

Nubian Resettlement Challenges

Between past memories and present settings

Serag, Y.M.¹

¹Ain Shams University, Faculty of Engineering, Urban planning and Design department
1 El Sarrayat street, Abbassia, Cairo, Egypt
e-mail: yehyaserag@gmail.com

Abstract: *In 1964 thousands of Nubians were relocated from their villages to new relocation settlements in Komombo. This was due to the construction of the high dam which would eventually cause the total flooding of their habitat, hence the relocation. To their dismay the new settlements lacked fundamental aspects, causing a harsh lifetime experience of uprooting the Nubians from their context. This caused them to have an inter-generational belief of marginalization. In recent years, Nubian voices started calling for the "right to go back" to locations near their original habitat. Such calls became more profound after the 2011 revolution, with promises made to meet such demands. However, to many Nubians, going again through another relocation process is not that simple. There are several aspirations that Nubian people set as conditions before undergoing such process.*

This paper addresses the impact of politics, in a cold war era, which caused the Nubian diaspora and its consequences until present day. It briefly looks at these consequences in the differences between the authentic communities and the resettlement ones. It attempts to define the Nubian aspirations and basic concerns for the reversed resettlement process of the Nubian people, within recent political changes.

The research is based on the analysis of a field work findings in Aswan and Nubia in November 2012, several interviews were conducted. Literature review has been included to understand the historical background as well as the contemporary views and the government actions towards the case in recent years.

In terms of research findings, the paper identifies the resettlement locations set by the Nubians themselves, and their characteristics. It also identifies the challenges and needs for such a process. This is done while explaining the different stances of agreement or disagreement within the Nubian people on the process altogether.

The paper concludes that the Nubian resettlement history has been affected by the political conditions on a more national level.

Key Words: Human settlements, Nubia, resettlement, regional planning.

1. Introduction

The Nubians are an ethnic group that has been living for centuries in old Nubia. Once a kingdom, Nubia is located in the south of Egypt, and the North of Sudan. Because of colonial settings and the division of Egypt and Sudan into two countries instead of one, Nubia had been divided into these two parts, despite the fact that social links had been mostly sustained between the two. The Nubians are among them divided into some three main tribes, the Kenouz, Freija and Arabs. Their main economic activities were based on agriculture largely and on fishing to a lesser extent in their original homeland (Al-Soghayer, 2010). The aim of this paper is not to give an anthropological study on the Nubian people; it rather looks at the forced displacement process that took place in Nubia in the 1960s and their resettlement process taking into consideration the political factors that led to such an outcome. The paper then moves back to the present and tries to make an overview on the current initiatives of reverse resettlements of the Nubians close to their origin with calls of the right to go back becoming more substantial. In doing so, the recent political events since the January 2011 revolution until summer 2013 are taken into consideration.

1.1 Research objectives and methodology

The paper mainly focuses on investigating the relationship and impacts of politics on the forced resettlement process of the Nubians in the 1960s. It then investigates the impacts of politics on recent calls and attempts of a “reversed resettlement process” by the Nubians to return to their original context. In doing so, the research methodology worked on understanding the contemporary political settings during the 1960s as well as the post January 2011 revolution. It then analyzes the resettlement process in the 1960s and the reversed resettlement attempts in present time in light of these settings. At this point the main research methods were based on literature review as well as field excursion to the Nubian resettlement villages in November 2012 with Ain Shams University staff and students. Several interviews were held during that time in which senior Nubians who witnessed the resettlement process were interviewed for their accounts on their past disappointments as well as their present aspirations and concerns for a reversed resettlement process.

