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The Deathscapes of Khartoum

Spaces of death or “deathscapes”¹ are vital parts of the city, as every human culture has developed different funerary expressions that correspond with local beliefs and values. The importance of these spaces, however, remains largely obscured from general discourse as they are often pushed to the periphery and are given little thought and reflection. Deathscapes have the ability to act as physical archives that preserve the history of the city by the accumulation of the stories attached to them. Through this archiving process, spaces of the dead have at times intersected with spaces of the living and become contested sites where the socio-political relations in the city play out.

To uncover these relationships in a Sudanese context, three types of deathscapes in Khartoum will be examined: the *qubbas* of Sufi holy men, cemeteries, and monuments and memorials in the city. Each type will allow us to view the influence of deathscapes across different scales: the building, the landscape, and the object. Adopting this lens while examining the relationships and overlaps between the living and the dead allows us to see the city in different ways, since “not only are those places often emotionally fraught, they are frequently the subjects of social contest and power.”² By looking at the influence of deathscapes, this essay tries to understand the relationship between death, remembrance, and memorialization in the city to reveal who and what is being memorialized and what history tells us about the state of memorialization in Khartoum.

Qubbas and the Power of Architectural Influence

One of the most important and influential deathscapes that have had a deep influence on Sudanese society are the domed shrines or *qubbas*, the burial places of Sufi holy men (*shuyookh/awliya*).³ For the past five centuries, *qubbas* have defined the skyline along the banks of the Nile as prominent landmarks within the villages and towns in the central, northern, and eastern regions of Sudan. They seem to have emerged with the first Islamic dynasties in Sudan, the Abdullab and the Funj, between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴ The practice of building and maintaining these *qubbas* has remained rooted within Sudanese society, as they are viewed as sacred “objects of visitation and places of personal supplication and collective remembrance, centers of religious life in its spiritual and social aspects.”⁵

The powers of the *shuyookh* — referred to as *karamat* — are considered blessings from God which transcend even death, rendering the shuyoukh's gravesites as powerful places that are vital for the community.⁶ These *karamat* in *qubbas* and tombs manifest in different forms, from curing various illnesses to aiding women with fertility, which are powers linked to the shaykh sometimes prior to his death.⁷ It is a belief so rooted in Sudanese society that the names of

awliya immediately spring to followers' lips in times of illness, distress, and danger, motivating pilgrimages to their 'resting' places in request for blessings (*barakat*).⁸ Qubbas are most likely to remain active destinations for pilgrimage when associated with *khalwas* and *masjids*, the religious centers of Sufi orders (*turuq*) that act as institutions of religious worship, teaching, and instruction.⁹

The strong relationship between *awliyas* and communities is the reason why qubbas can usually be found close to or within a cemetery, surrounded by the graves of their relatives and disciples. These deathscapes offer an interesting intersection between life and death, as they are places full of activity where religious celebrations are continuously being performed. The qubba of Shaykh Hamad Alnil in Omdurman, for example, is one of the most important religious and touristic destinations in the capital as it holds the *Noba* every Friday, a public ritual for *dhikr* that begins with a procession across the cemetery which then transforms into a gathering where recitation, singing, and dancing take place.¹⁰

Intisar Soghayroun notes that the origins of the architecture of qubbas of Sufi holy men in Sudan differ from counterparts in the Islamic world, as they were derived from local pre-Islamic architecture, such as Kushite pyramids and the rounded structures of conical huts of the Shilluk and Nuer tribes of South Sudan.¹¹ She remarks that the red bricks used to construct many of the Funj-era qubbas were taken from the ruins of the Christian churches and domestic architecture of Alodia, concluding that "pagan, Christian and Islamic elements blended to the benefit of Islam."¹² The architecture of Funj-era qubbas, however, was greatly impacted by the invasion of the Turks in 1821, as the Turco-Egyptian administration introduced the new style of a square base under the qubbas.¹³



Turkish qubbas and cemetery in Khartoum. Author's own image.

