Afr Archaeol Rev
https://doi.org/10.1007/s10437-024-09609-1

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Capturing Empire Through the Lens: Colonial Narratives and Power Structures in Henry Wellcome's Expedition to Jebel Moya, Sudan

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Accepted: 16 December 2024
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Abstract This paper explores the relationship between archaeology, photography, and colonialism at the site of Jebel Moya (Site 100), Sudan. We consider technical aspects of the photographic archive, the role of photographers, the manipulation of images to convey specific narratives, and the dispersal and reclassification of the Jebel Moya materials across various institutions. When Site 100 was first excavated by Henry Wellcome (1911–1914), Sudan had a Condominium government, rendering the country a British colony in all but name. Our work acknowledges the racial legacies of colonial rule and as such it engages with the community whose past is under discussion, emphasizing how photography served as an agent of Western colonial authority. It re-situates Jebel Moya and related archives in the Sudanese context, providing an enriched understanding of the site's history, the workers who excavated it, and the various colonial power dynamics involved. Additionally, our current fieldwork recognizes that as a discipline, archaeology is deeply rooted in European colonialism and as such we extend inquiry beyond sites and artifacts and focus on colonial practices and representational encounters, pronounced power imbalances, and imperial values rooted in white dominance and superiority. Consequently, this study contributes to the reframing of Sudanese history and a more inclusive understanding of the past.

Résumé Cet article explore la relation entre l'archéologie, la photographie et le colonialisme sur le site de Jebel Moya (Site 100), Soudan. Nous examinons les aspects techniques des archives photographiques, le rôle des photographes, la manipulation des images pour véhiculer des récits spécifiques, ainsi que la dispersion et la reclassification des documents de Jebel Moya dans diverses institutions. Lorsque le site 100 a été fouillé pour la première fois par Henry Wellcome (1911–14), le Soudan avait un gouvernement de type condominium, ce qui faisait du pays une colonie britannique dans tous les sens du terme. Notre travail reconnaît l'héritage racial de la domination coloniale et, en tant que tel, il s'engage avec la communauté dont le passé est discuté, en soulignant comment la photographie a servi d'agent de l'autorité coloniale occidentale. Il replace Jebel Moya et les archives qui s'y rapportent dans le contexte soudanais, ce qui permet

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Published online: 06 February 2025

de mieux comprendre l'histoire du site, les travailleurs qui l'ont fouillé et les diverses dynamiques de pouvoir coloniales impliquées. En present, les travaux reconnaît qu'en tant que discipline, l'archéologie est profondément enracinée dans le colonialisme européen et, par conséquent, étend la recherche au-delà des sites et des artefacts. Nous concentrons sur les pratiques coloniales et les rencontres de représentation, les déséquilibres de pouvoir prononcés et les valeurs impériales enracinées dans la domination et la supériorité des blancs. Par conséquent, cette étude contribue à recadrer l'histoire du Soudan et à une compréhension plus inclusive du passé.

Keywords Sudan · Archaeology · Photography · Colonialism · Power

Introduction

The practice of archaeology is deeply rooted in European colonialism (González-Ruibal, 2010) and archaeology is entangled with archives, the creation and maintenance of which is not a neutral act (Lucas, 2010). How do we approach these relationships and take into account a photographic archive that is as vast as it is problematic? This paper examines these issues vis-à-vis Jebel Moya, Sudan, from the perspective that photography is an agent of western colonizing authority and the photographic archive is a place where we can continuously engage with cultural memory work (sensu Sealy, 2018: 2, 107–8). In thinking about Sudan, we need to foreground our thinking in racial legacies of colonial rule. Therefore, any approach has to ultimately engage the community whose past is under discussion.

Parallel to this is the broader debate on decolonizing archaeology. In any field project, archaeologists need to ask whose labor and knowledge are being foregrounded and recognized (see the "Colonial Displays of Power" section), but for archaeology to be decolonial, it also needs to question itself. As Atalay (2010) notes, if archaeology defines itself as studying a lost past, one which is distanced from the present by time and culture, then we need to acknowledge a level of othering. This is not to revisit the well-worn arguments on, for example, the use of analogy (see for example Wylie, 1985)—what Atalay (2010) is correctly pointing out is that when Westerners gained power through colonization, they *also* gained the power to study those distant from themselves in terms of time and culture. In the process, they have utilized western epistemologies, with knowledge produced for the benefit of western audiences.

This paper highlights the latter and shifts perspectives to the communities of Jebel Moya, past and present. Specifically, it takes a photographic archive produced during the colonial period as a means of considering the ways in which the past was constructed and distorted. First, we describe the site and the main archaeological features. This is followed by a description of the archives as relating to Jebel Moya. The photographic archive is situated in its broader context. Overall, our project is grounded within various cross-sections of the Sudanese community (see the "Sudan and Archives" section), and in considering photographs, we deployed the same community engagement. Images were studied and shared with a wide cross-section of the Jebel Moya community. This part of the project was brutally disrupted by war (see Vella Gregory, 2025). Broadly speaking, the photographs depict the site, labor, and colonial displays of power. Each of these is discussed in turn. In reconstructing how the archive was formed, we note that photographs of archaeological remains are not tantamount to archaeological photographs (Riggs 2020, see the "The Jebel Moya Photographic Archive" section). Labor and colonial displays of power are examined from the lens of local dynamics. Community engagement, both with the inhabitants of Jebel Moya and Sudanese scholars, has shaped the corrective demonstration of presence ("Colonial Displays of Power" section).

Jebel Moya is a village and mountain in the province of Sennar, Sudan (Fig. 1). The village lies between the Blue and White Niles in what is now a semi-arid environment. The site, labeled as Site 100 in the early twentieth century, is located in the mountain valley above the village. It was first excavated by Henry Wellcome (1911–1914). At the time, it was known as a cemetery. Current fieldwork resumed in 2017, and it shows that in addition to being a major agro-pastoral cemetery, the site bears traces of Late Mesolithic habitation. The site's lifespan is over 5000 years. The present study focuses on a number of photographs and a rare cinematograph from Wellcome's time. The use of photography in archaeology has a long history. Neither archaeology

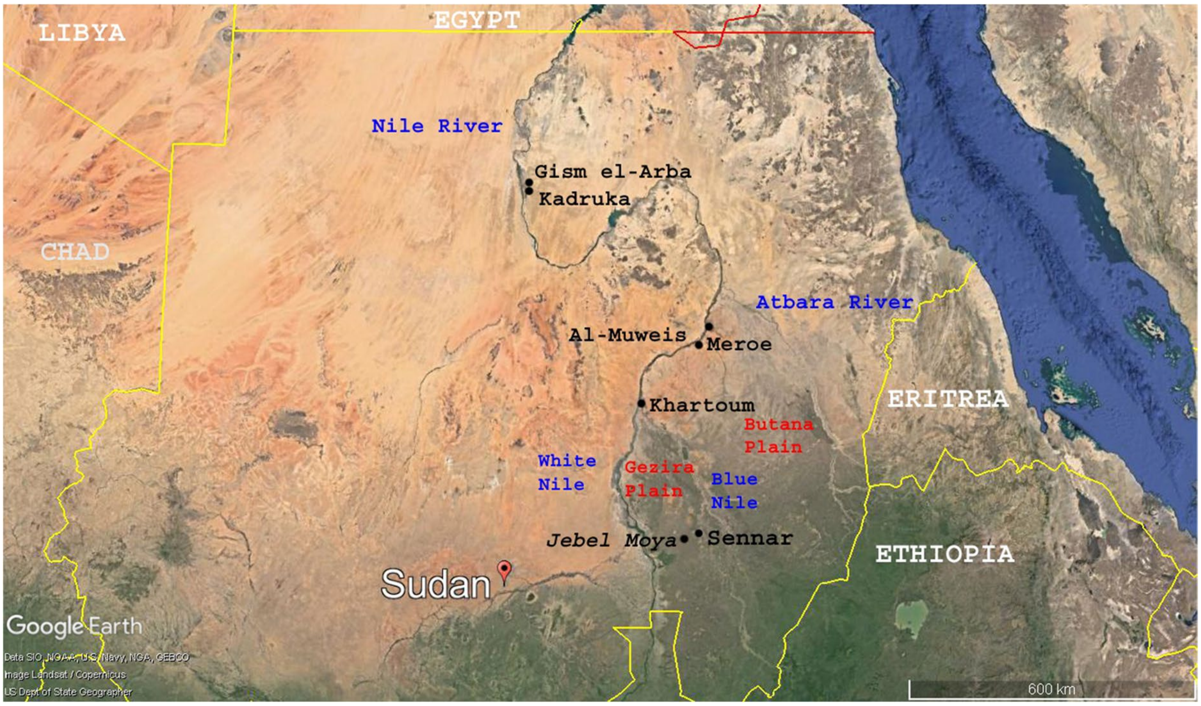


Fig. 1 Google Earth, "Map showing the location of Jebel Moya in Sudan" (2024), digital image created using Google Earth

nor photography occurs in a vacuum. Consequently, we examine the entanglements between photography, archaeology, and colonialism. We examine the archive from a technical perspective as seen via the photographers and their equipment. We also look at what (if any) archaeological information can be gleaned from these images. The site as seen through the lens embodies not just archaeological practices, but also colonial representational encounters. The images show stark power asymmetries, especially considering these encounters were part of the fabric of imperial values, rooted in white superiority and domination. Photography is considered an active agent of western colonizing authority in the past and present (Sealy, 2018: 2).

At present, the materials under discussion are held at Wellcome Collection's archives (funded by the UK-based charity the Wellcome Trust, created in 1936 as a result of Henry Wellcome's will). The Wellcome Collection holds a vast number of materials relating to Wellcome, his life and work. This includes materials relating to Jebel Moya, largely documents and photographs. Other documents and objects are held at a number of other institutions. Wellcome established a large camp on top of the mountain (where the archaeological site is situated) during his 1911–1914 excavations. This was under the direction of Sergio Uribe and was in operation until 1938, 2 years after Wellcome's death. Wellcome never returned to Jebel Moya after 1914, and no further excavations were held after that time (Vella Gregory, 2024). The site report was only published in 1949 (Addison, 1949a). By this time, material relating to Jebel Moya (objects, artifacts, documents, photographs) had been moved a number of times.

Wellcome Collection's archives (henceforth WCA) are a combination of documents relating to the life and business ventures of Henry Wellcome. They contain topics ranging from ordering showcases to Wellcome's divorce papers. Archives related to Jebel Moya are not all collated under a "Jebel Moya" heading—over time, these have been moved and reclassified (see Symons, 1993, Russell, 1987 and Engineer, 2000). During Wellcome's lifetime, extensive notes were kept on matters relating to the excavation, including carbon copies of correspondence. As noted by Ward (2022), archaeological archives involve a large number of agents and agencies. In this particular instance, there is the addition of documents not typically found in excavation archives, for example, detailed inventories for purchasing tents, screws and nails, and specifications for buying and building a pulley system. The actual surviving field notes are but one component of the records which must have been taken at the time. They include the personal diary of Oric Bates (who led excavations for one season only), grave card registers that record graves and their finds, cards detailing objects, some geological notes, and photographs. We lack detailed notes on essential things like decisions on where to excavate and crucial information on the recording of features and stratigraphic contexts is of mixed quality and usefulness; indeed Addison (1949a) mentions that George Resiner made suggestions to Wellcome, although these have been lost.

