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for South Sudan and Sudan

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Front cover photograph: A flag that may plausibly be claimed to have belonged to the Mahdī (Credit: © The Highlanders' Museum).

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Editorial

Welcome to the first issue of *Sudan Studies* in the new decade. Last year the Society was delighted to welcome **Leila Aboulela** as its new President. Leila is a well-known novelist who has lived and worked in Aberdeen for a number of years. She attended our Symposium in September 2019 and read her moving poem to the violated women of Sudan that is reproduced in this issue.

The 2019 Symposium, which was held as usual at SOAS, took as its theme the revolution in Sudan. It was a lively and interesting event as usual and the stalls outside the lecture theatre were bigger and better than ever; videos of the event are on the SSSUK website. Some of the speakers at the event have also contributed to the journal, notably **Selma Elrayah**, **Leila Aboulela,** and **Suad Musa**, whose book is reviewed in this issue. Both the Symposium and the journal are indebted to the members of the Society who contribute so much to its vibrancy and success.

Leila Aboulela (Credit: Moniem Ibrahim)

Selma Elrayah (Credit: Moniem Ibrahim)

Suad Musa (Credit: Moniem Ibrahim)

This issue brings you a mix of articles and book reviews about Sudan and South Sudan, in contrast to our last issue with its focus on the momentous events in Sudan. First, we have the obituaries of **Samuel Dong and Idri Aggrey**, and **John Hannah**, whose deaths we reported in the last issue of the journal (60), and **Zaki el Hassan**, a former Secretary of SSSUK who sadly died in October 2019. Two articles

focus on aspects of historical Sudan: the first by **Fergus Nicoll**, who writes about *Ansar* banners, and the second by **Antonis Chaldeos**, who presents his research work on the Greek community in Sudan during the Turco-Egyptian period. We also bring you the second half of the life story of two South Sudanese, **Francis and Margret Kenyi**. **Selma Elrayah** reflects on the effects on education of the Islamist regime in Sudan, while **Mohammed Babiker** writes about his research findings on the documentation of archaeological artefacts in Sudan's museums. The final article is an overview of the work of the Small Arm Survey's project work between 2016 and 2019 by **Rebecca Bradshaw**, a member of the SSSUK committee.

We are fortunate to have six book reviews of important books about different aspects of South Sudan and Sudan written by experts in their fields, most of whom are also members of the Society. Our thanks go to **Jessica Gregson** for her review of Zach Vertin's book about the politics of South Sudan; **Douglas Johnson**, who reviewed Sara Maher's novel about the South Sudanese diaspora in Australia; **Robyn Thomas** for her review of Rania Mamoun's volume of short stories; **Herman Bell** for his review of Griselda El Tayib's illustrated work on Sudanese costume; **Richard Barltrop** for his review of Suad Musa's study; and **Cherry Leonardi** for her review of the anthropological study by Simon Simonse.

Please get in touch with the editor if you would like to contribute to the journal in any way, suggest books we should review, or have any other comments or suggestions.

Obituaries

A Tribute to Samuel Luak Dong and Idri Ezbon Aggrey

This month (January 2020) marks the three-year anniversary of the disappearance and death of Dong Samuel Luak, a prominent South Sudanese lawyer and human rights activist, and Aggrey Ezbon Idri, a businessman and member of the political opposition. According to the United Nations Panel of Experts on South Sudan, the two men were kidnapped by South Sudanese security operatives in Nairobi on 23rd and 24th January 2017 and executed in South Sudan barely a week later.

Dong was born on 1st January 1970 in Akobo. He received his Bachelor of Laws degree from El Neelain University in Khartoum in 1994. After law school, Dong joined the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A) in its struggle for self-determination in southern Sudan. In 2002, he became Secretary General of the South Sudan Law Society (SSLS) and contributed to the drafting of many of the country's foundational legal documents, including the Interim Constitution for Southern Sudan (2005) and the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan (2011). He spent the last five-and-a-half years of his life practicing law and advocating for human rights and rule of law in an independent South Sudan that he helped create.

Aggrey was born on 20th October 1965 in Malakal, the sixth of 11 children. Both his father and mother hailed from the present day Amadi state. Aggrey obtained a Bachelor of Science and a postgraduate diploma in accounting from University of Juba in 1991 and 1999, respectively. From 2002 to 2007, he worked as chief executive officer with Nile Commercial Bank in southern Sudan. Upon the outbreak of conflict in 2013, Aggrey joined the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-in-Opposition (SPLM-IO) and actively participated in the peace talks and efforts to reunify the SPLM. After the intensification of the conflict in 2016, he was appointed as the Minister of Humanitarian Affairs for SPLM-IO, a position he held until his death.

Dong is survived by his wife and four daughters. Aggrey is survived by his wife and son.

Enforced disappearances inflict a special kind of pain on loved ones who are left behind. Family members may never learn the exact circumstances of their relative's disappearance or death. These uncertainties complicate the grieving process and give rise to emotional wounds that are difficult to heal. The lack of a proper burial is all the more important in the South Sudanese context, where custom and tradition attach great importance to rituals associated with a person's death.

Dong and Aggrey's disappearances will undoubtedly leave a legacy on the human rights community in South Sudan. In the months and years following

their kidnapping, human rights organizations repeatedly called on the Kenyan and South Sudanese governments to provide information on Dong and Aggrey's whereabouts. It took a full three years for their deaths to be confirmed, and to this day, no one in either government has been held responsible. Human rights defenders in South Sudan now know the lengths that the people who feel threatened by their activities will go to silence them.

Despite the chilling effect that it has had in the short-term, the loss of two individuals who contributed so much to South Sudan may help to galvanize the human rights community in the long-term. Many South Sudanese activists cut their teeth campaigning against abuses perpetrated by the Sudanese government during the previous civil war (1983-2005). With South Sudan's independence in 2011, they increasingly began to criticize the actions of their own government. The challenge of creating a culture of respect for human rights and rule of law in South Sudan became all the more difficult with the outbreak of large-scale violence in December 2013. South Sudanese human rights defenders have battled seemingly impossible odds in their effort to shed light on the atrocities that are being committed and advocate on behalf of victims and survivors. Moving forward, the loss of Dong and Aggrey will be seen in this context, and their names will inspire a whole new generation of human rights activists.

David K. Deng

John Walter Hannah M.B.E.*

John was born in Montreux, Switzerland, in 1925. He was educated by the Jesuits, a Catholic order focused on education. Under a wartime scheme, he went to Oxford aged 17, combining basic Royal Air Force training with academic work. At the age of 18, he joined the RAF and trained in Canada as a navigator. He served for five years, including time spent in Egypt and Palestine. He then returned to Oxford and was among the last recruits to the Sudan Political Service, spending most of his time in Juba and leaving regretfully at Independence in 1956. Nothing in his subsequent career compared with those formative years in the Sudan.

Always interested in the development of African countries, he joined the Colonial Service (later Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service) and worked in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. As a district commissioner, he had the major problem of the appalling confrontation between the followers of a fanatical religious sect, the Lumpa Church, and those, often from the same families, who supported the growing political agitation leading to political independence. This dispute was between Africans, not anti-colonial. The country gained Independence in the same year, 1964.

John continued in Zambia, working in several new ministries, until 1969, when he returned to Oxford to obtain a Diploma in Education. Two years in the Turks and Caicos Islands were followed by 17 years as a Queen's Messenger, a member of a Corps which carries confidential documents to and from British diplomatic missions.

In retirement, he served as a town councillor in Burford, Oxfordshire, and as a trustee of local charities, as well as teaching English privately to people from overseas and French to English people.

Always a contented and self-effacing person, John remained active and enjoyed living in Burford, where he died in July 2018 in his 93rd year. In 1958, he had married Mary Griffin, who survives him with a son David, who recently worked with the United Nations in Juba, and a daughter Elizabeth, who is a solicitor.

Mary Hannah

* John W. Hannah shared some of his memories of life in South Sudan in *Sudan Studies* Issue 57, March 2018 and we wrote of his death in Issue 60. His widow Mary, who wrote this obituary, tells us, "His years in Sudan mattered enormously to John and it pleased him greatly when David was sent there by the UN".

Dr Zaki M. O. el Hassan

Born Moscow, Soviet Union, 1.1.59; died Glasgow, Scotland, 11.10.19.

The following are tributes to Zaki el Hassan, former SSSUK secretary (2002-06). They are written by his friends and colleagues: Mohamed Mahmoud**,** Gillian Lusk, Patrick Smith and Peter Verney.

Zaki el Hassan: A Life of Commitment, Achievement, and Joy

Since his student days, Zaki el Hassan was steeped in political and social commitment. The University of Khartoum (U of K) to which he went in the 1980s was a huge arena of bitter political struggles and heated debates among competing groups of left, right and centre. Sudanese university students, particularly those of the U of K, the country's oldest and elite university, saw their political contestations not just as a reflection of the politics of the national parties of which they were offshoots but also and more crucially as the crucible out of which would emerge the shape of the future Sudan. Zaki's commitment to social justice and his enlightened frame of mind, which led him to reject the notion of an Islamic state in favour of a secular state, firmly placed him in the progressive camp, though he did not formally join any particular group.

It was this life-long progressive commitment that temporarily took Sudan away from Zaki, as he could not go back to the country after the Muslim Brothers' coup d'état of June 1989. Zaki, who finished doing his PhD at Imperial College London, was yearning to go back to his teaching position at the Faculty of Engineering at U of K but this, unfortunately, was not possible as the new Islamic regime wasted no time in unleashing the most massive,

sustained campaign of arrests and torture, and the most sweeping wave of dismissals in the country's post-independence history. Like countless others, Zaki was stuck and had to join the growing exiled Sudanese community in the UK. Sudan's loss was Scotland's gain, as he joined the teaching and research staff of the School of Computing, Engineering and Physical Sciences at the University of the West of Scotland.

The Sudanese, who have a rich tradition of opposing military regimes, fought back. One of the foremost and most effective organisations in exposing the regime's systematic crimes against lives and its violations of human rights was the Sudan Human Rights Organisation (SHRO), which was forced to re-launch and re-locate to London as its headquarters after the coup. Zaki was among those who were instrumental in SHRO's re-launch and remained, alongside the late Abdel Salam Hasan and others, one of its most active members.

Zaki enjoyed an acute sense of history and was a meticulous documentarian, particularly of the country's recent history. Whenever you lost track of something and wanted to lay your hands on it, Zaki was more often than not your saviour and source. He was an avid reader who read widely on a variety of subjects. He was also a frequent cinema and theatre goer, and one of his favourite pastimes was watching football. A hobby he had developed from his early youth and which always remained with him was photography. Countless photos recorded many a happy moment with friends but quite often, Zaki would be absent from these photos because it was he who stood behind the camera. One thing that required a visit to Zaki's home to discover about him was his great culinary skills. Cooking was a joy through which shone his admirable qualities of absorption and attention to detail. His greatest passion, though, was Sudanese music. Over the years, he slowly built up a remarkable collection spanning the different generations of Sudanese musicians and singers. In doing this, Zaki might have, consciously or unconsciously, contributed to the preservation of parts of the artistic national memory that might no longer be there in the official archives of Radio Omdurman. To be able to tell, we, of course, need to preserve Zaki's collection itself.

By the time Zaki's gastrointestinal cancer was discovered, it was, unfortunately, too late. He passed away at a time when Sudan needed him most in the wake of the victory of the December 2018 revolution in overthrowing the regime against which he staunchly and unwaveringly fought for three decades. Yet he was fortunate in that he lived to see the day of victory.

Zaki is survived by his sister Zoya.

Mohamed Mahmoud

There is so much to say about Zaki el Hassan that I scarcely know where to start or where to stop. Since he was Secretary of SSSUK for four years, from 2002 until 2006, that might be the place to begin. His diligence and efficiency set a new standard in the post, one that our current Secretary, Jane Hogan, has admirably maintained and developed. "Zaki would turn up with spreadsheets and flow charts which always seemed so impressive", says Jane. Since to this day I can't cope with either of these phenomena, I was also impressed. He would also arrive early for the Annual Symposium – having flown down to London that morning from Glasgow – bearing a stack of signs to direct the audience towards various destinations in SOAS. Arrows targeted all points of the compass and he would then distribute the signs appropriately. He had a very systematic approach to everything and, a true engineer, would be mindful of the smallest detail.

It was as SSSUK Secretary that he attended the Seventh International Sudan Studies Conference in Bergen, in April 2006. He was one of several British-based academics, including Peter Woodward, David Lindley, Jack Davies and Douglas Johnson, who contributed greatly to the event by helping to select the papers beforehand. As others paying tribute in this issue of *Sudan Studies* have noted, Zaki was also a political activist, and he was one with extremely firm views on Sudan's Islamist regime, which ruled literally with a rod of iron (*sikha*) from 1989 until 2019. We should not stay in the university accommodation provided, he insisted, as we would be spied on relentlessly. We were thus exiled to rooms on the city's stunningly beautiful Hanseatic harbour front but at the cost of many lost discussions with Sudanese and Sudan-hands, especially since none of us could afford to eat out in Norway's far-from-numerous eateries. He was no doubt right about the spying: the Conference was a golden opportunity for the ruling National Islamic Front-National Congress Party to exercise skills in which it was highly trained and long practised.

It was around the time of the NIF coup in 1989 that I met Zaki, through what was to become Sudan Update. I was working at *Africa Confidential* newsletter and, after twelve years in Sudan, firmly focussed on Sudanese politics. In him, I immediately found someone who echoed the politics I had learned in the Doctors' Club or the Khartoum University Staff Club (where I had also learned to drink *whisky moya*, then a favourite beverage among Sudanese intellectuals). Zaki had grown up in this same tradition. His scepticism about the major political parties, both sectarian and secularist, made him a particularly acute analyst and his scientific training and ultra-precise mind ensured that he would test out every fact and theory. He would not easily fall for what is now

known as "fake news" but used more pertinently to be called "disinformation" since there is always an agenda behind it. Zaki transferred his chemical engineering skills on to politics: he had an awareness of the importance of knowing sources, dates and other contextual details that younger generations glued to social media might do well to emulate.

Zaki taught by example and I would not be where I am today were it not for his guidance. The telephone wires between Paisley (later, Glasgow) and London hummed with Sudan's politics as we held long and frequent discussions, especially when I was writing or editing an article on Sudan for *Africa Confidential*, *Middle East International* (then a printed weekly) or other publications. He gave his time not only generously but enthusiastically and although I inevitably talked to many other sources, virtually everything I wrote or broadcast had Zaki's fingerprint on it, often many prints.

One pearl of wisdom I won't forget came in the context of a discussion about chemical weapons. Whether governments had "given them up" was not the only issue, said the chemical engineer. With a degree of knowledge, "anyone can make chemical weapons on their kitchen stove, as long as they're not worried about the safety of those delivering them". Similarly, he was well aware of the possibility of developing CW precursors in Sudan, as the United States government claimed was the case when it bombed El Shifa pharmaceutical factory on 20th August 1998. A colleague recalls picking up the office telephone and finding an excited Zaki on the line: 'They've bombed Khartoum!" He was far from being unusual in his excitement, for many Sudanese believed and hoped it was the beginning of the end of the detested regime. Another friend told me how his relatives had joyfully told him of "Pepsi parties" in the streets of Khartoum North near the factory and doctors who regularly visited medicine plants for their work told me how El Shifa had "closed areas", unlike other such factories. When the NIF regime succeeded in wrong-footing the US government and presenting itself as the victim of a war crime rather than the perpetrator of many – an image that persists to this day – Zaki was disgusted but not surprised. He constantly lamented how the world underestimated the regime headed by Omer el Beshir. He was right.

Zaki would apply the same precision to politics that was required in his day job as senior lecturer in the School of Computing, Engineering and Physical Sciences at the University of the West of Scotland, which he had joined as Paisley College, later Paisley University. His main area of research was Computational Fluid Dynamics and papers to which he had contributed make politics sound easy. The most recent, in September 2019 just before his untimely death, was *Material degradation of components in polymer electrolyte membrane (PEM) electrolytic cell and mitigation mechanisms: a review.* On the rather scary UWS "Rate

YOUR lecturer" webpage, Zaki comes over as "extremely knowledgeable", "very understanding" and going out of his way to help his students, balanced by, "You do not want to be in the bad books of Zaki, and that might not be necessarily a bad thing". He had confidently firm views.

Zaki was my teacher in a very different domain and he became a personal friend, who was noted, as Peter Verney observes, for his unfailing Christmas cards. How can I forget his urging me and my late Mother to eat oysters by Loch Fyne or proudly and eruditely tour-guiding us around Paisley Abbey, our Coats family house accommodation, Paisley textile patterns or Glasgow's multiple museums, where he seemed to know every nook and cranny? When my Mother died in 2005, he had no hesitation in making a difficult journey to Somerset for her funeral. It was a measure of the man.

He was a person of great warmth but also of great reserve and great principle. He refused to try to renew his Sudanese passport, considering that entering the Embassy meant going over to the enemy. Yet notwithstanding his great interest in Scottish and wider British culture and history, for years he would not apply for British nationality, as many of his compatriots who had fled the Islamist regime had already done (and it was far easier to obtain a UK passport in those days). Only in what was probably the late 1990s, when an academic conference sought his presence in, I think, the Netherlands, did he succumb, since he could not travel without papers. I was proud to act as one of his referees. He then began travelling, nearly always for academic gatherings, including in Greece and to South Africa, whence he returned weighed down by glasses from Kirstenbosch Botanical Garden which I use to this day. He also travelled several times to Germany, where his beloved sister Zoya then lived with her family. Unlike many of his fellow countrymen, though, he never returned to Sudan, where the NIF-NCP still ruled with a rod of iron. He was of course thrilled by the Revolution which drove out that regime in April 2019 but remained characteristically cautious about the persistence of NCP military and security officers in the government. His passing is a great loss for his friends and family and also for the newly democratic Sudan.

Gill Lusk

Tribute from Patrick Smith, Editor of Africa Confidential

It was a measure of Zaki's character that, having been born a national of one of the hottest geographies in the world that he migrated to one of its coldest without skipping a beat. So focused was Zaki on the need for progressive

change in his beloved Sudan, among many other places, that any other considerations, be they ones of climate or even physical health, would come a distant second or third.

For those who see the concept of political science as an oxymoron, Zaki's bringing of scientific rigour to the study of authoritarian regimes, and the financial and security systems that they underpin, might prompt a rethink.

Apart from the personal tragedy of losing a great activist and intellectual, there is the cruel reality that Zaki did not live to see the conclusion of Sudan's revolution which ousted Field Marshal Omer Hassan Ahmed el Beshir in April 2019 but still has a long unfinished agenda.

On behalf of *Africa Confidential*, I must reiterate our thanks to Zaki and his colleagues who worked so hard in support of our defence against a defamation action brought in 1995, whose paymasters we believe were close allies of the National Islamic Front regime in Khartoum. It was in that period that I came to see Zaki's phenomenal capacity for meticulous research and why those qualities mattered so much to political analysis that was being tested in court. Dear Zaki, the writers and readers at *Africa Confidential* owe you great thanks for helping us keep the show on the road when the publication's future and credibility were most at risk.

Patrick Smith

Tribute from Peter Verney

Without Zaki's huge contribution of skills and his encyclopaedic knowledge, Sudan Update – the UK-based news and information service set up after the 1989 coup in Sudan – would probably not have come to fruition. I was brought in as editor in 1990 but he had been part of its founding group, which included Liz Hodgkin, Sidki Kaballo and Deng Dong Ring. He could always be relied on to show up and keep the show on the road. He had already been helping to put out early editions of their newsletter, which over time we refined into a specialised news digest with an international subscriber base. It thrived until 1999, when a lack of funding terminated publication.

Zaki's technical skills with computers were vital, for a start. These were the early days of word-processing and desktop publishing, when we were reliant on a computer with a 64kb memory. Everything was typed up and saved on a floppy disk, then taken to Zaki for formatting on a more sophisticated computer before being taken to the printers. For him, as a lecturer in chemical engineering, this was an unpaid sideline, albeit one to which he was dedicated.

He seriously wanted to make sure people were better informed about Sudan.

Like many professionals, he had been forced to abandon a career in Sudan by the behaviour of the post-1989 Bashir regime. Part of his legacy is the work I have carried on for the last 30 years and would not have been able to do without him. His memory and recall could be phenomenal. "But surely you remember?" was one of his common responses, when in reality he was way better than the rest of us. When we put together timelines and biographies, for example, Zaki would recall people and events to add, with far more than we knew about the characters and their connections. He was meticulous and methodical, and sent Christmas cards so reliably that I shall be reminded of him by their absence in future.

We worked together on the Sudan Update reports Slavery in Sudan (1996) and Raising the Stakes: Oil and Conflict in Sudan (1999), and on Islamism in Sudan (and in the UK), among others. Zaki's input on Sudanese political developments and the people behind them was always invaluable. He had an intricate understanding of how the Islamist regime operated and a hinterland of background knowledge to bring to bear on his analysis.