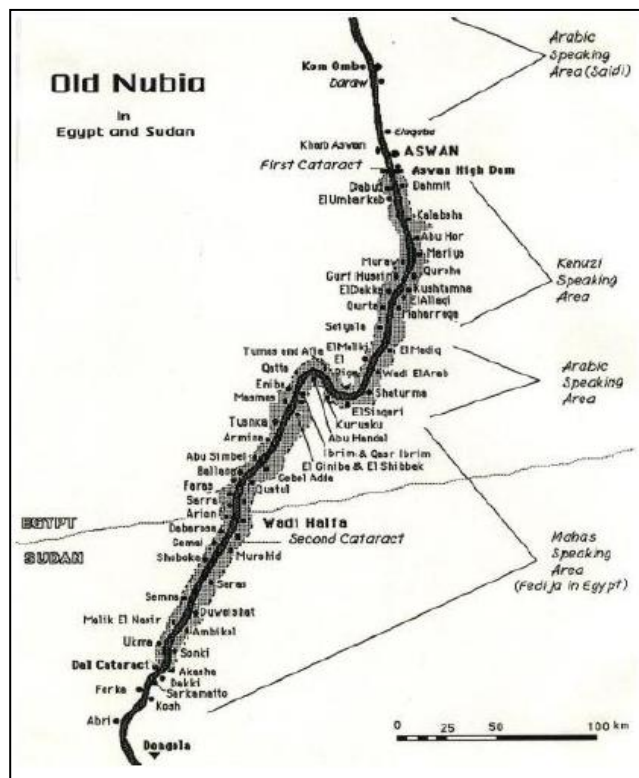


Fig.1: Old Nubia in Egypt and Sudan
Source: Fernea and Grester , 1973

2. Settlements and housing Patterns

The Nubian settlements i.e. villages had several unique characteristics, in terms of the settlements' pattern and housing. The most important characteristics can be listed as follows:

- There were two types of settlements' patterns in Old Nubia: the grid pattern that is usually found in the southern part of Nubia on flat lands where dwellings were organized in rows parallel to the Nile. And the Free pattern, that was usually found in Northern Nubia where the settlements stood mostly on hills leaving the flat lands for agriculture. (Merdan, 1999).
- The direct link with the river Nile, as the settlements were either built directly on the banks of the Nile or within few hundred meters away from it. Owing to their close location with the river, most of the daily and social habits were somehow related to the river, a fact that many of the elderly interviewed persons in Nubia stressed on.
- In case of the grid pattern, the single village was

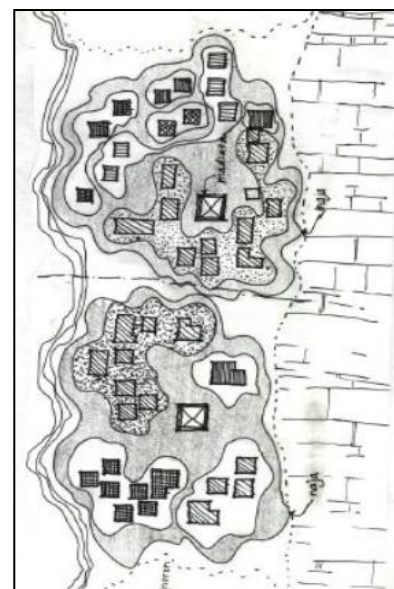


Fig.2: Settlements Pattern in Old Nubia, with the villages being close to the Nile and bordered by agricultural lands.
Source: Mahgoub, 1990

characterized by its horizontal expansion to the extent that its length of expansion could reach few kilometers.

- The Nubian dwelling units were large in terms of surface area, floor plan and number of rooms. These dwellings were built from local materials such as stone , clay and sand with the roof built of palm leaves hence, adequate to local conditions. The facades were rich in ornaments and colors. (Kamel , et al, 2002).



Fig.3: Above: Pictures taken on sight in 1964 showing the direct relation of the Nubian villages with the Nile. Source: Zigler, 1964. Below: Ariel pictures showing the settlements' pattern in old Nubia .

3. Early resettlements

The people of Nubia were forced to evict their land several times through the 20th century. At least three times in the period between the early 1900s – 1933. The Aswan Reservoir was constructed in 1902 which led to the submerging of few Nubian villages, the reservoir's height was increased twice and that led again to further submerging for some villages, however, each time the Nubian people would rebuilt their homes and villages again either on high lands or nearby locations (Merdan, 1990). However the most critical eviction that took place was because of the construction of the high dam in the 1960s.

4. The need for a new dam

Despite the construction of the Aswan reservoir, the effects of the annual Nile flooding were devastating. The flooding affected many villages along the Nile Valley and the Egyptian delta causing seasonal disasters in terms of losses in lives and properties.