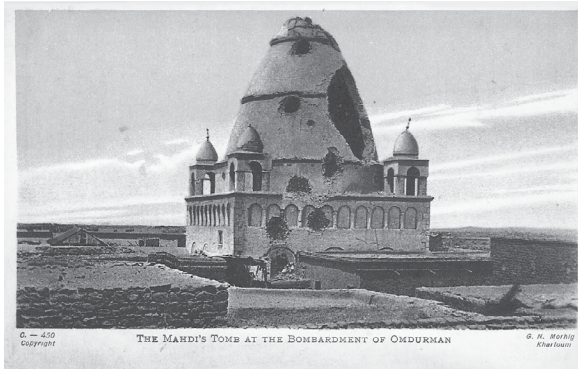
In downtown Khartoum east of the intersection of Baladiya and Alqasr avenues stand two of the last remnants of the Turco-Egyptian rule in Khartoum, known as the Turkish qubbas. These funerary structures were erected within the Old Khartoum Cemetery¹⁴ and were surrounded by subsidiary graves of native Sudanese soldiers recruited into the Turco-Egyptian army.¹⁵ In 1885, the Turks were overthrown by the Mahdists¹⁶ and Khartoum — the old capital of the Turks — was dismantled to allow for Omdurman — the capital of Mahdist state — to rise.¹⁷ The survival of the Turkish qubbas in the face of the erasure of Khartoum is surprisingly linked to the most prominent symbol of the Mahdist state, the qubba of the Mahdi himself. It is suggested that the Turkish qubbas were used as architectural models for the Mahdi's qubba since there is structural similarity between these qubbas evident in the design of the square base below the qubba.¹⁸ Ironically, the greatest symbol of Mahdism would come to be heavily influenced by the architecture of the regime which it fought against.¹⁹

Through building this magnificent qubba unlike any other in Sudan at the time, the power of the figure of the Mahdi continued and expanded beyond his death, with his tomb becoming a prominent symbol and a site of pilgrimage.²⁰ The British were quite aware of the power of this symbol for Mahdists when they marched towards Omdurman in 1898 for the reconquest of Sudan during the scramble for Africa. Therefore, to demolish the Mahdi's qubba and other major parts of the city, the British brought the 5.5-inch Howitzers, which were supplied with high explosive lyddite shells that were fired in the battle of Omdurman for the first time in history.²¹ Omdurman fell quickly as the Khalifa's army was no match to British firepower that slaughtered over 12,000 Mahdists.²² Kitchener's troops even went as far as desecrating the Mahdi's tomb most savagely in a symbolic mirroring of the decapitation of Gordon,²³ and the Mahdi's remains were cast into the Nile River.²⁴ With the destruction of his qubba, the Mahdi's influence was declared vanquished and his tomb remained in ruin for the majority of Condominium rule over Sudan (1898-1956). Alsayid Abdulrahman Almahdi repeatedly appealed to the British government to allow him to rebuild his father's tomb yet his requests were continuously turned down out of fear of a Mahdist revival.²⁵ Finally, after 49 years, the British permitted Alsayid Abdulrahman to rebuild the qubba in 1947.²⁶

The influence of the Mahdi's qubba took new forms afterwards as the 20th century was marked by a surge of Sufi activity in Sudan. This "religious revival" of Sufi brotherhoods was particularly promoted by Ja'afar Nimery, president of Sudan between 1969 and 1985, who is credited for replacing old qubbas and building new ones, a trend that continued beyond his presidency until today.²⁷ Nimery's interest had political motives, as he turned to populism to garner the support of small Sufi brotherhoods.²⁸ These newly built qubbas, similar to the Mahdi's tomb, were much larger and more colorful than Funj-era qubbas and

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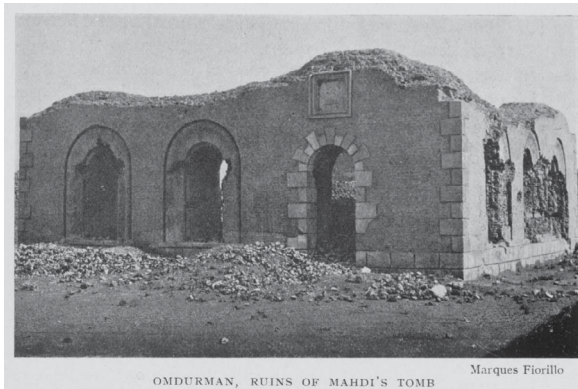
The Mahdi's tomb at the bombardment of Omdurman, 1898.



