me in Vienna, he talked about the Aswan High Dam, then under construction, and the numerous campaigns of archaeologists working to salvage the ancient temples and monuments. He concluded with the question ‘And what about the people’? He beseeched me to start documentation at my earliest convenience.”

(Hohenwart-Gerlachstein in Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 282)
The question by Professor Métraux is a rare published statement by a representative of UNESCO showing concern about the people being affected by the Aswan High Dam.

‘Nubian ethnographies’ by Fernea et al (1991) is presented in three main parts:

i) Elizabeth Fernea gives a personal account of her fieldwork in Nubia, much of which was published in 1970 as ‘A view of the Nile’;

ii) Robert Fernea writes the text to accompany another publication ‘Egyptian Nubians: peaceful people’ (considered next). This section provides the main ethnography of Nubian society and culture;

iii) Written by Robert Fernea and Aleya Rouchdy, who is a specialist in the Nubian language, this small section considers today’s Nubians in Egypt.

In the second part, a comparison is made between the Egyptian Nubians and African Americans, both groups having to overcome the history and stigma of being associated with slavery. Fernea concludes the main difference between the two was that there was no subjugation by the white-skinned people over the Nubians, and strong retention of their own culture and identity, and suggests that modern Egyptian Nubians compare favourably with Egyptian society as a whole (Fernea et al 1991, 125).

Comparisons between the Nubian people and their situation with other cultures and historic episodes are explored in more detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

‘Nubian ethnographies’ discusses the important role of the village club, which the interviews in the Oral Histories section of this project did not discuss, but I became aware of in previous visits to Aswan and Cairo. Fernea states how the club acted as a headquarters whenever newcomers and older residents wanted to meet (Fernea et al 1991, 171). Usage of the village club is considered in 7.4, in how it could play a role in encouraging and enabling the communities to learn more about their past.

‘Nubians in Egypt: peaceful people’ by Fernea and Gerster (1973) is the pictorial book accompanying ‘Nubian ethnographies’, and also explains why the other books created from the Nubian Ethnological Survey (NES) include so few photos. ‘Nubians in Egypt: peaceful people’ contains depictions of everyday life,
from playing games, house decorations, to attending weddings and funerals. There is a big difference between the young women shown in the photos, and the young women who I met during the field research. In the photos from older times, the young women displayed braided hair, with their scarves just resting on the backs of their heads and wore local dress, but today’s population tend to wear the full hijabs with western clothing. There is a possibility of course that the photographer just wanted to record the more traditional costumes. This raises another point about how traditions have changed, and is suggested in 7.4 as an area worthy of further research.

Kennedy’s 2005 edition of ‘Nubian ceremonial life: studies in Islamic syncretism and cultural change’ was published 40 years after the Nubian Ethnological Survey was completed, but the contents relate to work conducted at the end of the survey. As indicated by the title, the book concentrates on the religion and ceremonial life. It was believed to be the first such study, with references to religion and rituals having been only sporadically covered prior to the research, despite the fact they dominated modern Nubian lifestyles.

The opening page includes the following statement by Robert Fernea:

“\begin{quote}
The American and Egyptian social scientists who were part of the Ethnological Survey believed we should provide the Nubian community of Egypt with a record of their life in Nubia before they lost their homeland for ever.\end{quote}"

(Kennedy 2005, ix)
This will be developed further at 5.7.

The importance of the survey’s work was supported in a further statement:

“\begin{quote}
The loss of information with regard to the living Nubian peoples has been even more severe: it has been the loss of living culture.\end{quote}"

(Kennedy 2005, 1)

Despite both declarations, there is little evidence the NES’s output has been shared with the residents – unless it was shared with Nubian people whose use of English was good enough to understand the texts without first being translated into Arabic.
Field research included observing the people at periods which altogether lasted for more than one year. Data was also gathered by holding interviews. The village where the studies were conducted was newly created in 1934, and was a conglomerate consisting largely of Fediji-speaking people, although there were also some Kenuz in residence. In the book, it was given a false name of Kanuba to protect identities.

The focus on religious life forms less content in this thesis, as it was felt during the short time given to conduct the field research that probing into religious ceremonies, by someone who was neither local nor Muslim, could cause offence, or mistrust. However, discussions in the book on the non-religious aspects of marriage celebrations, such as dancing, provided useful comparisons and material for the thesis.

In ‘Nubian ceremonial life’, the descriptions of the dances are particularly poignant as so many of the steps have been forgotten – yet dancing and music form the core of Nubian spirit and tradition.

Indigenous populations who have joined the sphere of local archaeology or cultural heritage

This research project did not begin with an intent to encourage the Egyptian Nubian people to become experts in the fields of archaeology, museology, anthropology or cultural heritage. The original objective was to find out whether Nubian people have sufficient access to knowledge about their past. Similar, although not directly parallel, issues of indigenous peoples and their relationship with tradition and the past are found in many regions; and current anthropological and archaeological practitioners now work with such groups to enable them to preserve, present and explain their pasts.

A new literature has developed examination of ways in which indigenous peoples can be actively engaged with archaeology. This, therefore, raises the issue of how the Nubian people could take a more decisive part in displaying and publicising their history. Such accomplishments might not happen with this generation, or with the next, but if the seeds of attainability could be sown now, eventually the desire to become one of the managing parties could be realised. Areas left with scope for excavation remain around Aswan, and southwards through the Nile Valley and desert to Sudan, offering opportunities for Nubian
people to work towards becoming part of the professional team. Equally, there is scope for the Nubians to become experts in related aspects, such as in the museum or even as tour guides – but ones whose inside knowledge about their own culture could bring additional information to the visitors.

A point to note is that books about indigenous cultures do not seem to include Nubian people. In fact, books about Africa tend to exclude the northern countries such as Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Sudan. In order to study Nubian people, the geography or their past, specialised books have been necessary as the culture rarely appears elsewhere.

G. Nicholas’s book ‘Being and becoming indigenous archaeologists’ (2011) contains a collection of 36 contributions from indigenous people who write about their work, the difficulties they had in achieving their ambitions, and how they overcame them. These are, by and large, inspirational, written by people who ‘live’ their history and show how it does not necessarily have to fall to only the western professionals to unearth their native past.

The contributors represent tribal or native populations from the Americas, Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Samoa, Papua New Guinea and Japan. Included amongst these is an Hawaiian woman of Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese and Scottish descent, who grew up with a desire to become an Egyptologist. Although there are many museums on Hawaii, none specialise in Ancient Egypt so her interest was presumably spawned by the media, general reading and schooling.

Many of the contributors mentioned the influence of their teachers who encouraged them to take an active interest. Most explained their background and their childhood, connecting their recent past to the desire to delve further, in order to learn more about their roots and their heritage.

The contents of Atalay’s ‘Community-based archaeology’ (2012) concentrate on collaborative work, which is another area that was not one of the original objectives of this project. It became part of the overall desire to see the Nubian people being involved in their own past, as part of a team working with other experts. Atalay is an indigenous archaeologist who was invited to do some of this work by George Nicholas (Atalay 2012, 15 and 17). Five studies of community-based participatory research (CBPR) are discussed by Atalay, only
one of which was not based on North American native populations. The non-American study was based on a rural village in Turkey.

‘Community-based archaeology’ provides good guidance to anyone wishing to follow CBPR methods. The people studied become almost irrelevant amongst the explanations of procedures and results; it is not a book for those who wish to find out about the traditions or cultures of the tribal people involved in the research because the outcomes get lost amongst the science. It is a book written by someone with a passion for the process, rather than for the people.

Layton’s book is quite different in style and content to G. Nicholas’s book above. ‘Who needs the past? Indigenous values and archaeology’ (1994) is an academic collection of studies of indigenous populations. Survey techniques are discussed in some of the summaries, with explanations given in all about the purpose of each of the studies. In contrast to G. Nicholas’s work, which was written by the indigenous people themselves, Layton’s work, which was written by the indigenous people themselves, Layton’s book is written by the researchers who studied the indigenous populations.

One of the chapters considers oral tradition throughout Africa, but most of that work seems to have centred on Nigeria and Cameroon, although brief mention is also made of Tanzania and Kenya.

Other cultures studied came from Colombia, Ancient Egypt, Portugal, Australia, Greece, India, Madagascar and the Canadian Arctic.

The role of the museum in the 21st century, and how to improve engagement with its audience

The initial purpose of reading about how museums are preparing for the future was to learn what they said about the importance of language in relation to Nubian, Egyptian and Sudanese collections. Language is a crucial part of this research, in that if museums do not offer a translation into Arabic on their websites, they are excluding a prime population (that is, the cultures whose heritage the museums are curating) from their target audiences. There seems to be an assumption in the books read for this research that all of the museum visitors will be able to understand either English or the local language of the museum, which is not necessarily true of many peoples, such as tribal, elderly and the impoverished. It is also quite possible that the vocabulary used is
different to daily language, making it harder for many people to accurately follow what is being described.

From the selected reading, two books mentioned language but relating to a cursory statement about the importance of adopting the right tone (Hooper-Greenhill 1999, 216), and change in terminology (Cameron and Kenderdine 2010, 231).

It was, therefore, surprising to learn that authors had failed to embrace this issue about imparting information in tourist attractions, as had many of their museology colleagues. It was a particularly disappointing omission from the books that concentrate on pedagogy, as in the second one discussed below.

Connected with the aspect of language was the subject of online visitors which, although it was addressed, played a minimal part of the main content. There appears to still be an underlying assumption that museum audiences are those who turn up at the institutions in person.

‘Transforming museums in the twenty-first century’ by G. Black (2012) is essentially based on museum studies in the United Kingdom. An early statement acknowledges the growing audience via the internet in general and specifically social media (Black 2012, 17), but are not addressed in the visitor surveys. Black even states:

“For longer term planning, museums must also look at future populations and leisure trends. Our users in the future will make different demands on museums.”

(Black 2012, 18)

An example of a museum (Brooklyn) using social networking to build relationships is quoted, and describes their experience. However, in a book consisting of over 240 pages discussing how museums need to be transformed in the 21st century, less than ten pages are given to how the internet and applications on smartphones could either influence visitor numbers or increase engagement with them.

In Hooper-Greenhill’s ‘The educational role of the museum’ (1999), learning styles are discussed. In the ninth chapter, Jessica Davis and Howard Gardner encourage museums to break the mould of conventional school education and
to become more individualistic in their approach. By offering their displays and information through a variety of ‘windows on learning’ this mode of pedagogy should address all levels and individual requirements of the learner to absorb and articulate the knowledge acquired (Davis and Gardner in Hooper-Greenhill 1999, 99-101).

Despite not addressing the aspect of language, Hooper-Greenhill’s book does embrace an issue addressed in this thesis at 4.4, in that making information available to specific populations is insufficient, if it is not delivered in a way that is going to engage with them.

There are several chapters on cultural differences, including one on museums and cultural diversity in Britain. Hooper-Greenhill explains how the British population contains a cultural mix and is influenced by its colonial background, but still fails to acknowledge the large number of Muslim or Arabic-speaking residents and visitors.

However, books that contain papers by a variety of authors such as this one offer different styles of writing and perspective. Such collections also enable more radical thinking to be introduced, such as the chapter by Anita Rui Olds. Olds addresses the need for children to explore and play when visiting museums, rather than just walk in an approved direction, with looking at the items and reading the information being their only form of entertainment.

**Cultural heritage in general**

In addition to the issue of language, in ‘Theorizing digital cultural heritage’ (2010) Cameron and Kenderdine examine the possibility of:

- Combining databases from various museums into one (168);
- Whether a platform already exists for online visitors to create their own individualised gallery.

This book concentrates on digitising the artefacts rather than using digital technology to ensure ‘virtual’ audiences are able to benefit by maximising on technology used in the museum websites. However, it does highlight the need for museums to meet the needs of the growing number of online users, as well as discussing the opportunity that some such organisations have embraced, to
move away from the empirical reasoning imposed by museums upon their objects (Cameron and Kenderdine 2010, 169).

Language is briefly mentioned, from the aspect of how terminology changes amongst cultures (even within groups of local cultures). These differences in terms pose a challenge for museums on how to select which term/dialect is most likely to satisfy their audiences (Cameron and Kenderdine 2010, 231).

As with the work conducted in the Oral Histories section, the authors in this book declare there is a need for today’s people to develop and maintain a base of knowledge that can be shared for future generations, but ensuring it is held in a way that makes it accessible (Cameron and Kenderdine 2010, 257).

The usefulness of this book is probably more related to how future work could be conducted on this project, rather than the research behind this thesis.

Messenger and Smith’s Cultural heritage management: a global perspective (2010) includes examples of cultural heritage management from a variety of countries including South Africa, Argentina, Thailand, United States, Russia, Peru, Mexico, India, Japan, China, Canada, Australia and Brazil. Additional case studies include the World Bank Group and laws and language in Europe.

This is an example of a book that did not assist the research conducted, but could be of particular interest if the studies are developed further. It could equally provide a critical background if a project is developed with the Nubian Museum and UNESCO, to learn the various policies and methods of management elsewhere.

**Oral history-based research**

Background reading was required to inform the team on how to conduct the Oral History project in Egypt. Unfortunately, none of the obtained books sufficiently addressed the issues of main concern with this project – interviewing people from completely different cultures to that of the interviewer, in their home country, requiring at least one translator.

The Oral History Society recommended D.A. Ritchie’s ‘Doing oral history – a practical guide 2nd edition’ (2003). Ritchie provides useful advice for the newcomer to conducting interviews, and for those who are experienced but need to refresh their skills on certain areas. However, the aspect of particular
interest for the Nubia project was legislation and only seven pages were given to this, three of which referred to archiving and libraries. The book is based on American laws, ethics and guidelines, which raises issues regarding how relevant it is to non-American projects, especially those conducted in the UK.

1.7 Aims of the research

The research generally falls under three areas, to serve different purposes.

**Contextual information:** This area includes the background to the project, background to Nubia and comparisons with other indigenous and local populations (all addressed in this Introduction and Chapters 3 and 6). The purpose of these aspects is to inform the reader why the subject is suitable for a research degree, explain how the problems have arisen and how compatible, or otherwise, they are with other populations. The appropriate methodologies and theories, in Chapter 2, are also discussed. After this, the reader will understand the global implications or, conversely, the uniqueness of the project.

**Data collection:** This section relates most directly to the purpose of the project, by identifying where Nubian archaeology and artefacts are currently housed, summary information about the collections, plus the extent of publications available in the UK and Egypt based on Nubian history and culture. It also considers the extent of ethnographic material involved in museum displays. The overall aim is to collate details of all information and store it in one easily accessible place for all interested parties, but in particular for the Nubian people. All of this is addressed in Chapter 4, and serves to answer the initial reasons for conducting the project, that is, identifying whether and how the Nubian people’s access to their tangible cultural heritage could be improved.

**Application:** Having gathered the prime data as to where information currently exists, the practical application of how such knowledge could be used to help the Egyptian Nubian populations is considered, together with identifying areas for review relating to access to and archiving of important material. This section includes an Oral Histories exercise in order to preserve memories of the elder Nubian people who lived in Old Nubia before it became permanently lost to the waters of Lake Nasser, and further potential work with UNESCO. It also considers pedagogy and how Nubian people might be encouraged to learn about their past, in a way that suits them best. The aim of this section,
addressed in Chapters 5 and 7, is to show how the material already collated, together with potential improvements, could be used to achieve a better informed, integrated and engaged local population.

1.8 Constraints of the research

All of the work conducted during my studies, from the Diploma in Egyptology through to this MPhil, have been self-funded, and the income to do so has been generated by maintaining a full-time job which was in a non-related, corporate industry. The minimal amount of money available to dedicate to study, coupled with the fact that study was restricted to evenings, weekends and annual leave, meant the research design and methodology adopted for this MPhil needed to concentrate on use of the internet and published academic work, to minimise the requirements for travelling abroad to conduct field research.

In addition to funding constraints, there were logistical reasons for not travelling to northern Egypt due to the political situation, as the study period began shortly after Egypt’s revolution in 2011, when the main areas of violence were in Cairo and Alexandra. Issues with travel to Sudan would have incurred logistical problems, therefore all field research was conducted in Lower Nubia (Egypt), from Kom Ombo to Abu Simbel. Although it was disappointing to exclude Sudan from the research, one benefit was that it made it more possible to compare results between this project and the work of the Nubian Ethnological Survey, which also centred on the Egyptian Nubians (Kennedy 2005, xvi).

The political situation heightened the suspicion by Egyptians in general, but mainly those in official positions, about any foreigner asking questions relating to the Nubian people. The Nubians’ circumstances have long been on the political agenda but without receiving much attention, due to other priorities. Unfortunately the Egyptian politicians tend to mistrust any move towards improving the Nubian situation, and deny any opportunity to do so without giving it full consideration (Osman pers. comm., 2014). Although there was never an intention to galvanise any political feeling amongst the local Nubians to increase their demand for equality or improved rights, there was a consistent need to assure the officials of this. I experienced this type of apprehension, from officialdom (with the Ministry of Antiquities denying the chance to work freely with the Aswan Museum, despite the manager of the Museum wishing this to be
the case) through to personal contacts, where an Egyptian translator found it difficult to enlist the help of his colleagues with translating the transcriptions of the Oral History interviews, because they were wary of being seen as ‘helping the cause of the Nubians’.

In 2015, I was made redundant, so it was agreed with my supervisor that the studies, which were originally aimed towards achieving a PhD, could end with submitting for an MPhil. Further research is considered in Chapter 7.

1.9 Communicating the results

Various audiences might be interested in specific aspects of this research.

The Nubian people: The website ‘Whither Nubia’ has been created as a tool to collate relevant information for the Nubian people and other stakeholders. When conducting the field research, business cards that gave the website address in English and Arabic were distributed. A Facebook page and Twitter account in the same name have also been created as means of communication, with contacts created and increased over the last six years. The website is a work in progress; providing this data in Arabic has begun but will take longer to complete.

The academic profession, museums and students: It is hoped they too will make use of the website, which is being monitored by using Google Analytics to determine interest. Publication of the thesis in its entirety will be considered. In addition, articles are being planned with the intention of being published in trade journals, such as ‘Curator, the museum journal’ and ‘Learned publishing’. If the traditional form of publishing cannot be achieved, they will be submitted to the site, Academia.edu, as a way of sharing the knowledge. Once the articles have been published, speaking at informal groups such as local Egyptology organisations might provide a good opportunity to discuss the research.

As required by the conditions of the postgraduate degree, all material relating to the oral histories will be submitted to Open Research Exeter (ORE), for archiving and providing access to future researchers.

The general public: It is not felt this topic will be of much interest to the general public, as it relates to a specific area that most people will either not have heard
of, or paid much attention to. However, if opportunities arise for speaking at local groups then they will be followed up.

1.10 Description of following chapters

The content and layout of the text is designed to offer a logical flow in informing the reader by giving each of the following:

- Explanation of the background and structure;
- Description and summary of the research conducted;
- Identification of relevant results;
- Potential future work.

The first three chapters offer the explanation and structure. Chapter 1 gives the background to the project, including why it was believed to be a potentially useful piece of research. Chapter 2 describes the methodology applied, and the relevant theories adopted in the research. Chapter 3 gives a background to Nubia’s geography and history, its people and archaeology. It also considers the impact of building the Aswan High Dam by summarising the UNESCO salvage campaign and the forced migration of the Nubian people.

The next three chapters detail the research. Chapter 4 describes the data collection (desk research), including existing published research and new surveys conducted for the project. Topics covered under the new research include identifying which museums hold Nubian artefacts, and the museums’ attitudes towards ethnographical displays, together with identifying the extent of publications available about Nubian history and culture.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the field research (oral histories) collected during two visits to Upper Egypt in 2014. This chapter also considers aspects such as the preparation required to conduct the interviews and the guidance that needed to be followed.

Chapter 6 looks at comparative studies. Indigenous populations in North America, South America and Australia, and their relationship with archaeology and their political arena, are considered. Case studies relating to Europe are discussed, regarding the suppression of language and how it might affect the population’s identity. Also included are studies from China and India relating to dam-building programmes and their impact on the local people.
The final chapter itemises the conclusions, beginning with the title statement and hypotheses, and then cross-referencing to points identified from the research that could form potential actions in engaging the Nubian people with their heritage. It then lists ways in which further academic research could be conducted, and practical ways the project could be extended.

Double quote marks and indentations have been used to denote the quotations that came from published works. Quotes that relate to personal conversations and interviews, as in the Oral Histories section, remain in single quote marks.
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

This chapter includes:

- Introduction
- Desk-based research
- Field research
- Multi-disciplinary approaches and theories
- Background to archaeological theory
- Cultural Heritage/Cultural Theory
- New Museum Theory
- Indigenous Archaeology
- Pedagogy/Andragogy
- Public Archaeology
- Colonialism

2.1 Introduction

The explanation of the methodology generally follows the same pattern as the way the research is presented, with the desk research reflecting most of the data collection in Chapter 4 and the field research reflecting the oral histories discussion in Chapter 5. Due to logistical issues with travelling to Egypt, which subsequently limited the extent of field research that could be conducted, the project was designed to maximise on sources available from within the UK or online.

A desk-based survey of literature and online resources complemented one of the main aims of the project, which was to examine the way in which Nubian people can explore their heritage via the internet. Overall use of technology by indigenous people is discussed by Hershey (2009). He identified a general embrace of it, which is used to promote and preserve culture, tradition, history, and human rights advocacy. Use of IT was the theme of a conference in 2003 in Geneva, which was attended by 11,000 people representing more than 175 native nations, and addressed how to extend access to technology without affecting their cultural rights (Hershey 2009).

This project concerns not the process of excavation, but the collation of information about the results and how the data is imparted, and to whom. Any
theory applied here relates to after the historic objects have been found, salvaged and presented, and will not, therefore, be relevant to how the excavations were conducted, or why.

The research contained in this paper concentrates on (a) identifying where Nubian cultural heritage (curated abroad) can be found; (b) exploring to what extent it can be accessed via the internet; (c) considering how published information relating to Nubian history and traditions can be accessed by Nubian people, and (d) recording memories of past lifestyles. As such, the theories discussed below concentrate on the dissemination of information, the involvement of the local population and encouragement of them to take more of a role in the future of their past.

Closely connected with this is the role played by stakeholders, such as museums, academics, publishers and educators. To a lesser extent, case studies are considered if they are deemed relevant.

2.2 Desk-based research

The components under this sub-heading include published research (using works by academics, other professionals and local people), quantitative research via online surveys, an element of qualitative research from the same surveys, and considerable research using the internet for academic, quantitative and qualitative research.

The results from the desk-based research have performed the following roles in this project:

- Preliminary research to determine the main emphasis within the project, together with forming the hypotheses and objectives;
- Confirmation that sufficient research has been published which can be called upon to identify and support statements;
- Confirmation that this project’s aims have not already been covered elsewhere;
- Background knowledge throughout to explain, complement, steer and offer arguments for the main body of work being submitted;
- Provision of the material to be discussed in the literature review;
• Part of the main research itself in identifying the extent of published information available in UK universities about Nubian history and culture;
• Part of the main research to identify how accessible information about museum collections is from various museum websites.

All of the above executed an information-gathering exercise, together with a critical evaluation when necessary.

The surveys conducted for this project are as follows, each one being supported with a brief statement or example of which methodology applied. The numbering relates to the chapter where the surveys are discussed.

• Survey 1, conducted from November 2014 to April 2015: Preliminary survey to identify level of interest shown by Nubian people in learning more about their heritage. The survey results were too few to make this a statistically-significant quantitative survey, although the results from Nubian participants did indicate a wide interest in learning more about their past, if the information to do so was easily available;
• Survey 4a, conducted from January to February 2014: Open to the general public to identify their preferences between visiting museums in person or by using the internet – a qualitative exercise as it produced opinions;
• Survey 4b, conducted from February to September 2013: Identification of which museums contained Nubian artefacts in their collections – an information gathering exercise;
• Survey 4b, same survey as above: Summary information about these collections, such as periods they represented, very approximate number of items and how many were on display, how many were included in online collections, and general split between Egyptian Nubia and Sudanese Nubia – a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data that enabled statements to be made about which museums might offer the best collections for specific areas of interest;
• Survey 4c, conducted during 2016: Examination of websites of the museums with Nubian artefacts to see how many were available online, and in Arabic – the data collected was quantitative but the implications
behind the results were more qualitative, due to the resulting comments about the usefulness of the websites' information;

- Survey 4d, September – October 2010: Identification of how museums classified their Nubian collections – a qualitative exercise.
- Survey 4e, conducted during October and November 2015: Museums’ attitudes towards ethnography and to what extent they adopted this in their exhibitions and displays – qualitative research;
- Survey 4f, conducted during November and December 2015: General public’s attitude towards ethnography and how they preferred to be presented with information when inside museums – qualitative research which, when compared to the results of the museums survey about ethnography, enabled a contrast between the level of information (and format) desired and what was given;
- Survey 4g, conducted throughout 2016: Identification of how many publications relating to Nubia were available in UK university libraries, and how many of these were published in Arabic – essentially a quantitative exercise;
- Survey 4h, also conducted throughout 2016: A deeper look, concentrating on the book titles available in the UK universities offering the most relevant courses, which became qualitative due to the way the results were revealed;
- Survey 6, created in December 2016, and open through to April 2017: An attempt to identify museum collections relating to other indigenous people.

2.3 Field research

Field research consisted mainly of interviews, most of which formed the Oral History section. This was largely empirical research, conducted by listening to Egyptian Nubians supplemented with prior knowledge obtained through observing their customs. However, qualitative methods were applied in the discussions via probing when more detail was needed, and setting initial questions. There was no analysis conducted on the results, such as identifying common themes or outliers; that type of analysis was not justified due to such a small number of interviews (five discussions with only four yielding viable content). The only analysis conducted was to complement the participants’
memories with others published in sources, such as those in Hopkins and Mehanna (2010).

The purpose was to collect memories that could be used by future Nubian generations, and in museums as audio to complement relevant exhibitions. As the material had a variety of uses, the aim within the interviews was to try and produce an unbroken dialogue, rather than a question and answer session.

The Oral History interviews referred to in this research were conducted in May and November 2014. Other discussions with Nubian people were held during previous visits to Aswan, Kom Ombo, Cairo and Alexandria for both this MPhil degree and the Masters degree, from 2010 to 2013, and contributed to my background knowledge. The earlier meetings are not quoted in this thesis as they were outside the Oral History structure.

Other qualitative research consisted of talking to younger Egyptian Nubians to explain the project’s interest in their culture, and to discuss how access to better information about their history might be obtained. These discussions were mainly held in November 2014.

2.4 Multi-disciplinary approaches and theories
Before the individual theories are discussed, consideration needs to be given to the relationship between the specialisms of archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, museology and cultural heritage. There is no doubt that each of these Social Sciences has an impact on the nature of this research, as does education in general. The way these areas unite in a particular project often results in a synergy that benefits each of the factions involved.

In fact, it is not always possible to differentiate between the works of each specialism, so strong is the link and interest that they all provide. As Meskell (2007) notes in her article on the Limpopo:

“All of these conversations play into wider debates and discussions about the place of archaeology and archaeologists, about the privileging of nature over culture in national parks, the ethics of representation and cultural display, and the concomitant impact of all these vectors on the forging of identity. These issues are just as salient to the field of
archaeology, as they have been to anthropology, and yet we have often
found that ethnographers have embarked on this work before us.”

(Meskell 2007, 385-386)
The impact of various aspects of this project is mentioned at 7.6.

All these disciplines might work separately, but their work aligns to provide
access to a meaningful history of the heritage being researched, and it is this
end purpose which unites them. Such multiple disciplines are often recognised
in degree programmes, with reading lists covering all topics, but it might be time
to invent an overall heading that automatically combines them, to acknowledge
and respect the role they each play in united situations. Social Science is too
broad a term to use, as it incorporates other aspects not involved in this area.

A straw poll conducted amongst personal contacts suggests the term ‘Heritage
Unity’ might be appropriate as an umbrella term for the disciplines such as
cultural heritage, archaeology, anthropology and museology, enabling the work
of each one to be discussed individually, as appropriate, but acknowledging the
wider potential of their work.

‘Heritage Unity’ would certainly be an applicable umbrella term to indicate the
breadth of expertise applied to this Nubian project, with professionals from
Egypt, Sudan and overseas involved. By prefixing with the word ‘Localising’, the
term could then be used when the initiatives are more community-based, and
yet still achieve unity amongst the various groups involved in heritage,
archaeology and museology. Localising it refers to getting the community
involved in one or more of the processes, particularly when the community is
represented by the heritage in question.

‘Localising’ became a future goal of the Nubian project, to encourage the local
population to take more of an interest in the work already conducted by experts,
most of whom were foreign, and to aim for a future whereby they would be
involved in decisions on how it is portrayed.

The reason for describing the interaction between each of the aforementioned
Social Sciences is to then introduce a similar relationship amongst the theories.
Individual theories are discussed below but by examining them separately, the
impact of others in the background is not taken into account. For example, the
role of Marxism is often discussed in archaeological theory yet it is not one that has directly impacted upon the work in this thesis. However, a theorist could take Marxism, break it down into components, apply each one to case studies and offer interpretations that might then have a bearing on this work.

2.5 Background to archaeological theory

The issues addressed here originated from an interest in the archaeology of Nubia and the archaeological work that resulted from the building and enlarging of the dams at Aswan. The outcome of the archaeological campaigns was the retrieval of a huge amount of ancient and medieval material, the construction of new museums, numerous publications and interpretations, nearly all of which were conducted without the input of the indigenous population. This part of the theory section is given as contextual information, without suggesting that any of the mentioned theories are necessarily applicable to the Nubian project.

The relationship between archaeology and the other disciplines will depend to a certain extent on whether the influence from North America is greater than the influence from Europe. The background of archaeology in the two continents differs because the availability of tangible history reaches back to earlier periods in Europe than in North America (Johnson 1999, 149).

Archaeology in Europe can track the development of humanity throughout the Stone Age, Iron Age, through to the Industrial Revolution and later. The artefacts relating to earlier periods do not come with a ready-made background, so understanding the history behind the artefacts is achieved through interpreting and comparing them to other objects relating to the same periods, similar locations and cultures. Archaeology is considered by many experts in Europe to be a sister discipline to history (Johnson 1999, 149).

In North America, colonialism and settlement brought a relative ‘overnight’ explosion of population to the East Coast of the continent, drastically changing the inherent native culture, albeit one which had not at that time been explored or catalogued. A major effect of the growing number of people was the relationship between the cultures, bringing forward a focus on social relationships. As a result, in North America, the sister discipline to archaeology is anthropology, with university departments often structuring their courses as sub-sections of anthropology (Johnson 1999, 149).
In Europe, during the 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries, a desire for exploration resulted in significant finds, and interest in Egypt/the Nile brought many travellers to northern Africa. Several events led to increased understanding of the need for, and interest in, archaeology. Such events included Belzoni’s uncovering of Abu Simbel in Lower Nubia; Amelia Edwards’s devotion to Egypt and funding the first Chair in Egyptology at University College London; and Flinders Petrie’s dedication to items of daily life, leading to a classification of pots which enabled a chronology of cultural history to be formed.

The early era of archaeology was largely based on a culture-historical format, which included classical studies and Egyptology (Trigger 2006, 216). This format consisted of supplying a chronological sequence, plus mapping the way migration of people and diffusion of ideas marked changes in cultures (Johnson 1999, 18). Although there may have been theoretical debates during this period, there is little evidence that application of them was structured (Johnson 1999, 15). By the 1950s, a more unified approach was required, although the theories that were subsequently formed led to disagreements amongst the professionals about the goals of the discipline (Trigger 2006, 1, 310).

The formation of ‘New Archaeology’, also known as ‘Processual Archaeology’, was the outcome of a large-scale dissatisfaction amongst archaeologists with the way the discipline had previously been conducted. New Archaeology was not one set of beliefs or theories, but an agreement under which archaeologists could work towards achieving a more scientific approach. It was the end outcome that united them, rather than how it was achieved (Johnson 1999, 20).

Recognising the need for an anthropological approach in archaeology enabled a wider consideration of museology and cultural heritage. An outcome of studying people and their past led towards social anthropology which, in turn, led towards involving local informants amongst behavioural studies (Trigger 2006, 320). The involvement of indigenous people in the research eventually resulted in including them in the overall management of their heritage. One way in which this is depicted is through the creation of bespoke museums.
Creps discusses the basis on what makes a museum ‘indigenous’. She concludes it is not necessarily dependent on who forms the museum in the first place, but to what extent the local people are involved in its running and feel ownership of the institution (Creps, in Stanley 2008, 225).

The relationship between archaeological practice and theory offers a discussion point. Theorists would argue that theory provides the foundation of all our actions, that without theory we would not develop or interact. Others might argue that the actions come first and, if a theory is required, then a suitable one will be found to meet the situation (Johnson 1999, 4-8). The following statement illustrates a lack of connection between the two:

“Archaeology remains appallingly unaware of its own theoretical underpinnings; much, if not most, archaeological practice is quite uninformed about recent theoretical debates…[although] this is changing.”

(Johnson 1999, 182)

The above statement implies that archaeology has continued to develop without necessarily understanding or adopting the correct theory which, if so, further implies that archaeological practice can exist without relying upon a theory. The reason behind the change that Johnson mentions would provide interesting reading to understand whether it is because archaeologists are applying more theory due to a growing awareness of its presence and need, or whether the theories themselves are developing to more realistically reflect the world of archaeological practice.

The following individual theories are capitalised (first letter) in this chapter only, to highlight their role as a relevant theory.

2.6 Cultural Heritage/Cultural Theory

The critical and theoretical examination of Cultural Heritage provide the strongest theoretical tools to support this research, given its focus on identifying where the tangible heritage of an indigenous population is, recording the intangible heritage and providing better access to both for generations to come.
However, consideration of ‘for whom the heritage exists’ becomes the focal point in Cultural Heritage. It will be seen from the following paragraphs that the discussion also considers the role of museums, which is a good example of how these separate theories and sciences sometimes overlap, as illustrated in 4.2.

Sandis (2014, 11) reminds us that the meaning of heritage is ‘that which has been or may be inherited’. The audience, or the inheritors, do not need to be those who are deemed to have special rights over others such as, in this case, the descendants of the indigenous population who provided the heritage in the first place. Heritage is global, in that everyone should have access to it (Sandis 2014, 18) which is the raison d’être for museums. The approach adopted in this research is an acceptance of that tenet but, by not digitally displaying sufficient items or information in Arabic on the museums’ websites, that today’s indigenous people’s access is denied. It could be implied, therefore, that their rights are not being recognised. Whether such rights become legal issues depends upon the significance of each case (Sandis 2014, 19).

Alternative definitions for ‘heritage’ are offered by Little and Shackel (2014). This book includes a quote by Peter Howard who stated that, having defined heritage as anything in which people are interested and wish to preserve which could involve everyone, it could also divide them (Peter Howard, in Little and Shackel 2014, 39). The authors propose a slightly altered definition, in that the thing which is nominated for keeping needs to provide a connection between the past and the present. The decision over whether heritage is worth keeping could provoke conflict depending on who makes the decision, how impartial they are and how much is taken into account (Little and Shackel 2014, 40).

By implication, the decision to preserve comes equally with the ability to destroy. The Aswan High Dam salvage campaign provides an example of both: the unity amongst countries to rescue all archaeology that could be preserved, and to permanently lose any which could not be saved such as mud-brick fortresses, entire villages and towns, cemeteries and crops. Along with this large-scale loss was added the traditional life of the people who moved to new villages away from the site of the reservoir.

Although restitution is not suggested in this thesis, ‘ownership’ of heritage is implied. Anyone with an interest in the archaeology and culture could be
deemed a stakeholder, with the principal stakeholders being people from the

culture itself. One argument in general for restitution is the cultural rights of the

people to have their ancestry returned to its rightful place (Roehrenbeck 2010,

190), and Egypt’s voice in this debate has been one of the loudest, particularly

in the days when Dr Zawi Hawass was Minister of Antiquities. It has been noted

how weak the cultural argument for the return of certain artefacts is, when Egypt

itself freely gave small temples to the countries that gave the most financial,

academic and professional support during the salvage campaign in the 1960s

(Nicholas 2013, 31).

Experience and guidance of how to protect cultural heritage has since

improved, with publication of the ‘UNESCO convention concerning protection of

the World cultural and natural heritage’ in 1972. UNESCO has stated that

repatriation is a human right, even in cases where the provenance is not

questioned and the property was legally obtained. The reason for it being a

human right is that individuals from the culture would not have had the right to

veto the gift or purchase, an act which has denied any future generations

access to their heritage (Marstine 2006, 16).

Basu (2011) offers a different viewpoint of the widespread use of ethnographic

objects in museums, which he considers to have a positive impact on the

communities whose culture the items represent. His study is based on Sierra

Leone, and identifies that cultural heritage had been removed from the area as

eyearly as 1490, which was 300 years before the country was politically formed.

He cites cases where the communities financially benefited from the removal of

objects and were involved in the negotiations (Basu 2011, 28-30).

As discussed in 2.4, Social Science consists of multiple components which

interact. This multi-faceted interdisciplinary approach has spawned debates

over the relationship between the components, and the potential effect if the

balance between the individual parts were to change. Cultural Theory simplifies

this, by stating there is no need to analyse such a relationship, by accepting that

values and social relations are interdependent. The theory unites the

components and, with this synergy, becomes more likely to enable growth and

transformation (Thompson et al 1990, 21-22). Stating Cultural Theory at its

most basic, life is with people, and how they relate to each other (Thompson et

al 1990, 97).
Cultural Theoretical frameworks are therefore relevant to the Nubian project, which includes the potential to unite a population with its lost past and encourage an interest in developing more involvement in its future. The application of the latter has, so far, failed in that it needs a recognised body to win over the support of the Egyptian officials; however, the project sets the structure to do so. Reuniting the Nubian people with their lost past is achieved in this research through identifying which museums have Nubian collections and publishing links to their websites in a central place, in Arabic.

2.7 New Museum Theory

New Museum Theory is also known as Critical Museum Thought, or the New Museology. Its ethos begins with identifying the traditional purpose of museums as being Victorian, non-engaging and out of date with the needs of today’s audiences (Marstine 2006, 5). This feeling in general is shared by writers who wish to bring museums forward into the 21st century (Black 2012, 1 and Simon 2010, i-ii).

At the centre of the perceived need for change is the acceptance that traditional institutions can be overbearing with their concentrated effort on imparting knowledge, forcing the audience to read about the objects and yet to revere them as they do so (Marstine 2006, 9). Objects are typically described in isolation, even when they are displayed amongst others either of the same period, nature or location. Although informative, it is difficult for the visitor to conjure up images of how the pieces were used, whether in daily life or in ceremonial rituals, and it is often impossible for the visitor to visualize the people who would have been using them. In the majority of instances, major events and other incidents will not be offered as background information, forcing the collections to be seen in a very clinical setting and not in context of what else might be affecting that period. This results in the danger of history and ancient cultures being seen as independent and sporadic chapters in the world’s life, usually with western interpretations (Marstine 2006, 24, 26; Simon 2010, iii-iv; Black 2012, 48).

One of the aims of New Museum Theory is to change people’s perceptions of museums by completely changing the way collections are displayed, through applying a critical examination of what is wrong with the traditional depictions
and adopting an open portrayal of the history reflected in their objects (Marstine 2006, 5). This honesty will be achieved by de-colonialising museums and allowing non-Western cultures to be depicted as they should, without the influence and interpretation given by the Western museum staff. This step should also aim to overcome other areas where museums show lack of respect for indigenous cultures, such as using photography when the people depicted have not given their permission, and when it offends their belief that photos capture the person’s soul. Another example is the inclusion of human remains in displays, which has been a topical debate in recent years. It has frequently been argued that the remains are personal to that culture and should be returned for a respectful burial. The act of displaying them itself is thought to be offensive; human remains in museums typically reflect indigenous or ancient cultures and the display often suggests an inferiority or racial typology, either way making them into a curiosity (Marstine 2006, 14-15).

If museums were to resolve the concerns mentioned above, and to comply with requests for repatriation, this could be the end of museums as we know them, therefore reinventing them into a format and service that meets today’s needs would be appropriate. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill calls this metamorphosis ‘post-museum’, where the institution will share power with the community it serves and understands that visitors are its customers, who have rights to be heard. It should tackle difficult issues so that honest depictions are given, and must not be seen to appeal to the middle-class white Westerners alone (Marstine 2006, 19).

The above transformation does not, in itself, resolve how artefacts from indigenous cultures should be handled, but mention is made of the Seattle Art Museum which is striving to overcome these issues. The problems mentioned in 1.6 about how books depict Africa is mirrored in museums which, within the heading of Africa, tend to concentrate on West African art. The Seattle Art Museum corrects this misrepresentation by including artefacts from Eastern Africa, South Africa and Egypt alongside the West African objects. Complementing the displays are oral histories and stories spoken by community elders and scholars (Marstine 2006, 29).

It is clear how this connects with the aims of the Nubian project. The exercise in collecting oral histories from the elderly Egyptian Nubian participants was
designed to be used as audio backing to the still-life dioramas in the Nubian Museum, Aswan.

The desire with both the New Museum Theory and the Nubian project is to get museums to break away from the colonial influence and the staid displays that do not engage with the visitors. This part of the theory overlaps with Pedagogy and Andragogy, discussed at 5.2. The aforementioned need to involve the community overlaps with Indigenous Archaeology, discussed next.

2.8 Indigenous Archaeology

With Indigenous Archaeology, the local indigenous people are involved in the practice of archaeology that relates to their territory and the exploration of any artefact connected with their heritage, but especially skeletal remains. The relevance of Indigenous Archaeology to the Nubian project is not only about how the material was researched, it is also about the message that was imparted to the younger generation, trying to give them an impetus to keep striving for access to, and possibly involvement with, their cultural information.

Venkateswar and Hughes's book (2011) is one of only two books encountered through this research which includes the plight of the Nubian people, other than the works specifically published about the impact of the Aswan High Dam, the Nubian ethnological survey or Nubia in ancient times. When looking at issues on a global scale, or even just the African continent, Nubia is rarely mentioned.

Although Emma Hughes's work also involved interviewing Nubian people, the nature of her discussions was wider and more political than the oral histories part of this project. Her work serves to confirm that the Nubian people can be classed as an indigenous population and that, despite the levels of separation they have experienced through the 1960s' diaspora and assimilation into Egyptian culture, they have maintained their own identity and still constitute a distinct ethnic minority (Venkateswar and Hughes 2011, 114).

Indigenous Archaeology is closely linked with all of the other theories summarised in this chapter, but the relationship with Colonialism is the most significant in that Indigenous Archaeology attempts to establish a decolonised archaeological practice. Archaeology in general is a colonialist profession which flows through Western culture; this mind-set has to be significantly changed in
order to accommodate and involve indigenous people with their own archaeology (Smith and Wobst 2005, 5-7). Archaeological theory needs to have its constraints removed so that a much wider concept can be included in the theory and practice. In so doing, archaeology becomes more cultural; it moves from concentrating on tangible artefacts to embracing intangible aspects, such as language, cultural arts, traditions, oral history and social life (Smith and Wobst 2005, 28). This description by Wobst concurs with one of the statements in this project (at item 7.4) about the need to preserve and display records of the Nubian language, ancient and modern, in both Kenzi and Fediji. It also concurs with the oral history exercise conducted as discussed in Chapter 5.

At archaeological sites, one of the first issues to resolve is whether the excavation would involve digging up human remains. Such a process could be offensive to the local individuals, or offensive to their cultural and religious beliefs. Having indigenous archaeologists amongst the team would bridge this divide, by acting as a liaison to inform both sides and mediating any disputes (Smith and Wobst 2005, 302-303). This act of collaboration is deemed by those interested in Indigenous Archaeology as the way forward, by moving archaeology away from the colonial influence of the past, to a community-based archaeology of the future (Atalay 2012, 10-11).

2.9 Pedagogy/Andragogy

Pedagogy and Andragogy are, respectively, the science of teaching to children and learning for adults, and are more relevant for the future of Nubia as an indication of how progress could be achieved if some of the suggestions itemised under Conclusions are to be realised. Nonetheless, the lack of understanding how to involve the culture that has been studied in the results of previous work has been the main reason for conducting this project. It is therefore the absence of Andragogy to date in particular and its necessary inclusion in the future that provides the link with this project.

The Egyptian Nubian people are disconnected from their ancient heritage, not only due to its current location but also due to the fact that they know very little about it. Their attachment to their modern heritage has also been weakened, due to the outcomes of creating the Aswan High Dam.
Resolving the absence of connection requires application of Pedagogy and Andragogy, in order to ensure those learning about their past are fully engaged, understand and retain the detail. They need conditions that allow them to question, experiment and apply their new knowledge.

This section concentrates on Andragogy, as Pedagogy can only be enabled by changing the schooling system to include more information about Nubia, in a stimulating environment. Whilst Pedagogy – the art or science of teaching children – is being applied in Egypt via the UNICEF community school programme in Asyut, this addresses the mode of teaching and learning, not the subject matter involved (Zaalouk 2004, xi).

Andragogy becomes the key theory in this research, due to the fact that adults are not constrained by following a prescriptive programme of teaching. They are – or, rather, should be – able to develop their own knowledge by use of libraries, discussion groups, bookshops and the internet.

At the heart of Andragogy is the need to facilitate learning (Knowles et al 1998, 73, 84, 85). Traditionally, this function was assigned to a teacher, but since the advent of the internet, there is more scope for adults to opt for the self-taught route. This could still be via a structured course, conducted online, or it could be similar to an ‘armchair learner’ where the adults dip into individual pieces of material as suits their needs.

Contributing authors (Knowles et al, 1998) collect and discuss theories about learning and teaching. The definitions differ, but ‘the science of teaching’ is more likely to be applicable to education of children, with ‘the science of learning’ more relevant for adults. Amongst the theories discussed, including those formed by Hilgard, Gagne and Dewey, the theories concentrating on adults are those proposed by Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers (Knowles et al 1998, 73-75, 80, 92-96, 46-48 and 84-87 respectively).

Maslow, who is well known for identifying motivation as a key influence on an individual’s desire to succeed, also identifies safety and the environment as key factors when an individual has freely chosen to progress forward (Knowles et al 1998, 47-48).
Rogers developed five hypotheses, culminating in identifying learning as an internal process controlled by the adult student, who is completely involved in it (Knowles et al 1998, 49-50).

The relevance of Maslow’s and Rogers’ theories of learning (Andragogy) to the Nubian project therefore revolves around the fact the Nubian people are currently showing an interest in learning more about their past; it is not as a result of a requirement that has been imposed on them by the authorities. Therefore the time is right to capitalize on this home-grown interest. However, as the theories state, the environment has to be right to enable such learning to take place. This is a role that the Nubian Museum and the village clubs could facilitate.

2.10 Public Archaeology

Public Archaeology became an identifiable practice and theory in 1972. It was derived from the various models of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) in the US, which recognised that the extent of archaeological projects could not be sufficiently resourced from within the profession. Help had to be sought from the wider public. In so doing, it was eventually appreciated that the public themselves had an influence in the way archaeology was managed, interpreted and communicated. In recognising this, it was then accepted that this relationship was also likely to result in change, which was particularly noticeable from the campaigns of indigenous populations, together with other minority groups, to have more of an input into the way their cultural past was depicted (Merriman 2004, 3-4). There is a clear connection between the birth of Public Archaeology and the aims behind the Nubian project towards change for the future.

“The premise of this book is that the past is something that belongs to us all, irrespective of the circumstances of their birth and upbringing. Consequently everyone should have the right to gain access to their history, even if they choose not to avail themselves of this opportunity.”

(Merriman 2000, 1)

This will be developed further at Conclusions 7.3.
The above was stated by Nick Merriman, a Public Archaeology specialist and this one quote encapsulates the whole essence behind the Nubian project.

According to Ascherson (2000, 2), Public Archaeology does not only concern the public as a body of people, it also concerns the non-professional intervention from public bodies. It is often taken into a political arena by, amongst other things, becoming involved in:

- The sale of looted antiquities;
- The relationship between nationalism and archaeology;
- The move from public funds into a privatisation of the profession;
- Human rights, in particular those of the indigenous population;
- Representation of archaeology in the media.

Sally MacDonald and Catherine Shaw of the Petrie Museum (Merriman 2004) state how defining target audiences relied upon identifying current visitors through observation and the comments made in visitor books. They also confirm that museum staff make the ultimate decisions on the displays and have the opportunity to either manipulate the feedback by their selection of the respondents, or even decide to ignore altogether what the customers say (MacDonald and Shaw, in Merriman 2004, 110).

An observation has been made by Stephen Quirke, curator of the Petrie Museum that, although there is an increasing interest in Ancient Egypt, Egyptology is considered academically inferior to the study of other ancient cultures (Macdonald and Shaw, in Merriman 2004, 111-112). The nature of this comment underlines the divide between academia and public interest which museums and Egyptologists could work together to bridge. Any move towards achieving this would be a positive impact towards applying Public Archaeology theory. It is a move that the Nubian project would benefit from by default, due to most museums portraying Ancient Nubia as part of Ancient Egypt.

2.11 Colonialism

This sub-section considers colonization, colonialism and colonial attitudes (a behavioural trait). They all form components of Cultural Theory and are separate entities in the overall subject of foreign powers controlling other
countries. The extent to which they apply to the case of Nubia is discussed below.

Colonialism as a theoretical component

Colonialism became an identifiable concept within Cultural Theory in 1978, when Edward Said discussed it (Said, in Young 1995: 159). Definitions and applications of the term vary; the following definition is selected from a specialised dictionary:

“Theory of the territorial extension of national power. Nations and economies will seek to extend their influence by colonizing weaker or less economically developed areas. Theories of colonialism differ as to whether the principal motive in this expansion is military or economic.”

(Bothamley 2002, 102)

Colonial attitudes

Even in cases where a country’s former colonies are now independent, the impact of colonialism on the ex-colony might still exist. Museums are agents in perpetuating this legacy, though there are other influences. For example, India was ruled by Great Britain for over 175 years but, despite finding independence in 1947, India’s political and legal structures still follow the pattern introduced by the British (Sahar, 2015).

There is little doubt that Ancient Nubia was subjected to the influence of Ancient Egypt and that Lower Nubia at least was under its control for a majority of the pre-Christian era, with the control extending in the New Kingdom to the Dongola Reach (Adams 1977, 30). The term ‘colonial powers’ has been used by others to describe these periods of domination (Nicholas 2013, 12).

Colonialism subjected by Ancient Egypt

Referring back to Bothamley’s definition of Colonialism, Ancient Egypt’s invasions of Nubia could be seen as both economic and military. The invasions throughout antiquity were primarily to plunder; Nubia was a key source of important goods, such as gold, granite, slaves and animal skins (Adams 1977, 41-43). This in itself would satisfy the economic reasoning. During certain periods, Egypt’s influence would differ. For example, in the Middle Kingdom
Egypt’s involvement with Nubia was more strategic and military, with the fortresses such as Buhen being manned. Van Pelt summarises the invasions by Ancient Egypt of Nubia and considers to what extent this impacted on any cultural differences throughout the New Kingdom in particular. Although it is not detailed in the following summary, the adoption of another country’s culture was not limited to Nubia accommodating Egypt’s influence – there is evidence of Egypt equally being influenced by other cultures (Van Pelt 2013, 528-531).

There is also no suggestion that the Ancient Nubian people absorbed the Egyptian culture to such an extent that no traces of their own indigenous culture remained (Van Pelt 2013, 537-539).

There is a well-founded perception, however, that the Egyptian influence pervaded Nubia, in particular Lower Nubia which was subjected to more invasions than further south. This belief is largely due to the lack of indigenous written records from Nubia of that time, making it easier for Egyptian records to be the predominant source (Van Pelt 2013, 523). Whether local writings were produced and did not survive could be a topic for another debate, although one would then have to question why Nubian scripts did not survive and yet texts in hieroglyphic writing did.