As outlined in Addison (1949a), Wellcome launched this project to assist in the so-called improvement of the native population, in the process employing more than 4000 workmen. The reality was much more complex (see Vella Gregory, 2020). Wellcome personally supervised works during the first season (January–April 1911), during which time an unrecorded number of graves and skeletons were uncovered. Acting on the advice of the Egyptologist George Reisner, he appointed Oric Bates as field director for the second season (December 1911–April 1912). Douglas Derry was appointed as field medic and skeletal expert. During this season, construction began on the "House of Boulders." This large granite building was a way to keep men employed, but it also served as the project's headquarters. Wellcome substantially modified areas of the mountain valley, building a pulley system to bring supplies from the village, two large stone incinerators, and several areas for straw huts and tents for the workers. Details on the acquisition of tents and other materials can be found in the Wellcome Collection archives. James Dixon and G. A. Wainwright were field directors during the third season (November 1912–April 1913), assisted by M. B. Ray and L. Dudley Buxton. Dixon returned for the fourth season (November 1913–April 1914) and George Reisner conducted limited excavations with the assistance of his Egyptian team (Table 1). Excavations resumed in 2017 (see the "Sudan and archives" section).

Wellcome did not publish much during his time. Aside from running a pharmaceutical empire, he was an obsessive collector who considered himself a "completist" (see Larson, 2009, 2010). After his death, the trustees of the Wellcome Trust followed George Reisner's recommendation to appoint Frank Addison to analyze and publish the material. The Jebel Moya archive is not a single entity. As outlined in Brass (2016), Wellcome had shipped most of the archaeological remains and records to England. Initially, they were sent to depots in Marylebone and Dartford. The latter was flooded in 1928, leading to a substantial loss of materials. Remains from both warehouses were shipped to Stanmore in Middlesex in 1937, where they were examined by Frank Addison and L. P. Kirwan. After 1928, materials and records were moved from London to Willesden during the Second World War. Following Addison's (1949a) publication, materials were spread between different institutions, including the Griffiths Institute in Oxford, the British Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum, the Petrie Museum, and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge. Field cards and human remains were transferred to the Duckworth Laboratory, and the then head J. Trevor was appointed by the Wellcome Trust to publish these remains (Mukherjee et al., 1955). Only a small number of objects were left behind in Khartoum. Other artifacts are found at the Louvre Museum, the Nairobi National Museum, the Peabody Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Chau Chak Wing Museum in Sydney, and the Fowler Museum in Los Angeles. The photographic materials discussed in this paper are held at the Wellcome Collection. Parts of the collection are digitized and a number of photographs have been digitized as a result of this research. In this paper, the archive (WCA) refers specifically to material held at the Wellcome Collection, and materials under discussion are all linked (Table 2).

Sudan and Archives

The modern country of Sudan is vast and diverse, and many regions have followed their own historical trajectories, even if at times entwined with Egypt. This in particular applies outside of northern Sudan. It is a bold statement given that during the period under consideration, the country was known as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The formation of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was the result of European colonial forces. The designation Anglo-Egyptian Sudan refers to present-day Sudan and South Sudan whose administration was, on paper, shared between Egypt and the

Table 1 Wellcome's Jebel Moya (JM) expeditions in Sudan; personnel

Chronology	1910–1911, first season	1911–1912, second season, first official season	1912–1913, third season, second official season	1913–1914, fourth season, third official season	1918–38 Sergio Uribe in JM "winter by winter"	Circa 1946 for Publication of Addison's expedition report
Camp Commandant	n/a	Major J. A. Meldon	F. King	F. King	n/a	n/a
Archaeologist/s (listed in order of expedition report Appendix I; 1911–1912; 1912–1913; 1913–1914)	H. Schliephack, F.W. Lubbock	Oric Bates, A. Beckett (Asst), A. D. Passmore (Asst)	G. A. Wainwright, D. Mackenzie (Segadi and Dar el Mek), J. A. Dixon	J. A. Dixon, O. G. S. Crawford ("and Anthropologist" J. W. Sinel (Asst))	n/a	n/a
Sudanese and Egyptian people ("highly skilled Egyptian excavators"); laborers, villagers, and children are present, identified by group Taishi (Ta'isha, or Ta'aisha, or Taaisha) and Nyam Nyam (Zande people/Niam Niam)	Gabri. Eff. Mahmoud 15 workmen and boys; Ishak Eff. Israil; 15 trained Egyptian workmen—500 workforce	Unidentified Sudanese religious elder (related by rank or family to "Son of Kalifa"?), 600 + local workforce employed	Not known	"Son of Kalifa," "Sultans of Socata"; high-status Fulani and other Sudanese people; 4000 workforce	Not known	n/a
Notable visitors	Not known	Lord Kitchener	Not known	George Reisner, wife Mary and daughter Mary	Not known	n/a
Photographers	Henry Wellcome? R. C. Ryan?	R. C. Ryan	A. G. Barrett, C. H. Horton	A. G. Barrett, C. H. Horton	Sergio Uribe	John William Michieli (1929–1937) from the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (studio)
Key features of each season or time period	Large trenches	JM only; East & South Jebel Cemetery; Building House of Boulders, Begun; site 100	Site 100, Segadi, Dar el Mek; 310 graves excavated; sifting machines, kite camera experiments	Body parts excavated, 1700 graves cleared, Abu Geili (Aloa)	Maintain camp buildings and equipment, supervise workforce	Arrays of potsherds, tools and excavated decorative items studio photography complete by 1938?

Table 2 Wellcome's Jebel Moya (JM) expeditions in Sudan; photographic survey

Chronology	1910–1911, first season	1911–1912, second season, first official season	1912–1913, third season, second official season	1913–1914, fourth season, third official season	1918–1938, Sergio Uribe in JM "winter by winter"	Circa 1946 for Publication of Addison's expedition report
Photographers	Henry Wellcome? R. C. Ryan?	R. C. Ryan	A. G. Barrett, C. H. Horton	A. G. Barrett, C. H. Horton	Sergio Uribe	John William Michieli (1929–1937) from the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (studio)
Original photography *Chronological integrity lost in the new arrangement of 56 grouping by size/housing of physical material created by Barrett 1928 (185 individual photos) *Further re-ordering caused by selection of key events, identified by Frank Addison new studio photography circa 1949	Graves in East Cemetary, Early JM subjects; detail site 100; pictographs on face of rock (on summit); south of JM camp; zoo	Lord Kitchener inspection of excavations	Scenery; views of Segadi, Dar el Mak, and JM; Building of House of Boulders begun. East Cemetery	Body parts excavated (radiography?)	Segadi	127 reproductions of photos of JM, excavation activity, and finds 183 new studio photos
Extant photography Photography; at least 797 photos exist in positive/negative form; up to 183 glass plates of arrays and digital images reproduced from the expedition report on multiple occasions over time	13 "swatches" of 625 photographs ("Early Gebel Moya subjects")	92 images corresponding to Kitchener's visit	Not readily identifiable but assumed to be grave photography reproduced in Addison's report	Mr. Wellcome's visits with friends, photos of Wellcome, Reisner, and others	Not known	183? studio photos (glass plate positives and negatives). Select key features from all seasons reproduced in Volume II, Plates
Original cinematography	None taken	6 35-mm reels Kitchener's visit and "incidental scenes (1911–1912?]	9823 ft of 35 mm of 85 "sections" of material (at 16 fps; 2 h 43 min and 43 s of footage]	None taken	None taken	n/a
Extant cinematography	None taken	40 s by R. C. Ryan of Kitchener et al	14 min 36 s; villagers, sports, excavations	None taken	None taken	n/a

UK. Effectively, the structure of the condominium ensured British control over Sudan between 1899 and 1956 (Daly, 1991). More broadly, across the African continent, the colonial powers succeeded in reducing a multiplicity of people into simple conceptual boxes (wa Thiong'o, 1986), particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, with no regard given to the actual people, their histories, and current circumstances (on the Scramble for Africa see Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2016).

When talking about late nineteenth and early twentieth century Sudan, we cannot escape Egypt, but it is Britain we should look at, not Egypt—at least for the case study discussed here. Jebel Moya lies almost as far as you can get inside modern Sudan from Egypt, Nubia, and that set of complex histories (for Egypt see Doyon, 2018, and for northern Sudan see Ward, 2019). There are traces of Egypt in the narrative, in the sense that George Reisner brought over his Egyptian workmen and lent his *qufti* to Henry Wellcome (Wellcome Collection Archives, WA/HSW/Ar/Jeb1). This does not mean that Jebel Moya has to be seen through an Egyptian lens; rather, it is symptomatic of the colonial currents which put Egypt, and Egyptian workmen, in a somewhat superior position. It does not mean that Egyptian workmen were seen as archaeologists (for a discussion, see Doyon, 2014, Mickel, 2019). The truth is that this part of Sudan was seen as Black and inherently inferior, a sentiment expressed at length by Percy F. Martin (1921, esp 210–212, 227–238 wherein the inhabitants are referred to as "a herd of brute beasts." Martin was a prolific author in the service of empire and spent many months with Henry Wellcome. *The Sudan in Evolution* was written with the co-operation and blessing of the Condominium government).

As such, while acknowledging the colonial burden faced by Egyptian workers, this narrative has to place Jebel Moya and Sudan at the forefront. As wa Thiong'o (1986) reminds us, how we view ourselves and our environment is dependent on where we stand in relation to imperialism. For this reason, the present field project is set up as an equal and joint mission between archaeologists residing in the Global North (but originating from former British colonies/territories) and Sudanese counterparts at the University of Khartoum and the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums. Prior to excavations resuming in 2017, a small number of studies on Jebel Moya engaged with parts of select archives without further critical engagement. There are many reasons why Jebel Moya fell out of archaeological memory, including complex questions surrounding chronology (for a full discussion, see Vella Gregory, 2024). For the longest time, Addison (1949a) was considered the most complete word on the site, and there was little one could add. The following studies arose out of Addison (1949a), without questioning his methods and conclusions. In 1973, J. Desmond Clark opened two test trenches which were not published in full (Clark, 1973; Clark & Stemler, 1975). Randi Haaland (1984, 1987), Isabella Caneva (1991), and Andrea Manzo (1995) studied small numbers of ceramics held at the British Museum and also relied on Addison (1949a). Rudolf Gerharz (1994) re-examined chronology and solely based his work on Addison and Clark. By this point, Addison remained the only one to have examined primary source material. He created his own register of graves, which is distinct from the grave cards created during the excavations. The first person since Addison to examine the original cards created during the Wellcome excavations, fieldwork notes, and select artifacts was Michael Brass (2016). He outlined the known extent of the archives and re-assessed the accuracy of Addison's work. The results indicated the need for (a) further fieldwork and (b) continued engagement with archives. Further work resulted in initial discussions on colonialism and Wellcome's activities and a re-assessment of the figurine corpus (Vella Gregory, 2020, 2021, respectively). As of 2024, the lifespan of Jebel Moya is known to be from c. 5000 BCE to 100 CE. There are over 3000 known human burials, making it one of the largest known agro-pastoral cemetery and habitation sites in sub-Saharan Africa. Current excavations have yielded new skeletal data, the second oldest domesticated sorghum in the world, traces of non-mortuary activity, and a much longer chronology (Brass et al., 2019; Vella Gregory et al., 2022, 2023).

Fieldwork archives in Sudan do not exist as a coherent whole in that there is no centralized archive for fieldwork within Sudan. Perhaps the most complete is the architectural and archaeological archive resulting from the UNESCO International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia. The 1960–1980 campaign took place across Egypt and Sudan in response to the building of the Aswan High Dam. As outlined by Carruthers (2020), this endeavor was problematic in terms of contemporary Nubia and he builds a strong case for viewing the archives in terms of erased Nubian histories. Other archives exist in specific collections linked to (western) archaeologists, e.g., the *Hinkel* and *Garstang* archives, or as part of university collections (see Kleinitz, 2019, Ward 2020). Similarly, the site of Jebel Moya forms part of different archives.

