

K U S H

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
14TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NUBIAN STUDIES
PARIS 2018

VOLUME XX
2023

THE PRINTING OF THIS VOLUME HAS BEEN FINANCED BY
THE MUSÉE DU LOUVRE AND SORBONNE UNIVERSITÉ/UMR 8167
ORIENT & MÉDITERRANÉE

PRINTED ON THE PRESS OF THE FRENCH INSTITUTE
FOR ORIENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY (IFAO)

NATIONAL CORPORATION FOR ANTIQUITIES AND MUSEUMS
Ibrahim Musa, Director General

MUSÉE DU LOUVRE
Laurence des Cars, President-Director

SORBONNE UNIVERSITÉ
Nathalie Drach-Temam, President

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE
Pierre Tallet, Director

© Musée du Louvre, Paris (France), 2023

© Sorbonne Université-CRES, Paris (France), 2023

ISBN 978-2-72471-049-6

EDITORS	Marie Millet & Vincent Rondot with the assistance of Frédéric Payraudeau & Pierre Tallet
PEER REVIEW COMMITTEE	Michele Buzon, Élisabeth David, Serge Feneuille, Matthieu Honegger, Adam Łatjar, Séverine Marchi, Marie Millet, Frédéric Payraudeau, Claude Rilly, Vincent Rondot, Pamela Rose, Salaheldin Mohamed Ahmed, Robin Seignobos, Stuart Tyson Smith, Pierre Tallet, Pawel Wolf, Magdalena Wozniack
EDITORIAL COMMITTEE	Rachael J. Dann (English reviewer), Faïza Drici, Marie Millet, Vincent Rondot
GRAPHIC DESIGNER	Fatiha Bouzidi

Copyrights: p. XVI, 1002 © Musée du Louvre, Christian Décamps; p. 1, 163, 895 © Musée du Louvre, distr. RMN-Grand Palais, Christian Décamps; p. 91 © Italian Archaeological Expedition to the Eastern Sudan (IAEES); p. 297 © Hélène David Cuny; p. 401 © René-Pierre Dissaux/El-Hassa/SFDAS; p. 605 © Musée du Louvre, distr. RMN-Grand Palais, Georges Poncet; p. 743 © DebaDam Archaeological Survey Project/QSAP, Fawzi Hassan Bakhiat.

Fusion and Splitting of Living Space

Vernacular patterns and socio-cultural relationships
in Omdurman between the 19th and 20th centuries

by MARINA D'ERRICO

The aims of this current research are twofold: firstly, to attempt to understand the dynamic relations between a traditional organisation of living space and a new kind of cosmopolitan resident community in Omdurman; secondly, to attempt to analyse the particular features that have ensured the permanence of this kind of spatial organisation until the present, in the same way as they enabled it to spread so successfully in the past.

The starting point for this research is the seemingly simultaneous emergence of a series of new events and trends, namely the new singing style, *haqibat*, the nationalist movement, and the development of soccer clubs in the period after World War One in the oldest traditional quarters of Omdurman. This occurred in areas such as al-Mawrada, 'Abbasiyya and Abu Rof, and in the new *Deims* of Khartoum, a result of the British Master Plan carried out in 1910. However, the latter have not been included in the present study because they cannot properly be considered examples of vernacular architecture and traditional urban layout.

From a topographic point of view, the current research has focused on the area of al-Mawrada because it is the one which crops up most frequently in the limited number of reports, studies and documents about the traditional neighbourhoods of Omdurman, probably because of the fame achieved by some of its residents.

MUSIC AND FOOTBALL IN THE TWENTIES

The worlds of music and sport are areas which historians have for too long ignored, whereas recent studies,¹ have underlined the important role they have played in the development of a Sudanese national consciousness.

¹ See EL-SIRR A. GADOUR, *Sudan Studies* 27, 2001; KHALID AL-MUBARAK MUSTAFA, *Sudan Studies* 27, 2001; AHMAD ALAWAD SIKAINGA, *Slaves into Workers*, 1996; and the more recent VEZZADINI, *Lost Nationalism*, 2015, 336.

Haqibat al-Fan, which literally means “archive case”, was the title of a radio programme broadcast in the 1950s by the Omdurman radio station which was hosted by the famous presenter, Ahmed Mohamed Saleh. The show was so successful that the word *haqibat* ended up indicating a genre of music and song which developed during the ten-year period from 1918–1928, as all the songs transmitted by the radio programme belonged to this type.² In a musical panorama that was still strongly characterized by tribal distinctions — each tribe had its own repertoire of folk songs — the innovation of the *haqibat* was, above all, its national character. From its beginnings, it had absorbed the *madieh*, or Mahdist religious songs, which mixed notes and melodies of central Sudan with influences from Western Sudan. Many poets and playwrights wrote the lyrics to the *haqibat* songs which soon took on slogans, such as “Union of the Nile Valley”, of the *White Flag League* the nationalist political organization founded by Ali Abd al-Latif in 1923.

Around the same time, new trends began to emerge in the world of sport, particularly football. The first Sudanese football clubs were set up, although at first they seemed to have nothing to do with the intellectual or political worlds.

Omdurman’s al-Hilal, al-Merreiikh and al-Mawreda are still today the three most important Sudanese football teams.

The al-Hilal Sports Club was founded in Omdurman in 1930, while the other two teams were founded a few years later in the same city. The players of al-Hilal came from all over the Sudan and their origins were just as diverse: there were northern Sudanese, southern Sudanese, Sudanese of Indian or Egyptian origin, and essentially all the most important tribes were represented in the team.

While the case of Kamal Shaddid³ was almost unique as he was a national football star and at the same time a University Professor of Philosophy, the inter-connections between sport, culture and politics soon became apparent. On the one hand intellectuals encouraged sport for its characteristic of creating a tribal and social melting-pot, and on the other hand the football clubs also carried out a role as cultural and leisure centres: a shining example can be seen in the fact that the complete name of al-Hilal remains today al-Hilal Educational Club.

As for the relationship with the nationalist movement, since the colonial government banned gatherings of more than five people, except for football matches, “we thought of launching a ‘sport moon’ as a springboard for political,

² EL-SIRR A. GADOUR, *Sudan Studies* 27, 2001, pl. 11.