**Colonialism subjected by Britain**

If it is accepted that Nubia is, or has been, subjected to colonialism, the influence in Lower (northern) Nubia would have come from Egypt. It is therefore worth remembering that modern-day Egypt and Sudan (including the whole area of Nubia) were subjected to imperial rule themselves by Britain. The conquest of Sudan began during Egypt’s period of domination by the Ottoman empire. In the early 1820’s, Mohammed Ali began a campaign to control Sudan, essentially to obtain slaves and to recruit for his army (Ferro 1997, 67). In 1824, Egypt founded Khartoum and imposed Ottoman Turkish as the administrative language. Shortly after that, in 1869, Egypt opened the Suez Canal, the construction of which left them in difficulties due to incurring large debts. Britain took over occupation of Egypt in 1882, resulting in Sudan also coming under British control (Ferro 1997, 67-69).

The reason for this intervention was economic and military. Creation of the Suez Canal had a potentially huge impact on the transit of goods, and anyone
who had shares in the Suez Canal Company would have been a key stakeholder in the power it yielded. Britain’s controlling interest needed to be protected; one way of achieving this was by occupying Egypt for 74 years (Varble 2003, 11). During this period, construction of the Aswan High Dam began for which funding assistance was required. A political battle began between Egypt, Britain, France and US, resulting in the Suez Canal being nationalised by Egypt, the Suez Canal Company being dissolved and Britain leaving Egypt (Varble 2003, 14).

Britain’s expulsion was protracted, during which they severed links with Sudan and granted it independence. Egypt gained its own independence in 1956 but Egyptian power over Sudan had by then been removed (Ferro 1997, 318-320).

One outcome of Britain’s intervention in Egypt included defending it during the two World Wars, and this had a direct impact on some Nubian people. Many of those who were forcibly conscripted during the Great War into the British colonial army, called the King’s African Rifles, were discharged afterwards with no home to go to. A new homeland was created for them by the colonialists in Nairobi. Today, the Nubian descendants are now 5th or 6th generation and, due to their original homeland of Sudan not existing as a country when the ex-soldiers first settled in Nairobi, they class themselves as Kenyans. However, they have been denied Kenyan citizenship but are also denied repatriation to Sudan, so are essentially stateless (Kohn 2010). This example illustrates a more negative impact of Colonialism than the 1960’s diaspora, when at least the Nubian people were allowed to live in the country of their birth, albeit not in an area that was their homestead. It might also be construed as meeting Bothamley’s (2002, 102) definition of Colonialism ‘colonizing weaker or less economically developed areas’, although the colonization was not large scale and not in the same country.

Colonization

Ferro offers the following definition of colonization:

“Colonization is associated with the occupation of a foreign land, with its being brought under cultivation, with the settlement of colonists.”

(Ferro 1997, 1)
Ferro concludes that definition by suggesting territorial expansion and colonization are more or less synonymous (Ferro 1997,1). The aspects to be considered here are whether Nubia was subjected to Colonialism and, if so, was it subsequently colonized.

Despite the frequent and long-lasting invasions by Ancient Egypt, there is little evidence to suggest there were significantly more Egyptian inhabitants of Nubia than the soldiers who were garrisoned at the fortresses, plus any children they may have subsequently raised with the local women. As adopting the term ‘colonialism’ suggests that ‘colonization’ subsequently occurred, there is insufficient archaeological evidence to confirm that Egypt did indeed colonize Nubia.

The absence of evidence of effective colonial occupation in antiquity could simply result from the perception that parts of Nubia were inaccessible. Kush – southern Nubia – was not invaded until the New Kingdom, it falling south of the 2nd cataract which is a major cataract (Smith 2003, 3). The area south of the 2nd cataract contains tracts of inhospitable terrain, although there is also agricultural land containing significant sites.

**Colonialism and Colonization**

One definition suggests Colonialism could be attained without involving official colonies. Young (1995, 166) describes Colonialism as a well-oiled and efficient machine, which embraces the individual components of the overthrown country and converts them into power. It is therefore a mode of governing and controlling – without mentioning any connection with colonizing.

A disconnect between Colonialism and Colonization is offered by Young. The capitalistic structure incorporates the physical and ideological procedures of Colonization, deculturation and acculturation which are imposed upon indigenous societies by occupying powers. The local peoples are forced to go through a process of deconstructing, before being restructured relating to the invading culture, which is likened to colonial enslavement. It is a process which is suggested as being the outcome of a violent colonial imposition; it is not suggested as a natural outcome of, or link with, all colonial activity. Therefore the link between Colonialism and full-scale settlement is plausible but not paramount (Young 1995, 169-170).
Conclusions

This extremely condensed discussion about Nubia’s, Egypt’s and Sudan’s situations leads to a conclusion that it is acceptable to refer to the occupation by Egypt in Ancient times and to the 19th-20th century domination by Britain as colonial, due to the description of the governing power and influence of the usurpers over the receiving culture. There will be periods when the term ‘colonial’ might be more of a loose description than a factual account of the political status, but the image it portrays is likely to be an accurate reflection of the relationship between the countries involved.

However, there is no archaeological evidence that these colonial periods resulted in Colonization of Nubia by an invading culture. Although some bloodlines have undoubtedly been absorbed into the Egyptian Nubian tribes, as evidenced by the red-haired, blue-eyed boatman in Aswan in the 1980’s (Morkot, pers. comm., 2016), such outcomes are more likely to have occurred as the result of statistically insignificant settlements and relationships rather than a large scale Colonization.

Having determined that it is acceptable to refer to Egypt’s domination and Britain’s occupation as Colonialism, it now needs to be considered to what extent Colonialism, as a theory, is relevant to the Nubian project.

As seen, Lower Nubia has been impacted by the power of non-Nubian government throughout most of its civilisation, whether it is from an internal perspective (as in later years) or from an invading country’s rule. This is true also for Upper Nubia though to a lesser extent in antiquity. It is impossible to ascertain what Nubia would be like today if it had not been for Egypt’s and Britain’s intervention. It is clear, however, that the history it accumulated will reflect Colonialism, whether it be in the architectural design of many of the temples rescued via the UNESCO salvage campaign in the 1960’s or the loss of their traditions, including their spoken and written language, in order to absorb the culture of their Egyptian neighbours. The political impact in 1956 of the Republic of Sudan being formed from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (itself formed in 1899) meant the Nubian people were now divided into Egyptian Nubians and Sudanese Nubians, with the latter being excluded from most of this research for logistical reasons.
The political intervention by Great Britain over the official control of Sudan, during a period when many Nubian people were away from their homeland fighting in the British army, has resulted in many subsequent generations becoming stateless. These people have not been identified or involved in the project, which could have had a different outcome if accessing the wider reach had been possible.

Nearly all of the tangible heritage relating to Ancient Nubia (Lower) can only be seen either by visiting the temples which are controlled and curated by the Egyptian ministry, or by seeing smaller constructions and objects in museums. Given that museums themselves are generally associated with Colonialism, this manner of seeing Nubia’s history augments the inference that Nubia has been dominated by colonial rule.

The impact of Colonialism on Nubia has therefore had a strong influence on this project.
CHAPTER THREE: NUBIA

This chapter includes:

- Introduction and summary
- Geography and naming conventions
- Archaeological interest
- People, culture and language
- The UNESCO salvage campaign
- Implementing the diaspora
- Effect of the archaeological, salvage and cultural work
- Indigenous archaeology and political background

3.1 Introduction and summary

The purpose of this chapter is to inform the non-specialist reader about Nubia’s background, its peoples’ culture and the reasons why they and their heritage are now both displaced. With this background knowledge, together with the other contextual information in Chapter 1, it will be easier for the reader to understand why the research behind this MPhil is deemed to be important, specifically to Nubian people but ultimately to any indigenous population in a similar situation.

Modern day Nubia spans southern Egypt and northern Sudan, and there is archaeological evidence of the area having been inhabited since Early Paleolithic times, between 1,000,000 BP and 100,000 BP (Fisher et al 2012, 10).

Such an immense time period cannot be sufficiently condensed into one chapter, so a timeline at Appendix 1 helps to portray the history, enabling the following text to focus on key points. Maps P1 and P2 at the beginning of the thesis help to depict the differences between the land in antiquity and today’s Nubia.

Nubia’s prominence in history began with the invasions by Ancient Egypt, which were essentially for the following reasons: provision of free labour (slaves); gold; various forms of granite and granodiorite, used in their monument building; and ivory. To a lesser extent, other animal-related products, such as skins, were also part of the provisions brought back to Egypt (Adams 1977, 41-43).
Conquering pharaohs built temples, not only to add to their assurance of an afterlife but also to remind the local Nubians of Egypt's dominance, wealth and power. Some of these structures, such as the temples at Abu Simbel, became an important part of modern Egypt's tourist attractions, and all gained global attention in the 1960s when they were threatened with being totally submerged by the reservoir created as a result of building the new High Dam in Aswan. A campaign spearheaded by UNESCO to rescue 23 monuments brought the attention of Nubia to the world.

Receiving less publicity was the impact the High Dam and the new reservoir would have on the Nubian people. Some 100,000 Nubians were relocated to new villages, losing their homeland for ever. For the Egyptian Nubians this meant having to absorb the culture of their Egyptian neighbours and adopt Arabic as their main language. This imposed 'step towards a better future' meant the Egyptian Nubians subsequently lost many of their old traditions.

The outcome was a double-headed displacement; archaeology which could be saved is now curated for in a variety of museums around the world, and the people themselves were removed from their villages.
3.2 Geography and naming conventions

As shown in the above map, the modern area of Nubia spans southern Egypt and northern Sudan where the terrain is largely either desert, fertile regions in the Nile Valley or, since the 1960’s, submerged under the reservoir. Both of these countries have historically relied upon the Nile as their main water source. The stretch of the Nile in Nubia is dominated by a series of cataracts, which are granite formations in the river bed and adjacent land, forming dangerous rapids and impassable terrain (Smith 2003, 4).

Egypt and Nubia are divided into ‘Upper’ and ‘Lower’ following the course of the river, which is northwards, from higher territory into lower land, emptying into the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore Lower Egypt is the northern part of Egypt,
which includes Cairo, Alexandria and the Nile Delta. Upper Egypt includes much of the Nile Valley plus Kom Ombo, Aswan, and Abu Simbel. Similarly, Lower Nubia is to the north and is located predominantly in Egypt, and Upper Nubia is essentially the part that falls south of the border with Sudan.

The new lake formed by the construction of the Aswan High Dam straddles the border between Egypt and Sudan, and carries two names – Lake Nasser in Egypt, and Lake Nubia in Sudan.

The northern border of Nubia has consistently been referred to as just south of Aswan, by the first cataract of the Nile (Adams 1977, 20); however, from approximately 3,000 BC for a thousand years, Nubia extended as far north of Aswan as Edfu (Geiser 1986, 17). The southern border has changed over time, but is generally taken to be at the third cataract of the Nile, near Dongola in Sudan. Its southernmost border is recorded as being at the Shabaluqa Gorge (at the sixth cataract), close to where the Blue Nile and White Nile merge at Khartoum (Smith 2003, 4).

In addition to the border changing due to invasions and changes of power, the area has been separated into kingdoms during specific time periods. The terms ‘Meroe’, ‘Napata’, ‘Kerma’ and ‘Kush’ refer to parts of Nubia at different times in its ancient history, and separately refer to specific geographic/political areas, periods in time when the land was ruled by a certain king and his family, and archaeological eras. However, experts specialising in the area prefer the term ‘Kush’ throughout Nubia’s history until the the border between Egypt and Sudan became defined. This is because the term ‘Nubia’ did not exist during Ancient Egypt times until the Greco Roman period (Rahhal 2001, 7). The term ‘Nubia’ will continue to be used throughout this thesis to avoid confusion, unless the specific periods in ancient times are being referred to.

Referring to Nubia as a country depends on the period. In modern days the area of Nubia has always been split between Egypt and Sudan and, during this period, has not been acknowledged as having its own political territory or government. It is acceptable to refer to Ancient Nubia as a country, inferred by the need for external powers such as Ancient Egypt to invade and take control.

Classification of the area south of Egypt has changed in antiquity, sometimes affecting how authors in the 19th and early 20th centuries referred to the various
It is an accepted fact that the area of Nubia currently in Sudan was termed Ethiopia, which was an area with vague geographical definitions. Ethiopia (Aithiopia) was generally used to describe anywhere with black-skinned people, with the term meaning ‘the land of the burnt-faced people’ (Morkot 2000, 2).

According to Adams (1977, 70), Europe became aware of Ethiopia when Portugal invaded it. This happened during the time of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt (1520) and the beginning of a period for Nubia of which we are less informed. It was not until the 19th century that outside interest in Africa expanded, with the European explorations enabling mapping of the continent to take place. This period also marks an increase of interest in Sudan. In a bid to extend Egypt’s border further south, Mohammed Ali conquered Sudan in 1820 (Barraclough 1992, 102). The subsequent control of Egypt by Britain led to Anglo-Egyptian control of Sudan, followed by the battles of Khartoum and Omdurman toward the end of the century and Sudan’s independence in 1956 (McKay et al 2009, 227).

Early archaeological reports may have adopted the term ‘Nubia’ where ‘Lower Nubia’ would have been more correct, when the excavations had generally only been conducted in the Egyptian part of the land (Adams 1977, 21).

This changing of the borders and political domination, coupled with Egypt often being classified in libraries as Mediterranean due to its northern coastline, brings added complications to curators in museums when determining how artefacts from the region should be presented – are they Nubian, Egyptian, Sudanese or more general, such as Northern Africa, Europe or Middle East? Similarly, are they Arabic or African?

Mention needs to be made here of the link between Nubia and Nuba, which has a complicated history. Geographically, there is no connection between the area of Nubia and the Nuba mountains in Sudan. This mountain range is in Southern Kordofan and close to the border with South Sudan, therefore further south than Khartoum, the southernmost point recorded as the lower boundary for Nubia (Mackie 1994, 68). Morkot notes the name ‘Nubia’ may be derived from an early population of Noubai people, who settled in the Nile Valley having originated from Darfur and Kordofan (Morkot 2000, 2). This provides an ethnic and
linguistic tribal link between the Nuba people in southern Sudan and the modern Nubians in Egypt and northern Sudan, as discussed in section 3.4.

3.3 Archaeological interest

Without archaeology, there would not be such a detailed knowledge of history or how the people lived, their skills, the wildlife or what vegetation the land offered. This section shows the background to archaeological excavations in the area, which are listed in Appendix 2.

Referring back to one of the two main reasons for this research (see page 21), the question could be asked as to why so many foreigners have been interested in Nubia’s archaeology. The development of archaeology in Europe and the United States was mentioned in Chapter 2. It is more relevant to consider the case study of Nubia within the context of Egyptology, which is briefly discussed here, and again in 3.9 when considering the involvement of indigenous people.

The birth of modern Egyptology began in the 19th century with expeditions of travellers such as Amelia Edwards, William Bankes and Giovanni Belzoni, together with professionals such as Auguste Mariette, Gaston Maspero, Flinders Petrie and Wallis Budge. Knowledge of the land south of Egypt was harder to assimilate, due to the Nile being harder to navigate over the cataracts and the land often being impossible to traverse. Travel even further south, into the heart of Sudan, was also affected by political events, such as the Mahdi uprising, the fall of Khartoum, death of General Gordon and subsequent defeat of the Khalifa in Omdurman (Morkot 2000, 23). Therefore, archaeological excavations concentrated in Upper Egypt and were limited in Sudan until the UNESCO salvage campaign. Once the excavations took place, it became clear that the Ancient Egyptians similarly found certain tracts of the Nile to be uninhabitable, with certain areas yielding very little archaeology of interest.

The universal support given to the UNESCO campaign is given in more detail at Appendix 3. When summarised, the detail in the appendix shows the following support given by foreign countries (other than Egypt and Sudan) to the UNESCO campaign:
Europe = 16 countries, participating in 69 excavations
US = Participating in 32 excavations
Other = 3 countries, participating in 7 excavations

Of the ‘Other’ category, only one country was from Africa, and only one country was from the southern hemisphere, despite so many already being members of UNESCO by then (UNESCO http://www.unesco.org/eri/cp/ListeMS_Indicators.asp).

Countries which are considered similar to the Western World through their colonial background and advancements in education and economy, such as Australia and New Zealand, took no part in the salvage campaign.

The following map depicts excavation sites in the first half of the 20th century.
The relationship between Ancient Nubia and Ancient Egypt, together with the intense concentration on archaeology in Egypt since Victorian times, has resulted in Nubia being largely considered as part of Egyptology. Any
interpretation of Nubian culture has, until recently, been skewed towards their northern neighbours, without being viewed as a culture in its own right (Ruffini 2012, 4). This is discussed further in 3.4, at Cultural Identification, when considering the correct terminology for local people in Nubia.

Separating Nubia from Egypt, professionally, began with the work of William Adams, who spearheaded the UNESCO campaign to salvage Nubia’s archaeology. Adams remained in Nubia for the duration of the project, without going north of Aswan. Learning the area and its past in this way enabled the birth of Nubiology, as the work that Adams conducted was not seen through the eyes of Egyptologists. Development of Nubiology has continued with archaeologists such as David Edwards and Derek Welsby (Ruffini 2012, 4).

3.4 People, culture and language

In the early 19th century, Legh identified the Nubian race as being neither Arab, Negro nor Egyptian, but being one of its own with a particular language, physiognomy and colour, and independent of being governed by Egypt (Legh 1816, 55 and 59).

There is also the acknowledgement that ethnic groups are rarely bounded by geographical boundaries, but instead they bleed over into other groups and get absorbed into other cultures (Smith 2003, 2).

Nubian people:

Due to the complexity of the Nubian tribes and their history, the following section has been separated into three parts: Nubian people from antiquity to medieval times; modern Nubians; and Nubians and the Nuba.
P5: Tribes of Nubia and surrounding regions
(Adams 1977, 59)
Prehistoric events that transpired in Nubia have set it apart from other areas of Africa. It can be said that this is the beginning of Nubian cultural history (Adams 1977, 107). Nubian people from the Stone Age were tall and robust, with angular features and prominent chins. They did not resemble the Nubian people from this historic era (Adams 1977, 110).

Nubia has rarely been an area where only the Nubian people have lived. Throughout history, nomadic people have been found there, particularly the Beja and the Arabs. The Beja are believed to be descendants of the Medjay from Ancient Egyptian times (Adams 1977, 58). The various tribes found to have lived in Nubia are mapped in P5 on previous page.

From archaeological records, it is not possible to create a continuous racial or cultural link from the Ancient Nubians through to today’s population. There is not much evidence of Nubian language prior to the Middle Ages (Adams 1977, 65).

Our knowledge of Nubia in medieval times is gained largely due to the thorough study conducted on Qasr Ibrim which, due to its height, is the only site in Lower Nubia to remain visible in Lake Nasser, though it is disappearing. Qasr Ibrim was a hilltop fortress in Lower Nubia which, during medieval times, was the capital of Dotawo, a Nubian kingdom whose power reached into central Sudan (Ruffini 2012, 1).

Documents salvaged during excavation work are written in Arabic, though that does not necessarily mean the area had fully converted to Islamic status by then. Spaulding’s research (1995) on the Islamisation of Nubia identifies the conversion from one religion to another as being ‘baqt’ – a process conducted between the Nubians and the Muslims, although the only surviving sources about this come from the perspective of the Muslims. It remains unknown what the Nubians’ understanding of the ‘baqt’ may have been (Spaulding 1995, 577). Spaulding further notes that ‘baqt’, although widely discussed as a term relating to medieval African history, has yet to receive a universally accepted definition (Spaulding 1995, 577).

The beginning of the ‘baqt’ was probably when the Caliph Uthman sent military expeditions to Nubia and seiged Makuria in 652 AD, and Nubia subsequently entered into a status where it belonged to neither the Islamic or non-Islamic
world. The ‘baqt’ during this period gave Nubia the status equivalent to its own kingdom within the Islamic empire. One of the conditions was that Nubia had to provide Egypt with 360 slaves each year. The ‘baqt’ was updated in 1276 with another conquest over Nubia, whereby they lost their kingdom status but the provision of slaves continued to be a requirement until the mid-14th century (Spaulding 1995, 579-580).

The conversion from Christianity is now believed to have occurred across the 12th and 13th centuries, with an inscription dated back to 1596 by an Ethiopian monk noting that the men of Dongola, whether Nubian or Arab, were all Muslim (Ruffini 2012, 233-235).

**Modern Nubians**

Modern Nubian people have been split into three tribes: the Kenuz who traditionally live in close proximity with Aswan, the Fedija whose homeland is further south and stretches to Dongola, with a 40 kilometre stretch between the two tribes occupied by Arabic-speaking Nubians (Geiser 1986, 19).

The Kenuz culture emerged during the 9th century and 10th century, formed between Arab tribes that moved into Egypt and settled in the Aswan area, and their Nubian predecessors (Callender and Guindi 1971, 3).

The Fedija are believed to be descended from a warrior tribe called the Blemyes who came from the area between the Red Sea and the Nile, and began to move into Lower Nubia (Geiser 1986, 19-20).

Modern Egyptian Nubians form the focus of this study; their lifestyles and traditions are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

**Nubians and the Nuba**

The Nuba do not form part of this research but mention is made of them here to anticipate (and subsequently avoid) any confusion between the two tribes, due to the similarities in their name and location, and to explain the connection.

The link between the Nubian people of Egypt and Sudan with the Nuba tribe in southern Kordofan, goes back to ancient times. The Nuba were driven from Kordofan to markets further north and today’s communities are descendants with both Nuba and Arab blood (Mackie 1994, 69). Amongst the various
theories posed about the origins of modern Nubian people is one that the Kenuz were a part of the Nobatae, who had left Kordofan (Geiser 1986, 19). In the early 20th century, Sir Harold MacMichael identified various terms having been used in early inscriptions, such as ‘Noba, Nobatae, Noubai, Nubei, and Nobae’ (MacMichael 1922, 12-13). Ahmed Abdel Rahman Saeed concludes that, historically, the terms Nuba and Nubian meant one thing (black) and referred to one racial group (Saeed, in Rahhal 2001, 7). He also confirms the lack of universal agreement about the origins of the Nuba, stating it is subjected to controversy (Saeed, in Rahhal 2001, 6).

A group called Nubian Knights have a page on Facebook, which they use to promote their culture and history, and encourage others to join in. On 29 July 2016, they jointly hosted an international day but the event was labelled ‘International Nuba’s Day’. The Facebook advertisement is shown next, at P6. When asked whether the day was for Nuba, or Nubia, the response was a short lecture in the difference between the two, which produced a second query from me about why it was called Nuba in the title, and not Nubia, when it was an event being held for the Nubian people. No answer was given and the name of the event remained unchanged.
The name ‘Nuba’ has similarly been used by other Nubian groups, such as NubaTube and Nuba Nour.

This interchange of terms is corroborated by Ahmed Abdel Rahman Saeed, stating both names were used to describe the people who lived north of Meroe and south of Aswan (Saeed, in Rahhal 2001, 6). A connection between the two tribes is not accepted by all modern generations, stating that the two tribes are different; the Nuba came from mid-Africa and were given their name by the northern (non-Nubian) Sudanese (Osman pers. comm., 2015).

Cultural identification

It is worth noting that, amongst all the archaeological work identifying and connecting tribal people over the millennia, todays' people might prefer to be perceived as not having a certain culture in their blood, or indeed inventing a connection where one may not exist. Several non-Nubian Egyptians spoken to during the research have expressed offence at being classed as Arab, and instead would rather be associated with Africa. This could be due to political sensitivities, as well as cultural divides. Conversely, as mentioned on page 9,
the term ‘Nubian’ is used for some who have no obvious connection to the land of Nubia or its people

Another point to note is that, while we adopt the term Egyptian Nubians to differentiate from those who come from Sudan, the Nubians involved in the field research generally classed themselves as Nubian Egyptians. When discussing the reasoning behind this terminology with my research team, the differences between the languages and grammar became clear. In the English version, the noun is Nubian, with the term Egyptian being the adjective. Therefore, in ‘Egyptian Nubian’, it is the word ‘Nubian’ which has the important role, with ‘Egyptian’ merely being descriptive.

However, for the Egyptian Nubians themselves whose language is Arabic, they see the word Egyptian as being the most important word in the English version because it comes first. By describing them like this, it suggests their culture is primarily Egyptian, with their Nubian blood and heritage being secondary. For today’s local people who wish to strengthen their Nubian identity, the correct version to them is ‘Nubian Egyptian’.

The above explanation indicates both terms place the emphasis on the Nubian aspect of the person’s heritage and culture. The decision on which version to apply would depend on the audience and location, to ensure the right meaning is conveyed.
Nubian culture:

Fig. 2. Chronology of Egyptian and Nubian cultural periods

P7: Chronology of Egyptian and Nubian cultural periods
(Adams 1977, 16)
The diagram from Adams’s 1977 work (at P7) depicts the various cultural periods from antiquity through to modernity.

Over the years, several cultures have been assimilated into the Nubian culture, such as Hungarians, Bosnians, Kurds and black slaves from southern Sudan. This mixture of blood occasionally transfers to the colour of their skin, with some Nubians appearing paler than others (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 11-12).

Nubian people are not as homogenous as often portrayed. Circumstances have affected different communities, creating their own histories and geographies. Despite these differences, a unique Nubian identity has been reinforced, particularly since the 1964 diasporas (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 12). This could be linked to the flooding of their homeland, that the people are uniting more strongly to compensate for the loss of their traditions and lifestyle. Research would need to be conducted to test this hypothesis.

In modern cultural studies, it is important to note potential differences between populations in Upper Egypt, who are essentially rural, with Nubian populations living in the Delta of Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria, who will be essentially urban. Further differences are likely to exist between the Nubians living in Sudan. The research in this project concentrated on Upper Egypt.

**Land ownership, inheritance, and equality**

Documentation relating to land-tenure in medieval Nubia has enabled studies on the role of women in that period, and to compare their rights with the rights of men. Results showed that private land-tenure was available to both sexes, with no apparent legal differentiation (Ruffini 2012, 235-236).

There is a perception amongst today’s Nubian women that, due to their education, they are on a more equal footing with their men. Knowledge of this perception arose from a discussion with a member of the project’s research team (Hilmy pers. comm., 2015), who confirmed that men and women alike have the right to buy land. However, the rights to, and division of, inheritance is determined by the Koran.

The belief of Nubian women that they are equal with their men could not be less correct. ‘*The World Gender Gap*’ (Guardian newspaper 2013) identifies Egypt as being ranked at number 125 in a list of 136 countries comparing the equality
between men and women. For political empowerment, they are ranked at number 128. Sudan is not included in the list.

There is little doubt that religion plays a significant part in the expectations of behaviour. A young Muslim man from Jordan believes their culture holds women in far more esteem than the western world does; the Muslim woman controls the household and the family respect her. This ‘lack of status’ in the Western world is interpreted by Muslims as being disrespectful to women (Karim pers. comm., 2012-2014). However, the same young man wanted to control his girlfriend by forbidding her to liaise with male colleagues outside of work, voicing his behaviour as ‘right’ and ‘protective’.

It is acceptable to assume that Nubian women will have been raised in a Muslim society where, despite their access to education, the expectation is still to marry and raise a family. Talk of a career is only an intermediate stage, until they settle down (personal discussions with, and observations of, Nubian people since 2004). Visitors to Upper Egypt will notice how little they see women at work, that tourism, catering and hotels are still dominated by men.

Nubia converted to Islam during the 1500s, but doubt has been expressed whether it significantly changed their culture during that period (Ruffini 2012, 235). The changes between medieval Nubian society and today’s culture infer the equality between men and women deteriorated with the conversion to Islam, though more research would need to be done to identify whether the divide is due solely to the new religion or whether other influences effected the change.

Abusharaf (2006) considers how religious institutions have come to guide the Muslim society. They advise on the extent of government social policy complying with Islamic principles; through this connection, Islamic requirements become social practice and often national law (Abusharaf 2006, 718).

Generally, gender equality principles are covered under Islamic jurisprudence but the ways in which they are effected depend on the interpretation. The shura principle – consultation – suggests that men and women should negotiate over issues involving the family and public affairs. Ijtihad is the concept of giving religious opinions, and application of it has created friction among Immams’ views of women’s entitlements. Islamic countries adopting ijtihad and gender-equal policies might find women’s rights are alienated, due to the discourse
subsequently strengthening community control over women’s economic activity. Another potential impact is that, as individuals, women do not exercise their legal rights either because they are not aware of them, or because they prefer to be religiously and socially compliant amongst their community (Abusharaf 2006, 719-720).

Hopkins and Saad (2004) studied the village of Aliab, which is in the Aswan area. Aliab contained four main kin groups together with some smaller ones. Three of the main groups (qabila) descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village, about seven generations previously (Hopkins and Saad 2004, 170).

Several of the elders are able to recall the family genealogies. Their knowledge is of particular importance in disputes of inheritance where the intricate family tree due to the polygamous society plus subsequent divorce, widowhood and remarriage blur the line on inheritance (Hopkins and Saad 2004, 171).

In Upper Egypt, sale of land is less common than in the north. Prior to the construction of the Aswan High Dam, the land in Aliab was divided into shares between the brothers (descendants of the founder), one of whom was a half-brother. Upon death, the shares were given to the remaining full brothers (Hopkins and Saad 2004, 172).

The ability to register for, and own, land was based on a survey in 1904, when the amount of land that could be cultivated was substantially increased due to the creation of the first Aswan Dam. Prior to land registration, the State owned all the land, and the families who cultivated it paid taxes as compensation to the owner. The system did not always work well, as many villagers did not wish to be officially connected with a specific piece of land. Their concern was, once known to the authorities, their sons would be in jeopardy of being enlisted into the army (Hopkins and Saad 2004, 173). This mistrust of officialdom and signing of forms continues today, as I was advised to not do any research via questionnaire but only by informal discussion.

Role of the village club in Nubia

The social infrastructure of Old Nubia was, to a large extent, determined by where they lived, which was likely to be in either a village or a hamlet. Village
life centred on the basis of reciprocal favours developed through friendship, rather than the constraints of family ties (Fahim 1983, 14).

In hamlets (locally called ‘naja’) it was this mutual aid that bound its residents together. The people would work together in the field and conduct the customary mutual visiting in times of celebration, such as during Ramadan. There were focal units in each village, such as a cemetery, mosque and a school (Fahim 1983, 15). In addition to these units were social and administrative ‘clubs’, or village councils, attended by the leaders of the area. At these gatherings, village problems would be discussed of which the most important were any financial hardships or loss of land suffered by their members. Egyptian Nubians reject feelings of class-difference but respect leadership and, under their leaders’ guidance, people of the village unite to resolve problems internally (Fahim 1983, 16-17).

Examples of how these clubs worked, and how they had to adapt, are given by Kennedy (1977) who recorded the memories of Shatr Muhammad Shalashil. When Shatr arrived in Kanuba, (near Daraw in Old Nubia) in 1947, there was already a rural association in the village which he saw in operation. The first example quoted was of handling a complaint against a well-respected member of their society who was found out to be handling two jobs, which was against the law. The village leaders met, and decided the ‘offender’ should keep the job which paid the most, and give up the other one (Kennedy 1977, 121). Working with the Sheikh, Shatr introduced a new policy for widening the club’s aims to develop better relationships between the leaders and the rest of the village. This was achieved by setting up committees to involve others in areas such as sport, health and helping those in financial need. They also improved local facilities such as street lighting (Kennedy 1977, 122).

This will be developed further at Conclusions 7.4.

_Nubian languages:_

Although it is impossible to know for sure which languages were spoken in prehistoric periods, Adams (1977, 95) suggests the cultural link between the Nubian A and C Horizons may mean one single language was used in the area. The written format was not developed until the Meroitic Period, being from mid-4th century BC to mid-3rd century BC (Fisher _et al_ 2012, 10). In post-literate
historic times, six languages have been identified as having been spoken in the area, although four of these were imported by invading countries (Egyptian, Greek, Coptic and Arabic). The two remaining languages of Old Nubian and Meroitic are believed to be indigenous (Adams 1977, 95).

Research conducted in the mid-20th century on the grouping of Nubian languages has been summarily depicted in P8 below:

![Diagram of Nubian languages grouping](image)

P8: Grouping of Nubian languages
(Bell 1973, 73)

Trigger (1966) identifies most of the modern Arabic languages of northern Sudan as originating from peoples who entered the area in the 14th century. The exceptions are the Berber languages spoken west of the Nile, the Cushitic language spoken east of the river and ancient Egyptian spoken in the Nile Valley, which he states existed before the rise of Egyptian civilisation (Trigger 1966, 19).

Ruffini (2012, 234) refers to a study conducted by Jay Spaulding in 1988 relating to an early Nubian dictionary compiled by Arcangelo Carrador in 1635. This particular dictionary was based on the Kenzi Nubian language. Evidence of a similar study on the Fediji Nubian language has not been found.

The Nubian Ethnological Study in the 1960s identified three languages spoken by modern Egyptian Nubians in the 40 districts along the Nile as follows:
In Sudan, the language spoken in the northern part of Nubia below the border, by Wadi Halfa, is Fedija and the people there are an extension of the Egyptian population. Further south, around Dongola, the predominant language is Kenzi though there it is called Dongowali (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 9-11).

3.5 The UNESCO salvage campaign

In 1955, Egypt took the decision to build a new dam just south of Aswan, as the existing dam (the Aswan dam) had been raised to its maximum height and the water it stored, and electricity created, was still insufficient to meet the needs of Egypt’s growing population. Sudan was involved in the discussions but only to protect their rights in the use of the water from the Nile and to get compensation for the 100 miles of territory they were about to lose. In all other respects, the decision and main benefits fell to Egypt (Keating 1975, 4).

The site and height of the new dam (the Aswan High Dam) at the first cataract of the Nile meant a new reservoir would be created which would permanently flood the land where Nubians had lived for thousands of years. The area contained important archaeology, including fortresses made from mud brick and rock-cut temples, as well as artefacts from graveyards of the modern day’s ancestors. Most of the structures represented the colonial times of Egypt’s invasions and control.

The history behind UNESCO’s involvement is documented as coming from Egypt’s recognition that they needed help to rescue as much of the archaeology as possible. As Keating (1975, 4) states, “they turned to the world for help”. Looking at the early documentation, however, shows that was not Egypt’s original intent. Initially the Egyptian government perceived a much smaller campaign which the country could handle itself all for the cost of L.E. 600,000, against the anticipated cost of building the High Dam which was L.E. 200,000,000 (Antiquities Department 1955, 42 [English section]). At this stage, the work centred mainly on recording all inscriptions, and thoroughly photographing the structures. There was no concept of saving the monuments,
other than rescuing some of the smaller ones which the Committee proposed removing to the (then) museum at Aswan Island, the highlight being proposed new models of the monuments which by then would be completely submerged (Antiquities Dept 1955, 42 [English section]).

Details of the transition from Egypt’s self-sufficient plan to an awareness that international help was needed are less known, but culminated in Egypt and Sudan independently submitting a plea to UNESCO for urgent help, in 1959. At that time, UNESCO had been in existence for 15 years yet this was the first time they had received such a request (Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 9).

An appeal for international help was launched by the then Director-General of UNESCO, Mr Vittorio Veronese, on 8 March 1960 requesting financial and technical contributions to save Nubian monuments and sites from destruction. The campaign received worldwide interest and support, becoming a milestone in UNESCO’s history, and finally came to a close on 10 March 1980 (Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 9).

With the exception of a few buildings, all stone and rock-based monuments were moved and reassembled on higher ground, and placed into the following six groups:

1. The temples of Philae, now on the island of Agilkia near the Aswan Dam;
2. The temples of Beit el Wali and Kalabsha and the Kiosk of Qertassi near the Aswan High Dam;
3. The temples of Dakka, Maharraqa and Wadi el Sebua near the former site of Wadi el Sebua;
4. The temples of Amada and Derr, and Pennut’s tomb at Aniba near the former site of Amada;
5. The temples of Abu Simbel in situ but 60m above their original position;
6. The temples of Aksha, Buhen, Semna East and Semna West in the museum garden at Khartoum.

(Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 10)

The above grouping reflects the extent of Ancient Egypt’s dominance in Nubia, also that mud-brick structures, such as the fortress at Buhen, could not be saved.
Equally of note is the extent of archaeological excavations in the area, as shown in P9. Egypt had already received much archaeological interest when the Aswan Dam was built (1898-1902), then subsequently raised on two occasions (1907-12, and 1929-34) (Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 11). Therefore, the UNESCO campaign did not yield significant new archaeological finds in Egypt. Sudan, however, had received less attention prior to the campaign, so the excavations in Sudan uncovered valuable information relating to Nubia’s history.
The salvage campaign did not include the plight of the 100,000 Nubian people who were forcibly being removed from their homeland. The diaspora, therefore,
did not benefit from the same global publicity as the rescue of the monuments, so the Nubian people did not receive the same level of support as their temples.

This imbalance of interest between person and artefact remains today. The tourist trail in Egypt typically centres on history, with most of the trips being to sites such as the pyramids; the museums; temples at Abu Simbel, Karnak and Philae; plus the tombs at the Valley of the Kings. It is a brave tour company that encourages its customers to learn more about the modern culture, particularly in the current political climate. In Aswan, mixing with the locals involves a quick visit to the Nubian Village, and perhaps a visit to the Nubian Restaurant. Minimal interest is shown by the tourists and tour companies alike, who find promoting these areas to be less lucrative to their business (Osman pers. comm., 2014).

A move to correct this imbalance has been raised by Meskell (2013) which is discussed in section 3.8.

3.6 Implementing the diaspora

While UNESCO concentrated on getting Nubia’s tangible heritage mapped, recorded and saved, a smaller project was being conducted by others to identify and record the Nubian culture and social lives, before these people were relocated to new villages.

Various committees were established to look after the movement of Nubian people in Egypt, such as the Committee for the Investigation of Nubian Demands, and the Joint Committee for Nubian Migration, with overall responsibility assigned to the Governor of Aswan (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 8). Any study by the Egyptian Government was conducted solely to help with planning of the relocation.

The task of recording the cultures of the Nubian people fell to a team of anthropologists and social researchers, consisting of Americans, Europeans and Egyptians who formed the Nubian Ethnological Survey (see 5.7). Nearly all were outsiders to Nubia (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, xvi).

The invaluable work conducted by this team was largely funded by the Ford Foundation, through the Social Research Centre of the American University in
Cairo. There was, however, Government representation on the research project (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, xv-xvii).

This set a contradictory structure – not funded by the Government but equally not being able to operate freely of them. The situation remains the same today; anyone wishing to conduct a project in Egypt relating to the Nubians would have to get Government permission but, without financial backing and overseeing from a large organisation, it is unlikely to be given. Nubia might be on Egypt’s political agenda but it is not a priority and is a sensitive issue; outsiders wishing to work with Nubian people will be treated with suspicion by the authorities (Nicholas pers. experiences, 2010-2015).

3.7 Effect of the archaeological, salvage and cultural work

The previous sub-sections explain why there has been such an archaeological interest in Nubia, when and by whom, but this sub-section shows how the results have been applied, culminating in an examination of the extent the Nubian people themselves benefit from this work.

Although statistics of tourism to Egypt and Nubia before the 1960’s have yet to be found, there can be little doubt that the tourist industry in general has benefitted from the salvage campaign through, at the very least, improved access. Prior to the construction of the Aswan High Dam, the ability to visit Nubian temples, specifically Abu Simbel, would have been constrained to when the height of the Nile allowed boats to sail that far, further restricted by the lack of landing areas and walkways.

Having later overcome these issues by creating a purpose built docking area, roadways and an internal airport, moving the temples to higher ground has enabled tourism to flourish all year round. Notoriety of the project itself, achieved through worldwide publicity of the UNESCO campaign, may have also resulted in increased visitors to the area.

The following figures at T2 have been taken from The World Bank data, freely available on the internet. Note, they do not represent Nubia but instead the figures are based on the countries of Egypt and Sudan as a whole.
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</tbody>
</table>

T2: International tourism: number of arrivals (World Bank, [n.d.])

The following images of Abu Simbel depict the differences in access between pre-High Dam and now. The modern photos are not dated but it is clear they were taken after the construction of the High Dam.

Looking down river across front of Abu Simbel temple, from the sand drift at north, Egypt.

Copyright 1904 by Underwood & Underwood

P10: Abu Simbel (1): 1904
Source: Google link [http://ow.ly/C9j303kSU2](http://ow.ly/C9j303kSU2)
Source: Google link Abu Simbel http://ow.ly/bvpC303kTfn

Source: Google link Abu Simbel http://ow.ly/nKeM303kTOd
The worlds of archaeology, academia and tourism are likely to have benefitted from the excavations and projects that have been conducted over the centuries. What now remains to be questioned is how much of this has been handed back to the indigenous population, so that they receive some cultural compensation (not the financial compensation promised by the Government) for having lost their homeland and been moved away from their heritage.

### 3.8 Indigenous archaeology and political background

The final section in this chapter considers the overall access Egyptians, Sudanese and Nubian people have had to the antiquities profession in the past, and attempts to identify how many have become specialists in their own country’s history and archaeology. It also considers general steps being taken to encourage better involvement of indigenous peoples in the protection of their past.

One of the reasons why Ancient Nubia is so frequently depicted as part of Ancient Egypt is because knowledge of, and interest in, the area and its culture began with the Egyptian explorations. It make sense, therefore, to introduce the potential of Nubian involvement in local archaeology with a brief discussion on Egyptology.

Reid traces the rise of modern Egyptology and the key names involved in its progress. The interest in Egypt’s ancient treasures, including those of Nubia, began in the period of George III with the successful explorations of people such as Giovanni Belzoni and Henry Salt, and other travellers such as Amelia Edwards and Thomas Legh. Although several countries in Europe were interested in the archaeology, control over conducting it became a power battle between the British and French (Reid 2002, 40-44).

Until the second half of the 19th century, Egyptians wanting to study Egyptology had to travel to Europe. Although this gave them the education they sought, it was delivered within the concepts and practices of the European institutions (Colla 2007, 116). Egyptian academic interest began with Rifa al-Tahtawi, who was the author of the first history of Ancient Egypt in Arabic (published in 1868). He was also the head of Egypt’s Antiquities Service and Museum, although the project did not proceed in that particular format (Reid 2002, 50-51).
Observations made by al-Tahtawi regarding the level of knowledge he gained about Ancient Egypt underlined the fact that the French knew more than the Arab historians at that time (Colla 2007, 122).

Auguste Mariette founded the new Antiquities Service on 1 June 1858, and became its first Director. For the next 100 years, the Egyptian Antiquities Service was directed by the French, involving seven different Heads of the service (Reid 2002, 305).

During this period, Ismail Pasha (Khedive of Egypt and Sudan) and Ali Mubarak (Education Minister) wanted to produce Egyptologists to work alongside Europeans in the museums and Antiquities Service, and they founded an Egyptology school (Reid 2002, 95, 116). Abdallah Abu al-Su’ud became Mariette’s protégé (Colla 2007, 128). Others working in the profession included Ahmad Kamal, Ali Bahgat, Ahmed Najib, Muhammad Chaban and Hasan Husni Ali Habib. By 1890, the number of Egyptian members of the Egyptian Institute had doubled from its original number of 14 upon founding the Institute 30 years earlier. They formed 31% of the overall membership (Reid 2002, 174-190, 214).

The perception that foreigners know more about Nubian history than the local people was similarly opined in 1912 by Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, when speaking about the Egyptian people, foreign visitors and access to education. As quoted in Colla (2007), al-Sayyid said:

“Why isn’t Egyptology studied in Egypt the way it is in England? Every educated Egyptian stands before Egyptian monuments knowing nothing more about them but what any ordinary, uneducated person would.”

(al-Sayyid, in Colla 2007, 142) and

“The truth is that we know less of the value and glory of our country than the tourists do”

(al-Sayyid, in Colla 2007, 142)

Britain occupied Egypt from 1882 to the 1950’s, although the process for Egypt’s independence from Britain began in 1922, the same year that Howard Carter discovered Tutankhamun’s tomb. The timing of the two events gave the strongest link between archaeology and politics that had, by then, been experienced. Egypt was allowed to keep the contents of the tomb and pass
stricter controls on the exportation of its antiquities, as well as begin a programme of training Egyptian Egyptologists (Reid 2002, 293).

By 1953, Egypt had become fully independent, taking complete control over its future and the maintenance of its past. Mustafa Amer became the first Egyptian Head of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, which has remained under Egyptian directorship ever since, albeit in different forms (Reid 2002, 294). The service is currently called the Ministry of State for Antiquities.

Although there are parallels with the situation of the Egyptian Nubian people, the political backdrop is quite different. At the birth of modern Egyptology, Egypt’s situation was of the home country being invaded by professionals from other countries. Egypt was eventually able to become independent, giving them the power to govern their own country. The case of today’s Egyptian Nubian people is that they share the same country and hold the same nationality as their governing Ministers, so they are not ‘fighting’ against any recent usurpers or foreigners. As a socio-economic group, Egyptian Nubians fall within the lower categories. The Egyptian Government is cautious about handling their demands for compensation or rights (Osman pers. comm., 2014).

Some Nubian people were involved in their archaeology during the UNESCO salvage campaign (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 305), but there is no published evidence to suggest Nubian participation prior to that. Many Nubian people in Egypt were unaware that the rescued monuments bore any connection to their past which, to them, was simply the traditions and stories passed down from predecessors.

Trying to identify the number of Egyptian, Sudanese and Nubian people working in archaeology today has been difficult. Online searching has identified various directories, each relating to their own country and each one requiring a membership subscription. The International Association of Egyptologists (IAE) were approached via the Griffith Institute, asking for the number of members and how many were Egyptian, but the response received was that under Data Protection they were not allowed to share that information. The reasoning was actually incorrect as the request was merely for numbers, and all information relating to that would have been impersonal and anonymised – therefore falling outside Data Protection restrictions. If I were a member of the IAE it would have
been possible to get a list of members, but many people joined through their institutions, so numbers and nationality would still have been difficult to identify.

Hopkins and Mehanna (2010, xvi) state that all researchers, excepting one, were outsiders to Nubia. They then list the names of nine Nubian people who helped them with their research. This was an ethnological study, not an archaeological expedition, and the Nubians they named were classed as ‘collaborators’ (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 305). This is developed further in Chapter 7.

A previous director of the Nubian Museum in Aswan, who is still at the forefront of the industry, is believed to be Nubian.

When conducting the last Oral History interviews in November 2014, one of the gentlemen said there is already a Nubian archaeologist but he was unable to give me any name or contact details. I subsequently approached two other contacts in the profession, one in Egypt and the other in Sudan, asking if they were able to supply any information. No answer has been received.

Having received no response from The Sudan Archaeological Research Society when I asked them the same question, copies of annual publications produced by them were read to find evidence of local archaeologists being employed at the excavations. Each bulletin contains several articles written by authors with Arabic names, amongst articles authored by European and American contributors. Assumptions have been made that, due to the Arabic name, this means they come from Sudan, and that the nature of their work means they are skilled archaeologists. It needs to be noted that these assumptions could be wrong but, if correct, there are at least ten local people involved in Sudanese archaeology.

Meskell examines the lack of indigenous representation in decision-making bodies that have a remit to care for and protect all aspects relating to cultural heritage, including traditions and knowledge of the past. This remit includes creating the laws and policies within which such curation and development must exist (Meskell 2013, 155).

Meskell considers why UNESCO, created after World War II ended, should be seen as the leading body in enabling local people to be involved in the
management of their heritage. UNESCO’s visibility as the institution to promote education about and within impoverished, threatened or forgotten cultures has increased to the extent that no other body represents the global concerns on such a scale (Meskell 2013, 158). Encouraging progress towards involving indigenous populations in the future protection of their past would require, at the very least, UNESCO’s support in order for other bodies to appreciate the necessity for such development.

Meskell also looks at the lost opportunity when a newly created council, formed in 2000 specifically to address the imbalance between non-indigenous locals, foreigners and the indigenous people themselves on relevant committees, was dissolved just one year later. She points out that the issue of an indigenous expert network is not going to disappear and that, as of 2012, 148 nations had signed the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (Meskell 2013, 162).
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA COLLECTION

This chapter includes:

- Introduction and summary
- Museum displays in the 21st century
- Identification of museums with Nubian artefacts
- Use of Arabic on museum websites
- Ethnography and Nubia
- Publications relating to Nubian history, archaeology, culture and traditions
- Section outcomes, including critical analysis

4.1 Introduction and summary

This section begins with a brief discussion on how museum displays in general are adapting – or need to adapt – to the 21st century. The research then identifies which museums have Nubian artefacts, how many (by banding), and what percentage of these are on display. It further considers how much of this is available on the museums’ websites, so that interested parties who are unable to travel are still able to benefit from the museums’ expert curation and knowledge. This part of the research addresses the overall aim to either identify that Nubian people already have sufficient access to their heritage around the world or, if the results prove otherwise, to reunite them with their lost heritage by use of the internet. It forms the basis for work described in the next chapter to enable Nubian people to learn more about their heritage and history, if that is what they would like to do.

The description of ‘lost heritage’ has been objected to by several experts, who stated that the heritage is far from lost and is being expertly cared for. Whilst this might be grammatically correct, anything which has been removed from Nubia is technically lost to its people, who have no way of visiting their removed archaeology and, until now, did not know where it resides. The description of ‘lost’ therefore remains.

The research continues to examine how ethnography is used in museums and the extent to which it matches the public’s requirements. Two examples of museum displays are compared. It needs to be acknowledged that lack of
funding is the driving force behind managerial decisions, with constraints on space playing an equally important role.

The final piece of research discussed here is the published knowledge about Nubian archaeology, history, traditions and culture, to identify what is available in UK universities and compare that with what is available to the public in Egypt. This is to address the hypothesis that people in the US and Europe have better access to knowledge about Nubia, than the Nubian people do themselves.

4.2 Museum displays in the 21st century

The intention of this section is not to dwell on the purpose of museums or how their objects have been exhibited in the past, but to consider how museums might need to adapt in order to survive in a world of increased communication. The major advancement in the last twenty years is the rapid growth of internet usage and digital technology.

Information from the internet can be sought through different ways. Informal advice can be given by via social networking, and expert knowledge is available on institutions’ own websites. There are also general sites such as Wikipedia offering a wealth of data. No longer is it necessary to visit the museums in person or even go to libraries to learn about the artefacts and history (Black 2012, 3). The quality of information available on the internet varies, particularly if it is supplied by a third party or individuals who prefer to give opinions instead of citable facts. An additional complication with web-based data is the search tool and coding that enables customers to access it; it is the quality of the engine that either allows or discourages the user to continue looking for, and finding, what they seek. However, it should also be noted that the level of printed data available within the institutions varies too, as it is constrained by display space.

In addition to developments in technology, global population is increasingly transient. Travel is even more available for most, whether for business or holidays, and the current movement of people is unprecedented. There are an estimated 214 million migrants worldwide with an expectation of this rising to 405 million by 2050. Areas disproportionately affected by this increase are Western cities, with their ethnic identity being altered by immigration (Black 2012, 3).
For museums, this means the base population from which those physically visiting their collections is derived is constantly changing, increasing the opportunity for their visitor numbers to rise, especially for institutions offering free entry. It also means, however, that more attention to the language might need to be given.

A survey was run in 2007 by the American Association of Museums to find out what its members thought the most significant challenge was facing museum professionals. The answers concentrated on funding, technology, leadership and the public relevance of museums (Black 2012, 7-8).

Black then identified three main areas that museums should concentrate on, in order to ensure they survive. They are:

1. Persuading the public and funding proprietors of museums’ value to society in general;
2. Convincing everyone in the public arena of the unique benefits they would gain through engaging with the collections and experiences that museums offer; and
3. Persuading local communities to work in partnership with museums.