Archives are not simply collections of things. They are part of a long-standing tradition of curating memory and knowledge (Daston, 2012). Archives are about inscription and erasure, and the archaeological record lies between the extremes of preservation and erasure (Lucas, 2010), a palimpsest that has also been used to describe the archaeological record (e.g., Crawford 1953). Archaeology does not exist in a vacuum; indeed, these events occurred in a highly volatile political landscape. As such, the archives contain references to politically embarrassing matters (see Vella Gregory, 2020). Traces of these survive in the WCA but there are many instances of archive suppression from neighboring Egypt (see for example Omar, 2014). In terms of fieldwork, archives are the result of decisions before, during, and after fieldwork, and indeed after the lifetime of the actors involved. All these factors determine the shape of an archive (Baird & McFadyen, 2014; Brusius, 2017). Looking specifically at the WCA, this contains no Sudanese input—neither during its creation nor in its present form. Focusing on photographs, discussion cannot simply consider the western point of view (see the "Colonial Displays of Power" section) for, as Mbembe (2015) argues, if we rely on the western archive while disregarding other epistemic traditions, we will never progress beyond current knowledge. He further notes that the western archive contains resources of its own refutation, something that in the case of Jebel Moya is slowly emerging as we explore different parts of the archives, and as such is not the exclusive property of the west.

Photographic archives and the history of photography in general are equally entangled with these matters (see for example Edwards, 2015; Killingray & Roberts, 1989; Riggs, 2020). Amkpa (2013) argues that the history of photography is aligned with a very specific modernity, one which embraced a great narrative of development in which Africa is a monolithic place. It is within this complex set of contexts that we examined the Jebel Moya archive, taking the starting point that a photograph is not simply an image of something. There has been much debate on what a photograph is. Hamilakis et al. (2009) argue that both archaeology and photography objectify—the former produces information and objects for visual inspection through selective recovery, whereas the latter materializes and captures a moment, producing objects to be gazed at. In many ways, the photograph also becomes an artifact. Photographs are not simply a representation of something. They are borne out of specific circumstances. Highlighting or concealing certain features in a photograph is most certainly not a modern technique. Perhaps photographs cannot be read in the same way as material culture, but the same interpretive techniques can be helpful. Furthermore, as noted by Elizabeth Edwards, the problems posed by photographs are contained both in the medium and the relationship between the medium and the apparatus of history (Edwards, 2020). In many ways, the same applies to material culture—a pot's biography, for example, is also a biography of the people who made and used it.

The Jebel Moya Photographic Archive

Photographs are ingrained in current field practices. As per Riggs (2019: 38), this paper considers archival and photographic practices as inseparable in archaeology since they both underpin the discipline's epistemological and professional structures. Perceptions on how archaeologists view archives vary. Riggs (2019: 45) posits that archaeologists see themselves selectively reflected in archives, whereas Baird & McFadyen (2014: 25) claim that archaeologists treat archives as stable repositories. The practice of archaeology varies widely. In the case of Jebel Moya, the latter view holds true in some respects (see the "Sudan and Archives" section), whereas the present mission is more aligned with Riggs (2019). Riggs (2019) and Stoler (2002) both note that archives must be read along and against the grain, in the process of understanding the institutions that the archives served. Henry Wellcome was operating within the British empire; his fortunes were bound with the commercial success of imperial projects, including using the African continent as a source of medical material that could be commercialized (Vella Gregory, 2020). The Jebel Moya archive, in its different parts, is not directly a "colonial archive," in the sense it was not created by the colonial administration itself, but it was very much of a piece with its thinking. Stoler (2002: 28–29) notes that colonial archives are the product of state machines, they re-organize knowledge, devise new ways of knowing and set aside others. Many of these practices are reflected in Jebel Moya.

The relationship between early twentieth-century fieldwork and photography is very entangled. Shanks and Svabo (2013) briefly detail how antiquarians and early archaeologists sought to visually represent their work, including early photography and some of the technical aspects. Although they do not focus on a specific archaeological photographic archive, they emphasize that archaeologists need to approach images as manipulated for particular purposes. Furthermore, as emphasized by Close (2024: 13), the introduction of photography was bound with the expansion of European modernity and the operation of a colonial empire—something that has not been consistently engaged with by archaeologists (for exceptions, see, for example, Riggs, 2019). In some cases, photography and archives were built into each other (for example, the Tutankhamun archive, see Riggs, 2019); in the case of Jebel Moya, this is somewhat different. George Reisner had firm ideas on photography (see der Manuelian & Reisner, 1992). The WCA shows that Wellcome bought numerous supplies and hired photographers, but photographic registers do not always survive.

Photographs of archaeological remains are not tantamount to archaeological photographs, at least for the most part. As noted by Riggs (2020), early archaeological photography is only archaeological in that it represents the material remains of antiquity. Yet, they are embedded in wider currents that include archaeology. The 1843 photograph of the facade of the British Museum, attributed to Henry Talbot, may seem like a blurred experiment but, as Brusius (2016) notes, Talbot was an antiquarian who invented the orcalotype, a photographic device. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, photography was seen as authentic, even if on the field there remained a certain level of mistrust (Brusius, 2016: 261–265). By the time Wellcome's excavations started, photography was much more established.

Therefore, photographs cannot be inserted into a pre-existing explanatory model (Edwards, 2020: 178–179) as they are nodes of historical experience. Consider photographic documentation of the excavation process in the present. Within the Anglophone world, there are standard practices governed by a widely accepted set of rules: clean sections, clean trenches, the presence of a scale and compass points, etc. These rules are followed at Jebel Moya now, where the photographic register and archive are exclusively digital and stored in multiple locations to ensure continued availability. By contrast, the Wellcome photographic archive is extensive and not organized according to the conventions of the time. It can broadly be divided into photographs of the excavation, which include views of the camp, trenches and remains, and visiting dignitaries.

Henry Wellcome commissioned a set of photographs that present a carefully curated image of Jebel Moya. Taken during the 1911–1914 seasons of excavation, the Jebel Moya photographs are situated at a crucial and fast-changing juncture of photography. By this time, the field of photography had changed rapidly. By the late nineteenth century, photographers had already been involved in what Riggs calls the capture and influence of the physical remaking of sites, for example, the Acropolis in Athens (Riggs, 2020: 190). Shifting the focus to photography in the UK, it is worth noting the influence of nineteenth century photographic surveying, a Victorian endeavor aimed at documenting life across the UK and, eventually, the empire. Mapping projects were concerned with everything: antiquity, weather, habits, and customs. The survey was not so much a single endeavor as a widespread organic project. As Edwards notes, the advent of dry plate negative technologies and smaller more maneuverable cameras ensured that the hobby of photography was no longer the preserve of the wealthy elite. By the late nineteenth century, there was a genuine increase in access to photographic technologies, including in England (Edwards, 2012).

The Jebel Moya photographic archive, completed around 1928 by Arthur G. Barrett, comprised eight cases of unknown dimensions containing boxes, packets, and parcels of glass plate negatives, albums, prints, cine film, sundries, and registers (the latter presumed missing) as well as mention of "Photographer's Routine." Although occasionally there is a note of the actual number of items, very often the inventory comprises of mentioning "a quantity" as a unit of photographic material. Barrett usefully identifies the photography he and his co-photographer,

C. H. Horton, took over two seasons (1912–1913; 1913–1914) as well as that of his predecessor R. C. Ryan (1911–1912). But the photographic archive stretches beyond the bounds of the three "official" seasons identified by Addison in his report, with Wellcome's exploratory season in early 1911, when no official photographer was engaged, suggesting that the photography was taken or directed by Wellcome himself (evidenced by a further case of photographs labeled as taken by Sir Henry S. Wellcome; a parcel of 48 mounted prints of Early Sudan subjects, trip up Nile, Aloa, etc., *Photographs 1922–23: Inventory of Sudan and other material left at Snow Hill by Arthur Barrett in 1928*, [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/wrz7mqq3]). After Barrett left Wellcome's employment and in preparation for the excavation report, studio photography was commissioned for its publication, re-printing, and re-photographing material—then later digitization with some material being re-photographed and cropped and these "versions" being digitized. A contemporary convention of digitization has been to digitize the photographs in their albums rather than extrapolate them. In the 1928 photographic and cinematographic inventory created by Barrett, there were 66 different categories of material, 185 individual images, 41 albums, 31 boxes, 25 parcels, 2 packets, and 5 amounts of supplies (empty folders, loose leaves, and rice paper) all packed into 6 cases of unknown sizes. Barrett provided some detail regarding the subject matter of the photographs and there was a considerable level of duplication within the archive (printing at different sizes being one feature). Although no detail was provided about the films here, they are documented elsewhere (14 tins of negative and 15 tins of positive film, WCA *Memoranda re Gebel Moya cinematograph film*, 1921 [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/fj4tnswa]).

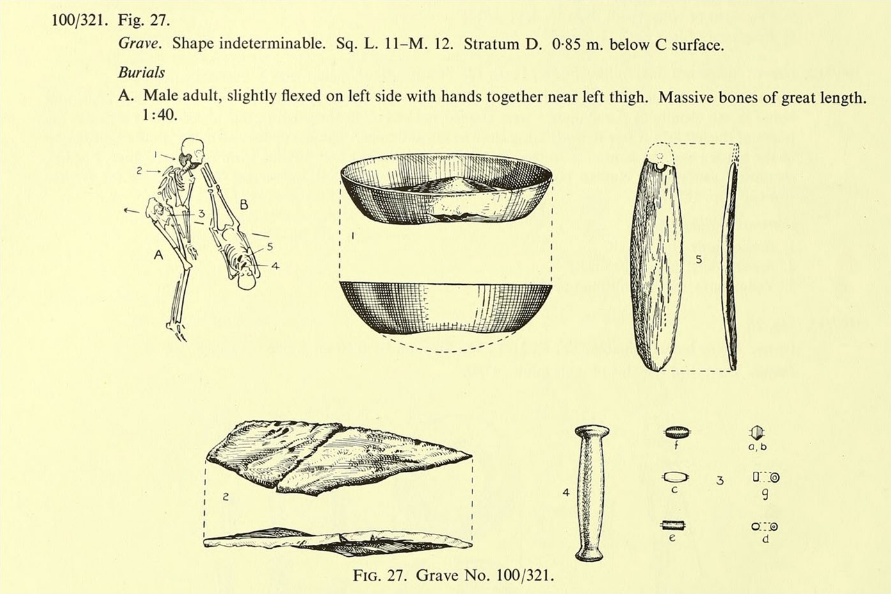
Some photographs have been retouched, generally in the form of applied gouache. These could be re-photographed and the result would have added depth, shadow, and contrast. The gouache is a form of highlight, designed to bring out certain features. The constant sunlight in the area, magnified by the light from the granitic mountains, would have required careful attention to light and a degree of correction. The process of digitization at high resolution enables us to zoom in and see details that would not have necessarily been immediately visible to exhibition viewers.

The excavation results were published long after Henry Wellcome's death. By that time, the Jebel Moya archaeological material had been through a long process of dispersal. Frank Addison, assisted by L. P. Kirwan, examined the material at a warehouse in Middlesex. He sorted through the collection, discarding pottery sherds he considered undiagnostic, and commissioned photography of materials for publication. The result was a two-volume publication in 1949 (Addison, 1949a, b). The first volume contains a number of drawings but no photographs, while the second is dedicated to plates. Both volumes were sold together for the sum of £6. 6 s. 0*d* and not available separately. Although at the time there were no formal guidelines for publishing archaeological reports, there had long been debates on publication in academic circles. It was only in 1966 that Leslie Grinsell, Philip Rahtz, and David Price Williams published the first edition of *The Preparation of Archaeological Reports*, based on a number of informal guidelines that had been shared among the archaeological community. Still, a number of archaeologists had already prepared reports in a consistent manner, with detailed contextual information, labeled photographs, and consistent use of scale (see for example Piggott, 1938).