³ KHALID AL-MUBARAK MUSTAFA, *Sudan Studies* 27, 2001, pl. 17.

According to Sikainga,⁹ it was the presence of former slaves — who had re-acquired their freedom at the moment of the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest — mixed in with the rural populations moving into Omdurman, that was the new element that turned al-Mawrada, and other similar neighbourhoods, into a “melting-pot” for detribalisation. Unlike other immigrants who, upon arrival, joined relatives or members of the same clan or tribe already living in the city, these former slaves no longer had either families or tribes. Indeed, some had even lost any memory of their origins.

NEWCOMERS AND TRADITIONAL URBAN LAYOUT

The first and, to some extent, obvious question is: what changes, if any, did the new, detribalised immigrants bring to the original urban layout which had been initially formed on the basis of spontaneous tribal seclusion?

The first problem was to try to find the traces of the original layout of the district through the difficult task of locating maps able to show the transformations which occurred in Omdurman after the British conquest. The map (Fig. 1), attached to MacLean's technical report,¹⁰ which was also presented at the Conference of London in 1910, shows the *status quo* of a large part of Omdurman before the implementation of the British Master Plan and, therefore, the city as it was at the end of the reign of the Khalifa Abdullahi. It had taken on the characteristic honeycomb aspect; the network of streets — apart from the three principal thoroughfares — had been practically swallowed up by twelve thousand compounds which had joined together to form a compact mass.

The 1910 Master Plan for the reconstruction of Khartoum also included the replanning of Omdurman using an orthogonal grid of broad streets (between twenty and thirty metres wide), dividing the city into quarters, *rubas*, which in turn were to be divided into *aras*. This plan was only partially put into effect, as can be seen in Fig. 2. The most radical alterations occurred to the quarter of the *Mulazim*, the personal guard of the Khalifa, which was completely demolished, rebuilt and turned into a First Class residential zone. Nevertheless, a large part of the city, in particular the areas to the south, the quarter of al-Mawrada, and of Abu Rof to the north, were left unchanged. MacLean's report¹¹ does not give any clear reasons why the plan was suspended nor does it mention the relocation of the population (which, however, must have happened), but rather it underlines that the owners of the expropriated lands had been given an equivalent plot on Government land,

⁹ AHMAD ALAWAD SIKAINGA, *Slaves into Workers*, 1996, pl. 161-168.

¹⁰ MACLEAN, in *Town Planning Conference 1910*, 2011.

¹¹ MACLEAN, in *Town Planning Conference 1910*, 2011, pl. 594-595.



Fig. 1. Part Plan of Omdurman, Original State. MACLEAN., in *Transaction of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1910, 2011.

that the population had responded positively to the initiative and that the reconstruction of the dwellings had been easy as they were built of mud.

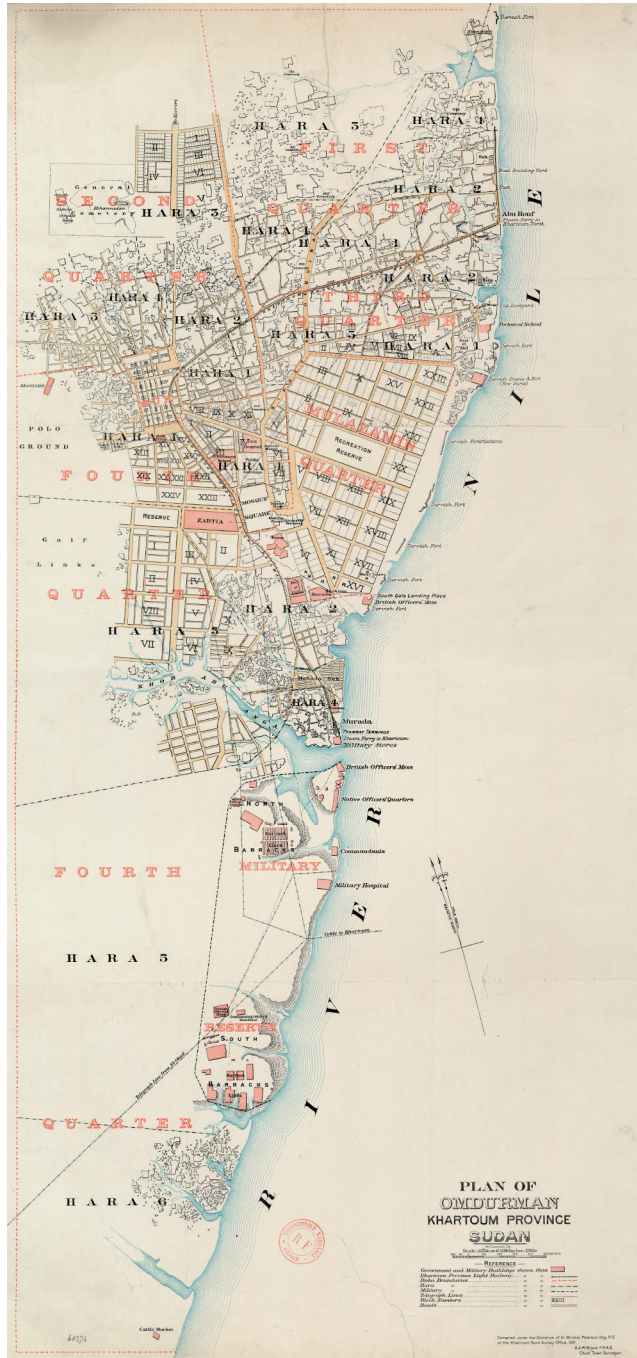
Except for the intervention of Bramble, District Commissioner in Omdurman, between 1927 and 1935, who widened the north, east and west main roads, it was only in 1950 that the Political Civil Service once again began to re-examine the plan for Omdurman and commence a preliminary survey before starting an operation of slum-clearance, particularly focused on al-Mawrada, which entailed, amongst other things, the delocalization of half its residents.