G. N. Herbig
Copyright THE MAHDI'S TOMB AT THE BOMBARDMENT OF OMDURMAN G. N. Herbig
Khartoum

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Mahdi's tomb during condominium rule after it was bombarded, 1906.



Marques Fiorillo
OMDURMAN, RUINS OF MAHDI'S TOMB

their designs featured elaborate windows, doorways, and spacious interiors. Although the style of the Funj qubbas is experiencing erasure and is truly a loss for Sudanese architectural heritage, the type of archiving and preservation of history granted to Sufi holy men through these qubbas is so powerful that their names continue to be remembered to this day.

Much like a palimpsest, qubbas accumulate layers of histories that go back for centuries, acting as physical archives that have the ability to create a bridge between the city we live in and the past. Qubbas have been at the center of many political shifts in Sudan, as they extend beyond being mere sites of burial to becoming places full of life, prayer, hopes, celebrations, and culture. The question then becomes, has the same type of memorialization and archiving moved beyond the powerful figures of holy men and defined the culture of remembrance for Sudan as a whole? To try and answer this question, we'll examine other types of deathscapes that exist in Khartoum to explore their current state when it comes to memorialization.

Cemeteries and the Changing Landscape of Burial

The Turkish qubbas, as mentioned, were erected within the Old Khartoum Cemetery, a burial place that occupied a large part of present-day downtown Khartoum, although its boundaries aren't clear. The cemetery is said to have extended from the Grand Mosque through Abu Jinzeer Square, reaching Coliseum Cinema.³² In the early 1900s, numerous human remains were found during the construction of the Grand Mosque that were linked to the old cemetery.³³ To continue with construction, a *fatwa* regarding inactive cemeteries was issued to enable the city to redevelop the land.³⁴ Abu Jinzeer Square — which is primarily used as a parking lot today — gets its name from maintaining the shrine of Shaykh Imam Bin Mohamed, who was originally interred in the Old Khartoum Cemetery.³⁵



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Slatin's Map of Khartoum and Omdurman from 1895, annotated to show the location of the Old Khartoum Cemetery as depicted in the map.

In the nearby Khartoum Civil Hospital, archeological excavations within graves linked to the Old Khartoum Cemetery were undertaken in 1944-45 led by A. J. Arkell.³⁷ These excavations revealed that the site has been occupied throughout different time periods, beginning from the Mesolithic period.³⁸ It was reported that “graves of Meroitic date have [...] been found, and a few full length burials with no grave goods. The latter are non-Moslem, and possibly date from the period when Soba was the capital of a Christian Kingdom.”³⁹ In short, the use of this area as a cemetery could very well have begun during the Meroitic period.

Khartoum was quite literally built over burial grounds. Other cemeteries around the capital were also built over and erased by referencing the fatwa of inactive cemeteries, such as the Martyrs graveyard which became the Martyrs’ (*Alshuhadda*) bus station, in addition to an old cemetery in the current location of the Palace of Youth and Children, both of which are located in Omdurman.⁴⁰

The relationship of death to the urban fabric of Khartoum is even more intriguing when examining the numerous shrines of Sufi *awliya* that have been absorbed into the public institutions and facilities of the city. Salah Omer Alsadig describes this overlap between the spaces of the living and the dead by citing many shrines, among which is that of Shaykh Ibrahim Sayem Aldahren which is located today inside the post office near Alsoug Alarabi in Khartoum.⁴¹ Alsadig explains that the post office was built around the shrine in the early 20th century but has taken to maintaining and restoring it since followers of the shaykh frequent the facility in pilgrimage to the shrine.⁴² This relationship has developed in other shrines as well, such as that of Shaykh Abdulrahman Alkhorasany who was buried within what became the Central Station in Khartoum, as well as Shaykh Mohamed Fayet, who was buried within what would later become the Supreme Council for Environment and Urban Upgrading.⁴³ These Sufi shrines nestled within governmental offices and buildings have stood the test of time and are considered a part of the religious heritage of Khartoum, giving the city a spiritual dimension.