By contrast, Addison's report is marked by inconsistency. For example, while the report contains a number of drawings, there is no attempt at consistently denoting crucial information like a scale, the thickness of ceramics, and other relevant details. Indeed, these are often written down as numbers or ratios, where present. The use of ratios, as opposed to scale, provides for a confusing perspective, especially when discussing burials (Fig. 2).

The drawings appear to convey a sense of completeness, but they do not represent the grave at the point of excavation. Rather, they are a *mise-en-scène*, a device that is used throughout the publication. They are Addison's vision of what a burial looked like, rather than an archaeological reflection of said burial. It is worth remembering that Addison did not excavate at Jebel Moya and had no first-hand knowledge of the site (see Vella Gregory, 2024). However, the practice of *mise-en-scène* was also present in the original site photographs.

The second volume contains a number of different types of photographs and some technical drawings of sections, a site plan, tomb shapes, etc. They



100/321. Fig. 27.

Grave. Shape indeterminable. Sq. L. 11–M. 12. Stratum D. 0·85 m. below C surface.

Burials

A. Male adult, slightly flexed on left side with hands together near left thigh. Massive bones of great length. 1:40.

FIG. 27. Grave No. 100/321.

Fig. 2 Unknown artist, "Grave No. 100/321, Fig. 27. The drawing lacks critical archaeological information." Cropped digital image from page 70 of a printed drawing of a burial as published in Frank Addison, *Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan: I, Jebel Moya, 1910–1914. Source: Wellcome Collection. ZCI.12*

are mostly in black and white, except for a frontispiece showing a decorated sherd, some color on the general maps and plans, and two plates showing decorated sherds. A note by Addison states that many of these photographs were prepared in 1938 and 1939, and the original plans were for a larger page, rendered impossible by post-war economics. A number of other photographs were taken during the excavation and many have additional captions and markings on the photograph itself, designed to denote trenches. The photographs taken during excavation at first appear to be an accurate representation of the process of excavation. However, it is clear that burials were re-arranged to include a number of objects in one shot. For example, current excavations document the process as it occurs, with sherds and objects photographed in situ. In Addison's (1949a, b) publication, however, human remains and objects such as pottery are re-arranged in a tableau (much like the illustrations in the first volume), even though they are captioned as being in situ. The other photographs show objects grouped together, often interspersed with pages of outline drawings intended to indicate typologies. These photographs were taken after the objects were analyzed and grouped together. Often, photographs have a sub-caption referring to the text in the first volume. The second volume exists as a visual archive, offered without any commentary. The instruction that these volumes are not to be sold separately assumes they will be consulted in tandem.

The publication features some photos taken during the excavation. Henry Wellcome was a keen adopter of new technologies, including aerial photography. This device yielded a number of shots of the landscape and the extensive camp. Dismissed by Addison as of no archaeological value, they appear in the publication as landscape views or views of labor. They are presented at the beginning of the volume, before the "real" archaeology. Yet, these are as telling as the rest of the archive.

Volume II of Frank Addison's publication and report on Wellcome's excavations in Sudan features the illustrative plates taken during and after the excavations including photographic panoramas, topographical views of the site pre- and post-excavation, machinery, and the ant-like toil associated with large earthworks, maps and cross sections of the geography of the site, illustrations and photography of attitudes and modes of burial, drawings and studio photography of arrays of grave goods, and other found material. The published work is inevitably only a "snapshot" of the photographic whole with the actual footprint of all the photographs presenting the archivist with a significant problem due to the number of unknown interventions to the archive which have happened in those intervening (1914–1938) and subsequent years (1938 onwards). The creation and, perhaps curation, of the first archive of photography and cinematography was notably the work of one of the photographers on the expeditions, Arthur G. Barrett employed by Wellcome on a peripatetic basis from 1912 until 1930 (WCA Photographs 1922–23, p. 4 onwards [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/wrz7mqq3]).

The Photographers

Photographers were featured in the list of staff members of Wellcome's Sudan expeditions from the first official season in 1911–1912; R. C. Ryan was camp photographer for this season; thereafter, A. G. Barrett and C. H. Horton are listed. Both Ryan and Barrett also captured cine film during their tenure in Sudan. Photography was evolving into a feature of the construction of records of archaeological excavations, in line with the idea that photography was not only a mechanical means of capturing factual details such as the archaeological field, but it was also more systematic, while cine film was still relatively new and considered to have little scientific value (see Addison, 1949a: 6; Der Manuelian & Reisner, 1992). In the first archaeological season, which included Kitchener's visit, Ryan was the camp photographer, and of the reels of cine film, he captured only a 40s poorly shot sequence remains (see the film in https://wellcomecollection.org/works/zd8ptp49). This shows excavation, everyday life, and communal sports and recreation. The archival record is more illuminating on Arthur Barrett's photographic and cinematographic contribution because his employment lasted from 18 September 1912 until 1930, yielding many pages of correspondence as well as evidence of Barrett arranging the archive of images. Barrett was engaged by Henry Wellcome at Jebel Moya for photography and cinematography, even though he had no prior filmmaking experience. The division of labor is not clear from the records and both C. H. Horton and Barrett were cited as being responsible for the photography in 1913/1914 of the trial pits and excavations. Indeed, there are no particularly distinguishing features between photos taken by different photographers. From the archival record, archaeological photography was just one of several areas of focus for the photography.

Barrett had listed his occupation in the census of 1911 as "Press Photographer," and he excelled in photographs related to news scoops. Perhaps Barrett was appointed for his opportunism and inventiveness: Barrett had secretly photographed the notorious murder trial of Dr. Hawley Harvey Crippen and Ethel Le Neve (his lover) in the dock at the Old Bailey in 1910 by using a camera concealed in a top hat (see Hiley, 1993, but note that this wrongly attributes the photograph to Arthur Bennet, and Gould 2007: 90). The uncropped photograph is held at Wellcome Collection (WCA Hawley Harvey Crippen and Ethel Le Neve, Photograph by Arthur Barrett, 1910 [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/a34e8y85]). Through his dealings with the women's suffrage movement, he photographed Emily Davison, suffragette and prominent activist for women's rights, from a favorable vantage point when she was trampled by the King's horse at the Derby in 1913. It is not clear why Barrett felt qualified to capture the activity at Jebel Moya on cine film and although the cinematographic record presents a picture of activity at the main encampment including the social structures imposed by Henry Wellcome (pay day, sports, inspecting the workforce), only a small number of the film reels survive vs those from the historical inventory largely due to the verisimilitudes of time. Despite the films being duplicated and given a protective varnish, their current absence relates to 35-mm nitrate film being very vulnerable to cellulose nitrate degradation and the material being stored after Wellcome's death in a non-climate-controlled boiler room—this could have had explosive results if the nitrate film had become chemically unstable. The few film sequences which survive were salvaged by Frank Addison; in 1938, he was asked by the Trustees, who were enacting Wellcome's will after his death in 1936, to annotate the filming logs and identify the footage worth keeping as the film had started to show signs of deterioration (evident to the left of the frame on the existing duplicated 35-mm safety film at 00:00:15 onwards and throughout the non-archaeological footage shot at the wells at Jebel Moya of goats, cattle, camels and villagers, WCA A Day at Gebel Moya season 1912–13, 1913, motion picture directed by Arthur Barrett [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/zd8ptp49]). Addison noted that the photographic record was sufficient and most of the film could be destroyed. The surviving reels present some of the earliest known film footage of archaeological digs at scale, documenting a large local workforce with stark power imbalances of the Europeans strutting around overseeing the work of the indentured Sudanese workforce.

The cinematographic record bears testimony to Barrett's photographic experience in choosing a suitable vantage point to record the ongoing works and let activity unwind in front of the camera. There is evidence of a very slow camera pan across the field of vision from left to right which was very innovative for the time (A Day at Gebel Moya, 00.01:54–00:02:59 [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/zd8ptp49]). There is no evidence of an overarching film narrative, although, in 1921, the individual cine reels were sent to a film services company European Exclusive[s] Ltd in Soho (historically the home of the film production industry), London, to "provide, assemble, fix, etc. etc." the films, with no further detail. At this time, the films probably gained their intertitles, although only the main and ensuing titles remain.

The narrative arc of the film is a single day, although the footage was probably captured over the course of the season. A notable inclusion was the "sports" which comprised of competitive running races. There was only one known screening of the reels prior to its assemblage into *A day at…* to Henry Wellcome and C. J. S. Thompson in 1915 at the Royal Society of Medicine which extended its facilities to Wellcome and had a fire-proof screening room (WCA, C.J.S. Thompson, Cinema Films of Gebel Moya Excavation Camps, 1915, p. 2 [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/dqf833rc]). This venue was the only place where the film could be legally screened due to the fire risk of the film's self-igniting.

Barrett worked for Wellcome 1912–1916 at what was to be the Historical Medical Museum in London when there was work available, and then he enlisted in the Royal Naval Air Service for the rest of the 1914–1918 War (he wrote a speculative letter offering his services to the Royal Flying Corps, but they replied that they did not need qualified photographers). After the war, he carried out work for Wellcome ad hoc, being engaged on a quarterly basis. The archive record includes numerous letters sent by Barrett to Henry Wellcome directly whilst he was an employee, one of which was a request for Wellcome to personally recommend him for membership of the Royal Photographic Society (RGS) for his photographic work at Jebel Moya (1928) as well as for membership of the Royal Geographical Society ("Meetings" 1930). For the RGS, he listed his credentials as being both traveler and photographer. Barrett sought these professional memberships to help with employment and career progression.

Barrett's inspiration for the photographic and cinematographic work in Sudan could have come from a number of sources. Herbert Ponting was a contemporary of Barrett; he was a well-known former press-photographer, expedition photographer, and cinematographer (and Fellow of the RGS), who also used a cinematograph during Captain Scott's ill-fated voyage to the South Pole in 1911–1912. The cinematograph refers to an early integrated system of cine film capture, processing, and printing (George Reisner and others refer to the Jebel Moya films in this way). Film sequences Ponting captured in Antarctica were screened to military personnel during the war; only later were they edited into a longer cinematic feature, *The Great White Silence* (1924). If Barrett had not seen the film, he would have heard of it. A mention of a cine camera in the archives occurs in correspondence between Wellcome and Barrett's RNAS Officer in Charge about the loan of a Moy Cinema Camera. This camera was probably a Moy & Bastie 35 mm Cine Camera, similar to the one used by Lieutenant Geoffrey Malins, a famous film cameraman at the time, who gathered footage on the Western Front, forming the basis of the 35-mm film epic *The Battle of the Somme* (1916), which was subsequently screened to cinema audiences of millions around the world.

Searching for other influences, it was the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun by Howard Carter and his excavation team in 1922 which really put both archaeology and archaeological photography on the map. One of the members of the expedition was Harry Burton, an English staff photographer for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Burton took over 3000 photos as part of the archaeological effort in excavating the tomb and raised the bar when it came to archaeological photography in difficult unlit spaces, producing high-quality black and white photographs showing the detail and beauty of objects found (Riggs, 2017). The publicity around Carter's discoveries made many of the names associated with the expedition famous—including Burton. Burton and

Barrett were near contemporaries (the former born in 1879 and the latter in 1885). Perhaps in light of Burton's fame, Barrett wanted more acknowledgement from Wellcome than the latter was prepared to bestow (the archives reveal letters and memos on a range of demands which were rarely met).