(Black 2012, 8).

Simon (2010, 5) picks up the theme of engagement, through participation. Interactive exhibitions are just one form of this, which are typically associated with science and children’s museums but need not be solely used there.

Simon also states how participation works. The two key principles are that participants thrive on constraints (for example, getting a project completed within a short time, or stating what they think of a chosen theme/item within a certain number of words), and engaging in social experiences (Simon 2010, 22, 26). This could be achieved either by visiting the museum in person, or through a collective medium of using the internet such as via a school group.

Survey 4a was conducted for this project in 2014 on the issue of using the internet to access museum collections: 242 results were received, although some responses were incomplete.

The questionnaire asked whether, if travel were not an issue, people preferred to visit a museum in person or by using the internet. The responses, shown in
C2, from a base of 240 were significantly in favour of visiting a museum in person, with no-one suggesting they would use the internet only.

How people would like to see museum artefacts
(% of total responses)

- In person: 70%
- Online: 0%
- Both: 1%
- No preference: 29%

C2: Results of Survey 4a: Preference over viewing museum collections

These results might give confidence to the museums that regard the internet as a potential threat to their overall numbers of visitor attendance. However, travel is an issue for many people, and is a major issue for indigenous populations such as the Egyptian Nubians, most of whom struggle to find the money for daily necessities, let alone luxuries such as travel.

For these people, web-based data is the only tool they have to fill in gaps of their education which is provided by other countries. Any Nubian person who wishes to see their heritage which is stored overseas is therefore reliant on the internet but, more specifically, reliant on the relevant museums putting details of their artefacts in an online collection.

4.3 Identification of museums with Nubian artefacts

Various archaeological expeditions in Nubia over the years, and especially the UNESCO salvage campaign of the 1960’s, have resulted in artefacts being stored in museums all around the world.

Survey 4b: Nubian collections. This was conducted amongst museums to identify the ones that hold artefacts from Nubia amongst their collections, together with basic information about them. Work of a similar nature has been conducted by Constanza de Simone (2014). However, the need behind this
The MPhil project was to produce research that could be published as widely as possible, without constraints imposed by copyright. Therefore it was considered acceptable to continue with the results of my own survey, which enabled questions specific to this thesis to be asked.

The base cohort for the survey was compiled from 82 museums with a known interest in Egyptology, plus universal and national museums – there was no value in canvassing museums that specialised in areas such as agriculture, toys or local heritage, as their interests clearly fell outside the nature of this project. Other exclusions from the survey, such as private collections, could mean some Nubian artefacts have not been identified from the results. However, the coverage is sufficiently wide and deep to produce a map of the major locations (see P13).

The survey link was sent in June 2013 and closed six months later. It received 124 responses. A list of these results is included in full at Appendix 4 (survey 4b), where information relating to all of the surveys is collated, and summaries are referenced throughout this section.

Summarising the results indicates 71 museums could be identified as having Nubian artefacts as follows:

- Museums with more than 500 Nubian artefacts = 20
- Museums with 101 – 500 Nubian artefacts = 7
- Museums with 51 – 100 Nubian artefacts = 6
- Museums with 1 – 50 Nubian artefacts = 20
- Museums with unknown number of Nubian artefacts = 18

In order to achieve the aim of making this information freely available to the Nubian people, this data is also published on the ‘Whither Nubia’ website in English and Arabic, together with hyperlinks to each of the museum websites. (http://www.whithernubia.co.uk/museums-with-nubian-artefacts.html).
This is developed further at Conclusions 7.4 and 7.6.

The above map was manipulated by myself from the 2013 survey. The UK has nearly a third of all respondents with Nubian collections (24).

Of the 53 museums that were able to indicate the number of artefacts they hold, 44 stated approximately how many were on display. The following chart shows that about one quarter of them displayed a significant portion of their entire Nubian collection.
The museums which do display more than a quarter of their collection are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum</th>
<th>% displayed</th>
<th>Total in collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Museum of Art</td>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museum of Scotland</td>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>101-500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museo Egizio di Torino</td>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>51-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn Museum</td>
<td>51-75</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, Memphis</td>
<td>76-99</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ägyptisches Museum - Georg Steindorff, Leipzig</td>
<td>76-99</td>
<td>More than 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum Schloss Hohentubingen</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt Centre, Swansea</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Isidro Museum, Madrid</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art, New York</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51-100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results above suggest the Egyptian Museum in Leipzig, the National Museum in Scotland and the Metropolitan Museum in New York are likely to offer visitors the option to see more Nubian pieces than other museums. However, the above offers no detail of the artefacts, such as the time period they represent, and this is given in the next tranche of charts.
T4: Results of Survey 4b (5):
Eras of Nubian history represented by museum collections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>11-</th>
<th>21-</th>
<th>31-</th>
<th>41-</th>
<th>51-</th>
<th>61-</th>
<th>71-</th>
<th>81-</th>
<th>91-100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indigenous Cultures A-C Group
(Base = 18 museums)

No. | 4 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

Pharaonic Nubia (Middle and New Kingdoms)
(Base = 24 museums)

No. | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Napata-Meroitic Period (1000 BC to 400 AD)
(Base = 29 museums)

No. | 8 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 |

Christian Nubia (450 AD to 14th century)
(Base = 18 museums)

No. | 9 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |

Islamic Nubia (14th century onwards)
(Base = 9 museums)

No. | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

There is little to infer from the above table, except that most participating museums indicate a preference for splitting their collections across the periods to cover a broad range of Nubian history.
The museums that specialise in particular periods, with 91-100% of their collection representing one era, are:

- San Isidro Museum, Madrid (Pharaonic Nubia) – though the results are based on the Nubian temple of Debod which is in Parque del Oeste;
- National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Napata-Meroitic), with a collection of 1-50 pieces;
- Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (Napata-Meroitic), with a collection of 101-500 pieces.

In addition, the collection of more than 500 pieces at Ägyptisches Museum - Georg Steindorff, Leipzig covers various periods but they are all from one site at Aniba.

The next aspect covered in the survey was to identify the extent of the collections coming from Sudan (three stating none). Fourteen museums stated 91-100% of their artefacts came from Sudan, as follows:

- Archaeological Museum, Poznan (more than 500 pieces)
- Brighton Museum and Art Gallery (51-100 pieces)
- Brooklyn Museum (1-50 pieces)
- Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, Memphis (1-50 pieces)
- Musée Royal de Mariemont, Morlanwelz (1-50 pieces)
- Museum August Kestner, Hanover (101-500 pieces)
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (more than 500 pieces)
- Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (more than 500 pieces)
- National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (101-500 pieces)
- National Museum, Warsaw (more than 500 pieces)
- National Museums, Northern Ireland (including Ulster Museum) (1-50 pieces)
- Nicholson Museum, Sydney (more than 500 pieces)
- Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (101-500 pieces)
- Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala (more than 500 pieces)

The immediate conclusion from above is that people wishing to view pieces relating to Sudanese Nubia might decide to concentrate on visiting Boston,
Budapest, Khartoum, Poznan, Sydney, Uppsala and Warsaw. However, when comparing this list with information regarding the number of pieces currently on display, journeys to these museums are unlikely to be rewarding. Two have none of their Nubian artefacts on display with the others only exhibiting 1-25% of them.

It can further be assumed that the Nubian collection in the National Museum of Sudan in Khartoum came entirely from Sudan, although they did not take part in the survey.

The final aspect addressed in survey 4b was the amount of each museum’s Nubian collection acquired as a direct result of the UNESCO salvage campaign, collated and depicted in the following chart.

Twenty-six museums stated that none of their items resulted from the 1960’s campaign. The following five museums stated 91-100% of their artefacts did:

- Durham University Oriental Museum (101-500 pieces)
- Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (more than 500 pieces)
- Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago (more than 500 pieces)
- Reading Museum (51-100 pieces)
- Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala (more than 500 pieces)
Survey 4c examined the websites of all museums with Nubian collections, to find out to what extent the pieces could be viewed online. This forms the heart of the project’s aims, to enable the Nubian people to engage with their heritage which is lost to them as it is being cared for by museums in foreign countries. Such reunion relies on the internet to bridge that gap.

Of the 72 museums, 32 either do not have an online collection, or do not have an easily identifiable facility for searching one. Two of the museums with a search facility, do not have Nubian artefacts that can be accessed in this way.

Therefore approximately half of the relevant museums have information on their websites about their Nubian pieces. The results are itemised at Appendix 4.

Throughout these analyses, the significant identifier is the overall number of artefacts. A missing detail from the information is the type of artefact displayed in the museum, and the type of artefacts in reserve. If the collections contained a lot of the same material, a decision may have been made that displaying too many similar objects was not the best way to use the limited space available.

4.4 Use of Arabic on museum websites

An important issue relating to online collections is whether the languages on the websites include the nations represented by the artefacts (discussed further at 6.2). The websites of 68 non-African museums with collections reflecting Egypt, Sudan and Nubia were examined to identify which ones included Arabic amongst their translations.

Only one included Arabic as a full translation (Musee de Beaux-arts de Lyon), with four others including links to Google Translate, or a similar tool.

With a further 11 museums, a translation facility appeared in the tool bar which didn’t allow for a particular language to be selected. It is unclear whether the language it translates to is prompted by a pre-programmed language, or the one in use on the computer accessing the website.

It is worth remembering that the remaining 52 websites include institutions where the pieces are generally art, or museums with just a few relevant pieces. However, also included are museums with a reputation for significant and interesting Egyptian, and Nubian, collections.
4.5 Ethnography and Nubia

This section examines the extent to which curating objects and displaying them in museums may benefit from the incorporation of ethnographic information, when such supporting data helps the general public to understand the indigenous cultures behind the exhibited artefacts.

Case-studies of two museums are compared later, describing the type and amount of cultural information available in their Nubian collections. Following that are the results of two surveys conducted for this project, one that asks the public what type of ethnographic data they would like to see in museums, and the other asking museums what material they already use to support their collections.

Ethnography itself is the art and science of describing a group or culture. Those being studied can be as diverse as a small tribal group or a group of middle-class people, but they essentially need to have something in common that determines them as being a group (Fetterman 1989, 11).

Ethnographic research is often termed as participant observation, where the researcher collects data on the participants by living among them and becoming one of the group (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 1). The logic is that the results of the research convey a true picture and understanding of the observed culture, which will be far closer to real life than any data achieved through interviewing or questionnaire.

The reason why this method is likely to produce truer results is the people being studied will continue to behave normally within their daily routine (Rose 1990, 13). Today’s professional and ethical guidelines make it unacceptable to try and deceive the group being studied by pretending to be one of them (even if it were visually and phonetically possible to do so). However, upon introduction and explanation of the aims of the study, it may be possible for some researchers to live amongst the group for long enough to become accepted, and to fit in with their daily lives (Eriksen 2010, 28). This practice could mean that some intercultural barriers could be broken down, resulting in a more honest depiction – and subsequent interpretation – of the local lifestyles. However, there are issues associated with this type of data collection, including extended periods in the field presenting problems for some researchers, due to the climate and
difference in hygiene standards and diet being difficult for some people to adapt to. The fact that some visitors would be hosted by educated villagers (for example, those able to interpret the language of both parties), potentially results in a slightly artificial representation being given (Eriksen 2010, 28, 30). An equally valid observation is the difficulties of living within another’s culture, and of the cultural differences.

Given that the participant observation research method relies on a living community being present, we need to consider to what extent ethnography can be applied in museums. Portraying objects in their display cabinets can be a very staid and clinical setting. They, on their own, do not tell a story about the culture that made them, nor about how they were used in daily life.

However, this part of the project does concern a living population; instead of concentrating on ancient ancestors, it looks at those Nubians who were displaced from their homeland in the 1960s. Some of today’s elder generations are able to remember the traditions that were passed down to them from life in Old Nubia.

According to Melvin Williams (Williams in Stanfield II and Dennis 1993, 135), Professor in Anthropology specialising in African and African-American studies, the style of ethnography adopted in the research for this MPhil (that is, documenting traditional lives of people as their ways of life are being destroyed) is ‘old’. Williams states that this outdated approach towards ethnographic data collection treats oppression and discrimination as unusual human behaviour (Williams in Stanfield II and Dennis 1993, 135). He suggests a new approach should capture class, ethnic, racial and religious issues amongst the traits typically included in the research. This would prevent the negative issues associated with discrimination being isolated, thereby standardizing human behaviour and enabling a more realistic comparison between cultures (Williams in Stanfield II and Dennis 1993, 136). Applying either approach to the case of Egypt and Nubia would need to take into account that a certain extent of normalisation within the country has already taken place. The vast majority of Egyptian people (including the Nubians) share the same major religion, and the revolution of Egypt in 2011 highlighted that oppression was felt all over the country, regardless of race and religion. However, discrimination of the Nubian people based on class status and ethnicity still exists.
The way ethnography is applied in museums needs to be treated with caution and sensitivity. For example, including skeletal parts of previously living people is considered politically and culturally unethical, and the use of wax models has become a popular alternative, particularly in pathological exhibitions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in Karp and Lavine 1991, 398-399). However, concern is expressed that the use of ethnography in museums can have a detrimental effect on the objects themselves. The issue is that the benefit of portraying artefacts in context of how they would have been used (or, indeed, models of people depicting their lifestyles and costumes) can become lost amongst the theatre of the display (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in Karp and Lavine 1991, 390). By becoming part of a wider display, the items become singular and, instead of increasing their identity, they become reclassified as art (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in Karp and Lavine 1991, 391).

A related aspect is that museum collections are often perceived as representations of a colonial past (Hooper-Greenhill 1999, 8). The professional museum staff are more likely to be employed from the educated, often Westernised, section of local society than coming from the indigenous populations themselves. Their ethnographic displays will therefore be the Westernised interpretations of a culture which is not their own. Sturge (2007, 153) argues that different tribes from similar localities each have their own culture and form of art; where a museum might prefer to display objects as ‘typical’ representations of one culture, such diversity of cultures over one area makes this more difficult and might become lost amongst the ‘whole’.

Nubian people and their ethnographies:

In order to contextualise the analysis of use of ethnography in museums with Nubian collections, ethnographies of the Nubian people are discussed. Fernea (1991, 123) states that Nubian culture has survived for hundreds of years, and remains so today despite the permanent flooding of their homeland. Now, it is not the water which is the threat to their traditions, but the need to absorb the culture and language of their Saiydi (the non-Nubian Upper Egyptians) neighbours (Fahim 1981, 63).

Fernea’s study (1991) concentrates on Egyptian Nubia, where two languages are spoken – Kenuz and Fedija – in several dialects. The displaced Sudanese
Nubians, the Halfans, speak their own language which is Sukkot. All are encouraged to speak Arabic, but the Halfans only use it when conversing outside their groups (Fahim 1981, 65). Due to the variance in local tribes, other social and cultural differences can be found due to the fact that their homeland stretched for some 1,000 miles. Conversely, over the years, outsiders became absorbed into the Nubian way of life, through visiting or invading the land and then settling (Fernea 1991, 124).

Fernea places a lot of positive progress on the Nubians’ ability to adapt to their new circumstances in Egypt and cites, for example, their success in the Aswan public schools, participation in the Egyptian National Assembly and renovation of their houses (Fernea 1991, 126). It is right to remember the successes because otherwise the outcomes might seem negative. However, the Egyptian Nubians themselves consider the problems to be significant, as portrayed by their political actions since the diaspora.

_Ethnography and two case studies - The Nubian Museum and The British Museum:

The Nubian Museum

The Nubian Open-Air Museum in Aswan (southern Egypt) was created as a result of the 1960’s salvage operation, and opened in 1997. The exhibits, rescued as part of the UNESCO programme, signify different periods in Nubian history from pre-history through to the Islamic era (Ministry of Culture et al [n.d.], 10).

In addition to the traditional displays of artefacts, the Nubian museum has still-life dioramas depicting village scenes, including how such items might have been used prior to the flooding of the land. The scenes include wax dummies of Nubian people and do not attempt to depict ancient times; as a result, the wax models provide a recognisable link between contemporary society and the lifestyle of today’s modern ancestors.

The dioramas, shown next, provide a visual representation of a way of life which is in threat of becoming forgotten. The preservation of such memories is discussed fully in Chapter Five, but is mentioned here to illustrate the potential of the Nubian Museum’s displays. Not only do they inform foreign visitors, they
connect with members of the existing population and with younger generations who are told stories by their elders of Old Nubia.

![Two women plaiting material for usages such as basket weaving](image1)

P14: Two women plaiting material for usages such as basket weaving
Photo: C. Nicholas, 2014

A lady who was interviewed in the following Oral History section explained these women were making a carpet. Bowls, plates and mats made from this material are depicted in photo P20.

![Shaduf](image2)

P15: Shaduf
Photo: C. Nicholas, 2014
As seen, the Shaduf is a lever made from wood and counterpoised with a bucket at the end. It was operated manually and a lift of two metres could water about half a fedden of vegetable patches. The earliest representation of a Shaduf in Egypt is in the New Kingdom (Nubian Museum display, 2014).

The Saqia was introduced to Egypt in Hellenistic times. It is a pulley system consisting of two wheels placed over a vertical shaft leading to a supply of water. One wheel lays flat and is rotated by a donkey or ox pulling it around. The other wheel is vertical and has tins and jars attached to it. The connection between the two enables the tins and jars to be lowered into the water (Nubian Museum display, 2014).

The following example of a Saqia is housed in the grounds of a hotel run by the musician Fikry Kachif, in Abu Simbel City.
School as an institution in Old Nubia rarely involved an identifiable building, but was a gathering of children being taught in a communal area. Teaching is discussed in the next chapter under the Oral History interviews.
The musical instruments most commonly used at weddings were the tār (the drum being used by the model on the right, also referred to as a tambour) and the dakalaka (also referred to as a kisir, shown on the left) and were very often played by specialised slaves (al-Katsha, in Kennedy 2005, 186, and Egyptian Center for Culture and Art [n.d.]).

Three principal dances were generally enjoyed at weddings, with the scene above depicting the Clapping Dance (Ollin, or Käff, Aragīd in local dialect), performed by just one or two women while the men clapped. The others were the Kumba Gash, involving a group of people, and the Firry Aragīd where the men and women faced each other in long lines (al-Katsha, in Kennedy 2005, 186-187). The Kumba Gash is the only dance that remains in Kanuba, as the steps of the other two are now unknown (al-Katsha, in Kennedy 2005, 194).
This scene depicts the sheer blue overdress, the *jarjars*, worn by Nubian women for wedding celebrations in Kanuba, which is a predominantly Fadija area. Blue is no longer used in New Nubia, having been replaced by black (al-Katsha, in Kennedy 2005, 191). Kenuz brides traditionally wore more colourful *galabeyas*, often red, with white *shoggas* (Callender and el Guindi 1971, 62). The room is decorated with mat plates, part of the traditional decorations for wedding celebrations, which could have been handed down through the generations or specially made as a wedding gift (al-Katsha, in Kennedy 2005, 178).
This scene depicts one of the designs of house decoration. A common design in Nubia was mud relief ornament which came into use in about 1927, but was destroyed when Lake Nasser/Nubia flooded the land (Wenzel 1972, 25). The use of mud relief decoration is attributed to a Nubian man from Ballana in Upper Egypt, named Ahmad Batoul who was working as a builder's assistant. His design was a way of enhancing the plates that women put over the doors (Wenzel 1972, 5). House decoration still exists today, often more flamboyant than the depiction above and often including scenes that are memorable to the families. Perhaps Batoul's work was introduced as a fashion, but the subsequent generations of Nubian people seem intent on continuing it as a modern tradition.

The British Museum

The British Museum, London, was founded in 1753 and was the first national public museum in the world. It currently receives nearly six million visitors a year, and admission is free (British Museum, About Us).

The museum has approximately 8 million objects, a quarter of which are available to view online. About 80,000 objects are on display, and nearly 4,000 items are lent each year (British Museum, Fact Sheet).
The original collection contained 150 Egyptian objects, and the Museum now has 100,000 such items (British Museum, About Us). It is in this collection where the items relating to Nubia can be found; the general number is not reported but the online collection contains 1,656 entries, and the number given in the Museum’s response to survey 4b was ‘more than 500’.

Neil MacGregor was the Director of the British Museum for 14 years, ending his tenure in the Spring of 2016. During his term, he endeavoured to ensure the Museum could accommodate the ideas and beliefs of some of the cultures represented by their collections, and this was achieved by including people from Nigeria, Cyprus and the West Indies on the Board of Trustees, as well as arranging travelling exhibitions to Tehran and Beijing (Waxman 2010, 210).

One of MacGregor’s changes to the British Museum was with the layout of the displays, which became organised in a way to emphasise the institution as a universal museum. There was a concentration on representing cultures of a similar period with each other, which was particularly true of the ancient civilizations. An example of this was the relocation of the Rosetta Stone, by placing it between the Egyptian, Greek and Mesopotamian galleries as an anchor between all three cultures (Waxman 2010, 210-211).

Adopting this historical outlook instead of geographical is not favoured by all. Sturje (2007) comments on the level of disconnect between cultures from similar areas, citing the British Museum as an example. By physically placing Ancient Egypt apart from other African collections implies there is no connection between the societies (Sturje 2007, 138-139).

Egyptian collections at the British Museum are split across two different floors, with the upper floor following a timeline, alongside neighbouring countries. Africa in general remains apart, on the lower floor. The Nubian collection is found in Room 65, entitled “Sudan, Egypt and Nubia”, which is also the Raymond and Beverly Sackler Gallery. This location on Level 3 clearly gives a geographical connection between the lands. However, to arrive at Room 65 from the West Stairs, the visitor walks through a series of displays on Ancient Egypt, with the option of turning right into Ancient South Arabia, Anatolia and Mesopotamia, or left into Ethiopia and Coptic Egypt. Going straight on takes the visitor through early Egypt, into Room 65.
Room 65 was noticeably quieter than the Egyptian galleries, suggesting people were less interested in Sudan and Nubia; nonetheless during my assessment it still received a significant number of visitors. It is a welcoming room, very light for a museum, with plenty of objects to look at which are all easy to see. A series of information boards give the timelines and explanations of the cultures per epoch, as well as descriptions of the items being displayed. There is a strong emphasis on the impact of Egypt in Nubia.

The following two photos show a small part of the display, and illustrate how light the room is.

P22: Egyptian artwork depicting Nubian people
Photo: C. Nicholas, 2016
There is no impression of any attempt to incorporate ethnography into the display. The closest to cultural depictions is found in artwork on the upper wall and in two blocks that show the different cultures of prisoners, and some skeletal remains. Nubian people are not portrayed at any point of their history in order to explain or highlight their culture, nor are the items on display shown being in use.

Some explanation is given about the language and writing, but there is an absence of any Nubian examples. The only item with considerable writing on it, other than in hieroglyphs, is a cuneiform tablet inscribed with a letter from King Tushratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep III, dated approximately 1350 BC.

Participation is a method suggested as being the way forward for institutions such as museums to reconnect with the public, instead of assuming they are happy to remain as passive consumers (Simon 2010, i-ii). There is, however, an absence of inbuilt facilities in this part of the British Museum to engage visitors in Nubian history. The only facility for participating is an interactive game as a guide for the family, which can be purchased for £5. Audio is provided, and there is an Arabic option. Audio handsets can be hired for £5 each.

Unfortunately, the British Museum did not respond to the survey that enquired about use of ethnography, so it is not possible to include their opinions or plans.
Displays of Nubian artefacts:

Initially, this part of the project aimed to identify where collections of Nubian artefacts could be found in the world. The results of the survey were shared with the participants, who subsequently provided good feedback. However, it soon became clear that the way in which the items were displayed needed to be included in the thesis.

One of the considerations for museums is, how to present Nubia to the public. For example, should it be shown geographically as part of an overall African collection; should it be shown historically, depicting its relationship with Egypt, or should it be shown independently, as its own culture.

Survey 4d, conducted for my Masters in Egyptian Archaeology, attempted to identify the way in which museums classified their Nubian artefacts. The mailing list used was different to the one used for this research as, at that time, the museums with Nubian artefacts had not been identified. The previous cohort was a smaller group of museums, including those with universal and specialised collections. The base number was therefore low and not all participated; the results were excluded from the Masters degree as the data was not comparable for use with the work it was designed to complement.

The following graph depicts the few responses, relating to how Nubia is depicted in museums.
Three aspects were examined in this part of the current project. The first was to identify whether museums consider it important to include cultural information alongside their displays. The other two issues considered the use of ethnographic material: one survey was conducted amongst museums to establish to what extent they use such information; and the other survey reached the general public, to determine what they want in the way of cultural explanation when they visit museums.

Each of the questionnaires is given at Appendix 4 (surveys 4e and 4f), along with summary results. Both surveys were conducted using Survey Monkey, attaching a link to the questionnaire in an accompanying e-mail or, in some cases where a personal e-mail address was not known, in a general message using a museum’s online contact form.

*Survey 4e: Use of ethnography in museum collections.* The base cohort for this survey was the museums already identified from Survey 4b as having Nubian artefacts in their collections. Of those 71 museums, 23 participated in this later
study. The response rate was disappointing, yet it represents a third of the base cohort.

The responses included some very helpful and interesting comments, including information about the use of a multi-media station at the State Museum of Egyptian Art, Munich.

The following charts show, respectively, the respondents’ opinions on importance of displaying cultural information, the type of ethnographic material they currently adopt, and to what extent still-life dioramas are used in the museum.

C6: Results of Survey 4e (1): Museum attitudes towards cultural information
One aim in the research was to encourage the Nubian Museum to install audio facilities alongside their dioramas, using the voices of the people actually involved in the diaspora. Therefore, the use of audio by other museums was of particular interest. Fifty-one uses of ethnographic material were stated in the survey's results, but just less than 10% of these involved audio.
Survey 4f: Public interest in ethnographic material in museums. This survey was sent to personal contacts, asking them to complete the questionnaire themselves and to also forward the link to their contacts, in order to achieve as many responses as possible. It was also posted on Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn. The questionnaire generally replicated the survey sent to museums, so that answers could be matched and compared between the institutions and the visitors, and achieved 155 responses. It should be noted that the questionnaire for survey 4f was not constrained by museums with Nubian artefacts; all questions referred to museums in general.

Nearly 84% of the responses came from the general public, plus 10% coming from academics, with the remainder representing those who have a voluntary or professional interest in museums, or no interest at all. 95% of respondents came from the UK.

The following graph indicates the number of times respondents had visited museums in the last two years, with the values shown as percentages of each group’s total to aid a better comparison between the groups.

The above chart indicates that subsequent answers given in the questionnaire were generally offered by people who do visit museums, and possibly visit them quite often. This suggests a reasoned response to the questions in the survey.
The respondents were asked what forms of ethnographic material they would like to see in museums, from a given list of options. This list matched the one used in the museum survey, and a comparison at C10 was made between what the public want, and what the museums already offer.

![Comparison between what museums offer, and what the public want](image)

Legend:

- A = Large information boards
- B = Generous display of photos
- C = Smaller displays of posters and photos
- D = Good labelling of artefacts
- E = Free leaflets
- F = Publications in bookshop
- G = Talks or seminars in museum
- H = Audio facility by display that visitors can operate
- I = Audio handsets including description of culture
- J = Dioramas of still-life scenes
- K = Actors enacting historical scenes

C10: Combined results of Surveys 4e and 4f: Comparison between what museums offer and what the public want

The above suggests that museums need to offer better labelling of artefacts, photo displays, large information boards, free leaflets and considerably better audio facilities.

It also suggests that their range of publications, talks and historical scenes are not as appreciated as they might hope.
The impact of Mere Exposure Effect (or Familiarity Effect) needs to be considered. It is the influence on the public that determines their preference for selecting options with which they already have familiarity (Falkenbach et al [n.d.]). It might explain why respondents to the general public survey selected options which are generally already available in museums – they will be more comfortable with labelling, information boards, photo displays and audio facilities, than actors depicting historical scenes.

Informal questions to a circle of friends highlighted attitudes towards the use of actors in museums. Those with young children generally welcomed such visual aids, as they informed in an engaging manner and were likely to stimulate discussion afterwards. Adults who attended museums without children tended to find such depictions rather patronising – though they accepted that if they had taken their children/grandchildren with them, then those scenes were the ones most likely to be remembered.

4.6 Publications relating to Nubian history, archaeology, culture and traditions

The intention with this part of the research was to identify publications on Nubian history, archaeology and culture that were freely accessible in Egypt and the UK, so that a comparison in access to such knowledge could be made. Two surveys were conducted:

1. Public libraries in Egypt (Alexandria, Cairo and Aswan) at which relevant publications are available in Arabic, to identify the access locals have to such information. Unfortunately various means of contacting them, whether from England or Egypt, did not provide any results.

2. Survey 4g: Universities in the UK that offer courses in Arabic Studies, African Studies, Archaeology, Ancient History and Anthropology, as identified from Heap (2016). Egyptology and Heritage Studies, also being areas of interest, were already covered within one of the chosen subject headings. The library catalogue for each of these universities was searched using ‘Nubia*’ noting how many returns were books and articles. Clearly, most of the publications will be duplicated across the libraries; nonetheless, the results indicate the depth of access to this topic every student of each university has (numbers also collected). It
should be noted that Nubia is often included in publications primarily about Egypt, which will account for such a high number of results with not necessarily much information about Nubia involved.

It was not deemed helpful to include UK public libraries in the research, as the topic of Nubia is likely to be too specialised for public libraries to justify spending their limited budget on the subject.

Bookshops have also been excluded because the crux of this part of the hypothesis is information which is freely available, other than the small fee imposed by libraries to access sources elsewhere.

The results depict the number of items found as provided by each University Library’s search engine, which often allow the user to specify the format, such as books and journals. At this point, the results were not further examined to identify whether the journal numbers related to journal titles or specific articles within them. The full table can be found at Appendix 4, and is developed further at 7.6.

One problem noted in doing this part of the research is that Nubia is also a Spanish name of several authors represented in the library databases. For example, Dr Nubia Muñoz is Emeritus Professor at the National Cancer Institute of Colombia and has written many articles on her specialist subject. Where the library search engine allows exclusions, the facility has been used to remove entries with the word ‘cancer’ from the subject or keywords, and ‘Nubia’ from the authors. In the absence of a suitable Advanced Search function, the only way irrelevant entries can be identified is by turning such a literature search into a major project.

To compensate for the inaccuracies mentioned above, an additional level of research was conducted, though this one concentrated on just the book titles. In survey 4h the library catalogues of universities with the most courses of relevance (those that offer courses on at least four of the related subjects) were further examined on the following criteria: Nubian heritage, Nubian culture, Nubian history, Nubian archaeology, and Nubian traditions. The universities included in survey 4h are shown below, with the number of relevant books shown in brackets:
Birmingham (27)
Cambridge (19)
Durham (34)
Edinburgh (15)
Exeter (17)
Liverpool (41)
Manchester (22)
Oxford (78)
SOAS (37)
St Andrews (15)
UCL (35)

T5: Results of Survey 4h: Number of books about Nubian culture and history in UK universities offering related courses

The full potential reading list, with duplicate entries deleted, that this produced can be found at Appendix 4 (survey 4h).

It needs to be stressed that this part of the research was only based on the UK and, although these results do include books written in foreign languages, there could be many publications produced elsewhere that may not have made it to the shelves of UK libraries. Furthermore, access to the information will be multiplied by students in universities in other countries, particularly in the US where anthropology and archaeology are popular subjects.

The results of survey 4g were reduced to include just the books, and then compared with the results of survey 4h, as shown in T6:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Initial number of books found under search of ‘Nubia**’ (survey 4g)</th>
<th>Number of books found under more specific search strings (survey 4h)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOAS</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The purpose of making this comparison is not to remind us of the need to be specific in our library searches, but to illustrate how one might believe more material exists than it really does, without using explicit search terms.

The work conducted by the Nubian Ethnological Survey from 1961-1964 is discussed in the next chapter, and the publications produced therefrom are listed in Appendix 5. When combined with the list of books in UK universities, the overall number of entries increases from 188 to 436, with nine duplications having been identified and removed from the total. Fourteen of the final results were available in Arabic, with a further 38 written in French, German, Italian, Turkish or Russian. The remaining 384 books were published in English.

An additional literature search was conducted on ProQuest, a global database collating titles of more than two million theses and dissertations. With just the word ‘Nubia’ in the search bar, 3,026 results were returned. Using the word ‘Kush’ resulted in 3,338 results. Changing the search term to ‘Sudan’ increased the results to 28,373 and changing again to ‘Egypt’ further increased the results to 97,925. However, when using the Details facility on the database, only three documents relating to Egypt were in Arabic, and none of the documents relating to Nubia, Kush or Sudan were in Arabic. In total, 122 documents from the entire database, regardless of subject, were in Arabic.

Although there is not one global rule requiring all postgraduate students to present their dissertations and theses in English, it will be stipulated by some individual institutions, accompanied by the practice of conducting lectures in English. Students are perceived as benefitting from this global practice, as their research will reach a much wider audience and stands more chance of being published (Librarian pers. comm., 2016). It is possible that the preponderance of published works in English is a continuation of the practice of academic life – that, to be recognised as an author, the works need to be in a globally recognised language.
4.7 Section outcomes, including critical analysis

In this final sub-section, points raised earlier are discussed below.

Relating to item 4.3:

The attitude of other museums to how their Nubian collections are displayed – and the percentage of their collections that actually make it to the museum floor – is dictated by factors beyond either the curators’ desires or the department’s aims. Funding is always a prime concern with this sector, and justification of how the funds are allocated is often measured by audience attendance. Nubia is not one of the ancient civilisations that receives attention in our classroom history books; therefore, the general public are less aware of its existence and may well show less interest in the Nubian exhibits. The high percentage of items retained in reserve collections, rather than on display, also suggests museums themselves do not consider Nubia to be a prime attraction. If this is the case, it raises two questions: why are such pieces collected if they cannot be displayed (Bradley, 2015) and, given that education is often quoted as the prime reason for museums’ existence (Merriman 2000, 1 and Nicholas 2013, 18-19) is this a lost opportunity for enhancing the public’s knowledge and interest in this culture?

Relating to item 4.3:

An issue is accessibility to the collections for those unable to visit the museums in person. The results of survey 4c, at Appendix 4, show those that have very good online collections, and those that do not.

Relating to item 4.4:

The ethnographic displays in the Nubian Museum could be emulated in other museums. This is not necessarily because of their quality or depiction, which arguably could be improved, but because they depict local people. Furthermore, the museum, in which they are housed, is specialised for the topic. No other museum could be better placed to portray or involve the local population.

The Nubian Museum’s dioramas do fall short of achieving perfection. There is no audio, nor is there any use of the language of the population portrayed. When I remarked on the lack of a Nubian language in the museum, the response received from my guide was ‘why would it be needed, it is no longer
used’ – misunderstanding the purpose of the museum in general (Ministry of Culture et al [n.d.], 9-11) and UNESCO’s interest in the museum (see end of 5.3), as well as being incorrect, as apparent from the need to have a Nubian translator with us throughout the oral history interviews (see Chapter 5).

An important connection between today’s population, their recent past (the 1960’s diaspora) and their ancient history, is not being fully utilised. The modern people could be more encouraged to use the museum to be reminded of their grandparents’ lifestyles, through which an opportunity is created for them to stay in the building and learn more about their distant heritage.

Relating to item 4.4:

The use of actors portraying historical scenes is worth further consideration. The discomfort of adults when being presented with live scenes may be little more than an example of the Mere Exposure Effect, that is, they have not built up a familiarity with this form of information, whereas children are more open to a wide variety of media. Museums already adopting this format could, therefore, be applauded for trying new ways of engaging with their audiences, and overcoming the perception of museum displays being staid. They might need to be confident, however, that children form a significant proportion of their visitor numbers in order for this medium to be successful.

Relating to item 4.5:

The results shown in surveys 4g and 4h illustrate that a perception of the UK having access to a very broad number of relevant books and articles is plausible; however, the actual difference between the true numbers of publications available in UK and Egypt is likely to be less significant.

The surveys have not identified the total number of books published on the subject of Nubia. To do that would be a large project in itself, but the results from the UK universities are felt to be a good indication of the most relevant books available.

An outcome that needs to be flagged for further research is the low ratio between published works accessible in the UK and the number of those which are published in Arabic. Limiting such material to an international language immediately excludes the indigenous population from having access to
knowledge about their history and culture. It is true that many Egyptian people speak English but the standard is low. In general, the English vocabulary that the public can speak will be that which is in common daily usage, and will not include the jargon and academic terms used in archaeology.
CHAPTER FIVE: ORAL HISTORIES

This chapter includes:

- Introduction and summary
- Pedagogy and andragogy
- UNESCO and the Nubian Museum, Aswan
- Professional guidance and ethics
- Preparation for the interviews
- Methodology and ancillary usage of the material
- Nubian Ethnological Survey (NES) 1961-1964
- Details of, and extracts from, the interviews with Egyptian Nubians
- Collating and finishing the material
- Additional comments, summary and outcomes

5.1 Introduction and summary

The research discussed in this chapter considers Hypothesis 2, which suggests that traditions have been lost as a result of the large scale resettlement of Nubian people in the 1960s.

Interviews were conducted with elderly Egyptian Nubian people who had lived in Old Nubia and were keen to share their memories of life there before they were forced to leave. Although the oral history exercise forms the major part of this section, also included are related aspects, such as the work conducted by the Nubian Ethnological Survey (NES). Passages from Hopkins and Mehenna’s work published in 2010 are included where they complement extracts from this project’s oral history interviews conducted in 2014.

Some oral history studies are conducted to collect memories of the same event from many people, to gather as much detail as possible which could become crucial to understanding the situation. Examples of this type of research include the Pearl Harbour bombing in 1941, and the terrorist attack on New York’s twin towers of 2001, after which interviews were held with eye-witnesses, others directly impacted and people further afield (Ritchie 2003, 39). That type of study might then be analysed to identify the most frequently stated observation, perhaps as a way of confirming a statement to be ‘true’, or to identify the
outliers – statements less frequently stated which then become the focus of
further examination. The purpose of this project’s research was to collect as
many diverse memories as possible of different aspects of life in Old Nubia, in
order to create a bigger picture of life before the creation of the Aswan High
Dam. The intent was, therefore, to avoid duplicating memories.

The following sections also include the background preparation that needed to
be conducted before arriving in Egypt, as well as the considerations that were
required in order to respect our hosts’ culture and the conditions in which they
live. It will be seen that those conditions were not always conducive to
successful interviewing techniques.

The best way such material could be used was also considered, including
adapting it for use as an audio backdrop to the still-life exhibitions currently on
display in the Nubian Museum, Aswan. Issues around ethnography and
museum collections were already discussed in Chapter Four.

The impact of UNESCO on the Nubian Museum in Aswan is discussed, as is
the work of some important ethnological surveys conducted by the Nubian
Ethnological Survey (NES) and the Social Research Center (SRC). Although
this spawned many articles, theses and books, the key summary of the work is
published in ‘Nubian encounters: the story of the Nubian Ethnological Survey
update on the survey was conducted 40 years later, concentrating on the
cultural change and syncretism in Islamic life, in ‘Nubian ceremonial life’ (2005)
edited by John G. Kennedy. Quotations are used throughout this section to
highlight certain points made by the field research and oral interviews in this
project. The NES was a ground-breaking survey, offering a true insight into the
location, languages and lifestyles of Egyptian Nubians for the first time.
However, it will be seen that little of the outcome was made available to the
indigenous population affected by the diaspora on its completion.

This chapter begins with looking at the sciences of pedagogy and andragogy,
which consider how people learn, as this could be crucial to maximising the
impact of increasing Nubian people’s access to information about their own
history.
5.2 Pedagogy and andragogy

Although pedagogy and andragogy are the official terms relating to teaching and learning for children and adults respectively, the term ‘Adult Learning’ is more commonly used for the latter.

A literature search suggests the term pedagogy has been used in some publications to cover learners of all ages, such as ‘Pedagogy in Higher Education: A cultural historical approach’ (2013) edited by Wells, G. and A. Edwards. This is partly due to the way the term ‘adult’ is used: although the legal term for adult is anyone from aged 18 onwards, and the earliest age when most students would start their higher education, ‘adult’ could also be applied in the sense of when the person has matured to the extent of taking responsibility for their decisions and actions – some students not necessarily falling into this category until they no longer rely on support from their parents and make a home for themselves (Knowles et al 1998, 64).

The sphere of adult education is wide ranging and includes self-education (hobbies, casual use of libraries and the internet to feed interests), and classes not arranged by local authorities or Academy Trusts, such as those offered by the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA) and University of the Third Age (U3A). Education of children receives stricter regulation than does education for adults, and there seems to be more published material on pedagogy.

Another plausible reason for the lesser amount of material on adult learning is that once we become adults, we are able to voice our own concerns over our rights; we can question and leave the course if it does not suit, demanding refunds if we feel we are not learning. Adults, therefore, have more control over the outcomes of their own learning processes, implying the audience that appreciates the need for andragogy has become more select.

Knowles notes the irony in pedagogy being the first of these two sciences to be formed and acknowledged, when the earliest great educators were all teachers of adults, not children. These great educators include people such as Socrates Plato, Jesus, Cicero and Quintillian (Knowles et al 1998, 35).

The reason why both sciences are considered in this thesis is because of the perceived need to increase Nubian people’s access to information about their
past. Giving better access to their heritage is only solving part of the problem, if the data itself is not presented in a way that will engage their interest.

**Pedagogy in application**

Parents of young children in the UK will have noticed how primary education has developed, and that many schools now adopt a very different style of teaching to the traditional learning by rote and completing exercises from class books. Currently, popular practice is that children learn by being engaged, being inquisitive and trying to answer questions for themselves. Therefore classes, regardless of the subject and age of the child following Key Stages 1 & 2 level of education, are very hands-on, with the class divided into groups each of which work as a team to try and answer the set question themselves via experimentation. This process is believed to develop understanding of the task and a logical approach to finding the answer, plus the children are more likely to remember both subject and solution through their engagement. It also promotes team-working, which is perceived as being a healthy social skill in contrast to the isolation of studying by oneself. The latter runs a higher risk of pupils becoming too timid to speak out in class, if they think they are the only one in the room who does not know the answer (my personal experience from working as a School Governor, 2015).

A study has been conducted to see to what extent this type of model would work in Upper Egypt. A community school initiative was launched in 1992 by United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF); its overall objective was to provide a way to increase access to primary education for girls whilst empowering local communities with informal educational opportunities and participation in public decision making. The community schools in Egypt would provide a similar pedagogy to that currently being used in UK, in that the education would focus on active learning, life skills and practical rights (Zaalouk 2004, xi).

Such a forward-thinking approach was believed to also encourage pupils to become better citizens, more able to cope with the pressures of a modern world (Zaalouk 2004, 15). Zaalouk identifies five attributes that connect the power of learning with the desired characteristics which support a community. They are:
“An inner appreciation of interconnectedness;
A strong identity and sense of being;
A sufficiently large vision and imagination to see how specifics relate to each other;
The capacity to ‘go with the flow’ and to deal with paradox and uncertainty;
A capacity to build community and live in relationship with others.”
(Zaalouk 2004, 15)

This thrust in improving education in general, but specifically increasing attendance of girls in the poorer areas, comes after concern was expressed with the level of education in Egypt in the 1990s. Prior to that, the level of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) spend on education had fallen to 2.0% in the late eighties (Zaalouk 2004, 34).

The pedagogy applied in community schools centres on life skills, such as problem solving, decision making, creativity and critical thinking, which are incorporated into the daily classes (Zaalouk 2004, 77).

In 1995/96, there were 111 community schools across 3 districts in Upper Egypt, between them having 2,859 pupils. Four years later, the same districts yielded 202 community schools with a total number of 4,656 pupils. Six-hundred school teachers had been trained in activity-based learning, multi-grade teaching and classroom management (Zaalouk 2004, 103-105).

Comparing formal examination results between these community schools and Government-run schools, the 3rd grade pupils at community schools often achieved 100% success rate and always did consistently better than their counterparts. The same was true in the 5th grade although there were slightly fewer instances of 100% success rate (Zaalouk 2004, 109-110).

The following is an extract of the comments made by a delegation of high-level policy makers and practitioners from the Ministry of Education, who were sent to observe the community schools:

- “Children are unafraid and proud and appear to enjoy their work;
- Children are managing their own classroom;
- Children persevere in the improvement of their work;
Children are learning in an integrated fashion;
Children are encouraged to research;
Children do a lot of self-learning and self-evaluation;
A lot of creativity and freedom of expression was observed;
Children are full of confidence and self-esteem.”
(Zaalouk 2004, 123-124)

These examples of pedagogy illustrate how adopting the right form of teaching and the right conditions can positively impact on the way children learn, as well as increasing their life skills. The latter is more likely to have a long-term effect on the child’s character and ability to cope with situations as they grow older.

None of this specifically helps the Nubian people but gives hope that education in Egypt could improve in general in future, particularly if the number of community schools increases. If children can be encouraged to develop an enthusiasm about their education in general, they may be more likely to follow up interests in specific areas that might or might not be covered in their regular education. Therefore a seemingly unrelated development in education could have a long-term positive impact on projects such as this one.

Andragogy in application

Aspects related to andragogy include:

- Evolving from the level of dependency toward self-directedness is a natural outcome in each person from maturing, however the rates differ amongst people. Teachers are responsible for encouraging this process of change;
- As people mature, they become more experienced which provides a useful resource for learning;
- Adults are capable of recognising when they need to learn a new skill or aspect of knowledge, but educators need to create conditions to enable adults to conduct the actual learning process;
- Such adults consider education to be the process that enables them to achieve their full potential in life.

(Knowles 1980, 43-44)
It is noted that Knowles’s assumptions and examples used in his 1980 book relate to structured teaching, whether it be as an evening class or as a training session at work. From this it is assumed the process of andragogy does not include casual learning, for example through use of library or internet without involving a structured programme.

Knowles et al (1998) examine published research to try and understand the process of adult learning. They cite Cyril O. Houle’s study, conducted in the 1950s, which was based on a small sample (22) of continual learners. Houle identified three core types of learners:

- Goal-orientated: using education for accomplishing defined objectives;
- Activity-orientated: activity is the main aim with learning being a by-product, often unintentional;
- Learning-orientated: seeking knowledge for its own sake, often associated with people who have been avid readers since childhood. (Houle, in Knowles et al 1998, 55).

With an independence from compulsory education and either the mature desire for a continuing thirst for knowledge or an accidental accumulation of it, the role of the educator becomes less of one of teaching, and instead becomes a facilitator (Knowles et al 1998, 198-199). The move toward this begins with higher education; although the student still receives conventional teaching via a lecturer, the emphasis is on the student supplementing their classroom knowledge with a significant amount of their own research or academic reading. The lecture is merely a catalyst from which the majority of learning evolves.

Identifying the teacher as a facilitator calls into question the assumption noted previously that andragogy relates to structured learning, and excludes learning received on a casual or self-taught basis. The role of the facilitator could, for example, be the archaeologist, museum manager or curator who displays pieces with supporting detail given for general knowledge. Whether the public stop to read it is under the visitors’ control, but this form of education appears to not fall within andragogy.

Paul Fordham has worked in university adult education in the UK and Africa and considers the various structures of learning in ‘Informal, non-formal and formal education programmes’ (Fordham 1993). Having experienced a period of rapid
growth in educational establishments after the end of World War II, the previous link between growth in educational knowledge and economic output was challenged at a conference in 1967. They concluded that educational establishments had adapted to the changes around them too slowly, being hampered by a background of following policy change rather than leading it. This enabled the birth of community ventures in the 1970s, to supplement the more formal schooling (Fordham 1993).

This expansion of knowledge-giving from government-led establishments into wider society has linked in with one of the major roles of museums, which is to be educational. Some have increased the scope for private learning to continue from individuals’ homes, by embracing the changing environment caused by the growth of technology and access via the internet. The Petrie Museum (UCL) London and Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for example, have made their entire collections easily accessible online.

5.3 UNESCO and the Nubian Museum, Aswan

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was formed in 1945. Among its aims is to:

- Promote literacy and quality education for all throughout life;
- A particular emphasis is on gender equality, youth and reaching marginalized communities such as indigenous people;
- Special attention is paid to Africa.

(UNESCO 2010m, 11)

The following description is taken from their website:

“UNESCO is known as the "intellectual" agency of the United Nations. At a time when the world is looking for new ways to build peace and sustainable development, people must rely on the power of intelligence to innovate, expand their horizons and sustain the hope of a new humanism. UNESCO exists to bring this creative intelligence to life; for it is in the minds of men and women that the defences of peace and the conditions for sustainable development must be built.”

The influence UNESCO has had on Nubia’s heritage makes it worth noting when some of the countries involved in the global salvage campaign became members of the organisation. Egypt joined in November 1946 – one year after UNESCO was created - and Sudan joined in November 1956. The UK did not become a member until July 1997, with the US following in October 2003.

(UNESCO https://en.unesco.org/countries/u)

The above shows that the UK and US, amongst others, were not members at the time of the UNESCO salvage campaign despite supporting it.

The background to UNESCO’s involvement in the salvage campaign of the 1960’s was discussed in 3.5. There, it was explained that the plea for international help was launched on 8 March 1960 for financial and technical contributions to save Nubian monuments and sites from destruction. The campaign finally came to a successful close exactly twenty years later (Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 9). At its 21st General Conference, in 1980, UNESCO approved the creation of Nubian Museum in Aswan, which was completed and opened to the public in 1997.

(UNESCO http://opendata.unesco.org/project/41304-301EGY4072/)

The new museum was built specifically to house and curate artefacts rescued from the salvage operation. It occupies an area of 50,000 square metres, which comprises:

- 7,000 square metres for the museum building, half of which is dedicated to the indoor display;
- 43,000 square metres for outdoor exhibits.

(Ministry of Culture et al [n.d.], 10)

Items representing all periods of Nubia’s history are displayed in the museum, in a way that follows Nubia’s heritage from before the invasions by Ancient Egypt through to today’s Islamic culture. A large section of the museum is dedicated to the salvage campaign, including a display of photos taken during that period of the temples, buildings and people. In another section, large information boards containing explanations in Arabic and English hang from the ceiling, each one describing a specific excavation in Nubia. The museum also contains several dioramas depicting village life in Old Nubia, photos of which
were used in the oral history interviews as mentioned in the previous chapter and shown on pages 112-117.

UNESCO’s interest in the museum lay with the fact that the combined artefacts represent the dialogues between civilisations, cultures and people (UNESCO http://www.unesco.org/culture/museum-for-dialogue/museums/en/2/nubian-museum-in-aswan-egypt).

Although the Director of the Museum is supportive of integrating oral history into the displays, and has suggested that UNESCO could be a potential funder, the ultimate decision lies with the Ministry of Culture which has its own priorities.

5.4 Professional guidance and ethics

Ethics (University of Exeter)

Every student at University of Exeter is expected to follow the University’s ethics policy which is given on their website at https://www.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/corporateresponsibility/pdfs/Ethics_Policy_Jan_2016.pdf

Prior clearance for questionnaires and other field research needs to be obtained from the Ethics Committee, to ensure they do not contain anything contentious or offensive, that the proposed methodology will produce the desired results and that it is all acceptable within the framework set down by the University.

British Library and Oral History Society

Having had no experience of conducting oral history interviews, and not having access to the relevant workshops held by the University of Exeter, I attended a one-day course held by the Oral History Society (OHS) in conjunction with The British Library, London. Given that the OHS is the professional association for all in the UK who choose oral histories as their career, and that the British Library is the ultimate receptacle for the outcomes of such interviews, their joint guidelines provided the standard that needed to be followed.

The introductory session included:

- Guidelines for digital recording and archiving;
- Using specific recorders (Marantz PMD661 and Zoom H4N);
- Information about copyright and clearance at The British Library;
• Sample recording agreements;
• Guidelines for writing oral history interview summaries for digital recordings;
• Example audit sheet;
• Guidelines for transcription of oral history;
• A select bibliography.