Cemeteries, shrines and qubbas archive the histories of those buried within them as well as the history of the city itself. The cemetery allows us to understand how cities grow over time by examining the position of the cemetery in relation to the city. The majority of cemeteries in Khartoum were established on the periphery of the city, such as Hamad, Khojali, Hamad Alnil, Alsaahafa, Burri, Commonwealth, etc. As the capital grew from continuous waves of migrations in the following decades, cemeteries were surrounded by the city as a natural side-effect of the process of urbanization. The problem generated from this process is that cemeteries have become unable to expand and accommodate new pressures from the growth of the city. That is why the last decade has seen a flood of news

articles discussing a burial crisis taking place in Khartoum impacting most of the city’s cemeteries.

Burials in Sudan have historically been carried out either by the family of the deceased or by volunteers. Without an entity to organize burials and plan the space of cemeteries, the burial process was done haphazardly with little consideration to space consumption. These circumstances, among others, led to the founding of the non-profit organization *Husn Alkhatima* in 2000, which has been working towards improving burial conditions in cemeteries. Yet despite the organization’s work, most people burying their loved ones in Khartoum today experience the very difficult task of digging a grave and finding one already there and having to repeat the process until an empty burial space is found.⁴⁴

To address the burial crisis, *Husn Alkhatima* organized a series of conferences in 2009 posing the question: “Where do we bury our dead while our cemeteries are full?”⁴⁵ These efforts led the Ministry of Physical Planning for Khartoum State to plan for 52 new cemeteries by 2030.⁴⁶ The majority of these plans have yet to be realized.⁴⁷ If indeed burials were to be carried out in the new cemeteries to be established, what will happen to the existing cemeteries that are at capacity today? Will they be built over, same as the Old Cemetery of Khartoum? Or will the same cemeteries be able to continue operating in the future?

While in essence, the solution of establishing new cemeteries stems from a city planning perspective, the relationship of Khartoum’s cemeteries to planning ends at their boundaries. In contrast to the veneration given to maintaining qubbas of Sufi *awliya*, cemeteries are entirely segregated from the city and are not afforded the same level of care and treatment. Cemeteries in Khartoum, in fact, are completely disregarded from the planning and design process and most burials continue to take place haphazardly. This frayed relationship in the face of imminent urbanization could perhaps undermine the existence of urban cemeteries and lead to their loss as an archive of the city. If indeed we were to preserve our cemeteries and avoid their erasure, a radical redesign and spatial intervention is needed to convince the public that there is a need for maintaining cemeteries within the city in the future.

The Contested Space of Monuments and Memorials

Beyond the spaces of burial — whether cemeteries or qubbas — monuments and memorials can also be considered deathscapes because of their symbolic relationship to death and memorialization, as they are sometimes used to commemorate individuals that have passed, and other times they mark sites of histories and memories of death, violence and trauma. Within the latter, erecting memorials allow deathscapes to become arenas that bridge between

the private and the public realms as they “provide spaces for [...] personal mourning, spiritual solace, and private reflection on the one hand, as well as civic engagement and democratic dialogue on the other.”⁴⁸ This dialogue is able to take place in memorials because they inhabit the public sphere and act as public acknowledgement to victims of violence and atrocity.