The report by J.W Kenrick¹² from the Sudan Political Service, drawn up using the Survey Department's aerial photographs taken during the winter of 1950-51, and a preparatory survey for the implementation of the plan, particularly in al-Mawrada, confirmed that in the area which had escaped the application of the British Master Plan in 1910 the original layout had remained virtually intact. Kenrick is extremely clear on this point: "*Instead of replanning from the beginning, they [i.e. the colonial administration] fixed on their maps the existing irregular layouts of the Khalifa's reign*".¹³

¹² KENRICK, *SNRec* 34, 1953.

¹³ KENRICK, *SNRec* 34, 1953, pl. 281.

Fig. 2. Plan of Omdurman, 1911. Compiled under the Direction of El Miralai Pearson Bey RE at the Khartoum Town Survey Office. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cat.BNF n. GE C-4449.



The first result of our research is, therefore, that the layout of these quarters did not undergo any significant change following the arrival of these new, detribalized residents.

SOCIO-SPATIAL SAFETY-VALVES

A closer analysis has revealed a series of social and spatial elements which facilitated the integration of groups who were non-homologous to the clan-tribal system into this urban layout originally conceived precisely for that system, and all of this occurred without leading to any significant upheavals or changes.

Some of these elements, which acted as a social safety-net, had existed for a long time in the urban history of the Arabic-Islamic world. In the cities, such as Omdurman, the power of the founding sovereign/promoter — unlike in European town planning — was counter-balanced by the residents' autonomy. The founder/promoter's task, in fact, was simply to mark out the principal thoroughfares and choose the areas for the public buildings, the mosque and the palace above all. The remaining urban area was assigned as individual property to the aristocracy (*dars*) and collectively (*khitta/khitat*)¹⁴ to the various clans, tribal or family groups who managed it in complete autonomy and who, once clear borders had been defined, organized it freely via a series of private negotiations and agreements among their sheikhs. There were therefore two separate decision processes, as Besim Hakim¹⁵ defines them: the macro-decisions regarding the city (ruler) and the micro-decisions of the neighbourhoods (citizens), where the latter were based on a dense network of private negotiations between different social groups conducted through the mediation of their sheikhs which acted as a social safety-net. This was also true for Omdurman. Even though the Khalifa had divided the city into sectors into which the various tribes or *qabila* could be allocated and had, later on, intervened to move some of them, the spatial organization within each quarter was left to the residents themselves.

As far as the urban layout itself was concerned, the basic project was not of a geometric type and neither could it be: the relationship between the system of streets and buildings, between public and private space, were completely inverted with respect to the norms of European town planning. If, in the West, the urban planner first of all draws up the network of streets and then places the buildings within the spaces thus created, in Arabic-Islamic cities, on the contrary, the dwelling places come first and the streets adapt to the space that is left. In fact, due to the importance of the family in Islamic social structure, the

¹⁴ DENOIX, in *The City in the Islamic World*, 2008, pl. 118.

¹⁵ BESIM SALIM HAKIM, ZUBAIR AHMED, in *The City in the Islamic World*, 2008, 197, pl. 19, 22, 102.

starting point of any urban process was the house itself, which expanded (and this is definitely one of the aspects which had given Islamic urbanism the epithet of organic) just like a plant which envelops everything, including areas of common space, incorporating them in corridors for private access, but always with the agreement of neighbours.

In its expansion, the dwelling unit, thanks to the particular Sudanese model, either merged together or split apart, depending on the evolution of family relationships. This gave rise to clusters to which the same dynamic was transmitted, and which we shall refer to as fusion and splitting. These acted as true spatial safety-valves and it was through their interaction that the general urban layout developed into its final, true form. Indeed, at the end of the process the network of streets (except the main thoroughfares) was reduced to a minimum structure of narrow winding alleys, *cul-de-sacs*, gates and steps, which filtered access from public space to the private intimacy of the house. It is this predominance of the private — a private, however, negotiated within a social group — over the public, which shows how conventional Western logic is completely the opposite of Arabic-Islamic urban planning.

FUSION AND SPLITTING: THE COURTYARD HOUSE

In traditional Arabic-Islamic cities such as Omdurman, the need to protect the family and maintain its privacy made the courtyard house, *hawsh*, the most suitable model for the achievement of this aim. *Hawsh* means enclosure and this is in fact the original idea which the *hawsh* is based upon; it encloses and protects a series of living spaces. Strictly speaking, the *hawsh* could also be circular with circular dwelling units, *tukuls*, and could itself give rise to clusters, which could spread to cover extensive areas and even include an entire village, as described by Werne on the banks of the White Nile.¹⁶ Subsequently, probably with the increase in urban dwelling density, the quadrangular layouts, with corners that are not necessarily 90°, took the place of other possible forms. It is easy to see why the adoption of longitudinal walls, even if they are at times non-continuous or broken, allows neighbouring houses and different clusters to be closer together and greatly increases the efficiency of the use of space. Between two or more circular structures, there would be one and only one point of contact and dead spaces become inevitable.

Today, any memory of the circular *hawsh* has vanished as well as the *tukuls* which existed even in Khartoum right up until the end of the 19th century. The *hawsh* has become, therefore, the courtyard house, whose origins have been lost in

¹⁶ WERNE, *Expedition to Discover the Sources*, Vol. II, 1849, pl. 112-115.

the mists of time and which can be found throughout the hot arid climate areas from the Atlantic to China, but which are also present in Europe from Venice to Scotland.

It is common to distinguish between two subgroups of courtyard houses, although there can be countless variants, due to the vast geographical area and time span in which this type of domestic construction can be found. The Roman *domus* which had a courtyard in the middle and the dwelling spaces pushed back around the perimeter walls to surround the central space, in contrast to the model generally widespread in the Sudan which has the built-up dwelling unit in the centre of the area surrounded by an open courtyard. The view which holds that the two subgroups differ only in their morphological characteristics is nevertheless misleading. Indeed, as we shall see, it is the entire structure which changes. The simple inversion of the plan, in which the position of the courtyard around the living quarters is the key element, in reality overturns the vectors of the forces at play on two levels, both inside and outside the plot.