Fig.4: Annual flooding of the Nile had devastating effects on the villages in the Nile valley and Delta. Such devastation required a crucial action, which materialized later in the High dam

In the 1950s this annual situation led the Egyptian government to seriously consider building a new dam that would help in providing a solution to such annual disasters but would also help in providing sufficient water for land reclamation (BibAlex.org, 2013). During the 1950s and the 1960s the construction of the High Dam was Egypt's main Mega national project.

In 1954 Egypt decided to build a dam in Aswan, higher than the already existing one. The Aswan High Dam was totally completed by 1970, its construction resulted in the protection of Egypt from both floods and droughts, an increase in agricultural production and employment, improved river navigation that benefited tourism and an increase in electricity generation (Biswas, 2002).

4.1. The Initial attempt

By that time, Egypt had transformed recently from a kingdom to a republic following the 1952 revolution. The new government and new regime sought to have a major achievement at that time, which evidentially was the construction of the High Dam. The construction process was estimated to cost 690 Million \$ to 1.5 Billion \$ (BibAlex.org, 2013).

Egypt approached the US and the UK as well as the World Bank to fund the project, were they initially agreed to fund the project and provide the necessary consultancy work and advise (ibid). In an interview with Nubian village former mayors and chiefs who witnessed this period, some claim that the initial proposal suggested by this group was to have a careful intervention when constructing any dams in the region to minimize the flooding impact of the reserved water. Thus instead of having one big lake as the case of lake Nasser, the idea was to have several lakes without flooding the villages or at least few ones. Such an intervention would have been appealing to the Nubian community at that time.

4.2. A Cold War issue

However, due to disputes regarding major arms deals after both countries denied to arm Egypt, Nasser approached the Eastern Bloc and signed an arms deal with former Czechoslovakia, the two countries as well as the World Bank rejected to contribute to the project. At that time, the tide of the cold war was high, meaning that such an act by each meant a clear inclination towards the Eastern Bloc rather than the West. As



Fig.5: The High Dam was built with a direct Soviet assistance in the 1960s. Source: www.britanica.com , 2013

such the United States sent an official letter of withdrawal from funding the project to the Egyptian ambassador in Washington; consequently, the Western dominated World Bank rejected the initial offer to support the construction of the High Dam (Biswas,2002).

As a consequent for this rejection, Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 26 July 1956, to fund the project from the revenues of the Canal, The Nationalization process sparked the Suez War in 1956. Of course there are many opinions showing that this nationalization was going to take place anyway, yet the rejection of funding was the spark and reason go ahead with the Nationalization.

Following the Suez War Nasser approached the Soviet Union for support in the construction process. The Soviet Union funded the construction of the High Dam starting from 1958; it participated in most of the phases, design, construction and operation. The construction started in 1960 and ended in 1970 (BibAlex.org, 2013).

5. The Eviction

Despite the many advantages resulting from the construction of the High Dam, its disadvantage and the negative impacts on the Nubian population were devastating. As a consequence of the construction of the high dam, one of the largest artificial lakes in history was created, that is Lake Nasser with an area of 350 Km² that extends in both Egypt and Sudan and flooding most of the Nubian villages.

Despite the fact that the Egyptian government knew the consequences of this project, the decision was taken to commence with it, of course to achieve the advantages mentioned earlier but it is also argued that this was done to stress on the Egyptian political will and to show the world that the new administration of Egypt can achieve such a national project even with the resentment of the Western powers. At that time, about 42 Nubian villages were eventually submerged under water, thus leading to an imminent need of resettlement (Al Soghayer, 2010).

5.1. The Resettlement

Prior to the eviction the government tried to come up with a conciliation plan for resettlement. Relocation sites were chosen by the government to be in Komombo (Merdan, 1999). The construction of new villages for the Nubians was set in the plan, and models for these villages were shown and displayed to Nubian people. Based on the interviews with the Nubians, some recall this period by saying it was a period of promises, were the government promised them compensation for their homes by giving them new homes in the new resettlement villages and good compensation for their palms.