One of the most recent events that have reshaped the spatial memory of Khartoum in relation to death was the massacre on June 3rd, 2019 during the violent dispersal of the two-month-long sit-in at the army headquarters. Security forces razed tents, opened fire and killed protestors,⁴⁹ and even went to the extent of dumping their bodies in the Nile River.⁵⁰ It’s reported that 127 people died from the violent crackdown, with some estimating that the number of deaths could be much higher as over 100 people were reported missing.⁵¹ On June 3rd, the ways in which people see and relate to this space radically changed, as all evidence of the occupation of the site was erased and murals were painted over, in an attempt to erase the collective memory of the sit-in. The relationship of the sit-in site to state power is the main reason why protestors occupied it in the first place, yet this same power is now exerted to ensure that the site is devoid of any sort of memorialization and remembrance to the sit-in and the victims of the massacre. Under the watchful eye of the military, passersby drive through what was once considered a Sudanese utopia, now transformed to a deathscape.

Calls to memorialize the December Revolution and its martyrs became the center of discussions regarding public spaces in Khartoum. Streets and public spaces were renamed after martyrs⁵² and new commemorative murals were created.⁵³ However, when considering the types of memorialization that have taken place as a result of the Sudanese revolution, it quickly appears that memorials were strictly within the bounds of renaming buildings and streets or painting over existing walls. Although proposals for creating a new memorial for the martyrs of the December Revolution circulated in social media,⁵⁴ no further steps were taken to enable such projects to come to life. In that regard, memorialization of the revolution has been very limited and involved no spatial consideration to create a new physical memorial. In fact, there has been a huge debate regarding memorials and monuments, particularly those in the form of statues.

On the 24th of January 2019, Abdulazeem Abubakr took part in a protest in Alarba'en Street in Omdurman and was photographed confronting the security forces moments before they opened fire on him and he was martyred.⁵⁵ The image of his last stand went viral and his heroic act motivated the artist Hosam Osman along with Asim Zurgan and Rami Rizig to create a statue for Abdulazeem.⁵⁶ The statue was supposed to be installed at the same street where he was martyred, however, there were outright rejections to erecting a statue in the neighborhood as it was seen to be against Islamic tradition. After failing

to erect the statue, Osman reported that after a few months, an unknown entity broke into his home and destroyed the statue.⁵⁷

The destruction of the statue of the martyr Abdulazeem is only the most recent addition to a long history of rejecting statues in Sudan going back for decades. Today, most of the monuments found around the capital are abstract pieces and it’s a rare sight to find any that relate to Sudanese history, and of course there are no statues to be found in public spaces. To understand the root causes for this phenomenon, it’s important to look back at the history of the erasure of statues in the city.

During the colonial period, two monuments were erected in Khartoum. The first was the statue of Charles Gordon as the resurrection of Khartoum under the Anglo-Egyptian administration was tied with Gordon’s remembrance. Kitchener’s first act after defeating the Mahdists was to cross over to Khartoum and hold a “second funeral of Gordon” at the exact location of his death in his government house.⁵⁸ Soon after, Gordon’s monument was inaugurated in 1903 in front of the Presidential Palace.⁵⁹ A second colonial monument depicting Kitchener was installed in 1921 following his death.⁶⁰

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Bronze monument
of General Gordon
on camel-back on a
main cross-way



62
Government offices
and equestrian
statue of Kitchener.
Khartoum, Sudan.



Erecting monuments for Gordon and Kitchener, as well as naming important avenues and squares in the city after them were physical representations of British power over Sudan.⁶³ As Savage explains about monuments in general:

“Public monuments are the most conservative of commemorative forms precisely because they are meant to last, unchanged, forever. While other things come and go, are lost and forgotten, the monument is supposed to remain a fixed point, stabilizing both the physical and the cognitive landscape. Monuments attempt to mold a landscape of collective memory, to conserve what is worth remembering and discard the rest.”⁶⁴

These monuments, however, did not remain a fixed point for Sudanese people, as they were rejected and a reckoning of colonial heritage ensued shortly after. These monuments became sites of resistance for the National Movement and were heavily debated for a decade but their removal came only after independence following the military coup of General Ibrahim Abboud in 1958.⁶⁵ While the removal of Gordon and Kitchener’s statues was motivated by national decolonial sentiments, they would mark the beginning of the eradication of statues to come.