Within the plot, in a central position, is the original housing unit whose centrifugal force expands, without encountering obstacles, from the centre towards the perimeter marked by the surrounding wall, generating, by parthenogenesis, the other modular units for children and grandchildren. Within two or three generations the relationship between built up and open space is inverted. The courtyard, initially superior in surface area to the built-up space, is gradually reduced, as the various dwelling units are built, until, in some cases, it becomes a simple corridor. The demographic density increases while the surface of the plot remains the same; this is one of the key elements which makes this model particularly suitable for absorbing demographic growth without having to make use of raised storeys and building upwards.

On the outside, the perimeter of the plot is a simple enclosure and is made of light materials (mud bricks, but sometimes only a sequence of posts or a line of bushes) which can be easily removed, moved or perforated. That is, it acts like a system of mobile screens which serves to organize the empty space around the built-up structure according to the needs of the family which grows or, on the contrary, which fragments due to marriages or inheritances. The perimetral position of the courtyard ensures, from time to time, the dynamic of fusion and splitting of the Sudanese courtyard house which, as a consequence, has unrivalled characteristics of adaptability.

The following sketches illustrate the process; they have been drawn by the author based on the plans produced as a part of a survey¹⁷ carried out between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, by the third section, Low-Cost Housing, of the Ministry of Housing. The primary objective of that survey was

¹⁷ MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, 1998.

totally different from our current research. It was undertaken to highlight the influence that social factors had had on the design of dwellings and to verify the inhabitants' degree of satisfaction, all with an eye to future planning of low-cost housing. In our case, the building plans proved to be particularly useful, especially to determine whether the design of dwellings and living spaces had any influence on the social behaviour of initially non-homogeneous groups. First and foremost, there is the fact that the selected dwellings were built during the 1920s in the traditional quarters of Omdurman and, therefore, they were constructed in the right place and at the right time for the focus of our current research. Secondly, the buildings clearly matched the criteria listed by the Ministry of Housing which classify certain dwellings as "traditional", i.e. the physical structure had to be constructed by residents (without the aid of an architect), and local materials had to be used. The organization of space corresponded well to a traditional way of life, guaranteeing, for example, the division between men's and women's living spaces and the privacy of the family. In fact, the central position of the dwelling unit divided the courtyard into two parts: an anterior space, towards the entrance, used by the men, and a posterior one for the women.

Fig. 5 shows the situation at the start of the Ministry of Housing survey, in 1989, for two housing units owned by the same family. Dwelling unit No. 1 consisted of two parts: the female unit (section A), built in 1920, where the mother lived, and the male unit (section B), built in 1931, where an unmarried son lived (details in Figs. 3 and 4). The second dwelling unit (no. 2), the oldest because it was built in 1910, occupied by a married son, had no direct access to the street but only indirect access through sections A and B of unit 1. Following two marriages, the spatial configuration had changed in a short time by parthenogenesis (serial multiplication), entailing the merging and splitting of housing units. Fig. 9 shows the new situation as it was in 1991. The son, who married, had created his own dwelling unit (no. 3) on section B and had separated it (splitting) completely from the original household property, closing the passage to his mother's house (detail in Fig. 6). Another close relative, who married at the same time and claimed his share of the inheritance, built a new dwelling, No. 4, on an area made up of plots of land from dwelling units 1 and 3 (detail in Fig. 7). This can be considered a practical example of the principle stated above: the demographic density has increased while the surface of the plot remains the same.

The most interesting aspect of the evolution of this plot, is that it introduces the subject of cluster formation, and concerns the problem of direct access to the street, which not only unit 2 but also unit 1 lacked in this new configuration (Fig. 9). The solution was found by opening communicating passages, *nafaj* (which have been marked using red arrows in the drawing), between different dwelling units. By making the *nafaj* openings in their respective fence walls, units 4 and 5 had *de facto* granted units 1 and 2 the right of way through their properties. The neighbours of dwelling unit 5 (detail in Fig. 8) had recently joined the

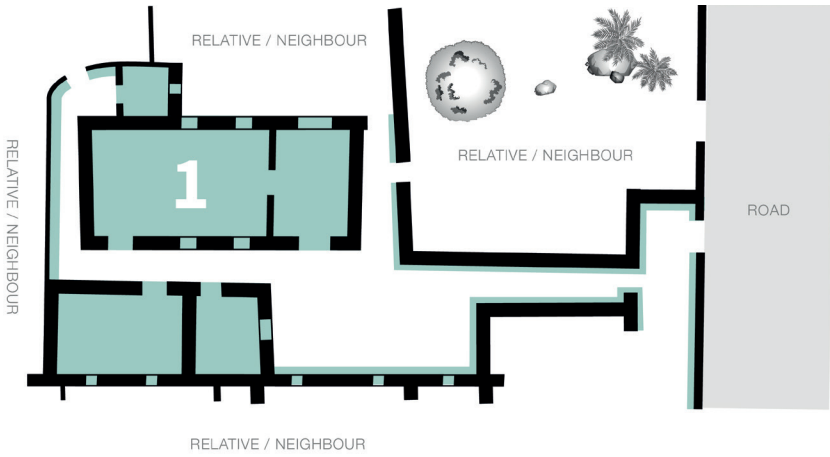


Fig. 3. Dwelling Unit, no. 1, section A, built in 1920. Sketch by the author after MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, 70.

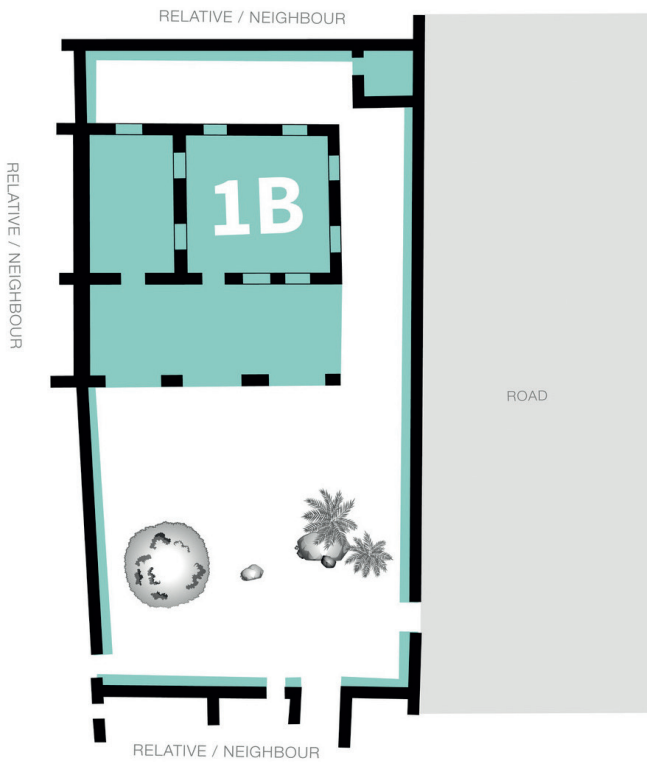


Fig. 4. Dwelling Unit, no. 1, section B, built in 1931. Sketch by the author after MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, 70.