The river Nile was scheduled to change course in the May 1964, as such the need to proceed with the resettlement was pressing. This was coupled at that time with an international campaign of saving the ancient Egyptian monuments in Nubia, an action that was led by the UNESCO as a coordinator between Egypt and the involved nations. (UNESCO, 2009).

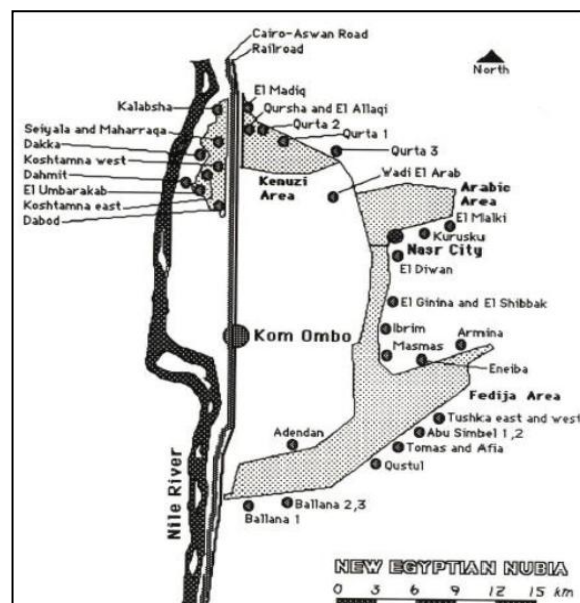


Fig.6: 44 Nubian Villages were resettled near Komombo with the same names and orders.

Source: Mahgoub, 1990

42 Nubian villages were evicted at that period. The Egyptian government had commissioned Egyptian and Sudanese ships in the Nile to carry on with the eviction process. The ships took the Nubians to the new locations where they were only asked to take their valuables (possibly furniture as well) and their transportation to the new locations was carried out successfully (Salah, 2012). According to eyewitness accounts



Fig.7: The eviction process in 1964 was done through Nile transportation.

Source: <http://www.almasryalyoum.com> , 2013

(interviewed Nubians in November 2012), the eviction process itself and the transportation to the new locations went with no human casualties, however, the aftermath to that was critical.



Fig.8: Public explanation of the new villages was made to the Nubian people projecting a good image of the new settlements, thus raising the hopes of the Nubians prior to their eviction.

Source: <http://www.almasryalyoum.com> , 2013



Fig.9: The original plan for one of the resettlement villages in KomOmbo

Source: Mahgoub 1990.

Most of the new resettlement villages were not ready at that time and were partially constructed. Many of the families that were evicted did not find the promised new house. The eviction process was rushed, without finishing the construction of the new villages (salah,2012). According to one of the interviewed Nubians in November 2012, many families were packed together for shelter in the buildings of the community centers of these villages in very non healthy conditions. During the visit to a resettlement village, one of the Nubians who was a child at the time of the eviction mentioned that the most hated building in the village was that of the community center because of its bad memories from the time of their first arrival.

5.2. The Dark side

The resettlement process was not smooth as it was portrayed. On the contrary the impacts of such process continue until present day. Some of these impacts listed as follows:

- The loss of original habitat of the Nubians, where they used to live in horizontal expanded villages close to the river Nile, with the new locations most of their villages were located far away from the river.
- Due to the change in environment and contextual settings, the first generation of Nubians after the resettlement faced several epidemics and many infants died of diseases that were not previously known, as explained by an interviewee.
- The Nubians were never compensated with the just and agreed compensation for their land and palms. The set value for the palms of the Egyptian Nubians was much lower than the affected Sudanese Nubians compensated also by the Egyptian government (Salah, 2012).

The poor quality of most of the resettlement houses which in several cases were built with unsuitable materials, and in some cases described as concrete cells, on improper soil leading to continuous cracks in the buildings structures. Also the relatively small surface area for the new houses when compared to the original houses in old Nubia. This caused several modifications by the residents to make a better usage of space and increasing the house's area (Kamel et al, 2012).