In the following decades, a statue of the Mahdist military commander, Osman Digna, was erected in Port Sudan,⁶⁶ and in Rufaa, to commemorate Babikir Badri, the pioneer of women’s education in Sudan, a statue depicting him was installed in the first school he established.⁶⁷ Also, following the 1964 revolution against the military regime of Abboud, statues of the student martyrs Ahmed Alqurashi and Babikir Abdulhafeez were erected at University of Khartoum.⁶⁸ However, the existence of statues in Sudanese public spaces has always been contested and with the rise of Political Islam in the country, statues were denounced as idols and most were destroyed.⁶⁹ Even sculptures by students of the College of Fine Arts faced this denunciation. The Bashir regime that came into power in 1989 further strengthened this view on monuments and memorials, to the extent that the former Minister of Tourism and Antiquities and Wildlife, Mohamed Abdulkarim Alhad, stated in court that he has never stepped foot in the National Museum because it contained idols, in reference to monuments of Kushite Kingdoms.⁷⁰

The religious debate around depicting human figures in sculptures does not in fact go against the idea of memorialization itself, as it is only a rejection of their form. The ideas, events and people being commemorated are the core of memorials and monuments rather than the form chosen to depict them. Therefore, memorialization should respond to society’s values and needs, adopting the most appropriate and acceptable form of memorialization that enables the preservation of history. Within this debate, we must recognize that there’s a radical difference between removing statues of colonial heritage and

removing statues that relate to Sudanese national history post-independence. Colonial statues were rejected not only because of their form, but because of the imperial iconography that was imposed on Sudanese people, to the point where they became arenas for resistance against colonialism as a whole. These arenas, however, disappeared following the removal of the colonial statues, as they were not replaced with monuments that maintained their historical value and the public’s relationship with these spaces. Beyond the tensions surrounding their form, monuments and memorials still have the capacity to exist, yet they’ve continuously been removed without any replacement, despite the fact that they have the capacity to reflect ideals and values that are important to Sudanese peoples’ collective memory.

The vacuum of physical representations for memorialization in Khartoum negatively impacts projects that aim to memorialize victims of violence and atrocity, leaving their history to remain largely unacknowledged and vulnerable to erasure. In this regard, the massacre of the army headquarters sit-in can be read as a continuation of acts of violence perpetrated by the state against its people, most of which remain without sites of remembrance. We have yet to see memorials for the two civil wars in Sudan (1955-1972) and (1983-2005), the latter of which is considered one of the longest civil wars in history that resulted in 2.5 million casualties.⁷¹ The Darfur genocide as well remains without memorialization although 300,000 people were killed according to UN estimates.⁷² Many other atrocities and massacres have taken place in Sudan, with very little acknowledgement or justice.

While there have been some commemorative events, particularly in relation to the martyrs of the December Revolution, we have to recognize that erecting memorials — for both recent and historic events — plays an important part in the process of transitional justice, reconciliation and democracy. Memorialization allows society to come together to negotiate what should be remembered as a part of the process of constructing our national identity. It solidifies the truth and educates people about the terrible history of suffering that Sudanese people have gone through in order to come to grips with the past and avoid repeating it. The silencing of narratives of history by not allowing monuments and memorials to exist undermines this process and squanders their potential for reconciliation and healing.

Deathscapes in the Face of Erasure

Within each of the different forms of deathscapes explored in this essay, there has been some level of erasure taking place. The qubbas of Sufi holy men that were erected during the Funj Sultanate are being erased and replaced with modern and contemporary styles, threatening some of the most significant

architectural and archeological heritage in Sudan. The landscape of cemeteries in Khartoum on the other hand has been radically changing in the past century, with some cemeteries being erased and built over to make way for the development of the metropolis. In the midst of these pressures, the possibility of the erasure of urban cemeteries could very well be repeated. Lastly, since independence, monuments and memorials have been continuously destroyed and erased from the city due to the political and religious tensions surrounding them.