(British Library and Oral History Society 2013, Contents page)

The day’s session looked at the various instruments that could, or should, be used in interviews with examples of good and bad interviews being shown to the group. A course booklet was given to each attendee, giving useful guidelines for digital recording and archiving.

The following are key points noted from the day:

• Oral histories are often conducted by a specialist team, for example those who handle the recruitment may be different to the person who conducts the interviews, and it is possible that neither have the ultimate responsibility for the project. It is imperative that they work together to ensure the right people are enlisted for the interviews and that the questions are relevant to those people;
• The interviewer needs to build up trust with the interviewees, and act with integrity. The interviewees’ rights need to be clearly stated and adhered to, and the interviewees’ privacy and right to withdraw at any time need to be respected;
• Permission needs to be given in writing before the interviews start, with the release forms clearly stating the purpose of the interview and how the material is going to be used. Contact details must be given to each interviewee in case they have concerns once the interview is over. Upon completion, the recordings must be transcribed and sent to the interviewee for their confirmation they are an accurate account of the discussion;
• As well as the need for privacy, settings enabling minimal distraction and noise are required. Advice was given on the type of room in which the discussions should take place, such as one without electronic equipment other than that being used throughout the interview, to avoid a
constant background hum being present in the recordings, and other similar interferences such as children and animals.

The Ethics Committee at University of Exeter also offers advice on the wording of release forms, granting permission for the material created from interviews to be used in various ways.

When discussing the type of equipment to be used, very precise guidance was given on the model of recorder, both of the preferred options being quite expensive. The reasons for these preferences were the clarity of recording, ease of use and the ability to transfer the format into one that could be manipulated by a certain software programme to reduce background noise. Another software programme discussed was one that enabled the transcriber to have more control over the speed of the recording when playing it back and being typed up.

Other equipment discussed was the best types of microphones for this work, as well as lighting and video recording.

As the session progressed, it was clear it was aimed at people wishing to make a career out of oral history work. Stipulating such guidance was understandable for those who would be undertaking interviews as a profession.

A combination of recording models were obtained for the Nubian project, including a specialised model and a dictating machine which was deemed suitable as a back-up system. Audio would also be captured by the cameras used for video purposes.

A major concern arising from the workshop was that it was clearly aimed at interviews being conducted in the UK, therefore subject to UK legislation and guidance. Much of the otherwise useful advice was not going to be relevant, or possible, to my research based in Egypt.

5.5 Preparation for the interviews

Background reading, as mentioned at the end of 1.6, was conducted to increase understanding of the requirements of the interviewer and also to learn how other countries handled ethics and rights of the interviewees. The majority of the published material came from the US.
Preparation for the interviews is discussed below as it highlights the aspects that needed to be considered, some of which are later questioned in their relevance to conducting oral history interviews in Egypt.

Recognising the need to practice conducting this type of interview, I sought permission at work to recruit volunteers from the staff to take part in an interviewing session. The aim was to gain experience with planning the sessions, raising relevant questions and listening to their answers all with minimal interruptions. The recruitment process itself also helped, by selecting people who had differing backgrounds and interests; this, to a small degree, emulated the outcome I wanted in Egypt, by collecting different memories in order to create a broad picture of life in Old Nubia.

A key piece of learning was with the equipment, testing for example how long the batteries would last. Once in Egypt, the team would need additional back-up with batteries as well as power banks, because access to electricity was likely to be difficult when out in the field. It was therefore crucial to know how many batteries and of what type were likely to be needed, particularly as more than one session might be conducted per day without the scope in between of re-charging batteries back at the hotel in Aswan.

With hindsight, the main benefit to the interviewer of conducting these sessions in the UK was to build confidence. Much of the experience was not applicable to Egypt, although that was not realised at the time.

Other items were purchased such as clips for securing mobile phones against tripods, the tripods themselves, and various cables with differing connections to enable downloading from the cameras and the multiple forms of recording equipment. A variety of microphones including those that clipped onto people’s clothing, transmitters that enable recording from a distance and items helping to control the lighting (LED lights plus a shade to reflect the brightness) were also purchased. The latter was important as, from past experience, the interviewer knew the discussions were as likely to be held in the evening as well as during the heat of the day. As southern Egypt is much closer to the Equator than the UK, the daylight hours are much more consistent all year round – resulting in the sun usually setting in Upper Egypt between 18:00 and 19:00 regardless of
the month. It was quite possible, therefore, that the discussions could be held in darkness.

The final pieces of equipment being taken from the UK were a camera (which included video facility) and a netbook plus external hard drive. The project’s research assistant, Mustafa, was also going to be using his professional camera and laptop, so each evening involved ensuring that day’s material had been transferred over to my netbook and backed up on the ancillary hard drive.

Final aspects of preparation involved the paperwork. Multiple copies of the release forms (granting permission for the material to be used) were printed in English for the interviewer to retain and in Arabic for the interviewees to retain, granting either permission in full or permission with constraints. Business cards were printed in English showing my name, course, website address and University of Exeter, and another version in Arabic showing contact details of my research assistant. Gifts for the hosts and team were also packed.

5.6 Methodology and ancillary usage of the material

It was explained at 1.8 that minimal time was available for field research, so visits to Egypt were kept to one week at a time.

The brevity of visits prevented the researcher from becoming fully accepted within the community. This might have had a knock-on effect on the outcomes, due to the characteristic interest and politeness displayed by the interviewees.

However, every participant and their accompanying family members were keen to support the research, and all showed their appreciation that it was being conducted.

The number of successful interviews in this project conducted (five) seems low. However it should be remembered that the cohort was similarly low, given that it was based on Egyptian Nubian people old enough to have memories of living in Old Nubia. Although census figures were not available to indicate what numbers of elderly Egyptian Nubians were living in the Aswan and Abu Simbel areas, the average life expectancy in Egypt is 69 for a man, and 73 for a woman (World Life Expectancy, 2014). Given that the research was being conducted some 50 years after the diaspora, the likelihood of many people being available was
reduced. Added to that, willing interviewees needed to not mind speaking on camera.

Elisa Facio collected 30 oral histories during a two-year period of field research (Facio in Stanfield II and Dennis 1993, 75). This research similarly concerned elderly people from a tribal population, although access to them was via a Senior Citizens centre. The methodology differed to the Nubian study, in that Facio’s study involved in-depth observation rather than direct interview.

Nonetheless, the results of this Californian-based study suggests the outcome of producing just five short interviews within one week, as for the research in this study, in Nubia is realistic. Upon completion, it was decided only four of the interviews yielded suitable material.

Having decided to undertake the research in open discussions, the way to conduct the interviews became the next paramount decision.

The first aspect was to ensure the discussions concentrated on the past, on life in Old Nubia. As another aim from the visit was to try and gain permission from the authorities to continue the work in future, it was important to avoid any political discussions.

An attempt was made with the first interview to follow a pre-set list of questions about life in Old Nubia, but to do this with every subsequent interview would have been neither a good use of time nor a good provision of useful information, as there would have been a lot of repetition. Following a pre-set list of questions, offering consistency amongst the interviews, would have been a useful method only if the base number of interviewees and depth of exploration would yield a significant amount of data – which in itself could then be analysed for outliers, frequency and patterns.

Such a practice would have been unsuitable for the work in Nubia, and it was decided to concentrate on one theme per participant, for which the photographs shown at 4.5 were used as prompts and enabled the interviewee to focus on one particular aspect. The aim was to collect as much diverse material as possible, with it all relating to individual and relevant memories.

Conventional use of conducting and saving such material is to:
• Support the work behind the thesis;
• Be stored and archived in a way that protects useful information for future generations; Be easily accessed by researchers to supplement additional work.

However, at the concept of this particular research, an additional and potentially more useful purpose was borne. It was hoped the outcome of the interviews could be used in the Nubian Museum (Aswan) as audio to complement their existing still-life dioramas. If the necessary equipment could be installed, the voices of the very people who were affected by the diaspora of the 1960s would be heard in the museum, speaking in Arabic. This could then be translated into other languages for foreign visitors to the museum but, more importantly, into Kenzi and Fediji for the Nubian visitors as a way of keeping the threatened tribal dialects alive.

A museum could be an ideal place to store audio and written examples of a language that is in threat, and a museum created for specific memories and artefacts of the same culture is clearly the right place for such material. The institution itself could use this to increase visitor attendance, preferably a large boost in the numbers from local Nubian people who are displaying an interest in their recent, but lost, heritage, but also from tourism.

The first step would be to measure numbers of attendance by Nubian people, currently not collected. The only numbers counted are the split between tourists and locals (that is, no differentiation between whether the locals are Nubian, or non-Nubian Egyptians).

An additional part of the oral histories exercise was to talk to younger adults, to learn more about their level of interest in their background and history, and to what extent they use, or would consider using, the Nubian Museum. The discussions centred on the Museum, from which they could learn from the exhibitions and ask questions about anything relating to their past that the displays do not readily answer.

An exploratory meeting was held with the then Director of Nubian Museum, Dr Hosny Abd el Reheem, who expressed great interest in the idea of working with us, particularly as they had tried to conduct a similar oral histories exercise
themselves but with little success. Dr el Reheem suggested the work should be funded by UNESCO to complement the work already spearheaded by them.

This is developed further at 7.5.

5.7 Nubian Ethnological Survey (NES) 1961-1964

A group of social scientists affiliated with the American University in Cairo’s Social Research Center (SRC) joined forces to thoroughly record and document the culture of the Egyptian Nubian people before their homeland became permanently lost (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 3). At that point, although the Egyptian Nubians’ future was known in that the development of new villages were planned, how they adapted to their new surroundings was unknown.

The main goals of the study were:

- “To result in a description and analysis of the contemporary culture and society of the Nubian peoples. Their traditional way of life will be recorded before the changes take place that will inevitably follow their resettlement;
- To provide a body of information about the Egyptian Nubian population that may be used in meeting problems of resettlement in the coming years. This information will be available to all who are at present and will be in the future responsible for the development of the new communities of Nubians in Kom Ombo. By making available a detailed description and analysis of traditional Nubia, the course of social and economic development in the resettled communities may be better evaluated and guided;
- To also provide an opportunity for more young Egyptians to learn social research techniques while becoming personally acquainted with the peoples of Nubia. Young people with such experience may prove useful to the government for future work in the new settlements or in similar research projects undertaken by the government itself. Thus, the SRC is currently seeking students from Egyptian universities to work on the project and will also happily consider including on the staff persons from any government agency who may desire or need training in social research techniques.”
The study concentrated on three districts in Egyptian Nubia that covered each of the major linguistic areas as follows:

- Dahmit, from the Kenzi-speaking area (Aswan to Sebua);
- Malki in the Arabic speaking area (Wadi al-Arab to Korosko);
- Ballana in the Mahas/Fediji speaking area (Korosko to Adendan).

They stated that no work was possible in the Sudanese part of Nubia due to political conditions (Kennedy 2005, xvi).

The work conducted by the NES was critical to understanding the lives and lifestyles of the Egyptian Nubians, where they lived and how they spoke. It was the first time they had been studied to such an extent, and as an anthropological piece of work. Previous studies tended to portray the culture in a chronology since ancient times and therefore had a historical or archaeological background.

A statement by Robert Fernea in 1978 states clearly the need for such work to be recorded:

“Ample scientific and pragmatic justification existed for salvage ethnography in Old Nubia. The project proposal stressed such issues as ecological adaptation and labor migration.....The more humanistic issues – that a unique human culture should be described before it radically changed or disappeared – was perhaps less successfully communicated....We think it significant that a record now exists of the culture and society of Egyptian Nubians before the High Dam and, like the historical documentation from the sites and antiquities of the area, will become part of the human heritage.”

(Fernea, in Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 18)

More work was conducted between 2007 and 2009 relating to the SRC to ensure the previous work from the 1960s was updated and archived. The intention was to make it available to a wide audience of scholars and citizens. A further statement declared a hope that it would be used by future researchers to pursue and develop any issues raised therefrom, with the material being made
available via the archives of the American University in Cairo (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, xviii- xix).

What becomes of interest to this project is how the resulting theses and publications have been put to use, as another way of following up on the statement that ‘the Europeans and Americans know more about the history of the Nubian people than they themselves do’ (see page 15).

Without questioning the professionalism applied or usefulness of the NES/SRC work, it would be of interest to know how much of the extensive published work has been made available in Arabic, so that the populations contributing to, and affected by, the research are able to benefit from it. This is discussed below.

The work of NES/SRC required significant backing, some of which was provided by the Ford Foundation, to fund the extensive field research which would have received a global interest. It yielded six PhDs, all from US universities, achieving the main aim of the project which was to promote the careers of the research team members (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 68 and 306). All of the successful students presented their dissertations in English yet had Arabic names, prompting another literature search to identify whether any of these academics subsequently published in Arabic. The reason for presenting to academia in English was briefly discussed in 4.6.

Library catalogues of the following universities were searched for publications by the same six authors, to find evidence of anything published by them in Arabic:

- In UK – Exeter, Liverpool, Manchester, SOAS, UCL (selected as a sample from the list of universities in survey 4h);
- In US – California, Chicago, Indiana, Texas (being the universities where the postgraduate studies by the NES team were conducted).

The following publications in Arabic were found:

- Fahim, Hussein 1997: ‘Trip and travellers: a human study collection and study habits and traditions, traditional knowledge الرحلة والرحالة: دراسة إنسانية’
  Found in California and Indiana;
At the time of writing, none of the Egyptian researchers in the NES project had returned to their homeland to give experience to a younger generation of anthropologists, and none of the Americans who were based in Egypt throughout the project stayed behind to do such training (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 68).

In addition to the theses, over 100 publications emanating from the NES are listed by Hopkins and Mehanna (2010, 307-326: see Appendix 5). Following on from above, it is noted how few of the publications are shown in Arabic, or even in European languages other than English. This observation is upheld by a list of documents published by the Social Research Centre [n.d.] relating to work conducted by the NES (http://www1.aucegypt.edu/src/nubia.htm)

Publishers for the above work are varied but several of the key publications were produced by the American University in Cairo Press, with the University itself (AUC) being one of the sponsors for the work. A further comment to make is the difficulty in getting confirmation from the American University in Cairo Press as to how many publications they produce in Arabic, relating to Nubia. Various ways were employed in contacting them with this request, none of which resulted in an answer. The strap line on their website reads “The leading English-language publisher in Egypt and the Middle East” and it does not have an Arabic version; from this it can be implied that they do not produce anything in Arabic, whether relating to Nubia or other subjects.

The lack of material being published in Arabic, together with the objectives of the main survey and subsequent outcomes, suggests that the NES team were not motivated by increasing the education of the Nubian people they interviewed or observed. Their concerns were to record and document, concentrating on publishing for academia, rather than sharing with the participants. It could be believed that, as contributors of the material, the Nubian
people had no need to receive copies of the academic publications. However, as noted in the main goals of their study (stated at the beginning of 5.7), change in the culture was expected after the relocation; therefore, the following generations of Nubian people would be adopting a slightly different lifestyle. It is the *future* generations who would have benefitted from such publications, not the existing ones – especially as there were limited books available in Arabic at that time.

Hussein Fahim, an Egyptian anthropologist, stated a similar aim to that of this project:

> “Another important change in my attitude is connected with publication. While in the beginning I regarded publication as basically an academic activity, I have recently come to the conclusion that the people under study must have access to the researcher’s writings. It is true that people’s desire to know what is written about them may vary but it seems only moral on the part of anthropologists to make their findings available to the studied people especially if they plan to subject them to longitudinal research. From the Kanuba study, several articles have appeared in professional journals in English but none have been translated into Arabic.”

(Fahim, in Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 99)

It is an important statement that the need to share the outcomes of research with the population studied, by translating it into a generally used written language, has been observed by a key researcher.

Two further statements, supporting the need for oral histories to be collected, archived and shared, before those old enough to remember life in Old Nubia either lose their memories or die, come from John G. Kennedy:

> “In spite of the intensive archaeological efforts prior to the completion of the dam, it is certain that much important evidence in this historically significant battleground of the ancient world has been irretrievably lost beneath the water. The loss of information
with regard to the living Nubian peoples has been even more severe: it has been the loss of living culture.”

“Since many of the older generation have died since resettlement, by the time the predictable nativistic attempts to revive traditional customs are made, much of the ancient culture will be beyond retrieval.”

(Kennedy 2005, 1, 4)

The next section, which contains extracts from the oral history interviews conducted in 2014, is supplemented with work published by the NES and SRC, where the discussions offer similar material.

5.8 Details of, and extracts from, the interviews with Egyptian Nubians

The team have had many discussions with Nubian people in Egypt over the last five years which have enabled me to form a good background knowledge of their lives and hopes of a future. These talks in person have been supplemented with conversations via social media, all of which combined to help form a structure for the oral history interviews.

However, only the talks that followed the guidance of the Oral History Society can be included in the research for this thesis, as they are the ones for which permission to use the material was fully granted.

Interviews conducted formally with full permission are:

1. Abd Allah Hassan-blana, Kom Ombo
2. Fikry Kachif, Abu Simbel
3. Ali Hassan Mohamed, Abu Simbel
4. Kafer Abdo Bakry, Abu Simbel
5. Rahma Mohammed Abdule Latif, Abu Simbel
6. Hassan Abd el Fassar, Kom Ombo
7. Host and hostess at Kom Ombo

The scripts have been left exactly as spoken, and transcribed by the Egyptian translator.

As a single woman travelling in Egypt, I was careful to respect local traditions but also keen to gain the most from my brief visits. One reason for employing,
and travelling with, a male research assistant with Nubian blood was to make the introductions to our prospective interviewees more acceptable, by letting him handle the greeting and explanation. The same research assistant worked in Aswan as tour manager with an Egyptian travel company (Memphis Tours), so I benefited not only from his local knowledge, but also from his awareness of my needs as a visitor who relied upon his help.

In agreeing to the visit, the hosts would have been forewarned that I am a woman, but may not have been told of the entourage that I was travelling with, which varied from one driver in addition to us two, to a team consisting of six people (myself, two research assistants, two drivers and a man who acted as the go-between in recruiting the interviews). Only one of these people, other than myself, was female and her role was as a Nubian translator if needed. Throughout the interviews, her presence in the room was not felt unless she was required to interpret.

The people who agreed to be interviewed, and attended as onlookers, were predominantly male. This did not come as a surprise to me as my previous meetings with Nubian people were similarly dominated by men, as either the head of the family or the community in general. In my field research whilst studying for my MA in Egyptian Archaeology, I met female Nubians only three times: one was a wife with twin babies, who the gentleman was clearly very proud of; another was a hostess who was brought into the room to serve me some refreshments, and on the other occasion the female was a young child.

The role of the woman in Upper Egypt is to care for the house, the family and the animals, but usually not in a materialistic way. A step towards equality between the sexes is being enjoyed by the younger generation, but today’s mature woman is less likely to be as educated as her male counterpart (Hopkins and Saad 2004, 11). Those not living in large cities will have had less opportunity for paid work, or to have taken part in major discussions with people outside of their close circle.

The impact this aspect of Nubian culture had on the oral history interviews was that the men were very much in control of their part in the discussions. Although I was not expecting any women to attend, it was a pleasure to witness one being included amongst some friends invited by one of my hosts, and on
another occasion the hostess was asked to come into the room at my request. Both women were accompanied by their husbands, and on each occasion the only other women in the room were myself and my second Research Assistant.

On the first of these occasions, the woman spoke fairly freely, although I was careful to avoid – in all of the interviews – any discussion that asked about personal issues or political feelings. The husband, and other guests, listened attentively as they all did when it was another’s turn to talk. However, in the other interview when the hostess was asked to join us, it was clear she was a bit uncomfortable with taking part, and was much more relaxed when serving refreshments. In the interview, she deferred to her husband a lot; however, as a hostess, she was the best I had experienced throughout all of my visits to private homes in Egypt.

The following are extracts from the interviews, with the full transcripts found at Appendix 7. As already mentioned, the interviews were structured for each participant to concentrate on a different subject. Therefore, there is no analysis of how often certain terms were used, or how memories varied between the interviewees. There were some issues, which are noted at 5.10.

**Abd Allah Hassan-blana**

The first memory recorded in this research was from a gentleman in his 80’s who lived in Kom Ombo. He was a good recruit as he had participated in Robert Fernea’s research in the 1960’s and had met Princess Alexandra in Egypt. He produced a photo (P24) of the occasion and asked that she be contacted upon my return to the UK. A letter was sent to her Private Secretary in 2017, informing her of our meeting, a very brief introduction to the project, and Abd Allah Hassan’s wish to be remembered to Her Royal Highness.
The following response was received, which has been forwarded to Mustafa Osman for onward transmittal to the gentleman.

Dear Ms Nicholas,

Thank you for your letter of 5th February enclosing a copy of a photograph taken in Egypt of Princess Alexandra with Abd Allah Hassan Blana.

Her Royal Highness was delighted to see this, and touched that you had taken the trouble to write. The Princess has asked me to send you her good wishes for 2017.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs Diane A Duke LVO DL
Private Secretary and comptroller to HRH Princess Alexandra

Ms Claire Nicholas
Abd Allah Hassan-blana was blind, so referring him to a book with photos of the area was not appropriate. He responded instead to a series of questions and verbal prompts.

Initially, controlling the interview was not very successful. The gentleman who acted as the go-between and who introduced the team to the hosts took it upon himself to conduct the talk, leaving Mustafa feeling unclear when he should begin the translation. It took a while to settle into a comfortable discussion with the appropriate management. Fortunately, another attribute of the Nubian people is their patience. Some of the group are shown in a photo at P27.

Abd Allah explained that they only went to school for four years, therefore much of the time was spent playing. Here are the games he described:

**Game 1: (for boys only)**

‘(Handak keeh), that was the game. This game, they make a team, and there was someone that they named "the boss", so they were just protecting him. And they just hold their legs and then go to the other side, just to deliver the boss to the other side. If they make it to get the boss to the other side in the other team, that's recorded as one for them, and then the other way around.

So, they were making that game five and five, and the boss behind. So this five job is to protect the boss from the other five when they are going to attack him, and make him get his way to the other side, and then when he make it to the other side, that was counted as one point for them.’

**Game 2: (for boys only)**

‘Okay, so there were a night game that they do it under light of the moon. This game was... they make like a big team, and then they get the lower part from the mouth of the sheep and then someone throw it away, okay?

Because there were no lights, except the light coming out from the moon so they have to go and find that part that they throw away, and the one that found it, he got a rope. So he just slap the others, it's like an honor that "I found it, I found it" and then himself also has to throw it again away, the keep searching for it so they keep doing that game whole
Game 3: (for boys only)

‘Okay, so this game is called Warawed (Warjay). They put their legs into each other, the feet into each other, and then they put the 2 hands on top of the feet. So, one of them, he have to run and then come to jump over their legs and feet. If he touches the hand, so he has to sit, and the man that he touches his hand has to go and jump, and do it like this way all the time.’

The double image shown above was circulating on Facebook, no origin given, though the photo on the left is taken from picture 46 in Fernea and Gerster (1973), where it was also stated that this jumping game is pictured in Pharaonic wall paintings.

Game 4: (for boys and girls)

‘Okay, a game that they make a circle, and they are all sitting together. And one of them pick anything. a stone, ring, anything, and they just sit stretching their legs towards and they hold their hands to their chests …and this one who has this thing, he just keeps going for each one, pretending or showing that he hold something for you. And with someone
he got that thing, so nobody knows who has this thing, except the person who have it, okay? In the same time he got a rope, he make the same circle, and he go all around them and keep it, the rope, behind someone without him knowing. Then he makes a final lap. If the guy didn't know that he has the rope behind him, and he didn't know who has that thing with him. So the guy that he got the rope and the thing has to pick up the rope, and start to slap him again to refresh the … The game for the circle and the rope is called Foldomeh.’

Game 5: (played during the Date season)

‘During the Date season, collecting the dates from the palm trees, they're just getting the leaves of the palm tree itself, and then they break it to 4 pieces….So, they get this leaf and they cut it in 4 pieces, these 4 pieces has 2 green pieces and 2 white. So the game, he made it more clear for me. if you got 4 name. That was called "Setta".

You got four, that means “Setta” in their language, so this guy has the power to say “you have to slap the other one that has 2 green and 2 white”. He just…yeah, with stick on his feet, like this one.

If you get 2 green and 1 white, you passed, you will not be slapped. If he have 2 and 2, that means you have to be slapped, and then you skip your turn. That was the game.’

Abd Allah also talked about schooling, house decoration, fishing and farming and the annual inundation.
Fikry Kachif

Fikry Kachif is a Nubian musician whose work can be found on You Tube. The interview took place at his hotel in Abu Simbel city, initially just with him but while there three of his friends from Old Nubia arrived, who were also keen to share their memories. Photos of Fikry, his guests and a group gathering are included throughout the following transcripts.

Aged 59, Fikry was the youngest interviewee in the project. Although he was just a young boy when the family moved away from Abu Simbel to Kom Ombo, memories of the old traditions had clearly been kept alive in his mind.

We had two discussions with Fikry, the first one concentrating on villages in Old Nubia that became submerged with the other reflecting music and dancing.

Villages in Old Nubia:

‘Well I was born in February 1955 in Abu Simbel. …My village’s name is Abu Simbel, Abu Simbel it was just here. And first after Abu Simbel it was Village of Ballana. Ballana, this is this is you visited Ballana I think yesterday. Yah Ballana it was the first village before the border with
Sudan. But this is in the west bank of Nile river. Ballana. In the east it was Adendan, that’s name the first village, well when we talk about the first village here in Egypt but before this border it was not existed before English occupation, that means from exactly 1881 English they occupied Egypt, 1889 they did the border with Sudan in this village but there is not a natural border. It just a political border what they did it and well Ballana in the west, Adendan the east and from the east after Adendan it was Gostoon, Abu Simbel, Armin, Toshka. Well we are talk about more than forty four villages when they move them from here. and I had a chance you know for just before to start my school for example, in 1960 , I had chance to going with my mother because at that time my father who was been in Europe, Athens in Greece and it was near to be in Alexandria from Athens to coming in Alexandria for my father, that’s why. Well he bring my mother from here from Abu Simbel when I had four five years old and we went to Alexandria by boat two nights from here to Aswan and by train from Aswan to Cairo and then to Alexandria and coming back. Well what I mean that I saw the most of these ancient village by boat to moving from Abu Simbel to Shalal, Shalal this is the cataract Shalal in Aswan and after one year or something I just coming back in 1960s with my mother also, you know to do the same, boat from Aswan or from Shalal to Abu Simbel two nights and you know I had chance to even from the boat you know just to see the ancient village before. That’s why I have you know the child memories you can’t you know you can remember everything, now we can’t remember, but child memories stay…….’

The music and dancing at wedding celebrations:

‘A concert started to take place. That’s what I'm going to talk about. Playing music and dancing. There were some bands in the village, called Sharigiah or Alshiran. What is Alshiran? A band of musicians and singers. They were playing the tambourines, mainly. Three tambourines. Each of such tambourines made a certain sound. In other words, you can hear some sounds sharper than others. So there are three different sounds. The three tambourines made the same rhythm in three different sounds.
Afterwards, Alshiran, the artists went into the groom's house where the women were celebrating after putting on makeup and gold and such things. Then, Alshiran accompanied the woman from the groom's house to a public square in the village. After that the women and girls got in lines. Each group of women had certain dances. Unmarried girls held one another by the hand and dance in group. Married women, or elderly women, had other lines. Aged women wore a certain garment and danced as well.

The singers were accompanying the women from the groom's house to a public square. Then men caught up with them; old men and young people. Then the artists moved in a circle…Right behind them, the three tambourines were placed. So the artist in the middle of that circle was the singer. The others repeated the lyrics after the singer. Behind such singers, stood men who sang with the singers. Women stood at the front. They had special dances. They sang and repeated. There were men and women singing with the singers together.

As in Nubia, the only thing that is considered to be a kind of art is…singing songs and playing music…over the time. Unfortunately, we did not have any other arts in Nubia; such as the theatre and cinema…or any other arts, nor plastic arts. Maybe there were few arts, but the main art was singing and music. Hence, all women and men learned all our songs. So all of them were singing such songs together. There were different types of dance and music.'

Dances are discussed by Samha al-Katsha (in Kennedy, 2005). Three principal dances comprise *Kumba Gash* (a group dance providing most of the entertainment at weddings, performed by men and women in rows of ten or twelve); *Ollin/Kaff*, which is the clapping dance performed by only a few women and only lasted for about 15 minutes; and *Firry Aragid*, another dance involving men and women in long lines facing one another, with the elderly women of the immediate families in the marriage dancing in the space between the rows. The steps were similar to the clapping dance, but danced to a faster beat (al-Katsha, in Kennedy 2005, 186-187).
Al-Katsha concurs with Fikry’s statement about dancing and singing being the most important forms of entertainment in Nubian life, particularly in village festivities (al-Katsha, in Kennedy 2005, 186).

Ali Hassan Mohamed

Ali Hassan Mohamed was a teacher before and after the immigration. Before the diaspora, the schooling involved primary for six years, and preparatory for four years. Ali Hassan was born in 1941 in Adenden, and became a football referee.

Ali Hassan described the scene of the wedding party from one of the photos, which he was encouraged to do in Arabic so that it could be used as audio in the museum, if needed. There was therefore no translation on the day, and remains untranslated because Ali Hassan’s involvement was an unsuccessful attempt at getting a group discussion going to emulate the scene in one of the photos of a crowd at the wedding.
He also briefly described, in informal discussion, the role of the village club which Hussein Fahim picks up in his research:

"My [Fahim's] return to Kanuba on a government assignment raised my status and their formality subsequently increased. I was not taken to the leader's house as previously but rather to the village club where people grouped to greet me while children lined up to clap whenever I passed them. This official-like reception made me feel 'out of place and as a stranger in my own home' as I once told the village leader.”

(Fahim, in Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 98)

Although the above passage concentrates on the perceived elevated status of Hussein Fahim, it also shows the importance of the village club and how it is seen as the official centre of the village.

**Kafer Abdo Bakry**

Kafer Abdo Bakry was born in 1936 and his village is Qostal. He is from the Fedija tribe. The following transcript of the conversation includes referral of Mr Bakry as ‘he’, rather than ‘I’, due to how the interpreter on the day explained to me what Mr Bakry was saying.

**Use of Nubian language:**

CN – ‘Okay and which language did you speak when you were in Old Nubia. Did you speak Arabic or did you speak Nubian?’
KAB - He was speaking Nubian since he was born till he got into the
school same like Mr Fikry, and when he got to the school they talk in the
Arabic language. But the mother tongue was the Nubian.

CN – So did you only speak Arabic when you were at school, and did
you then speak Nubian when you got home?

KAB – They were using Arabic just in school but in the house it was all
Nubian, because all Nubian in the house. In the house they don't use
Arabic, just Nubian.

CN – And is that still true till today?

KAB – After they immigrated, they were forced to use Arabic language
for the life because they were mixed with the Egyptians that they don’t
speak Nubian. So they start to use it in the house even and while they
are working in the farm, fishing because they are gathering with the
Egyptians and that also affected their children, so they were also talking
with them in Arabic in the house before they get to the school.

CN – So that means that your children and their children don’t speak
Nubian because they don’t know the language?

KAB – His children were raised and grew up speaking Nubian and
Arabic, so they know Nubian and Arabic. But his grandchildren right now
most of them don’t even know how to speak in Nubian language. But in
the same time they don’t want them to lose the Nubian language. So you
can say that the children speak good Nubian and the grandson and the
grandchildren don’t speak Nubian well.’

Kafer Abdo also described his work as a teacher.

Robert Fernea and Aleya Rouchdy (in Hopkins and Mehanna 2010)
summarised their work from the 1960’s, which included a mention about
education in Egypt, particularly how the resettlement has impacted on it. The
younger Nubian men and women now benefit from a widely available education,
which was always seen in Old Nubia as the route to personal success. The
outcome of this improved access to education is an eagerness for better
employment, with everyone aspiring to be a white-collar worker (Fernea and
Rahma Mohammed Abdule Latif

Rahma Mohammed Abdule Latif is the wife of Kafer Abdo Bakry. She was born in 1952 in Adenden. She speaks a different dialect to her husband; occasionally in the interviews they disagreed about certain words due to their dialects. As with her husband, the following is the translation given on the day.

*Wedding costumes and celebrations:*

CN – ‘Can you describe the suit or dress the bride might have worn on the day of the wedding?

RMAL – Before the wedding, the groom has to come with boat to the house of the bride. The bride dress she was getting like Galabia underneath, it is so colourful, and over it she get the gelgal. It is like a big Galabia, transparent same like what she has here. This is a gergar. And over it she gets a cover or scarf. It is so colourful. Something is called a Sardhan, which close like a big sheet and it is colourful, very full of colour, covers the bride from her head all the way down…. And they make her with full make-up

CN – And is that what you wore on your wedding day, even though you had moved by then?

RMAL – Because of the immigration, she couldn’t wear the sardhan, the big long scarf. She just wore the normal scarf. And that’s one of the things that was changed by immigration.

CN – About how long does the wedding party go on for (in Old Nubia)?
RMAL – The wedding is between one or two weeks. Sometimes the groom is coming from Cairo so they have to celebrate him on one or two days, just dancing, celebrating and also there is another day for the perfumes that they have to go to Halfa to bring her perfumes. Halfa is the first city in Sudan, between the borders of Egypt and Sudan. And there is also a whole celebration day for the perfumes, another celebration for the henna for making the women decorated by the henna. So if your family is wealthy you can make it about two weeks and if you have a normal family it is about one week.

Kennedy (2005) describes the costumes as follows:

“Women who are married or are of marriageable age wear black transparent garments over their cotton dresses when they leave the house. Around the village men dress in jalabeyas of various colours, but many of them wear Western syle suits for their clerical occupations outside.”

(Kennedy 2005, xxv)

The above quotation relates to research conducted in Kanuba, and the following comes from research in Diwan, relating to the marriage ceremony:

“The bride’s clothes for the occasion were all new; most brides wore similar attire except for some variations in the color of the dress worn under the traditional dark blue jarjar. Three different veils were worn, a coloured one over the head, a second of sheer material over the face, and a third veil of heavy white material over the first two, which covered the head completely.”

(Kennedy 2005, 180)

Funeral customs:

CN – ‘If it is ok with you, I would quite like to talk about funerals and how people mourned. Is that ok to talk about that? [Agreement given]. OK, so about how long would people generally mourn for?

RMAL – In Old Nubia, before the immigration, the mourning was for about 15 days, and they just stayed receiving people that come, and also the neighbours serve the food for the house of the funeral. After the
immigration it started to reduce to five days maximum, or three days and even there is right now or nowadays sometime of some families changed it to be just one day.

CN – Who would have been involved in the mourning in Old Nubia? Would if have been just the husband or wife, would it have been the children, would it have been friends?

RMAL – For the women they get women to mourn them, but they had to know about the Islamic rules for mourning, and the same for the men and it is not a problem if he is from the family, he is from the village because the whole village was one family, so they’re all together.

CN – Okay, and who looked after the deceased? Who would be responsible for preparing the body?

RMAL – It is the same, because they have a group from the men, about four or five men to prepare the body.’

John G. Kennedy discusses burial customs (2005), and explains that in Old Nubia a death ended all but the most basic activities in a village. The women initiated the mourning through their ululating wails, which passed from house to house and resulted in people running to the relevant house to help out. Women changed into black clothes, removed all jewellery and other adornments, smeared themselves with mud and applied a blue dye to their faces. During the burial, the women would blacken their faces and hands with ashes from a container, and then take part in a funeral dance. Activities slowed after the
burial to a more respectful pace, involving restrictions throughout the mourning period (Kennedy 2005, 224-225).

All of the participants at Abu Simbel also recounted stories from their childhood.

P32: Group photo in Abu Simbel, including research team
Photo courtesy of M.S Photography, Egypt

**Group discussion at Kom Ombo**

The visit to Kom Ombo in November 2014 served a different purpose. The main aim was for the project to be discussed and talk to the younger generation about their interest in the Nubian Museum, suggesting they ask questions when there and to make it obvious that they are keen to learn. It was explained that this could be the founding step to getting better access to wider information. The young men who were at the session agreed with the logic and said they would do this, also mentioning it to their friends so that the interest in the museum would increase and, more importantly, the interest in Nubian history would be seen to be spiralling upwards.

Although the intent of the meeting at Kom Ombo was not to continue with the personal interviews, several elderly people attended the session so it was seen as an opportunity to try and record more memories. Permissions were obtained orally and captured on video from the group, even though the only discussion that could be construed as an oral history interview was with the host and hostess, discussed next. The following image is taken from the video of our group chat, with the image after that, of the host and hostess, also being a video still.
Host and hostess at Kom Ombo

At the same visit in November, the hostess was invited to join the session. She was very generous with her hospitality, and prepared a local dish for me to taste. Talking with her was an interesting experience in that, although it was made clear that we wanted to know about life from the woman’s perspective, her husband dominated the answers. As there was no opportunity to speak to her on her own, it is likely he would have been a strong influence on her answers even if she had done the speaking herself. None of the questions were personal, they were all practical about life in general, so it was hoped they would provide a good reflection on life in Old Nubia.

The discussion centred on the role of the woman in Old Nubia, but was difficult to get a flow of information. It is not felt it will be as useful as the previous interviews.

The host’s body language throughout the meeting indicated support of the project, by nodding in agreement to all of the explanation about its purpose and requests for permission. Although the discussions were delayed at the beginning while waiting for him to finish his telephone conversations, for the rest of the meeting he listened respectfully to his friends.
The following quotation comes from ‘Nubian ceremonial life (2005)’:

“In public social activities, women sit together in an area apart from men and their daily activities, revolving around household and neighbourhood, are almost wholly spent in the company of other women”. This quotation relates to research conducted in Kanuba.

(Kennedy 2005, xxv)

5.9 Collating and finishing the material

As I do not speak Arabic, I had to rely on others to provide the transcript and translation from the interviews. The rough translations provided on the day were sufficient to understand what was being said, but not of the quality to be accepted in an academic piece of work, nor would they have satisfied the guidelines of Oral History Society.

An Egyptian contact is a professional translator and he was able to handle some of the interview scripts himself, though he concentrated on providing transcripts of the interviews that contained translations in the body of the discussions. He not only did this as a favour, he even paid for one of his staff to transcribe one of interviews when he felt he had not produced the work on time. This considerably reduced the number of scripts that required full translation.

It was noted that, as an Egyptian from Cairo, he was uncomfortable with the nature of the work. Anyone who might be seen to be encouraging Nubian people to fight for their rights is putting themselves in a hazardous position. Although he could see that the content of the interviews avoided political debates, just mentioning ‘Egyptian Nubians’ could be construed as inciting
trouble. For this reason, he found it difficult to recruit a member of his team to help out.

Even with this welcome level of help, the material is still not completely finished. In order to follow guidance the translations need to be checked and verified by another, which has not yet been done.

Agreement has been given that Open Research Exeter (ORE, at University of Exeter) will archive the material upon completion of the project. Before submitting, it will be collated and coded as required to enable easy retrieval for future work by others. The material is also being stored at http://www.whithernubia.co.uk for access by a wider audience but specifically to benefit the Nubian people.

If the material is released on ORE before the translations are completed and checked, a warning will have to accompany the articles to that end. This might be a better option than waiting for finality, which could take a long time to achieve. Discussions will be held with ORE to agree the best action and timing.

5.10 Additional comments, summary and outcomes

There is a lot of scope for the sciences of pedagogy and andragogy to play a fruitful part in the encouragement of Nubian people of all ages to improve knowledge of their past, which is a potential long-term outcome of the project. When considering the reality of such an emphasis on education, the following points need to be highlighted:

- The Egyptian Government has considered the plight of the Egyptian Nubian people to be a problem which has not yet been successfully resolved. It is an issue that has never been given a priority status, with the revolution of 2011 giving the officials more concerns to address for all of Egypt (Osman pers. comm., 2014);
- There are increasing challenges to the Egyptian education system, with 32% of Egyptians being under age fifteen (Loveluck 2012, 3);
- In a list comprising 173 countries with recorded % of gross domestic product (GDP), the World Factbook shows the amount spent on education as 3.8% for Egypt in 2008, compared to 3.4% for Burkina Faso in 2011, 5.4% for US in 2010, 5.4% for Canada in 2011 and 6.2% for UK
in 2010. The percentages ranged from 13.0% in 2008 for Lesotho, to 0.60% in 2002 for Equatorial Guinea (The World Factbook, CIA). Egypt’s spend was not significantly higher than that of one of the poorest African countries, Burkina Faso;

- Egyptian Nubians are educated amongst their non-Nubian Egyptian neighbours. The curriculum in the past has not concentrated on any aspect of Nubian history other than the period they were invaded and ruled by the Ancient Egyptians (Osman pers. comm., 2014). Given the political status of the Nubian people and other issues with the economy and education system, introducing an emphasis on their culture in the curriculum is unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future.

As previously seen in sub-section 5.2, the impact of pedagogy and andragogy on the education of Nubian people relating to their history and culture has been indirect in the past, but deserves comment relating to its potential involvement in the future.

For example, if the success of the community schools continues and education in general of Egyptian children improves, the Egyptian Nubian children would be included in this achievement. A long-term aim could be that this increased level of overall knowledge sparks an interest in continuing their education which, as adults, they independently learn more about their past. Achieving this hope probably has more reality than getting Nubian history and culture included in more detail on the Egyptian national curriculum.

Encouragement for traditions to be passed down to the younger generations, should continue at home and in the village. This style of learning would be by involving children where appropriate, although the education would not be imparted by educators but by parents, other family members and community leaders.

This research concentrates on how to engage adults with their past in a freely-obtainable way. The key tools are the internet and by making good use of the Nubian Museum in Aswan, which could play a big part in improving the knowledge of adult Nubian people by holding free classes, and encouraging them to attend.
Issues were encountered with the oral history guidance being very UK-centred. Guidance on best practice was based on assumptions that the interviewer has total control over relevant aspects, this not being the case in Egypt. There was no opportunity to choose a quiet room for the interview, nor was it possible to exclude the audience of interested people. As interviewer, I had no control over these issues which the UK-centred guidance advised against, so the outcome was best practice having to be altered to suit the occasion. Needing to adapt guidelines became the subject of the presentation to the PGR Humanities annual conference at University of Exeter in 2016, the overall theme of which was ‘Communication and interaction’. Using video clips from the interviews and photos, this particular discussion showed how and why best practice needed to evolve to accommodate the customs of indigenous people who were being interviewed in their own country.

The main outcomes were:

1. We may have to accept an audio permission;
2. We need to prepare for distractions rather than avoid them;
3. Get absolute permission for using the material at the beginning, as distance will preclude travelling back;
4. Engage with other team members and delegate;
5. We need to respect our hosts’ protocols, not our own.

The full script for the presentation is given at Appendix 8.

It is recognised that an analysis of the scripts might be preferred by some academics. This would only be a suitable method if the pool of potential interviewees was big enough to enable repetition of memories, or at least a sufficient number to provide comparisons.

Continuing the work behind this project with UNESCO is a potential outcome, although to date it has not been possible to contact them with the necessary proposal. It is also perceived that a major project under the leadership of UNESCO could circumvent the requirement of permission from the Ministry for individuals to work with the museum.
CHAPTER SIX: COMPARATIVE STUDIES

This chapter includes:

- Introduction
- Examples of other cultures not represented by their language on museum websites
- Indigenous communities, the political background and their archaeology: comparisons with the Choctaw of the US; the Aborigines of Australia; and Brazilian Indians
- Suppression of language and its role in identity: comparisons with Catalan (Spain); the Trianon Treaty (Hungary); the Highland Clearances (Scotland); and Algeria
- Forced migrations and their connection with dam-building: comparisons with the Narmada Valley in India; and the Three Gorges in China
- Summary of connections between the examples and Nubia

6.1 Introduction

A research project such as this would normally contain comparisons with similar case-studies, but another case which exactly matches that of Nubia has not been identified. Nubia is believed to be unique, as it contains all of the following components:

- An indigenous community removed from its homeland due to the need to build a dam which has permanently flooded the area;
- The area is rich in history and archaeology, extending back to antiquity and encompassing the art of a foremost ancient civilization. The salvaged artefacts are now housed in museums around the world, with two museums being purposely built in the countries where the excavations were conducted (Egypt and Sudan);
- The succeeding generations in Egypt have been actively discouraged from following their old traditions, for example until recently it was against the law to use the Nubian language in written form.

In order to include comparative studies that match as closely as possible the case of Nubia, examples which include some of the individual components have been selected. The following comparisons therefore do not match the case of
Nubia in its entirety, but instead separately consider other indigenous communities, the issue of language, and forced migrations in general as well as other peoples affected by the creation of dams. This approach has enabled a wider selection of geographic areas and populations to be discussed. Although comparisons with Nubia are highlighted in each case, a summary table is included at the end of this chapter to further illustrate the significance of these examples. The summary also highlights some outcomes from the case studies that could be of potential interest to the Nubian people.

6.2 Examples of other cultures not represented by their language on museum websites

This part of the research has been broadened to encompass domestic populations in general, not just the indigenous people. This results in the language under consideration becoming the national one, and not the tribal tongue. The two main reasons for doing so are:

1. This approach would be more comparable to the main case-study of Nubia, where the work concentrates on providing more information in Arabic (that is, the adopted tongue of the Egyptian Nubians, and the national language of Egypt) rather than one of the Nubian dialects;

2. Archaeology available online is more likely to include larger collections from national populations. Collections relating to specific indigenous people are generally smaller, both in the number of artefacts stored, and the number of countries with such items in their museums.

Although an argument adopted throughout this thesis is that we shouldn’t assume everyone has an ability to speak English, the argument weakens for those whose native lands and cultures are contained within a wider country where it forms the modern mother tongue. Due to English often being offered as a translation on websites, cultures such as Native Americans and Australian Aborigines are excluded from the research in this sub-section.

The relationship between museums and colonialism has already been discussed at 2.11, but Ancient History in general is another major area of interest to museums and the public alike. To a lesser extent, cultures affected by war and boundary alterations/land reclaim, may also be found in Universal Museums.
Translations potentially required on websites of museums with significant relevant collections are grouped below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of collections</th>
<th>Modern Languages (national)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancient history</td>
<td>Arabic, Chinese, Greek, Italian, Mexican (for Aztec and Maya), Spanish (for Inca and Maya), Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous peoples</td>
<td>Aymara, Bantu, Bemba, Burmese/Myanmar, Cantonese, Creole, Filipino, French, German, Guarani, Hindi, Indonesian, Isan, Khmer, Lao PDR, Malay, Mandarin, Mayan, Ndebele, Northern Quechua, Nyanja, Portuguese, Punjabi, Quechua, Setswana, Shona, Spanish, Thai, Vietnamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see Appendix 9 for further details)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War/land borders</td>
<td>Albanian (for Kosovo as well as Albania), Arabic, Croatian, Czech, French (for Central African Republic), Hebrew, Hungarian, Persian (for Afghanistan), Russian (for Ukraine), Serbian, Slovakian, Tibetan, Urdu (for Pakistan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.7: Languages potentially required on Universal Museum websites

It was designed at this point to include a summary of key museums with items representing additional indigenous populations, to indicate the potential application of this research’s findings to other cases.

Selection of the museums for this part of the study began with the Universal Museums in Europe and the US that signed the 2002 ‘Declaration on the importance and value of Universal Museums’ (International Council of Museums 2004). Indigenous populations were selected from a list published by The Peoples of the World Foundation (2016), given at Appendix 9.

The intention was to identify whether the museums gave online access to any artefacts representing these cultures and, if so, whether the websites included the relevant language of the culture’s home country. It was assumed possible to collect this information by examining the relevant websites.

However, issues with terminology impacted on the accuracy and feasibility of collecting such information. Data retrieved via the search engine depended upon how it had been coded, and the spelling used. The general term employed could be ‘native’, ‘tribe’, ‘tribal’, ‘local’, ‘indigenous’ or ‘indiginous’, or it could simply be the nationality of that country. The specific name of the various populations might have different spellings, and many tribes can come from several countries, for example the Palaung culture can be found in Burma (Myanmar), China and Thailand. Coupled with that was a significant technical problem, with the search engine for one of the museums not working.
An alternative was to contact the museums and ask them to complete a short survey. This method brought its own issues, in that e-mail addresses of museum personnel were rarely published on the websites. In some cases, departmental contact details were given but the information required by this questionnaire was interdepartmental.

The method employed was e-mailing the questionnaire to the general ‘contact us’ addresses given. No useful results have been received, which is why the survey has received little prior mention in the thesis. Questionnaire 6, relating to this survey, is given at Appendix 4.

In the absence of identifying which indigenous cultures are represented in Universal Museums, the following table summarises languages offered on their websites in 2017.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universal Museum</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Languages on website</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Museum</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>English, Chinese, Dutch, Spanish, French, Italian, Russian, Japanese, Korean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louvre Museum</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>English, Chinese, French, Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Institute of Chicago</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bavarian State Museum</td>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>English, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Museum</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>English, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Museum of Art</td>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.Paul Getty Museum</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles County Museum of Art</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Modern Art</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opificio delle Pietre Dure</td>
<td>Florence</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Museum of Art</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prado Museum</td>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>English, Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rijksmuseum</td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>English, Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Hermitage Museum</td>
<td>St Petersburg</td>
<td>English, Russian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum</td>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>English, Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney Museum of American Art</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.8: Languages available on Universal Museum websites

Taking the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York as an example, no culture outside an English-speaking country is represented by its national language on their website. An indication of how such a constraint might be pertinent to this
study is shown by the following number of items in its online collections, searched by country:

- Burma - 214
- China – 18,840
- Chinese – 7,853 (in case the above entry contained results relating to the material used)
- Israel – 2,656
- Greece (Ancient) – 1,533
- Mexico – 4,153
- Thailand – 814
- Vietnam – 374

It should be noted that the argument for including relevant languages on websites relates mainly to museums with substantial collections, particularly those institutions that have marketed their expertise associated with the items.

It needs to be remembered that the above entries do not necessarily reflect indigenous populations. Furthermore, visitors who physically attend the collections at the museum are able to hire audio guides which are available in ten languages.

6.3 Indigenous communities, including political background and their archaeology

This sub-section considers three different indigenous groups, their various backgrounds and some of the issues imposed by external factors on their lives and homeland. Through briefly examining Native Americans, Amazonian Indians and Australian Aborigines, some comparisons with the Nubian people’s situation can be drawn.

Native Americans

Research conducted in 2003 identified 562 Native American tribes in the United States, nearly half of which live in Alaska. According to the 2000 census, native individuals numbered 4.12 million which forms approximately 1.5% of the total US population (NCAI [n.d.], 4). Research published in 2014 calculates the total indigenous people in US as being nearly 3 million (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, 10).
History of North America changed from the 16th century when the Pilgrims first arrived, with the period before that being classed as prehistoric (Yenne 1986, 7). About 100 years after the first settlers arrived, the process of the US government appropriating land from the native tribes began, coupled with a claim that the reserved lands would belong to the tribes for ever (NCAI [n.d.], 5). Another promise, that the new homestead would enable them to live a comparable lifestyle, has remained unfulfilled. More than 90 million acres were taken from the Indian nations for the benefit of the immigrants, and often without compensation to the tribes (NCAI [n.d.], 5).

During this period, an Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830, after which a mass migration began which became known as the ‘Trail of Tears’. The main tribe affected by this was the Cherokee, but also involved were the Muskogee, Chickasaw, Seminole and Choctaw (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, 113).

The following map shows the location of tribes before the migration, and P36 shows where many now live.

P35: Map showing original location of main tribes
Source: Emerson Kent, http://ow.ly/VlS63n4yi, 18.08.16
Taking the Choctaw as an example, they originated from lower Mississippi and were originally named ‘Okla-homa’ which means ‘red people’. Although they had contact with the colonists as early as 1540, their real involvement did not begin until the 18th century, when they allied with the French against the English. After the French were defeated, the Choctaw signed a treaty with the English (Yenne 1986, 48).