While Zaki's political outlook was that of the Sudanese secular left, egalitarian and in favour of tolerance, he maintained his independence from the parties whose factional arguments he found frustrating. With his highly intellectual, forensic mind, Zaki was also a very private and sensitive person. So another memory I treasure is of Zaki relaxing, as a fair few Sudanis of his ilk liked to do, with a glass of whisky and his favourite music. He had one of the largest collections I've seen of recordings of Mohamed el Amin. And his Wardi stories were priceless.

Peter Verney

Leila Aboulela reading this poem for the first time at a protest in Aberdeen, held after the sit-in attack (Photo provided by the author)

Poem: To the Young Women who were raped at the Khartoum Sit-in Attack on June 3rd 2019

Leila Aboulela

Know that you are innocent and honourable.

You did not lose your purity,

You did not lose your beauty,

You did not lose your intellect.

To the young women who were raped at the sit-in attack, my young sisters,

Know that you are innocent and honourable.

It is he, the criminal, who violated the oath of loyalty he had sworn, misused the gun he was entrusted with, betrayed the uniform which elevated him.

It is he who is dishonourable, not you.

And you did not lose your purity.

It is he who is tainted, not you.

And you did not lose your beauty, nor your intellect. You did not lose your future.

It is he who is covered with shame, not you.

And you did not lose your future, it is still there waiting for you.

Lift up your head so you can see it.

The Origins, Development and Use of Banners During the Mahdīa

Fergus Nicoll and Osman Nusairi*

The use of banners by followers of the Mahdī and the Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhi was an inheritance from Sudan's Sufi tradition, in which flags were a public expression of individual or collective adherence to a *ṭarīqa*, or order. 'Each *ṭarīqa*,' wrote Ali Saleh Karrar, 'had its own standard or flag, *rāya*, which … was prominently displayed in the internal and public ceremonies of the orders.'[1] During the daily *zikr*, a collective chanting of prayers, invocations and Koranic quotations, the standard of the *ṭarīqa*'s founding leader was raised at the centre of a large circle of worshippers.

For the incumbent sheikh of the order, the banner was an important physical symbol of continuity and of his inherited spiritual authority. 'When religious sheikhs go out to preach,' noted one of the Mahdī's European prisoners, 'they are generally preceded by men bearing flags, on which texts from the Koran are inscribed.'[2] 'The shapes, colours and inscriptions written on the flags vary considerably,' added Karrar. 'These flags, however, shared some common characteristics. For example, they usually bore the *shahāda*, or formula "There is no God but God; Muḥammad is the messenger of God", the name of the *ṭarīqa* and that of its founder.'[3]

As the leader of the Blue Nile branch of the Sammānīa *ṭarīqa* – a position inherited from his mentor and father-in-law, Sheikh Qorashī wad al-Zein – it seems likely that Muḥammad Aḥmad wad ʿAbdallah had his own banner, even before his declaration on 29th June 1881 that he was *al-mahdī al-muntaẓar* (the expected rightly-guided one) and *khalīfat rasūl allah* (successor to the Prophet *Muḥammad*).[4] However, while two contemporary accounts describe his peripatetic teaching – including visits to Rufāʿa and al-ʿUbeiḍ – neither mentions flags.[5]

One remarkable flag that may plausibly be claimed to have belonged to the Mahdī survives in Scotland.[6] The calligraphy is exquisite and stitched with

[1] Karrar, 136.

[2] Slatin, 52fn.

[3] Karrar, 129, 136, 158 and 162.

[4] Trimingham, 217-17; Holt, *Mahdist State*, 45-6.

[5] Bedri, 19, and Nūr, 63.

[6] In the Highlanders' Museum at Fort George outside Inverness: 356-668. A brass inscription on the flagstaff claims it to be the 'Original flag of Mahomet Ahmed the Mahdi Captured on the Final Defeat of the Khalifa at Um Dibericat [Umm

great skill, attention to grammatical detail and with high-quality materials. It bears an extremely rare, if not unique, formula, in which the two parts of the *shahāda* are separated over two lines, with the addition of Sufi honorifics for Allah and the Prophet Muḥammad:

lā illah illʿallah al-amān al-amān
There is no god but Allah, the Protector, the Protector

muḥammad rasūl allah al-sulṭān al-sulṭān
Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allah, the Sultan, the Sultan

(Credit: © The Highlanders' Museum).

Muḥammad Aḥmad's claim to be the Mahdī provoked consternation in society and among the orthodox, i.e. non-Sufi, religious establishment. The *ʿulamāʾ*, al-Azhar-trained orthodox legal and religious scholars in Khartoum and Cairo, responded with outrage and detailed legal arguments, challenging the credentials of an individual they insisted was an impostor, and rehearsing instead the legitimacy of the Ottoman Sultan as the bona fide leader of the faithful.[7] It was when ideological outrage turned to military action on Jazīra Abā, the Mahdī's White Nile base, that the Sufi banner first became part of the paraphernalia of conflict.

Dibīkarāt] on Nov 24 1899 by the IX[th] Sudanese under Command of Major W Doran The Royal Irish Regiment'.

[7] Nicoll, 239-65.

On 24th October 1881, a small punitive force was despatched to the island to detain the dissident sheikh and bring him to Khartoum for questioning. An oral history of the *mahdīa*, compiled by one of the Mahdī's two surviving sons from the sworn testimony of those who had taken part, provides vivid evidence of the use of banners in this, the first of many military encounters with the colonial state. As the soldiers approached from their mooring on the riverbank, Muḥammad Aḥmad made his dispositions for the fight that must ensue. These preparations included the deployment of five banners, four of which made explicit the absorption of specific Sufi orders into the Mahdī's *jihad*.[8]

> On all five banners was written the statement of *tawḥīd* [Allah's singular nature]: *lā illah illʿallah muḥammad rasūl allah* [There is no god but Allah [and] Muḥammad is Allah's messenger]. On four of the banners were inscribed the names of Allah's followers: Sheikh [ʿAbd-al-Qādir] al-Jīlānī[9] *walī allah*;[10] Sheikh Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī;[11] Sheikh Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī;[12] and Sheikh Aḥmad al-Badawī.[13] The fifth flag, however, had no writing on it. … After appointing his lieutenants (*muqaddamīn*), the Mahdī asked for an inkwell and wrote on the fifth flag: *muḥammad al-mahdī khalifat rasūl allah* [Muḥammad al-Mahdī is the successor of

[8] For details of the arrival and assimilation of the Sufi fraternities in Sudan, see Ḥassan, 73-86, and Holt, Studies, 121-34.

[9] ʿAbd-al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (1077-1166) was a conservative Sunni scholar whose lectures on Sufism were highly influential. His sons, pupils and later followers named the immensely popular and widespread Qadirīa order in his honour: Trimingham, 217-18; Karrar, 21 and 26. There are several surviving banners bearing Sheikh ʿAbd-al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's name, occasionally spelled incorrectly.

[10] The term *walī allah*, lit. 'friend of Allah', was a generic honorific for holy men and *ṭarīqa* leaders.

[11] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Rifāʿī was a 12th century scholar and Sufi leader, celebrated for his abstinence and charity, in what is now eastern Iraq; the Rifāʿīa *ṭarīqa* is named after him: Trimingham, 193; Karrar, 21 and 26. No surviving banner bearing al-Rifāʿī's name has yet been identified.

[12] Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz ʿAbū-al-Magd was a 13th century Sufi imam from Dasūq in the Egyptian Delta, a contemporary of Aḥmad al-Badawī of Ṭantā (see Note 10) and originally an adherent of the Shazlīa *ṭarīqa*. His order, known as the Burhāmīa or Dasūqīa, had arrived in Sudan only recently: Trimingham, 200; Karrar, 47-8. Several banners bearing the name of al-Dasūqī have survived.

[13] Aḥmad al-Badawī was a 13th century Sufi mystic born in North-West Africa. Originally a follower of the Rifāʿīa order (see below), he established his own fraternity, the Badawīa, after settling at Ṭantā in the Egyptian Delta: Trimingham, 193. At least one banner bearing his name has survived.

Allah's messenger]. Above this, he wrote: *yā allah yā ḥayy yā qayūm yā ḏhiʿl-jalāl waʿl-ikrām* [O Allah! O Ever-living, O Everlasting, O Lord of Majesty and Generosity].[14] All this took place during the time before daybreak.[15]

Following these dispositions, ʿAlī al-Mahdī's narrative switched to the perspective of the government troops. These were mainly Egyptian nationals from the Delta and Upper Egypt, who would have been familiar enough with Sufi banners – but only as relatively static objects involved in ritual or positioned in cemeteries, not as customised battle paraphernalia.

As the soldiers walked across the dry watercourse, the moonlit night enabled the Mahdī and his men to monitor their movements. When Captain Ibrāhīm Effendi saw flags, he stopped and warned his men in Turkish to stand ready. But [Muḥammad] Abū-al-Saʿūd[16] countermanded his order, saying that he had seen banners flying over graves during his previous visit to the Mahdī. Again, when *al-sayyid* Muḥammad ʿAbdallah [the Mahdī's brother][17] ordered his men to move forward with their flags, according to the Mahdī's instructions, Captain Ibrāhīm again ordered his troops to stand ready. '*al-sayyid* Abū-al-Saʿūd,' he called in a loud voice, 'I tell you, there are people under those flags!' Then he shouted to the Mahdī's followers: 'Allah is upon you! You disobedient Arabs, the victory of Allah is about to fall on you!' Then *al-sayyid* Yūsuf [one of the Mahdī's followers], without asking permission of *al-sayyid* Muḥammad, retorted: 'It is you that is disobedient and it is upon you that Allah's victory will fall. You are a long way from Khartoum!' And the battle commenced.[18]

Following this initial skirmish at Jazīra Abā, the Mahdī's forces – now dubbed *anṣār*, after the earliest followers of the Prophet Muḥammad – achieved considerable successes against a succession of expeditionary forces despatched by the occupation government. Flags were observed in every major encounter

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[14] This is the most frequently reproduced formula on surviving banners. There are just two references to this epithet of Allah in *The Quran*: 55:27 and 55:78.

[15] al-Mahdī, 13-14.

[16] Muḥammad Abū-al-Saʿūd al-ʿAqqād was a Cairo-born merchant and minor official in the Khartoum administration.

[17] Muḥammad ʿAbdallah was later awarded a white banner and the title *amīr juyūsh al-mahdīa*, Commander of the Armies of the Mahdīa: Fawzī, vol. 1, 92-3; Warburg, 39.

[18] al-Mahdī, 14-15.

during the Mahdī's remorseless advance on al-ʿUbeiḍ, then Khartoum. What kind of manufacturing process had evolved at this highly mobile stage of the jihad is unknown: the *baraka* (blessing) of the Mahdī's own writing on a banner would have been immense but the numbers involved suggest that the work must have been delegated.

Describing a significant skirmish at al-Marābī on the White Nile on 29th April 1883, a senior British officer seconded to the government army observed the enemy forces with their flags 'inscribed with the Mahdi's own rendering of the Koran' and was reminded of Milton's couplet in which 'Banners rise into the air / With orient colours waving'.[19] Preparing for an attack on administration forces in the Nuba Mountains a year earlier, the Mahdī had gathered his banners. The editor of one hagiographical account noted:

> After the sunset prayer on Monday eve … the Mahdi came out of his house, unsheathing his sword and uttering the *takbīr* [i.e. saying *Allahu akbar*]. He said that he had been informed by the Prophet to advance against the Turks. He summoned the divisional commanders, and the first division (*rāya*) to approach him was that of the Manāṣīr tribe. This the author interprets as a good omen [Manāṣīr connoting *naṣr*, victory]. During the night, the divisions came in succession to the Mahdi, and he ordered them to advance towards the enemy. … The author explains the virtue of using flags (*rāya*) in battle, stating that this had also been the practice of the Prophet.[20]

The *jihad* also featured flags in metaphorical form. On 22nd May 1882, the Mahdī wrote to a senior government officer, Gen. Yūsuf Ḥassan al-Shallālī, to deliver a long, point-by-point rebuttal of the government's arguments against his own *daʿwa* (call). In the letter, the Mahdī warned that the Prophet Muḥammad himself would lead the *anṣār*, 'along with ʿAzrāʿīl, King of Death, carrying a black flag in my army's vanguard'.[21]

Two factors prompted important changes in the presentation and content of *anṣār* banners. The first was a basic colour coding and followed the Mahdī's appointment – again in direct imitation of the Prophet Muḥammad – of three designated successors who also served as administrative and military deputies.[22] These *khulafā'* commanded substantial divisions named for the flag

[19] *Paradise Lost* I/545-6, quoted in Colborne, 153 and 161.

[20] Shaked, 96-7. The author also notes that the Mahdī's enemies are identified by Ismāʿīl bin ʿAbd-al-Gādir as 'the Ottoman Flag (*al-rāya al-ʿUthmānīya*)': ibid., 207-8.

[21] Abū-Salīm, *al-athār al-kāmila*, vol. 1, 121-8; al-Mahdī, 29-30.

[22] A fourth individual, the celebrated North African *ṭarīqa* leader Sheikh Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī, was also invited to be a *khalīfa* but declined: Holt, *Mahdist State*, 113.

under which they paraded, marched and fought: the Black Banner (*al-rāyat al-ẓarqāʿ* [blue]) of ʿAbdullāhi al-Taʿīshī, who had explicit primacy among the three;[23] the Green Banner (*al-rāyat al-khaḍrāʿ*) of ʿAlī wad Hilu; and the Red Banner (*al-rāyat al-ḥamrāʿ*) of the Mahdī's kinsman, Muḥammad al-Sharīf.[24] According to Ibrahīm Fawzī, these new dispositions immediately followed the defeat of Gen. al-Shallālī in the Nuba Mountains on 30th May 1882.[25]

(Credit: © Mathaf Beit al-Khalifa).

The second factor was the decision, taken in October 1886 – i.e. 18 months after the premature death of the Mahdī – to link that colour scheme with the Sufi saints proclaimed on the Mahdī's very first banners. This ruling appeared to contradict the Mahdī's own prior decision to abolish all the Sufi brotherhoods as potentially divisive.[26] Given his own pre-eminence, he regarded them as redundant: all sects, legal schools and religious texts

[23] ʿAbdullāhi was always proud that on his earliest encounter with the Mahdī, the latter had appointed him 'one of his flag-bearers': Slatin, 52.

[24] Holt, *Mahdist State*, 120; Slatin, 172-3. Neufeld, 273, has a (monochrome) photograph of the *khalīfa* al-Sharīf's red banner. Ohrwalder, 19, mistakenly reverses attribution of the red and green banners.

[25] Fawzī, vol. 1, 92-93.

[26] Letter from the Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhī, on behalf of the Mahdī, to members of the Tijānīa *ṭarīqa*: Abū-Salīm, *al-ḥarakat al-fikrīa*, 45-8; Trimingham, 201.

were proscribed, with the exception of the Koran, a digest of daily prayers and invocations (*al-rātib*) and his own proclamations (*manshūrāt*).[27] It has been suggested that the Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhi was reshaping his propaganda for an imminent invasion of Egypt, where the Rifāʿīa, Dasūqīa and Badawīa sects had considerably larger followings than in Sudan.[28] In any case, the Khalīfa's edict of October 1886 prescribed five possible formulae:

1. The Black Flag: "O God, O Merciful One, O Compassionate One, O Living One, O Subsisting One, O Lord of Majesty and Honour.[29] There is no God but God. Muḥammad is the Apostle of God. Muḥammad al-Mahdī is the Successor of the Apostle of God. Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī is the Saint of God."[30]
2. The White Flag: [final sentence] "al-Disūqī is the Saint of God."
3. The Red Flag: [final sentence] "al-Badawī is the Saint of God."
4. The Green Flag: [final sentence] "al-Jīlānī is the Saint of God."
5. The Yellow Flag. The inscription terminates with the mention of the Mahdi.[31]

With the *anṣār* multiplying and fighting on several fronts, the Mahdī and his successor needed manufacturing facilities to create sufficient numbers of approved banners. Flag production, therefore, like other written propaganda, became the responsibility of the *beit al-māl*, a department that handled financial affairs, quartermastering and logistics. As well as money and weapons, the *beit al-māl* controlled all the loot, including luxurious printed fabrics, captured from military and civilian opponents.

It seems certain that women were involved in the manufacturing process: selecting swatches of looted materials, dying indigenous cottons and stitching on the various manifesto formulae would have been a practical and meaningful way of involving women in the *jihad*. Europeans and other captives were also pressed into service. It may be that their less austere sensibilities helped reshape the aesthetics of both clothing and flags. Just as *jibba* patches, sometimes recycled from the uniforms of dead enemy soldiers and non-combatants, were tailored straight, symmetrical and deliberately colour-coded, so too were *anṣār* banners increasingly standardised in layout and formulae of adherence.

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[27] Mahmoud, 175.

[28] Holt, 'Correspondence', 205.

[29] See Note 14, above, on this quotation, first used by the Mahdī at Jazīra Abā.

[30] Given that the Black Flag division became by far the largest, with more than 14,000 fighters at the Battle of Karari/Omdurman, it is all the more surprising that no banner honouring Sheikh al-Rifāʿī (see Note 11, above) has survived.

[31] Holt, 'Correspondence', 205.

(Credit: © The Royal Engineers' Museum).

Once the government in Khartoum had been overthrown and its undamaged administrative equipment pressed into service in the Mahdī's new capital at Omdurman, the so-called Stone Press (*maṭbʿat al-ḥajar*) – complete with large table – became the banner factory. The role of flags as paraphernalia of war was made clear by their storage, once completed, alongside artillery pieces, rifles, powder and bullets in the *beit al-amāna* or arsenal.

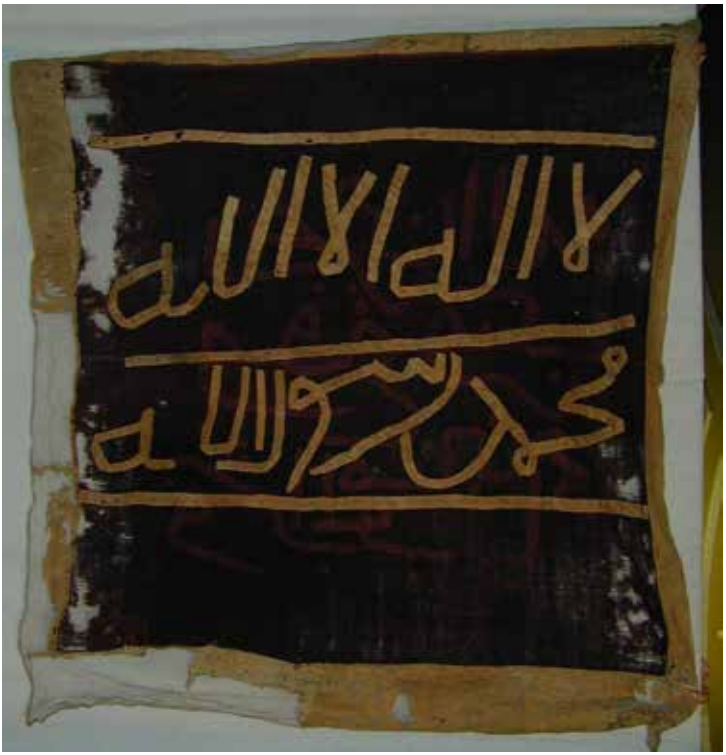
> Within the yard the flags are all firmly planted in the ground, and present the appearance of a small forest of staves. The great black flag of the Khalifa Abdullah towers high above them all. … Immediately after morning prayers the leaders proceed to the flag yard, each takes his flag, and they all stand in line in the open space in front of the *beit el amana*.[32]

Mass production did not ensure a consistent standard of workmanship, calligraphy or even spelling. Some, indeed, were so poorly executed that it is hard to believe that they were drawn or sewn by anyone literate. One of the first banners to be seen by the British public, illustrating a book about the Battle of Tūfrīk on 22nd March 1885 on the Red Sea Coast, features a standard, if minimal, manifesto but in almost indecipherable script.[33] Many other surviving

[32] Ohrwalder, 63 and 94.

[33] Reproduced as Plate IV in Galloway.

flags reveal a similarly well-intentioned but poorly executed technique. At their best, however, *anṣār* banners were beautifully made, featuring elegant script, straight lines, coherent word spacing and skillful appliqué work.



(Credit: © The Rifles and Wardrobe Museum Trust 2019).

To the end of the *mahdīa*, the centrality of the banner meant that possession was recognition of status. ʿAlī al-Mahdī's oral history described a (temporary) rapprochement between the Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhi and the Khalīfa Sharīf, in which the return of a flag indicates political rehabilitation.