These different dynamics of erasure at play are influenced by various drivers and governed by politics of memory and remembrance, yet they all imply that there are real problems facing memorialization of deathscapes in the city and even the country. Despite all of that, we must recognize that there is value to maintaining spaces of death and their material culture as they serve as archives to legacies of the past and have the power to radically transform our understanding of history and the city. The example of the qubbas of Sufi holy men illustrates the potential of memorialization to preserve history that goes back for centuries, allowing these spaces to remain relevant in people's lives and even becoming at times part of the socio-political landscape, all the while gaining new layers of meaning and associations. By studying the qubbas' relationship with the city that allows them to transcend their role as places of burial and become vital destinations for the community, an opportunity can be found for extracting and implementing ideas on other types of deathscapes facing erasure. Perhaps "borrowing" some of the elements that enable the success of qubbas can be used as a gateway to allow the culture of memorialization in Sudan to expand from the religious and spiritual realms onto the civic one as a way of reflecting the collective memory of the city and country as a whole in relation to death.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Trimmingham, J. Spencer. *Islam in the Sudan*, Frank Cass, 1983, 135.

⁷ Ibid. 145-146.

⁸ Ibid. 129.

⁹ McHugh, Neil. "Historical Perspectives on the Domed Shrine in the Nilotic Sudan." *Practicing Sufism: Sufi Politics and Performance in Africa*. Routledge, 2016, 113.

¹⁰ Khalid, Bilal. "Sufi 'Noba' in Sudan.. Songs, Rituals, and Ancient History" (Arabic). TRT Arabi, 8 Dec. 2019, www.trtarabi.com/explainers/نوبة-الصوفية-في-السودان-أهازيج-وطقوس-وتاريخ-عريق-22749.

¹¹ Soghayroun, Intisar. "Islamic Qubbas as Archeological Artifacts: Origins, Features and their Cultural Significance", in: *Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the International Society of Nubian Studies*, edited by T. Kendal. Boston, 1998, 410. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331319010_International_Society_of_Nubian_Studies

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Alsadig, Salah Omer. *Islamic Antiquities in the Khartoum Region (Arabic)*. Sudan Currency Printing Press, 2009, 59.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. 35.

¹⁶ The Mahdist Revolution (1881-1885) was a popular uprising led by the Mahdi, Mohamed Ahmed, that overthrew the Turco-Egyptian rule over Sudan (1821-1885).

Notes

¹ A deathscape is defined as a notional landscape of death. This essay in particular adopts Maddrell and Sidaway's (2016) definition "to invoke both the places associated with death and for the dead, and how these are imbued with meanings and associations."

Maddrell, Avril, and James D. Sidaway. *Deathscapes: Spaces for Death, Dying, Mourning and Remembrance*. Routledge, 2016, 5-6.

² Ibid.

³ Living Sufi Holy men are called *shuyoukh* or *fuqara* while those who've died are called *awliya* or *salihin*.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. *Islam in the Sudan*, Frank Cass, 1983, 129.

⁴ McHugh, Neil. "Historical Perspectives on the Domed Shrine in the Nilotic Sudan." *Practicing Sufism: Sufi Politics and Performance in Africa*. Routledge, 2016, 105.