As part of the ‘Trail of Tears’, a treaty was drawn up for the Choctaw tribe to give up most of their Mississippi land for $50,000 in return for the southern part of what became known as the Indian Territory. An eye witness noted how the Choctaw travelled with only some arms and provisions, nothing offering any accommodation or protection from the winter weather, and how they travelled in silence (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, 97, 113).

The treaty was formally adopted in June 1834. By the end of the 19th century, a local Native American government was formed from all tribes living in the Indian Territory. Although it lasted only 40 years, whilst in operation they acted on a suggestion by a Choctaw member that the Indian Territory be renamed Oklahoma, becoming a state of the United States in 1907 (Yenne 1986, 48-49).
Some members of the Choctaw tribe had stayed in Mississippi when the mass migration to the west occurred; they became subjected to the Indian Reorganisation Act of 1934, under which a Choctaw Tribal Council was formed to represent those who remained in their homeland (Yenne 1986, 48-49). The Tribal Chief of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians maintains a website informing readers of their community and local government, and of their traditions and culture (Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians [n.d.]).

Published as a Forbes contributor, Shawn Regan (2014) notes the Indian lands are owned and managed by the Federal Government, which also controls nearly every aspect of economic development. Regan alleges policies are in place to keep the Native Americans in poverty, as unequal citizens (Regan 2014). For example, the process of applying for development projects in the US in general entails going through four stages; for projects based in the Indian territories, the process can involve up to 49 steps. It can take Native Americans six years to get title search reports that might take a matter of days elsewhere (Regan 2014).

Two aspects that also have an impact on the lives of Native Americans are the expansive dam-building programme, and the emergence of indigenous archaeology into the salvage and heritage operations as a consequence of identifying and preserving the past.

The major dam-building project in the US began towards the end of the Second World War, due to a combination of vast tracts of land in the West being arid although, conversely, often suffering from violent floods, and the growing population in that area. The need to control the flow of water resulted in the Flood Control Act of 1944 being passed, initially authorising over $1 billion for the construction of over 275 dams across 29 states. More than 100 of the new dams were planned for the Missouri River Basin (Banks and Czaplicki 2015, 11-12).

The dam-building projects impacted on the Native Americans through the effect it had on their source of food. Salmon could be fished from the new reservoirs instead of the dammed rivers, but a rapid depletion in stock has forced the Government to consider measures about who has rights, resulting in more controversy (Kenyon College [n.d.], and Lin et al 1996, 263).
It also spawned an increased interest in archaeology, with the realisation that
the land needed to be excavated for artefacts before it was developed for the
dams and reservoirs. The Colorado River salvage project in particular is where
Bill Adams, the anthropologist who managed the Nubian salvage project in
Sudan, gained a lot of his experience (Banks and Czaplicki 2015, 138).
Amongst the heritage salvaged elsewhere were Choctaw sites in central
Mississippi, forming part of the State’s youngest pre-historic complexes (Banks
and Czaplicki 2015, 102-103).
The following two examples of Choctaw Indians becoming involved in their past
were taken from George Nicholas’s book (2011).
Dorothy Lippert discusses her desire to maintain a voice to speak for their
ancestors. She identifies the term ‘indigenous’ as being a descendant of people
whose lives were profoundly altered due to having lived through a colonial
period. Lippert also states how Ancient Egypt was an influence in her desire to
become an archaeologist, and how the clinical approach by fellow
archaeologists to the display of native human remains or for use in research
was distressing. The very profession that she aimed to study and felt a love for
also challenged her, through the uncaring practices it involved relating to native
people and their history. When examining artefacts and human remains, the
way Lippert coped was not by removing herself from the humanity involved, but
rather by acknowledging that she was part of it. Keeping her ethnic heritage
enabled Lippert to become more absorbed in her work and follow the details
that emerged, rather than fighting it and any injustice that may have occurred
(Lippert, in Nicholas 2011, 184-186).
Lippert identified a dissociation between her native background, a desire to
herald it and dedicate her work to her ancestors and descendants, and the
academic world. The terminology applied there bore no resemblance to the
daily language used by her community, the difference being interpreted as a
tool to silence alternative views. She also believed the language of academia to
be another way of insulating professions such as anthropologists against the
outside world. This belief left Lippert feeling inadequate when wanting to voice
her own opinion about her work (Lippert, in Nicholas 2011, 188-189).
The way Lippert overcame this hurdle was to follow the advice of Susan Power, who gave a talk on American Indian literature. Power showed how to embrace the English language, and that by speaking about a thing was to lay claim to it. Lippert applied this approach in order to feel strong, confident and proud about using her own words to depict the scenario she was describing (Lippert, in Nicholas 2011, 189).

Joe Watkins is another Choctaw who became an indigenous archaeologist. His love of, and conflict with, archaeology was experienced in a different way to Lippert’s. His interest lay more in the material of items, such as the hard flints used in knives, and constructing a dwelling in the same ways as ancestors did, followed by living there in order to gain an understanding of their lives. It was through his work with the Government’s Department of the Interior’s Heritage Conservation and Recreation Services that Watkins learned to appreciate the feelings of the people whose ancestors had provided the material being unearthed in the excavations (Watkins, in Nicholas 2011, 321-324).

Watkins attended ten consultations held across the US to hear what American Indians felt about Government policy on issues that affected their tribal communities. It was through listening to their concerns that Watkins began to question the impact of archaeology on their lives, on their heritage and on their appreciation of it. He left his job and briefly left the world of archaeology. The discovery of materials at East Wenatchee Clovis Cache, followed by the skull at Kennewick, and the resulting ‘Kennewick Man’ court case, prompted his return to the profession (it was confirmed in 2015 that the skull did belong to a Native American (Zimmer 2015)). Watkins’ interest by then was to try to change the discipline, by taking on board the concerns of American Indians (Watkins, in Nicholas 2011, 325).

Amazonian Indians

The following map shows how the Amazon rainforest covers about 40% of South America, with the area accommodating indigenous people from several countries.
The 400 tribes living in the Amazon rainforest area vary in size from just one man to 51,000, each speak their own language and have their own culture. Together, they number about 1 million people. Brazil has about 240 different tribes, containing approximately 900,000 people altogether. The Government has recognised 690 territories of its indigenous populations, 98.5% of this recognised area lies within the Amazon but only holds about half of the population. The half that lives in the Amazon use only 1.5% of the land allocated to them; the remaining half live in the savannahs and Atlantic forests (Survival International [n.d.]).

The Ecuadorian Amazonian Indians have retained a stronger connection to their culture through the use of natural resources from the land, compared to the Ecuadorian indigenous tribes living in the highlands (Layton 1994, 103), but land is a major issue. Indian tribes in Peru and Colombia may have been able to secure rights to their land, yet the Government and companies often ignore their status. Tribes in Brazil have no communal land rights (Survival International [n.d.]).

The lack of legal rights to land stems back to colonial times, when invaders here, as elsewhere, treated the land as though it belonged to no-one. Amazonian Indian communities and their homeland are under increasing threat
from external forces who are interested in the resources the rainforest can provide, such as oil, gas and lumber (Layton 1994, 103).

Prompted by the Ecuador Indians, the communities united in creating recognised organisations in order to create a legal route to defend their territories against the existing, and increasing, oppression. Three organisations were founded between 1964 and 1980 which then united to form the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE) in 1980 (Layton 1994, 103).

The relationship between the Amazonian people and the area’s archaeology has been described as a tool for them to use when defending their cultural heritage. The indigenous people themselves have rarely played a role in uncovering the past and tending to it, apart from being the objects of research themselves (Heckenberger 2004, 36). They have, however, shown an interest in their archaeology; for them, it is something that helps to make sense of their oral histories, by giving them a tangible connection with their past rather than just ‘hearsay’ (Heckenberger 2004, 36). The Amazon forest is a particularly sensitive archaeological area for the professionals, in that it is in large part a human artefact, giving rise to other political and ethical issues about removal and display (Heckenberger 2004, 37). It also adds an interesting aspect toward the general debate about the indigenous people and their access to land, in that studying the way the tribes’ ancestors lived, together with demographic decline in more recent years, can help with understanding how today’s populations could thrive in future by adapting ancient methods of using land (Heckenberger 2004, 38-39).

The creation of dams in the rainforest has created controversy and publicity, and enhanced the efforts for Native Brazilians to secure land rights. Two political parties in Amazonia – the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB) and the Workers’ Party (PT) – campaign for the local people, and against the national development policies (Cummings 1990, 76). Their efforts are hampered by in-fighting between Brazilian peasants and Brazilian Indians, which is in the Government’s interests because a unified indigenous population could provide more of a threat towards acceptance of their plans for hydroelectric development (Cummings 1990, 78).
However, in August 2016 it was announced the plan to build the São Luiz do Tapajós (SLT) dam across the Tapajós river in the Amazon had been successfully blocked by Ibama, Brazil’s environmental protection agency, due to the harm it would cause the indigenous communities and wildlife. This decision means the Munduruku tribe would not be forced to move away from their homeland (Guardian newspaper 2016).

Another success story for Brazil is the creation of the Museu Magüita in 1990, the first indigenous museum of the country. Its displays concentrate on the Ticuna culture, and the project - together with the subsequent design of the building - was driven by chiefs of the communities rather than outside professionals (Museu Maguta [n.d.]).

The main purpose of the museum was to record Ticuna's history so that the young people could learn and understand it, through the artefacts. These items were often attributed to people from the community who donated them to the museum. When asked for their Ticuna names, so that the provenance could be fully explained largely for the benefit of the visitors, in most cases the donors did not use their own language, having suffered from years of pressure from community neighbours who were not Ticuna (Lopes 2005, 184).

The museum was targeted by non-tribal people for destruction (which the army prevented), this hatred stemming from recent land-rights and demarcation requiring the non-Indians to move from the area. The non-Ticuna people gradually came to accept the institution and show an interest in its contents. In 1995, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) Brazilian Committee awarded Museu Magüita the title of ‘Symbol Museum of Brazil’, due to the involvement of the Brazilian Indian people who ran it (Lopes 2005, 184-185).

**Australian Aborigines**

People first arrived in Australia about 60,000 years ago, coming from Indonesia. The first contact the Aborigines had with European people was about 350 years ago, with Britain colonizing Australia 130 years later. It took another 200 years for the Aboriginal people of Australia to be recognised as citizens of their own country (Cremin 2007, 349).
It is difficult to get an accurate estimate of how many Aborigines currently live in Australia, due to the question in the census about indigenous status often being left unanswered. There are 1.1 million people in Australia whose indigenous status is unknown (Creative Spirits [n.d.]). It was estimated in 2001 that the number of Aborigines totalled 427,094 (Australian Government, 2007). At the time of colonization, there were an estimated 770,000 tribal inhabitants (that is, including Torres Strait islanders), which had fallen to 117,000 by 1900. Higher levels of fertility and life expectancy have significantly increased the overall number of indigenous people, which could return to its original number in 5-6 years' time if the annual rate is maintained (Creative Spirits [n.d.]). Although numbers are on the increase, Aboriginal people still suffer from a much lower life expectancy than their Australian counterparts, being approximately 20 years less (Australian Government, 2007).

The need for a survey amongst the archaeological profession in Australia was identified when they realised little documentation on the basic profile of the discipline existed. The survey was conducted within the remit of the Australian National Committee for Archaeology Teaching and Learning (ANCATL) which, amongst its academic, professional and commercial members, includes indigenous groups. It was conducted twice; in 2005 largely using a paper-based questionnaire, and in 2010 using online methods. Both versions received a strong response. The results suggested 500-600 archaeologists come from Australia, fairly evenly split between the sexes. Participation of indigenous people in Australian archaeology was reported as being low, with it being 2.3% from the 2005 survey, and 0.7% in 2010. It was felt, however, that they were generally under-represented in the survey results, as the Australian Indigenous Archaeologists' Association (formed in 2010) has more than 20 qualified archaeologists amongst its membership (Ulm et al 2013, 34-36). Aboriginal people therefore could make up 3% - 4% of the archaeological profession in Australia, which concurs with the general balance of Aboriginal people to the whole of the Australian population (Creative Spirits [n.d.]).

There are about 500 different Aboriginal tribes in Australia, each with their own cultures (Survival International [n.d.]). The Yolngu is one of the tribes who relate past to the present and future; interpretations of the past are applied to the current day (Layton 1994, 70-71). Their knowledge of how and when they
came into being – the Creation Period – is carefully monitored, and publication of this highly significant period would threaten its value to their culture. It would be impossible for one individual, or one clan, to know more about the Creation Period than the rest of the tribe (Layton 1994, 8). This is an example of why some indigenous people would avoid archaeology and possibly retaliate against any such activity in their homeland.

Conversely, the Aborigine population is taking more of an interest in their education; however it is generally taught in English which is still considered to be a foreign language to the native tribes (Toepfer 2012, 202). Collectively, the Aborigines are recording their own oral histories and perspectives on historical and educational issues, though many of their original languages have been lost since colonization. The languages that remain were suppressed until the 1970s, when they became officially recognised and experienced a revival (Toepfer 2012, 201, 203).

6.4 Suppression of language and its role in identity

There are different components to the term ‘language’. It could refer to the country’s language, as is the case most frequently used in this paper. It could also refer to the dialect – essentially the same basic national language but one which has its own regional colloquialisms. Other meanings are choosing the right tone or appropriate wording for the audience (as indicated in 6.3 when discussing the Choctaw indigenous archaeologists), and non-verbal communication, such as body language. They all reflect our personality and our culture, therefore language plays an important role in our identity.

Toni Morrison (in Seidler, 2010) discusses her life as an African-American female writer, and how one of her aims was to de-racialize American history by remaking language. Morrison’s viewpoint is that African-American life is such a significant aspect of America’s history that it has to be projected as a positive aspect of its culture (Morrison, in Seidler 2010, 82). Amongst her work was the need for Morrison to state she is a black author, writing for black people, but being able to do it positively, through linguistics and knowledge (Morrison, in Seidler 2010, 85).

Thomas Scheff examines the causes of inter-ethnic conflict and co-operation. At the heart of ethnic conflicts are the differences between the cultures involved,
such as language, religion, race and class. Where strong cultures differ, although it might not lead to conflict it is often a barrier to co-operation. It is a natural human desire to want to belong (Scheff, in Calhoun 1994, 277).

Scheff (in Calhoun, 1994) cites Anderson’s work published in 1983 which states that cultural groups are formed on the basis of an idea, and not the use of a common language. Whilst accepting the general concept, Scheff refutes this specific notion, and uses the example of a community to explain. In order for a community to survive, it has to be based on common ground more than just the concept; it has to include aspects such as social interaction, social structure and behaviour (Scheff, in Calhoun 1994, 279). Calhoun continues this debate by stating it is national identity that shapes individuals, and not a matter of their choice (Calhoun, 1994, 312).

The reason for including the following cases of Catalan, Treaty of Trianon, Highland Clearances and Algeria is the connection with Nubia in that, if the local dialect or language is suppressed, then a significant component of that people’s inherent culture is removed.

**Catalan**

Catalan provides an example of a language that very slowly became accepted as a representative language of the region, to then be suppressed during the Franco regime, followed by becoming a major language again.

As a recognised area, Catalonia has existed since medieval times when it formed part of the Kingdom of Aragon, and Catalan became the common language of the area, having developed from Latin in the Middle Ages (Payne 2016, 16). The 15th and 16th centuries marked periods of disturbances and civil war in Greater Catalonia, culminating in a long siege of Barcelona, which is now celebrated on 11 September each year as Catalan National Day. At that point, in 1714, local rights in Catalonia were ended and the language became known as a local dialect, only spoken by the poor and uneducated, with Castilian being the mother tongue for the region (Payne 2016, 21-24).

Catalan’s rise to becoming accepted as a national alternative began with the publication of three works in the language, in the early 19th century:
• A Catalan grammar, in 1814;
• A New Testament, in 1832;
• Carles Aribau’s ‘Patriotic Code’, in 1833.

The books confirmed the marriage between language and national identity, which has been a key to the success of nationalist parties in Catalonia that grew in strength over the next century. The Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939 paved the way for Franco to become ruler (Payne 2016, 141-143).

Franco’s dictatorship lasted nearly 40 years, during which he championed the use of Castilian as Spain’s national language and took measures to suppress the use of Catalan altogether, affecting all levels from mass media to schooling and its use in public. A news blackout was imposed in Catalonia as a response to the political ‘Catalan question’ (Hansen 1977, vii). At the same time, hundreds of thousands of Castilian speakers had moved into the Catalan-speaking regions, affecting the demographic and linguistic identity of the areas (Strubell and Boix-Fuster 2011, 125).

Only three years after Franco’s death in 1975, a new constitution was passed which introduced significant changes to Spain’s language policy. Catalan was once more recognised as an official national language (Strubell and Boix-Fuster 2011, 125). By 1990, Catalan was being used as a language in printed media, radio and television (Payne 2016, 146). Catalan is now spoken by over 9 million people which makes it the largest linguistic minority in Europe (Strubell and Boix-Fuster 2011, 2).

The case of Catalan provides some similarities with that of Nubia. Each one forms an area within a country that has their own language, both have been oppressed by that country’s Government which, at some point in their history, has been overturned (although under different circumstances and with different outcomes). There is also a similarity with the struggle for dominance with the language, in that the dialect Catalan was competing against – Castilian – provided the basis of the national language for Spain. In the case of Nubia, although there are different Nubian languages, they were not competing against each other but all were competing against Arabic.

Other cases of a local or national language being suppressed are:
The Treaty of Trianon of 1920

The Balearic Wars, just before the start of the First World War, saw Hungary being attacked by Czechs, Serbs and Romanians. Hungary was not a strong country during the Great War, having suffered from continual plundering, and was not in a position to defend itself when the Treaty of Trianon was drawn up and passed in 1920. New borders were drawn up, new states created (Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia and Austria (split from the Austro-Hungarian Empire)), with 3.5 million Hungarians transferred to new areas (Donald 1928, 15, 20, 123, 185).

Noting that the following statement was made almost 100 years ago, Sir Robert Donald stated “no attempt to suppress a language has ever succeeded” and then cited the following examples:

- Russia against Lithuania and other small countries, banning their mother tongue in any form;
- Germany against Poland;
- Czechoslovakia against minority races and use of German
- Czechoslovakia against Hungary.

Despite Magyar – the language of Hungary – being spoken by 13 million people and representing 80% of the population, only Czech was used in public offices (Donald 1928, 242-243).

The Highland Clearances

The Highland Clearances occurred in late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries in Scotland, when Highland landlords evicted tenant occupiers from their homes in order to use the land for more profitable means, largely sheep grazing (Richards 2007, 3-5). The evictions throughout are remembered in local accounts as being cruel, usually very violent, and often leaving the evictees leading a life of hardship, whether in the Lowlands, England, America or Canada (McKenzie 2008, 7-8). They are also associated with a general decline in Gaelic culture and language (Richards 2007, 3-7). Richards balances up the argument against the Clearances by stating the problems began to exist before the evictions, and quotes the memoirs of Johnson and Boswell who wrote of their travels in 1773:
“Of what they [the Highlanders] had before the late conquest of their country, there remain only their language and their poverty’ – and now even their language itself was under attack from the State.”

(Richards 2007, 9)

The conquest Johnson and Boswell referred to was the Battle of Culloden, from which the landlords were already beginning to think of ways to solve their own personal money problems (Richards 2007, 9).

Algeria

The aspect of use of language being perceived to affect identity is not just a historic argument, nor is it only related to indigenous or oppressed populations.

A debate in Algeria made the news at the end of July 2016, when it was suggested that schools should teach science in French. The reason for the change was to make it easier for students, who are going on to study science at university level, to be better placed to continue as universities in Algeria currently teach science in French, whereas schools teach the subject in Arabic (BBC News 2016).

The argument against making the change is that it would weaken the identity of Arabic-speaking nationals, who form the majority in Algeria. They counter-argue with the proposition that universities should update their methods to teaching science in Arabic (BBC News 2016).

The use of French as an alternative language itself is a topic of debate, as it is a reflection on the days when Algeria was a subject of French colonialism, a period that ended more than 50 years ago (BBC News 2016).

6.5 Forced migrations and their connection with dam-building

The term diaspora, when describing the large scale movement of a population, links the economic, political and cultural components behind the need for the migration. The event suggests permanence, separation and dislocation, as it is associated with imposed negative conditions (Brah 1996, 183, 193).

When considering diaspora, three examples commonly explored are:
• The Jewish migration, which began in 586 BCE, when King Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Solomon’s Temple and imposed an exile on the Jews from Judaea;
• The Slave Trade, which began in late 15th century when Portuguese seamen traded using African slaves and transporting them to America;
• European colonial expansion, including the Caribbean which was subjected to colonialism by the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French and British, and subsequently suffered from migration to the Netherlands, France, Britain, Canada and the US after the end of the Second World War.

(Braziel 2008, 11-22)

In addition to the more commonly held meaning of ‘diaspora’ meaning a widespread or large-scale movement of people, another is offered by who studied African history (Gomez 2005). He applies the term ‘diaspora’ to cover one long period, rather than Africa having encountered several diasporas throughout its history. Other than the 25th Dynasty when Nubian kings ruled Egypt, he identifies Nubian people having left their homeland from as early as 569 BCE when they took part in Egypt’s occupation of Cyprus under Xerxes of Persia (Gomez 2005, 15). Once Islam dominated the continent, slavery became a prominent course of movement with 362,000 Africans imported into the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century (Gomez 2005, 51). Some might query the use of ‘diaspora’ in this case, but it is included to highlight how the movement of Nubian people has been a continuous process since antiquity.

The term ‘diaspora’ is used in this thesis, and the above examples, to denote the large-scale movement of people. It is worth noting that it could also be applied to the extraction and movement of cultural objects (Basu 2011, 28).

The examples given earlier imply diasporas occur across countries. In the case of Nubia, the significant movement of people happened within the same country and covered an insignificant distance. The essential component in the Nubian case is that there was no possibility of return to their homeland as it has been permanently flooded by the creation of Lake Nasser/Nubia.
Internal diasporas have been considered in Daniel Gold’s paper in which he studied communities living away from their home areas in central India (Gold 2007, 171). The groups left an area where they were identified within their caste, and moved to an area where their caste had less meaning. An outcome of this was that they were known by their regional languages and ethnicity, which they managed to maintain. Over the generations of settlement, groups which would have been separated by their castes, had they stayed in their home area, were now recognised together with a collective ethnic identity (Gold 2007, 173).

The following cases are examples of populations moved from their homeland due to the creation of dams, which clearly have a strong connection with the case of Nubia. There are an estimated 57,000 large dams throughout the world, of which over 300 are classed as major. It is also estimated that between 40 and 80 million people have been displaced as a result of creating dams and reservoirs, with most of these people being in China or India (International Rivers [n.d.]).

**The tribal people of Narmada Valley, India**

The Narmada river runs horizontally across central India, and is home to several large dams. The Sardar Sarovar gravity dam is debated by Leslie (2005, 12-14).

The dam was built near hills that have provided refuge over the last few centuries to tribal people escaping from the Hindus. Although the term ‘indigenous’ could not be accurately used to describe these people, they have made the forest their own, using over 60 species of tree for their fruit, medicine, fuel, wood for their bows and arrows and also fodder for the animals (Leslie 2005, 14).

In recent years, the state has removed much of the forest via logging, but the creation of the dam will force many tribal people out of the forest for good. Some will go to the low land, others will go to the city, but wherever they reside, their way of life will be dramatically changed (Leslie 2005, 14).

Some 200,000 – 250,000 people have been displaced by the dam, with the Bhil, Bhilala, Pavra, Tadvi, and Vassawa ethnic groups (“Scheduled Tribes”) forming
up to 70% of those forced to move. The remaining migrants come from the Patidar farming community (Whitehead 2010, 4).

Whitehead acknowledges that the plight of the local people has received a lot of press, but that the Sardar Sarovar project is just another aspect of the capitalist development in India, which concentrates on production of wages and ownership of property (Whitehead 2010, 1). The attention on economics of the land as a whole has undermined any social commitment to, or understanding of, the populations who not only suffer from the construction of dams but who also represent part of India’s culture, which is now being threatened. Therefore the act of building to save a nation is also destroying it (Whitehead 2010, 3).

Studying the dam-building programme in Gujarat, the state in which the Sardar Sarovar dam exists, Whitehead notes that 75% of the land submerged as a result of the dams was located in areas predominantly occupied by tribal people. Of the 20 million – 38 million people in India displaced due to construction of dams, an estimated half came from the Scheduled Tribes. She further noted that this pattern was not unique to India, and was first noticed in the 19th century as happening in North America (Whitehead 2010, 7).

The Narmada project has since become known as one of the worst examples of reservoir resettlement, given the amount of land that had to be yielded to the lake and the lack of replacement land for the migrants (Heming et al 2001, 203).

Medha Patkar, a spokeswoman for the Narmada Bachao Andolan (known as Andolan) social movement, stated at a conference that “privatization did not acknowledge the contribution of local people, the people who tended the forest and got displaced by dams, because they weren’t investors” (Leslie 2005, 20).

Political responses by the Andolan to campaign against the dam-building programme involved non-violent methods, such as marches, sit-ins, dam occupation and blockades. In extreme cases, protesters suffered via hunger strikes and occasionally drowning, but even the peaceful methods were often met with a violent response from the police (Leslie 2005, 23).

Another writer who worked with Patkar, Amita Baviskar, identified indigenous movements as resistance to the imposed destruction on their land by state approved development. She concurs with Whitehead that the constructions are borne from a capitalist economy’s desire to absorb all stakeholders into its own
regime and cites George Marcus that subordinated people and communities are “besieged strongholds of autonomous cultural traditions” (Baviskar 2004, 5).

The Andolan’s resistance tactics have had success, and in 1993 the World Bank withdrew its support from the Sardar Sarovar dam project. This was widely reported as the first time in its 47 year history that the Bank withdrew from an ongoing project; however a similar change in plans happened in the 1950’s when the World Bank withdrew from the Aswan High Dam project after Egypt opened discussions with Communist China (Little 1965, 46-47). In the case of the Aswan High Dam, the Bank’s withdrawal came after it had indicated a favourable response towards supporting it, but before a final commitment had been made.

The Three Gorges Dam, China

As noted in 1.7, literature published pre-Aswan High Dam construction is highly informative on the area and expectations of that time. Pearce (1992) wrote about the Three Gorges Dam, built on Yangtze River, before construction had started. At that time, the expectation was that it would be the largest and most expensive dam project yet tackled in the world; that it would cost $20 billion, take 20 years to complete and require 1 million people to be displaced (Pearce 1992, 235).

The dam completed after just 17 years, costing $59 billion and with 1.3 million Chinese people relocated away from the resulting reservoir which is bigger than Singapore. However, six years after the dam’s completion, tens of thousands of people would need to be moved once more, due to a threat of landslides along the dam’s banks (Wee 2012).

Pearce (1992) noted the possibility of landslides twenty years earlier. The area of Three Gorges suffers from frequent earthquakes and landslides, resulting in 1985 of a large section of cliff face falling into the river and causing a wave 36 metres high. A much smaller reservoir than that created by the Three Gorges Dam collapsed in 1975, killing 10,000 people (Pearce 1992, 240).

A survey was conducted from 1997-98, involving 20 undergraduates in the survey team and interviewees representing 470 migrant households. Project officials were also interviewed. The purpose of the survey was to seek a
balanced judgement on whether policy response as a result of dam construction sufficiently handles the consequences, direct and indirect, on the humans affected by the migration (Heming et al 2001, 202).

The results of the survey were fully published by Li and Rees and summarised in Heming et al’s paper. An over-riding belief from the migrants was that they would benefit from the project, which would create an excitement at looking forward to a better future (Heming et al 2001, 202).

As with Nubia, a salvage campaign was conducted in the Three Gorges area to rescue as much of China’s heritage as possible. In 1998 it was reported that a much smaller amount than originally stated was being spent on the archaeological excavations ($37.5 million as opposed to the initial $250 million) (Harrington 1998).

A 94 yr-old resident remembered the first move and the loss of her home, land and fruit trees. Although compensation for the second move has been announced, without details, the reality of moving further away is expected to be troublesome for families trying to stay united, as transport systems between the villages and towns is almost non-existent (Wee 2012).

By 1993, the World Bank had financed the construction of more than 600 dams in 93 countries, lending $58 billion. Additional finance has come from other organisations, such as agencies of the United Nations (McCully 1996, 19). At a symposium in 1997, jointly organised by The World Conservation Union and The World Bank Group, one of the issues discussed was the growing controversy over the continued building programme of large dams for which a moratorium on World Bank financing was suggested (Dorcey 1997, 4).

### 6.6 Summary of connections between the examples and Nubia

The main comparisons between the various alternative case-studies and the Nubian project are copied in the table below. Outcomes from the examples are also included (shown in italics) which do not directly correlate with the Nubian project, but included as potential points of interest to the Nubian people.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Connection with Nubian project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 6.3 Native Americans</td>
<td>Promise of land in order to lead a comparable lifestyle with the lifestyle before the move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 6.3 Native Americans</td>
<td>Land has been impacted by dam-building programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 6.3 Native Americans</td>
<td>Heritage has been uprooted and examined via archaeological excavations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 6.3 Native Americans</td>
<td>A disconnect exists between the daily language used by Native Americans and the academic language used by outsiders who studied their heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 6.3 Native Americans</td>
<td>US government accused of allegedly keeping the Native Americans in poverty through their policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 6.3 Native Americans</td>
<td>Outcome: A local Native American government was formed by the end of 19th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 6.3 Amazonian Indians</td>
<td>Land is a major issue; some tribes have secured rights but their status is not recognised by the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 6.3 Amazonian Indians</td>
<td>Indigenous people have rarely been involved in looking after their past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 6.3 Amazonian Indians</td>
<td>Creation of dams has affected their land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 6.3 Amazonian Indians</td>
<td>Outcome: Communities united to create recognised organisations and legally defend their territories against the oppression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 6.3 Amazonian Indians</td>
<td>Outcome: The creation of Museu Maguita in Brazil, to house Ticuna cultural objects, was driven by Chiefs of the communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 6.3 Australian Aborigines</td>
<td>Their languages were suppressed until 1970s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 6.3 Australian Aborigines</td>
<td>Aboriginal representation in archaeology is only 3%-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 6.3 Australian Aborigines</td>
<td>Education is controlled by Australian government and taught in English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 6.3 Australian Aborigines</td>
<td>Outcome: Aborigines are recording their own oral histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 6.4 Catalan</td>
<td>Usage of language reduced in 18th century to a local dialect, spoken only by the poor and uneducated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 6.4 Catalan</td>
<td>Further suppression of language during Franco’s regime was purely political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 6.4 Catalan</td>
<td>Outcome: Three key books were published on Catalan in local language in 19th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 6.4 Catalan</td>
<td>Outcome: Three years after Franco’s death, new constitution passed affecting Spain’s language policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 6.4 Catalan</td>
<td>Outcome: Catalan is now accepted as a major language in the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 6.4 Treaty of Trianon</td>
<td>Political borders of several countries changed, resulting in many people no longer living in the country represented by their mother-tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 6.4 Treaty of Trianon</td>
<td>Although Magyar spoken by 13 million people (80% of population), Czech was the official language</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 6.4 Highland Clearances</td>
<td>Tenants evicted by landlords who wanted to use land for a different purpose</td>
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<td>24 6.4 Highland Clearances</td>
<td>Evictions associated with decline in usage of Gaelic language and culture</td>
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<td>25 6.4 Algeria</td>
<td>Section of Arabic-speaking population being forced to speak French</td>
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<td>26 6.4 Algeria</td>
<td>The use of French represents a period of colonialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 6.5 Narmada Valley</td>
<td>Dam construction has displaced up to 250,000 tribal people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 6.5 Narmada Valley</td>
<td>Contribution of local people towards the land has not been recognised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
T9: Summary of case-study connections with Nubia

The purpose of including these otherwise disparate comparisons is to highlight how other populations have encountered similar issues to those experienced by Egyptian Nubians and, in some cases, that these problems have been overcome.

The suffering encountered by the local and indigenous people in these case-studies has largely occurred through political reasons imposed by external bodies, for example non-indigenous governments. As illustrated by the comparisons, all populated continents have their own cases of such events, so it can be considered a global concern. Given that the Nubian project includes each of the separate components discussed, any future study might benefit from making Nubia the central point of focus.

Although the research for this project does not concentrate on the politics behind the current situation in Nubia, it cannot be completely ignored. The outcomes highlighted in the table show that in some cases the results took many years to achieve, and would have therefore spanned changes in political parties, government policies and even general attitudes.
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND THE FUTURE

This chapter includes:

- Introduction
- Main conclusions relating to the thesis title and hypotheses
- Further validation of the research
- Potential extension into new research
- Practical ways of extending the project
- Impact of this research

7.1 Introduction

This chapter has been separated into five further sub-sections to enable an easier understanding of how the conclusions arise from the research, and how the research could be taken forward and implemented. The discussions in 7.2 essentially meet the purpose of the research, which was to address the aim as outlined on the title page and the hypotheses discussed in 1.4. The points itemised in 7.3 are taken from the research, summarising aspects arising from previous work that relate to how Egyptian Nubian people could become more engaged with their past.

There is scope for professionals to accept that their work should be shared with the population whose heritage they have studied. Bodies such as archaeologists, anthropologists, museum managers, curators, publishers and academia in general could expand their audiences to include indigenous populations, and publish accordingly in their language where the content is substantially relevant. The comment in section 2.10 by Nick Merriman concisely states the rights of every person to have access to their history (Merriman 2000, 1).

The following comment was made when warning museums they must prepare for inevitable funding crises. However, it also articulates the overall need for museums to focus on the impact of their results:

“Are you truly able to accomplish anything that makes a difference, or are you simply an old habit?”

(Weil, in Black 2012, 4)
7.2 Main conclusions relating to the thesis title and hypotheses

The overall aim, as indicated by the title of this document, was to identify whether Egyptian Nubian people have sufficient access to their cultural history and removed heritage. The subsequent research contains several indications that this is not the case; main points on where access could be improved are cross-referenced in item 7.3.

The first hypothesis being tested is “The perception of Nubian people that Westerners know more about Nubian history and culture than the local people do can be validated by identifying and comparing the amount of published information accessible in the UK and Egypt”.

Results of the research proves this hypothesis to be valid. The results of the literature search within UK universities have shown that few publications about Nubia authored by Europeans or Americans have been translated into Arabic, and the research into local publications available in Egypt on the same subject has provided few results. These outcomes have been upheld by Hussein M. Fahim, an Egyptian anthropologist who took part in the main ethnological survey into Nubian people, and who commented on the lack of material resulting from that survey which had been translated into Arabic (Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 99, as stated in 5.7).

The second hypothesis reads “The diaspora due to the construction of the Aswan High Dam has resulted in past traditions being discontinued, affecting the culture of the Egyptian Nubian people”.

The interviews which were summarised in Chapter 5 include descriptions of life events from Old Nubia, including wedding celebrations that have significantly altered since having moved away from their original homeland. This validates Hypothesis 2, although in-depth research would need to be conducted to determine the extent of traditions that have now been lost or modified.

7.3 Further validation of the research

The research has produced several comments and potential action points, inferring that not only could further work be done towards reuniting the Nubian people with their ‘lost’ heritage, but arguably that it should be conducted.
Merriman’s (2000, 1) statement at 2.10 about everyone having a right to access their history is the paramount observation. Nubian people currently experience the following barriers to accessing their history:

- Nubian history is not sufficiently covered in school (1.2, 5.10);
- Publications about Nubian history are in short supply in Egypt (1.2);
- Until now, there was not a central list of which museums have Nubian artefacts (Survey 4b) (4.3);
- Online access to the Nubian artefacts is significantly restricted in several museums (Survey 4c) (4.3);
- Few of the museums curating Nubian artefacts make the information available in Arabic (4.4);
- Few publications on Nubian history and culture are made available in Arabic (Surveys 4g and 4h) (4.5, 4.6).

These are strong indications that Nubian peoples’ rights to access their history are not being recognised.

Fernea’s (Kennedy 2005, ix) statement, highlighted at 1.6, supports Merriman’s opinions, in that his colleagues felt their research into the local Nubian’s culture should be shared with them.

Overcoming these issues is discussed at 7.6, and results from Survey 1 (1.2) suggest that any improvement in free access to such information would encourage Nubian people to learn about their past.

The need to preserve knowledge of Nubian culture and traditions has similarly been supported by the findings. A study was conducted prior to the diaspora providing an important record of life before the Aswan High Dam, the need to do so being stated by Kennedy (2005, 1, 4) (5.7), but little of this work has been made available in Arabic (5.7). Fahim expressed concern over a similar observation (Fahim, in Hopkins and Mehanna 2010, 99) (5.7).

The impact the subsequent move to new villages would have on the lifestyles of Nubian people could not have been known at the time of the above mentioned study, nor the effect it would have on the Nubian language. Recording the voices of people who experienced life in Old Nubia, capturing their memories in audio for future generations to benefit from, was agreed as being necessary by
all of the participants in the interviews (5.8). The concept of integrating such audio with existing displays at the Nubian Museum in Aswan was met favourably by the Director of the Nubian Museum (5.3). Encouraging a more proactive relationship between the Nubian people and the Nubian Museum was highlighted (5.10).

Identifying languages available online at museums with global collections, and comparing them with non-English speaking nationalities likely to be represented in their exhibits, suggests other populations are unable to easily access information in their mother, or adopted, tongue about their heritage (6.2).

7.4 Potential extension into new research

This project could form the platform for future research in various ways.

Extending the existing research could include conducting more oral histories and ensuring they are all professionally translated so that the transcripts are available in at least Arabic, English, Fediji and Kenzi. The additional oral histories need to cover Cairo and Alexandria, and ideally areas in Sudan, together with their local Nubian tongue, to provide a complete record. This new project would enhance the work of the Nubian Ethnological Survey, and provide one complete record of Nubian memories and dialects, regardless of where the participants live. It could also have a practical application in museum displays, discussed at 7.5.

Another extension could take a wider approach into the changing cultures of Egypt and Sudan. The links between the Nubian people of Egypt and Sudan could be collated and compared, as well as considering when and why their traditional dress transformed from the nakedness, as witnessed by Victorian explorers, to the full-length galibaya with turban. Other cultures could be included, such as the Bedouin and Dervishes, with a view to identifying which circumstances have significantly affected each one and to what extent their lives have needed adjustment. This would not only provide a record of the local people of the area, it could also be used to protect their cultures in the future, when planning for developments such as increased dam-building or population growth/movement requiring construction of new villages.
Research could also be conducted into the civilizations represented in multiple museums around the world, and the feasibility of creating one database per culture. Creating such a utility for the Nubian project was considered, which received the following advice from a technician:

'It is absolutely possible to garner data from external databases (DB's) - although getting authorisation to do this may be a problem. Also, potentially working with different platforms would be tricky, however you can get around this problem.'

(Orr pers. comm., 2016)

Orr also indicated how it might be achieved.

This is not a new or unique concept. The Global Egyptian Museum combines details of 6,600 objects relating to Ancient Egypt from 10 European countries, though the database can access up to approximately 15,000 entries. Searching the database is constrained to a pre-set selection of terms; a search on Nubian Dating yielded 1161 results, and a search on Upper Nubia yielded 105 results. This database project was supported by ICOM-UNESCO (Global Egyptian Museum [n.d.]).

Similarly, objects from Sierra Leone have been digitally collected onto one database www.sierraleoneheritage.org [n.d.]

The idea behind a united database is that each museum’s online collections are still identified as being with the curating museum, but that users find it much easier to access information about specific objects held around the world. The aim is to have a search engine operating across all of the entries, so the user would only have to key in one set of search terms (unlike using lots of different websites, where the search criteria change). The intention with the programming is that each museum retains control over their own entries, and that any changes they make will automatically get picked up in the united database. The workload behind new websites’ ongoing maintenance, therefore, is perceived as being minimised. However, combining information from databases in this way suggests one central language is used. The suitability of translation tools would need to be considered. This research might appeal to
software developers, as much as to those with an interest in archaeology, museology or cultural heritage.

A final suggestion for how the research could be extended considers establishing pathways for the Nubian people to become experts in their own history. This would combine the academic research with a practical application, albeit on a long-term scale. Discussions with existing Nubian specialists, whether archaeologists, historians or authors, would need to be conducted to determine what enabled them to choose their path, and what issues they had to overcome, and how local initiatives might lessen these hurdles. This could be compared with other indigenous examples who have managed to successfully negotiate similar problems. Discussions with community elders and school teachers could identify any role they might play in encouraging a better dissemination of Nubian knowledge to their villagers, regardless of age. It is perceived that the village club could form a central role in this, perhaps as becoming a localised library for any relevant book published in Arabic. For the Egyptian Nubian people living in the Aswan area, using the Nubian Museum as their main source of information should become the focus. The aim behind all of these actions is to open up routes for the local people to not only learn more about their past but to become specialists in it.

7.5 Practical ways of extending the project

The first extension mentioned at 7.4 could be adapted into adding enhancements to existing museum displays. Once a thorough compilation of memories of life in Old Nubia had been achieved, liaison with museums with significant Nubian collections could be conducted to consider including these memories as audio backdrop to their displays. This would be an unusual feature, where the voices of the people directly affected by the salvage operations and diaspora are used. It is suggested that museum experts are invited to provide the translated speech, to provide a further working unity between the museums involved and to ensure the correct descriptions are given.

Working with the Nubian Museum to identify new ways in which the Nubian people could become engaged in its work could be beneficial to all parties concerned. The first requirement would be to collect visitor numbers, identifying
the number of Nubian people so that the impact of new initiatives could be measured. The Museum could consider holding Nubian music and poetry nights, inviting the local people to participate and be part of the audience. If these events were successful, they could become a tourist attraction thereby increasing attendance at the Museum as well as knowledge of the local culture. Further collaboration could result in hosting evening classes for the adults to learn more about their past, or by recruiting them for specific or ongoing tasks.

7.6 Impact of this research

It is not the purpose of this thesis to give recommendations; the role of the researcher is to provide information so that interested parties can make their decisions based on case-studies and data. Any statements included in this paper that could be construed as recommendations are given as indications of what might be expected, should certain actions be taken.

The schooling provided by the authorities is excluded from the summary, as any changes to that can only be effected by the Egyptian Government and Ministry.

In this instance, the main decision-making interested parties are likely to be museum managers and curators; authors and publishers of relevant material; and academics based in universities who can influence the content of Archaeology and Cultural Heritage courses, along with the associated reading lists (thereby affecting the items in their libraries’ databases). Also included in this group are sources of funding who would be interested in promoting more research into connecting indigenous people with their ‘lost’ heritage, preserving their culture and capturing their memories.

Other key parties are the Nubian people themselves, and the Nubian Museum in Aswan. Their involvement in the project is likely to be quite different to the aforementioned group, as those based in Egypt would not only be influencers but would also form the key target of users and beneficiaries of any improvement.

Any impact of the work in this thesis therefore relies upon the interpretation and input from all of those mentioned above. Ways in which it could transpire follow below.
The number of museums with Nubian collections and the universities in the UK that have courses in related subjects, identified at 4.3 and 4.6, indicate a continued worldwide professional and academic interest in the land and its people. This means a base already exists where new approaches to imparting information about Nubian archaeology could be applied.

The extent of publications already produced (Appendices 4 and 5, discussed at 4.6) similarly indicates a potential starting point for existing authors to select some of their own work for translation into Arabic. A wide audience could be reached by publishing new articles in Arabic on various websites and via social media. Using the power of the internet to approach Nubian people would be appropriate for this type of information.

A paper being planned will consider the scope that publishing houses have which enables them to produce books and articles in a variety of languages, together with the restrictions they impose on authors via their contracts. The aim is to produce a useful document that students and academics - in any discipline - can use as a guide, should they wish to publish in Arabic or another less-commonly used language in Western publishing.

The participation of Nubian people in the surveys, Oral Histories exercise and general discussions suggests an overall interest in learning about the history of Nubia and preserving their memories for future generations. The number of Nubians living in Egypt is not published, but the figure of 15 million was quoted by Egypt's prime minister during a meeting in Aswan in early 2017 (Osman pers. comm., 2017). Even if only 1% of this figure received more information about their past, that would mean 150,000 people could be better educated, and able to pass their cultural knowledge on to the children.

Armed with this education, a collaboration between the Nubian people and the Nubian Museum might result in a training programme that enables the Nubians to become specialists in their history. It could encourage Nubian people to become indigenous archaeologists – but this all depends on the decisions made by, and involvement of, the influential parties in academia and ‘Heritage Unity’ (at 2.4) and how their actions are relayed to the Nubian people.

The issues experienced by Egyptian Nubians, as discussed in this thesis are, to a large extent, due to the creation of the Aswan High Dam. According to
International Rivers (n.d.), in the last 60 years some 40-80 million people have been relocated due to the building of large dams. Construction of such structures continues, as shown in the following image. The requirement for residents to be moved will vary across the sites.

As explained in 6.6, indigenous people of varying cultures can be found on all continents. They, and other minority populations, form a disproportionate number of people who lose their homes due to the creation of dams. Developed areas, where the richer and more educated communities live, are less likely to be chosen as good reservoir sites (McCully 1996,70). There is, therefore, likely
to be a direct correlation between the number of large dams still to be constructed, and the percentage of those displaced representing the tribal and ethnic groups.

It is unlikely that any of these sites will yield a similar amount of tangible ancient history to that of the Nubian project. Regardless of the quantity, decisions will need to be made about whether, and where, the archaeology is removed to and who curates it. This will create another opportunity for involving the local people.

If the displacement of people means they are to be rehoused in areas far away from their homeland, and amongst different cultures, then the example of the Egyptian Nubians indicates the traditions of the relocated people could be under threat. Research provided by this study shows the importance of documenting traditions, recording memories and continuing to speak the indigenous languages (5.7, 5.8 and 6.4). These factors combine to strengthen the cultural and tribal identity of future generations whose lives may be quite different to those of their recent ancestors.

There is, therefore, a potential global and long-ranging impact from the nature of the work contained in this study.

Appendices, including Acknowledgements, and Bibliography are found in Volume 2.
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<td>A5ii - Fikry Kachif (life as a boy in Old Nubia)</td>
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<td>A5iii - Group discussion between Ali Hassan, Kafer Abdo Bakry, and Rahma Mohammed Abdule Latif</td>
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<td>A5iv - Fikry Kachif (wedding scene)</td>
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Appendix 1

Timeline showing relationship between Ancient Nubia and Ancient Egypt

The following details are taken from Emery (1965), pages 124-145.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period/reign</th>
<th>Detail</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C3400 BC</td>
<td>Nubia was thinly populated in Archaic times. Suddenly becomes more populated and adopts a new culture, probably due to large numbers of pre-dynastic people escaping from invasions further north.</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2780 BC until end of Second Dynasty</td>
<td>Nubian ‘A’ Group is formed. They share same physical characteristics and are probably from the same race. Have comparative prosperity.</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Dynasty – Hor Aha</td>
<td>1st king uses his Egyptian armies to penetrate to 2nd Cataract.</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khasekhemui</td>
<td>‘A’ Group culture abruptly ends with invasion. ‘B’ Group culture begins, descended from ‘A’Group. Beginning of period of Nubian poverty, time period equates with Old Kingdom which was a time of prosperity in Egypt.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Dynasty - Sneferu</td>
<td>Campaign resulted in 7,000 Nubian prisoners and 200,000 head of cattle being taken to Egypt. Lower Nubia was colonised and mined, mainly for copper.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth &amp; Fifth Dynasties</td>
<td>Egyptian settlement at Buhen suggests colonisation lasted for more than 250 years.</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘B’ Group Nubian people probably reduced to extreme poverty. Grave artefacts suggest no further trade with Egyptians.</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Dynasty – Teti &amp; Pepi I</td>
<td>Egyptian missions to area but no evidence of subsequent settlements.</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mernere</td>
<td>Receives homage from Nubian chiefs from Medju, Irtet and Wawat. Evidence of canal ways being constructed to aid transportation of granite to Memphis. Herkhuf’s exploration with significant detail. Travelled to Yam, believed to be between 2nd Cataract and Darfur.</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pepi II</strong></td>
<td>Slaughtered many people during his invasion to Nubia.</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Intermediate Period</strong></td>
<td>Egyptian rule in Lower Nubia ended with death of Pepi II. No evidence of any further invasions throughout this period (2258 – 2052 BC). Meanwhile, Nubians developed an independent ‘C’ Group culture, who were probably related to inhabitants of Lower Nubia – ‘basically Brown or Mediterranean culture, with minimal Negroid characteristics’. ‘C’ Group inherited and developed culture from Egyptian rule in Lower Nubia.</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Intermediate Period (cont.)</strong></td>
<td>‘C’ Group culture can be traced to its extinction in early New Kingdom (1570 BC).</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Intermediate Period (cont.)</strong></td>
<td>A new ‘Kerma’ culture identified in Upper Nubia. When trade with Egypt was rare, Nubian people used animal skins for clothing with bead work and ivory shells for decoration.</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eleventh Dynasty</strong></td>
<td>People from Lower Nubia likely to be a placid race of cattle owners.</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mentuhotep II</strong></td>
<td>Penetrated into the south once more.</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amenemhat</strong></td>
<td>Founder of Twelfth Dynasty may have been of Nubian descent. Amenemhat’s son and co-regent conducted campaign into Lower and Upper Nubia.</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Senusret</strong></td>
<td>Barriers and fortresses constructed to keep Upper Nubia people away.</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Senusret I - Senusret III</strong></td>
<td>Series of fortresses built during Middle Kingdom. Having noted the people of Lower Nubia being essentially peaceful, Emery concludes from the positioning of the fortresses that the population from Upper Nubia were mobilising (or trying to) further north into the Nile Valley.</td>
<td>143-145</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Timeline of Ancient Nubia’s relationship with Ancient Egypt (Emery, 1965, 124-45)*
## Appendix 2

### Lists of archaeological excavations conducted in Nubia

The following lists of excavations in Nubia are taken from Adams (1977), pages 78-86, and websites of Ministry of State for Antiquities (for later work in Egypt) and Sudan Archaeological Research Society (for later work in Sudan).