The status of photography during the archaeological expeditions is best illustrated by studying the archive records which reveal that there was a plethora of high-quality optical equipment and accessories available to the photographers, the best that a wealthy entrepreneur could buy. The archives are full of inventories of equipment requisitioned and later stored relating to the expeditions (even pencils and old trousers). One reference is to a type of camera lens used in Sudan, a Dagor 380-mm 7:7 lens. This was to produce large-format pictures. The Dagor lens was distributed worldwide under the name, Goerz, a German company which later operated in the USA. Their anastigmat lenses are described in contemporaneous promotional literature as "giving splendid service under every condition of temperature and weather" (C.P. Goerz American Optical Company, Goerz Catalog, 1913). Goerz also manufactured scientific instruments. The serial number of the camera lens from the inventory was helpfully noted as 294635 which puts its date of manufacture around 1909–1911, but its actual purchase date is unknown. This lens size was marketed for use by photoengravers with the attendant feature of being the best lens for half-tone or black-and-white photography, rendering it most useful to photograph the archaeological discoveries (it was shipped back to Sudan in 1929 perhaps for this purpose—a continuation of the photographic activity). Another Goerz Dagor 6-inch telescopic lens was fitted to the box camera for a demonstration of the kite trolley camera to a representative of the War Office in 1916 (this size was considered most suitable for wide-angle photography). Other photographic equipment noted in the files are a giraffe camera stand, a Staley Wheeler telephoto lens, a Verascope camera, an Adams camera, and an Ansco roll camera together with aeronautical instruments. Aligning with Wellcome's personal and professional interest in photography was a growing consumer line by the pharmaceutical and consumer goods company owned and run by Wellcome, Burroughs Wellcome & Co., and not subject to wartime rationing, of photographic chemicals for domestic photographic processing under the "Tabloid" brand.

Barrett's role in the kite-camera photography at Jebel Moya can be reconstructed from correspondence in the archives prior to his military service. This endeavor featured O. G. S. Crawford, one of the excavators at Jebel Moya and now known as a pioneer of aerial archaeology in prehistoric Britain. He analyzed photographs and while he had flying experience, it was not as a pilot. In 1917, he joined the Royal Flying Corps as an observer, rather than a pilot. It is unlikely that Wellcome or O. G. S. Crawford had the engineering expertise to construct the kite camera invention themselves; subsequently, Barrett was asked to provide details of the exact nature of the equipment required and how to operate it, evidenced in a file dedicated to the kite trolley invention. Barrett himself had ambitions to get the kite adopted for the war effort by the Armed Forces and Wellcome considered patenting the kite trolley apparatus, granting the War Office and Allies a license for use, but in trials, it was deemed impractical, unwieldy, and produced photographs of poor technical quality. Despite this, Wellcome and Barrett jointly registered a preliminary patent, but this was subsequently re-assigned at renewal to Wellcome alone. However, possibly unbeknownst to Wellcome, Barrett continued to develop the device, and the photographs of his wartime kite experiments are held at the Imperial War Museum (*Arthur Barrett's First World War system of aerial photography, including aerial views of Cologne and of the camera fitted to an Avro aircraft*, 1918, Imperial War Museum, IWM PC 262).

Barrett's life was permanently marked by his encounter with Wellcome: he contracted malaria, possibly on the first of his two seasons, and he also picked up a persistent urological infection. Even though Wellcome was "thoroughly satisfied" with Barrett's photography in Sudan, his employment was terminated because he was considered "a good man for outdoor work but not so good for indoor" (July 1927). He ceased working for Wellcome in 1930. Recently digitized papers on the work of the kite trolley invention indicate the degree to which the invention with its attendant financial potential (although this appears never to have been realised, only discussed) had irked Barrett. Barrett left Wellcome's employment aged 45, and 6 years later, Wellcome died. Barrett resigned from the RGS in 1937 and

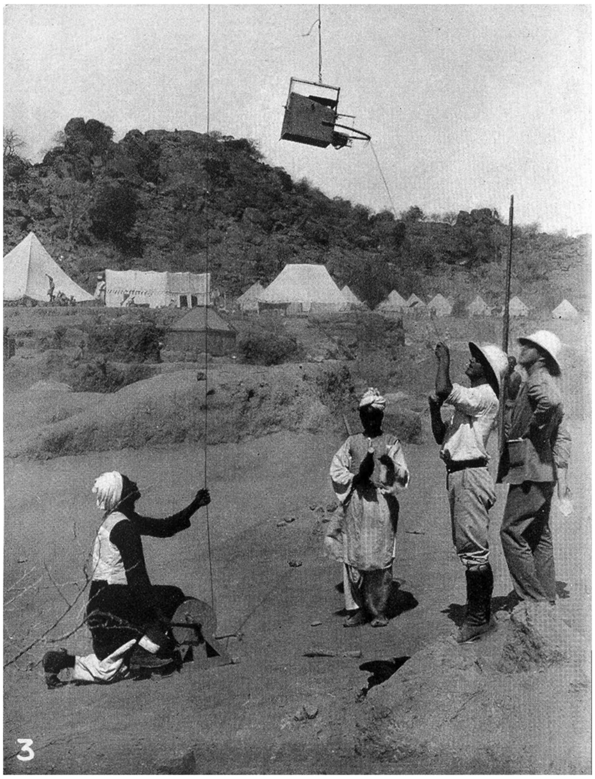


Fig. 3 Kite camera. Photograph by C. H. Horton? (Erroneously attributed to Martin Taylor in catalogue) Jebel Moya site. Camera suspended from kite. In Addison (1949b: 17) it is captioned Camera supported directly by kite

his photographic career may well have been over by then as the ties which attached him to the organization were cut, although according to census records, he lived until 1961, outliving Harry Burton by over 20 years.

Barrett's contribution has been overlooked; he was engaged to photograph the excavations, although in terms of categorization, some of the photography was later described as "ethological" (see the "Photographs of the Site" and "Photographs of Visiting Dignitaries" sections). George Reisner's advice to Henry Wellcome regarding dark rooms for developing films was partially adopted by Wellcome, although not utilizing the level of detail suggested by Reisner. A dark room was added to the House of Boulders, although currently, it is not possible to explore it in detail as it is home to an extensive bat colony.

Photographs of the Site

Henry Wellcome was an advocate of photography and adopter of new technologies, notably "aerial" photography. At the time of the excavations, this could be more accurately described as "air" photography with a large Graham Bell box camera tethered to a kite and guided from the ground (referred to as the kite trolley camera). High winds are a feature of the weather conditions at Jebel Moya, helping with launching the kite cameras, but making the kite less controllable without the tethering arrangement. There were two designs; one angled straight down to photograph the ground below and the other more complicated, providing topographical birds' eye views of the archaeological field or a high-angle camera view of the site. A spring mechanism controlled the shutter release via a piece of string held from the ground, when pulled or released, taking a picture. All this technical knowledge together with preparing the photographic plates required an operational understanding of cameras (Fig. 3).

The development of air photography and the kite camera was endorsed by Wellcome, including the drafting of wording for sections on aerial photography in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in which he took credit for its invention ('Archaeology', 1926: 167, 197; 'Archaeology', 1929: 259). Wellcome controlled the physical and intellectual capital created through his financial backing. The entries also evidence a growing awareness that aerial surveys were useful in archaeology. Wellcome had planned to appoint O. G. S. Crawford to lead a post-war season in Sudan and Crawford, who would go on to pioneer archaeological aerial photography in Britain (taken from an aeroplane) and was consulted in the development of the apparatus. Although the device yielded a number of shots of the landscape and the extensive camp, it was dismissed by Frank Addison (1949a: 6) as being of no archaeological value and of little historical interest, simply noting that Wellcome instituted and Barrett carried out these experiments. His words overlook the contribution of Barrett and evidence of Barrett's later discontent around his contributions being under unacknowledged.

Photographs of the site are unified by the lack of scale and compass points. A sense of scale is offered via photographic techniques, but there is no scale to measure the size of trenches or the finds. By contrast, photographs of skeletal remains, taken post-excavation and published in Addison's Volume 2, contain a scale. Photographs of the camp highlight the amount of construction that Wellcome carried out on the site (Fig. 4), including the House of Boulders under construction (far background), smoke coming from the incinerator (he built two), and a number of tents and huts. The photographer was standing on the hillside in the southwest sector. His photograph captures a number of demarcated pathways, also constructed by Wellcome. The land immediately above the knoll (a rock formation near the center of the photos) stops at a gully running from west to center, south of Trench 2 in the current excavations. Trench 2 is a particularly rich trench dating to the Late Mesolithic. The photograph shows that the area around this trench was untouched by Wellcome, which has been confirmed by current excavations. The photographs also enabled us to identify areas where small amounts of spoil were deposited by the Wellcome expedition.

Other photographs help us reconstruct the previous excavations, including where Reisner likely excavated. However, photographs purporting to show archaeological features are more problematic, largely due to a lack of scale and orientation. Photographs of "archaeological features" are also deceptive, perhaps deliberately so. Some photographs show boulders which give the impression of being ancient structures but are the result of rock falls from the surrounding slopes. There exists no documentation as to how these were removed, and the effects they had on the archaeological remains. Yet, they are presented as excavation photographs and bear signs of retouching prior to being rephotographed for exhibition purposes.

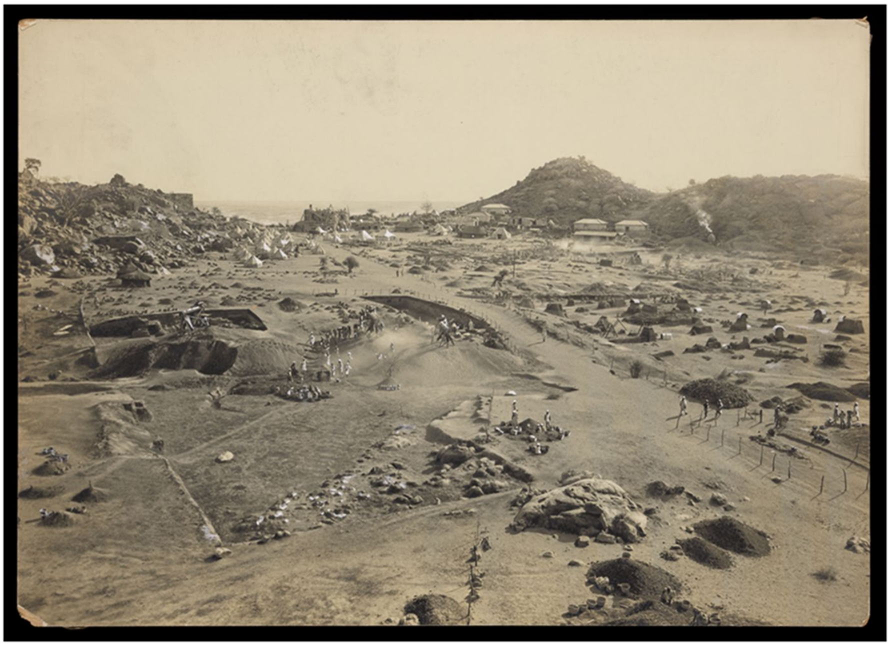


Fig. 4 R. C. Ryan, "The active camp." Digital image of a mounted and retouched photograph, circa 1912. Source: Wellcome Collection. WA/HSW/AR/Jeb/29

The use of photographic techniques to change the perspective is also identified in other photographs, for example, Fig. 5. This shot is carefully composed, with children placed neatly around the trench. This photograph would have been taken in Season 2, when most of this sector was excavated. The placement of people makes for a confusing perspective, especially as many are children and the adults are carefully placed on higher points. This photograph was taken either using a very tall tripod or while standing on a ladder (several options regarding the available equipment have been noted already). In essence, artificial elevation is used to achieve a zoom effect. It is worth noting that the children are standing on the original modern surface and the adults are on spoil mounds. When the current expedition excavates this area, we will need to determine where the original ground surface begins. To do this, we will need to first try test pits. If a lot of spoil was dumped on top of this area, we would need to take soil samples for chemical analyses, which will inform us of the different environmental conditions across time as these leave distinct chemical signatures. In turn, this will help us refine our artifact chronologies.