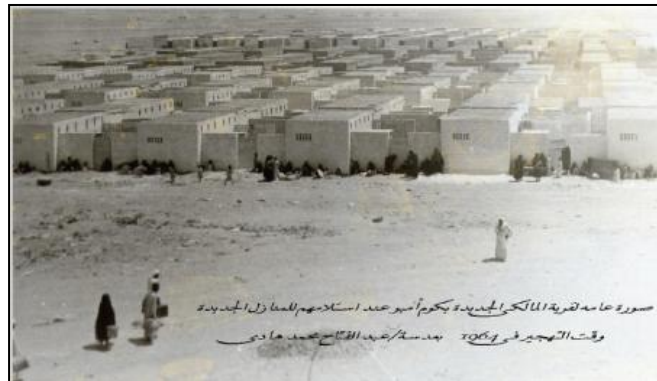


Fig.10: The resettlement villages were too compact with almost no greenery which was the total opposite of the original villages, causing dismay to the Nubian people. Source:

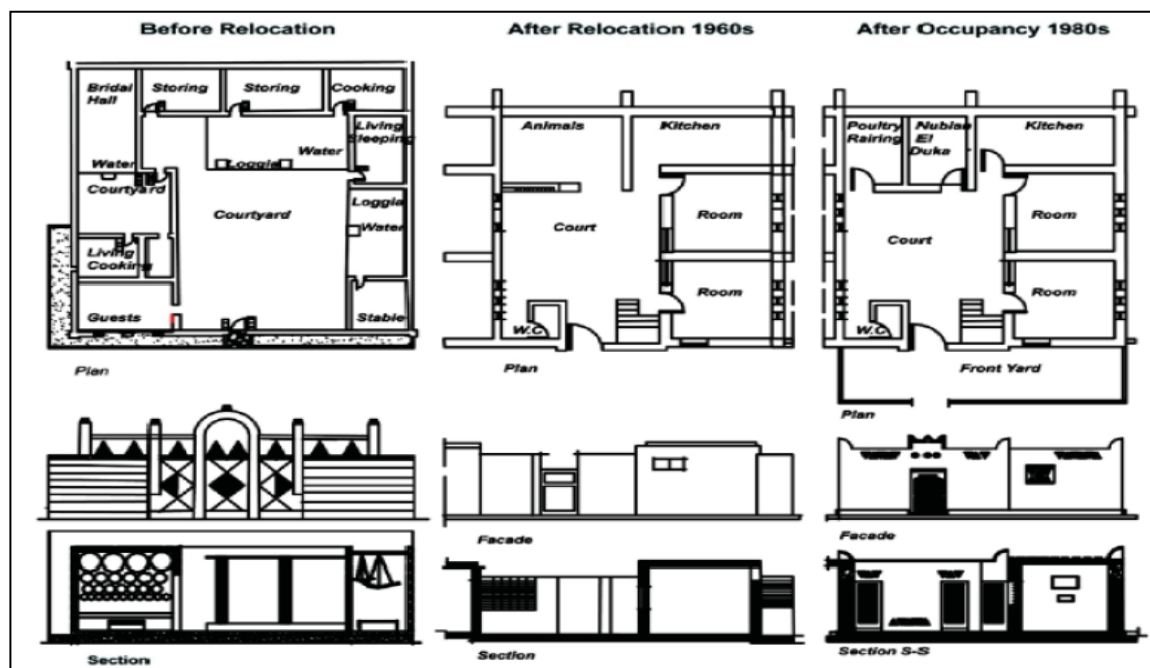


Fig.11: The new housing units were inappropriate in terms of design, area and material as opposed to the original ones. As years went by the relocated residents had to intervene and add some modifications to at least reach for a compromise. Source: Kamel et al, 2012

- There was a clear shift in job types, most of these jobs shifted towards the service sector and many other migrated to other cities in Egypt and abroad for different job opportunities, since the original jobs had to do with cultivation and fishing.
- The change in the social characteristics and habits, since most of the social habits had to do with the river, which suddenly was no longer there.
- The new settlements lacked greenery, an important factor in the Nubian daily life that was no longer there in the new settlements (Little, 2011).
- The danger of losing the Nubian language. In many tribes and families the Nubian language started to fade away, due to the fact that most of the education is done in Arabic and the parents find it easier to deal with their children in Arabic. One of the old Nubian chiefs (November, 2012) made a demonstration of this during the field work by talking to a nine years old child in the Nubian language, the child did not understand a word.
- The loss of the idea of the pure race. As the interviewed Nubians in the field work recalled that historically the Nubians kept their marriages from the same tribe, however, after the resettlement and since they had to live next to other people from the Southern part of Egypt in Komombo, the Nubians started to have intermarriages with their neighbors.