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<td>Finnish Nubia Expedition</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Gemai-Murshid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Colorado</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Murshid-Dal West Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of California</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Askut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown University</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Semna-Kumma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Institute of Chicago</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Semna South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Institute</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Melik en-Nasir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Rome</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Sonqi West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Geneva</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Akasha-Ukma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Kentucky</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Kulubnarti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Institute</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Kulb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Prehistoric Expedition</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Whole area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Academy of Science</td>
<td>1959-69</td>
<td>Whole area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Timeline of archaeological excavations (1): all Nubia to 1969
(Adams 1977, 78-86)

Details of current and recent excavations in Lower Nubia are found on the Ministry of State for Antiquities website as follows:
Timeline of archaeological excavations (2): Lower Nubia, current and recent

(Source: http://ow.ly/l2cx303JGbr)

Details of current and recent excavations and surveys in Upper Nubia have been obtained from the websites of Sudan Archaeological Research Society (SARS) and Section Française de la direction des antiquités du Sudan (SFDAS) as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Excavation site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SFDAS</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>El-Hassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFDAS</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>El-Kadada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFDAS</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>El-Hobagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFDAS</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Kadrourka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>2012-</td>
<td>Fifth cataract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Kawa excavation project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>1998-2012; 2014-</td>
<td>Kurgus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>1999-2007</td>
<td>Meroe Dam archaeological salvage project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Jebel Umm Rowag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Bayuda Desert survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>1993-1997</td>
<td>Northern Dongola Reach survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>1994-1995</td>
<td>Gabati excavation project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>1993-1994</td>
<td>Begrawiya to Atbara survey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Timeline of archaeological excavations (3): Upper Nubia, current and recent

Appendix 3

Summary of participation by countries supporting the UNESCO campaign of 1960s

The following table is copied from Säve-Söderbergh (1987), pages 223-226:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>3 archaeological campaigns in Sudan by the University of La Plata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>6 archaeological campaigns in Egypt by the University of Vienna; Sending of an epigraphist to the DCC*, Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Sending of 3 experts to the DCC (architectural and epigraphic records); Photogrammetric and epigraphic records of 5 monuments in Sudan; Contribution to the cost of transferring the temple of Semna, Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1 archaeological campaign in Egypt by the Toronto National Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>5 expeditions in Egypt by the Institute of Archaeology of Charles University, Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>General surveying to the south of Gemai, Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>6 campaigns in Egypt by the Institut Français d’archéologie Orientale; 2 campaigns in Egypt by the University of Strasbourg; Photogrammetric study of the Nubian temples; Sending of 9 experts in various fields to the DCC; Removal and reconstruction of the temple of Amada in cooperation with Egypt; 7 campaigns in Sudan by the Commission Nationale des Fouilles;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Payment of the costs involved in transferring the temple of Aksha</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Republic of Germany</td>
<td>3 campaigns in Egypt by the German Institute of Archaeology, Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Democratic Republic</td>
<td>Expeditions by the German Academy of Sciences to record the rock inscriptions and drawings and the ground-plan of the ruins of Attiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>3 campaigns in Sudan by the University of Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1 campaign in Egypt by Budapest Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1 campaign in Egypt by the Archaeological Survey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Italy                                     | 6 campaigns in Egypt by the University of Milan; 1 campaign in Egypt by the University of Rome; 3 campaigns in Egypt by Turin Museum;  
Financial contribution by the city and Museum of Turin for the cutting out of the chapel of Elllesiya; Sending of 3 experts to the DCC by the University of Milan; Experimental work with sounding methods by the Lerici Foundation |
<p>| Netherlands                               | 2 campaigns in Egypt by Leyden Museum; Preliminary studies for saving the island of Philae; Contribution to the cost of saving the temple of Kumna (Sudan) |
| Poland                                    | 1 campaign in Egypt by the Polish Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology; Sending of 4 architects to the DCC; 4 campaigns in Sudan by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology and Warsaw Museum |
| Scandinavian countries                    | 4 campaigns in Sudan by a joint mission (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden)                                                                 |
| Spain                                     | 4 excavation campaigns and 4 campaigns in Egypt to record and cut out rock inscriptions; 3 in Sudan excavation campaigns                   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Successive expeditions since 1960 by the Antiquities Service, led by a UNESCO expert, for a general survey of Sudanese Nubia; Excavations at some of the most important sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1 excavation campaign in Egypt in co-operation with the University of Chicago; 1 excavation in Egypt in co-operation with the French Institute in Cairo (both above by the Swiss Institute of Architectural Research, Cairo); Architectural records of a temple and leadership of the Antiquities service expedition to cut out rock inscriptions in 1964; Sending of an expert to the DCC by the Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Republic of Egypt</td>
<td>5 campaigns by the University of Cairo at Aniba; 1 campaign by the University of Alexandria at Gebel Adda; 8 excavations campaigns by the Antiquities Service on various sites; 3 campaigns by the Antiquities Service for cutting out rock drawings; Removal of 8 monuments, work in 2 others, dismantling of the front part of the temple of Amada and financial contribution to the work for saving this temple and those of Wadi es-Sebua, Beit el-Wali and Aniba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>4 campaigns in Egypt by the Egypt Exploration Society; 2 campaigns by the Egypt Exploration Society and the University of London for the general survey of Nubia; Sending of two experts to the DCC; Sending of an epigraphist (in co-operation with Brown University, Providence, US) (two entries); 2 excavation expeditions in Sudan by the Egypt Exploration Society;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| United States of America | **In Egypt:**  
|                   | 4 campaigns by the University of Chicago, including 1 in cooperation with the Swiss Institute of Architectural Research;  
|                   | Complete surveying and recording of a temple by the University of Chicago;  
|                   | 4 campaigns by Yale and Pennsylvania Universities;  
|                   | Pre-history research on the Abu Simbel site by Columbia University;  
|                   | 4 campaigns by Yale University;  
|                   | Sending of an epigraphist by Brown University (Providence) in collaboration with the Egypt Exploration Society;  
|                   | 4 campaigns by the Museum of New Mexico (pre-history survey);  
|                   | 4 campaigns by the American Research Centre;  
|                   | Contributions by the United States Government for saving the temples of Beit el-Wali, Wadi es-Sebua and Aniba  
|                   | **In Sudan:**  
|                   | 3 excavation campaigns by the University of Chicago;  
|                   | 1 pre-history survey campaign by Columbia University;  
|                   | 3 pre-history survey campaigns by the Museum of New Mexico;  
|                   | 2 excavation campaigns and 1 archaeological survey campaign by the University of California;  
|                   | Sending of an epigraphist by Brown University (Providence);  
|                   | 3 pre-history investigation campaigns by the University of Colorado Museum;  
|                   | Contribution by the United States Government for the transfer and re-erection of the temple of Buhen  
| USSR              | 1 survey in Egypt an excavation campaign;  
|                   | General surveying and recording of rock inscriptions in Egypt |
| Yugoslavia | Sending of 2 architects to the DCC; Removal of Christian wall paintings (two experts) in Egypt; Removal of Christian wall paintings (two experts) in Sudan |

Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 223-226

* Documentation and Study Centre for the History of the Art and Civilization of Ancient Egypt
Appendix 4

Survey questionnaires and full results

Details included here relate to:

- Survey 4b: Identification of museums with Nubian artefacts, together with supporting information about their collections (questionnaire and full results);
- Survey 4c: Use of museums and their online collections
- Survey 4e: Use of ethnography in museums (questionnaire and summary results)
- Survey 4f: Public interest in ethnography in museums (questionnaire and summary results)
- Survey 4g: List of UK universities offering relevant courses, showing number of library entries with Nubia-related content
- Survey 4h: Identification of books about Nubian history, archaeology and culture in UK universities offering related courses (full list)
- Survey 6: Questionnaire sent to Universal Museums, asking for high-level information about collections relating to indigenous populations

Results of all other surveys (1, 4a and 4d) are included in the body of the thesis.
Museums with Nubian collections

Background to survey
This survey is being conducted to support the thesis for my PhD in Archaeology, being undertaken at University of Exeter. The aim of the following ten questions is to identify the extent of Nubian archaeology contained in museums outside Egypt and Sudan, with a very brief indication of period and geography involved. Thank you for your help in this.

Contact details
1. Name of museum

2. Name of department housing Nubian collection (if relevant)

3. E-mail address of curator/keeper in charge of department named in Q.2

4. E-mail address of museum contact who would be able to issue data on visitor figures

Details of museum collection
5. Approximately how many Nubian pieces does your museum own?
   - 1-50
   - 51-100
   - 101-500
   - More than 500
   - Probably, but number unknown
   - None - if you selected this option, you may now submit your answers and close the survey. Thank you.

6. Approximately how many of your Nubian pieces are currently on display?
   - 0%
   - 1% - 25%
   - 26% - 50%
7. Please give an approximate split of the periods represented by your Nubian collection, ensuring the sum of your answers is 100%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous cultures A-C 'Groups'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharaonic Nubia (Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napatan-Meroitic period (1000 BC to 400 AD)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Nubia (450 AD to 14th Century)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Nubia (14th Century onwards)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Approximately how many of the Nubian pieces came to your museum as a direct result of participation in/support of the 1960's UNESCO salvage campaign?

- None
- 1-10%
- 11-20%
- 21-30%
- 31-40%
- 41-50%
- 51-60%
- 61-70%
- 71-80%
9. What percentage of your Nubian collection would you estimate as coming from locations in Sudan (regardless of whether that area still exists or is now under the water of Lake Nubia)?

- None
- 1-10%
- 11-20%
- 21-30%
- 31-40%
- 41-50%
- 51-60%
- 61-70%
- 71-80%
- 81-90%
- 91-100%

Final comments
Thank you so much for taking the time to complete this survey. I may need to contact you with some follow-up questions, therefore you might wish to keep a record of the answers given here.

10. If you would like to give any other information to support your answers, enter it here in English only, please.

Please now submit your answers, thank you so much!
Survey 4b: Full results of survey into museums known to have Nubian artefacts in their collections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of museum (in English)</th>
<th>Name of museum (in local language)</th>
<th>How many Nubian artefacts?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagshaw Museum, Kirklees</td>
<td>Bagshaw Museum, Kirlees</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery</td>
<td>Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
<td>Bristol Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn Museum</td>
<td>Brooklyn Museum</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland Museum of Art</td>
<td>Cleveland Museum of Art</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt Centre, Swansea</td>
<td>Amgueddfa Hynafiaethau yr Aifft, Abertawe</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Museums</td>
<td>Glasgow Museums</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunterian Museum, Glasgow</td>
<td>Hunterian Museum, Glasgow</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, Memphis</td>
<td>Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, Memphis</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean Museum, Stockholm</td>
<td>Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Castle Hohentübingen, Tübingen</td>
<td>Museum Schloss Hohentübingen, Tübingen</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums Sheffield</td>
<td>Museums Sheffield</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myers Museum, Eton</td>
<td>Myers Museum, Eton</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Archaeological Museum, Athens</td>
<td>ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museums Northern Ireland (includes the Ulster Museum)</td>
<td>National Museums Northern Ireland (includes the Ulster Museum)</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Speech Room Gallery - Harrow School</td>
<td>Old Speech Room Gallery - Harrow School</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Museum of Mariemont, Brussels</td>
<td>Musée royal de Mariemont, Bruxelles</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Isidro Museum, Madrid (custodians of The Temple of Debod)</td>
<td>Museo de San Isidro, Madrid</td>
<td>1-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum Name</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Aberdeen Museums</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton</td>
<td>Bolton</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Museum, Turin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</td>
<td>Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology</td>
<td></td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading Museum</td>
<td>Reading Museum</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological Museum, Krakow</td>
<td>Muzeum Archeologiczne, Krakow</td>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham University Oriental Museum</td>
<td>Durham University Oriental Museum</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge</td>
<td>Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garstang Museum, Liverpool</td>
<td>Garstang Museum, Liverpool</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum August Kestner, Hanover</td>
<td>Museum August Kestner, Hannover</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museum of Scotland</td>
<td>National Museum of Scotland</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen</td>
<td>Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, København</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological Museum, Poznan</td>
<td>Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu</td>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Museum, London</td>
<td>British Museum, London</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louvre, Paris</td>
<td>Musée du Louvre, Paris</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester Museum</td>
<td>Manchester Museum</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest</td>
<td>Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museum in Warsaw</td>
<td>Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie</td>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden</td>
<td>Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museums, Liverpool</td>
<td>National Museums, Liverpool</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nubian Museum, Aswan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago</td>
<td>Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penn Museum, Philadelphia</td>
<td>Penn Museum, Philadelphia</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrie Museum, London</td>
<td>Petrie Museum, London</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitt Rivers, Oxford</td>
<td>Pitt Rivers, Oxford</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Number of Exhibits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>More than 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Museum of Egyptian Art, Munich</td>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>More than 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala</td>
<td>Uppsala</td>
<td>More than 500</td>
</tr>
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<td>Archaeological Museum, Bologna</td>
<td>Bologna</td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashmolean Museum, Oxford</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinquantenaire (50th Anniversary) Museum, Brussels</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit Institute of Arts Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collectin, Berlin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian Museum, Florence</td>
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<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnographic Museum, Khartoum</td>
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<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Museum, Chicago</td>
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<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
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<td>Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Lyon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Archaeological Museum, Madrid</td>
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<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Museum of Sudan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Pushkin Museum, Moscow</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Museum, Berlin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peabody Museum, Newhaven</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roemer-und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
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<td>Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose</td>
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<td>Number unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg</td>
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<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo Museum of Art</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Survey 4c: Number of Nubian artefacts in online collections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of museum</th>
<th>How many Nubian artefacts?</th>
<th>How many online?</th>
<th>Is Arabic on website?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagshaw Museum, Kirlees</td>
<td>1-50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>Bristol Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
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<td>Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, Memphis</td>
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<td>National Archaeological Museum, Athens</td>
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<td>Brighton Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
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<td>Central Museum and Art Gallery, Bolton</td>
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<td>Museum August Kestner, Hanover</td>
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<td>National Museum of Scotland</td>
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<td>Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen</td>
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<td>British Museum, London</td>
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<td>Egyptian Museum - Georg Steindorff, Leipzig</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Louvre, Paris</td>
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<td>National Museums, Liverpool</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nicholson Museum, Sydney</td>
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<td>Penn Museum, Philadelphia</td>
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<td>Petrie Museum, London</td>
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<td>Pitt Rivers, Oxford</td>
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<td>Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Museum of Egyptian Art, Munich</td>
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<td>Victoria Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala</td>
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<td>Ashmolean Museum, Oxford</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cinquantenaire (50th Anniversary) Museum, Brussels</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
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<td>Detroit Institute of Arts Museum</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collectin, Berlin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egyptian Museum, Florence</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field Museum, Chicago</th>
<th>No. u./k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Lille</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum of Fine Arts, Lyon</th>
<th>No. u./k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Archaeological Museum, Madrid</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Pushkin Museum, Moscow</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peabody Museum, Newhaven</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roemer-und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toledo Museum of Art</td>
<td>No. u./k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yes, link to Google Translate
Yes, as full translation
Ethnography of Nubian Collections

Ethnography in museums
Discussions about ethnography often centre on the collection of data in order to understand specific groups of people who share certain characteristics, e.g. tribal or historical. This survey addresses the use of ethnographic information in museums to help educate visitors about the cultures represented by their collections.

1. Name and town/city of your museum

2. How important do you think it is to convey cultural information alongside relevant displays in museums?
   - Very important
   - Quite important
   - Neutral
   - Not very important
   - Not at all

3. Please indicate how the majority of the Nubian pieces in your museum are physically displayed (that is, not how they appear on your website)
   - Nubian pieces are grouped together, in a location in a part of the gallery dedicated to Nubia
   - Nubian pieces are grouped together, but as part of an Egyptian collection
   - Nubian pieces are grouped together, but as part of a Sudanese collection
   - Nubian pieces are grouped together, but as part of a general African collection
   - Nubia is portrayed as part of Egypt's history and the Nubian pieces are not grouped together
   - Other (in English only please)

4. In general, how is the collection containing the Nubian pieces displayed?
   - The display follows a chronological order
   - The display follows a geographic order
5. Relating to the level of information about Nubia available in your museum, please tick all of the relevant statements below.

- [ ] Large information boards on the walls give supplementary information
- [ ] There is a generous display of supporting photos
- [ ] Posters and photos are displayed, but not in great quantity or detail
- [ ] The artefacts are well labelled
- [ ] There is ancillary information as leaflets for the public to take away free of charge
- [ ] The museum bookshop contains publications about Nubia
- [ ] Talks or seminars given by the museum include the subject of Nubia
- [ ] There is an audio facility by the display which visitors can operate
- [ ] The museum uses audio handsets, and an explanation about Nubian culture is included in the talk
- [ ] Very little detail is offered other than a basic museum label per object

Other (in English only please)

6. To what extent do you use still-life exhibitions and dioramas in your museum?

- [ ] The museum contains several life-size models depicting life in days gone by, including one about Nubia
- [ ] The museum does have this type of exhibition but not one about Nubia
- [ ] A still-life display about life in Nubia is the only such exhibition used by the museum
- [ ] The museum does not contain any still-life displays

7. Have you ever considered using actors to depict scenes from history and be more engaging with museum visitors?

- [ ] Yes, but decided against it
- [ ] Yes, and have already used this format (or plan to do so soon)
- [ ] No, but the idea sounds interesting
- [ ] No, and the suggestion is not suitable

8. Do you think your website could be used to give more background ethnographic information?

- [ ] Yes, that would be an easier place to do it than inside our museum
- [ ] Yes, it could complement what we already do
- [ ] Yes, and we already do
- [ ] No

9. Finally, if you have any useful comments to make about your Nubian collection and the way it is displayed, then please add them here. Many thanks for your time in participating in this research.
Survey 4e: Summary results - museums opinions and application of ethnography

Q2 How important do you think it is to convey cultural information alongside relevant displays in museums?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>86.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite important</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>26.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very important</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q3 Please indicate how the majority of the Nubian pieces in your museum are physically displayed (i.e. not how they appear on your website)

Answer Choices

- Nubian pieces are grouped together, in a location in a part of the gallery dedicated to Nubia: 59.52% 2
- Nubian pieces are grouped together, but as part of an Egyptian collection: 9.56% 2
- Nubian pieces are grouped together, but as part of a Sudanese collection: 4.70% 1
- Nubian pieces are grouped together, but as part of a general African collection: 6.09% 0
- Nubian is portrayed as part of Egypt's history and the Nubian pieces are not grouped together: 14.29% 3
- Other (in English only please): 41.06% 13

Total: 21

Ethnography of Nubian collections

Q4 In general, how is the collection containing the Nubian pieces displayed?

Answer Choices

- The display follows a chronological order: 22.86% 4
- The display follows a geographic order: 0.00% 0
- The display follows a thematic/typological order: 0.00% 0
- Other (in English only please): 76.15% 15

Total: 21
Q5 Relating to the level of information about Nubia available in your museum, please tick all of the relevant statements below.

Answered: 21  Skipped: 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large information texts on the walls give supplementary information.</td>
<td>33.33% 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a generous display of supporting photos.</td>
<td>18.00% 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters and photos are displayed, but not in great quantity or detail.</td>
<td>14.29% 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The exhibits are well labelled.</td>
<td>33.33% 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is ancillary information in leaflets for the public to take away free of charge.</td>
<td>4.76% 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The museum bookshop contains publications about Nubia.</td>
<td>14.29% 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talks or seminars given by the museum include the subject of Nubia</td>
<td>23.81% 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is an audio facility by the display which visitors can operate.</td>
<td>4.76% 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The museum uses audio handsets, and an exploration about Nubian culture is included in the talks.</td>
<td>14.29% 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little detail is offered other than a basic museum label per object.</td>
<td>33.33% 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ethnography of Nubian collections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SurveyMonkey</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other (in English only please)</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Respondents: 21
Q6 To what extent do you use still-life exhibitions and dioramas in your museum?

Answer Choices | Responses
--- | ---
The museum contains... | 4.76% 1
The museum does have it... | 19.85% 4
A still-life display about Nubia is the only such exhibition used by the museum | 0.39% 0
The museum does not contain any still-life displays | 76.19% 15
Total | 21

Q7 Have you ever considered using actors to depict scenes from history and be more engaging with museum visitors?

Answer Choices | Responses
--- | ---
Yes, but decided against it... | 6.00% 0
Yes, and have already used this format (or plan to do so soon) | 45.00% 9
No, but the idea sounds interesting | 19.06% 2
No, and the suggestion is not suitable | 45.00% 9
Total | 20
Q8 Do you think your website could be used to give more background ethnographic information?

Answered: 21  Skipped: 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choice</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, that would be an easier place to do it than inside our museum</td>
<td>23.81% 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, it could complement what we already do</td>
<td>47.62% 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, and we already do</td>
<td>14.29% 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14.29% 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Visitors' opinions on cultural information in museums

Ethnography in museums
A topic of debate is to what extent museums should aim to inform their visitors about the cultures that produced the artefacts they hold in their collections. This falls under the heading of Ethnography, which is the study of a specific population leading to the description of a group or culture. This survey aims to find out the public's opinions on the use of ethnographic information in museums.

Please note: this research only considers man-made artefacts, it does not address issues relating to human or animal material.

Thank you so much for your help, the results of which will be used in my postgraduate thesis.

1. Town/city and country where you currently live

2. First, please give your status relating to museums. If you fall into more than one category, please choose the one that describes your main connection with museums.

- As a professional (e.g. working in a museum, or as a journalist writing on the subject)
- As an academic (e.g. one who studies or teaches a related subject, but is not employed by a museum)
- As a volunteer (someone who works in a museum but otherwise has no academic or professional connection)
- As a member of the general public (e.g. someone with a casual interest)
- I have no interest in museums

3. Approximately how often have you been to a museum as a visitor in the last two years?

- 0
- 1-2
4. How helpful (or interesting) would you find it if information about the cultures who produced the artefacts you are looking at in a museum was made available?
- Very helpful
- Quite helpful
- Neutral
- Not very helpful
- Not at all

5. Some modern tribal populations have clear cultural connections with their ancestors. To what extent would you find it interesting if museums included such descendants in their information to describe aspects such as traditions and lifestyles?
- It would be very helpful to be able to connect the past with the present
- It might be interesting, am not sure
- Not helpful at all, as I am only interested in the history

6. Please select up to three of the following ways of conveying ethnographic information which you would find useful when you visit a museum.
- Large information boards on the walls to give supplementary information
- A generous display of supporting photos
- Posters
- Ensuring the artefacts are well labelled
- Ancillary information such as leaflets for the public to take away free of charge
- Publications in the museum bookshop
- Talks or seminars given by the museum
- Having an audio facility by the display which visitors can operate
- Use of audio handsets, which includes explanations about the relevant cultures
- Dioramas of still-life scenes depicting the artefacts being used
- Actors presenting historic scenes relevant to the collections
- Not interested in ethnographic material, I am only interested in the artefacts

7. Given that funding and space might not be available to give such additional information, do you think museums should use their websites to give more background ethnographic information?
- Yes, the website would be the more practical place for this additional information
- No, if it is going to be done, it really needs to be by the collections in order to be meaningful
- Yes, in both the museum and on the website
- No, neither place
8. Finally, if you have any useful comments to make about the way museum artefacts are displayed, then do add them here \textit{in English only please}. Many thanks for your time in participating in this research.
Survey 4f: Summary results - public opinions of use of ethnography in museums

Visitors' opinions on cultural information in museums

**Q2 First, please give your status relating to museums. If you fall into more than one category, please choose the one that describes your main connection with museums.**

![Bar chart showing responses to Q2](chart.png)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As a professional (e.g. working in a museum, or a journalist writing on the subject)</td>
<td>2.63% 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As an academic (e.g. one who studies or teaches a related subject, but is not employed by a museum)</td>
<td>10.32% 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a volunteer (someone who works in a museum but otherwise has no academic or professional connection)</td>
<td>6.49% 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a member of the general public (e.g. someone with a casual interest)</td>
<td>83.87% 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have no interest in museums</td>
<td>2.35% 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 155
Visitors' opinions on cultural information in museums

Q3: Approximately how often have you been to a museum as a visitor in the last two years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>29.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>35.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5</td>
<td>30.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q4: How helpful (or interesting) would you find it if information about the cultures who produced the artefacts you are looking at in a museum was made available?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very helpful</td>
<td>47.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite helpful</td>
<td>42.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very helpful</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q5 Some modern tribal populations have clear cultural connections with their ancestors. To what extent would you find it interesting if museums included such descendants in their information to describe aspects such as traditions and lifestyles?

Answer Choices | Responses |
--- | --- |
It would be very helpful... | 68.16% 125 |
It might be interesting or not sure | 31.61% 60 |
Not helpful at all, as I am only interested in the history | 3.33% 5 |
Total | 130 |

Visitors' opinions on cultural information in museums

Q6 Please select up to three of the following ways of conveying ethnographic information which you would find useful when you visit a museum.

Answered: 130  Skipped: 0

- Large information
- A generous display of...
- Posters
- Encouraging the artefacts...
- Auxiliary information...
- Publications in the museum...
- Talks or seminars...
- Having an audio guide...
- Use of audio buttons, etc...
- Demonstrations or exhibits...
- Actors presenting...
- Not interested in ethnography...
Q7 Given that funding and space might not be available to give such additional information, do you think museums should use their websites to give more background ethnographic information?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Choices</th>
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Survey 4g: List of UK universities offering relevant courses, showing number of library entries with Nubia-related content

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Survey 4h: University library books relating to Nubian history, Nubian archaeology and Nubian culture, held at UK Universities offering related courses

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<td>A history of Egypt: from the end of the Neolithic period to the death of Cleopatra VII, B.C. 30.6, Egypt under the priest-kings, Janites, and Nubians</td>
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<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>Plumley</td>
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<td>A study in medieval Nubian</td>
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<td>Honegger, M.</td>
<td>Abstracts of papers presented at the 13th International Conference for Nubian studies</td>
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<td>Rome</td>
<td>Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stat</td>
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<td>An English-Nubian comparative dictionary</td>
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<td>Cairo, New York, Middle East Council of Churches, Studies and Research Program</td>
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Introduction

Happy New Year, and thank you for taking part in this short questionnaire. My aim is to identify which indigenous cultures (including native/tribal populations) are represented in Universal Museums. There are just ten questions in total.

As I am yet to find a definitive list of Universal Museums, my starting point is to contact those that signed the ‘Declaration on the importance and value of Universal Museums’ paper published in ICOM News (1) 2004.

I appreciate your support with this brief survey, which will add some useful context to my research being conducted as an MPhil student at University of Exeter.

1. Please enter the name of your museum.

2. Please give a contact e-mail address.

3. Do you consider your museum to be a Universal Museum?
   - Yes
   - No

4. Do your collections include items representing indigenous people from the same country as your museum?
   - Yes
   - No

5. If you answered Yes to Q.4, please give the names of the relevant cultures here.

6. Do you have collections representing indigenous people who originate from elsewhere?
   - Yes
   - No

7. If Yes to Q.6, please enter the relevant indigenous cultures here.

8. If you answered either Q.5 or Q.7 (or both) I would like to know which of those you named can also be viewed via your website (even if only part of the collections are available online).

9. If you know of more Universal Museums, other than those that signed the ICOM paper, it would be very helpful if you could add them here (especially if you have a contact name).

10. If you have any further information or comments relating to the nature of this questionnaire, do please feel free to add them here
Appendix 5
Publications produced from the work of the Nubian Ethnological Survey (NES)

The following list contains high-level details taken from Appendix 4 of Hopkins and Mehanna 2010 (306-328). Publications detailed in items 1-130 below (taken from pages 306-317 of the book) reflect works completed by members of the NES, including doctoral degrees achieved from their involvement in the project. Items 131 onwards contain details of other essays/books, comprising works of authors who were:

- not directly associated with the work of the NES; or
- associated with the NES but on a different topic; or
- referenced throughout ‘Nubian encounters’ for other works.

The numbering in the table is included for easy reference; this numbering does not exist in the original publication.

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<td>The ritual process</td>
</tr>
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<td>249</td>
<td>'Uways, S.</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>L’Histoire que je porte sur mon dos</td>
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<td>250</td>
<td>Veillon, M.</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Nubia – sketches, notes and photographs</td>
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<td>251</td>
<td>Waterbury, J.</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Hydropolitics of the Nile Valley</td>
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<td>252</td>
<td>Wenzel, M.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>House decoration in Nubia</td>
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<td>253</td>
<td>Wilson, J.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Thousands of years – an archaeologist’s search for Ancient Egypt</td>
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<td>254</td>
<td>Youssef, N.H.</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Women and work in developing societies</td>
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<td>256</td>
<td>El Zein, A.H.M.</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>The sacred meadows – a structural analysis of religious symbolism in an East African town</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Hopkins and Mehanna 2010 (306-328)
Appendix 6

Signed permissions from each of the interviewees

The following signed permissions are in the following order, relating to:

- Mustafa Osman, Research Assistant
- Abd Allah Hassan-blana, interviewee in Kom Ombo
- Fikry Kachif, interviewee in Abu Simbel
- Ali Hassan Mohamed, interviewee in Abu Simbel
- Kafer Abdo Bakry, interviewee in Abu Simbel
- Raham Mohammed Abdule Latif, interviewee in Abu Simbel, wife of Kafer Abdo Bakry

Due to idiosyncracies with scanning the forms and then inserting them via the ‘text from File’ facility, in some places the font has become out of alignment, or duplicated. There is no such problem with the original copies.

Each form is inserted in two parts, to show the signatures on front and reverse sides, and it is only the English version that is included. A version in Arabic was signed by both parties and kept by the interviewees.

This section ends with a copy of the e-mail sent to Mustafa Osman, asking him to forward the transcripts to each of the interviewees. The scripts themselves are given at Appendix 7.
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I, Mustafa Swan, interviewee, donate and convey my oral history to the "Whither Nubia — recording voices from Old Nubia" project. In making this gift I understand that I am conveying all right, title, and interest in copyright to the oral history project/repository. I also grant the oral history project/repository the right to use my name and likeness in promotional materials for outreach and educational materials. In return, the oral history project/repository grants me a non-exclusive license to use my interview through my lifetime.

I further understand that I will have the opportunity to review and approve my interview before it is placed in the repository and made available to the public. Once I have approved it, the oral history project/repository will make my interview available for research without restriction. Future uses may include quotation in printed materials or audio/video excerpts in any media, and availability on the Internet.

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Whither
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Whither Nubia?
# LEGAL RELEASE AGREEMENT - NO RESTRICTIONS

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## AGREEMENT

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<th>Fikry Kachif</th>
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Interviewee, donate and convey my oral history interview dated 27.5.14 to the "Whither Nubia — recording voices from Old Nubia" project. In making this gift I understand that I am conveying all right, title, and interest in copyright to the oral history project/repository. I also grant the oral history project/repository the right to use my name and likeness in promotional materials for outreach and educational materials. In return, the oral history project/repository grants me a non-exclusive license to use my interview through my lifetime.
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<td>Name (print): FIKKY</td>
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Name (print): [Interviewee's Name]
Signature: [Signature]
Date: [Date]

[Signature]
Whither Nubia?

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Scripts of interviews with people in Korn Ombo and Abu Simbe

Hi Musata,

I hope this finds you well. As mentioned a while ago, I need to get the transcripts of our interviews back to the people involved, so that they have the opportunity to read it, and decline from it being published if they wish.

I was delighted with the support given by each person involved, so hopefully they will not have changed their minds.

The attached document gives every interview, but you can use the page breaks to separate them.

Very many thanks for your help with this. I will of course keep you up to date with progress of my thesis, and any subsequent papers.

Kind regards,

Claire
Appendix 7

Transcripts from oral histories interviews with Egyptian Nubian participants

Scripts included here reflect interviews held with the following Egyptian Nubians in 2014:

- Abd Allah Hassan-blana, at Kom Ombo (script A5i)
- Fikry Kachif, at Abu Simbel (scripts A5ii and A5iv)

And a group discussion at A5iii with:

- Ali Hassan Mohamed, at Abu
- Kafer Abdo Bakry, at Abu Simbel
- Rahma Mohammed Abdule Latif, at Abu Simbel

The following scripts contain many spelling and grammatical errors, highlighting problems with the audio, speech clarity and lack of familiarity with English accents. There are also inconsistencies with spelling which happens throughout any conversion from an Arabic word into English, due to the differences in the alphabet, and particularly usage of vowels. Egyptian people also seem to have a multiple way of saying their name, adding to an overall confusion with the inconsistencies.

Presentation of the scripts also includes a variety of styles, indicating the preferences of the particular scribes and translators involved. In addition, control over the formatting is often lost where the Arabic script begins from the right-hand side of the page; the impact of combining Arabic in with English tends to be that the computer cannot cope with such a mixture and determines one should preside over the other.

The following texts are of the conversations without any refinements or corrections in grammar and spelling (e.g. a mixture of English and Arabic).
[00:00] Thank you. right, so we have 3 microphones pointed at you now, so hopefully one of them will work and pick up everything.

[00:10] [inaudible] and I'll arrange.

[00:16] What we were thinking of doing was if I'd like to just ask about some memories, I've got some subjects that I'd like this gentleman to talk about, and then we'll do a video at the end. Is that okay?

[00:31] yes

[00:31] Okay. [inaudible] I'll leave that with you.

[00:36] [inaudible chatter]

[00:44] [00:47] حتسألك كام سؤال كده يا حاج، هه؟

[00:47] [00:47] حتسألك كام سؤال عن النوبة القديمة، هه؟

[00:50] [00:50] [يناودبل] وماله

[00:51] في حتسألك كام سؤال وبعد كده الأسئلة اللي هي مجيزةها عشان تعرف بس المعلومات اللي هي عايزاها، تمام؟

[00:56] [00:56] متشي

[00:58] [00:58] وبعد كده حبيقي فيه زي فيديو كده حتحكي انت برضو فيه عن حياتك في النوبة زمان والتي انت عملته، يعني حاجات عن أيام النوبة قبل التهجير نفسه

[01:07] [يناودبل]

[01:08] [يناودبل]

[01:11] Okay

[01:12] [يناودبل]

[01:12] Okay

[01:15] [يناودبل]

[01:16] [يناودبل]

[01:16] [يناودبل]

[01:18] Okay, am going to take you back to your childhood.

[01:21] [يناودبل]

[01:24] [يناودبل]
I'd like you to explain to me describe to me if you can some of the games you played as a young boy.

بتقولك أيام زمان، يعني كان فيه ألعاب كنت بتحبها.

ليو، أيام زمان... احنا طبعاً من صغرنا اتربينا. دخلنا المدرسة لمدة 4 سنين فقط. مغيب...

مجربناش تاني. منهم كنا بتحب حاجة اسمها (Handak keeh).

العجلة

بتقولك أيام زمان، يعني كنت بتحب رجل كده... رجل ده كده.

oh, hopscotch, we call that hopscotch.

نعمل فريق، من واحنا صغيرين كده. نعمل فرقة من هنا وفرقة من هنا.

طب ثانية واحدة

نسمي واحد عريس. العريس ده لو راح دخل هناك...

الريس يعني

يبقى عليهم واحد، بس احنا كنا نحرس ده. بس كل واحد شايل رجله وميسوبش الرجل التاني. اللي

يسبب بطلع بره

oh, can we just ask for a translation?

حرجملها ونكمل تاني

أوبة

حترحملها بس، ثانية واحدة

he's saying that since they were young they went to school, and they studied just 4 years. They didn't continue.

[inaudible chatter]

كنما اسمها إيه اللعبة يا حاج؟

نعم؟ (Handak keeh)

وتجرو

نجري زي الغزال

so they were playing a game.

كان اسمها إيه اللعبة يا حاج؟

نعم؟ (Handak keeh)

(Handak keeh), that was the game. this game, they make a team. and there was someone that they named "the boss". so they were just protecting him.

بيصورو؟

and they just hold their legs and then go to the other side. just to deliver
the boss to the other side. do if they make it to get the boss to the other side in the other team. that's recorded as one for them. and then the other way around.

[03:45] اهه، وايه تاني؟
[03:47] مش نكمل موضوع الحندكيه؟ احنا 5 وهم 5

[03:53] so they were 5 and 5

[03:56] احنا بنخلو واحد عريس
[03:58] تمام

[03:59] ده احنا نحافظ عليه، كل الخمسة دول يهاجمو ده

[04:04] بنزلو له رجله

[04:08] واخذ بالك؟

[04:09] تمام

[04:11] احنا الباقيين اللي هنا بقى اللي معاه يصدو دول

[04:16] ويصدو دول لغاية ما يمشي مع واحد قوي بقينا

[04:21] يوصل الناحية التانية

[04:21] يمشي مننا ويوقد هارب جاري داخل

[04:25] وهو ماسك رجله برضه

[04:26] أبوة وهو ماسك رجله

[04:28] so, they were making that game five and five. and the boss behind. so this five job is to protect the boss from the other five when they are going to attack him. and make him get his way to the other side. and then when he make it to the other side, that was counted as one point for them.

[04:48] تمام

[04:50] بليل. القمر. فيه حاجة اسمها (جيسركاديه)

[04:55] (جيسركاديه)؟

[05:02] عضمة بيضا

[05:03] عضمة بيضا؟

[05:06] فريق برضو

[05:06] الفك بتاع الخروف

[05:11] تمام

[05:14] نقف. واحد يقوم مطوح فيه. يرمي يعني

[05:19] يرميها بعد

[05:20] أبوة. يجروا. اللي يروح يلاقيه طبعأً
okay, so there were a night game that they do it under light of the moon.
this game was... they make like a big team, and then they get the...
the lower part from the mouth of the sheep
and then someone throw it away, okay?
because there were no lights, except the light coming out from the moon
[06:28] so they have to go and find that part that they throw away.
[06:32] and the one that found it, he got a rope.
[06:35] so he just slap the others.
[06:39] it's like an honor that "I found it, I found it"
[06:42] and then himself also has to throw it again away, the keep searching for it
[06:46] so they keep doing that game whole time.

[07:00] الجماري بالفخ؟
[07:01] جمبري يعني... كنا بنصطاد يغني، وبنصطاد سمك...
[07:07] بالفخ برضه؟
[07:08] أيوة

[07:10] so, also in the spare time, they were doing hunting. with a [inaudible] or shrimps. and also they do fishing

[07:19] طب بنصطادو أزاي السمك يا حاج؟
[07:21] بالسنارة

[07:25] ونطعمو بالعيش كده، ونمسك كده بايدنا، علطول ياكل العيش اللي نحفه بره

[07:32] they just get [inaudible] and then they make some [inaudible] and they just throw into the Nile, and once the fish catch this

[07:42] كل العيال الصغار

[07:44] all this when we were young
[07:46] that to me sounds like work rather than game. you call that a game?

[07:52] بتقولك ده مكانش لعب، ده كان شغل ده
[07:56] اللعب برضو كان فيه بليل في القمر. بنات على ولاد

[08:01] boys and girls
[08:02] [inaudible]

[08:04] يقعدوا، كل واحد كده في الأرض. ويمسك إيد. فيه واحد ياخذ حاجة.
[08:14] يلف ومعاه برضو حبل ملفوف من القماش
[08:19] تمام
[08:21] يلف، يحت أي حاجة في إيد واحد.
okay, a game that they make a circle. and they are all sitting together. and one of them pick anything. a stone, ring, anything. and they just sit stretching their legs towards and they hold their hands to their chests [inaudible]. and this one who has this thing, he just keeps going for each one. pretending or showing that he hold something for you. and with someone he got that thing. so nobody knows who has this thing, except the person who have it. okay? in the same time he got a rope, he make the same circle, and he go all around them and keep it, the rope, behind someone without him knowing. then he make a final lap. if the guy didn't know that he has the rope behind him, and he didn't know who has that thing with him. so the guy that he got the rope and the thing has to pick up the rope, and start to slap him again to refresh the [inaudible]

there seems to be a lot of slapping going on in your games
[inaudible] [10:49]
[inaudible] [10:52]
[inaudible] لا [10:53]

[10:59] (Waraw), this game is called (Waraw), they just sit on the ground and...

[11:04] الأولاني مخدتوش اسمه يعني
[11:06] الأولاني كان اسمه...
[11:09] (هندكيه)، لا بديه
[11:12] بعدة كان فيه (جيسركديه)
[11:16] [Waraw]

[11:19] بناع البنات
[11:19] [Waraw] ده بناع دلوه، بناع ده
[11:21] اه، بناع الولاد والبنات...
[11:22] بناع الأولاني اللي كنا بنجري
[11:24] الدايرة
[11:27] (فولدوميه)؟
[11:28] أبّة

[11:28] the game for the circle and the rope is called (foldomeh)
[11:41] (وراود) دي اللي هي كانوا ببحوا ايديهم على رجليهم؟
[11:43] أبّة، يجري من هناك وبيجي نيط

[11:45] okay, so this game is called (Warawed). they put their legs into each other. the feet, into each other. and then they put the 2 hands on top of the feet. so, one of them, he have to run and then come to jump over their legs and feet. if he touches the hand, so he has to sit, and the man that he touches his hand has to go and jump, and do it like this way all the time.

[12:11] and boys and girls played all these games.

[12:15] كان الولاد والبنات بيلعبوا الألعاب دي كلها ولا في ألعاب بناعة أولاد وألعاب بناعة بنات؟
[12:19] لا، في بناعة الولاد وبناعة البنات
[12:21] زي (فولدوميه) بناعة البنات مع الولاد
[12:24] [inaudible]

[12:27] the game (foldomeh) is for boys and girls

[12:32] بنات على ولاد
that's for boys and girls, but the rest were just for the boys

[12:38] أبوة
[12:39] أبوة، تباع ولاد
[12:40] (وراود) تباع ولاد
[12:41] (وراود) تباع ولاد؟

[12:42] أبوة، تباع اللندكية، وكله
[12:45] (لندكية) ده بتاع ولاد برضة؟
[12:46] تباع اللولد أبوة

[12:47] yes, all the others are for boys


[12:58] he is saying that the best season was the dates season

[13:00] موسم البلح ده كان فيه لعب برضة؟
[13:16] أيام البلح بقى فيه (تاب)
[13:17] (تاب)؟
[13:20] (تاب)
[13:20] لعب (تاب)

[13:22] there were a game during the dates season, it was called (Tap)

[13:29] (تاب)
[13:30] إيه بقى لعبة (تاب) دي يا حاج؟
[13:32] (تاب) دي بنعمل... نشرخ الجريد... نسج، الناحية الأحمر والأبيض نقطعهم...

[13:40] 4
[13:42] 4 عطلول كده يعني
[13:45] الجريدة نفسها؟ الجريدة تكون كده؟
[13:49] يعني طوله 25 سنن
[13:54] نقص مجموعة من هنا
[13:57] دي بقى لعبة نوعين
[14:02] مجموعة من هنا ومجموعة من هنا
[14:04] نعمل سيجة.
[14:06] [inaudible]
[14:07] لا والسيجة كمان تلعب بالتاب، ننقل الحجر على حسب الموجودين
[14:13] ولد أو سنة، كده يعني
During the Date season, collecting the dates from the palm trees, they're just getting the leaves of the palm tree itself, and then they break it to 4 pieces. Okay, so you know this [inaudible chatter]

oh, thank you.

so, they get this leaf and they cut it in 4 pieces, these 4 pieces has 2 green pieces and 2 white pieces. so they were ding the game, if you collect 4 green pieces, it has a name, if you collect 2 and 2, it has another name

 لو اتنين أبيض اسمه ايه يا حاج؟
نتين أبيض اتنين، اتنين أبيض وانتين أخضر نقول عليه اتنين
يضرب
 لو معا اتنين أبيض وانتين أخضر يضرب؟
أيّة
صاحب البتاع يضرب؟
لا، نوعين، أنا قلتله نوعين
فيه لعب بالايد بنقل بيه الحجر
تمام

وفيه لعب، نقعد كده مجموعة... اللي جيب ولد يعني 3 أخضر وواحد أبيض. ده يلعب تاني.

وادخل بالكل؟ اللي جاب انتين أخضر وانتين بثاعة ينقل. ده بيقب معا الولد. يلب يلعب، يجري، عنده ستة. الأخضر ستة. الأربعة ستة أخضر. بيقب هو معا الحكم، معا الملك وكده يعني.

بعد كده الثاني اللي جينه، لو جاب انتين يحكم عليه بانتين برضه. يرفع رجله و ياخد ضربتين.
so the game, he made it more clear for me. if you got 4 name. that was called "setta"

you got four, that means "setta" in their language. so this guy has the power to say "you have to slap the other one that has 2 green and 2 white": he just [inaudible] yeah, with stick on his feet, like this one.

if you get 2 green and 1 white, you passed. you will not be slapped.

if he have 2 and 2, that means you have to be slapped, and then you skip your turn. that was the game.

that's alot of games.

so, you went to school for 4 years, can you remember what subjects you learnt in your school.

[18:55] أبوة، في المدرسة كان أية المواد اللي بيدرسوها؟ عربي؟ حساب؟

[18:58] العربي وحساب  

[18:59] [inaudible]

[19:01] لا مكانش فيه لغات يعني، المدرسين مكانوش يعرفو لغات

[19:06] حيعلمونا؟

[19:08] okay, he said they were teaching him arabic and math, and it was not a school like the school you saw in the museum. just a room.

[19:17] [inaudible]

[19:22] he's saying that this 4 year they studied is much better than the that school that you have been

[19:28] which is the one [inaudible]

[19:35] is that why you said that it's better? because it was a shorter? or because the schooling was better?

[19:41] بتقولك إنت بتقول إنها كانت أحسن عشان المدة كانت أقل ولا التعليم كان أحسن؟

[19:45] لا التعليم كان أحسن

[19:49] teaching was better

[19:51] [inaudible]

[19:58] he say during these 4 years, they taught them how to write a proper letter without any mistakes.

[20:04] but right now you can find a university graduated, and he can make mistakes in small letter

[20:10] ده أيام الملكية

[20:11] that was during the royalty. we had a king [inaudible]

[20:23] so you liked your teachers?

[20:26] المدرسين بتحب المدرس بتاعك؟

[20:29] آه طبعاً

[20:30] yes, for sure.

[20:31] what where they like?

[20:34] كان شكله إزاي، أو كان شكله إيه؟

[20:37] نعم؟

[20:37] شكله كان بيقى إزاي؟
[20:44] he's just from the same city or the same village, wearing Gallabaya and turban

[20:49] [inaudible]

[20:54] [inaudible]

[21:02] okay, let's start talking about your home back then.

[21:08] many of us who don't know much about Nubia are very curious about the little decorations on your doors among your walls.

[21:19] I'd like you to describe what your house was like when you were child

[21:25] بتقولك إحنا دلوقت... هي عايزاك تتكلم عن البيت

[21:31] أغلب الناس دلوقت، وحتى فيه نوبيين زينا كده، مش عارفين السبب إن إحنا كان البيت بتاعة النوبة بتاعتنا زمان كانت ألوانها زاهية، أزرق وأبيض والألوان دي

[21:41] أيوة

[21:42] فانت عايزاك تشرحها كان شكل البيت إزاي زمان، كان إيه الرسومات بتاعته، وكان إيه الألوان؟

[21:52] شكل البيت إزاي

[21:53] أيوة، مظبوط مظبوط

[21:54] هي عايزاك تشرحها شكل البيت اللي انت كنت عايش فيه لما كنت صغير، كان شكله إزاي؟


[22:03] ليه؟ يعني بنخيه...

[22:07] يعني نخلي البيت عشان الواحد لما بروح من البر ويتعب من الزراعة وكده، يدخل البيت يلاقي نفسه مرتاح

[22:18] إزاي؟

[22:18] حتى يعني شكل البيت يريحه

[22:23] he say that they were decorating the house with colors so they can feel more relaxed in it.

[22:30] doing you job, farming or fishing or anything that you do outside the house.

[22:34] you want to go back to your house to just relax and rest.

[22:37] that's why they were coloring [inaudible]

[22:41] and was it the adults who decorated the house? or were the children allowed to help?
بتقولك كان الكبار هم اللي يبدؤو الرسومات والألوان؟

أكتر الرسومات كان البنات اللي بيرسمو

مهي بتقلل الأطفال برضو كان ممكن يلونو ويرسمو ولا الكبار بس؟

والبنات هم اللي كانو بيلونو ويرسمو؟

هم البنات كان يعني عندهم نقش، حتى ايه، لما بيعملو الأطباق كان بيزخرفوه.

أيوة، الغطيان بقاع الأكل وكده

أيوة

[23:10] he say that girls was decorating, children and adults. and the girls were responsible to make the decorations in the house. even if you remember, in the [inaudible] we saw the dish covers, that were made from [inaudible] weaving, they were making handmade and they were making decorations. [inaudible]

[23:37] [inaudible]

[23:47] [inaudible]

[23:59] did you keep animals?

[24:01] فيه عندك حاجة حيوانات في البيت؟

أيوة، لا مؤاخذة، كان عندنا طبعا...

[inaudible]

لما يكمل شكل البيت الأول، البيت واسع

لا بس إحنا لا مؤاخذة، البهائم كان لوحديها، يتعمله خيمة برة. بعيد عن البيت

[24:19] البهائم؟

الركوبة والبقر وكده يعني

بعيد عن البيت؟

[24:22]

[24:24] they were making like a house for the sheep and donkeys and all the animals they are using, but away from the house that they live in.

[24:34] so, sheeps, donkeys

[24:38] camels. horses

[24:40] all of them?

[24:41] whatever they were using, yes

[24:46] إنت كان عندك ايه حيوانات؟

[24:50] بقر برضو، ولا مؤاخذة الركوبة دي كان عطول عندي، لان ده مواساتنا

[25:02] he had a main transportation which was a donkey

وأمانيتا كان بيرعوا الغنم الصغير
[25:12] their mothers were breeding goats [inaudible]

الماعز وكده عشان اللبن

[25:24] [25:26] they were using the goats for the milk

البقر عشان اللحمة، صح؟

[25:28] [25:30] [25:35] أبوية. بالنسبة للبقر اللحم يتاعه الكبار ياكلوه

بالتالي اللي يتولد بيتربي بلبن العنيز

معمر [25:41]

[25:43] they were using the goat milk for the childrens who were just born. they were using the whole milk, the cow milk [inaudible] because the milk of the goats is not whole creamy.

[25:58] [inaudible]

[26:01] عشان خفيف، مش كده يا حج؟

[26:03] it sounds like you had alot of animals, does that mean your were a wealthy family?

[26:08] بتقولك إنت شكلك كان عدك حيوانات كثير، وبهايام كثير، كانت عينة مبسوطة؟

[inaudible] لا يعني، كل بيت كان عنده مجموعة

مش يعني عشان يرعوا في الجبل وكد، أي بيت كان عنده

[26:19] [26:23] he says that each house had

غير الجناين كمان

نربي الفراخ والحمام والغنم الصغير

الست اللي كانت بيتربيه في البيت الفراخ؟

[26:26] [26:27] [26:34] [26:37] also they have chickens, in the house [inaudible]

[26:44] space for chickens

[26:47] chickens inside the bins

[inaudible] [26:51]

[27:02]so the chickens and ducks for eggs?

الفراخ كان يتربوها عشان تاخدو منيها بيض ولا عشان تأكلوها؟

[27:06] لا بيض ولا كل يعني، الاثنين

[27:10] منشئيش الحاجات دي

[inaudible] [27:18] [27:26] خضار وكله كان ببلاش من الزراعة

[27:29] زراعة وكله كان ببلاش؟
[27:31] like i see, you started talking about farming, so let's talk about it.

[27:43] so you used to farm as well, is that right?

[27:45] بتقولك انت اشتغلت في الزراعة، صح؟

[27:47] أبواه، الزراعة

[27:49] عبد الله

[27:50] نعم؟

[27:50] كنت بترعرع برضو، صح؟

[27:51] أبواه

[27:55] can you remember what sort of crops you were farming?

[28:00] بتزرع ايه؟

[28:02] درة

[28:04] وفول

[28:06] وإيه ثاني؟

[28:06] ودرة وفولبية

[28:10] beans [inaudible]

[28:13] وفي الشتا بقى فول وقمح

[28:19] beans

[28:21] [inaudible]

[28:26] [inaudible]

[28:30] ملوخية وبامية

[28:33] لا دول خضار بقى

[28:34] أيها ما هي

[28:35] لا مسئتش خضار

[28:38] احنا اللي بيسألو عليه بترد عليه

[28:40] احنا بنسال إنت كنت بترعرع ايه؟ كله، أي حاجة

[28:45] بامية، ملوخية، كوسة، طماطم

[28:51] فواكه؟

[28:52] خيار

[28:53] [inaudible]
he was saying that each family, not all families, [inaudible], so they farm roots, mango, [inaudible], dates before the fruits, i got whole beans there is number of greans, leafes he says it was like paradise it was certainly
in britain today, [inaudible] [30:55]

[30:59]

عائنيل يعني، عائنيل

they were living on the nile [31:01]
as a child, did you help out with the farming? or was that just for the [31:08]

adults

[31:13]

بقلوك الزراعة، اللي كانوا بيزرعوا دول كانوا بس الكبار ولا أطفال وكبار وكله كان بيزرع؟

[31:18]

فين؟

[31:19]

في الزراعة يعني ساعة موسم الزراعة

[31:21]

الزراعة، شوف بقي في زراعة، قبل سنة 33 مكاشش فيه إلا غير سواقي

[31:29]

السواقي دي كان عالبحر

[31:33]

بيجي موسم الدمرة اللي هو الفيضان

[31:39]

بيجي يعمل طرح نهر، برسب الطملي

[31:43]

بيجيب الطملي معاه

[31:44]

أبوة، [inaudible] [31:44]

واخد بالك؟ الناس بقي دي موسم كان يشغوا سواقي بقي

[31:50]

ويزرعوا

[31:52]

يطلعوا خير الدنيا بقي من الغلال

[31:55]

he's saying that there a season

[31:57]

وبعدين كانوا بيزرعوا خروع كتير

[32:01]

[inaudible] يعني ايه البقر كان باكل الخروع وهو لسه طري

[32:08]

كان جسمه ببقى دهني زي من فوق ضهر

[32:12]

وكان يحلب لين كبير

[32:16]

ده كان موسم الزراعة

[32:19]

[32:20]

قبل 33، بعد 33 أصبح بقى مكانه محطات طرمبات جت

وزرعة المياة العادي

[32:26]

والسواقي انتقلت لمكان أعلى هناك بعد...