> The council convened and the *khalīfat al-mahdī* [ʿAbdullāhi] said that he wanted to reassign to the *khalīfa* Sharīf his original banner, whose *amīr* [commander] was ʿAbd-al-Raḥman al-Nujūmī. … Then he asked Sharīf to appoint any of his own attendants to be *amīr* of his banner. But Sharīf authorized ʿAbdullāhi to choose on his behalf, so … ʿAbdullāhi thought deeply and chose *al-sayyid* Aḥmad ʿAbd-al-Karīm. … Then ʿAbdullāhi granted Sharīf two additional banners and as many as 5,000 men, who had abandoned Sharīf because of the *fitna*

(strife) that had caused him to be imprisoned, now gathered around the three flags.[34]

The banner was also an emblem for which fighters were willing to risk their lives. At Karārī, the same great Black Flag that Ohrwalder described, towering over the others in the arsenal storage area, was subjected to sustained and accurate British gunfire, making its protection a deadly duty.

> The Standard was now exposed to fire raining down from north and east. Holes appeared in the fabric. … As one man fell, another would rally to it. … Soon machine-gun fire devoured all around it to the last man. The enemy arrived at the flag. One hundred dead bodies and twice as many wounded were found around the Standard.[35]

It may not be possible to reach an accurate assessment of how many *anṣār* banners have survived, 120 years after the crushing of the Khalīfa ʿAbdullāhi's rule. It is likely that some are preserved with respect in private homes in Sudan. But in the public domain, it is ironic that it is British museum collections – usually military collections showcasing the war loot of the 1880s and 1890s – that give us the best chance of tracing the characteristics and chronology of this fascinating aspect of the *mahdia*.

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[34] al-Mahdī, 207-8. This anecdote does not mention the colour of the flag, which was presumably red.

[35] Zulfo, 216.

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The Memories of Francis and Margret Kenyi, Two South Sudanese. Part II

Francis and Margret Kenyi

Introduction

At some time in the early 2000s, a former Editor of *Sudan Studies* was handed this script. As he did not know who the authors were or how to contact them, it was not published and was subsequently handed to the present Editor in 2015. A search was instigated and finally in 2018 we traced the authors to Uganda, where Francis works as the pastor of a small local church in a rural village in the centre of the country. Kenyi wrote the story of his life in 1997, largely covering the period from his birth in 1970 until that time, although he also reflects on his life and work in Uganda in the early 2000s and beyond.

The story has been published in two parts because of its length; the first appeared in *Sudan Studies* Issue 59 in January 2019. It covered Francis's early life and experience as a soldier in the Sudan People's Liberation Army in the 1990s and his marriage to Margret (Chapter 1). In Chapter 2, Margret wrote about her memories of the period. In the second part below Francis continues his story, beginning in 1992.

Francis and Margret Kenyi in Uganda today

Chapter Three: Francis Kenyi's escape to Uganda

When I was imprisoned soon after my marriage and transferred from my wife's village to the main district prison at Kajo Keji, Margret was fortunately allowed to come with me and that meant being nearer my father, who lived about eight kilometres from the prison.

During my time in prison I began to reconsider decisions I had made earlier, one of which was that, come what may, I would never leave the Sudan for a foreign land for fear of an even worse life, as I had little education. But conditions in prison were not a life I was prepared for, with hard labour in the first month, and I fell ill with severe pneumonia. It was only the intervention of a friend from the main district hospital that saved my life. At this point, I started asking myself what would happen at the end of my imprisonment. As with the other prisoners, I was not told the length of my sentence.

I became so depressed that most of the time I kept to myself. Then events started happening very fast. It all started one afternoon: we had been selected to go and do some gardening and though we were many prisoners, more than ten, we were given two soldiers to keep watch. It was at this time that I started a conversation with a fellow prisoner, a Ugandan civilian prisoner arrested a few days before for illegal trading across the borders. I wanted to know about his circumstances and because we were talking in English, neither the guards nor my fellow prisoners could understand and we were able to talk freely.

He told me how he had been trading, bringing into the Sudan salt and soap illegally at night, and how he was finally betrayed by a friend and arrested. He had no family so he didn't mind how long he stayed in prison if in the end he could recover his bicycle which was being kept in the SPLA office. He asked why, since I had a wife, I didn't escape as there were many Sudanese refugees living happily in Uganda. I enquired about the safest routes over the border. I am sorry I never saw him again.

<u>Plans to escape</u>

After this conversation, I spent the following week making my plans to escape. As we worked twice a day, morning and afternoon, with usually one or two armed guards keeping watch, I thought I could run away during working hours, when we were usually far from the barracks. I started along this plan of action by first getting my new bed sheet out of the prison hall early one morning. During the night I had folded my sheet, slept on it to make it smaller and at dawn pressed it into my trouser pocket. As soon as the prison doors were opened, I quickly slipped through the door, went behind the prison building where there were some old trenches and put it in one of them. A week later I tried every means to slip away but our movements were strictly monitored and after ten days, I still hadn't succeeded in getting out. I felt hopeless; I knew I had failed and my heart sank. I began to resign myself to the

fact that I couldn't escape but the fear that one day someone would discover my bed sheet troubled me as everyone knew it belonged to me and consequently I would be accused of trying to escape.

As soon as I had given up hope of escape came a memorable afternoon. I still feel excited today because this was the turning point of my life. We had been taken out to work in the morning as usual and we returned for one hour's rest at midday and for allocation to other jobs in the afternoon. As we were divided up for the afternoon's work, I fell into the third group of prisoners and the last except for a few sick ones who would either remain behind or do some lighter jobs around the compound. As our group was being marched away, I walked a few yards and bent down to tie my shoelaces, and then I heard the prison instructor calling two of the sick to go to the wood to cut bamboo. I was still tying my laces when I heard one of the prisoners saying he had problems with his feet so he couldn't manage to get up to the wood. As I was left behind, I was called to take his place and the sick man was then instructed to run and catch up with my team to make the numbers up.

I was ordered to stand in line with the one sick prisoner and the prison guard started giving us instructions about how we were about to be released soon and given back our guns. After a long talk, he then said he was sending us to the wood to cut the bamboo and that we would be without a guard as one was not available, but we should not try and run away. We had a lot of work and the guards were distributed to different duties as we needed the bamboo for the next day. I could not believe that we would be sent to the woods without a guard.

After what seemed like ages, though it was only few minutes, the guard told me and the sick prisoner to go and cut bamboo in the woods without a guard. I felt so happy and excited, ready to run away but my senses told me to keep calm. I started singing SPLA revolutionary songs, which I had stopped singing some time back. All the way to the forest I was singing, my partner noticing nothing. Strangely, my only problem was how to discard my companion without him suspecting so that he didn't go back to the barracks and alert the guards.

After about six or seven kilometres and before entering the forest, we came across a mango tree which had some fruit out of reach. We were hungry and I thought of making a delaying tactic so that the sun would go down. It was already getting late in the afternoon so that a search team at night would find it difficult to track me down. So I suggested to my fellow prisoner that we pick some mangoes. I climbed to the extreme end of the branches to pick the best. He had a *panga* in his hand and enjoyed a feast of good fruit but I just ate a little.

When I came down from the mango tree we entered the woods and as we had only one *panga*, I told him to start cutting down the bamboo and then I would then do likewise. When he finished his cutting, I took the *panga* from him just as it started

raining. As he was sick I told him to take cover in a Catholic Church nearby out of the woods and said that I would join him after cutting my bamboo.

A risky return to barracks

That was the last time I saw him and I realised I was free. I moved deeper into the forest. I still feel excited even now when I think of it all and I still have a profound sense of gratitude to God for having let it happen. I was now alone in the forest and it was drizzling a little amidst an afternoon of sunshine. The water was falling warmly on my head and my heart was filled with joy; all around seemed to glow with beauty and I felt as though God was there to talk to. I cried out to God in my joy and said, "Thank you!" There and then I knew this had happened only through the workings of somebody who knew the thoughts of man and that person could only be God. After some hours of thanking God, I prayed that He would lead me safely to Uganda and promised that if I got there, I would believe in Jesus and commit my life to His service.

Having thanked God for my good fortune, I decided I needed to go home and let everyone, especially Margret, know that I was free and what my next plans were. But before that, I needed my new bed sheet which I had safely dropped into the trench behind the prison building and this meant I had to return to the barracks.

By now the sun was setting as I walked towards the barracks. Any soldiers I encountered would have arrested me because I looked suspicious, especially since I still had my *panga*. I came across a soldier who was hunting with his back towards me. He was standing completely still (I am not a good hunter myself) and I suddenly came upon him only 100 metres away. My first reaction was to go on and walk past, not knowing whether he would notice me or what his reactions would be, but second thoughts told me to lie down still. Fortunately he didn't notice anything – he was waiting for game for what seemed like an eternity. It must have been about 30-40 minutes before he decided to walk away and by now it was already dark. I got up off the ground and walked away in a different direction. I eventually reached the barracks at 9 pm and crawled for 100 metres up to the fence. I knew the night watch wouldn't see me right up against the back of the prison building and I could hear the prisoners talking and laughing in their rooms and the prison wardens chatting in front of the building. I went to the trench, picked up my bed sheet and crawled away, having left the *panga* behind.

I reached home safely at about midnight and when I knocked on the door, I was greeted by my wife. My family was so surprised to see me back. I slept until dawn and slipped away again into hiding during the day. In the evening when I returned, I noticed from a distance that everything was peaceful. I entered the compound and a good meal was prepared for me. I ate in a hurry and with a little bag already packed

for me, I said goodbye and started my walk to Uganda at about 8 pm. My father was not at home, he had been called away to attend a teachers' workshop.

Overcoming fear

Following the instructions of my Ugandan fellow prisoner and with my joy about my escape and my encounter with God in the forest, my heart was without a trace of fear. Some places I walked on the road and others I cut through the bush until I reached the Ugandan border without a problem. In this part of the country, the borderline is a deep river called Kayo. I walked through the bush up to the river which was deep and full of bushes. I looked at the moon. It was showing midnight. I worked my way slowly into the shrubs towards the river, not knowing how deep the water would be. Fortunately it was the dry season and the river not all that deep. I knew how to swim and the worst thing was that I couldn't see anything because the bush was so thick. I waded into the river and reached the other side. I then found it was much more difficult getting out than getting in. I eventually found my way up through the thick vegetation having fallen back several times and getting extremely exhausted. It took about an hour to finally get out. Dawn was beginning to lighten the sky and I was confused as to where I was.

I knew Uganda was to the south of the Sudan and that the river flowed west to east on the Sudanese border so I decided to follow the flow of the river downstream. I did so for a short distance and then much to my surprise walked on to a major Sudan-Uganda highway some hundred metres within Uganda. I realised how narrowly I had escaped danger. I walked down the highway until eventually I reached the house of a relative just as the sun was coming up.

I was allowed to sleep the whole day and after a further few days' rest, I decided I needed to go further into Uganda to the Sudanese refugee camp, which was across the Nile to the east at Mayo in the Adjumani district.

Chapter Four: Life in a Sudanese refugee camp in Oliji in Uganda

Four days after my arrival in Uganda, I went to the United Nations' registration office for incoming refugees for transfer from the border town to the transit camp, which at its peak grew to 30,000 people.

This camp was opened in 1987 when the war reached the Sudan-Uganda border and many southern Sudanese started flowing down into Uganda. The transit camp was opened as a relief centre for refugees awaiting resettlement into better areas where they could grow their own food, but because of the abundance of food supplied by the UN in the transit camp, coupled with the failure of the UNHCR (Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees) to identify and buy good land from the local community for resettling the refugees, many preferred to stay in the transit camp, getting free food and setting

up businesses. By the time I arrived in 1993, Oliji transit camp had grown into a business centre which was a hive of activity, but it was corrupt business based on free UN food and food obtained through false registration. This was not going down well, either, with the Ugandan government and the local community, who saw the refugees growing more prosperous than themselves.

There had been measles epidemics in 1993 and the UNHCR had to open a measles-screening camp to keep the many new arrivals away from the main camp for two weeks.

The first Sunday I was in this little camp, I remembered my promise to God in the forest and I decided to walk the seven to eight kilometres to the main camp to fulfil my promise to give my life over to Him. When I reached the main camp, however, it was like nothing I had ever seen in my life, a lot of people crowded together, hotels, shops, video halls and much noise. I asked my way to the church, feeling amazed at what was around. I had read and heard about television and videos before but never seen them and this day would be my first time to see one. As I was going to the Church, I inquired about the video halls and I was told that people who go to Church are not supposed to watch films in video halls.

Domino theory and practice

I went into a church but my mind was already far away thinking of exploring the camp. As soon as the service was nearly at an end, I silently slipped out of the back door. The first thing was to go and look for a video hall. The first one I reached had been functioning in the morning but had closed for the afternoon. I asked directions to another one but this one was also closed. I came across some people playing dominoes, a well-known game in the Sudan and which I enjoy, so I stopped to play instead.

Dominoes are played in several ways and mainly between two pairs of partners across the table. I waited for the people playing to finish and for one pair to stand up in defeat. I then pushed my way into one of the chairs because this is how it is done in the Sudan – you have to force yourself in, otherwise you can't play, but to my great surprise at the opposite side I saw no partner sitting down, though the other pair were still on their chairs.

I asked them in surprise why nobody was sitting in the chair opposite me to play and why everybody was looking at me, when I only wanted to play a game! I was asked if I knew the rules governing dominoes. I shouted back that of course I did, and then everyone started shouting back, so I got more irate, and then suddenly a huge man rose up shaking with rage. I later discovered he was chairman of the officially registered club and the most feared man in the whole camp as well as being a renowned magician. As he rose and came towards me, with

others trying to restrain him, I realised I was in danger and had to quickly do something because many of them were now also shouting that I was an SPLA agent and I should be arrested and handed over to the camp police. So I quickly got up and moved back from the table. Fortunately they didn't rush at me as they probably thought I was armed and there might be many of us (SPLA) around. I moved away and hurried back to the holding camp.

Searching for peace of mind

At this point I realised how much I had been shaken and lost all the joy and excitement of being free in Uganda. It didn't make sense that I had come all this way from the Sudan, a place I knew, where I had a wife and relatives, to this place where I didn't know a single person. I had been in prison in the Sudan and I had now almost landed in prison here.

During the next week I suffered mental stress and my only relief was to take walks in the forest outside the camp and lie there the whole day, reading the books I managed to get hold of and smoking, and thinking about home until evening, when I would return to the camp where a kind lady offered to take over my rations and cook meals for me.

When the next Sunday came, I went to the nearest church very early in the morning and there was a visiting Pentecostal pastor preaching. At the end of his talk, he asked for those who wished to dedicate themselves to Jesus to raise their hands. I and two others did so, and the congregation welcomed us and prayed for us. I immediately felt that great joy which I had felt in the forest return. I walked out of the church full of happiness and excitement at my newfound life. I walked back to the holding camp and, on the way, hearing singing and praying at another gathering, stopped and joined them.

After a few days I was moved to the main camp and from 1993-97 it was my home, with my wife joining me early on. I asked her what had happened after my departure and she told me how the army thought I had lost my way and died in the forest and how at the time they had sent somebody to ask my father whether he knew anything further. He in turn accused them of killing me in the barracks. Today, I don't hold any grudges for my imprisonment and consider it just another important development in my life.

Settling into camp life

In 1994, the Arabs [Northern Sudanese forces] pushed their way to within a few miles of the Ugandan border and almost all the local people were swept into the Ugandan transit camps, which became even more crowded. My family in the camp gradually increased to more than fifteen members, relatives from both my father's and mother's side. I began to work in the health centre and assisted at the church, and I also built two round huts. I can remember that every

now and then, the UNHCR and the Ugandan government tried to count the number of people in the camp but without any degree of accuracy. There was a tremendous growth in the church. One person who contributed much to our life was a doctor from Kampala called Dr Sarah Kyobe. She was a deeply committed Christian and well-versed in the Bible. After work she would chat with me, discuss the Bible and lend me books.

So from 1993, I was in this big transit camp called Oliji by the locals. Generally the Sudanese refugees had a good relationship with the local community, who were now enjoying some benefit by easily buying food from the refugees in times of shortage.

The UN food supply to the refugees was not consistent and there were days I still recall with fear, especially in 1994, when the camp swelled to its maximum (about 11,000), when there was not enough to eat. Sometimes the food supply was affected by the war in northern Uganda because the lorries bringing the food from the Kenyan port of Mombasa through Kampala could not pass through the north. I also lost relatives on their way to the camp because the Arabs fought right down to the Sudanese border even during the rainy season, which displaced even more people. UNHCR supplied tents, which were usually occupied by five or more people sleeping in each one-roomed tent.

At one stage, after one particularly severe food shortage, the UN brought in sorghum which was very hard and dry and almost everybody had to be treated for constipation; the children were particularly affected,

However, even with this difficult situation, not all the time was bad. There were days when food was brought in by the UN so that everyone who was legitimately registered had enough and there was more than enough even for those who were not, though the UN and the Government of Uganda did try to control the illegal claims for food. At such a time the camp was like a beehive with lots of business activities, social events including dances, etc. and life seemed almost better than in the Sudan. Once a Pentecostal pastor said that in the streets of Oliji there was so much noise and music that even the numerous donkeys were dancing with the people.

As time passed, I became fully integrated into the life of the transit camp and was accepted for work in the Health Centre; our first child, Isaac, was born during this period.

The UN continued to try and screen the refugees, which often didn't succeed as many of them would call in people from even as far as the Sudan itself to come and fill the missing gaps, and also it was easy to bribe the UN officials as some of them were employed from local communities.

I was now working and earning a salary as well as receiving food from the UN and so life wasn't very difficult for us as a family but at times our numbers swelled

to twice the normal size and then we would face overcrowding and a lack of food; the community was a always in a state of flux.

In 1995 in Church, we received an outreach team from Youth with a Mission, consisting of discipleship teams of young people. Having been in the church for three years, some of the church young applied to join YWAM Bible classes in Kampala and were accepted. This was a time when many of the young people moved away from the camp in search of a better life, especially in terms of education. Many single people heard of the opportunity to go to America through the Sudanese camps in Kenya and successfully braved the security of the Uganda-Kenya border and went on to the US. Others were less fortunate as they found the conditions in Kenya more hostile than in Uganda. One relative of mine lost his family, a wife he had recently married and his parents, and left the younger children behind, not even taking note with whom they were staying and how much it would cost him. Today he is a Canadian citizen.

At this time the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) – Ugandan rebels fighting government forces – would sometimes raid the Adjumani district for food, disturbing the locals and the few refugees in the refugee settlements spread out around the district. In the transit camp we enjoyed peace but there were days when rumours of rebels coming would send us into the bush to hide, but none of these rumours thankfully ever actually materialised.

To reduce the ever-swelling numbers in this camp, the UN opened new refugee settlements west of the Nile near the large town of Arua in north-western Uganda and refugees were ferried upstream for two to three days to these new camps. However, the settlements were constantly disturbed by LRA rebels. A BBC reporter likened their situation, of running from the war in Sudan and then being chased by the Ugandan rebels, as jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The UN came up with a new strategy in 1996 to transfer the refugees to another settlement upstream, this time keeping east of the Nile. Since this place looked promising, I took the opportunity of registering to go there. As we were not a big family: my wife, children, two brothers, and my father and his two newly married wives, it was agreed that I would go with my father and register there and then I would return and continue working in the transit camp. It all went according to plan.

After I had applied to join YWAM Uganda in 1995, it was two years before I was able to move out of the transit camp to YWAM Uganda in Jinja, together with my family. We later heard that the Government and UNHCR had come with many police and soldiers and destroyed the houses in the transit camp and closed it down completely, with everybody being sent to the settlement upstream, east of the Nile.

Three years later, we were able to go back to see my father and we found

the surrounding forest well cultivated by the refugees. The story was that when the refugees first came to the settlement, there was much nostalgia for the Oliji transit camp but after a time, they had so much food that many started saying they hadn't realised how good a place it was. A friend of mine, an elder of the church, showed me a four-acre piece of land given to him by the UN, full of cassava which he had planted and cultivated. He said one stem was enough to fill a basin and he now had a large shop. By 2001, he was even going out into the local community looking for more land to rent. But in 2002, the LRA intensified its activities in northern Uganda and all the refugees were forced to leave this prosperous settlement. Some (like my father) decided to return to Sudan as peace talks had started between the SPLA and the Government of Sudan. In 2005, a Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed and most South Sudanese returned home to rebuild their nation. However, as we were far from home we remained in Jinja, Uganda.

Chapter five: Journey to and life with 'Youth with a Mission' (YWAM) in Uganda
In 1995 I applied to study at the Discipleship Training School (DTS) of YWAM. The security situation to the north of Kampala had improved a little by 1997 but the only means available to travel south was still by convoy with UNHCR vehicles, usually escorted by the army. We had already failed to leave four times and feared that the convoy would not arrive in time to allow me to attend the school. However, YWAM DTS continued to send us acceptance letters during the two years of waiting. When the convoy finally arrived in our camp, with the return planned for the next day, we were able to begin our journey to YWAM in the southern town of Jinja.

We reached Kampala after two days, a journey now covered in only eight hours by bus. It was the first time in our lives that we had seen a large town and we were filled with wonder and amazement at the buildings and the crowds of people. I told Margret to jump out, without realising that the bus had to go round some houses before its final stop and that it had stopped only because of the heavy traffic; she was unable to remount and had to follow on foot to the terminus. We then had to gather all our belongings in various paper bags and went to the gospel church where two South Sudanese were doing a Bible school.