Based on the above discussion, it could be argued that the forced displacement of the Nubians which was a consequence to the construction of the High Dam was a direct impact of political measures at that time. Working with the "What if" approach, one can simply question what if the World bank, the US and UK went forward with supporting and funding the construction of the High Dam? In that case the Western plan would have been considered with a much lesser impact on the Nubian villages, however that was not the case and the other plan went forward.

6. The stance of the successive Egyptian Regimes prior to the January Revolution

It is quiet astonishing to ask the old Nubians about their opinion of what had happened to them. The answers are diverse, some say they consider the High Dam project a mega national project that served the whole of Egypt and that they consider this as a national need. Others are traumatized with the experience and consider this a crime towards them conducted by the Egyptian government and Nasser. Many of them consider their time in old Nubia as the time for prosperity which was taken from them because of the relocation process. Many Nubians consider President Sadat's era as the time when their voice was heard with serious promises given to serve their cause. In a visit to Aswan in 1979 Sadat welcomed the Nubian return to the reclaimed land around Lake Nasser (the closest area to the site of Old Nubia) and promised to construct 42 villages for them. However, with the Sadat assassination his promises were not fulfilled (Marefa.org.2013).

During the Mubarak era several promises had been made as well to provide land compensations and reverse resettlement to the Nubian communities, most notably in the last decade of his rule, the last four years to be specific. In 2007, Mubarak promised to give priority to the Nubians to resettle back in the lands surrounding Lake Nasr. He also promised for the reconstruction / revitalization of the 42 original villages (Al Malkey, 2007).

The Nubians presented a charter for demands in September 2009 that included the following main issues (Marefa.org.2013):

- Development of villages for the Nubians in the areas surrounding Lake Nasser with a maximum distance of 2 kilometers away from the lake.
- Defining the areas of Wadi El amal, Garf Hussain, Toshka, Qustul, Sayala, Adendan, Sebou, Omda and Abu Sinbel as potential come back areas.
- Making a general development plan for the whole area to include different economic activities that would support the Nubian population, parallel to the construction works for the new Nubian villages.
- Setting a reasonable desert hinterland for future expansion of these villages.
- Introducing a free trade zone between Egypt and Sudan in Kostel and Adendan on the banks of the lake to attract and mobilize trade between the two countries.
- Increasing the investment in agricultural activities around the lake with the priority given to the Nubian and then the Aswan residents.
- Upgrading and constructing of different services and industrial plants to serve the Nubian communities.

This charter was presented by delegates of the Nubian community to Gamal Mubarak , president Mubarak's son during his visit to Nasr El Nuba in September 2009. Such a visit was considered in the view of some as a propaganda and marketing visit to the then ruling National Democratic Party and Gamal Mubarak who is argued to have been seeking to follow his father as the next president of Egypt.

By the end of 2009 the government was working on providing 10000 Feddans of reclaimed agricultural land around lake Nasr as well as providing 2000 housing units for resettlement, however, the exclusiveness of these lands and units to the Nubian people were questionable as the main national policy was accused to be looking at the rural development of these lands explicitly to all Egyptians (*ibid*).

On the contrary, the government at that point was working on a new development project to provide a resettlement alternative to the Nubians in the area of "Wadi Karkar" to the west of Aswan airport. This intervention started during the Mubarak time, were the land of Wadi Karkar was donated to the Nubians. Once an army land, the donated site was targeted to host the residents of three Nubian villages, in a location that is only 5 Kilometers away from Lake Nasser, taking into consideration the restrictions for building close by environmentally sensitive locations like lake Nasser ((Maged, 2011).