Fig. 5. Dwelling Units no. 1 and no. 2 (the latter built in 1910). Sketch by the author after MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, back-cover.

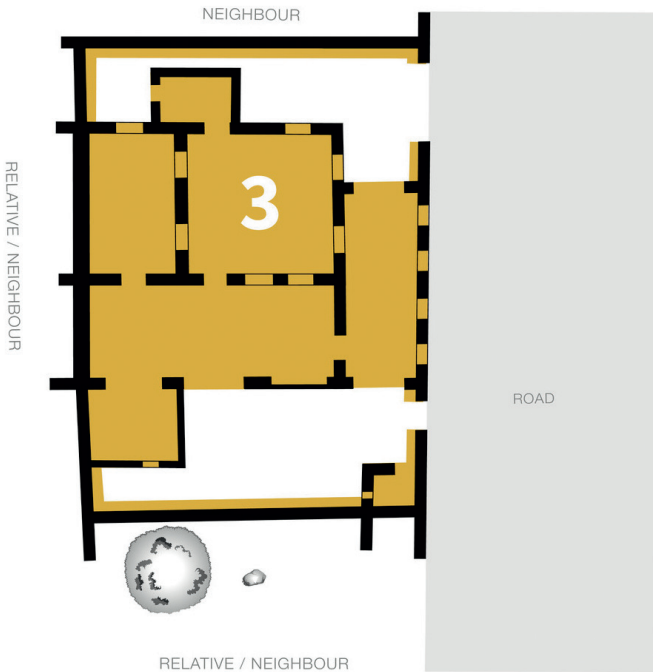


Fig. 6. New Dwelling Unit no. 3, in 1990 after the changes. Sketch by the author after MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, 80.

FUSION AND SPLITTING OF LIVING SPACE



Fig. 7. New Dwelling Unit no. 4 in 1990 after the changes. Sketch by the author after MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, 71.



Fig. 8. Dwelling Unit no. 5, built in 1930. Sketch by the author after MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, 66.



Fig. 9. Block of Dwelling Units, 1991. Sketch by the author after MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, back-cover.

same family clan as in-laws, since their daughter had married the son of the owner of unit 1 and the young couple had settled in dwelling unit 2.

With these weddings the four units (1, 2, 4, 5) became joined together (fused) in a *cluster* joined by a *nafaj*, opened in the perimeter wall, which allowed free movement from one property to another, while dwelling n. 3 was a self-contained unit on its own.

FUSION AND SPLITTING: THE CLUSTERS

As indicated above, the dynamic process of fusion and splitting is transmitted from the courtyard house to the cluster and totally depends upon the existence of the *nafaj*, which too often is simply relegated to the role of a backyard service opening, through which the women of the household could swap butter or sugar and exchange the latest gossip. This type of passage in reality plays an important role in spatial and social functions.

First of all, it is the element which, on an urban layout level, allows the fusion or splitting between neighbouring clusters, in accordance with continually evolving family relationships, with the minimum expenditure and technical difficulty. This type of process could expand to include an entire agnatic group involving up to around twenty families, forming clusters which at times could cover an entire neighbourhood. Or, on the contrary, it could allow the settling of non-homogeneous newcomers even within a socially cohesive group which had already settled in the area, simply by creating separating curtain walls, closing old passageways and opening new ones: one next to the other but separate. Actually, there is no reason to doubt that this was indeed what happened in the majority of cases.

Secondly, the possibility to create private pathways which allow socially related elements to connect while excluding unrelated elements, without needing to go out onto the public street nor violate the intimacy of the living quarters, rests, in most cases, on the *nafaj*. Through this opening in the enclosure, movement between one courtyard and another occurs thanks, once again, to the perimetral position of this open space; what is even more interesting is the possibility to alter and vary the pathways. It would be virtually impossible to imagine a similar mobility, for example in the Roman *domus italica* or in the Venetian courtyard house where the perimeter was made up of a solid encircling area of living rooms, and the options for a passageway were reduced to basically only one. In fact, the connecting axis from the *atrium* to the *exedra*, in the first case, and from the front door to the so-called *Porta dell'Acqua*,¹⁸ directly opposite the canal,

¹⁸ Water's door.

in the second, could only run through the central area of the open court-patio, i.e. inside the dwelling.

However, the fusion/splitting dynamic was not without limits. In the moment that the occupation of the urban terrain, following successive germinations reached a point of saturation (such as in areas of extremely high population density), the structure of the neighbourhood, but also of the entire city, became a compact mass as we saw above in MacLean's map. The margins for manoeuvre had been considerably reduced. It was precisely at this moment that the function of the *nafaj* could become irreplaceable.

In Fig. 9, two dwelling units (1 and 2) out of five do not have a direct opening onto the public street, rather they can gain access to it via passageways that run through the properties of neighbours/relatives.