[32:30]

هم كانوا بنوا جسر كبير، الحكومة بنى جسر

[32:38]

عشان المياة ميعديش البلد

[32:41]

خزان بتاع أسوان

[32:43]

أبوة، خزان أسوان

[32:44]

[inaudible] [32:45]

شهر 11 كان بيفغوا الخزان

[32:47]
كان الحكومة بنت سنة 33 جسر طويل علطول البلد
وكان برسب
ده بقى كان ميادين، كان يرسب معه خبرات الدنيا
وكل ده كان علف للبهايم، كان يرسبه
أيوة، بعد سنة 33 حوالي 37 محطات استغلت، لأنه كان نسبه يتركب
تام[inaudible] تمام[inaudible]
أترجملها الحطة دي عشان منتهوش
okay, so in 1933 they built a bridge
and the bridge also contained bumps to take out water
okay, so he say that farming was not only for children or for adults
they had seasons, farming before year 33 were different than after the year 33
because before 1933 they were just waiting for the flud seasons, and when the flud comes it's like
so he was saying that they were just waiting for the flud to be coming
then when the flud come, it brings the mud which is...
it's like
but what can i say specially about 1933? what happened in 1933?
because the government built a bridge
 سنة 33 عملوا جسر؟
عشان بعد كده بعد 33 الزراعة أتغيّرت بقت طرمبات
أيوة، بعد 33 حوالي 37 مرات استغلت، لأنه كان نسبه يتركب
تام[inaudible] تمام[inaudible]
أترجملها الحطة دي عشان منتهوش
okay, so in 1933 they built a bridge
and the bridge also contained bumps to take out water
this is where they were using the water wheel

and they also take the water wheels [inaudible]
sorry, that sounds crucial, i want to make sure i get that right

[large inaudible part]

[inaudible] [36:33]

they call it, this kind of farming they call it "Zallouka" [36:49]

which they call "the wet" [36:53]

all the levels[36:55]

following downs[36:59]

[inaudible] [37:01]

this is grows naturally [37:07]

so that's before 1933?[37:08]

the condition of [inaudible][37:13]

[inaudible] [38:02]

plowing, i think he is describing the plowing [38:02]

[inaudible] [38:06]

[i really should repoint to another subject but am enjoying this, [39:58]

[inaudible]

can i just ask, in your opinion was it better before 1933[40:05]

before thae changes in 1933?[40:10]
319

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40:24</td>
<td>لا، بعد 33 كانت طبعاً حصل توسع في الرقعة الزراعية على أساس بقي المية بقت متوفرة في الطرعة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40:29</td>
<td>because of the regular irregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40:36</td>
<td>[inaudible]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40:39</td>
<td>[inaudible]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40:46</td>
<td>[inaudible]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40:49</td>
<td>وبعدن المية وصلت لأماكن مكانتش بتوصل ليها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40:51</td>
<td>بلانة كان مزرعته واسعة، ومن دون حدود للبلاد البعيدة التانية</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41:08</td>
<td>مسافة ثلاثين كيلو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41:53</td>
<td>لغاية حدود السودان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41:58</td>
<td>من معبد أبو سيمبل لغاية حدود، البلانة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:28</td>
<td>let's move from farming to the nile, did you have a boat on the nile?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:38</td>
<td>بتقولك... عبد الله، عندك مركب بتقولك؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:44</td>
<td>كان شغال في الري هو ميكانيكي كان في الطرمبات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:46</td>
<td>لا طرمبات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:47</td>
<td>كان ميكانيكي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42:52</td>
<td>he didn't have a boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:03</td>
<td>كان فيه مراكب بس ينقلوا الناس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:18</td>
<td>عندك بندقية صيد يا عم عبد الله</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:23</td>
<td>كان عندي بنادق مش بندقية واحدة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:28</td>
<td>he has many guns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:36</td>
<td>اصطدمت غزلان كتير خالص أرانب كتير خالص ووز كتير خالص</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:40</td>
<td>he hunted crocodile, rabbits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:48</td>
<td>وأرانب وتماسيح وغزلان ووز وتعابين وتعالب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:51</td>
<td>he hunted crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:54</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:56</td>
<td>كنت تصطاد تماسيح</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44:17</td>
<td>كانوا يجولي من مصر يدوني تلغراف من معبد أبو سيمبل على أبو النصر وسامي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44:29</td>
<td>وراح سويسرا وراح فرنسا وراح مش عارف ايه لف الدنيا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44:31</td>
<td>سنة 60 جاء واحد أمريكي اسمه روبرت فورنيو قعد ثلاث سنين معناي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
النوبة يعنى

he came from states 1963

I remember his name 63

أيوه كان بحاجة أنثروبولوجيا

Anthropologist

I have his book,

بتقولك معاها الكتاب بتاعه.

نعم، معاها الكتاب بتاعه هى.

أنا كان صديق خالص ويعتمد على أمريكا كتب نفس الكتب دي

and he sent him books from states, he was his friend

his friend

ههههه

ثلاث سنين أنا كنت بركب اللانشات بتاعه كمان يعني

he was boarding with him on boats for three years

كان يسبههم عندي لم يسافر أجاهزه في أمريكا كانوا بيستنو عندي أنا كنت بخدم بيهم

الناس والله

المركب

اللانش. بموتور. كنت بصطاد بيه برده

when he goes for vacation to States he was leaving his boat with Mr. Abdallah to take care of it. Mr. Abdallah was serving people also with this boat

هنا كان في صورته. في صورة هنا اهية.

this is him

صورته مع جبهات السادات.

أنا وهو في الطيارة مع بعض أبيض وأسود

that 's him

جو الطيارة

this picture for him and doctor together

آخر مرة رحنا المبعد مع بعض

لا الصورة اللي في الطيارة كتبنا راحين فين
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| الصورة ديه.  
أه الليل في الطيارة.  
جابين من المعبد. | This picture  
A man and two chums from Abu Simbel temple by plane. |
| ياح | We are almost famous |
| ياح | We are almost famous |
| إنه مشاهير كلنا يا حاج | Inaudible |
| أنك مين | He stayed with his uncle two months. |
| ده الدكتور روبرت فرونيو. دع قعد معاى هنا 15 يوم وبعدين مرة ثانية جاء فعد شهرين وبعدين غيرت نفسها فرح بنتي. | The last time he came here was for the wedding of his daughter. |
| هو جاء وحتى كان معاه أسامة جاى من أسوان. أسامة بتاع المتحف. | He stayed with his uncle two months. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| أمامى من معبد أبو سمبل  
آه بالطيارة  
آه | He was coming back from Abu Simbel temple on the plane |
| سنو كام  
من قريب يعني أقلك الشمانيات | We are almost famous |
| this picture | We are almost famous |
| أبيه وفي البيت القديم  
أيوه ووقع معائ خمسشتار يوم | Inaudible |
| ياح | He stayed with his uncle two months. |
| أنت مين | He stayed with his uncle two months. |
| ده الدكتور روبرت فرونيو. دع قعد معاى هنا 15 يوم وبعدين مرة ثانية جاء فعد شهرين وبعدين غيرت نفسها فرح بنتي. | The last time he came here was for the wedding of his daughter. |
| هو جاء وحتى كان معاه أسامة جاى من أسوان. أسامة بتاع المتحف. | He stayed with his uncle two months. |
And the land of this house still with his name . belong to him. And at his daughter wedding Mr. Osama Abdul-warth met him last year at the Noba Museum.
He said that during the seasons of dates he was just waited the date to get ready to be lifted. Once it gets yellow and fall around from the tree, the make a Galabia looks like this. They climb up the palm (inaudible) and put it inside the galabia then they go down. They start to find out good ones and eat.

What's up? One of these games they were making leaves (inaudible) and then chicken feather

Do you want more tea

So back to the questions

Yes new questions

I would like to know if the style of clothes that you wore changed over the years?
been trying to research why and when and I haven't able to find out yet.

This is for the ladies

And black cover

So in the shade women have a long wide sleeves in the sun using it as a cover for her face with the cover she has on her head, you can imagine doing like this (inaudible).

Was that boys and girls that wore the same thing

Was that boys and girls that wore the same thing

They were so young (inaudible)
Before the age of puberty, they weren't small. One thing that we wondered is that the clothes changed as a result of the British occupation during the war. To that end we were trying to work out why the clothes changed we thought it might to be a British influence due to war time (inaudible) for example if if, we don't know if more influence by our country's wearing furnishing and there might be when they saw what they wore (inaudible) was one of the reasons why (inaudible). His analogy, when you're about to change the dress of the clothes next to the end of the British occupation. Among the British occupation, the clothes changed in the British influence (inaudible) at the end of the British occupation. This British influence is something that we wondered whether it was due to the British influence in the occupation (inaudible). There's no doubt that the British occupation. The influence of the British occupation is something that we wondered whether it was due to the British influence (inaudible) that the British occupation changed in the British influence (inaudible). This is the difference between here and there. Yes, you see one thing that we wondered is that the clothes changed as a result of the British occupation during the war. To that end we were trying to work out why the clothes changed we thought it might to be a British influence due to war time (inaudible) for example if if, we don't know if more influence by our country's wearing furnishing and there might be when they saw what they wore (inaudible) was one of the reasons why (inaudible).
أبوه أمال أيه وجبتها هدية

It is amazing (inaudible)

لا ما يقوله أولاده أحفاده في السودان كمان... كلام غير واضح... يعني الأسرة كلام غير واضح...

Yes I see (inaudible)

غرفت الوالد يا حاج عبد الله
نعم
غرفت الوالد
أنا حسن فاكره ابنه
أبوه فاكره ما كاش طويل كده
الله يرحمه كان طيب
صوت غير واضح
لك أخوات تاني
أبوه عندي أربعة ما شاء الله
ما شاء الله
صوت غير واضح

الوالدة موجودة

الوالدة أتوفيت أمبارح (صوت غير واضح)

وابن قاعد سنة
لا ستين
ميين
المرحوم الوالد
صوت غير واضح

بقي كان صديقه العزيز (اسم غير واضح) إسماعيل
أبوه
يا ريس السبع مات كمان
الله يرحمه
 بص يا حاج
نعم

في صورة جايبناها من متحف النوبة... أنت رحت متحف النوبة ولا أ. متحف النوبة
بتاع أسوان.

في صور نحن إن وكدية يعني
أبوه أنت شفت متحف النوبة أصلا
الصورة اللي أنت شفته ديه عندى صور زيهم عرفش أن كانوا هم ولا لا
أنا في صور أنت نا صورناها أбарح
كان في معرض العمل عن النوبة في الجامعة الأمريكية... رحت حضرت فيه
وانتصورت هناك

Inaudible

في مجلدات عن النوبة من 300 سنة
من اللي كاتبه يا حاج (صوت غير واضح) الأثرياء ولا السودانيين
من اللي كتبنا ولا الأنجليز اللي كتبوا

اللي كتب

المجلدات اللي من 300 سنة
طبعا مش كتاب واحد الكتب مالوش أول ولا آخر. الحكومة المصرية مش عاملة أي حاجة
هم بيجاهونا داiameter (صوت مشوش)
شوف شقتين فوق بعض: واحد بالكل كله عن الكلب والصور وفي واحدة: حديثي قال لي أنا من أربعين سنة بس بآنانا في النوبة القديمة. والله العظيم ده اللي كنت بطلبته مني في الاجتماع أصلاً

نال شوت غير واضح

بلقك يا حاج بحس تسجيل الصوت اللي أخذت قلتكك عليه بالنسبة لنا كده يعتبر خلص. هي عازبة تعمل معالج لقاء فيديو تمكنها القصة بناعة حياتك كلها. كل اللي حكينا فيه تديها زي خمس دقائق أو عشر دقائق في الفيديو ممكن.

ممكن

الحياة هناك وهنا: الفرق بين هناك وهنا (شوت غير واضح)

He will just talk

Yes nobody else just this gentleman not even me

هو بس اللي بيتكلم أنا مش هنكلم أنا مركزين عليه هو بس كنا في قرية بالانا سنة كذا كان معنا هذا كذا، كنا مش متشت حنا كما نبدا في هذا.

كلام مشوش

هي بالانا قبل كده كان فيها اسم ثاني

لا بالانا قبل الهجرة كانت مفيش مقاومة بالمرة. واحد بالكل، مفيش أي مقاومة.

في القرون اللي مرت

واخذ بالكل مفيش أي مقاومة أنت

عازف زي لما أنا سافرت السودان (غير واضح)

بيته الأب والأم

الأسرة عدهم كام

كلام عشوائي بعض واضح وبعضه غير واضح وهو كالتالي

أيه يا حاج

الإنجليز عرفت المصاطب

صوت غير واضح

كل ما تجر اللبس

المصراء

لجهين

ضيوعنا

اللى في الصورة وهو برده

مين

هو هو

مين

الصوره بتاتك اللي هنا. أنت وصحير

أه هي

اللى معلقة هنا دي

أيوه

هي دي صور معلقة

أيوه في صور معلقة

أحمد....

من عمر كام

يا عم عبدالله

نعم

لو هتقول اسمها قول كام نجع

نجل واحد شوية

مالانا: كام نجع

كثير

طب عازيزين يعرفوا

وماله نقلهم

من الدقيقة

1:23:44

الي

1:30:04

حتى بدء التصوير

1:30:04
بالانا في خريطة النجع (شوشرة)
يعني قد ايه
غير واضح

أنت عاوز النجوع بتوغ البلد يعني
شوشرة
كاما أبو راكيا كتير كتير الهارديكية دخلة دقلة سنكاه نسيلة كل دولل نجوع بتاع بالانا
نجوع كتيرة
خلاص شفنا الصورة نباع الأميرة ممكن
فرجها صورة الأميرة

صورة الأميرة هنا
شوشرة بتخللها موسيقي
قول الاسم مش غريب علي
في جمعية عم سيد الفار
تم الصلح ولا لأ
لا نسه
ما ينفع شمعاعهم صلح
يا سلام
ويعدين كمان الننت بتخش
Do you speak (inaudible)
أيوه يا حاج
اسمك ايه
اسمي سارة
سارة مين
سارة حملي
في الننت يعني كده
لا هكتبلك الاسم الحقيقي هكتبلك
أنا اسمي أحمد كريم
اه حضرتك احمد كريم طيب
بتفضل علي الفيس يا حاج
ايه
يدخل على الفيس يا حاج
من مين أنا
اه
منشوراتي معروفة
يااه
منشوراتي مقرية
اه
ابتكتب يعني
بتكتب
 بكلم في كل المواضيع
بس أنا (شوشرة)

هنصورك لوقتي يا حاج
1:30:04
نعم
1:30:06
هنصورك لوقتي
1:30:06
تصريح
1:30:08
أه
كونس

حكى النوبة ايه
1:30:10
حكى النوبة ايه
1:30:13
But there will be translation or you just use it in Arabic
1:30:16
We will do a translation after (inaudible)
1:30:20
خلاص أنت اცعد احكى اللى أنت عايز تحكيه يا حاج عن النوبة

أول ما أقلك شغال يبقي
أول ما تقولي أنا معاك
صوت مشوش الموتى هناك أبانا أجدادنا كلهم مدفونين هناك ذكريات تاريخ
That's ok
Inaudible
Don't worry about that (inaudible)

Yes I would like him to describe . to go back to the farming
the irrigation of the farm . to describe when he is farming and
he is irrigating

So he can describe please

نص يا حاج
أوه أبوه
هي عايزاك بقى تكلك عن طفولتك وعن الزراعة كنت بترع ازاي وكان المحصول
بينتصد ازاي . ساعة موسم الحصاد أسهل الزراعة أسهل الري التي كنت بتسعمه
زمان . كلما يخصك أنت حياتك أنت يعنى.
أيوه أبوه
تمام
ماشي

inaudible

بالاسم يعني تقول من الأول
أبو عرف نفسه الأول أنا فلان من بالانا مولود سنة كذا
Introduce himself first

great

And his village

طب أنت لما حصل التهجير كان كام سنة

أه
تمام

Thank you

inaudible

بعد كده بدأك تبدأ تتحكي عن حياتك

ماشي
ماشي

أنتفصل

أيده يا حاج

انا عبد الله حسن عبد المجيد المشهور بعبد الله فاطوما . عبد الله فاطوما من صغرى الاسم
هذه مشهور به
محدث يعرفني هنا بخلاف الاسم ده يعني أي حطة تروح في بالانا وتقول عبد الله فاطوما
معروف أننا لما تقومون عبد الله حسن ميعرفوه.

له

نعلم عشان من صغرى من ساعة ما التولدان حدث الاسم ده عبد الله فاطوما ولذلك
مشهور باسم عبد الله فاطوما عباد الله فاطوما من صغرى الاسم
ده مشهور به
دحل المدرسة لمدة أربع سنوات خرج كنها متعلم على حدود الأربع سنين والمهد
للهبقرآ كريس خالص وكتب كريس خالص وخطط كريس خالص ويعينين طبعا بعد كده
سافر مصر وأنا صغير راحا زرا وناو . والدي كان شغل عند الإنجليز في مصر
رحنا هناك وقعدنا يباع شهر بعد كده بقية قوية شوية وبدائنا يتحكي في الزراعة مع
والدنا وأعمامي وخيلاني كنا بترع زراعه زراعه مبينية بدائية باللورية والجارف أسوأ
الحوض لما بعد كده نسقي ونعدن الحطة العالية تركن شادوف ونسقي بالشادوف

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المناطق العالية وحتى كنا نطلع الأنتاج. وبعدين الجداول كلها كنا بنزرعها كوسه وطماطم والحجاج كنا بنزرعها مع الزراعة الأصلية. يعني ده كان مصاريف البيت أو مصاريف الجيران كمان كانوا يختدوا منه على أساس كنا نبيع مفيش حاجة ولا بنفع ولا أي حاجة. أي عبر مثل الحاجب بتاعنا ورم في حاجة أسه. أبل شش الأطيل كان مخرم أصلا نحبه وقطعته ثلاثة منه كان نحبه. والله. وأخذ بالكل وعندنا عشان ما كانت في دكاترة واحد جالس صداع جامد كا. كان على طول بجيب الولد ده ويمشي الرجل وأد بالكل كان يروق وفى البعض اللي مس شعانا النباود بجيوا لطمي الأسماح خالص وده يروق وفى البعض ده يروق وفى البعض عشان معي الجيران بيجوه ونحبه ودلك كان مصاريف البيت مش على حرام

الزراعة

الزراعة الحقيقة بردى أديأنا فدان في حاجة، وفدان في حاجة وأد بالكل، زمان ينفع زمان هناك يعني أيه، ولا هنا، هناك

هناك الزراعة كنا مرتاحين. أيه كان مقص الأراضي على حسب البيت محدش كان طمعان عن الثاني وأد بالكل وحتى كنا في زراعة تعابير أو بعض عبنيانا وفلان وفلان تنزور ما بعض نزرع بتاعنا ده ونروه عبارة عن بعض

نزعوا أيه
ذرّة في الصيف، ذرة وخضروات بامية ملوخية كوسه. في الشتاء بيتزرع القمح والقمح وقمح ده بقه لازم يترش جوه الحوض ويتعزق بالتورية. نحزم كده نربط بطننا ونمش نميل
لازم نكمل الحوض وأحنا بنعزق مانقومش و
كان بعد كده نحصد وبعد كده قبل الحصيد في شوية في الجداول نشيل ده. نولع النار ونحمص السنابل وندق. نعمل منه فريك نعمل طبيخ منه وله، نايس طري كان نلف وندعكم كده وناكن.

الري كنت بتروي أزاى يا حاج

الري في الأول كان سواقي وشواديف وبعد ما جاء المشروع سنة 76 و35 و34 و33 بدانا ديدنا المايه بقه من النزعة.

الشدوغ كان بيقي أزاي كان بحيوان

نم

كان بحيوان ولا كان بالبند الشدوغ.

لا الشدوغ بالبند.

والساقية كان بالحيوان.

أبوه السابقة بالحيوان بالبقر.

بقر لا الحيمير.

لا بقر. الحيمير بقه تدرس بيه القمح تحت طهية في النص وتحت السنابل والقمح كل اللي
جشطنا كله تكسيها هنا وتحترش حاليان البناية دي وترطبح جليل تدلكه جوه الحد.
برعه البتل في الحديدي تجيب الروكنية التانيه وركوبة نحن نحله برقه. واحد
يدي عصاية يلف بقه فوق البناية لغابة المغرب وبعد ده الحريق بيبعد الأضواء ببتاع
الحوص اللي يلف شنكلا وليف كده لفوقه وبهس الملاحة واحدة النين بيمشي.

على جنب وقمح كان بيييي ودا كان موضوع الزراعة بعدم موسم البلح. الله فله
الي هو بناع البلح وانتظره الحجار ببوع سان كانا مجبوعا ونها ذات العمولة كله
وتخزن البيوت لغابة الشتا الحالي. لغابة البلح التاني.

نفسك ترجع هناك يا حاج

نفسك ترجع هناك

مش ساماك.

نفسك ترجع هناك تاني.

أحنا، فين هنرجع فين.

أنت نفسك يعني.

نفسك ترجع بص أتمنى يرجع زمان لأن طبعا أاحنا بعد كده هنروح الحكومة اللي جاينا
هنا عملنا فينا اللي عامللح تعاليسارتان مش واحدا بالاحدا. النخلة خسنين قرس وخمسة
صاع، مشش خمسين قرس، بخمسة صاع، وعشيرة صاع، والحوامب أهم الساقية. موجودة في الملفات بتاعة التعويضات أخنا دلوقتي أنا بقول الناس اللي مستروا هنا.
بقوم كده ده بعده إعادة تقديم التعويضات مرة تانية وأخنا بالله براعه وبراعه أخنا
مظلومين، مظلومين، مظلومين.

شوادغ، اخد باللك. عشنا اتبهدل واخد بالكل الحجاج دي أعمتت خيال كل الحجاج اللي في البيت السراير العنكبوت. على فكرة العقرب، عنوريات نوبية
معمول بالجريد بص أهوه مش من الخشب كله من الجريد، وأدخ بالكل، أدخ بالكل اللي بنه
الحجاج دي. سراير نوبية وكل حجاجة نوبية ونممك عنري ونممك لو يرجوعوا ويدوا
تعويضات كوية واخد باللك. أنا أعمل نوع فرد في زي زمان ومش معروف نسرك
بوبال، سكة حديد واخد باللك ونعد. أنا دلوقتي فيبي في بوبال، نا سكية شوية.

ابويم بعده المشهوذ اللياني بتانيهم ما شانه اللي حبي عليه اللياننا، وأدبت نا نا
وديت التلفزيون الأمريكي هناك عنص بشوفو.

الثورة القديمة

نعم.

الثورة القديمة

أبوه عنص بشوفو الفرق بين الثورة القديمة وحديثة. نوعة نحن الدولة مانيين معنا
بقيلعنا أتبتاع نفر واحد فلنتهم أبوه تابع تابع نفر واحد نفر واحد نفر واحد رجل وما ولا. قال
كله ده ليه. أبوه كل واحد نوي كان عاده واحد ذي ده كده في الثورة القديمة. أنت
بنفسك بقي كده أحكم وشوف الفرق بين البيت ده وبين البيت اللي انت بتصير عليه
دومي قال مش داخل في دماغه أنه ده بين النوبيين كانوا قاعدين في واحد زي

تمام يا حاج احترام صماعه

وماله أنا عايز يا ممكن تخدي تصوري الصورة بتاع الأميرة دى ممكن تقابل بيه

الأميرة

اسمها الأميرة دي

أميرة ألكسندر

The priceess her name is Alexandra ( inaudible)

قاعدة هي لسه موجودة الأميرة دى

موجودة سنة 77 جات هي أسوان

تمام

كان دعوة من السادات رحت قابلتها وسلمت عليها وأديتها برده هدية . أنا كما عايز

زي ما أنا كنت يستقبلها لازم يعمل دعوة الأميرة دى ولازم أنا أروح لندن.

He want to

بس هن مش متخاف الصورة بناهبك . ما هي الصورة بتاعتك انت دى انا نصورها

على التليفون وندهلها .

أبوه صورهاقا وأدلتها الصورة.

تمام

He wanted to take photo.take his photo( inaudible) search for that princess

ههههه

حاول تقابله قله حاول تقابلها

He said inshallah you will meet her

Hahaha

حتى أنت مش ممكن في التلفزيون تروح قول كذا كذا .

هي بتدرس في الجامعة مش التلفزيون يا حاج

آهه

دراستها في الجامعة ( كلام غير واضح) لا هي ما ما نتفق كده هي لما بتدرس حاجة

هي مش مكثرة هي بتدرس في دولتي هي نقلتي الدراسة بتاعتها اللي بتتعلها عشان تأخذ

تهاشده . أنها توير الأفرقة منها النوبة القديمة والحديثة دى ما أنت بتعاهم بحث

دكتوراه مثلا . هي بتعالصصت في الجامعة . في النوبة

في بنت من بولندا

الفرق بين النوبة القديمة ودولتي هي بتعالص توضح الفرق ده .

صوت غير واضح

أنا جينا اربع سنين ماتش معنا حاجة ما كانت في دخل ما كانت فيه (صوت غير

واضح) وبعدين النوبي مينتو وجوش

بس كبيرة في السن هي

أبوه

Inaudible this photo

Yes but he asking me to take a photo for this and find

(inaudible)

في واحدة من بولندا فقد هنا 15 يوم كان بتدرس زيك كده

( يوجد صوت خفيف للترجم فإنقول : أنا مش عايزين توري برده من ناحية أيه

علشان ميجيش يقالك دى سياسة الفرق في حاجات معينة يعي فيها مثل العباب زمان وعباب

دولتي ، طريقة الزراعة زمان وطريقة دولتي الفرح زمان كان شكله أيه وفرح
دلوقي شكله أيه، العزا وطريقة الدفن المرة التي فاتت صورنا في (غير واضح) وكبير لقينا فعلا في اختلاف. عندك في البيت انت جوه ممكن يكون في سراير جديدة ولا سراير زمان كنا في توافف نحن نعرف نحن هناك رفعت بعدها سراير ملأها حتى الطبق مناسبة دلوقتي لتحضير بكرتي فعلا في اختلاف. عندك في البيت انت جوه ممكن يكون في سراير جديدة ولا سراير زمان كنا في توافف نحن نعرف نحن هناك رفعت بعدها سراير ملأها حتى الطبق مناسبة

صوت المترجم: عارف أحنا أو دخلنا في الحلة دى ولا هتقبل نعمل ايه حاجة. انت عارف الحكمة عندينا أي حاجة تخصص النوبين تلك لا ممكنان

أيه. أي حاجة تخصص النوبين الحكمة تلك ممكنان

أما الفعدة اللي احنا رفعتها والبحث اللي احنا اعثيناها لو أكلعتما في أي حاجة في السياسة تخصه فامن الدولة هيلكم لا تتحمس هنا عارفنا تكلم عارفنا اللي بتدوسها حافلات معينة خلينا بعد عن السياسة حتى هي فضلت تكلم دراستها. أحيى كل سنة بتيجي لازم ناخذ تصريح من أمم الدولة عشان نعرف نحن ونصور هنا ونها. مناش أي دخل بالسياسة ملأها اي دخل بالحار ملأها ينفع في مشكلة مع المشكلة مع النوبين لازم ناخذ التصريح.

صوت غير واضح

1:49:25

عارف أحنا أول سنة لما جينا

صوت غير واضح

1:50:09

انا بكلم مع محلب عن السيسي (صوت واضح) مش أي كلام

1:50:21

احنا الكلام ده كله لو جينا اكلعتما فيه هي هيقولوا شاركنا حلقت في بلدك وانت افتقد في

1:50:28

الساحة اللي أيها وخلاص على كده. عارف أحنا حاجين باخذ تصريح من عرس الساحة ونله رايحين بالانا رايحين ليه

1:50:42

و هتقبلين مين؟ بالضبط بالضبط في الخلفية صوت المترجم: هي كسياحة مفروض متطلعش بره البلد توديها أبوسمبل توديها الأقصر تاخذ تصريح من العربية اللي جاية معاك شرفة الساحة

1:51:14

بمهندس أحمد على

1:51:16

بره يا حاج

1:51:18

تعرف يا أستاذ

1:51:32

أيه يا حاج

بالأنوبديس كانوا بيجوا هنا والله واخد بالك طبعا معاهم وقال لهم لا اللي عايز باخد معلومات عن النوبة يروح المتحف

1:51:37

ما نفس اللي حصل معنا أنت هنا البارد الساحة

1:51:41

منوع أن ساحة أو اي واحد يجي في الدوية ده كما معهك منا

أنت عارف أحنا حاجين ليه عارفنا معنا انا عنصرا تصرف من السنة اللي قيل اللي فاتت قالوا عادي تعالوا ورحو أعملوا اللي أنتم عرايزين تعملوا لأنت

1:51:52

عرفوا أن التراثة ملأها أي دخل

هم مش عرايزين أي واحد توجي حال حد مستول وديمه معلومات

1:52:00

عشن مش عرايزين بورا نفسهم بره أنههم مضطهدين النوبة بالضبط بالضبط

1:52:02

عرايزين بتروكشا يا شيخ

1:52:05

بتمسكوا عارف هو اللي بعمله ده

1:52:11

بالضبط كده من حوالي أربع سنين

From about four years inaudible

1:52:21

بلكلنا والله رخت كذا مرة في يم الدولة خدوني في يم الدولة مرتين

Four years ago(inaudible) you told me that westerns and Nobians no about nobia

Yes
من حوالي أربع سنين هي قابلت واحد ده السبب في انها خدت المشروع ده. قابلت واحد نوبا عنهدم في أنجلترا هناك

(صوت غير واضح) هو راجل عايش هناك يعني. بتكلمك معاه عن المك ومش عارف أي قالها أنتى عارفة أن الغربيين والأوربيين عارفين حاجات عن النوبة اكتر منا أحمارنا النوبيين زي الدكتور اللي كان بييعد ماك روبرت. زي مش عارف أي. في غريبين مختصدين

طبعا طبعا

في دكتور (صوت غير واضح) شكل جزيرة اسوان بييكلم نوبي احسن مننا

صوت غير واضح

عندهم برد هناك في جماعة في شمال إنجلترا عاملين زينا كده وقالوا ابتدى اعمل بفيابتى اشور الحضارة النوبية دى وهناك أكثر مكن عندهم صوت منشو لا يعني المفروض تكلم عن الطبيعة والأمانة

الحاجات دي كلها خصصناها من السنة اللي قبل ده. احنا واخدينها مراحل المرحلة الأولى أكثنا عن شخصية النوبي هو مثلا بيجيب المشاكل ما بيجيب الكذب مسلم طبعناه انه كان عايش مالوش دوعة بحد والمشاكل كانت بعيدة عنه. المرحلة الثانية اللي كانت سنة اللي فاتت كان التهجير نفسه اي اللي حصل وأيه اللي انضمر الحاج يقوق في نفس حاجته اسرقت (كلام غير واضح) ده كان السنة اللي فاتت. 

السنة دي الموضوع بناع السندي انا هناخلي النوبيين ننسهم بكلما عن أنا كنت بعمل أيه زمان ويعمل أيه دوقتي ببلع زمان كذا ودوقتي كذا. ليس كان زمان كذا ودوقتي كذا.

السنة الجاية ودى الحاجة الخيرة هنجيب الشباب بقى. احنا أكثنا مع الحاج السنة الجاية هنجيب الشباب سمعب أي من جدل عن النوبة أي شكل الحياه دوقتي واي شكل الحياة زمان لما تسمع وتبدي القرين بينه هو وبين الشباب هو عايز يرجع ممكن يجيل شباب وتباع لا أنا مش عايز أرجع كده نبكي احنا عظانا الأربع مراحل عن النوبة. كلا مش واضح.

تروح تأخذ الدكتوراه بتاعها عن النوبة وتبدي تعمل كتاب هي عاملة كتاب أصلا

you have a copy from your book

No

inaudible

I got it in my car

هجيبوك من العربية

الكتاب يعني

عملت كتاب عن نقل المعابد من مكانها لأمركز ثانوية زي معبد أبو سمبل والدير والدكه والتاثير اللي حصل نقل المعبد من مكانه ده صوت غير واضح في النهاية
A5ii Fikry Kachif, conversation about his life as a child was conducted in English. Gentleman came from Abu Simbel before moving as a child.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Fragment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:01:01</td>
<td>There must be vary limited memories some do you left could so young  This my back up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:09:03</td>
<td>Ah ha mmm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:13:18</td>
<td>Here we go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:14:23</td>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:21:11</td>
<td>Mostafa Is this (inaudible) capturing your camera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:27:05</td>
<td>Are you going to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:28:16</td>
<td>Yes very (inaudible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:29:20</td>
<td>Excellent. Firstly may I say thank you so much for inviting us for your lovely home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:36:13</td>
<td>You welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:37:00</td>
<td>It is gorgeous place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:38:02</td>
<td>thanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:38:16</td>
<td>And for your time in helping us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:40:13</td>
<td>Thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:41:16</td>
<td>To sorry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:42:21</td>
<td>My questions will vary depending on the age of the person that I am talking to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:47:15</td>
<td>Ah yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:52:05</td>
<td>There is another part to this project some of the recordings we hope will be used in the Naubia Museum if the people agree . I have to get their permission but in the museum there are some still live scenes which we have suggested to the museum director that by using audio facilities of the voices of the actual people (inaudible) for left for air)that the scene depict then that could be .that could be very valuble for the museum and it could be very valuable to the Naubian communities because and the visitors would see that this is really good one first to talk about I think.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:45:20</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:47:09</td>
<td>So you say at this (inaudible) this sounds perfect. You say that you’re nine years old when you left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:53:22</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:54:01</td>
<td>Old Naubia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:58:08</td>
<td>Perhaps you can talk about your schooling, and it might be something that we can use for this exhibition .describe your school day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yah, that means my personal life at that time you mean or in general

Ahh mm

May be from my personal I can talk about, you know our life in general our child I mean, Ahhh, at that time

What would thought you best

Well for me I can I can speak in this well I was born in February 1955 and they move our village from here at summer of 1964.

May I ask which village that was?

The Egyptian government they move our all our village

Which which village

Well I was born in February 1955 in Abu Simbel. Yes behind this temple but in the other side of Nile river

Okey

That means all of my child till 9 years old, I saw the two temples from everywhere. You know jumping running in the Nile river when at school coming back. at that time, well in 55 I was born there, in 50 about maybe when I had three four years old, we started at this small school what- You have this photo about there- we call it not school but Kottab Katatib Kottab, this is the name of this small school. It was, well it is not a religion school but in same time it is not a school. That’s mean they, we started to learning Quran and some you know a.b.c or something like these. That means we started by this

And that was in Arabic not Naubian

It is in Arabic and this is the first contact with the Arabic language at that time. Because still four years old didn’t know about one word about Arabic language. We didn’t know anything, and when we started we started at Kottab and from Kottab, well in six years old we started at school governmental school. and in 1960-61 I started in the first school and I did first, second, third school in first school here and they move us in 64 to continuing forth, fifth and sixth the other three years for first school in the new village about three hundred twenty kilometer from here.

So which village, which the new village that you moved to.

They move about forty-four villages from here, they move them from here to Kom Ombo it is behind Kom Ombo

Yes

That’s mean about sixty kilometers from Aswan, north of Aswan

Yes

And the first Naubian village about thirty kilometers from Aswan anyway, yah

Which was the village, what was the name of the village that you

My village’s name is Abu Simbel, Abu Simbel it was just here. And first after Abu Simbel it was Village of Ballana

Ballana

Ballana, this is this is you visited Ballana I think yesterday. Yah Ballana it was the first village before the border with Sudan. But this is in the west bank of Nile river. Ballana. In the east it was Adendan that’s name the first village, well when we talk about the first village here in Egypt but before this border it was not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:11:02</td>
<td>Yah, that mean my may personal life at that time you mean or in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:17:11</td>
<td>Ahh mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:20:08</td>
<td>May be from my personal I can talk about, you know our life in general our child I mean, Ahhh, at that time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:28:12</td>
<td>What would thought you best</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30:22</td>
<td>Well for me I can I can speak in this well I was born in February 1955 and they move our village from here at summer of 1964.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:53:07</td>
<td>May I ask which village that was?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:56:06</td>
<td>The Egyptian government they move our all our village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:59:16</td>
<td>Which which village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:01:13</td>
<td>Well I was born in February 1955 in Abu Simbel. Yes behind this temple but in the other side of Nile river</td>
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<td>4:10:24</td>
<td>That means all of my child till 9 years old, I saw the two temples from everywhere. You know jumping running in the Nile river when at school coming back. at that time, well in 55 I was born there, in 50 about maybe when I had three four years old, we started at this small school what- You have this photo about there- we call it not school but Kottab Katatib Kottab, this is the name of this small school. It was, well it is not a religion school but in same time it is not a school. That’s mean they, we started to learning Quran and some you know a.b.c or something like these. That means we started by this And that was in Arabic not Naubian It is in Arabic and this is the first contact with the Arabic language at that time. Because still four years old didn’t know about one word about Arabic language. We didn’t know anything, and when we started we started at Kottab and from Kottab, well in six years old we started at school governmental school. and in 1960-61 I started in the first school and I did first, second, third school in first school here and they move us in 64 to continuing forth, fifth and sixth the other three years for first school in the new village about three hundred twenty kilometer from here. So which village, which the new village that you moved to. They move about forty-four villages from here, they move them from here to Kom Ombo it is behind Kom Ombo Yes That’s mean about sixty kilometers from Aswan, north of Aswan Yes And the first Naubian village about thirty kilometers from Aswan anyway, yah Which was the village, what was the name of the village that you My village’s name is Abu Simbel, Abu Simbel it was just here. And first after Abu Simbel it was Village of Ballana Ballana Ballana, this is this is you visited Ballana I think yesterday. Yah Ballana it was the first village before the border with Sudan. But this is in the west bank of Nile river. Ballana. In the east it was Adendan that’s name the first village, well when we talk about the first village here in Egypt but before this border it was not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
existed before English occupation that’s mean from exactly 1881. 

English they occupied Egypt, 1889 they did the border with Sudan in this village but it was (inaudible). There is no a natural border. It just a political border what they did it and well Ballana in the west, Adendan the east and from the east after Adendan it was Gostoon, Abu Simbe, Armin, Toshka, well we are talk about more than forty four village when they move them from here and I had a chance you know for just before to start my school for example, in 1960, I had chance to going with my mother because at that time my father who was been in Europe, Athens in Greece and it was near to be in Alexandria from Athens to coming in Alexandria for my father, that’s why, well he bring my mother from here from Abu Simbel when I had four five years old and we went to Alexandria by boat two nights from here to Aswan and by train from Aswan to Cairo and then to Alexandria and coming back, well what I mean that I saw the most of these ancient village by boat to moving from Abu Simbel to Shalal, Shalal this is the cataract shalal in Aswan and after one year or something I just coming back in 1960s with my mother also, you know to do the same, boat from Aswan or from Shalal to Abu Simbel two nights and you know I had chance to even from the boat you know just to see the ancient village before, that’s why I have you know the child memories you cant you know you can remember everything, now we can’t remember, but child remembers stay, Yah.

Yes 9:57:08
That’s why well I can talk about my child in Abu Simbel 9:57:21
That’s exactly what I want to hear 10:02:02
What iam after a personal memories of the individuals 10:04:05
That’s it yah 10:10:06
Anything that you would like to say (inaudible) perfect. 10:11:18
That’s it yah.. well mmmm 10:15:13
So where you where your the large family? 10:17:12
The family, they were been here in abu simbel and from here they move us to Kom ombo 10:21:05
How many how many people in your family? 10:26:18
All not in my family but all of Naubian there are about a hundred thousand people, about hundred thousand people they move them from here to Kom Ombo. Well my village was one of the biggest village in Naubia. Maybe about four five thousand people live in the Abu Simbel village which was existed in thirty-six km the Nile river you know in the eastern bank. My family was a big family because maybe then my grandfather he was a mayor of village and that’s why

Mayor of village 11:15:06
The mayor of village of Abou simbel yah. That’s why it was a big family and the same family you can found a part of them in Adendan. In Goston In Ballana and even in Wadi Halfain the Sudanese part

So the same family live in so many different places 11:34:21
Yes, yes yes that’s why I remember in my child when my grandfather and my grandmother you know they went to the other side of border to visiting the part of family for if there is a wedding or there is somebody died there. They went you know by donkeys, you know just by Flukes you know just going to wadi halfa and coming back and the something with the rest of our family in wadi halfa to coming here also for wedding and going back. But when they move us you know the Egyptian part of Naubia they move them in the north of Aswan and a part of my of our family that in Sudanese part they move them about eight hundred or thousand km from the place to the east of Sudan. That’s mean till my father and mother generation, they know the family’s each one you know that means a cousins between here and Sudan, but for our generation it is very difficult because we don’t know them now. I didn’t know So they separated.

Before the move
Yes
the Egyptian side of your family and the Sudanese side of your family they lived close together

yes

Before the move
Yes
But now long long way

Long way because we went more than three hundred km in the north and they went maybe eight hundred or thousand km in the east of Sudan. Yah. That’s why they separate also the families.

Well and we have a memories of our child you know when we went at school and even you know for the three of four months of the holiday school holiday at summer, we like so much our village. That’s why we didn’t move from our village at that time yah. It was a lovely village, it was very nice small paradise. Anyway when I remember my child early that’s ..you know they ..we have .. we have .. we are in contact with two things in the nature, we are in contact with Nile river because it is agriculture civilization here from thousands years and our families they were farmers here but in same time we had no a very large of very big land for agriculture that’s mean the desert it was close to, that’s why we are in contact with the desert and with the Nile river and with the agriculture we have all of them together. And I remember when we were child you know when we finish school at midday to coming back you know . ahhh and going play behind the Nile river a lot of you know a millions of palm trees you know that we lost it here, mango trees you know. Fluka that was the life and afternoon that’s mean just before the sunset we went at the desert. We had plays

To play in the desert

Playing in the desert and playing in the water and playing in .. we had for each place we had our play our tell play that’s mean

It sounds perfect.
Yes well we lost it now you know our children they didn’t know anything about this now, but we had a plays for evening, we had a plays for the day, we had a play in the in the moon time , in the dark time , that mean for each time we had our play, our music, our our songs (inaudible).

So did you play games or did you play instruments from when you were very young

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>You were musical then</th>
<th>15:35:05</th>
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</table>

Yes yes I started

You were musical then

So did you play games or did you play instruments from when you were very young

Yes yes I started

You were musical then

Yes , well by the way iam a Nauba Musician and a Naubia singer but I started in the old village , that’s mean we started at school and we had a professor of music in our school there and for a first time maybe we saw an accordion. They bring accordion at school but not...but when I started for myself when I started to play music because of in my family also we had musicians in my family also that's why from my child I like so much music and with my uncle I started with the first instrument it was a Nubian instrument , I think it is existing also in British museum as we call it Kiser as a Nubian instrument which is existing till now in the north of Sudan , Tambour or Keser this is the name with five cords but just when I started will they move us from here, that’s why till now maybe I didn’t learn this ...I think from English time because of we had a lot of Nubian people works in Cairo , in Alexandria at the day, they had a contact with also English people at that time in English occupation and I like so much one of Scotland instrument here in Abu Simbel, they played it(inaudible)

Back pipes

But it was existed yahh

Haaaaaaaahaa

Yah I like it so much cos it takes different voice of music you know te ta that's mean (sound of music)

Well anyway yah... haha but our instrument it was a Percussion any way, this is I started by Percussion and then at school you know when we started to , for first time also we saw the accordion, that's why I started to play . no before accordion also we had xylophone

Xylophone, yah yah this is I started by this onei have six seven years old and then accordion and the new village I continue to play accordion little bit and in twelve thirteen years old I started to play Aoud the lute ... yah

So were your family musical, did you is your interest in music because of your family

Maybe, yah maybe because I had two or three of my uncles they were musicians also you know they like so much music and when I heard when they played music when they singing I liked
this so much from my child and I continue still now, will have (inaudible) and playing music yah, yes

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Transcript</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19:22:04</td>
<td>I think it is good time for me to ask to favor. what we hoping to do with these memories and recording is I will translating them but we don’t have to translate you and they are going to be archived though the transcription, your words are going to be written down and archived if your permission, but well the videos we hoping to put it on my website which is the Naubia project website, and let me get run to doing that we’re wondering if we could use just a beat of your music in the background just to introduce these collection of videos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:11:23</td>
<td>Yes, why not yah yah please do it, yah yah no problem. well I did a CD also, since ten years and I have one of my CD here, they can test you my music if not from ten years ago also I did a documentary film and you can found it on YouTube. Okey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:32:04</td>
<td>I will take you the name. ok. The film name it is: Memories of Utopia’ Ahah And it is in English you can, you can listen, and it is in a musical tape we did this film so you can find my music and music from other people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:54:02</td>
<td>Yes, It is fifty-five minutes, if you go the YouTube now immediately you can find, Yes, It is in six parts anyway. So I can put a link to that file. You can take also music from there. Thank you. Or you, they can take CD music from here. Thank you. No problem. Thank you so much. You welcome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:13:08</td>
<td>But it was really interesting, is there anything else before we close off the recorders, is there any other memories that you have for old Naubia that you think we should capture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21:25:19</td>
<td>Well, just I think of our friend the old man is there, we will say to him hallo and then we will continue if you not mind. Yes that’s fine thank you so much. No you welcome. Thank you. Many thanks. Thank you and you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A5iii Group discussion at Abu Simbel, most of which is the conversation in English and Arabic. The three guests come from Qosta and Adendan. Script concludes with Fikry describing a wedding scene in Arabic, without any interruptions in English, so that the audio could be used in a museum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>00:04:20</td>
<td>شاي بسكر ولا سادة لا لا لا</td>
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| 00:06:14 | لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لالا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا ل
Can tell what you say.. hahaa
His name and...
We’re asking him to introduce himself first
Ok
How old he was when they immigrated...
Thank you
and to introduce his village also.
Thank you

I will just explain to him how we worked out it will be Question.
Answer. Question. Answer. And answer You wanna to be how
Let me work it out... I.. I would

We’re not recording now
You start
Actually I am so shy to do, what is the matter.. haha
Oh fine until (inaudible) back again

You right, you absolutely right. I would like to know you.. your name... mmm. How old you were when you left old Nubia.. and the village that you lived in. the name of the village that you lived in .. yes

And what else. What else after he introduces himself
I don’t know what else as well

Ok, like the questions and the translation because I have to tell him know what kind translation so I have to ask him. you give me this part then I will continue translating to her. So I have to let him know all this, so he know when to stop.

Right, ok
I don’t to miss it like what happened yesterday.

But I don’t what what the translation is yet. You have . I don’t know what kind of village was.

We will do that part.
Ah
While we recording, so I want to start without any interruption, I will tell him about (inaudible) and then we will start...
Find that good

It is up to you, tell me what you want to do

I'm just a little confused..

Ok

Okay… what I would like (inaudible may be usv) think at the book back….hahaa

Ahh, you you need .. I thought that you don’t like maybe their book

That’s what you hoped, doesn’t they yahh .. nice try..hahaha

Okay. because he..and

Yes, I would I would like for you to look through the book and find some photos that you like for look of .. see what they’ll know, see what you recognize.

Any scenes inaudible

that you like to talk about and then Msaafa will interrupt you …once and while

لا عشان أسألك يمكنها

لا مفيش مشاكل

Once and wile to translate for me

أصوات متشابكة ومتنازلة

أحس يا حاج

أبوه

هي بتتلك الكتاب هي جاية عشان تشوفه. تمام ولو في صورة عجيبة . في صورة فكريك، بحاجة تظنن أبوك فيها وانا هترجلها هي.

الأول قلتني عايزين ناخذنا الاسم وتاريخ الميلاد.

أبوه أبوه

بعد ده يعني

أحسنا هنقول أنت اسمك ولدك وندلك كام سنة. وبعد كده هتيجي هي مثلا. عتنجرق أنت عالكتاب.. ده بعد كده في نفس الوقت وتشوف الصور في صورة عجيبة، هنفلا عليها .. بعد كده هتشتدي هو شيء تشمل الأسئلة اللي موجودة عندينا هنا ديه.

اممم

Okay, after the book

Well, that might.. I’m happy for …we ‘ll see how far that.

Ok

Beacause he might have a lot to say. If he doesn’t have a lot to say then now

You’ll go with the questions .

Yahh

تمام

أحسنا أحسنا الأول هنقدم على الكتاب .. يعني لو عندك أي حاجة تقوله عن الكتاب وبعد كده...

لو...

الكتاب ده أنا .. يعني مناطقنا كده مافيها ولا قستر ولا أدناه ولا بالانانا

مش موجود في الكتاب

he didn’t found his village here in the book

I hear that

He says that this book is not usuful for him because he can’t find the village and also in the same time he says that this book were taken from our memories. So he remember what’s in the book. He don’t need the book to remember.
Ok (inaudible) in a minute

شكرا

ممامي يعني ..

كده أنت مش محاج الكتاب في حاجة أصلا

لا لا

خلاص مش مشكلة

I think that it will fine that we start without the book

Ok all right

He didn’t recognize anybody from there

Fine

No problem with that

It is not from his village

So. I am sorry I was confused.. haha

Inaudible

Ok

Ok, thank you

Thank you

So will start with introducing himself and then the question yah

Yah

He says in Arabic

Yah

And then we will let Mr Fikiri translate

Ok

Or you wanna me translate

I will do the translation

Ok

Will you make it with

حاج بكري صح

بكري

أبوه بكري جعفر

And his wife or just haj Bakry

I’d quiet like to speak to you wife actually because I hadn’t spoken to lady yet

ممكن تعمل معاك لقاء أنت والحاجة ولا أنت لوحده

ممكن أه

لغة نوبية

هي عزيزة تكلمك أنت كمان

أول واحدة ست نكلمنها أحنا في النوبيين عموما أنتي عشان تبقى عارفة

نعم

ثلث سنين شغاليين أول ست نكلمنها في البحث ده أنتي هيهيه

But we don’t want you arguing ..haha

بتقلك بس لما تطالكوا على حاجة ما تتخانفوش يعني. هاهاها

ما تتخانفوش لو سانكو على حاجة
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Transcript</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:21:04</td>
<td>She said: we old enough not to fight .. haha Really! Hahahah I was also telling her she is the first woman that we interview.. Yes. At the all Nubia yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:27:09</td>
<td>She said: we old enough not to fight .. haha Really! Hahahah I was also telling her she is the first woman that we interview.. Yes. At the all Nubia yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:38:20</td>
<td>Ok. So as we said we start with introducing himself and the then questions and ask him also to give me space to translate for you. Perfect to not talk so long. Perfect Ok Thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:57:06</td>
<td>He’s welcoming he ask for He’s ready for any question Really!! Are you sure Hahaha Your wife is here. hahahaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:33:24</td>
<td>Okay so the first thing I’d like to knowthen is the name of the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:45:05</td>
<td>Okay so the first thing I’d like to knowthen is the name of the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:48:14</td>
<td>Okay so the first thing I’d like to knowthen is the name of the village.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the talk. The first thing I’d like to know is the name... to introduce your name. introduce yourself please.