Although the soil is considered reclaimable, this alternative was opposed later by the members of the Nubian community. The main reasons for that are that they consider it far away from the Lake, since they wanted a direct location close to the water, and some consider the cultivation of the area is starting all over again and finally the constructed houses are too close to each other contradicting the original Nubian norms, while with the presence of the desert, a better planning and granting of more area per residence could have been achieved easily.



Fig.12: Top: Location of Wadi Karkar in relation to Aswan. Right: Wadi Karkar new settlement constructed by the army. Below: new houses for the Nubians in Wadi Karkar.

Source: Google Earth, 2013 and <http://www.communitytimesonline.com/art-details.aspx?articleid=1231>, 2013.

7. Post January 25th Revolution

In the period following the January 2011 revolution, similar promises were given to the Nubian community. In April 2011 a conference was organized by the Egyptian Journalists' Union and chaired by a key Nubian activist (Haggag Oddul). At the conference, Nubian groups restated their demands; they want to resettle on the banks of Lake Nasser, and to be awarded land for homes and agriculture. They also wanted the full recognition of Nubian culture and language in education as well as guaranteed electoral representation. Despite that the ruling Supreme Council of Armed Forces at that time granted them some land in Toshka area, as well as carrying out the resettlement project already started in Wadi Karkar (Baraka, 2011). Many saw that as falling short from realizing the minimum demands for the Nubians. In the same period an announcement was made by the government for a large scale project close to old Nubia and targeting to rebuild the Nubian villages (Little, 2011).

It is argued that little has been achieved in such projects, with the promises continuing during the short lived reign of President Morsi.

Some argue that since the Nubian community is of a small number of about 3 million people, their voice was not heard specially that they are of a peaceful nature and would not cause any political disturbance (Little, 2011). As such, it is argued that such promises of development and resettlement are made especially after the revolution in a way to show that the ruling authorities after the revolution seek to portray themselves as listening to all the demands of the different segments of the Egyptian society.

8. The Desire to return

The right to return has been a demand by the Nubian people for almost four decades. However, do the entire Nubian people share and have the desire to return to old Nubia? And what are the variations of this desire among them?

During the field visit to Aswan and Komombo in November 2012, several interviews and discussions had been conducted with Nubian groups of different age groups. Among those interviewed were Village mayors and chiefs, senior citizens above 60 and middle age persons within the range of 25 to 35 years old. The main questions of the interviews and discussions dealt with the desire to return back to old Nubia and what kind of activities would they expect to do when they return.

It was astonishing to realize that not all the Nubians have the same point of view concerning the desire to return issues. For the senior generation, they indeed were very nostalgic to their original homeland and remembered with grief the memories of eviction and resettlement. They welcomed the idea of going back, however:

- Many were very skeptical about going through a similar painful relocation and displacement process as the one they went through in the 1960s.
- Some argued that going back to the original homeland is very desirable and acceptable provided that the government invests in building the new Nubian villages
- Some argued that a strategy for relocation should be set. In that sense, not all the communities should leave at once, rather the youth should go first to make sure that the services and construction provided by the government are suitable for the relocation process. Thus, the idea is to have a foothold in Komombo where they have lived for the last 50 years and at the same time working on the relocation process thoroughly with the least possible losses.
- As the original activities of agriculture and fishing were replaced by other activities and jobs in the service sector, some questioned the capabilities of the younger generations and going back to working in such activities in which they have never been exposed before, hence demanding a different perspective for economic activities for their expected return.
- Many of the younger generations are unemployed, with a lot of negative impacts on the society, hence, with another relocation and a new development, possible job opportunities could be created for the youngsters.

The second interviewed group i.e. the younger generations expressed their will and desire to return back to their original homeland. All of them were told by their parents and grandparents about how their life used to be in old Nubia, even some of them expressed that as heaven on earth. In most of the interviewed they lacked the real estimation of facts and of what to be done once they are relocated in old Nubia. Only when the interview opened up these issues that they started to be aware and pointed out the following issues:

- Most of them already have their jobs settled either within the resettlement villages in Komombo or in other cities in Egypt or abroad. Hence, there is a need for a clear vision of what they will do once they return.
- Many of them question their capacity of starting to work in land reclamation and agriculture if they go back to old Nubia, since they have never worked in these jobs.