Our friends were overjoyed to see us and after a lively welcome we sat down under a tree outside while they returned to class. We thanked God that we had finally reached Kampala. We then wanted to check how much money we had but amidst all the confusion we suddenly realised we had left it on the bus folded in a bed-sheet in a black paper bag. We began to panic and remembered the warnings of some people back in the camp that Kampala was a large town full of thieves.

We decided to wait until the Bible class was finished. I thought I ought to go and find the bus again but I didn't know the way. Finally the students came out and we explained the situation. They said that unfortunately the school did not allow non-students to sleep overnight and it was probably better to go and try to retrieve the money. We managed to find the bus park and had to run between all the buses to identify ours. I suddenly saw it, still with the conductors inside. I climbed inside and rushed to where we had been sitting and there, above in the luggage rack, I saw the little black paper bag, not even touched. Joy filled my heart and I remembered the words which came to me in the bush from Romans 10:11, "that those who trusted in Him should never be ashamed." We quickly went back to the Bible school and then set off for Jinja with one of the students, Duku Francis.

The following morning in Jinja I went to start class while Margret remained with the children. YWAM would have liked us to do the class together as a family but because Margret had never been to school, she could not read or write.

Our life with YWAM

Life with YWAM has been a time of great learning, living in a community with many people of different cultures and languages but sharing the same Christian values. In the first weeks I was in the classroom and Margret at home with the children but she then began to drop into the school and got to know everybody. During the first year, we experienced an abundance of gifts of clothes. One day I walked into class with an old sweater because it was raining heavily and seemed very cold, and I was immediately offered a better one, and then some trousers! We started receiving other clothes, including some that Margret was able to choose from the YWAM store. We felt so loved and blessed with new relationships that have continued to affect our lives positively up to now.

However, we also had to learn to adjust to the YWAM community. For example, there was one small experience that left us feeling unwelcome. It happened at dinner when we needed the salt, which was on another table. I said very politely in my best English, "Could you pass me the blue ban?" A lady faced me squarely in the eyes and said, "Add 'please'." I was quite put out and in puzzlement, didn't know what to do. She repeated the phrase and I felt embarrassed for not being able to use good English and being ordered about in front of my family. However I had to swallow my pride and added the word 'Please' and she gave me the blue ban.

After three months of class teaching about basic Christian discipleship, I went to eastern Uganda with eleven students from Sudan, Uganda and Tanzania, leaving Margret and the children in Jinja. We were to practise and teach what we had learned in the different communities we visited. This outreach really went

well and we experienced God's protection in this dangerous part of the country. Having successfully completed our class, we felt called to remain with YWAM and I became particularly interested in counselling on HIV/AIDS.

To date we are still with the same project and have learned a lot. Margret decided it was not too late to learn to speak and write English and she attended our children's school. We are hoping this will continue to a higher level in the future. In 2001, we had a wonderful church wedding as we recited our vows in the presence of some relatives and hundreds of friends. We continue to think of returning in a couple of years' time to Sudan and we pray that God will continue to use us as missionaries, perhaps even in the north of our country. YWAM has recently started up in South Sudan specifically for training and supporting Sudan missionaries. Meanwhile we are trying to help young Sudanese still living in South Sudan and I have written an article entitled *Young Sudanese for Teen Missions*.

Our gratitude goes to all our friends for encouraging us to write our story and to all those whom we have come to know here at YWAM who have offered us their friendship in the Lord Jesus Christ. As we look to the future, we hear of peace talks in the Sudan to end the 20-year old civil war and hope for a peaceful outcome.

Postscript: Francis writes in October 2018

A Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in 2005 and after that, I made several visits to South Sudan. In 2010, I joined the University of Juba to further my education but was forced to return to Uganda to be with my family, due to a student strike during which I was badly beaten. In 2011, South Sudan became independent and in 2013, civil war broke out once again. This civil war is more severe than the wars with the Arab north as it has taken on a tribal dimension.

In September 2018, the warring parties again signed a peace deal to end this current bloody war, and I and the Churches in the refugee camps in north Uganda are organising a 'Song and Worship Festival' in the camps in January 2019. It will be a time to say 'Thank you God' for watching over our lives in these difficult times and to ask for a lasting peace in South Sudan. Preparations are under way and I am holding meetings with many pastors… pray for success.

Higher Education and the De-Education of Sudan

Selma Elrayah*

Introduction

In this article, I give an overview of the damage that the Omer el Bashir regime and the National Islamic Front (NIF) inflicted on higher education during their thirty dark years ruling Sudan.

Many professional educationalists and scholars, such as Mohamed el Amin el Toum, the late Professor Mohamed Sayeed el Gadal, the late Zaki el Hassan[1] and Enshrah Mohamed Ahmed, have written extensively about education generally and higher education in particular during that era. The December 2018 revolution provided the opportunity for all who are concerned with education to reflect on the Islamist ideology that was adopted at that time and the destruction of educational institutions that had been generally regarded as successful and of great value to Sudan, despite their numerous problems. My emphasis in this short article is mainly on the climate of terror and mass hysteria that underpinned higher education during Bashir's regime, which lasted from June 1989 until April 2019.

Higher Education in Sudan

Higher education in Sudan has a long history of interaction with politics (Al Hassan). A formal Western model of education came with the collapse of the *Mahdiyya* and the Anglo-Egyptian re-occupation of Sudan in 1898. The University of Khartoum as we all know it was the successor to Gordon Memorial College, established in 1902. The University developed into a high quality and prestigious university of world rank. The Gordon College graduates were the force behind establishing a well respected organisation. The 'Graduate Congress' that was "the focus of the independence movement and its leaders formed the new administration when self-rule became a reality in the 1950s. The involvement of the graduates in politics continued unabated after independence" (*ibid*). The first educated Sudanese continued to influence a liberal culture in higher education, and there was a general consensus among political parties that education and higher education should be left to the professionals and always be non-partisan. That consensus allowed the development of a secular, democratic and liberal education system.

This tradition continued to some degree even during the military rule of General Ibrahim Aboud in 1958-64 and General Jaafar Numeiri in 1969-85,

[1] See elsewhere in *Sudan Studies* 61 for tributes to Zaki.

before his alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood during the early 1980s. The higher education institutions were left alone to manage their academic affairs despite attempts by the Muslim Brothers to influence them during those years. In 1967-68, Hassan el Turabi and his followers orchestrated an incident at the Teachers' Training College, claiming that a student (who was accused of being a communist) had slandered Aisha, the wife of Prophet Mohamed.

During the same period, the Muslim Brothers, known then as *Jabhat Almithaq* ([Islamic] Charter Front*),* succeeded in getting elected members of parliament to vote with a simple majority to sack eleven other MPs and to dissolve and ban the Sudan Communist Party. However, the courts ruled that Parliament had acted unlawfully and unconstitutionally, and this attempt ultimately failed. In 1968, they also failed in their first attempt to bring an apostasy charge against Mahmoud Mohamed Taha, leader of the Republican Brothers, a modernist Islamic party, but managed it at their second attempt under Numeiri in 1984. This led to the execution of the 76 year old Islamic thinker and scholar. Muslim Brothers were also associated with the beheading of the statue of the educationalist Babikir Bedri in the town of Rufaa, which they saw as an idol.

The National Islamic Front regime

Then came the 30th June 1989 and everything changed. The autonomous status of higher education institutions was completely lost, together with the liberal charters that had protected them, and they came under the control of the new regime.

The NIF, which also called itself the "Salvation" (*Inqaz*) regime, recognised the influence of higher education on both rural and urban communities. Its own movement had no base at the grassroots but it flourished in secondary schools and universities. The NIF usurped power in 1989 with one aim and one agenda: I have no doubt in my mind that they took power to change the fabric of Sudanese society and transform it into an Islamic fundamentalist society.

The regime immediately set in motion a series of conferences that were highly publicised and promoted. Their purpose was to come up with ways to implement changes and to exert control over the educated elite as well as higher education institutions. Through these conferences, the NIF gave the false impression of consultation and most importantly, gave "legitimacy" to its policies, concealing what it had in store for higher education and for the country. The educated strata at that time underestimated the ability of the NIF to make real changes that could threaten the very fabric of Sudanese society.

The higher education conference held in March 1990 set the ball rolling as the regime implemented its policy of intimidation, destruction and self-em-

powerment. Next, the NIF declared an ambitious expansion of the sector, embodied in the 1990 Higher Education Act. This was part of a policy known as *Al Saleh A'Am* (for the sake of public interest) that led to a climate of terror in the country. Thousands of employees in the civil service and universities were sacked and as a result "the country and top public universities such as the University of Khartoum witnessed the largest brain drain since Sudan gained independence" (Gasim 2010). Those left behind were the committed Islamists who were not qualified to fulfil the requirements for teachers in higher education institutes. The climate in these institutions was no longer a climate of knowledge and free-thinking. The Islamisation of knowledge and the use of the Arabic language as the medium of instruction had serious implications, leading to deteriorating standards as well as turning higher education institutions into centres of Islamist ideology and agents of a process of social engineering.

Other conferences, such as the one on Popular Defence in 1989, had dramatic consequences too. Straight afterwards, a series of training camps were implemented, starting with high-ranking civil servants including undersecretaries, through to all government employees including university lecturers. These courses were basically extremely tough military training schemes run by low-ranking officers. They were intended to humiliate the Khartoum elite in all professional fields. Popular Defence programmes were carried out in all big cities. The daily timetable included the five prayers, rough sleeping (no mattresses or beds) and inedible food. It also included lectures and exercises. Each programme lasted for about 45 days. The whole point was the humiliation, intimidation and neutralisation of individuals. They succeeded and many high-ranking employees reported the benefits of the programme.

Simultaneously, the NIF regime carried out systematic arbitrary arrests among civil servants, teachers, members of trade unions and the general public. People started to talk about loved ones whom they could not contact, in an effort to find their whereabouts. The civil war in the South was escalated into a "holy war" and hundreds of dedicated NIF fundamentalists joined the war against the "infidels". Television programmes with jihadist videos were transmitted daily in the late evening before people usually went to bed, as part of a strategy of provoking in the public a fear of God and death. These videos were part of a daily television programme called 'Sacrifice Arena'.

Revolutionary decrees were followed in 1991 by the Islamic Penal Code that gave the regime the religious powers it needed. Atrocities were committed with impunity; for the fundamentalists, atrocities and draconian brutal punishments were what God wanted them to do. Their logic was that as Prophet Mohamed, who was chosen by God to be the link between Him and humanity, was dead, this link no longer existed and, therefore, it fell to believers to carry

out God's will. This is a comprehensive frame of reference and belief – no ifs and no buts. You take it or leave it but can never stand against it. The NIF needed Islamic scholars to confirm and interpret the Quran to fit with its evil policies and higher education institutions were targeted to help them.

In addition to the terror and brutality resulting from the Public Order Act of 1991, the regime gave the green light to religious fanatics (both men and women) who offered advice and guidance on how people could adhere to the right path in conducting their lives. They quoted text from the Quran, which was taken out of context, and they promoted questionable traditions that were attributed to Prophet Mohamed. The television transmitted daily stories of the hereafter and the best ways to avoid hell. People in the civil service and other institutions were coerced to form or join a group which met regularly to recite the whole of the Quran.

The implications for education

The climate of terror was not conducive to knowledge or education. The NIF opened the door to profit in education, as most of the new universities were privately owned. Within one year of the higher education conference and its recommendations, many new universities were up and running, as we see below:

- 1990-91, four new universities;
- 1993, five universities;
- 1994, six universities;
- 1995-97, three universities;
- 2005, two universities.

However, these new universities were set up without any adequate academic infrastructure. The Ministry of Higher Education ran all public universities. Most of the new universities' senate members and vice-chancellors didn't live where the universities were based. Many had no university councils and there was no meaningful co-ordination for these bodies. There was an imbalance between the number of professionally qualified staff and politicians. The graduates ended up unemployed or working as taxi and rickshaw drivers; unemployment reached over 30% (1998-2018, German online portal statistics).

The University of Khartoum paid a very high price for this supposed revolution in higher education by being left in tatters and facing the huge challenge of restoring its old reputation as one of the most distinguished seats of learning in Africa.

Paradoxically, nearly all the young people who were born during Bashir's regime and attended these universities completely rejected the regime and its ideology, and were instrumental in its overthrow in 2019.

Conclusion

The NIF used education and higher education institutions as vehicles to promote its evil, ugly ideology and also to empower supporters. Both the quality and standard of education generally and higher education in particular suffered and both deteriorated greatly.

It will be a long and complex process to undo the damage to education in Sudan that was inflicted by the Islamists. The way forward should be within the context of dismantling the 'Deep State' that has existed for the last thirty years. This task needs the collaboration and co-operation of academics in the diaspora and those within Sudan; it will also require the support of the international community.

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Documenting Archaeological Artefacts at Sudan's National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums

Mohammed Nasreldein Babiker[1]*

Introduction

In archaeology, the past can be retrieved only through interrogating the remains of the social, cultural, economic, political and religious activities of past societies. Archaeological artefacts are therefore key to understanding the past. These vary in form and size and can include: stone tools, architectural ruins, statues, inscriptions, pottery, iron, copper and bronze tools, gold and jewellery, weapons and various historical records etc. If we wish to preserve, maintain, and restore archaeological artefacts they need to be well documented and stored in good conditions. Museum documentation is therefore one of the most important aspects of archaeological work.

In Sudan, the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) is the official administrative and supervisory body for archaeology. It is physically made up of a series of offices and storage rooms, as well as the Sudan National Museum. Together, these spaces hold Sudan's most important archaeological artefacts. It is therefore incumbent upon NCAM to take the necessary precautions and measures to preserve this cultural heritage.

The aim of this article is to outline the documentation system used by NCAM and to suggest how it might be improved.[2] This author will suggest

[1] The author would like to thank Rebecca Bradshaw for her considerable help in preparing this paper for publication.

[2] This is not the first study by a Sudanese archaeologist that has aimed to do this. In 1990, Hassan Hussein Idris's MA thesis discussed the importance of documentation in archaeological work in general and its assistance in scientific study. He introduced and discussed NCAM's documentation system at that time. Idris recommended using computers to document objects in a database, and emphasized the importance of adopting a system similar to that used by the British Museum (Idris 1990, 1-67). In 1994, Siddig Mohamed Gasm Elseed's MA thesis also focused on museum collections held in the Sudan National Museum and clarified their current state of preservation in the context of other systems and methods of storage. Like Idris, Gasm Elseed recommended adopting a system similar to the British Museum (Gasm Elseed 1994, 1-99). Gasm Elseed went on to publish a scientific paper with Abdelrahman Ali Mohamed, which discussed the importance of using modern techniques in the registration of archaeological artefacts. Finally, in 2001, Amani Mohammed's MA thesis discussed the need to use modern technology in museum documentation and the importance of using printed cards instead of hand-written cards.

that NCAM should adapt its current system and use digital technologies. Currently, there are many modern digital information systems used in museum management and object documentation. This technology has proven its worth in many museums in developed countries. However, there are not many museum management programs that are suitable for use in developing countries; for example, the Adlib Museum Management System is the only one that supports Arabic characters (Al Mushokhi 2011, 9). The research for this paper was undertaken in the Sudan National Museum in December 2015 and during the author's many subsequent visits since then.

Documentation Science

Documentation science is defined as all the technical procedures that organise information in its various forms. It is usually associated with information studies but it has evolved over time and produced specialisations, especially since the introduction of modern technology, computers and the internet. In museum science, documentation is defined as the set of technical processes required to maximize the use of published or unpublished information. However, where documentation is important for organisations and institutions, other terms are used e.g. the "memory of the organization" and the "nerve centre" (Al Tayeb 2005, 24-25).

In archaeology, documentation involves obtaining and recording all available information related to archaeological sites and their artefacts – including their raw material, history, state of preservation, conservation requirements and the process of organising and managing this information. Documentation in archaeology aims to:

- Provide a basic user-friendly database of archaeological objects;
- Create an integrated information system for archaeological sites and make this information available to researchers;
- Register archaeological finds discovered in excavations, record their locations and measurements, and provide images and drawings;
- Determine the percentage of damage and conservation requirements of the object;
- Help museum curators to develop a strategy for permanent conservation.

Methods of documenting archaeological artefacts

Artefacts are first documented during fieldwork – ideally at the moment they are discovered – using paper cards. Although field documentation systems vary greatly, it is vital that all possible contextual information is written on the cards, that documents are checked for accuracy and that they are coherent and

understandable. When the objects arrive at their destination (which is often a museum but may also be a laboratory), the second step is to assign them each a number – which is then considered to be the object's official identity – and to input these details in the main register.

Sudan: NCAM's documentation system

When formal archaeological investigations began in Sudan in 1911, museum curators and field-work directors shared the responsibility for documenting and storing artefacts. However, decades of archaeological investigations in Sudan and the increasing number of archaeological missions since the Qatar-Sudan Archaeological Project (QSAP) donated US$135 million to Sudanese archaeology in 2013, have made it necessary to centralise the control of documentation and for museum curators to have sole responsibility for it. It is still vitally important, however, that field archaeologists provide accurate object information for the curators to use.

Label cards

Since 1900, NCAM's museum curators have documented artefacts by writing all the information about an object on a paper label card. These cards initially provided only basic information but they could become more detailed as information was added later. If we compare those used from 1900 to 1950 (Figure 1) with those of 1951 to 1999 (Figure 2), or even with the more recent cards used from 2000 to the present (Figure 3), it is clear that the level of detail

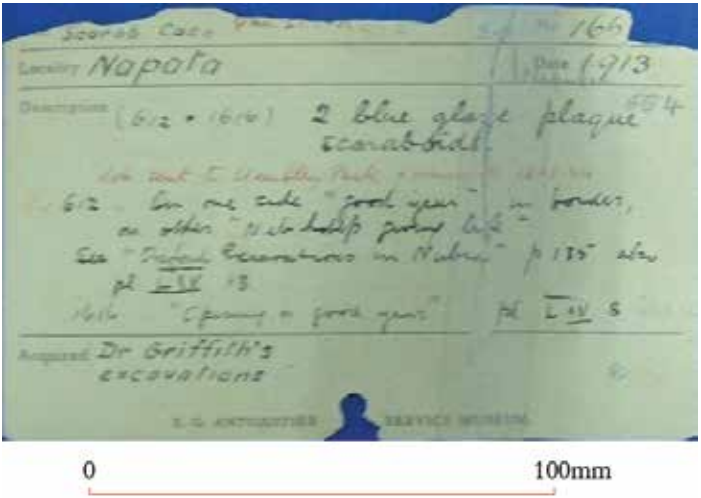

Figure 1. An example of a handwritten label card, used from 1900 to 1950. This card refers to a scarab case found during Dr F. Ll. Griffiths' excavations at Napata (Jebel Barkal-Kareima) in 1913 (Credit: author).

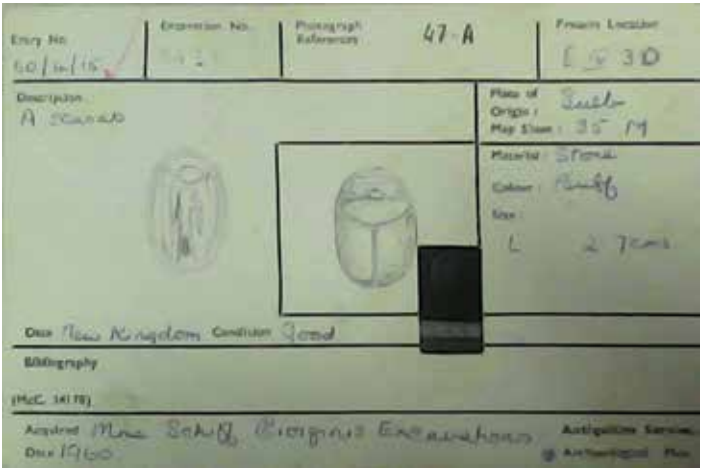

Figure 2. An example of a handwritten label card used from 1951 to 2000. A drawing has been included on this card, but this was not common practice (Credit: author).

provided on the cards increases over time and that the design of the cards has also changed to accommodate the increased need to record scientific information. Broadly speaking, all three versions of the label cards have contained the following information:

- Entry number;
- Excavation number;
- Photograph reference;
- Present location;
- Description;
- Date;
- Condition;
- Place of origin;
- Map sheet;
- Material;
- Colour;
- Size;
- Bibliography;
- Acquisition date.