Even if the data in our possession are not sufficient to enable us to calculate the statistical frequency of similar situations, they cannot have been unusual in Omdurman's traditional neighbourhoods, above all in the past. A number of testimonies are particularly significant in this regard. In the previously mentioned Kenrick report¹⁹ the Mawrada area is described as follows: "it was cut up into blocks by narrow 5-metre lanes, but these blocks were each a honeycomb of small congested plots, many which were internal plots having exit only through a neighbour or by a tiny cul-de-sac." Even though the 1950s survey was specifically focused on al-Mawrada, the report considered it very likely that identical conditions could be found in other traditional Omdurman neighbourhoods: "It would not be stretching the study of statistics very far to presume that the conditions revealed by the survey of the Murada area can be expected to exist in the other old quarters of Omdurman...".²⁰ Besides, this was also what McLean's report to the London Conference (1910) seemed to suggest: "(...) and the streets are simply vacant spaces left between the compounds, (...) converging to a width hardly sufficient for two pedestrians to pass, and often blocked altogether".²¹

It should also not be forgotten that the typical neighbourhood cluster is frequently present as a subject in the judicial literature of the Maliki School, the most widespread in Sudan, from the earliest manuscripts of the 16th century²² down to the treatises of Fodiawa trio in the 19th century.²³ The clusters are considered principally under two aspects: firstly, we find the exhortation to the owners of houses abutting a public right-of-way not to encroach on these streets, or *cul-de-sacs*, but, rather, to keep them clean and accessible for the public. This

¹⁹ KENRICK, *SNRec* 34, 1953, pl. 282.

²⁰ KENRICK, *SNRec* 34, 1953, pl. 282.

²¹ MACLEAN, in *Town Planning Conference 1910*, 2011, pl. 593.

²² *Rules for Compact Urbanism*, 2017.

²³ BESIM SALIM HAKIM, ZUBAIR AHMED, in *The City in the Islamic World*, 2008.

means that the occupation of areas of lanes or *cul-de-sacs* was a quite common practice. Secondly, we find the definition of the *haqq al-irtifaq*: “the right of abutting adjacent property, and rights related to access and servitude”.²⁴

This means that, in the unfortunate event that this situation were to happen, any house owner, who no longer had access to the public street, had to be granted the right to pass through the neighbouring property. Situations like this must certainly have been common enough to attract the attention and the concern of legal experts.

Last, but not least, is the practical difficulty of creating an alternative to the right of passage. The earliest mention is in the Treatise of Ibn al-Rami, dating from the 16th century, which mentions the case of a man’s land located in the middle of others property with no passage-way,²⁵ for which the author quotes the judgement (which then established a “precedent” in approximately the same way as happens today in Anglo-Saxon legal systems) of Isa ibn-Musa on a similar case, in which the neighbours wanted to close the access to their property: in the absence of other exits onto the street, the passageway through another’s property must remain open. As an alternative: “[it] is for the owners to discuss among themselves and provide an access path to him [the applicant]”. The solution suggested was to delegate to the resident owners the task and the responsibility of finding the solutions and making the necessary adjustments to guarantee that the neighbours’ rights were respected on a case by case basis. This kind of logic was evidently incompatible with that of the axial planning proposed by the British Master Plan. It is no coincidence that the Kenrick report foresaw for al-Mawrada the relocation of half the residents of the quarter and that, according to MacLean, the definitive project for Omdurman “was only practicable in quarters where the land was sparsely occupied”.²⁶ This is probably the reason for only the partial completion of the Master Plan for Omdurman.

This is also probably the reason why, at the end of the day, the residents found it to be more practical and less costly to recognize the neighbours’ rights, even when they were no longer relatives, to freely pass through their property rather than trying to open up an alternative pathway. Similar cases must inevitably have occurred in the traditional neighbourhoods of Omdurman, which from the early years of the 20th century were the destination of a growing flow of immigration of de-tribalised elements. They certainly still existed in the 1990s. The previously mentioned investigation by the Ministry of Housing reports some complaints about the fact that access was used by people who were not members of the family. However, it does not seem that these complaints ever led to conflicts. On

²⁴ BESIM SALIM HAKIM, ZUBAIR AHMED, in *The City in the Islamic World*, 2008, pl. 664.

²⁵ *Rules for Compact Urbanism*, 2017, pl. 211.

²⁶ MACLEAN, in *Town Planning Conference 1910*, 2011, pl. 595.

the contrary, the survey concluded that “Nevertheless, the inhabitants seemed to have been able to deal with their problems”.²⁷ While historical research does indeed reveal the emergence, from the 1920s, of a cosmopolitan, metropolitan and popular culture precisely in districts such as al-Mawrada, ‘Abbasiyya and Abu Rof. Subsequently, from the 1940s onwards, new inter-tribal social connections, such as *sandug*,²⁸ came into being in which the quarter and no longer the *qabila* was the spatial dimension of reference.

The particular model of the Sudanese courtyard house, characterized by the perimetrical position of the courtyard, offers a great variety of solutions which can suitably satisfy the housing needs of the household within the plot, of the extended family within the cluster, and of neighbouring clusters even in areas of high demographic density, as in the case of Omdurman.

In reality, the similarities between the two known models are perceptible only from the outside: on the street front, the Sudanese courtyard house, just like the *domus italica*, appears closed like a fortress. The perimeter wall is impenetrable and windows are either rare or totally absent; in the large entrance gate for camels there is often a second smaller door for visitors which filters the gaze of passers-by and which is, in any case, never aligned with the axis of the entrance within nor is it directly in front of the gate of the house on the other side of the street; the entrance is, at times, the crooked so-called “bayonet entrance”. Once within the enclosure an almost totally unexpected entire world in movement opens up which overturns the spatial arrangement of pathways. On the outside, stretches of the common access are at times incorporated into private ones, while, on the inside, parts of the private areas become open to common use thus creating alternative pathways using the *nafaj* passages, through the enclosure wall. An organization of the spaces of daily life, which is able to adapt to the continually changing complexity of social relations in the private sphere, thus becomes possible. This therefore explains both the survival of this vernacular housing architecture down to the present day, as well as its capacity to absorb new non-homogeneous groups within the traditional layout which had been initially conceived on the basis of tribal seclusion, in the neighbourhoods of Omdurman such as al-Mawrada, ‘Abbasiyya and Abu Rof.

In the history of these neighbourhoods, the context of proximity, which characterizes all of the high population density areas, takes on a highly particular

²⁷ MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space*, 1998, pl. 87.