- باللغة العربية: بتقلك قدم نفسك يا حاج.
- أهو اسمك هو بكري جعفر عبد عبه. شكرا.
- مواليده 35, 36.

He says that his name is Mr. kafer... Bakry KaferAbdo. He was born in 1935, 36.

- باللغة العربية: دخل القسم والقرية تاعتك قسطل.

His village is Qostal.

- قال: اهه.

And his wife.

- رحمة محمد عبد اللطيف. رحمة.

- She said she was born around 52, 53, she don’t know exactly...

Between fifty to fifty three.

And before your marriage did you come from Qostal as well?

- Before the marriage, she is from Adendan. Thank you.

Her village is Adendan.

- And which tribe you from in, are you firiggah is that right?

He saing from the village of Corosko till the mahas in Sudanthis all fatika...where they are from.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:18:00</td>
<td>كان فاريجه. الخلف في دنقلة ومن أسوان لغرب أسوان لغاية المضيق دول الكنوز. الكنوز جاين هنا في دنقلة ومنطقة الشلال وغرب أسوان ودهميس والحتت دى كنوز. كاراباشيه.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:50:17</td>
<td>He say that the villages in between from Aswan west aswantill Almadik this is Konouz. Donkela in Sudan دنقلة في السودان.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:07:13</td>
<td>Excuse me, you may have to sit closer (inaudible)...  ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:14:15</td>
<td>Okay and which language did you speak when you were in old nubia. did you speak Arabic or did you speak Nubian? inaudible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:40:19</td>
<td>he saying that he was speaking Nubian since he was born till he got into the school same like mr Fikriand when he got to the school they talk in the Arabic language. But the mother tongue language was the Nubian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:54:22</td>
<td>So did you only speak Arabic when you’re at school, and did you then speak Nubian when you go home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:02:19</td>
<td>برده عملت الشاي بتقلق يا حاج لما كنت بتتكلم عربي في المدرسة بس وكنت بتتكلم عربي في البيت. لا كننا نتتتكلم عربي في المدرسة وأنا البيت. لا في البيت ليه بقا كلنا نوبيين مالناش في المدرسة بس كان العربي أه في المدرسة بسعشان القراءة والكتابة والكلام دم.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:09:08</td>
<td>He say that they were using Arabic just in school but in house it was al;l Nubian because all Nubian in the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:18:00</td>
<td>He say that after they immigrated them, they were forced to use Arabic language for the life because there were mixed with the Egyptians that they don't speak Nubian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30:05</td>
<td>In the house the don’t use Arabic, just Nubian And is that still true till today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:35:10</td>
<td>الكلام ده لغة التهاردة ولا اتغير لا بعد التهجير بفقه خلاص بقية طبعا ليه ما لسه. لا لسه فيه ممكن لا بعد التهجير بفقه خلاص بقية طبعا ليه ما لسه. في حاجات كثير طبعا اتتغير بعد ما ودودنا في كوم أموي. عزب كوم أموي طبعا دي كلها صعابية. نوبي.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:38:16</td>
<td>He say that after they immigrated مضطرين طبعا نتكلم عربي ok في البيت وفي الغيت وفي العمال الصغيرين بتكلمنهم بالعربي.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:56:10</td>
<td>He say that after they immigrated, they were forced to use Arabic language for the life because there were mixed with the Egyptians that they don’t speak Nubian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:07:10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
So they start to use it in the house even and while they are working in the farm fishing because they gathering with the Egyptians and that also affected their children, so they were also talking with them in Arabic in the house before they get to the school.

So that means that your children and their children don’t speak nubian because they don’t know the language

He saying that his his children

She saying that his children, they were raising and growing up on speaking nubian and Arabic so they know nubian and Arabic. But his grandchildren right now most of them don’t even know to speak in nubian language. But in the same time they don’t want them to lose the nubian language. So you can say that that children speaking well nubian and the grand son and the grand children don’t speek well nubian.

Thank you

She ask me where iam from and I told them my address

Okay I’d like . ok . I’d like to talk to you now about weddings.  
Wedding and marriage celebration in old nubia and I’m addressing your wife here because I think your wife might have
Ok.

You can ask her

He saying that the wedding before immigration were more different than celebrate now, so you can ask him about what you want to know about the wedding.

Did you get married in old Nubia or did you get married after you moved?

Okay. But did you actually go to anywhere smaller than , I mean to be able to tell me about the weddings in old nubia even if those not your own.

She was married about three years after the immigration, Oooh. Yahh
She says that she was young when they immigrated so she might remember things about the wedding or might not. If she remembers she will tell us about this.

Thank you. Can you remember if you can remember, can you describe the suit of the bride she might of wore in the day of wedding.

She says that before the wedding, the groom has to come with the boat. The groom has to get to the house of the bride.

The bride dress she was getting like a Galabia underneath; it is so colourful, and over it she get the gelgal, you know the gelgal.

Can you. It is like a big Galabia transparent same like what she has here. Th is gergar. Ok. yah. And over it she get a cover or scarf. It is so colourful.

لا تفكر لو تذكر تختبر بديل الفستان ناعم العروس أو لبس العروس كان بيفي أزي؟

لي فكرةها قوللي لنا عليها اللي فكرها مش مشكلة

She says before the wedding, the groom has to come with the boat

The groom has to get to the house of the bride

The bride dress she was getting like a Galabia underneath; it is so colourful, and over it she get the gelgal, you know the gelgal.
Something it called Sardhan which close like a big sheet and it is colourful, very full of colourful covers the groom.. the bride from her head all the way down.

ساردحان كان بقي مغطيها من راسها لغاية تحت كده

آهه زي الطرحة بس كبيرة

It looks like the scarf but very big

So is that all colorful or that?

It is all colorful.

It is called the Sardhan.

And they make her with full mak-up

وعنديها

الكحل والحنة والكلام ده

هنسال متفاقيه.

And is that you wore in your wedding day even though you moved by then

She says because of the immigration.

She couldn't wear the sardhan. The big long scarf.

Okay

She just wore the normal scarf. And that's was one of things that it was changed by immigration.

I want to ask why but aa

It is okay, you want to ask way she couldn't get the sardhan mmmm

She says that after immigration that was affected, there were no more sardhan, and she couldn't found the sardhan so that's why she was dressing the normal scarf

Okay, thank you.

Ooo I'll do another question

About how long do they party going for

For been wedding party

For the wedding party

For them
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25:33:08</td>
<td>Yes, what for when they’re in old nubia? For they most all or just before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25:38:13</td>
<td>Just old nubia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25:43:05</td>
<td>ABOUT A WEEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25:44:10</td>
<td>She says that the wedding is between a week or two weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26:01:12</td>
<td>ABOUT A WEEK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26:04:05</td>
<td>She saying that in old nubia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26:06:10</td>
<td>Ok, thank you. if it is ok with you I’d quiet like to talk about funerals and the type of how people mourned. is that ok? to talk about that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27:12:02</td>
<td>That’s ok, you can ask about that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27:20:03</td>
<td>Thank you thank you and you can talk, this is well. Ok so about how long would people generally mourn for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27:32:14</td>
<td>About how long Mmm what’s the mourning period?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27:36:18</td>
<td>She saying that in old nubia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
She says that before the immigration the mourning were about fifteen days and they just staying receiving the people that they come and also all the neighbors serve the food for the house of the funeral. After the immigration it started to very reduced to five days maximum or three days and even there is right now or nowadays sometime of some families changed it to be just one day

For who in old Nubia. Who would been involved in the mourning , would if been just the husband or wife, would it been children would it been friends, who would it been expected to mourn? 
To mourn the body or ??
To mourn the body.

He saying that for the women they get women to mourning them but they had they has to know about the Islamic rules for mourning. and the same for the men and it is not problem if he is from the family ,he is from the village because The whole village were one family.. so they’re all together .

Ok. And who did look after the deceased, who would be responsible for preparing the body

It is the same because they have a group.
Well done .
That’s what he said right now. They have a group from the men about four or five men to prepare the body

Ok. Oops… right… thank you

What I’d like you to do now is try remember any stories that even you been told when you lived in old Nubia..any tradition .. any story that would handed down and perhaps each of you would like to tell us one story

Stories about a real life or ..

No not about the life.. a story that would been read to them ,told to them
اهه
قبل التهجير فاكر أنت اي حاجة منيها
يعني ممكن
طب ممكن تقولها حاجة
كمال كمال
(كلام غير واضح بالنوبى)
قصة اسمها كمال كمال دي
كلمة دي حواديت
كمال يعني حواديت
كمال كمال كمال تودي
كمالان كمالان تودي .كمالان كمالان تودي
معناها
كمال كمال تريدي
إبيه
كلام غير واضح بالنوبى
ايني تترجمي انت بقه
الاختلافات بقه الاختلافات بين الفري
في كمبالان تريبي ن وهو بيقول كمبالان تودي
هههه
Komala means stories
So for his village custom they say compalan tody and for
Adendana koplan torody. Hahaha. So this (inaudible)
Well iam sorry I asked the question hahaha
بتلقك معلش اني سالت سؤال عمل الهيصه دى بق. هاهههه
Go on then you've got a story to tell
A man got married from a woman
He's waiting you to translate.
Yes, I translate
They had a cow.
So this will be little bit hard to translate it, but I will try to do my best...inaudible ). I will as him to find an easier one.. hahaha. Because it is all talking about things. A woman that she was had a leg shorter than the other leg, and they had a cow she had the same thing, a leg shorter than the other leg, so they got married and then they have this cow so the were milking that cow, and then another cat her leg shorter than the other leg came to drink that milk. So they had a chair that was also has leg shorter than the other leg. They beat it by .. the cat with that. It is all talking about some thing (inaudible)

القوافي

It is about language, you when you get words in sequence like finishing. It is just like this.

But that's exactly the sort of thing that you want to capture it, is it the old language

Yahh

The way the people were speak exactly

في قصة ثانية طيب

هاء

في عنك قصة ثانية حاجة خفيفة

كوبالة ثانية

كمبالة ثانية

كفاية كده

ياهاهاه

بينسي

يفيش حد .. الحاجات دلوقتي مع التهجير والكلام ده مالاز احنا دخلينا بقي في.

انتست

حياة ثانية بقي كده ومحدش فاكر حاجة

عجزنا ومش فاكرين

He’s saying that he got old enough to forget it because even right now after immigration we don’t use it anymore. Oh

So they started to forget about

Oooh, that’s exactly what I want to capture

بتلك هي دي الحاجة اللي عابيزه تعملها يعني. احنا ابتدينا دي الحاجة اللي هي حاجة عشانها. ان احنا ابتدينا ننسى الحاجة بناعتنا بسبب التهجير يعني اهه

معنى حكايات زي دي ميقش تستعملها. فايت يعني حكاوي. كمية زي كده انت ميقش تستعمل مع ولادك. فايت هتيندي تساء وولادك مش عارفينه. بعد كده خلائص محدش هيعرف.

أيوه اللغة النوبية بتضيع دلوقتي او ضاعت يعني تتحضر . اللغة ذاتها بتضيع مشر حكايه

معنى مشر الإلتزامات اللي كنا عابزين بيها في النوبة الأصلية . السرقة والخطف والضرب وكل الموبيقات اللي موجودة في الصعيد

هتسالك عن ده
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وكل الكلام ده عايشينها&lt;br&gt;هتسال على ده كلمة س قدام شوية</td>
<td>He saying the language started to disappear right now not just stories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ok so he was saying many other things were affected by the immigration not just the stories, the language, and many other things. I told him we will coming up to this in the next questions.</td>
<td>37:42:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ok thank you&lt;br&gt;You welcome&lt;br&gt;hahaha</td>
<td>37:56:09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تمام&lt;br&gt;هافها&lt;br&gt;inaudible</td>
<td>38:02:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يعنى في الأفراح&lt;br&gt;كلام نوبي</td>
<td>38:14:17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بتقلك تقدر توصفلها الرسومات اللي كانت بره البيت شكلها كانت أزاي . الرسومات كان بيبقى شكلها ازاي عاملة أزاي. عشان هي بتقلك ده الرسومات والديكورات اللي كان بيتعمل بره البيت شكلها كان بيتحكي حكايات أو بيتحكي شكل البيت أزاي.</td>
<td>38:33:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تمام&lt;br&gt;كلام نوبي ..أه أنت عربي لا مؤاخذة&lt;br&gt;معش مش مشكلة&lt;br&gt;انا هترجملك&lt;br&gt;معلش مش مشكله&lt;br&gt;هافها&lt;br&gt;هافها&lt;br&gt;هافها&lt;br&gt;هافها&lt;br&gt;هافها</td>
<td>38:52:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بتقلك الورن أو التمساح لما كنتم بتعلقوه بره دى بس عشان خاطر الشكل ولا كان ليه معني</td>
<td>39:51:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The most common is to get colourful dishes like this ones or the ones like they have as you saw in the other pictures to be hanged all around the house from outside and they get you know the warn which ahhh leather it looks like a big leather, they hunted it from the desert, or they get the leather of the crocodile and they stuff it and they hang it on the top of the door from outside.</td>
<td>39:17:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is there a reason, I mean is it just because of decoration or does it mean something</td>
<td>39:45:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بتقلك الورن أو السلاح لما كنت بتعلقوه بره دى بس عشان خاطر الشكل ولا كان ليه معني</td>
<td>39:57:23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They were thinking that’s a protection for the house</td>
<td>40:10:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يعنى يحمي البيت من&lt;br&gt;la طعا ه نوبيين&lt;br&gt;مافيش حاجة معبه كده مثال&lt;br&gt;حماية كان للبيت</td>
<td>40:11:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just like a protection for the house from the devils from the ghosts from anything that it might bring (inaudible) in the house. It doesn’t have specific meaning but it was just like tradition</td>
<td>40:19:08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did it work? Did it work</td>
<td>40:36:19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
He says maybe . hahaha . but it was just a thought.  
There must been a lot of happy house whole Nubia.  
Pardon  
There must been a lot of happy house whole the nubia  

He saying that it was full of happiness and joyful and peace and even sometimes you can find some of them who don’t have any problem between each other and the village was exactly like tribe and each tribe, each area exactly to be more specific has a whole family, grandfathers, brothers, sons. Everyone live in the same area. and the next are the same . either this area or the other one, they don’t make any trouble with each other .and in the same time nobody can steel anything from the other’s houses, even sometime you find the trader that he get the sugar the oil every thing for the village because as you know they were bringing all these goods from the boats from Ballana.so he got these goods like sugar. oil even anything and he leave it on the shore for three or four days till the workers come to take it to his store. And some times you find someone that he don’t have any one spoon of sugar in his house but he don’t go to touch the trader’s good and that was a kind of faithful that nobody touch the other’s stuff or the other’s things .and no steeling . no thieving. .

So that’s why Nubians till even today have this very good reputation of being completely honest and sharing
He saying that after the immigration they have a governor that he came to Aswan and the reason why most of the Nubian have started to change, first of all because they got mixed with the Egyptians and problem and troubles started to happen in between. And after that they had a governor that he came to Aswan, he mentioned that he if he was during the immigration time or immigration period, he said that" I will have taken each house from the Nubians to another far place from each other," because what they are doing right now. So that caused also some inner feeling towards the Egyptians toward the government, and that's why also made the Nubians started to change their behave and it affected on that. this is the defected I want to tell him that it is not as what he says but still till now lots of people around the world respect Nubians, I will tell him that

He saying that the immigration was defected because of the government that it came to ask him to make counting for the houses because they wanted to get another houses equally, but in the same time the government will getting committees to count down these houses. so if you or your family were working in the farm or were in your neighbor’s house or you were travelling, they just knock your door and found nobody answers they just write this house is closed. so then your right to have an other house is gone. and they promised them to send other committees like three or four another committees to count the houses but it was only that one that came and they depending on
that one. so that was like cheating from the government itself. I’d like to start with you to ask questions, to not to get to (inaudible).

Ask your wife if you excuse me, could you describe the scene and tell me what these ladies are doing please? And thought perhaps you’re one of these ladies.

She said that they are making a carpet. yes

Shall we trying to spot without translation, let the translation to end, so we can use it in the museum, what you think?

I don’t get what you want… again

That a scene for the museum. Ok.

Ok, you can give her the picture
جنب بعض

Inaudible

تبقى بورش

دى اسمها بورش بقه

ده حظيرة والبلدى دى اسمه بورش. ده كاريجوني ويبهينوا العريس فوقه برده بيعملوا من كل لون. طبعا زمان فرح النوبة يفرشوا الحظيرة والعريس يقف ويخيط وبعدين جنب العريس. بيجيبوا الحنة والريحة والاحتاجات ويبهينوا العريس يعني. دللة الحنة

دلة الحنة

That sounded very interesting.

She described it so amazingly. It sound exactly, thank you.

Am I right to thinking that this gentleman is teacher, is that what you said?

He was teacher.

So what subject did you teach and who did you teach?

طب هقلك حاجة نبتدى من الأول. نبتدى من وانت صغير وانت طالع. طب هلالي حاجة نبتدى من الأول. نبتدى من وانت صغير وانت طالع.

طب ايه المواد اللى كنت بدرسها.

أهه. ما بيعملوا كده

طب ايه المواد اللى كنت بدرسها.

أهه. ما بيعملوا كده

Next.

So he was teacher before immigration and after immigration, both of them. and the education before the immigration, they had something that it called primary and that was six years, and then preparatory four years, ok and then you will continue to ask what's coming next?

When when you talk about schools Mr Ali can talk you about that. Inaudible.
Mr. Ali he was (inaudible) the same generation as Mr. Bakry and he was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ازاي صح تك أخبارك ايه من هو علي وهو من ا misma الاعمالية ايه</td>
<td>Mr. Ali was (inaudible) the same generation as Mr. Bakry and he was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ازاي حالك تفضل습ي بخير الحمد لله</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كان في المدرسة كان برده برده قبل التهجير</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هو هيجكي لكم عن المدارس هو بقه لأنه وصل لغة الجامعة</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
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</tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>رجعته حماته هاهاهاها</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>أنت نوبي لتنطق بالناط سوسي معي بله قلي</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>انت نوبي طبعا بتكلم نوبي</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هي هسالك وانت لو في حاجة</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>احنا اكلمنا اكلمنا معاهم هاهاهاها</td>
<td>He was more specialized about education, if you (want to know anything about education you can ask Mr. Ali for it.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
So Mr. Ali will be your interpreter, ok, he can speaks Nubians, he can understand the man they can argue together, is there anything? Hahahah and then he will tell you about what he knows in English. there is anything I can support him for that.

Thank you
You welcome
Take your drink now
Yahh
Hahahahaha

So let’s go back to. Let’s just finish your, what you were telling me about teaching. So before immigration, so how old the pupil you taught?

Mr. Bakry saying that after preparatory which was four years after the six years that we have, these four years were taught or teach you in English and right after these you have ten years education, after these ten years you have to choose between getting to the high school or getting to mechanics’ school or getting to worker school

And this before immigration.
Pardon
This is before immigration

That’s before immigration and he had a special score for teaching and which Mr. Bakry joined and that school for teaching, the teaching school and their period it was six years

So the teaching school
Were during his period six years, and then they reduced it to be four years, and by the revolution of 1952 they reduced it also to three years.

And this before immigration.
Pardon
This is before immigration

That’s before immigration and he had a special score for teaching and which Mr. Bakry joined and that school for teaching, the teaching school and their period it was six years

So the teaching school
Were during his period six years, and then they reduced it to be four years, and by the revolution of 1952 they reduced it also to three years.
And also for the high school, it was four years is called culture and one year is called directing. so you get four years to be teaching and the last year they give you what to direct you to the university. After this five years you apply for the university just like Mr. Ali did. So the teacher school, you finish it and then you get hired as a teacher. the worker's school you finish it and you get hired as a worker.

In factory in fabrics in industry field or anything like this, the high school that you have for five years that was the only school that applied to get to the university.

He was teaching mathematics, science, Arabic, because that was like a preparation school and the primary school, so it was everything easier, it is not more specialized, and more specific. And he was called class teacher so he take the class with the whole subject. whole together.

Mathematics, Arabic, social studies, geography, Geography, history, he was teaching the class these subjects. just for preparatory and primary school.

And did you teach our host?

He taught generations like Mr. Ali. He taught people the same age as Mr. Fikri but Mr. Baky were in Qustol, Mr. Fikri were in Abu simel so he was in different villages.

He taught generations like Mr. Ali in Qustol.

So we can't find out with the heroes naughty or not? hahaha

But I was wandering if you could just assist him to introduce himself perhaps as you.

My name is Aly Hassan Mohammed
Thank you and which in the old nubia, which village you come from?

From Adendana

Ah! so you all neighbors!

Yes

But we have two adenana here

So you are neighbors now and you were neighbors then. Yes of course

Very good

My house too much near from here, just pass from Bab alnour line the other side our country.

Did you actually know each other then, I mean you two young, but did you know each other when you were children?

Actually we don’t know we are not too much close together. Ok. at that time, because I am older than him.. some little but not too much..hahahha

مولد

1941

مارس

1941.

In English

In English, 1941 is the starting my life. Haha

1941 in April

أيه تاني زيادة.

He introduce himself, his village

كان عندك كام سنة لما حصل التهجير

Immigration is 41 sorry 64

64 yes

I am starting my life 41,

23 years

Too much .. yes

Yes about 23, 24 years

Not exactly.

So you’re already working by the time of immigration

Oh yes I am working in Cairo in that time

Ahhhh

Come here to Cairo

Yes but did his school here.

Ok, so how old when you moved from here to Cairo? How old?

18 years

18

18years

ok

Ok so let’s ask you a different question to everybody else, let’s ask you to tell us about some games you played as a child?

Games..

Games

Yes did you play

ألعاب كنتم يلعبوها وأنت صغير.

Yes yes football
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Football ohoooo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bing bong , at not special not the first, I would like to play and like to play football. Also I was running. I like this Really. Yes You active, Yes Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So when you're a child, which football team did you support?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is acting in the school. starting In the school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actually I am .. Up to now alzamalek. Zamalek in cairo Yes yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No actually in the school and it is al Zamalaek , not as a player , after that I go to تحكيم يعني Referee أه Yes referee Oh you are referee Yes Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In 1773 also I .. in that time 77 after that started emirates , working in emirates 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inaudible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After that only looking to sea, to go like this, no time to play. Stop playing. Only for running I like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So that was very active, did you play games as child and might scrap again , let’s go football, with your friend as a child did you only play football or did you play other games that made you happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I played basketball, Haha Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قبل التهجير كنت بتعرب الألعاب بتعار .. النوبية يعني هكين - ساركسيه هو هوه هوه هوه هاهاها Yes yes yes Not afootball , Nubian words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So I asked him to take us to his childhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أيام الطفولة كنتم بتعربوا أيه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ست سبع سنين ، لكن في كما هو طبعا كل د كان في المدرسة من ابتدائي. يعني من س البلد كنا نلعب هنكيه وكرسقد ايه ، فضو .. بالصبط كده</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I remind them with the games that we had from Mr … Abdallah Hassan . Mr. Abdallah last time,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
So they play the same game: handkerchief like Mr. Abdul told last night. Okay.

That's exactly what can train in our country. Sorry in our place. From Adenada and all the Nubian areas is same same plays, what would we do?

It all the regular games all around the Nubia villages.

I don't know what to say... haa for an hour starting this, I really have none of questions, I can't think anything else.

In the same time somebody like swimming like in the river.

He liked swimming in the river. Do you have something to ask about?

Describe what in the scenes if you could?

Now then, can we do this in two please bring Mr. Fikri back please, no no no please please.

So this is the scene from the Nubia museum. Yes. So we have these two men here.

Watching these dancing going on.

Dance yes so

And there is a kotab, that's mean small school because i am sure that he know about it. The school.

The school the school definitely I find it. This is the wedding. Hi. ok

Let's describe the party that is going on here some of good men, sitting here watching the dancing. So you're one of the men watching the dancing so you can describe what's going on. you're one of the musicians so you tell me what it likely to be?

This an instrument that I play also, the same barkistion, you know al kottab

And perhaps you can describe the dance, look at the lady's dancing.

I asked them to describe as they are in the picture.

This is actually, this is a man learning for these students.

This might be good in Arabic but not good in English.
طب بعض الصور بتاعة الكتاب فيه عايزاك تشرحها أبوه

بس بالعربي. بس أنا متشق ولا حد فيه يتكلم غيرك أنت ليه؟ في المتحف بتاعة النوبة أبوه

الصورة هتعرض برده ثاني والصورة دي أصلا موجودة أبوه

بس الصوت ينطلق نانت أبوه

هيقيق بتذاع في المتحف كان شرح للصورة تمام تمام

هي عايزاك كان الناس واقفة معاك وانت بتشرح تمام تمام

هيمتحن فيها لكن ده للثقافة تعلمهما ما يريد أن يوصله لهم ه. بس مش أكثر من كده يعني. مهياش مدرسة حكومية أو تقليدية في دراسات مخصصة هو يعلموه للناس. لكن بيروح عدده ستويات عمرية مختلفة عشان يتعلموا ويتفقهوا إذا كان في الدين أو العلوم الخاصة أو المعلومات العامة الفكر الثقافي فقط لا غير. أكثر من كده ماشي يعني.

في حاجة ثاني ولا كفاية كده

على الرأس مخصوصة هو بيعلموه للناس. لكن بيروح عنده مستويات عمرية عشان يتعلموا ويتفقوا إذا كان في الدين أو العلوم الخاصة أو المعلومات العامة الفكر الثقافي فقط لا غير. أكثر من كده مافيش يعني.

Check in turns so he is describing from a man's point of view what's he watching, and she may (inaudible) to dance. And I could support the music

تذاع في المتحف كان شرح للصورة تمام تمام

أنت مثلا تشرحي الرقصات كان بيبقي أزاي العروسة بترقص أزاي أنت برده هتشرح العريس أو أي حد كان بيرقص أزاي الناس بتيجي في الفرح أزاي. اشرح اللي في الصورة ديه بس كل واحد بدوره. الحاج هتشرح حاجة والست

ابتدأ أنت

ابتدأ هاخد بعد كده البلاط من عندك

لاهاليك
I have to talk about the wedding, inaudible as a musician

You describe the dance and then your expectator what you want?

أنا عدتهم حالا .. ( صوت متوش ) ...انت ممكن تبدا...

بص خليكم خليها الصورة دي انت هتشرح دي هنا ونع فكري هبرح دي وحاله نشرح

de تمام تمام

بس مفيش غير اتنين بس حافظين القاعدة

يا عم اضرب في مهاد

لا اله الا الله

بص خليكم خليها الصورة دي انت هتشرح دي هنا وحاله نشرح

de تمام تمام

طيب شوفوا عشان قبل ما نبتدى انت هتشرح شرح زي ما قلتلت هيتسمع في

المتحف.مدحح هينكلم غيرك

تام تمام

اشرح شرح يعني انا مش شاف الصورة انا عايزك انت تورهنا.

بص خليكم خليها الصورة دي انت هتشرح دي هنا وحاله نشرح

de تمام تمام

طيب

I asked him to explain to me the picture like I don’t see it, I just want to see from his point of view. ok

هنا جلسة منعقدة عشان يكتبوا عقد الزواج بين العريس والعروسة. بيكونوا متأقين الاهل.

المفترض أن يكون في مثا وداد العريس والعروسة عم العريس أو الباور.

المثير في جلسة منعقدة عشان يكتبوا عقد الزواج بين العريس والعروسة. عم العريس أو الباور.

أنت القريبين جدا للعريس والعروسة. ينفسم عملة أنه يكون واحد من الشاهدين لأن

العريس وظام الزواج يكون منها يحضروا عن أن تفكر واحده بعد العقد والناص. يشيد

والوالدين إذا كان اب للعريس أو خال أو عم للعروسة اللي موجود في الحياة

والفالدين يشيدن بدو كمسنود عن تمام هذه الزيادة وبعدين يبقي في ناس موجودين من

الأقارب وله بيكونوا شاهدين كتابي عقد الزواج اللي بيدى بعد كده كده الوضع الشرعي لرجل

زوجة. الاشترتين يبقيروا على العهد والشهد يبقيروا على العقد عشان تبقي العملية قانونية

الشرعية حسب الدين الإسلامي اللي يبقي عمليه الزواج بين الزوج وزوجة. الحضور

بيكونوا بديد ناس أصدقاء للعريس والعروسة ممكن يكونوا موجودين ضيوف وناس أصدقاء

موجودين ليحضروا هذه العملية في المكان اللي يبقع عليه فيهم هبت العقد إذا كان في البيت

أنا في المسجد إذا كان في أي مكان ثاني بيقوم عملية الزواج.هتلت بعد كده نظام

أفراح حضور ممكن يكون أكثر من الموجودين دول ولكن تمت عملية الكتابة. أحيانا

أتفاء الفرح نفسه وأحيانا قبل الفرح وفي وجود ناس معينين مدعون محدد في هذا العقد.

وأبدا كده اشترتين يبقيرون في أفراح وهم بتكشيد أكل وكمال زي كده كل الأشخاص اللي

كانوا مكن في أي قرية تقريبا مش

ممكننا بيكونوا زملاء في الدراسة. إذا كان العريس أو العروسة. اللي بيقوا متأقين

بالدعة لها في هذه المناسبة الطيبة. اعتنكد كده تقريبا كفاية.

معقول الكلام كده

tamall للثور

شكرا

dى الصورة الثانية.

In Arabic not in English

By the way this is nubian instrument. this is a Kether.

ahhhh

طيب. مراحل الزواج. في مراحل الزواج زي ما الحاج على إفساد في الحديث عن الجانب

الشعري والجانب القانوني بفضل. طقوس الزواج يعني أن كل القري والعائلات بيحضروا

عقد الزواج يعني لشهدوا في الزواج بين رجال وإمرأة. بعد طقوس الزواج بنخل في

1:15:16:20
1:11:05:25:
1:15:33:01
1:15:53:17
1:16:02:20
1:16:19:16
1:16:27:07
1:19:19:14
1:19:34:22
1:19:44:15
المرحلة الثانية هي مراحل الفرح الرقص والغناء مباشرة بعد مراسم كتب الكتاب، والتي كان يحتفل فيها جيل أبينا يحتفل في نهاية القرن العشرين. في حفلات هذه المرحلة، تمتد على أحداث ثلاثينيات أربيعينيات. مع نهاية مراسم كتب الكتاب، كان يحتفل الزوج في النهر، يعني أن أصدقائه والزوج ينزلون إلى النهر مع أصدقاء العريس. بالقناديل، كانوا يحتفلون بالفيروز والخضروات، والتي كانت تتجاوز لفسق في النهر. كان هناك اختبارات في القوة والتوجيه تشمل استلام العريس في النهر، ومن ثم إزالته. كان هناك فرحة تستمع إلى أغاني الموسيقى والرقص، حيث يتمركز الفنانون في وسط الحفل. أما النساء، فإنها تحتفل كنوزات، مما يعني أنهن تتخفّص من العادات التقليدية. كانت هناك فتاتين أو بنات لا يتزوجن بعد، والتي كانت تتنزل مع بعض شبابها، مع أن الفتيات والرجال قد يكونا من الجنسين، وتزلج على الشوارع في النهر. كان هناك فرحة تستمع إلى أغاني الموسيقى والرقص، حيث يتمركز الفنانون في وسط الحفل. أما النساء، فإنها تحتفل كنوزات، مما يعني أنهن تتخفّص من العادات التقليدية.
الكومن، الكومن دا كان بكم كبير وشكل مختلف. فدول كانوا في الرقصات مباقي مع بعضهم تلاقي الست حرة في الحركة. الست كبيرة ممكن تنطلق من جانب الرجال إلى السيدات، والسيدات في صفوف البنات اللي بينزلوا وسط الحلة ويرجعوا تاني وثالثة

غيرهم بينزوا ويطلعوا وهم في الفترة ده في الرجال الحلة الموجودة من الشبا في الكف. دا كان يمكن تستمر لمدة ساعة ساعات ونصف ساعات ثلاثة، أن في ضرورة كف مدينة

كلهم يبطلوا نفس الريتم وكان الدب بالرجلين. عندن أظهار القوة وأظهار الرجولة، والانطلاق. كان في نوع من هذا الزخم الليbijحسل وكان يستمر لساعات عديدة وكان في نهاية المطاف الشعراً بينيلا يلمع القفز من جديد ويخشوا قلبه، والأناشيتي في الست الفرعية ويتوجب على الست الروحية اللي كان ممكن تستمر كيلومترات من نجم إلى نجم كان ممكن تشكي كيلومترات مثلا في قرطاسية كن شاف سبع عشرة

الناشئان، وإنه برقص شمري لغة، الست العريس أو العروس كانت زافوة ويخشوا مع طنوع الفجر. كان في طقس معينة اللي فيتجه قبل الفجر اللي في الشعراً بالبنين

ويعني يرحو ويطحوا وتعيده. ويعني يرحو ويطحوا ويلحظوا. مع الصبح بعد ما يفطروا ويرتاحوا مع العريس حتى الظهيرة. يعني من الصبح بعد ما يفطروا ويرتاحوا مع العريس حتى الظهيرة، مع الصبح بعد ما يفطروا ويرتاحوا مع العريس حتى الظهرية. بعد الظهر بيبقي هو لوحده يجوم سيدات المنزل، شابه０العريس وآخرين يقفوا لغاية الظهرية. وكان أصدقاء العريس يخدوا بعضهم ويستلموا العريس. بقه آل المنزل اللي هس السيدات عشاء أجنبية بخش على زوجته. وكان في البيت مخصص داخل البيت بيسوته الدوران، فالبيكين دي كان أحيان الورع والاصدقاء. يقفوا وينفعوا لغة النهارية ويكشوا. بعد الظهر بيفي هو لوحده فيتوب سيدات المنزل، يشكو بالعريس ويبسوسعه، وكان في طقس آخر بتحصل، كانت زمن للخير بيحصوا تجارب مع خصوص الخلل. كان يجيون حاجات معينة من الخوص اللي فيسهمها الكولين – حاجات معمولة من الخوص اللي فيسهمها كولين، واحاجات اللي كانو يبطلوا. أطباق كبيرة من الخوص كانوا يبملوهم، والتما أداما. يعنى بعد تقف فلس. أه حشرت ده يعني، يمكن وانا في طفولتي، أحيانا كان يبيبوينا كتفال، أه الزوجة يطحوا بعند العريس. أه أحيانا كتفال لينا حية الحركة ما بين السيدات وامناتنا وخلاتنا. لما العريس يطحوا على عرسه في أنهاهم، أه اللي كان يحلل، كانوا يشكو، أن العريس بيشب كمية من الفحص من البيكين دي. فالعريس بنعومة من العروس مش عارف تقوم خارطة إيه عشاء النهارية وتدعو، ده يعني أه يجهز على وجهه كان في نوع من السياق، في الكليا اللي هي في بردة نوع رموز للخير، كان هي أم العروس أو حالتها أو ست كبيرة بتحس وافقة ربط من الخصر ميالين بالبنين، فالم العريس قبل ما يدخن يرش البنين

ده. ده بردة طقس من الخير. ونفس الحالة بتحصل منه. تتمكن لينا مع الظفر بعد ما الطقس داي تخلص بيتروهم العريس مع العروس وكان يصرف في حال سحبه مداخلات نوبية.

وأما بعد أن العريس والعروس دول بيكونا لوحديهم في البيت خلاص بعضهمهما بحثاً الزوجية، وكان بها طقس أخرى أن العروس يؤملة أو ما تطلق تحت ما جوعة يدفع مش عارف أي بوضعها يكرم. وفي عنديتي و لا يشكو. ولا كانت في قصص واحاجات جميلة بتحصل في الأوضاع ده وكان يبحكونا إن خلي العروس تنك وهو مش عادي يدفع يقوم عامل أي مثل أه تصافانتنا يحبنا لنا. وه يشل برس للزور مش عالي يضعه قوم عاملي أي مثل أي، وبحاولوا راح للزور و هو حافظ رجله. نظهأ نستثناهم أي. خلاص تبيكنا أم. مداخلات نوبية.
Well,

the steps of marriage...

As Haj Adel said regarding...

the legitimate and legal aspect concerning the marriage registrar and ...

marriage ceremony; I mean that all villages and families ...

attend the wedding to bear witness to the marriage contract..

between a man and woman.

After marriage ceremony is finished; We move to the next step; which is ....

the wedding arrangements.

That is singing and dancing...

immediately, after the marriage being solemnized. That's what had been happening until our ancestors' generation...

I mean until the year ...

I mean until the forties.
Maybe the thirties or forties.

Some of such things we were told about. Some others we haven't experienced.

The part we were told about, goes back to the previous generation.

I mean the generation of our parents. After the wedding solemnization…

ey took the husband to the Nile.

After the husband's friend had borne witness to and signed the marriage contract, they take the husband to the river.

Then the husband jumps into the river with his friends.

Also the family's women and girls go into the water with them too…

carrying green herbs in their hands; such as the palm leaves…

If they were green

I mean vegetables… they saw a good omen in greens. Afterwards, they play the tambourines, of course.
And then, they jump into the river.

23
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
When they jump into the river, there was some ceremony, which is …

24
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
purification

25
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
In other words, the groom jump into the river with his friends.

26
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
After that …

27
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
there were toughness tests, as …

28
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
the groom had to jump into the river and take a bath with his friends.

29
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
When the groom try to jump out of the water, his friends beat him trying to stop him…

30
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
in order to know how tough he is.

31
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
then he try to escape from them and jump out.
Anyway! We haven't experienced that in our generation…

32
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
but till the days of my father's generation, they told us such stories.

33
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
What we have experienced that after concluding the marriage contract…

34
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
the groom’s friends, together, .....  

35  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
help serve dinner to the guests.  

36  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
Some of them...  

37  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
stay up together and have a drink...  

38  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
and so on ...  

39  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
Until after the dinner, ...  

40  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
women took some rest.  

41  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
That's because all the village’s women were taking part in preparing the dinner.  

42  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
After that they washed the tableware.  

43  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
Then women went back home to put on makeup and wear gold.  

44  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
There are some types of Nubian jewellery.  

45  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
????  

46  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---  
There are many nomenclatures for the Nubian jewellery.  

47  
---:---:--- --> ---:---:---
After women had worn jewelry and put on makeup and men got dressed up,…

48
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
a concert started to take place. That's what I'm going to talk about.

49
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
Playing music and dancing.

50
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
There were some bands in the village, called Sharigiah or Alshiran

51
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
What is Alshiran? A band of musicians and singers.

52
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
They were playing the tambourines, mainly. Three tambourines.

53
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
Each of such tambourines made a certain sound.

54
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
In other words, you can hear some sounds sharper than others.

55
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
So there are three different sounds.

56
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
The three tambourines made the same rhythm in three different sounds.

57
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
 Afterwards, Alshiran, the artists, …

58
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
went into the groom's house where the women were celebrating...

59
--:--:-- --- > --:--:--
after putting on makeup and gold.
and such things...

Then, Alshiran accompanied the woman from the groom's house ...

to a public square in the village.

After that the women and girls got in lines

Each group of women had certain dances

Unmarried girls held one another by the hand and dance in group.

Married women, or elderly women, had other lines.

Aged women wore a certain garment and danced as well.

The singers were accompanying the women from the groom's house to a public square.

Then men caught up with them; old men and young people.

Then the artists moved in a circle...

Right behind them, the three tambourines were placed.
So the artist in the middle of that circle was the singer. The others repeated the lyrics after the singer.

73
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
Behind such singers, stood men who sang with the singers.

74
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
Women stood at the front. They had special dances.

75
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
They sang and repeated.

76
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
There were men and women singing with the singers together.

77
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
As in Nubia, the only thing that is considered to be a kind of art is…

78
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
singing songs and playing music…

79
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
over the time.

80
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
Unfortunately, we did not have any other arts in Nubia; such as the theatre and cinema…

81
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
or any other arts, nor plastic arts.

82
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
Maybe there were few arts…

83
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
But the main art was singing and music. Hence, all women …

84
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
and men learned all our songs.
So all of them were singing such songs together.

There were different types of dance and music.

In other words, there was an arrangement concerning singing and the dancing lines of people.

There was a dance, called "Alkaf klon aragid"…

"Alkaf klon aragid" is to move in a very big circle…

in which women stood together in lines…

and men moved in the big circle.

The three tambourines then changed the rhythm. In addition, there was the singer in the middle of the circle.

All men and women sang.

There are some songs like "Asmar Alouna" and "Disi Lamouna" which still exist such songs were inherited from our ancestors even until a short period after deportation. Such songs still existed.

Two or three of ….
unmarried girls got into the middle of that circle.

As they were watched by young people, ...

one of the young man could propose to one of such girls. Then the same marriage arrangements would be repeated after a little while...

for that couple, the young man and his chosen girl,

Or the girl and her chosen young man who....

looked respectable and handsome through that display.

On the other hand, married women had their own groups and dances.

Over-sixty- or seventy-year-old women ...

had another garment, rather than "Gargar", called "Komel".

"Komel" is a long-sleeved garment and looks different.

During dancing, such women didn't stand together. But they moved freely.

An old woman could move from the women's side to the men's or anywhere.
As for the women and girls, in the middle of the aforesaid circle, went out of the circle, three others got into it.

111

Then three other got into the circle, and so on.

112

Such step, in which young men got into the circle, could ....

113

continue for an hour or two hours.

114

Men clapped with their hand palms in a certain rhythm;

115

in addition to hitting the ground strongly with their feet to show strength, toughness and virility.

116

There was some kind of force display lasting for hours.

117

In the end, poets collected the guests...

118

and carried the groom home in procession, ...

119

until they reach the bride's house, or the marital house...

120

which maybe kilometres away from a hamlet to a hamlet.

121

In our town, you could walk kilometres.

122

For example, seven or ten kilometres, while people dancing and singing...

123
until they reached the marital house.

Then they got into the house at dawn.

There were special ceremonies...

To be prepared before the wedding; such as preparing noodles with milk...

and tea with milk. After that the bride and groom went home to have breakfast. Afterwards, the groom's close friends sat with him in the house ... until noon.

I mean from the morning until noon.

At noon, there were other ceremonies before the wedding.

After that, the groom's friends leave together.

Then, the household, I mean the housewives, received the groom; in order to tell him how consummate the marriage with his wife.

There was a special place inside the house, called "Diwan".

The "Diwan" was dedicated for the groom to sit with his friends until noon.
In the afternoon, the groom is left alone. Then the housewives enter the Diwan with the bride...

through other ceremonies which were regarded as a good omen.

they brought some things made of palm leaves, called Alkontia.

Some things they made from palm leaves;...

such as big plates made from palm leaves and full of wheat.

Sometimes, they put money in them.

I experienced that in my childhood. They brought ...

They allowed us, as we were children, to move freely. But men leave...

The groom was left alone. But we, as children, were free to move anywhere...

among women, our mothers and aunts.

When the groom consummated marriage with the bride in the room, ...

they carried the groom ...
and the groom carried an amount of the wheat in the palm plate.

Then, the bride was supposed to hit the groom's hand to sprinkle the wheat on her face.

There was some kind of competition; maybe, in the other night too.

Also, there was some symbols of good omen; that the bride's mother and aunt, ...

Or the aged woman, stood with a clay pot full of milk.

Before consummation, the groom had to drink such milk.

All these ceremonies symbolized good omen too. The same thing happened the following day.

After all such ceremonies were over, they left the groom with the bride.

After that, all people went away.

When the groom and bride stayed alone at home;...

they started their marital life. They also had other ceremonies.

In other words, the bride never said a word until her husband paid money and satisfied her.
Would she be satisfied or not? Would she say a word or not?

There were some other wonderful stories about that.

For example, one of our friends told us that if a groom wanted to make the bride say a word without paying,...

he took his clothes off and tried to get into a vat.

Then, the bride would say to him: "What are you doing?"
Then the groom would say: "Ok, as you said a word, it is over."

So he didn't pay. This took place in the private place, ...

which is "Diwan".
The household just delivered them food.

At night, the groom's friends gathered with tambourines.

They kept singing all night; then, they left.

They were doing that until the second or third day after the wedding.

In the morning of the first day of marriage, the groom's family came up with presents and kept dancing.
Especially, women and girls visited the bride’s house to greet the groom and bride.

173
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
On the seventh day of marriage, the situation was reversed

174
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
The groom’s and bride’s family held a palm branch...

175
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
putting a ball of henna at the end of it.

176
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
Afterwards, marital life went on.

177
--:--:--:-- --> --:--:--:--
They were wonderful ceremonies. Unfortunately, they no longer exist.
Hello everyone, many thanks for taking the time to listen to my presentation. My name is Claire Nicholas, and I am a final year MPhil student of archaeology – although the nature of my research has taken me down a cultural heritage route.

As the programme states, I am going to discuss the oral histories work I conducted in Egypt, and will be looking at the guidelines on how to conduct such interviews to discuss how helpful these are to indigenous populations, questioning just how prescriptive do they need to be.

You will learn about the problems I had, how I overcame them and still managed to produce some useful work.

I will try to leave time at the end of the session so that we can all hear your input, if you have had similar experiences.

Incidentally, I will give you a link at the end for more information.

I am going to use a video of me introducing my project to the Nubian people who took part in one of the interviews, as it includes the first points I want to discuss. Incidentally, my introductions while there obviously took longer than the following clips suggest.

But first, here are two slides to remind us all of the structure I needed to follow. The first is an extract from the Oral History Society:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLIDE 1</th>
<th>MAP OF EGYPT AND SUDAN, SHOWING LAKE NASSER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SLIDE 2</td>
<td>OHS extract</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
And this one is from University of Exeter, which we have to remember we are representing whenever we do any work with the public.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLIDE 3</th>
<th>Exeter extract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naturally, I wanted to do a good job but the problem with my project is that this UK-based guidance bore little resemblance to my situation in Egypt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ok, so let’s get going with the presentation. You will see that I worked closely with Mustafa, my research assistant in Egypt.

The points I want to discuss are illustrated in the first two videos, both of which are snippets from the same interview session, conducted in Kom Ombo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIDEO 1</th>
<th>Me explaining the project to Ayman’s family in Kom Ombo (1 min 8 seconds)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Ok. The issues in this video are:

1. I introduced myself and the project, and why I am doing it, as required in the UK guidelines.

2. I created a bit of light relief. This is not frowned upon but in our bid to follow professionalism (in all walks of life) we often forget that it is still ok to allow some personality shine through. In fact, it is often necessary to do that, to create a rapport and trust. All too often professional guidelines omit this level of detail.

3. The number of people in the room clearly goes against oral history guidelines which state the room should just contain the interviewer and interviewee, with no distractions. That is impossible in Nubia. For a start, I obviously needed Mustafa with me to translate – plus he was also the camera man. It is Nubian protocol that strangers are introduced by a go-between, who is then expected to stay throughout, and it is also their custom that elderly people are accompanied by someone younger, usually a member of their family, in case needed. Also, if I had tried to do this independently, then as a female on her own I would have been treated with caution. The number of other people in the room in fact increased as the afternoon wore on and should be seen as a compliment to the project, not a hindrance. They were all very interested in learning more about it.

(Incidentally, if any of you have been to Aswan, you may recognise the man in black sitting next to me. He is the manager of McDonalds – a prized location for the younger generation in Aswan, and it was him who organised this gathering).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIDEO 2</th>
<th>Me gaining permission from Ayman’s family to use their material (3 mins 15 seconds)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The two issues in this video are:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>I obtained their permission to record and use the material verbally, which goes against guidance. In fact, in my other interviews I was able to get the required signed approval but I was lucky. Nubian people do not like signing forms because they associate them with officialdom and mistrust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>They remarked upon my age, which in our society we tend to think of as rude. But in Nubian society it is a compliment. They, quite rightly, look on age as an accumulation of wisdom and should be treated with respect!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>These clips were not taken from my first interview, which was rather less structured; people talked over each other and there was less clarity with the translations. Therefore I needed to overcome these problems with my later discussions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I decided to give a photo to each interviewee as a prompt to describe the scene, recalling their memories from life in Old Nubia. This enabled them to talk in Arabic without interruption as I could get the script translated afterwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The photos were taken in the Nubian Museum in Aswan, which has several scenes of village life before the High Dam was built.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIDEO 3</td>
<td>Photos from museum with Fikry’s music (49 seconds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It resulted in free-flow speech, directed on one subject. Of course I didn’t understand a word that was being said, but I was transfixed by everyone’s respect for the speaker, and their interest in what was being said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I do apologise for the sound quality in the following clip, conducted at Abu Simbel: we were sitting outside on a verandah due to the heat and, although we used several mics, they all picked up the interference from the breeze.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The reason for showing this clip is how their body language conveys their involvement in what is being said. I felt quite humbled by being able to witness such personal moments, but also proud that my work enabled these discussions. We are encouraged in oral history interviews to use the camera where possible for this very reason – that facial expressions and body movements can convey meaning where verbal language might be flat, or misconstrued.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The speaker is Fikry Kachif, who is also the musician whose music was used as background to the photos just now. He was recounting the wedding celebrations which no longer happen to that extent.

I had hopes of working with the Nubian Museum to collect more descriptions and install them as audio to complement their existing dioramas, with translation available for visitors. We spoke to the Director of the museum about this but, although he was keen, unfortunately the Ministry would not give their permission.

So, although my interviews may not have strictly followed guidelines, they did adopt the spirit and I did manage to collect some potentially very useful information.

What I have done today is to pick out some points which we need to review if our oral histories exercises are conducted outside UK legislation, and amongst people who may be reticent to comply. In particular we need to consider:

**SLIDE 4** Bullet points of aspects we need to consider

1. Accepting that an audio recording of their permission to let the interviewer use the material may be the only format, if they are suspicious of either using a camera or a written form.

2. Appreciate that we won’t necessarily be able to conduct the interviews in a quiet location or have the same control on a one-to-one basis that we would otherwise expect, so have to come up with alternative situations to produce material that can be used, shared and archived. In my case, I used local books and photos as prompts to get them to focus their attention. This didn’t work in one interview where the gentleman I was meeting was blind, but fortunately he responded to my verbal suggestions of specific topics to describe.

3. When considerable travel is required, it may not be practical to get the interviewees to sign off the transcript of the discussions. This is particularly the case when a translation is required first, as it adds to the time and cost involved. Therefore the permission needs to enable the material to be used without an opportunity to check it first.

4. Constraints with time, language and travel may well mean the interviewer needs to delegate responsibilities of recruitment and translation to other people. They need to work together as a team and understand the full requirements. There is no doubt I totally relied on Mustafa’s
help with this part of the project, but he was completely engaged with it and very keen for the project to do well.

5. Mainly, we also have to remember that in a culture such as Nubia, where manners and following protocol is important to them, it has to be THEIR protocol, not ours, that we adopt.

I would be interested in your thoughts, but let me just close this presentation first by stating that if you are happy in your work, and with your work, then people will respond. This final clip was taken at Abu Simbel while we were waiting for our host to arrive.

**VIDEO**

5

Clip of Musty singing Happy (18 seconds)

I am sorry this didn’t last longer but at that point Mustafa realised I was recording him so he stopped singing – but he did allow me to use the video because it sums up how we felt about our work that week.

**SLIDE 5**

Thank you for your time today. If you would like to know more about the project then do visit my website http://www.whithernubia.co.uk which is also where I have saved this presentation.

There’s not much time left. Has anyone had a similar experience in their work?
Appendix 9

Indigenous peoples and languages spoken by them

The following is taken from the website for Peoples of the World Foundation (2016).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>National (main)</th>
<th>Other 1</th>
<th>Other 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aeta</td>
<td>The Philippines</td>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
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(Peoples of the World Foundation 2016)
Appendix 10

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