Since 2000, label cards have had a space where photographic images or drawings of objects can be inserted and this is now common practice. Cards before 2000 sometimes had drawings on them, but this was unusual. Clearly the most

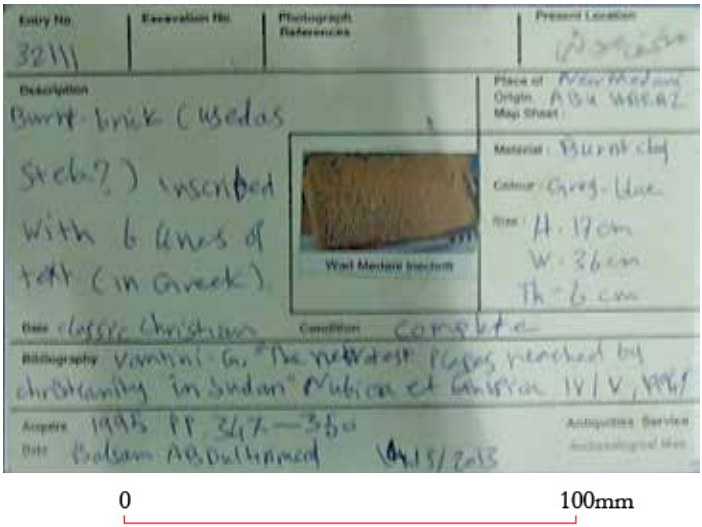

Figure 3. A handwritten label card, in use since 2000. This one is for a burnt brick with Greek inscriptions found near Medani in 2013. Photographic images are commonly added to more recent cards, as well as drawings (Credit: author).

important information has been the identification details of each object: its excavation number, entry number and place of origin. Indeed, despite changes over time, the 'new' system is very much still based on the old system; the advent of computers has had little impact on archaeological documentation in this sense.

In 2013, NCAM curators finally stopped hand writing label cards and began typing them. All label cards were meant to be digitized and inputted into the new computer system. This was designed to make the system used by the Sudan National Museum the same as that of the British Museum in London. However, this work is still being developed and there has been no real progress in moving to a digitized system. Moreover, there are important restrictions on the functionality of the new system, not least because the electronic label cards still present the same information as before (Figure 4). This is discussed in more detail below.

Main register

At the end of field-work, archaeological missions must deliver their findings to NCAM, whether this means handing over their label cards or a simpler list of objects that have been found during that season. In either case, the museum curators must do the rest of the documentation. Label cards are just the begin-

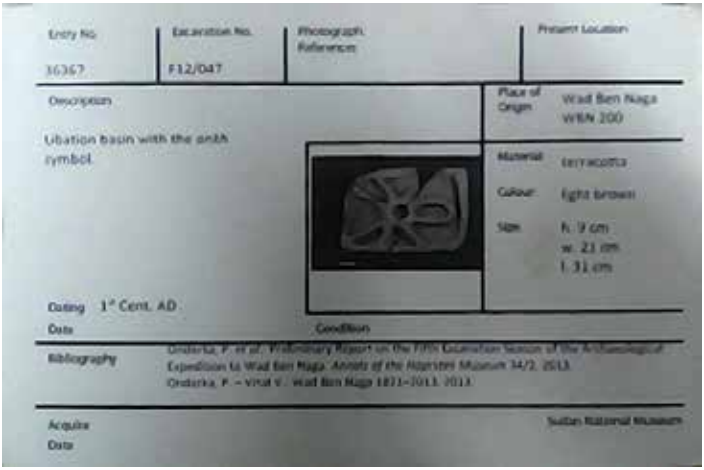

Figure 4. An example of a digitized label card (Credit: author).

ning; the primary source of information is known as the "main register" and information about each object needs to be copied into this register from the relevant label card with the addition of information such as the condition of the object upon arrival, a more detailed object description, etc. The main register is therefore extremely important because it not only contains more information than the label cards but also provides object documentation if the label card gets lost.

Numbering and storing

The numbering and storing of objects is a connected process. Curators give each object an entry number that carries on from the existing list (this system is necessary to control the integrity of the object inventory). Curators at NCAM write the entry number on the object itself as well as on labels, plastic bags or the surface of the box, so that it will be recognisable later. If the archaeologists have not done so, curators are also required to estimate the date of each object and determine which historical period it belongs to. Archaeological project directors are required to estimate the date of artefacts before they deliver them to curators but sometimes this takes time and artefacts are delivered after the next season. Sometimes it is not possible to recognise broken artefacts, in which case curators usually delay the documentation process. The age of the object determines where it is stored, as each civilization or era has its own cabinet in the storerooms.

This system sounds simple but the increasing numbers of archaeological missions working in Sudan and the consequent increase in discoveries have

made the numbering process quite difficult. One recent initiative required archaeologists to provide curators with the exact number of artefacts that they had discovered during the season and then for the curators to provide the archaeologists with the entry number they should start with in numbering the objects. Other initiatives included curators giving archaeologists homogeneous label cards to print and fill in the field (with the exception of its storage location, which would be written in later by the curators).

When it comes to storage, a joint committee of curators and archaeologists (usually the project directors) decides whether archaeological artefacts will be stored at NCAM or elsewhere. Archaeologists are not allowed to remove any objects from the country, although biological samples of bones, plants, metals, etc. are sometimes borrowed temporarily and sent for analysis overseas. Generally the nature and size of the artefacts determines the final decision about their storage location and conditions. For example, some objects require storage in a certain sized box or at a particular temperature, while others can simply be stored on a wooden shelf. At the end of the numbering and storage process, curators store all the label cards in small cabinets; each cabinet has a catalogue stating which cards are located inside so as to make a search for a particular object easy.

Evaluation of NCAM's documentation system

At the beginning of the last century, there was no other option for archaeologists and curators but to use label cards to document objects. The problem is that this outdated system is still being used at NCAM. During research for this study, the author spent a lot of time in the NCAM storage room and observed that there are many technical problems and human mistakes associated with the current documentation process:

- Many label cards were in a bad condition, either because of the poor quality of the paper used or because of the long time they had been in storage; many had degraded partially or completely. Sometimes, when curators find a label card in a bad condition, they transfer all the details onto a new card but they often face the problem of illegible handwriting in English.
- The label cards are inherently limited in what information they can record and pre-2000, had no space for drawings or images (as noted above).
- Their use is also limited because the present location of the objects is always written in faint pencil. The use of pencils is necessary in case the object is moved and the label has to be changed but the risk is high of the pencil marks being rubbed off and the item lost for ever.

- The label cards are kept in the same store room as the main register.
- The manual effort involved in registering each object takes a disproportionately large amount of curators' time.

At the last count, there were more than 35,000 archaeological artefacts in the NCAM storage room. Many of these have not been drawn or photographed, yet each one really requires visual documentation in order to be put on the digital register, a process that requires time and effort. Furthermore, there are many artefacts without a label card. This might be because the card is missing or because the object was not registered; this lack of information will make it hard to document the object on the digital system. In addition, there are some registered artefacts that cannot be found in the storage room, either because they have been taken for study and analysis abroad, were taken for display in the regional museums or have been damaged due to improper storage conditions.

Curators also face problems in determining the date and time period to which an artefact belongs; this process requires technicians and experts. Curators' mistakes can be summarised as follows:

- Problems associated with determining the historical period to which the artefact belongs;
- Giving the same project identification number to more than one object;
- Mistakes associated with the process of transferring numbers from label cards which have been written by field directors (and which are often in bad condition) to the label cards used for documentation in the museum.

In summary, despite the tireless efforts of the curators, NCAM's documentation system remains a traditional system that does not meet modern international standards.

Recommendations

NCAM should have a storage system that takes into account the wide variety of archaeological artefacts that it deals with and allocate objects to storage rooms depending on the conditions that are required for their preservation, e.g. depending on whether they are of organic or inorganic materials. Storage areas should also provide a suitable temperature, humidity, lighting, worktables and other necessary facilities for the use of staff, students and researchers. Secure and safe conditions should be provided, especially with regard to fire and theft. These conditions are currently neglected in NCAM storage rooms.

Digitized museum documentation

Many international museums such as the British Museum successfully use the internet to assist with digital archiving and documenting objects. In Sudan, we must try and learn from their experiences. At the regional level, we can learn from the Egyptian experience that eventually led to the establishment of a special centre for the documentation of the Egyptian cultural heritage.

At the international level, the British Museum is one of the best examples of an institution that uses modern technology successfully to document cultural objects. In every country that has established such a system, electronic documentation is supported by government and civil organisations. In Sudan, we have many bodies and institutions that could support, develop and contribute to such work because they are directly or indirectly responsible for the preservation of cultural heritage. These include:

- Ministry of Culture;
- Ministry of Tourism, Antiquities and Wildlife;[3]
- Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research;
- Registration and Documentation of Sudanese Life Center, part of the Ministry of Culture;
- Sudan Civilization Institute;
- Institute of African and Asian Studies (University of Khartoum);
- Various civil society institutions, such as Aspelta Organisation (in Bejrawiya, named after a Kushite king) and the Sudan Archaeological Society (Khartoum).

Electronic documentation in Sudan

In 2013, a digital archiving programme for archaeological artefacts was introduced at NCAM using the same system as the British Museum. This was a big step forward but is limited for several reasons:

- It is not possible to judge if digitization is an improvement on the old system as it is still at the beginning stages of development;
- There is a need for specialised technical experts to do this work; those who do it now are the curators of museums who are not necessarily trained in digital techniques;
- The new electronic cards now being printed carry the same information as the old label cards.

The author would recommend adding more information to the label cards to make them fully comprehensive. This information should include:

[3] At the time of writing it was not clear if this Ministry has the same name or function

the storage conditions (including temperature) needed for each artefact; the degree and type of lighting required; and should record the size of the artefact (length/width/weight). The author suggests redesigning the label card to look like the following (Figure 5).

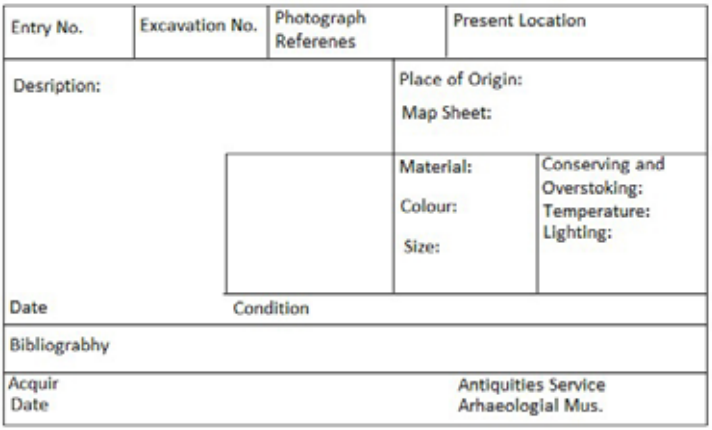

Figure 5. Suggested design for a new label card, designed by the author (Credit: author).

When curators begin to adopt a new documentation system, they should begin with the most recently discovered artefacts that have not yet been registered. However, this work will not be successful unless there are experts in information technology, the necessary equipment, adequate budgets, a proper and secure electronic documentation system, and a deadline for completion. Having a strict deadline for digitization is almost the most important element because otherwise the process is inevitably delayed. Until the electronic documentation of an object has been fully carried out, the label cards and the main register must be kept safely in separate locations, so that there is always a secure backup for the data.

I would recommend that NCAM uses one of the many internationally developed documentation systems that have been designed to manage and protect object collections, archives, records and so on, whether in museums, libraries, research institutes or information centres. The Adlib Information System mentioned above is considered to be the most integrated application for digitally documenting, managing, preserving and publishing museum collections. Importantly for a country like Sudan, it also offers the possibility of sharing information with international and local museums and supports many languages, including Arabic (Al Mushokhi 2011, 81).[4]

[4] Other systems include: 'System Simulation Museums', which specializes in the field

Conclusion

There are many digital systems that can be used to document museum collections. In Sudan, however, there are also many difficulties that prevent them from being used effectively, such as the near-total lack of equipment (the latest electronic devices, such as computers, scanners, printers, cameras) and a shortage of computer technicians and documentation specialists to help curators, who are already few in number and have many other responsibilities.

Digital object documentation is a new field that has never been utilised in Sudan and museum curators would need training courses to familiarise them with digital techniques. A specific work plan should be developed and tasks distributed to museum curators. This might help address common mistakes in the documentation processes, especially when it comes to dating objects and the repetition of entry numbers. Until museum collections can be archived electronically, a special technical committee should be established to carry out an annual inventory of all museum collections so as to record damage to objects and lost label cards; this would also enable curators to determine which artefacts require special treatment. Finally, an electronic documentation process should not be undertaken in all museums, until the validity of the system is tested and its quality established.

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of museum project documentation and whose clients include the British Museum; 'PastPerfect Software', designed to manage museum collections which have objects of many different types, shapes, and sizes; 'Vernon System', a special system for the management of cultural heritage, museums, and art galleries; and 'Xebit System' which is a digital and online documentation system which aims to convert the archiving of museums' collections from the traditional paper-based system to an electronic system. These digital documentation systems have the benefit of being consistent with international standards while also providing advanced information services. Moreover, the use of such systems helps address issues of secure documentation, administration, protection, and accessibility.

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The Greek Community in Sudan between 1821 and 1885

Antonis Chaldeos*

Abstract
The Egyptian campaign of 1821 resulted in many Europeans settling in Sudan, among them Greek nationals. As well as participating in warfare, Greeks were engaged in a wide range of entrepreneurial activities, including trade. They resided mainly in Khartoum, Suakin, Kassala and other cities. Given their significant role in the period of Egypt's occupation, this article seeks to examine the contribution of Greeks to the early stages of Sudan's economic development, especially in trade and agriculture.

The economic activities of the Greeks

Early Greek immigration to Sudan was closely linked to the presence of the Egyptian army. In 1821, as part of the conquest of Sennar, Ismail Pasha established the first military installations in Khartoum to give his forces a permanent base. Ismael's army was a mosaic of ethnicities, including a number of Greeks serving as officers, interpreters, suppliers and doctors.[1] Once the campaign was over and soldiers opted to settle in Sudan, Khartoum began to attract Egyptian and Greek merchants, as well as indigenous traders who were mainly from the Blue Nile area. With the arrival of increasing numbers of qualified professionals – including boat-builders, sailors, artisans, gunsmiths, bakers and even pharmacists – the city's population increased (Bloss 1937, 140). From 1830 onwards, Sudan also became a base for Greek merchants who resided and had their business headquarters in Egypt, among them specialists in the ivory, leather and ostrich feathers trades (Olympios 1927, 7-8; Cromer 1908, vol. 2, 250). Goods passed north through Sudan to Aswan, usually transported by camels, and from there were taken by land or downstream to Cairo (Neumann 1893, 216). Some Greeks – profiting from the advantage of having been the first Europeans in the area – were employed as guides or even captains for expeditions along the Nile.[2] Samuel Baker went so far as to call the Greeks the collective 'Marco Polo of Africa' (Baker 1879, 146). Increased commercial activity in northeast Africa and between western Sudan and the Maghreb was also a factor in attracting European traders, including Greeks, to Sudan.[3]

Detailed information on the activities of individual Greeks before 1840 is scarce – with the exception of a trader named Lampidoros who lived in Kordofan in 1838 and who was murdered by one of his slaves (Hill 1956).

[1] Baker 1879, 51; Robinson 1925, 48; Myers 1876, 9-10; Politis 1928, 175.
[2] Pachtikos 1938, 47; Melly 1852, 146; *New York Herald*, 5th July 1872.
[3] Newbury 1966, 233; The National Archives of the UK (TNA), FO 403/270.

Once Greek commercial activity intensified, however, some traders acquired prominence. George Averoff arrived in Egypt in 1840 and undertook to expand the family business in Sudan that his brother Anastasis had already founded. From his new commercial base on the Nile at Omdurman – still called Aburof today – he exported cotton, gum Arabic and ivory to England (Politis 1928, 177-8).

Expansion into cotton

In the second half of the 19th century, Greek entrepreneurship expanded into cotton cultivation. Even during the years of Ismail Pasha's campaigns, the potential for cotton production in Sudan's fertile landscape was understood. On 15th December 1838, Tositsas wrote to Stournaris to press the case for investment in cotton (Sammarco 1939, 42). The Egyptian administration first introduced cotton farming in the Suakin area, later expanding to the provinces of Berber, Dongola and Sennar, as well as the areas on the Ethiopian border (Hill 1959, 55-6). There were large plantations on the Red Sea; in Tokar, for example, cotton had a dominant role in the local economy.

Most of the cotton harvest was used by local artisans to fabricate clothes for the local market; the rest was shipped to market in Egypt, primarily by Greek and Syrian merchants.[4] Dionysis Marinos, Dimitris Kanakis, Alexander Lekkas and Kostis Kechagias were among the pioneers of cotton cultivation in Tokar and Kassala in 1867. They and others overcame the problems posed by water scarcity and the lack of a skilled workforce, laying the foundation for the future development of the cotton sector (Politis 1928, 95). It was a sector that would grow enormously, not least because of growing demand from Britain (North 1958, 539; Crafts 1989, 426). After 1860, Britain increasingly turned to Africa and Asia for its supply of raw cotton (Cain and Hopkins 1980, 482-5; Ashworth 1987, 193-4).

The Greeks of Khartoum, Suakin and other Sudanese cities

Greek commercial activity in Sudan reached its peak in the late 1860s, as the large trading houses of Egypt intensified their economic penetration in Sudan (Niblock 1987, 9). They settled mainly in Khartoum, Suakin and in the cities located near the border with Ethiopia, such as Kassala (Baker 1867, 70). Given this significant Greek presence in the Sudanese economy, it was inevitable that Greek Vice-Consulates were established in Khartoum and Suakin in 1871 to give them diplomatic representation.

The diary of Nicos Papadam is a valuable source of information about

[4] *Sunday Oregonian*, 29th December 1907; Schanz 1913, 136; TNA, FO 403/8.

Greeks living in Khartoum during the last quarter of the 19th century.[5] Papadam was born on Samos and in 1881 he arrived in Khartoum via Suakin, together with his uncle, Emmanuel Diakogiannis, who lived in Sudan for over a decade.[6] At that time, almost all the 132 Greeks resident in Khartoum were involved in trade, except two doctors: Giorgos Veis and Xenophon Xenoudakis. There were six large Greek shops, the largest of which belonged to the Vice-Consul, Nicos Leontidis, and his Cairo-based business partner Manolidis.[7]

Leontidis was a wholesaler who sold textiles and beverages in small shops. He had a branch in Messalamiya, managed by Nicos Gerontoudis, and he exported gum Arabic from Kordofan. Another big store belonged to Maximos and was managed by Tsitsinaridis. Other major traders were Nicos Colombos, who sold fabrics and European clothes; Manolis Diakogiannis, who traded textiles, vegetables, alcohol and tobacco and had branches in Sennar and Karkoti; George Marinos, who sold tobacco; and George Athanasiadis, who traded in vegetables and alcohol. There were also many small shops owned by Greeks: grocery stores, tobacconists, liquor stores, four coffee shops, five bakeries and five shops selling local products. Finally, there was a soap factory that supplied the Egyptian army and was owned by Manolis Diakogiannis and Boutros Boulos. Boulos, an Egyptian, was the richest man in Khartoum. Because most newly arrived Greeks came to Khartoum without money, their compatriots helped them to open small businesses by giving them goods on credit. Leontidis, for example, would advance them alcoholic drinks while Diakogiannis supplied vegetables. After about a year, a new immigrant could, as a result, accumulate capital of around E£150-200.

Greeks also began to settle in Suakin and Kassala in the second half of the 19th century (GMFA 1871). As Suakin was the territory's only port, it was very important for Egypt: close to the Arabian Peninsula and particularly to the British-controlled port of Aden (Ewald 2000, 16). Therefore, it facilitated the quick and cheap transportation of goods on their way either to the markets in Yemen or Ethiopia. Moreover, Suakin was the only transit point for Muslims travelling from West Africa to Mecca for the Hajj. Although the port came under *de facto* Egyptian control in 1840, the official Ottoman concession only took place in 1865. Mumtaz Pasha became the first governor of the city and he immediately ordered a big reconstruction project (Baker 1867, 355). In 1867, an official post office was established to facilitate communication between the merchant houses of Cairo and their representatives in Suakin.

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[5] The Sudan Archive at Durham (SAD), 958/5.

[6] *Sudan Chronicle*, 12th March 1955.

[7] Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs (GMFA) 1881.

Development of Suakin

Commercial port traffic increased when cotton cultivation began in the Baraka River delta, leading to the presence of more Egyptian and Arab traders (Thornton 1895, 222). By 1869, when the opening of the Suez Canal gave Suakin even greater significance, 800 people lived in the island city (Bloss 1937, 248). Ivory from Darfur and Kordofan was handled by mainly British merchants in Suakin and sold on to India (Wylde 1888, 277). Coffee from Abyssinia, gold from Sennar, ostrich feathers from Darfur and Kordofan, cotton and cattle from Kassala and numerous slaves were all shipped through Suakin. Nor was it one-way traffic: European products such as sugar, soap, rice and textiles were imported via the Red Sea, loaded onto camels at Suakin and transported across Sudan. Two Greeks, Spiros Liberopoulos and Charalambos Trambas (or Trampidis), played an important part in opening the road connecting Suakin to Berber between 1868 and 1869. This road was essential for the transport of the goods to and from Suakin and reduced the travel time from Suakin to Khartoum from 85 to 35 days (Politis 1928, 10).