- ¹⁷ Abu-Saleem, Mohamed Ibrahim. *History of Khartoum* (Arabic). Dar Al Irshad, 1971, 82.
- ¹⁸ McGregor, Andrew. "The Circassian Qubba-s of Abbas Avenue, Khartoum: Governors and Soldiers in 19th Century Sudan." *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2001, 28–40, www.njas.helsinki.fi/pdf-files/vol10num1/mcgregor.pdf.
- ¹⁹ Shuqayr, Na'um, and Mohamed Abu-Saleem. *History of Sudan* (Arabic). Dar Al Jeel, 1981, 798–799.
- ²⁰ Abu-Saleem, Mohamed Ibrahim. *History of Khartoum* (Arabic). Dar Al Irshad, 1971, 95-96.
- ²¹ Zilfu, Ismat H. *Karari: the Sudanese Account of the Battle of Omdurman* (Arabic), University of Khartoum, 1972, 308.
- ²² Ibid. 519.
- ²³ Gordon, Michelle. "Viewing Violence in the British Empire: Images of Atrocity from the Battle of Omdurman, 1898." *Journal of Perpetrator Research*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2019, 65.
- ²⁴ "21 February 1899: Treatment of the Mahdi's Body Condemned." *The Guardian*, 18 May 2011. www.theguardian.com/theguardian/from-the-archive-blog/2011/may/18/guardian190-mahdi-body-in-sudan.
- ²⁵ Ibrahim, Hassan Ahmed. "The Development of Economic and Political Neo-Mahdism in the Sudan 1926-1935." *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. 58, 1977, 56.
- ²⁶ Alsadig, Salah Omer. *Islamic Antiquities in the Khartoum Region* (Arabic). Sudan Currency Printing Press, 2009, 65.
- ²⁷ McHugh, Neil. "Historical Perspectives on the Domed Shrine in the Nilotic Sudan." *Practicing Sufism: Sufi Politics and Performance in Africa*. Routledge, 2016, 112.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Morhig, G. N. "The Mahdi's Tomb at the Bombardment of Omdurman." *The English Pharmacy*, Khartoum, 1898. Postcard.
- ³¹ Marques and Fiorillo. "Omdurman, Ruins of Mahdi's Tomb." (1906) Rice University: <https://hdl.handle.net/1911/20977>.
- ³² Abu-Saleem, Mohamed Ibrahim. *History of Khartoum* (Arabic). Dar Al Irshad, 1971, 184-185.
- ³³ Alsadig, Salah Omer. *Islamic Antiquities in the Khartoum Region* (Arabic). Sudan Currency Printing Press, 2009, 23-24.
- ³⁴ Bakheet, Ali K. *The experience of Husn Alkhatima Organisation* (Arabic). Sudan Currency Printing Press, 2016, 88.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Slatin, Rudolf C, and F R. Wingate. *Fire and Sword in the Sudan: A Personal Narrative of Fighting and Serving the Dervishes. 1879-1895*. Edward Arnold, 1896, 630. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_00000001CEA8#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=700&xywh=-30%2C-1%2C4316%2C2913
- In his book *Early Khartoum* (p.1), Arkell notes that there were two main cemeteries at the city during the siege of Khartoum in 1885 as depicted in Slatin's map of Khartoum and Omdurman.
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- ³⁹ "The Excavation of an Ancient Site at Khartoum." *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1945, 182.
- ⁴⁰ Bakheet, Ali K. *The experience of Husn Alkhatima Organisation* (Arabic). Sudan Currency Printing Press, 2016, 88.
- ⁴¹ Alsadig, Salah Omer. *Islamic Antiquities in the Khartoum Region* (Arabic). Sudan Currency Printing Press, 2009, 74.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid. 69-70.
- ⁴⁴ "Conditions of Graves' The Ministry of Physical Planning in Khartoum State Acknowledges the Need for New Cemeteries, but the Current Cemeteries Suffer from Some Encroachment on Their Areas" (Arabic). *Saheefat Alyom Altaly, Akhbar AlSudan*, 11 Mar. 2018 www.sudanakhbar.com/244310.
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- Between 2001 and 2008, the Ministry of Physical Planning established 5 new cemeteries in Khartoum State under Husn Alkhatima's supervision: Alkalakla Sharig (الكلاكلة شرق), Aljereef Gharib (الجريرف غرب), Alameer (الأمير), Adam Yaquob (آدم يعقوب), and Hamad Alnateefa (حمد النتيقة) cemeteries. It also expanded on the following existing cemeteries: Ahmed Sharfi, Albakry, and Farouq cemeteries.
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- ⁵⁸ Ward, John. *Our Sudan: Its Pyramids and Progress*, J. Murray, 1905, 119–120. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044032977563?urlappend=%3Bseq=151>
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