²⁸ “[...] the *sandug* (box) or rotating savings association. Such groups, common in Africa, operated on the principle of *tontine*, in which a number of individuals would contribute a sum of money at specific intervals to such a savings group; at each interval one of the contributors would take the whole amount”, AHMAD ALAWAD SIKAINGA, *Slaves into Workers*, 1996, pl. 163.

profile pervaded by the continual movement of people. The mobility of the enclosures, the increase of the number of *nafaj* and the rights of access, together created, over the course of time, common life spaces where communications and relationships became possible, thus creating interpersonal relationships of intimacy, friendship and familiarity. In addition, the re-construction of a familiar context, in certain cases ethnically mixed, was often the result of the frequent weddings between neighbours. Various elements emerged from the research that relate this particular organization of living space to social behaviour. First of all, the birth, precisely in these neighbourhoods, of the inter-tribal socio-cultural phenomena linked to the nationalist movement at the beginning of the last century. Later, the rise of new social bonds, such as *sandug*, in which the identifying reference point was no longer the *qabila* but the urban space occupied by the residents. The inhabitants of al-Mawrada, in particular, developed styles of dress and ceremonies, which distinguished them from others citizens. The wedding ceremony still attracts crowds of onlookers from all over the city. For the occasion, the bride wears a number of jewels, ornaments and articles of clothing which derive their origin from diverse parts of the Sudan.

It is interesting to observe that, starting from 1922 up to 1952²⁹ the colonial administration launched a series of initiatives with the intention of reviving an already dying tribal system. That is, from the Power of Nomad Sheikhs Ordinance (1922), which, legitimizing the judicial power of the chiefs of certain nomad groups, until the decision to re-plan just al-Mawrada in the beginning of the 1950s. About half of the neighbourhood, in fact, was demolished and rebuilt according to axial logic. A large part of al-Mawrada was divided into a series of lots separated by a grid of streets, eliminating the basis for the preservation of the two main characteristics of traditional town planning: the serial multiplication of housing units and the opening of internal passages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AHMAD ALAWAD SIKAINGA, *Slaves into Workers: Emancipation and Labor in Colonial Sudan*, Austin, 1996.
- BESIM SALIM HAKIM, *Arabic-Islamic Cities. Building and Planning Principles*, London, 1986, 3rd edition, 2008.
- BESIM SALIM HAKIM, ZUBAIR AHMED, "The Sub-Saharan City: Rules and Built Form", in *The City in the Islamic World*, 2008, 663-676.
- DENOIX S., "Founded Cities of the Arab World from the Seventh to the Eleventh Centuries", in *The City in the Islamic World*, 2008, 115-139.

²⁹ HOLT, *A Modern History of the Sudan*, 1974, pl. 136.

- HOLT P. M., *A Modern History of the Sudan*, London, 1961.
- INTISAR SOGHAYROUN ELZEIN SOGHAYROUN, "The Dialogue between the River Nile and its Hinterlands: Al Khandak – A Desert Terminal and a River Port" in *Water, Culture and Identity: Comparing Past and Present Traditions in the Nile Basin Region*, Terje O. (ed.), Bergen 2009, 109-140.
- KHALID AL-MUBARAK MUSTAFA, "Sport and Nationalism in Sudan", *Sudan Studies* 27, 2001, 17-33. <http://www.sssuk.org/drupalSite/sites/default/files/sudanStudies/SS27.pdf> (last access 23 March 2023)
- KENRICK J. W., "Slum Clearance in Omdurman", *SNRec* 34, 1953, 281-286.
- MACLEAN W. H., "The Planning of Khartoum and Omdurman", in *The Transaction of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Town Planning Conference, London 10-15 October 1910*, Whyte W. (ed.), Abingdon, 2011, 575-595.
- MUNIRA HAMED EL NIEL DAIFALLA, *Utilization and Differentiation of Space. A Study of Social Factors Influencing House Design in Third Class Areas in Khartoum, Soudan*, Stockholm, 1998.
- Rules for Compact Urbanism. Ibn al-Rami's 14th Century Treatise*, Besim Salim Hakim (ed.), London, 2017.
- SHARIF TARIQ, *Umm Durmān, mathaf al-asāla*, Khartoum (?), 2003.
- EL-SIRR A. GADOUR, "Northern Sudanese Singing 1908-1958", *Sudan Studies* 27, 2001, 2-16. <http://www.sssuk.org/drupalSite/sites/default/files/sudanStudies/SS27.pdf> (last access 23 March 2023)
- AL-TUM AURU WID'AA MUHAMMAD YUSIF, *Al-Hawiyya al-Sudaniyya, min al-Murud ila al-Murada*, Khartoum, n.d.
- VEZZADINI E., *Lost Nationalism, Revolution, Memory and Anti-colonial Resistance in Sudan*, Rochester, 2015.
- WERNE F., *Expedition to Discover the Sources of White Nile in the Years 1840-1841*, (translated by C. W. O'Reilly), London, 1849.

مكتبة آثار وتاريخ السودان. وسعداء أكثر أن قرر الزملاء في باريس نشر هذا العمل باسم العدد ٠٢ من مجلة كوش (Kush XX) ، هذه المجلة التي أصبحت إرثا لهيئة الآثار السودانية وقد مضى علي إصدارتها الأولي نحو سبعين عاما. ويعتبر هذان المجلدان اللذان يحتويان علي مساهمات أكثر من سبعين متخصصا انجازا أكاديميا عظيما في تراث وادي النيل الأوسط و سوف يكون في متناول مئات الباحثين والطلاب إذ يحتوي المجلدان علي نتائج عدة سنوات من الجهد لعشرات الباحثين الذين قاموا بالأعمال الحقلية والدراسات العملية والمكتبية في كل فترات تاريخ السودان منذ فترات ما قبل التاريخ حتي العصر الحديث ودراسات الجامعات المتحفية وإدارة المواقع الأثرية والتراث الثقافي بشكل عام والدراسات المتخصصة المساعدة الأخرى. ويحتوي هذا العمل علي قائمة مراجع تعتبر عصاره أعمال مئات العلماء عبر أكثر من قرن من الزمان. فالشكر والإمتنان للجمعية العالمية للدراسات النوبية والتي ظلت وعبر أكثر من نصف قرن تجمع المتخصصين من شتي أنحاء العالم ليقدموا للمجتمع العلمي العالمي أحدث أبحاثهم حول آثار هذا الجزء من أفريقيا.