Between 1874 and 1883, Suakin experienced a period of exceptional prosperity. By 1879, total exports exceeded E£254,000; in 1880 alone, 758 ships sailed into the port. The account of Dimitrios Mitsakis, Greek Vice-Consul at Suez, provides important information for this period. In March 1879, he noted, Suakin's population had grown to 6,000 people; 30 Greek nationals were the only Europeans in town. According to Mitsakis, 'The Greeks were engaged in trade and agriculture and they had very good relations with the local authorities.' The community was also trying to raise money to erect a church. Mitsakis also mentions a few Greeks living outside Suakin proper, including Constantinos Liberopoulos, who had lived in Tokar since 1874 and owned a ginning machine.[8]

The important economic and geopolitical role of Suakin prompted the Egyptian government to give Eastern Sudan formal provincial status in 1881, with Suakin as its capital. More and more European countries set up consular offices and in 1883, a Greek Consulate was founded under the jurisdiction of the Consulate-General of Alexandria, with Charalambos Kantakouzenos appointed the first Greek Consul in Suakin (Phokas 1887, 56).

The first Greeks who settled in Suakin had been doctors in the Egyptian army.[9] But after 1860, many traders migrated to Suakin to open offices representing big Cairo-based Greek and foreign companies (Myers 1876, 337). Some, like Paraskevas Baboulis who left Lesvos and migrated to Suakin in

[8] Kofos 1973, 198-9; TNA, FO 403/90.

[9] E.g. Drs Chrysochoos, Tyrteos, Kontos and Fronistas (Politis 1928, 406).

1864, became ship's chandlers. Baboulis also bought a farm and expanded into livestock farming: another product to sell to visiting ships. Others like Nicos Marketos worked initially as engineers in the maintenance and supply of Egyptian government ships before diversifying into the trade in salt and pearls, both lucrative businesses. During the next decade, the first hotel was built in Suakin: the Hotel du Soudan, owned by a Greek (James 1883, 16).

A priest named Seraphim Phokas provides important details on Greek nationals in Suakin in the late 1880s. During his stay in Suakin, Phokas met the Grivas brothers from the Peloponnese, as well as Dionysis Marinos, Costas Papathanasopoulos, Panos Orfanos and Angelos Capatos (Phokas 1887, 56-89). As the number of resident Greeks grew – reaching about 100 people in the late 1880s – the community realised its ambition of building a small church; soon, the Archimandrite Nikandros settled in Suakin (Olympios 1927, 102; Scotidis 1908, 39).

The Greek community in Kassala, Gedaref and Darfur

In the mid 19th century, Kassala was a town of 8,000 inhabitants, the focus of Ismail Pasha's plan to develop local cotton cultivation (Walkley 1935, 239). Greeks were among the pioneers in cotton cultivation in both Kassala and Gedaref.[10] The city, surrounded by a wall and moat, was the base for an Egyptian army unit with its own Greek doctor (Baker 1867, 48). It was not long before the first Greek shops were established (Myers 1876, 42). *La Maison Cozzikas*, founded by Ioannis Cozzikas in Kassala in 1843 and run by the founder's nephew, Panayotis, was the largest trading firm in eastern Sudan and one of the oldest in the country. The business expanded from agricultural and craft products into armaments: by 1856 it was selling guns to Emperor Theodore of Ethiopia (Natsoulas 1977, 81; Methodius 1970, 36-66).

A factory in Kassala owned by Nicos Vekiarellis signed a contract with the Egyptian army in 1872 to provide them with soap. Two years later, Vekiarellis opened another factory in Gedaref to cater for the soap needs of Egypt's southern forces (GMFA 1901). Indeed, the dispersal of the Greeks throughout Sudan followed their contracts with the Egyptian army, leading to establishments as far afield as Fashoda, Kordofan, and Gedaref (Gessi 1892, 192-4 & 335; Wilson 1882, 73 & 128). At Goorashee, near the banks of the Nile, George Malamas established a ferry service, despite difficulties in obtaining a license from the local authorities (Baker 1867, 63). Malamas also owned a cotton plantation (Cumming 1937, 29). Traders like Malamas' nephew, George Michael, stored their wares in basic warehouse facilities in Gedaref, a 'miserable place with several thatched huts' (Baker 1867, 184).

[10] Natsoulas 1977, 105; Blunt 1911, 116; Hope 1886, 213.

By the late 1870s, Greek businessmen had expanded as far west as Darfur, where they were involved in the trade in ostrich feathers. Suleiman Effendi from Lemnos began to do business with one of the leaders of the Shakka tribe; but he was subsequently accused of being an Egyptian, imprisoned and forced to work for his former partner. Eventually, Suleiman regained the trust of the local Shakka leader and was able to return to the ostrich trade (Gessi 1892, 311).

Conclusion

Although Greeks were never numerous, they played a crucial part in trade in Sudan, primarily as representatives of the big Greek and British trading houses based in Egypt. They were pioneers in agriculture, especially cotton. During the last quarter of the 19th century, Greeks settled in almost every part of Sudan, becoming pillars of the local economy and making an indelible mark on the history of that period. Some of the major Greek commercial houses between 1850 and 1870 included:

Nicos Averoff (1850-1871)
Christodoulou (1852-1853)
Nicos Vekiarellis (1854-1898)
D. Tsigadas (1855)
Ioannis Varelas (1864)
Spyros Liberopoulos (1864-1885)
Costas Marsellos (1864)
Alexander Maximos (1867-1880)
D. Patsimas (1867)
Nicos Gerontoulis (1867-1898)
George Ampazopoulos (1867)
Charilaos Katakouzinos (1868)
C. Mouzalas (1869)
Panayotis Trampas (1870-1898)
Dimitris Kokorempas (1870-1898)
Panayotis Tsopanakis (1870)
D. Voutsinezos (1870)
Gerasimos Michalitsianos (1871-1898)
P. Dimitroulias (1871-1898)
Alexander Volonakis
Zorzatos brothers (1875-1888)
I. & C. Grivas (1876)
Athanasiadis
Manolidis
Chatzidimitriou

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* Antonios Chaldeos holds a PhD in History from the University of Johannesburg. His thesis was about the Greek presence in Sudan between the 19th and 21st centuries.

The Small Arms Survey's Human Security and Baseline Assessment (HSBA) Project, 2016-19

Rebecca Bradshaw*

Introduction

2019 has been a momentous year for Sudan.[1] Former President Omar al Bashir – who ruled for almost 30 years – was removed in a coup in April following almost four months of peaceful civilian demonstrations. Despite the extreme violence used by military and security forces against the protestors throughout the uprising, particularly during the 3rd June massacre in Khartoum, a new transitional government was formed in August under the guiding hand of Prime Minister Abdallah Hamdok. On top of sweeping economic restructuring, the new government now faces many challenges, not least security sector reform (SSR) and building sustainable peace in the peripheries, particularly Darfur and the Two Areas (South Kordofan and Blue Nile).

To the south, despite the signing of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) in 2018, real peace has still not been achieved. President Salva Kiir met opposition leader Dr Riek Machar on several occasions in 2019 – including sharing an audience with the Pope at the Vatican in Rome on 11th April[2] – but deep distrust still looms over the proceedings. Analysts have little hope that, as a near-copy of its predecessor, the R-ARCSS can mend old wounds but the international community continues to encourage the signees to comply with its terms. Fighting continues in pockets such as Yei River State, and the presence of multiple armed groups and weapon flows throughout South Sudan makes the current calm a fragile one.

Sudan's and South Sudan's well-being are vital to regional and international stability, and yet the quality and consistency of attention they receive is variable. It is therefore critically important that robust and detailed data continue to be produced by researchers on the ground so that stakeholders may more fully inform themselves about the factors that drive various forms of conflict in these two countries. This is where the Small Arms Survey's Human Security Baseline Assessment for Sudan and South Sudan project comes in. As described on the HSBA website:

"[The HSBA] for Sudan and South Sudan is a multi-year project

[1] This overview was completed on 1st November 2019.

[2] This was the same day that Bashir was removed by the army in Khartoum.

administered by the Small Arms Survey. It was developed in cooperation with the Canadian government, the United Nations Mission in Sudan, the United Nations Development Programme, and NGO partners. Through the active generation and dissemination of timely, empirical research, the project supports violence reduction initiatives, including disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes and incentive schemes for civilian arms collection, as well as security sector reform and arms control interventions across Sudan and South Sudan."

As part of this mandate, HSBA either writes, or commissions internationally-recognized experts to produce policy-relevant analyses about issues they are close to. HSBA works with researchers who are local, such as Khalid Amar Hassan who has provided analysis on the conflict in Blue Nile, as well as international, such as Alan Boswell, senior analyst at International Crisis Group (Boswell 2019). HSBA researchers use a blend of qualitative and quantitative methods but tend to have a focus on long-term ethnographic observations and interviews with key players in Sudan and South Sudan's government and military-security apparatus, as well as civilians and refugees.

This article builds on two previous publications. The first is a short piece that appeared in *Sudan Studies* in 2009 and which listed the 13 'snapshot' Issue Briefs and 16 in-depth Working Papers that HSBA had published in the first three years of its life (HSBA 2009). As these years coincided with the start of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement transitional period (or 'post-CPA period', 2005-11), HSBA's authors covered everything from the so-called Joint Integrated Units to civilian disarmament and Darfur; non-state armed groups and paramilitaries; and regional and international relations with, for example, Uganda and China.

The second publication detailed the HSBA project and its output from its inception in 2006 to its 10th anniversary in 2016 (LeBrun 2016). In the seven years between this and the 2009 *Sudan Studies* paper, 13 Issue Briefs and 25 Working Papers had been published, and this synthesis report aimed to discuss them. What was notable about this publication was its inclusion of detailed background information about the HSBA project's evolution and trajectory, and its more extended thematic discussion sections on arms proliferation, armed groups, armed violence and security provision.

The purpose of this current, third, article is to list papers that have been published since LeBrun's synopsis and outline the papers written during this author's tenure as HSBA Series Editor in 2019. In addition, this paper serves to draw further attention to the work the HSBA project produces in the hope

that it proves useful to any and all with an interest or stake in Sudan and South Sudan, both past and present.

Issue Briefs, 2016-17

HSBA published three Issue Briefs in 2016-17:

- *Legitimacy, Exclusion, and Power: Taban Deng Gai and the South Sudan Peace Process* (HSBA 2016);
- *Remote-control Breakdown: Sudanese Paramilitary Forces and Pro-government Militias* (HSBA 2017a); and
- *Spreading Fallout: The Collapse of the ARCSS and New Conflict Along the Equatorias-DRC* [Democratic Republic of Congo] *Border* (HSBA 2017b).

Working Papers, 2016-17

HSBA published two Working Papers in 2016-17:

- *A State of Disunity: Conflict Dynamics in Unity State, 2013-15* (Craze and Tubiana, with Gramizzi 2016); and
- *Isolation and Endurance: Riek Machar and the SPLM-IO in 2016-17* (Young 2017).

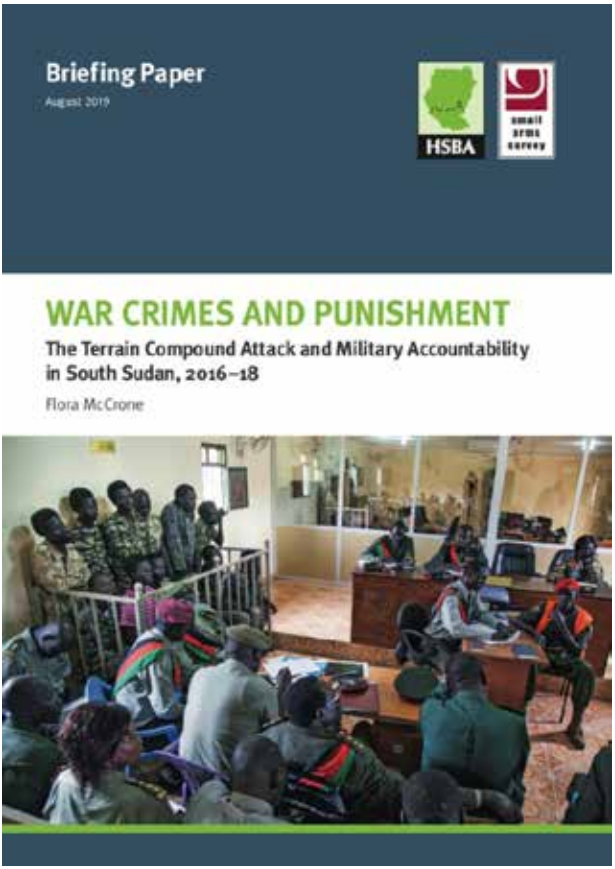
In addition, HSBA worked with a sister project at the Survey, the Security Assessment in North Africa (SANA), and with Conflict Armament Research (CAR), to produce two publications on issues relating to Sudan in Libya (Tubiana and Gramizzi 2017; 2018).

Briefing Papers, 2018-19

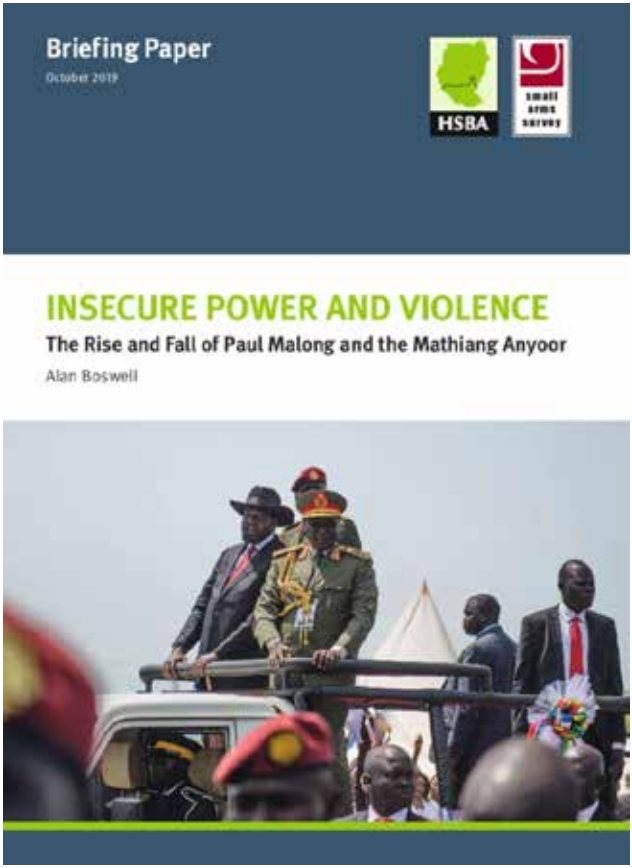
For many years, HSBA published its research as *Issue Briefs* and *Working Papers* (as above), as well as *Facts & Figures* reports – published and updated on the website rather than as separate documents – and occasional workshop reports, op-eds and practitioner articles. In mid-2017, however, Small Arms Survey publications were streamlined down to two main outputs: *Briefing Papers*, intended to provide the snapshot view provided previously by *Issue Briefs*, and *Reports*, the new equivalent of *Working Papers*. (A third output, *Handbooks*, is available but they are not published nearly as frequently.)

In 2018-19, HSBA's *Briefing Papers* focused on South Sudan. In December 2018, it published Sarah Vuylsteke's *Identity and Self-Determination: The Fertit opposition in South Sudan*, which aimed to understand how the Fertit, minority communities from former Western Bahr el Ghazal, took up arms against Kiir's Sudan People's Liberation Movement government and aligned themselves with Riek Machar's opposition coalition, the SPLM-IO. It found that the Fertit see themselves as victims of long-term injustices committed by an increasingly Dinka-dominated government, which ultimately encouraged them to push for self-determination.

This was followed in August 2019 by *War Crimes and Punishment: The Terrain compound attack and military accountability in South Sudan, 2016-18*, an event that was already the subject of much debate. Author Flora McCrone asked whether the court martial of government soldiers who had perpetrated crimes against civilians in Juba signalled a shift in attitudes towards accountability or whether it was a 'one-off', the result of specific individuals and their interests aligning.



Finally, in October 2019 HSBA released *Insecure Power and Violence: The rise and fall of Paul Malong and the Mathiang Anyoor*. In this paper Alan Boswell examined the development of the Mathiang Anyoor, a primarily Dinka grouping from Northern Bahr el Ghazal, from a community border defence force formed to protect civilians against raiders from Sudan in 2012 to a key part of the Sudan People's Liberation Army during the battles for Bor, Bentiu, and Malakal in 2014 and the counter-insurgency operations in the Equatorias in 2016.

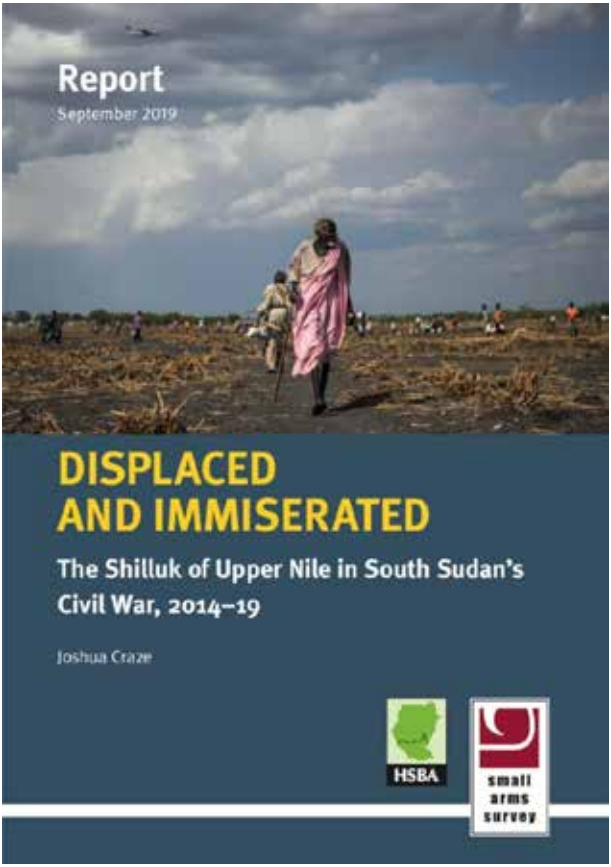


Reports, 2018-19

HSBA published two reports in 2018 and 2019. The first was *Rationale and Reality: Lifting US sanctions on Sudan*, published in May 2018. This report concentrated on the landmark occasion of the US reducing sanctions on Sudan 20 years after they had first been imposed. It detailed the reasons why select sanctions had been both enforced and lifted, and the mismatch between these rationales, and discussed how the new reality might unfold, particularly with regards to Sudan's internal conflicts.

The second report was published in September 2019, titled *Displaced and Immiserated: The Shilluk of Upper Nile in South Sudan's civil war, 2014-19*. Joshua Craze wrote at length about what appears to be a deliberate campaign by the Padang Dinka to move the Shilluk from the banks of the White Nile, ethnically cleanse the area, and consolidate their political power over Upper Nile. He finds that the human toll has been especially severe, with perhaps

as many as 80% of the Shilluk leaving the country during six years of civil war.



As described above, neither the Small Arms Survey nor the HSBA project are in the business of covering breaking news. They nevertheless conduct cutting-edge research on the most important contemporary events and issues. Indeed in late 2015, HSBA underwent an external evaluation to measure its impact over the past ten years (see LeBrun 2016, 14-15).

> "HSBA research fills and essential information gap in terms of its core thematic focus areas, the depth of insight and quality of analysis, its independence and originality, and ease of access."

Another conclusion was that the

> "research has had a direct influence on the planning and implementation

of policy and capacity development interventions in the region, as well as on the design of the strategies of non-governmental organisations."

HSBA hopes to continue producing robust research for many years to come.

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Resources

HSBA publications are available for free download at www.smallarmssurvey.org/publications. Many papers are also available in Arabic. A range of online tools concerning small arms and armed violence – including weapon identi-

fication and tracing resources, data-rich maps and interactive guides – can be accessed at www.smallarmssurvey.org/tools.

For regular email updates on publications and other news, sign up for e-Alerts at www.smallarmssurvey.org/eAlerts.

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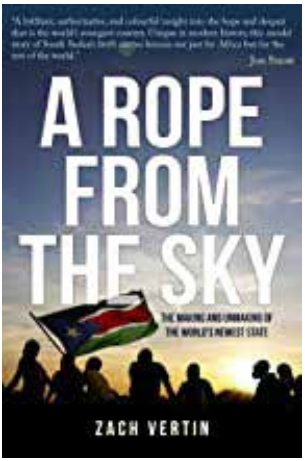
The HSBA project receives direct financial support from the US Department of State.

* Dr Rebecca Bradshaw is a researcher, writer and editor focusing on the Middle East and North Africa.

Book Reviews

Zach Vertin, **A Rope from the Sky: The Making and Unmaking of the World's Newest State.** Amberley Publishing, Gloucestershire, 2018, 338 pages, ISBN-978-1-4456-8694-3 Hardback £20.00.