Photographs focusing on labor are part of Wellcome's narrative that his work brought great benefits and employment. This statement is often repeated by Wellcome, whether in letters to (General and later Governor General) Reginald Wingate, to the author Percy, or in the paper he read out at the BAAS Congress of September 1912 (see, respectively, WCA, Correspondence and memoranda re 1911 expedition and relations with native workforce [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/x5m48zwg], Martin, 1921, and WCA, General correspondence 1911–16 [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/mq2fqbxy]). It is part of his wider conviction that rigorous labor is necessary both for the project and for the empire more broadly, with strong emphasis placed on the Sudanese conforming to these ideals (for a full discussion, see Vella Gregory, 2020). The results of this labor and attendant compensation, something Wellcome constantly stressed, are visualized in a number of photographs (Fig. 6). Existing documentation which was part of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library's archives gives a list of labourers, likely to be Egyptian workmen recommended by George Reisner. Very tellingly, at the bottom of the list, it says "various unclassified," likely referring to the thousands of workers recruited from Jebel Moya and other areas of Sudan (WCA, Gebel Moya—internal document inventory 1911 [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/dqf833rc]). As Mickel (2019) notes, the practice of hiring a large workforce for archaeological excavations dates back to the nineteenth century in the Near East. In her view, this has hindered the production of knowledge due to (1) the difficulty of supervising a fast-digging workforce, leading to loss of information, (2) paying

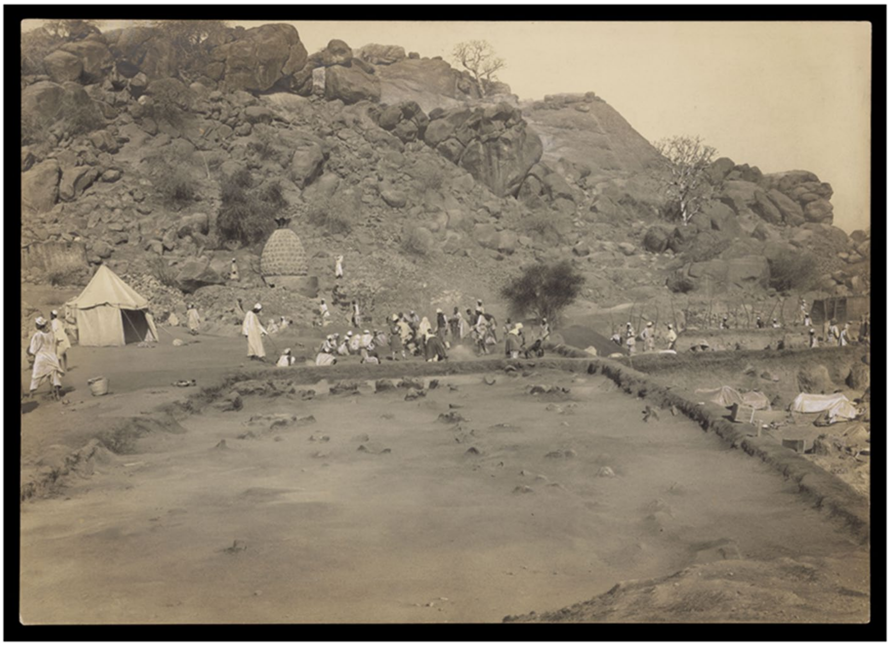


Fig. 5 The careful positioning of people around a trench gives a false sense of perspective. Photograph by R.C. Ryan, digital image of a mounted and retouched photograph, c. 1912. Source: Wellcome Collection. WA/HSW/AR/Jeb/29

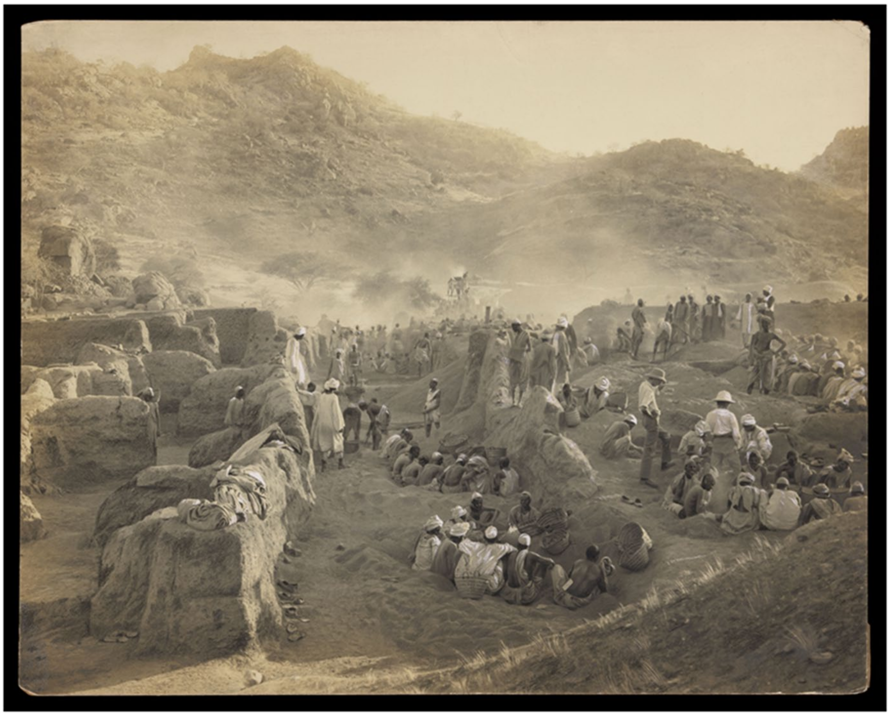


Fig. 6 Area where Frank Addison placed George Reisner's Egyptian workers. Reisner's observations are largely lost and were not available to Addison. The workers shown in the photograph are Reisner's Egyptian workmen. Photograph by R. C. Ryan, digital image of a mounted and retouched photograph, c. 1912. Source: Wellcome Collection. WA/HSW/AR/Jeb/29

for certain star artifacts reinforced the antiquities market, and (3) the military-style organization alienated workers. Mickel (2019) further notes that the latter is not unintentional since archaeology is deeply entangled with colonial practice. In total, she views these factors as reflective of capitalist modes of production sensu Marx. The parallels with Sudan are strong, not least because it was part of the same colonial entanglements. Wellcome hired a large force that was urged to work hard. The camp was run along military lines, with Sergio Uribe as camp commandant. The supervisory staff changed every season, largely due to falling out with Henry Wellcome and other reasons. The result is a complete lack of procedure, order, and records. Workers were also paid for artifacts, although not for "ordinary" pottery. As a pharmaceutical entrepreneur, Wellcome embraced the notion of a highly productive workforce, and his work was funded by his commercial success in industry. The element of race is discussed in the next section.

Photographs of Visiting Dignitaries

The need for order, at least visually, and the focus on military discipline is also visible in photographs of visiting dignitaries. It is worth noting that archaeology, particularly as practiced by Britain both on home soil and across the Empire, had a strong relationship with the military. This included pioneering archaeologists who had careers in the military, for example, Lt. General Augustus Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, and the practice of allowing civil servants to go beyond the remit of their work and pursue their amateur interests. Wellcome was keen to show off his archaeological achievements. In the UK, for example, he sent nearly identical letters to leading scholars, inviting them to see his artifacts (see WCA General Correspondence 1911–16, pp. 31–32, 59–61 [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/mq2fqbxy]). He was also keen on establishing his status among the political powers. Indeed, he formed a close relationship with General Sir Reginal Wingate, appointed Governor General of Sudan in 1899. Prior to that, he tried to cultivate a relationship with (the later) Lord Kitchener. Field Marshall Horatio Kitchener utilized his military prowess to bring Sudan under British control. He was appointed Baron of Khartoum in 1898. In 1900, he was sent to South Africa, where he was the architect of victory for the Second South African (Boer) War after major military offensives and the creation of imprisonment camps. When Wellcome finally persuaded Kitchener to visit, on February 26, 1912, it was a very grand occasion which Wellcome orchestrated with great pomp. A series of photographs features Henry Wellcome leading the Kitchener party across the site, in the process displaying his orderly camp, the vast amount of labor he was generating, and the seriousness of his enterprise. In all the photographs, there is a firm division between white and Black people, including Black dignitaries. Black laborers are held behind a rope, flimsy in nature but very powerful in practice. These photographs have all been highly and carefully retouched, including careful highlighting of the Union Jack. There are also formal portraits of Lord Kitchener, which are carefully posed and retouched. In these, he stands tall and straight. Although wearing a civilian suit, his posture, gloves, and stick attest to his military bearing. The background is extensively edited, ensuring the focus is on the subject rather than the surroundings. The February date is at the end of the (relative) winter season. In other photographs, Kitchener, accompanied by a retinue of military men in uniform and members of the Sudanese Political Service (in their own type of unofficial uniform attire), is shown around the site by Henry Wellcome (Fig. 7).

Kitchener would have found a very ordered landscape, one that is entirely the creation of Wellcome and features numerous structures and orderly passages, and local workers in an orderly line—this placement of people and creation of a visual landscape was not accidental. In this sense, narratives of colonialism are very much embedded and maintained in photographs. As Close (2024: 14) notes, "the representation of the world is mediated as someone represents it, articulated through thought, ideology and the senses." Of note in Fig. 7 is the group of men wearing jallabiyas held with a *hazim* (belt) and an *ansar* (hat). Their dress indicates they are supporters of the Mahdia. Muhammad Ahmad bin Abdullah bin Fahal was a Sudanese political and religious leader. In 1881, he claimed to be the Mahdi (the Guided) and led a war against Egyptian rule in Sudan. He created a vast state which extended from the Red Sea to Central Africa, and while the Mahdist state was defeated in 1898 following Kitchener's slaughter at Omdurman, the Mahdi remains influential even in the present, particularly at Aba Island. During Wellcome's excavations, the bloodshed at Omdurman would have still been fresh in living memories. Political events are also referenced in other photographs. Figure 8, for example, is a group shot that shows people in conversation. Kitchener walks ahead and some officials are shaking hands with Sudanese men. The photograph features two flags, retouched for a better visual effect once re-photographed. One is the Union Jack and the other one is likely to be the Egyptian flag, which would have featured a white crescent and five-pointed

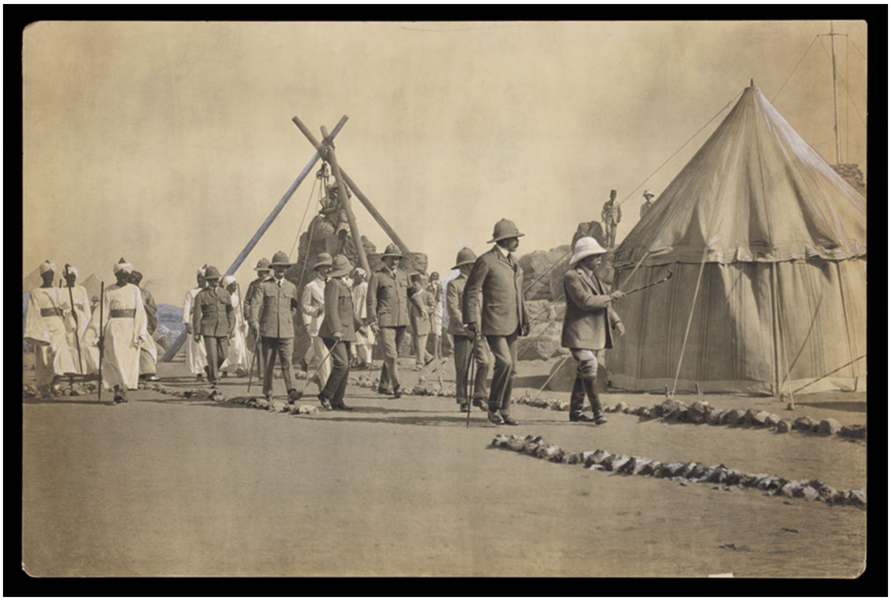


Fig. 7 R. C. Ryan, "Henry Wellcome (at the front) shows Lord Kitchener (behind him) around a very ordered camp. Neat piles of rock demarcate a pathway and give the impression of a street, even though the site is a mountain valley with many dips and gullies." Digital image of a mounted and retouched photograph, circa 1912. Source: Wellcome Collection. WA/HSW/AR/Jeb/29