سوف يضاف هذا الجهد إلي إنجازات المهتمين بالسودان من الفرنسيين منذ رحلات لينانت دو بلفوند و فريدريك كايو في الربع الأول من القون التاسع عشر وحملة إنقاذ آثار النوبة في الستينات من القرن الماضي والكثير من مواقع السودان في مرقسا وأرض الحجر وجزيرة صاي وصادنقا و صلب وكرمة (مع البعثة السويسرية) وكدركة وقسم أربعة ومواقع إعادة التوطين المرتبطة بحملة إنقاذ آثار سد مروى (٢٠٠٣ - ٢٠٠٩) في الملتقي وفي بربير وفي وادي المكابراب وفي الهوجي وفي الحسا والمويس وود بانقا وسوبا والجريف شرق وأرياب في جبال البحر الأحمر وفي كردفان. هنالك قائمة من المؤسسات الفرنسية سوف تبقى علي الدوام في ذاكرة الأثاريين السودانيين حيث أسهمت علي الدوام في الكشف والحفاظ علي إرث البلاد الحضاري وتدريب أجيال من الأثاريين السودانيين الذين تحملوا مسؤولية إدارة هذا التراث وتعليمه في الجامعات والمعاهد السودانية. وفي هذه السانحة لا بد لنا من ذكر جامعة شارل ديغول - ليل ٣ وجامعة السوربون ومتحف اللوفر والمركز الفرنسي للبحث العلمي (CNRS) والمركز العالمي للعمارة الطينية (CRAterre) بجامعة جرونوبل والمعهد الوطني للبحوث الأثرية الوقائية (INRAP) والمعهد الفرنسي للآثار الشرقية (IFAO) وأخيرا وليس آخرا وحدة الآثار الفرنسية الملحقة بمصلحة الآثار (SFDAS) والتي ظلت علي مدي أكثر من أربعين عاما المعهد الأثاري الأجنبي الوحيد المقيم في السودان بشكل دائم ولم يتوقف عطاءه حتي بعد إندلاع الحرب إذ واصل أداء رسالته من مدينة القاهرة جنبا إلي جنب مع مسئولي الآثار السودانية الذين نزحوا لجمهورية مصر العربية. وتبقي وزارة الخارجية الفرنسية وسفارتها في الخرطوم هما الدعامتان الاساسيتان لإستمرار هذا التعاون عبر عشرات السنين.

كلنا ثقة في أن ما يحدث الآن سوف ينجلي وسوف يلتقي الأصدقاء من كل أنحاء العالم في السودان آمن لمواصلة الحفاظ علي الإرث الأثاري لوادي النيل الأوسط تحت مظلة مشروع عملاق كالمشروع القطري - السوداني للآثار.

مقدمة

صلاح الدين محمد أحمد

المنسق العام / المشروع القطري السوداني للآثار

عندما إتصل بي الزميل والصديق فانسا روندو (Vincent Rondot) قبيل أعياد الميلاد للعام ٢٠٢٣ طالباً مني كتابة مقدمة هذه الوقائع، كنا قد دخلنا في الشهر التاسع لحرب السودان التي بدأت في صبيحة ١٥ أبريل ٢٠٢٣. وقد كنت وكل زملائي وأصدقائي تحت صدمة الدمار الذي أصاب البنية التحتية في بلادنا وما أصاب أهل البلاد من نهب للممتلكات وتقتيل وإغتصاب ونزوح قسري من الديار لشتي أنحاء السودان وخارجه. وتزامن إتصال الزميل فانسا مع إتساع الحرب بشكل فجائي لمئات الكيلومترات جنوب الخرطوم. لقد كانت حسرتنا نحن قبيلة الأثاريين مضاعفة فهي حسرة علي ضياع البلاد وأهلها وحسرة علي الإرث الحضاري لهذه المنطقة من وادي النيل وخوفنا علي ما يمكن أن يحدث أو يكون قد حدث بالفعل لمتاحفنا في الخرطوم وفي نيالا وفي الجنيينة وأخيراً في مدينة ود مدني في الجزيرة والخراب الذي يمكن أن يحل بمواقعنا الأثرية في شتي أنحاء هذه الأرض الغنية بمخلفاتها الأثرية.

وسط كل هذا الخوف والتوجس والإحباط كان إتصال الزميل فانسا خيط من ضوء وأمل في نهاية النفق. شعرت بأنه لا زال هنالك أصدقاء يعملون من أجل هذه البلاد التي عاشوا فيها وإختلطوا بأهلها وإحبوا تاريخها وظلوا يعملون تنقيبا في المواقع الأثرية وبحثا في المكتبات والمعامل لعشرات السنين من أجل الكشف والمحافظة علي إرث هذا الجزء من وادي النيل.

السودان الذي تجمع من أجله مئات المتخصصين من شتي بقاع العالم في باريس في المؤتمر الرابع عشر للجمعية العالمية للدراسات النوبية في سبتمبر ٢٠١٨ لا زال في وجدان هؤلاء الأصدقاء الذين لم يتخلوا عن حبههم لهذه البلاد رغم الظروف العصبية. لقد كان ذلك المؤتمر تظاهرة أكاديمية إستثنائية. وقد كان حضور عدد كبير من الباحثين السودانيين أمراً لافتاً وقد تحقق هذا بفضل مساهمة مالية كريمة من متاحف قطر والتي ظلت عبر السنوات الماضية تقوم بتمويل أكثر من أربعين بعثة أثرية تعمل في السودان وقد كان جزءاً كبيراً من أعمال هذا المؤتمر مخصصاً لأعمال (المشروع القطري - السوداني للآثار) والذي بدأ في شتاء ٢٠١٣/٢٠١٤.

واليوم نحن سعداء بكتابة مقدمة وقائع هذا المؤتمر والذي كان شراكة موفقة بين متحف اللوفر وجامعة السوربون. هذه الوقائع التي تجيء في مجلدين سوف تكون إضافة مقدره

كوش



أعمال

المؤتمر الدولي الرابع عشر للدراسات النبوية

باريس ٢٠١٨

العدد العشرون

٢٠٢٣

كوش



أعمال

المؤتمر الدولي الرابع عشر للدراسات النوبية

باريس ٢٠١٨

العدد العشرون

٢٠٢٣



9 782724 710496