Zach Vertin offers a fascinating and important new perspective on the lead-up to and aftermath of South Sudanese independence in this compelling account. As Senior Analyst for the International Crisis Group on the Sudans, and having worked on South Sudan's peace process between 2014 and 2016, Vertin is ideally placed to describe the internal and external processes that led to the United States Government's position on South Sudan from the 1990s onward. *A Rope from the Sky* is well-researched and its central argument is strongly supported through reference to documentation and interviews with key individuals but it is also a very personal account: Vertin refers often to his own experience and uses the stories of individual South Sudanese to underline the often devastating impact of national and regional events on ordinary people.

Vertin paints a picture of Juba, and of South Sudan as a whole, that is instantly recognisable to anyone who is familiar with the country during the time of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the independence referendum, and the highs and lows that followed. The rollercoaster ride that characterises the rise and fall of South Sudan between the 1990s and today is unflinchingly portrayed: Vertin is able to summon up the heady optimism that imbued the country in the approach to the 2011 referendum and subsequent independence, while also making it clear that the seeds of the country's later collapse were sown long before, and the events of December 2013 were perhaps inevitable. Unlike other accounts that focus on broad demographic, political, or economic processes, Vertin focuses on the central personalities that drove the liberation movement, depicting with sometimes painful clarity the extent to which their personal strengths and weaknesses played out on a national and international scale. The ghost of John Garang is a tangible presence throughout the book and Vertin is clear in setting out how Garang's cult of personality resulted in an over-reliance on the strength of individuals rather than the development of systems and structures that would allow the Sudan People's Liberation Movement to continue to operate effectively after his death.

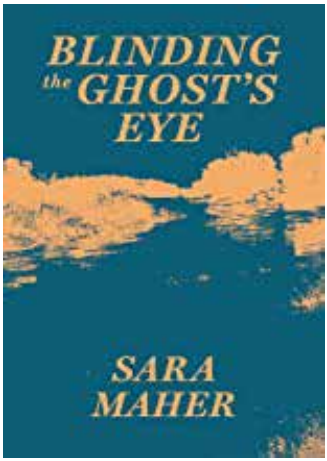
The book's pitch and register are occasionally uneven: some chapters offer

a "South Sudan 101" overview that feels at odds with the intricacy of other chapters, which feel as if they are aimed at a reader with much more than a passing familiarity with the country's recent struggles. Despite this, *A Rope from the Sky* is a compulsively readable book, and one from which anyone with an interest in South Sudan will benefit.

Jessica Gregson

Jessica Gregson is a consultant, education specialist and writer who has lived and worked in both Sudan and South Sudan in a variety of roles, first in 2006 and then in 2009-13. She is currently based in Sittwe, Myanmar.

Sara Maher, **Blinding the Ghost's Eye**, Africa World Books, 2019, ISBN 978-0-6-6482591-4-5 paperback, AUD 21.99 (*c.* £17.00)*



What is the best format in which to present refugee experiences? Fiction can often explore the ambiguities of that experience better than technical reports and case studies. The Australian multicultural broadcaster SBS's mini-series *Sunshine* achieved this in a stunningly accurate portrayal of different generations of South Sudanese refugees in Australia, the challenges of integrating into Australian society while their own community was affected by on going events back home. Sara Maher, the author of scholarly studies about South Sudanese in Australia (see her co-authored article in *Sudan Studies* No. 58), has now taken another route through fiction to highlight that refugee experience.

Blinding the Ghost's Eye is told through the experiences of three characters: Ottavio (also known as Machar), an engineering student; Alice, an Australian English teacher working with refugees from various countries; and Alaya, whose identity is revealed only towards the end of the book. It is through these three characters that we are introduced to other South Sudanese refugees and white Australians and come to know something about their back stories, motivations, traumas, successes and failures.

Ottavio, the main character, succeeded in acquiring education as a refugee in Kenya and then went on to get an engineering degree in Australia, but the only regular work he can find is on the assembly line in a meat packing plant. Despite this disappointment, he also volunteers to tutor other refugees in English, where he meets Alice, who first mistakes him for another student. Ottavio is able to bring members of his extended family to Australia, though the kinship claimed of 'brothers' and 'cousins' is often forged through shared experiences of displacement and flight rather than through descent. New networks and definitions of kinship are created by the refugee experience.

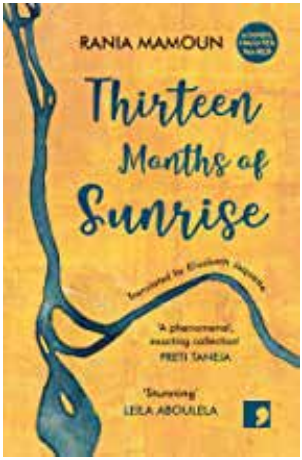
Ottavio and his reconstituted South Sudanese community experience incidents of racism, some petty, others shocking. It is clear that even those white Australians well-disposed towards them have little understanding of the experiences that made them refugees and affect their decisions and attitudes in their new home. These experiences are revealed gradually, most vividly through the voice of Alaya, who never made it out of Sudan.

Ottavio eventually returns home, reconnecting with relatives who stayed behind, searching for but failing to find the one who never made it out. It is a resolution with its own ambiguities. It is not so much a laying a ghost to rest, but freeing Ottavio from the oppression of his memories and allowing him to overcome his dislocation.

* The book is published in Australia by Africa World Books, an initiative of the enterprising Peter Lual Deng who is making it possible for South Sudanese and others to tell their own stories. It can be ordered directly from the publisher (https://africaworldbooks.co/) as well as from online retailers.

Douglas Johnson

Rania Mamoun (Ed.), **Thirteen Months of Sunrise and Other Stories,** Comma Press, London, 2019, ISBN-10: 1910974390, paperback, £9.99.



This slim volume by Rania Mamoun is a collection of ten short stories, first published in Arabic in 2009 and now translated into English by Elisabeth Jaquette. The author has an active career as a journalist and a cultural presenter on Gezira State TV in Sudan, and has already published two novels in Arabic. In 2018, she went to the USA as a writer-in-residence at the University of Chatham, and has participated in an annual workshop run by the International Prize for Arabic Fiction (IPAF), thus demonstrating her aspiration to become known at the international as well as the local level.

She is also politically active, having been arrested twice in 2013 in Sudan for "causing disturbances" and she states that her writing "is a reflection of my understanding and attitude towards life on the political, humanitarian, and social levels."

The stories in this volume vividly illustrate such an understanding: 'In the Muck of the Soul' traces the soul-destroying experiences of a woman trying to deal with a harshly indifferent bureaucracy when looking to raise money for her son's kidney transplant operation. 'One Room Sorrows' portrays a mother's response to her children's chronic hunger while she struggles with the effects of her husband's death in war and 'A Woman Asleep on Her Bundle' describes the troubling questions raised by a woman who sits every day outside the mosque. The stories are bleak and harsh, comments on a society that forces its people to live like this.

Other stories are more personal and playful: in 'Thirteen Months of Sunshine', the developing relationship between a Sudanese woman and an Ethiopian man flourishes on the back of delightful revelations about each other's cultures. Likewise, 'Cities and Other Cities' is a mischievous depiction of a passenger's bus journey to Khartoum.

The stories also vary in tone and length. 'A Week of Love' is barely a page long, written in the form of diary entries, but the spare, poignant sentences are able to conjure a complex, dramatic situation. By contrast, 'In the Muck of the Soul' is written as if part of a screen play, each "scene" being a specific camera shot but the apparently impersonal tone has the effect of making the story even more moving. 'Stray Dogs' has another approach: it recounts scenes

with dogs as a desperately hungry diabetic woman descends into hallucination, the plight of the woman being sharpened by the hilarity of the encounters.

The powerful, descriptive prose is perhaps best illustrated in *Passing*, a daughter's reflections on the death of her father, and the bitter-sweet memories his loss evokes. This story was originally published in *The Book of Khartoum* (edited by Raphael Cormack and Max Shmookler), an anthology of works by several Sudanese authors.[1]

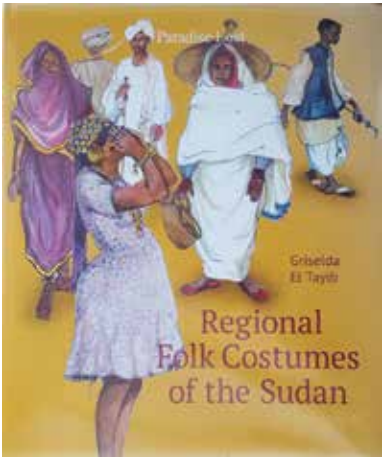
The stories are more often searing rather than amusing, which means that they can leave the reader feeling overwhelmed by their portrayal of unsympathetic people and a harsh society. However, the clarity of writing raises unforgettable images, testimony not only to the author's skills but also those of her translator, and Rania Mamoun deserves to be better known on the wider, international stage.

Robyn Thomas

Robyn Thomas has spent many years overseas; whilst in Khartoum, she taught English literature and language at several colleges and universities, including Khartoum, Ahlia and Ahfad.

[1] This collection was reviewed in *Sudan Studies* Issue 55

Griselda El Tayib, **Regional Folk Costumes of the Sudan**, DAL Group, Khartoum, 2017, ISBN 978-3-94-019096-3[1]



Dr Griselda El Tayib has produced a spectacular book on folk costumes of the Sudan. It examines an extensive variety of examples. It also explores the women and men who are wearing the costumes and the way of life that they have created. The book offers a voyage of discovery to people who have never seen the Sudan as well as to people who have spent a lifetime there. The presentation of the book benefits from her artistic skills.

The author launched the work for her thesis in 1972. Professor Sayyid Hamid Hurreiz wrote that, "this notable thesis is the first academic work in the Sudan to tackle such a topic. On the basis of the work she was awarded the first MA degree in Folklore by the University of Khartoum in 1975. In this respect she is a pioneer." (p. 9).

Samia Omar Mohamed Osman, Founder and Manager of Khartoum International Community School (KICS), wrote the following: "Griselda's zest for life and ceaseless energy shine through all her work. Her lively sense of humour and witty outlook on life enabled her to enjoy the naming of newer fashions and styles that reflect current events or hot topics." (p. 11).

The author has a power of perception, a lively mind and an artistic precision in representing these people whom she finds fascinating. In 2012 she was granted the MBE for her contributions to British-Sudanese relations.

She dedicated the book as follows:

> For my beloved husband,
> the late Abdulla El Tayib, author of many books –
> here is my one and only book for you.

She shared Professor Abdulla El Tayib's devotion to Sudanese folk culture. She also worked together with him by providing the illustrations for his *Folk Tales from the Northern Sudan*. The second edition (2016) of that book was recently reviewed in *Sudan Studies* (Number 57, March 2018, p. 66).

Regional Folk Costumes of the Sudan was published by the DAL Group in

[1] Technical terms in this review follow the spelling conventions of the book.

Khartoum[2] as part of their Book Series *Paradise Lost*. The directors of DAL personally experienced the loss of their ancestral homes by the river Nile in Northern Sudan, when their lands were flooded by the waters of the High Dam near Aswan in 1964. They were fully aware of the damage inflicted by a drastic resettlement upon the Nubian culture that had developed since ancient times.

The author worked on the book together with two colleagues: Enikö Nagy (editor and producer) who also produced a major book of her own entitled *Sand in My Eyes: Sudanese Moments*, and Sara El Nager (assistant editor and researcher) who has had a lengthy involvement with Sudanese society and culture as a journalist and writer.

The book opens with a study of the historic past of costume and dress. An early mediaeval wall painting of an Eparch of Nobadia has the feature of double horns in his crown and a similar feature may be observed again and again in more recent times: notably the cap of an elderly dervish (*tagiya um garnein*, literally, 'cap with two horns') on display in the Khalifa's House Museum in Omdurman. The rule of the Mahdiyya (1881-1898) is credited with having produced a consolidation in Sudanese folk costume. It involved a "sobering-up and discipline on the clothes of both sexes throughout the Mahdist state." (p. 31).

The fieldwork for her thesis had a focus on four regions and didn't aim "to cover the entire range of Sudan's rich and diverse regional traditional costumes." (p.186).

Region 1: The Nubian area along the Nile in the northernmost Sudan was a home for the women's black garment known as the *jarjara* "remarkable for its long exaggerated trail, at least a metre in length, which sweeps along the ground and is intended to wipe out the woman's footmarks so that she cannot be traced by the devil."

Region 2: Since 1861 the Rushaida have come from Arabia to lead a nomadic

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[2] Publications by the DAL Group in the Book Series *Paradise Lost* are as follows:

Nubia before the 1964 Hijra, Herman Bell, 2009. ISBN 978-99942-902-1-5.

Sudanese Nubia: Portrait of a Vanishing Culture, Robert Dvořák, Holly Payne, Abdelhafiz Gafar Ali, 2015. ISBN 978-99942-3-961-0.

Regional Folk Costumes of the Sudan, Griselda El Tayib, Nagy Enikö (ed.), Sara El-Nager (asst. ed.), 2017. ISBN 978-3-94-019096-3.

Watch Your Step, Khawaja. A British Teacher in Sudan, 1958-1966, Peter Everington, 2017. ISBN 978-99942-0-357-4.

Al-Sudan fi-sittinat al-qurn al-'ashrin [*The Sudan in the Sixties of the Twentieth Century*], Mansur Al Khalid, *et al.*, 2018. ISBN 978-99942-1-215-6.

life in the eastern Sudan. Often adorned with silver jewellery, a woman may be dressed in a garment which is "almost an individual tent, for inside its voluminous capacity, a Rashaida woman will carry out all her bodily functions, such as working, sleeping, dancing, playing, giving birth… she is always inside her *tob*." (p. 58).

Region 3: Some of the Beja of the eastern Sudan lead a settled life, but others, especially the Hadendawa, tend to be pastoral. The Hadendawa are noted for their remarkable hairstyle "frequently fluffed out by means of a decorated wooden comb or prong called khulal…, which is stuck into the hair at a jaunty angle." (p. 87).

Region 4: The Riverain Sudan extended southward from the area evacuated by the Nubians in 1964, beyond Khartoum to Sennar on the Blue Nile and Kosti on the White Nile. Here the author observed considerable homogeneity of costume. She examined the traditional weaving processes west of Shendi and noted how before independence the "setting up of the Gezira Cotton Scheme and the rigid controls on the sale of raw cotton almost totally killed the cottage industry of homespun and woven cotton." (p. 98). The cultural context of costumes is investigated in detail. This section has excellent descriptions of topics such as 'The bride of the riverain Sudan.' (p. 136-142).

However, the data on the Sudanese *tob*, the principal garment of Sudanese women, was so rich and varied that this topic demanded a section for itself. There is a highly entertaining description of the great variety of names given to *tobs*, both those which represent the height of fashion and those which are less desirable. Fashionable names for *tobs* are as follows: *turab al dahab* – 'gold dust'; *yisimmak* – 'may it poison you,' a silk *tob* meaning one is poisoned with jealousy for not getting one like it; *layali al kharif* – 'nights of the rainy season'; *talafun al habayib* – 'lovers' phone call.' (pp. 160-161).

Certain recent imports of a long-sleeved dress with a matching headscarf were not highly regarded and therefore given the following four names: *shamarat* – 'gossip,' because it can be donned in haste to catch the latest gossip; *habooba jannat*, 'the old woman has gone crazy'; *al mara maragat*, 'the woman's gone out in a hurry'; and *al zanja al raba* – 'the fourth wife', whose husband cannot afford four *tobs* and who because of her ranking, is at the bottom of the pecking order (p. 175).

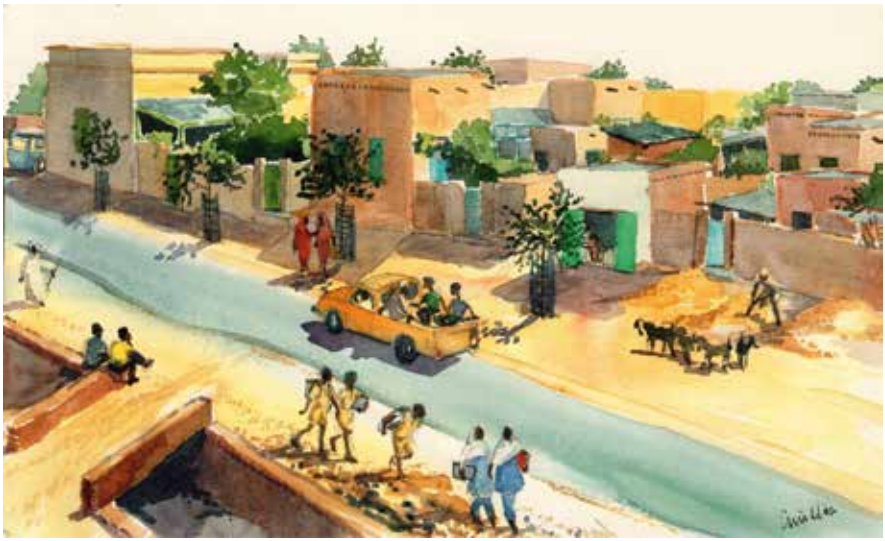
During her academic work in 1972-75, the author took note of the changing role of women in society. She pointed out that "attractively dressed girls with their new found economic independence are eligible for marriages of choice rather than arranged cousin marriages as in the older pattern of

Sudanese society. As a result the younger generation of men are becoming more flamboyant since mutual attraction rather than arranged marriages is currently becoming the basis of marriages. Even in later years, when the state imposed legislation governing women's dress in public and the black *abaya* and *niqab* appeared, women were able to adapt these and did not relinquish their independence." (p. 168).

At the same time the author took note of "something which emerged as a national costume and indeed for men this is also the costume worn by Sudanese ambassadors to meet foreign heads of states to which they are accredited. It consists of white *jallabiya*, *tagiya*, white turban, plain *markub*, and white, brown or grey *abaya*, overcoat." (p. 168). She also noted that for "Sudanese women, the national dress has changed radically… The *tob* survives and it seems likely to remain as the distinctive national costume of Sudanese women wherever they are, including for women ambassadors from Sudan to other countries." (p. 169). In the chapter entitled 'Then and Now' which updated her conclusions from the year 1975 to the year 2016 (p. 15), she reconfirmed the earlier concept of the national costume for women and men (p. 186).

Her book can be enjoyed at two levels. It is a well-researched academic description of a topic that is important for a deeper understanding of the Sudan. It is also beautifully illustrated.

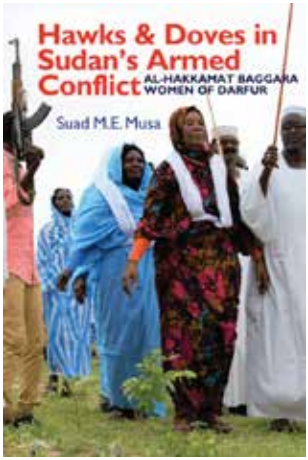
This review concludes with one of the author's relevant illustrations entitled 'Going to School'. Although this illustration does not appear in her book, a detail from it was displayed on the front cover of *Sudan Studies* (Number 57, March 2018). The full picture below presents a variety of costumes.



Herman Bell

Professor Herman Bell, PhD (Northwestern) and MLitt. (Oxon.), directed research on Sudanese African languages at the University of Khartoum. He was Sudan Expert with the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names. He is now an Honorary Research Fellow at Exeter University.

Suad M. E. Musa, **Hawks and Doves in Sudan's Armed Conflict: Al-Hakkamat Baggara Women of Darfur,** James Curry, 2018, ISBN 9781847011756 hardback, £60.



Hakkamat is a local term in Darfur, traditionally bestowed on Darfuri Arab women who have been recognised by their communities for their poetic and singing skills, and who under the title of *Hakkamat* compose and perform poems and songs for the benefit of their tribes. Suad Musa's book examines in depth the history and roles of Baggara Arab *Hakkamat* in Darfur, and how their roles and identity have been affected over recent decades by political and socio-economic factors, and in particular by armed conflict. In doing so, Musa provides a rich and valuable account of the subject. Significantly, too, her book shows why it would be wrong to regard women in situations of armed conflict in Darfur only as victims of conflict, or as natural peace-builders, and not to recognise their varied agency.

Following a short introduction to the subject, the ten chapters take the reader through a detailed exploration of the history and dynamics of the *Hakkamat*. The first two chapters discuss salient aspects of the context, focusing firstly on ethnicity and administration in Darfur, and then on the causes and implications of conflict there. The third chapter investigates the *Hakkamat* as individuals and as an institution within Darfuri Baggara agro-pastoralist society, looking at how they traditionally gain their title and their roles, which can include arbitration in community disputes. Chapter 4 explores their roles in local inter-ethnic (or inter-communal) conflicts, while chapters 5 and 6 explore how government and national politics have then interacted with and influenced the *Hakkamat*, focusing on the impact of Sudan's wider armed conflicts, in particular the second civil war's Darfur front in 1991-92 and the Darfur conflict from 2003 to 2010. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 extend the analysis, looking at how the duties and obligations of *Hakkamat* evolved, their roles in peace and reconciliation initiatives, and how their identity has changed in urban and rural contexts in Darfur.