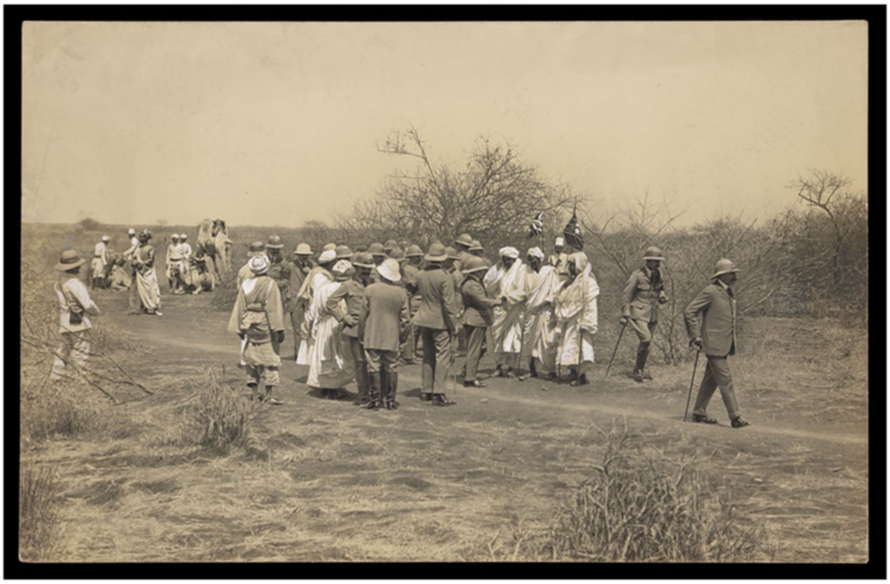


Fig. 8 R. C. Ryan, "Group shot; in the background are the Union Jack and the Egyptian flag." Digital image of a mounted and retouched photograph, circa 1912. Source: Wellcome Collection. WA/HSW/AR/Jeb/29

stars on a green background. It is unlikely to be the Anglo-Sudan flag, which was used between 1914 and 1922.

By far the most disturbing is Fig. 9. Ostensibly, it shows a group of men at work. They are surrounded by a group of white men above, standing in a semicircle. Close (2024: 17) argues that the camera transforms the world in 3 ways, (1) as the shutter records in time the image taken, (2) space as the lens frames what is before it, and (3) political: those who operate the apparatus go on to control value and produce meaning. Indeed, this representation of the world is mediated through colonial ideology—and Fig. 9 particularly shows the power dynamic and inequalities. The white gouache further highlights the distinction between Black and white. These ideologies are reproduced in other photographs, including images of Kitchener "inspecting" child workers. They are also seen in photographs of local dignitaries.

Also of interest is the man in Fig. 10, labeled as son of Khalifa. The man's attire denotes that he is from an important religious family. The black abbaya is only worn by important and wealthy people, and he would have been highly respected in his

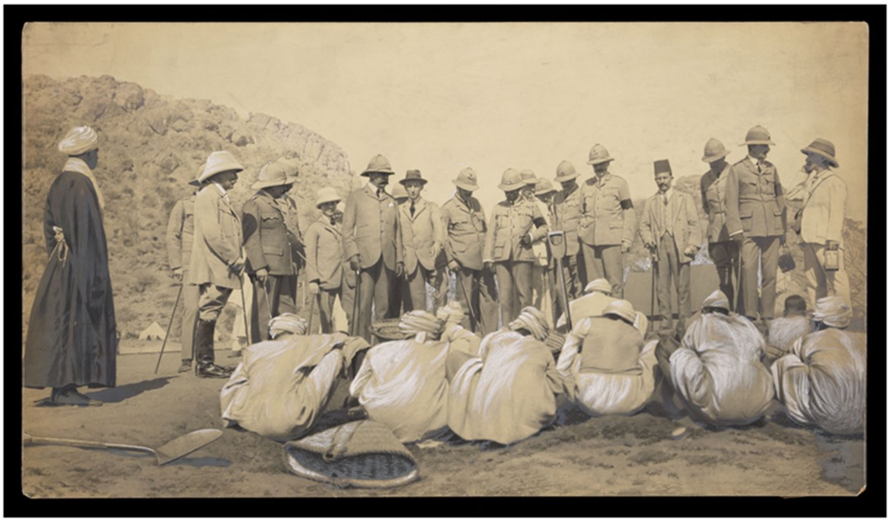


Fig. 9 R. C. Ryan, "Photograph ostensibly showing men at work." Digital image of a mounted and retouched photograph, circa 1912. Source: Wellcome Collection. WA/HSW/AR/Jeb/29

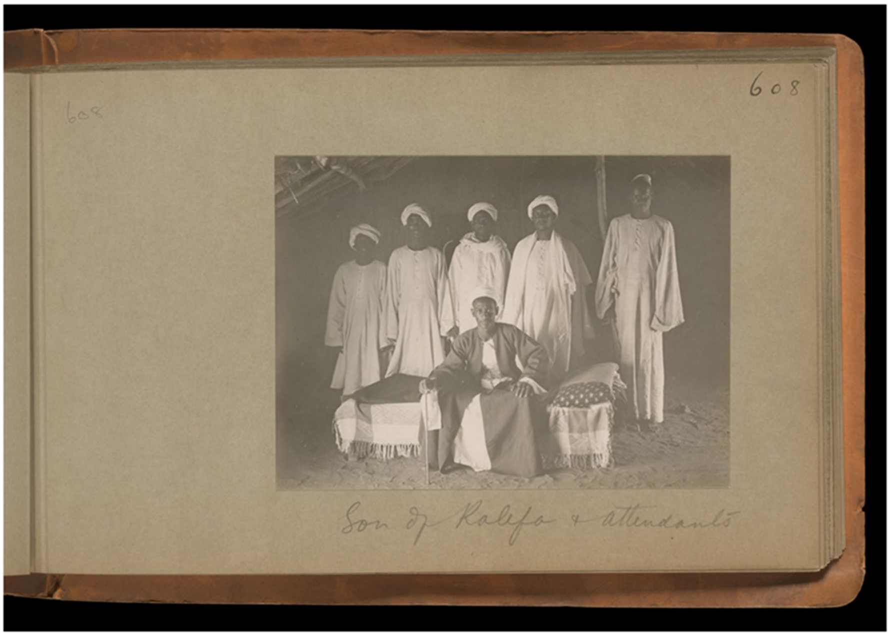


Fig. 10 Photograph labelled son of Khalifa and attendants. Photograph by Arthur Barrett or C.H. Horton, digital image from the album labelled *Mr Wellcome's visits with friends (various) Gebel Moya season 1913-14 B*. Source: Wellcome Collection. 2922454i.2

community. He would have had a major influence in terms of politics and policy. This person appears in a number of other photographs and the lack of name is particularly egregious considering his status. In Fig. 10, he is shown seated on a bed. While corded beds are common across Sudan, this particular one contains a number of material signs of power and status. The sheet is made out of high-quality cotton, the type which would have been available to a very select number of people and has an elaborate trim. It is woven from natural fibers using a method involving bobbins. In the Wellcome archives, he is labeled as Son of the Khalifa with his attendants, once again displaying the practice of ignoring local hierarchies. Two of the "attendants" are wearing a scarf that is the purview of only a certain sector of the population. Rather than attendants, these two men are likely to be from his extended family and were visiting him. They certainly would not have been laborers. Although the man's name remains subject to further verification, he has been identified by the villagers at Jebel Moya as part of the family of the present Umda (regional leader and chief of a number of villages).

Local dynamics are consistently ignored, as evident in Fig. 11, labeled as *Mr. Wellcome and Sultan of Socota*. The style of dress does not tally with the Sokoto caliphate (which stretched 1500 km and had been largely partitioned by Britain and Germany by 1903). The men are wearing clothing that denotes their wealth and status. Prof. Al-Amin Abu Manga, University of Khartoum, has identified the men in white as high-status Fulani, noting that there is a Fulani village in Mayirnu, an area close to Sinnar (pers. comm with Dr. Ahmed Adam, 2022). He further notes that the ones in darker clothes are unlikely to be Fulani and their style of dress is far more modest. Read against the grain (Stoler 2002), these photographs are a rare instance of Sudanese visitors and local power structures. We still lack knowledge on Sudanese photographers, although Sudanese workmen are seen helping Crawford with his kite camera and they are likely to have done other types of photography-related labor. If such photographs exist, they are, as Riggs (2019: 164) observes, likely to be in private not institutional collections.

A number of photographs relate to a trip taken by Reisner, Wellcome, and Crawford, all taken at the same location. One photo is labeled Mr Wellcome, Dr Reisner and Mr Crawford examining rocks opposite to Aloa. These photographs refer to Alwa, the medieval Nubian Christian kingdom whose capital was Soba East. The photographs were taken along the banks of the Blue Nile, and they do not show archaeological features. The ruins of Soba are along

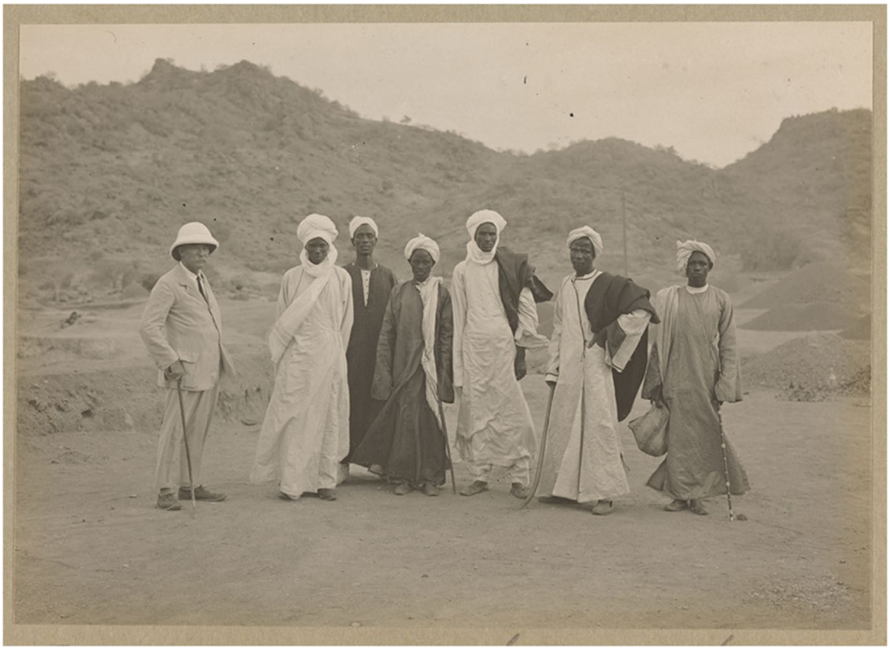


Fig. 11 Photograph erroneously labelled as Henry Wellcome and Sultans of Socota. Photograph by Arthur Barrett or C.H. Horton, digital image from the album labelled *Mr Wellcome's visits with friends (various) Gebel Moya season 1913-14 B*. Source: Wellcome Collection. 2922454i.2.

the banks of the Blue Nile. The site was known via a number of texts and traveler accounts, but a number of remains were lost in the nineteenth century, when bricks were used for construction in Khartoum. Reisner or Wellcome are likely to have known about the stone statue of a ram, described by Frederic Caillaud who visited in 1821. The statue was brought to Khartoum by General Charles Gordon sometime around 1885. In 1861, areas of the site were cleared by Sieur de Bono, and limited excavations were carried out by a number of people, including Wallis Budge, subsequently. The first systematic excavations were undertaken by George Somers Clarke (Drzewiecki & Ryndziewicz, 2019). It is not known if Wellcome visited these excavations. Nevertheless, it is curious that the photographs are all centered around looking at rocks, rather than the archaeology.