- Some consider it a good opportunity to preserve the endangered Nubian culture and languages, which are highly affected since their first relocation.

It is worth mentioning that most of these issues have been taken into consideration by the expedition team who made an academic project seeking to realize a strategic regional development plan for Nubia. This was further elaborated later by some to introduce key strategic residential and economic projects that would be suitable for the new Nubian characteristics as discussed above.

9. Conclusion

The destiny of the Nubian people had been harshly affected in the 1960s by the tense political situation between Egypt and the West. The direct impact for this was their forced displacement away from old Nubia because of the construction of the High Dam that caused the submergence of their villages. There might have been other alternatives, however, the political will to show the capability of Egypt in doing such a project and the ill preparation of the government for the measures to be taken afterwards accentuated the impacts of forced displacement with the Nubians with a growing sense of injustice.

In the following four decades the successive governments made promises of resettlement close to the original location of the Nubian villages, however, few real actions had been realized, notably within the last decade. Being only 3 million people, the Nubians, who are as well peaceful, were never considered a political menace to any government.

Nevertheless after the January 2011 revolution, Nubian voices were encouraged by the whole Egyptian situation to express their distresses. The main difference became in the promises made by every government after the revolution and even on the level of presidency to show that all voices are heard after the revolution. Heard but with not enough concrete actions on the ground. Accordingly, it is recommended that a solid development plan for the Nubian second resettlement should be formulated taking into consideration the modified characteristics of the society and the immanent need for a variety of economic activities to sustain this development. Also this plan should consider developing the sites demanded by the Nubian for their return rather than forcing different locations on them.

With the winds of change once more hitting Egypt (June 30th 2013) , there is hope that all Egyptian voices including those of the Nubians will not only be heard for political reasons but concrete actions will be taken to relieve the injustice that happened.

References

- Al Malkey, R., 2007. Nubian resettlement crises: A question of priorities, in: Daily News Egypt (16/5/2007).
- Al Soghayer, A. , 2010. Nubia and Lake Nasser: Secrets and Monuments, Agyal, Cairo.
- Baraka, H. , 2011. Aswan Governor: Sharaf to discuss resettlement project with Nubian leaders, in Egypt Independent, <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/aswan-governor-sharaf-discuss-resettlement-project-nubian-leaders> (seen July 2013).
- Bibliotecha Alexandrina (BibAlex.org), History of Modern Egypt: Opening of the High Dam, <http://modernegypt.bibalex.org/Types/Events/Details.aspx?ID=iCyW0PueT4Hlif%2fODeQGJg%3d%3d> (seen June 2013).
- Biswas,A., 2002. Aswan Dam revisited: The benefits of a much-maligned Dam, in D+C Development and cooperation, No.6, GIZ, Frankfurt.
- Fernea,R. and Grester, G., 1973. Nubians in Egypt: Peaceful people, University of Texas.

- Kamel, D. and Abdel-Hadi, A., (2012), Space, Color and Quality of Life in a Nubian Environment, in International Journal of Architectural Research (IJAR), vol. 6- Issue 1, MIT.
- Little, T., 2011. What next for Egypt's forgotten minority? In: think Africa Press, <http://thinkafricapress.com/egypt/what-next-egypts-forgotten-minority> (seen, July 2013).
- Mahgoub, Y., 1990. The Nubian experience: A study of the social and cultural meanings of architecture, Published PhD. Thesis, The University of Michigan, USA.
- Marefa.org, 2013, Nubian People Migration, <http://www.marefa.org> (seen July 2013).
- Merdan, A., 1990. Nubian architecture: The Nubian character in urban composition, unpublished MSc. Thesis, Ain Shams University, Cairo.
- Merdan, A., 1999. Development concepts and implementation strategies for new settlements: with spatial reference to Aswan Dam Lake region – Egypt, limited publishing PhD. Thesis, Stuttgart University.
- Salah, M, 2012. Nubian Modern History, <http://www.modernaswan.com> (seen July 2013).
- UNESCO, 2009. Monuments of Nubia: International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/172/> (seen, June 2013).
- Zigler, K., 1964, Photos taken on site from old Nubia.