The core chapters of the book are rich in detail, backed up by primary sources and references, and this provides a solid basis for the observations and conclusions Musa draws. In chapter 4, for example, she presents numerous colourful *Hakkamah* songs, verbatim (in Darfuri Arabic and English), woven into accounts of specific incidents, showing how the *Hakkamat* played an active

role, in word and song, defending the ideals and interests of their tribes during repeated episodes of inter-tribal conflict since the 1970s. With this evidence, Musa judges that the *Hakkamat's* influence in these local inter-communal conflicts has generally been destructive or negative: they have often proved to be "agents of fierce attack and retaliation", though the magnitude of their role should be seen in perspective against larger factors instigating and driving conflict. Inevitably, perhaps, the interaction between *Hakkamat*, national government under the National Islamic Front and the National Congress Party, and the wars of the 1990s and 2000s, led to some co-option and manipulation of *Hakkamat*, and to their authority and identity being contested. As chapter 6 relates, in the early 2000s a Union of *Hakkamat* and *Sheikhat* was set up in Nyala, and at one point it numbered at least 150 members. Urban-based, however, and taking part in government-backed initiatives, the union and its member *Hakkamat* (and even their singing) were evidently sometimes scorned by the rural-based traditional *Hakkamat*.

One of the great strengths of the book is that it is well informed by interviews and examples of *Hakkamah* songs, a wide selection of literature, and detailed knowledge of Darfuri (and Sudanese) society and politics. The book is based on the author's doctorate research, with interviews conducted in Darfur (principally in El Fasher and Nyala) with *Hakkamat, Sheikhat*, tribal leaders and others. This is complemented by a substantial bibliography of sources in Arabic, as well as an array of relevant sources in English. The book is also helped by Musa's ability to draw on more than a decade of professional work in gender and development initiatives with governmental and international non-governmental organisations in Sudan.

Recognising that women in situations of armed conflict have varying roles is not in itself new. But the recognition is important if a conflict is to be properly understood and if initiatives to resolve it are to be as effective as possible. As *Hawks and Doves* relates, women have usually not been adequately included in peace initiatives in Darfur or in Sudan more broadly. They should have been, and they should be in the future. Change in that regard, globally, is rightly one of the objectives of ongoing international advocacy on the theme of women, peace and security.

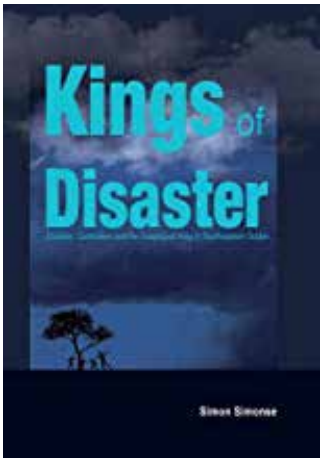
While most of the book is focused on the *Hakkamat*, the author gives some space to considering parallels elsewhere in Africa. In particular she considers comparisons between the *Hakkamat* and women spirit mediums among the Shona in Zimbabwe in the colonial period, and concludes that the *Hakkamat*, so far, have generally not managed to transcend limited ethnic or tribal boundaries in a comparable way. This comparison aside, it could be interesting to explore other examples, from elsewhere in the world, of women

with traditional community-based roles which have mixed interactions with local armed conflict and civil war, and what parallels and differences there are with the roles of the *Hakkamat* in society, politics and conflict in Darfur.

That, however, is a subject for other writing. *Hawks and Doves* won the 2019 Aidoo-Snyder prize awarded by the Women's Caucus of the United States-based African Studies Association. It well deserves to be recognised as a valuable contribution to scholarship on Darfur and Sudan more broadly.

Richard Barltrop
Richard Barltrop was the 2015 William Luce Fellow at Durham University and is the author of *Darfur and the International Community: The Challenges of Conflict Resolution in Sudan* (IB Tauris, 2011).

Simon Simonse, **Kings of Disaster: Dualism, Centralism and the Scapegoat King in Southeastern Sudan.** Revised, illustrated edition. Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 2017 and Michigan State University Press, 2018. First published 1992 by Brill, Leiden, paperback £32.



This revised edition of the now classic ethnographic work by anthropologist Simon Simonse contains welcome new additions, including 90 illustrations (mostly photographs by the author), two new indexes (a usefully detailed general index and a valuable name index of the key authority figures mentioned in the book) and some revisions to the text, particularly to emphasise its relevance to theories of state formation. These additions enhance the accessibility of the book's contents and its value as a visual as well as documentary account of communities on the east bank of the Nile.

It is to be hoped that the revised edition, available in paperback and e-book formats, will introduce the volume to new readers, since it is an extremely rich and insightful historical ethnography. Its significance can be seen in terms of two broad aspects – its major theoretical contribution to political anthropology and its detailed ethnographic and historical documentation of a region of South Sudan during and before the 1980s. I will start with the latter aspect since this is likely to be of more immediate interest to readers of *Sudan Studies* and because it should be emphasised that the book does not require an academic background in anthropological theory in order to be appreciated, whether in parts or whole. It provides unusual depth and detail in its fascinating account of the history, culture, spiritual life and political organisation of around 20 indigenous political units between the Nile and Kidepo rivers. Of multiple ethnicities (Bari, Lotuho/Otuho, Pari, Lulubo/Olu'bo and Lokoya), these communities shared similar forms of age-set organisation as well as the division of cosmological powers over disasters and blessings among individual office-holders translated as 'masters', the most powerful of which were the 'kings (and queens) of rain', responsible for war and peace and above all for preventing (or causing) drought.

For those interested primarily in South Sudan's history, Simonse provides us with a unique picture of life in this region in the 1980s, based on ethnographic research conducted over several years while he was working at the University

of Juba. Such evidence is all the more valuable with the subsequent passage of time and extent of conflict, displacement and change. The book contains (now illustrated) descriptions of public life, meetings, rituals and celebrations, government chiefs and their courts, warfare, livelihoods, economies and ecologies, songs, dance, material culture and spatial organisation. In addition to this picture of life in the 1980s, the book also contains extensive historical research, which is of considerable value to understanding the deeper past. Chapters 4-6 can be read alone as important accounts of the nineteenth and twentieth century history of the region, interweaving published and archival records by foreign travellers and colonial administrators with oral history and memory. The emphasis is on exchange and dynamism in the political cultures of the region, challenging older depictions of their isolation and vulnerability. These historical chapters thus establish an important foundation for the ethnographic detail of later sections and ensure that the book avoids the pitfalls of earlier structural anthropology, which tended to depict an unchanging 'ethnographic present', even in the midst of the violent disruption wrought by colonialism. Nevertheless, the book is reflective of its own era's ethnographic approach and style in which there is little discussion of reflexivity, positionality and fieldwork methods, such as has increasingly become expected in anthropological publications.

The author does however make clear his own background in the anthropological traditions of the University of Leiden and articulates very lucidly the important theoretical approaches and contributions of the book to wider political theory. In particular, the book challenged the established dichotomy between states and stateless forms of political organisation by showing that even in societies where political authority was plural and diversified, there could still be a unifying figure of central authority, which Simonse terms the 'king'. There is potential to misread this term – these 'kings' did not exercise absolute or large-scale sovereignty but existed in a kind of perpetual tension with the community and particularly with the ruling age-set, the *monyomiji*. Perhaps the most insightful aspect of the book is its analysis of this conflictual yet reciprocal relationship and the 'drama' of periodic crises that it generated and resolved. While Evans-Pritchard's theory of segmentary opposition among Nilotic societies is well-known, Simonse applies a similar theory to the antagonistic relationship between rain-king and people in eastern Equatoria. Drawing upon and modifying René Girard's theories, the detailed analysis in Parts II-IV shows that unity could be achieved not only by opposing a common enemy group, but also by opposing the king and even on occasion, actual regicide. Varying between opportunistic aggressor and scapegoat victim, the king acted as both enemy and unifier of the people and

thus helped to generate consensus, particularly through the release of tension that accompanied his (ideally peaceful) death.

Simonse distinguishes these kingdoms from states because of this constantly shifting balance of power and competition between king and people, rather than the accumulation of power and 'irreversible centralism' that has characterised states. The book ends with a reminder of the 'deep-rooted sense of egalitarianism that made the peoples in the area resist the spectre of the state', leaving the reader to wonder just how irreversible state power in South Sudan has become or whether the drama of antagonistic relations between king and people continues to play out to some extent in state-society relations. It seems a pity that the revised edition did not also provide the opportunity to include an additional afterword on the history of this area since 1992, some revisiting of the original research sites, a sense of the book's reception by its subjects and their descendants, or reflection on the implications of the study for South Sudan's ongoing political and governance questions (particularly given the author's subsequent career in conflict transformation work in the wider region). But perhaps it is right that readers are left to reflect on this themselves and that the volume stands as a vivid depiction and historicisation of a particular period in the life of these communities. Whether and how people have adapted and innovated forms of political organisation and ritual authority to mitigate disasters and make peace since then are questions left open for others to research and debate, with the great benefit of this volume's historical-ethnographic evidence and theoretical insights to draw upon.

Cherry Leonardi
Durham University

News from the Sudan Archive, Durham

The range of material in the Sudan Archive provides an exceptionally rich research resource for scholars in all disciplines of studies relating to Sudan and South Sudan, and to the wider region, with records dating from the 19th Century to the present day. We are open to all, so please pay us a visit or get in touch, whether to further your own research, to suggest additional records we should try to collect or to make a donation to the collections yourself. More details: www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/sudan/.

Philip Winter O.B.E. was the 2019 Sir William Luce Fellow. His excellent lecture, delivered on 13th June at Trevelyan College, is now available online and is entitled 'A Border Too Far: the Ilemi Triangle yesterday and today' (https://www.dur.ac.uk/sgia/research/fellowships/). The 2020 Sir William Luce Fellow will be Dr Katie Hickerson. Her lecture, on 11th June 2020, will be on the topic, 'Mortal Struggles: death rites and imperial formations in Sudan, 1865-1935'. The annual lectures in this series – on subjects relating to East Africa and the Gulf – are open to all and if you wish to attend, please contact me (details below).

Recent accessions to the Sudan Archive

Acquisitions of recent publications are not generally noted – but are nevertheless received with deep thanks. Large accessions generally remain uncatalogued for a period of time but can usually be accessed on request.

Jean Brown Sassoon, anthropologist (1927-): Southern Sudan (Yei, Wau, Mundri districts) agricultural development reports and plans, produced by Booker Agriculture International Ltd. for the Sudan Government and by the Planning Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Juba (1981-85).

Catherine Durnford: Papers and photographs of Rev. Francis Henry Durnford (1882-1969) and his wife Lucy Victoria Carless (1893-1988), including photographs of the railway Saloon Church (1920s-1930s).

*__Cunnison family__: audio recordings made by anthropologist Prof. Ian Cunnison (1923-2013) in N. Rhodesia (Zambia) (1940s).

Michael Rupp, missionary: printed items on the history of Sudan and wider Africa (1940s-2010s).

Online newsletters of Episcopal Church and missionary organisations active in Sudan and South Sudan (2010s).

Paula Gibson, Marianne Nicol, Alida England: papers, photographs and ephemera of D. A. F. Watt (*c.* 1877-1942), hydraulic engineer, River Nile (principally in Egypt) (*c.* 1900-1939).

*__Margo Russell__: photographs of public events at Acholi, Torit, Malakal, Kapoeta, Yambio and [Juba], Southern Sudan (1970s).

*__Carol Sarsfield-Hall__: Sudanese objects collected by E.G. Sarsfield-Hall (1886-1975), Sudan Political Service 1909-1936.

SOS Sahel International UK: Maps, photographs and printed items relating to the work of this NGO, particularly relating to desertification and conciliation (1932-1936, 1975-2013).

The New Military Game of Gordon-Kitchener or the Conquest of the Soudan, board game (*c.* 1898).

* accruals to existing collections.

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SSSUK Notices

Society for the study of the Sudans (UK)

New Subscription Rates for 2020

The last increase in the SSSUK subscription rates was in 2008, and we are pleased to have been able to hold them steady since then. However, the Society has run at a deficit for the last three years, so we are now obliged to raise the rates.

This circular, therefore, is to ask members who pay by standing order to contact PayPal or their banks to increase the amount they pay from 1st January 2020, using the rates shown on the table below. Please note that SSSUK does not operate a direct debit system, so cannot do this for you.

If you do not already pay via a PayPal or bank standing order we would be most grateful if you would set one up, as it makes collecting subscriptions much easier.

New SSSUK subscription rates for 2020 onwards, agreed at the 2019 AGM

	UK	Europe	Elsewhere
Individuals – standard rate for members paying by PayPal or bank standing order	£18 (£12)	£25/€28 (£18/€22)	£25/US$30 (£18/US$25)
Individuals – paying by cheque or cash	£20 (£14)	£28/€31 (£20/€24)	£28/US$34/ (£20/US$30)
Students (with identification)	£12	£16/€18	£16/US$20
Institutions	£28 (£20)	£32/€35 (£25/€30)	£32/US$40 (£25/US$35)

Previous rates are shown in brackets
Exchange rates are those prevailing in September 2019

Other ways in which you can help.
We can increase our income if members who pay UK income tax complete the Gift aid form available on our website www.sssuk.org. If any members are able to add an additional donation, then that will be very helpful in tackling our deficit too, and in the longer term we would also welcome any legacies.

If you have any queries, or need advice, please feel free to contact me at treasurer@sssuk.org. Most grateful if you would also let us have your email address, if you have one.

Adrian Thomas, Hon Treasurer,
November 2019
30 Warner Road, London N8 7HD

Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK)
33rd Annual General Meeting,
7th September 2019, SOAS

MINUTES

1. Apologies

Apologies for absence were received from committee members Andrew Wheeler and Zoe Cormack; and from members John Ashworth, Willow Berridge, Simon Bush, Lesley Forbes, Diana Harkness, Hisae Kato, Pieter Tesch and Philip Winter.

2. Minutes

Garth Glentworth queried one matter from the minutes of the 32nd AGM of 22nd September 2018, regarding the issue of extra seminars. Gill Lusk informed the meeting that these had been discussed by the committee and it was hoped to make some progress in the next year. The minutes were then accepted as a true record.

3. New President

Gill Lusk, the Chairperson, introduced the Society's new President, the author Leila Aboulela, who addressed the membership.

4. Elections to SSSUK committee

Mawan Muortat took the chair as a number of existing Trustees had agreed to stand for re-election. The following were elected by a show of hands:

Gill Lusk, Chairperson, proposed by Selma El Rayah and seconded by Cherry Leonardi.

Adrian Thomas, Treasurer, proposed by Garth Glentworth and seconded by Fergus Nicoll.

Jane Hogan, Secretary, proposed by Justin Willis and seconded by Alice Moore-Harell.

Andrew Wheeler, proposed by Judith Large and seconded by Francis Gotto.

In addition, Rebecca Bradshaw, who had been co-opted to the committee the previous year, stood for election, proposed by Charlotte Martin and seconded by Fidaa Mahmoud.

All those elected will serve for a period of 3 years.

5. Chairperson's report

Gill Lusk welcomed everyone to the Annual Symposium and the AGM, and said she was delighted that so many people had come. She spoke of the

momentous events in Sudan and the challenges facing everyone. The symposium would focus largely on the recent revolution which she felt would be a subject for study and discussion for a long time to come. She reported that the committee had been discussing in some detail the future direction of the Society and would welcome the thoughts of members.

6. Secretary's report

Jane Hogan reported as follows:

Back copies of the journal, *Sudan Studies*, had been offered to members for the price of the postage and there were still plenty of these early editions available.

Members were encouraged to let the Secretary or Treasurer know if they changed their email account, as this was the cheapest way of keeping in touch with everyone.

7. Treasurer's report

Adrian Thomas reported that he was happy to serve for a further 3 year period as Treasurer but would then want to stand down, so he would be glad to hear from anyone who was interested in taking on this role.

Most of our subscription income goes on the production of the journal so when other expenses are taken into account we are running each year at a deficit. Our reserves have gone down from £8,500 in 2015 to £5,900 in 2018. There was no immediate cause for concern but we would need to address this issue. The committee, therefore, proposed an increase in subscription rates and a paper with the new rates was circulated. For most individual members paying by PayPal or bank standing order this would mean a rise from £12 to £18 (£25 for those based outside the UK). The new rates were approved by a show of hands. Our membership is holding steady at 220 but a larger membership would increase our income and enable us to engage in more activities so members were asked to encourage friends and family to join.

Thanks were extended to Heywood Hadfield for his work in examining the accounts.

8. Editor's report

Charlotte Martin spoke about the latest edition of *Sudan Studies*, in which she had tried to reflect current events. In view of the heightened interest in the content, extra copies had been printed and were on sale at the symposium. At last year's AGM, a request for a special issue of the journal on a particular subject (e.g. education) had been made and this had been discussed by the committee. In view of the production costs, it would not be possible to issue an extra edition on top of the two currently produced, but it would be possible to

devote one issue to a single topic. However the Editor would need input from others to make this possible, perhaps for the issue after next and she would be glad to hear from anyone interested in helping.

Members were encouraged to contact the Editor about potential articles for publication.

9. Website Editor's report

Michael Medley was unable to attend but his earlier request for help with the website and for someone to eventually take over this role, were repeated. A number of offers of help were made and these would be followed up.

10. Any other business

Aziz el Nur Abdel Magid said that holding extra seminars would attract new members and encouraged the committee to pursue this matter.

Griselda El Tayyib asked if the annual symposium could always be held early in September and others agreed that this was a particularly good time for a number of reasons.

Jane Hogan, Honorary Secretary
1st October 2019

Appendix: News of Society Members

Sadly we must record the deaths of two people close to the Society.

As we noted in the summer edition of *Sudan Studies*, Number 60, we learned only belatedly that **John Hannah** had died in July 2018, aged 92. John was an Assistant District Commissioner in Juba in late colonial times and recounted some of his experiences in *Sudan Studies* No. 57. We offer our condolences to his widow, Mary Hannah, who tells us that his years in Sudan "mattered enormously" to him, and to his son, Lieutenant Colonel David Hannah, who served in South Sudan with the United Nations Peacekeeping Force and who informed us of his death. We shall carry an obituary in the coming issue of the SSSUK journal, *Sudan Studies*.

More recently, the Society lost a long-standing member and supporter of Sudan, **David Henderson**, who passed away on June 29th, 2019. David was born in Khartoum and spent much of his childhood in Darfur to where he returned in the early 1960s to teach for two years. After the death of his younger son Harry in a road accident in 1996, David was instrumental in setting up in his memory around 12 Harry`s Homes in Khartoum for displaced children who were then living in huge camps outside the capital. These have proved to be a model, demonstrating how much more effective family-grouped homes

are at raising children than large orphanages can possibly be. David was the son of K. D. D. Henderson, a British official under Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule whose prolific writings can be read in the Sudan Archive at Durham University. We extend our condolences to Kate Henderson and are very pleased that she wishes to remain a member of SSSUK.

Our thoughts are also with **Mansour Khalid**, who has been seriously ill in hospital in London. Mansour, a Sudanese former Foreign Minister and also the author of several books on his country, including in English, spoke at our Annual Symposium in 2015 on "The Paradox of Two Sudans: the CPA and the road to partition". On a personal note, as the then Education Minister, he was the driving force behind his Ministry's English-language teaching scheme launched in 1975 and thus behind my near lifelong involvement with Sudan. I joined the scheme that year in Nyala, during the first year of what was to turn into a long stay in the country. We send him our very best wishes.

Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK)

The Society for the Study of the Sudans (UK), (founded in 1986 as the Sudan Studies Society of the UK) encourages and promotes Sudanese studies in the United Kingdom and abroad, at all levels and in all disciplines. SSSUK is a registered charity (No. 328272).

Enquiries about Society matters and membership should be addressed to:

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Membership:

Anyone with an interest in South Sudan and Sudan, general or specialized, is welcome to join the SSSUK. Membership is by annual subscription payable in January each year; new members can join at any time. Current annual subscription rates are:

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Sudan Studies

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All correspondence, articles and features relating to *Sudan Studies* and books for review should be addressed to:

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Notes for Contributors

SSSUK welcomes notes and articles intended for publication, to be assessed by the Editorial Board. The maximum length is 5,000 words including footnotes; longer articles may be accepted for publication in two or more parts. Short pieces are also welcome. Notes and articles should be typed in Times New Roman and single spaced and should normally be submitted as Microsoft Word files and sent to the editor as an e-mail attachment. Maps, diagrams and photographs should be of high definition and sent as separate files, with a file name corresponding directly to the figure or plate number in the text. Any bibliographies should be in Harvard style. SSSUK retains the right to edit articles for reasons of space or clarity, and consistency of style and spelling.

It is helpful to have some relevant details about the author (2-3 lines), e.g. any post held or time spent in the Sudan and interest in the topic being discussed.

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