The Reisner visit was also a great occasion, especially since George Reisner was a highly respected Egyptologist. As noted elsewhere (Vella Gregory, 2020), Wellcome forbade the presence of women at the camp, but an exception was made for Mary Reisner and their daughter. Some of these photographs catch Henry Wellcome in rare non-orchestrated moments, in this case happily chatting to the Reisner's daughter and flashing a rare smile. Wellcome had rather hoped that his excavations would yield the next big civilization and was extremely disappointed by the results. While Reisner's interest lent Wellcome legitimacy, ultimately, Reisner dismissed everything south of Khartoum as peripheral and uncivilized (Reisner, 1919).

These photographs were intended for display, and indeed, many of them were displayed well into the later twentieth century. In one instance, they were exhibited long after Wellcome's death. Indeed, it was part of the 1953 Wellcome Centenary exhibition titled The Life and Work of Sir Henry Wellcome. The display, a photograph of which is found in WCA (https://wellcomecollection.org/works/t5sh7nv7), contains a section labeled Section XI: Archaeological interests. This display shows a number of photographs and artifacts from Jebel Moya. The photographs seen in this image, which were taken in 1953, still form part of the WCA.

Photographs shape the public perception. These were never on the scale of, for example, the tomb of Tutankhamun. Yet, the photographs largely show clear focus and composition. The framing of Fig. 9 is not accidental. This level of staging is part of a greater narrative of control (see for example Riggs, 2019: 179–185). Riggs (2019: 205) observes that after the First World War, Tutankhamun fell silent until he was summoned once again. Jebel Moya also fell silent, but for very different reasons. Wellcome never returned to the site, despite his efforts, and it was only in 2017 that fieldwork resumed at the site, where we continue to engage with the colonial legacies made manifest in this paper.

Colonial Displays of Power

There are many ways to understand an archaeological site. The Wellcome archive photos have limited use in a fieldwork sense, but archaeology is not simply about sites and things. In trying to understand humanity's past via material remains, archaeology is also a study of how we conceptualize the past. Although a material interest in the past is neither modern nor European in its origins, the discipline known as archaeology is very much the result of European colonialism. It is not simply a case of expeditions in colonized territories. Between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth century, archaeology's focus on civilization and the origins of humanity was rooted in race "science" and concepts of advanced civilization vs "primitiveness." As noted by González-Ruibal (2010), Greece and Rome were seen as the cradle of civilization, the Middle East confirmed Judeo-Christian belief and the rest of the world reassured the west of its (perceived) higher status. Archaeology, and adjacent disciplines, did not merely produce "things"—they were used to produce knowledge about conquered (or conquerable) lands and Sudan was no exception (Ahmed, 1982). Indeed, as observed by Moro-Abadía (2006), during the twentieth century the history of archaeology was an eloquent example of colonial discourse.

Photographs are not exclusively visual; they are a culturally constructed way of seeing. Amkpa (2013) poses the important question: how do we read more depth in photographs that play off the impact of light and background? His words are particularly resonant when dealing with this archive, especially his observation that photographs focus on space and time rather than the subjectivity of the photographed. Both archaeology and photography can objectify, but both can also give and reveal agency. In this respect, a decolonial approach to photographs has to repudiate orthodox understandings and disconnect from the logic of Eurocentric modernity (Close, 2024). As such, a study of the Jebel Moya archival material is also a study in ways of seeing, both in the early twentieth century and in the present. As Christina Riggs (2017) has shown, photographs of labor offer a collective activity and asymmetric power relations. This is particularly the case at Jebel Moya, especially since Henry Wellcome constantly emphasized his good humanitarian work and contribution to the "betterment" of the Sudanese. Photographs showing tents and other facilities are carefully composed to show order. They exemplify Wellcome's idea of progress and bringing civilization to unruly natives. In many ways, the neatly ordered lines of Sudanese people are incidental to the photograph—they become part of the imperial structure of order, discipline, and labour. This is particularly interesting when one considers Wellcome's constant refrain on the laziness and idleness of natives.

The idea of the idle African was not a new concept, but rather one that was used in various ways by imperial powers and colonial administrators. In his seminal *Idleness in South Africa*, Coetzee (1982) traces this concept to Lutheranism and the increasing emphasis placed on work as the fundamental divine edict. As a result, people perceived as idle were seen as underdeveloped. By the early twentieth century, this concept of idleness had evolved to suit imperial needs. Of course, the irony that all labor was done by these supposedly idle people appears to have escaped Wellcome and his contemporaries. In reality, the many tons of earth were shifted not by Wellcome or white excavators, but by Sudanese hands. Equally, the House of Boulders was built using Sudanese labor. As Shepherd (2003: 340) notes with reference to South Africa, "When the hand that holds the trowel is black, it is as though holes dig themselves and artefacts are removed, labelled and transported without human agency." A similar point has been echoed by Riggs (2019: 157–158), noting that the structures required to shape the ancient past are seen in photographs of manual labor.

Any official visit to a site will reflect extra effort on the part of the team. In the present, this would involve the entire team and would focus on clean trenches and sections—in the present, such visits still represent a form of artifice. However, no person present has ever been held behind a rope or excluded from participating. Indeed, Sudanese team members take an active lead in all site tours, regardless of the status of visitors. The photographs from Kitchener's visit, however, have an added layer of imperialism and racial identities that cannot be overlooked. These photographs are part of what Ryan (1997) terms the Empire's use of a grand spectacle. He notes that the Victorians assumed that the camera was a truthful means of representing the world, but photography inherited many conventions of perspectival realism from landscape painting. In many ways, however, these photographs very much witness the state of play in the Edwardian period, albeit not in ways the photographer and Wellcome intended.

As Ryan (1997) notes, photographing "natives" was part of the colonial encounter, and it is tied to photography's role in the systems of human classification. While the Jebel Moya photographs are not explicitly part of racial classification, in that they do not show posed and labeled photographs of Sudanese people, they shed light on racial encounters. Kitchener, although not in a military role at the time, retains his military bearing. He is shown as an imposing figure, with his clothes clearly edited to highlight the sharpness of his suit and minimize any creases in attire (a difficult task considering the heat in the Sudan). The photograph shows careful edits designed to highlight Kitchener as the imposing subject.

Sealy (2018: 107) demonstrates that in the present, archival photographs can help us recall and re-articulate systems which "brought the racialised body into focus and question how that focus has contributed to western ideas on human progress and understanding." Looking specifically at Jebel Moya, Black bodies were put in the service of Henry Wellcome, so that he may achieve a place among science's greatest. There was no attempt to understand local dynamics or acknowledge that alternate structures of power existed within Sudan and outside the colonial administration. His stance was in step with imperial policy. Indeed, both Wellcome and the condominium government collaborated with Percy Martin—the foreward to *The Sudan in Evolution* is written by Reginald Wingate and Martin acknowledges in the author preface the assistance of various colonial administration entities. Martin's story of Sudan centers on the British Empire at its heart. Both Martin and Wellcome speak of barbarism and the attempts to introduce western civilization. Martin himself notes that officials suggested he penetrate the "primitive" interior of Sudan. Martin spent a fair amount of time in the company of Henry Wellcome and visited the site and camp. Interestingly, Wellcome's excavations are discussed in the chapter dedicated to private enterprise and industry. The WCA contains multiple draft copies of this chapter, with a number of edits made by Henry Wellcome. The resulting narrative is aligned with Henry Wellcome's vision of himself as a great philanthropist. Martin (1921: 226) describes the excavation as a project that is both archaeological and as solving a pressing problem, namely, "how best to civilise and, at the same time, to elicit the more noble attributes of native races." Martin echoes Wellcome's view that local leaders were uncooperative and wayward—a sentiment Wellcome expressed often in correspondence and when addressing the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1912 (WA/HSW/Ar/Jeb2).

Conclusion

Decoloniality is a framework of approaches that disrupts colonial pasts and rethings knowledge that allows space for marginalized cultures to become visible (Close, 2024: 177); as such, we need a wider re-framing of Sudan across multiple disciplines and socio-political spheres. Sudan continues to occupy an uncertain place in archaeological discourse—not because of its own archaeology, but because of the insistence on seeing Sudan through the lens of Egypt and/or the Middle East. Sudan, however, is its own country, with a multiplicity of ways of life in the past and present. It does not help that many of the colonial-era actors involved in Egypt and neighboring countries were also present in Sudan. Yet, many of them seemed to circulate around the Empire. For example, Leonard Dudley Buxton was briefly the bioarchaeologist at Jebel Moya, and by 1924, he was trying to figure out the "race" of the inhabitants of the then British colony of Malta (Dudley Buxton, 1924, for a discussion, see the blog post-Sudan and Malta [https://thejebelmoyaproject.wordpress.com/2022/11/18/sudan-and-malta/]). The effects of these currents are still felt in the present.

How do we move beyond this colonial burden? Archaeologists have attempted to undo colonialism, at least in writing but, as Lemos (2023) notes, decolonizing the ancient past requires a consciousness that antiquity has long been entangled with inequalities. Focusing on Nubia, Lemos (2023) shows how the

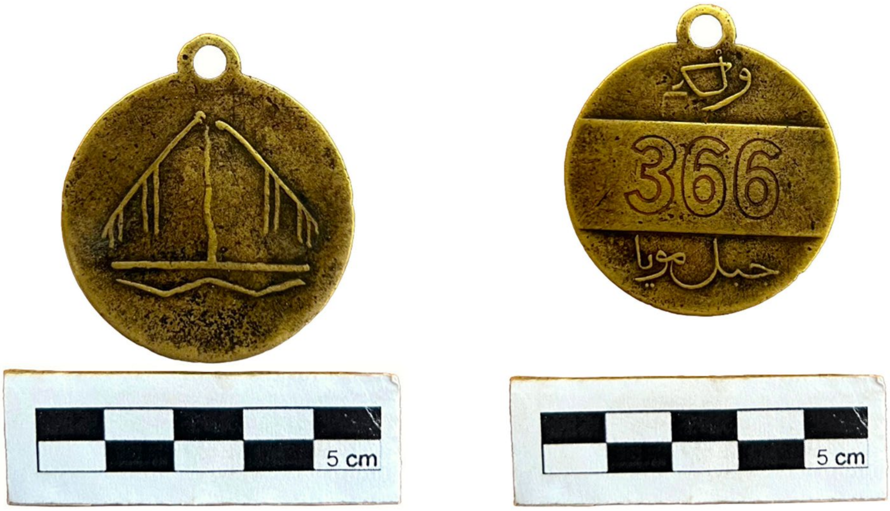


Fig. 12 An example of the medallions issued by Henry Wellcome. I-Phone image capture by Isabelle Vella Gregory, 2023

emphasis on Egyptianization has hindered the rewriting of history from the perspective of the colonized. More importantly, he argues that we need to go beyond rewriting antiquity and focus on re-contextualizing the past in its local context.

Such an endeavor never occurred at Jebel Moya prior to 2017, when the new project began excavations and centered both the local community and Sudanese archaeologists more broadly. There has been a steadily growing focus on local engagement, including starting an annual heritage festival. The aim is to offer resources and training so this can be entirely led by the village community in the near future. Prior to the war, the field team had just started making resources available. Similarly, a pilot project on Sudanese responses to these photographs is currently paused as a result of the ongoing war. The results thus far reveal a complex set of interactions and responses. On one level, the residents of Jebel Moya appreciated seeing photographs of their ancestors. In particular, the man featured in Figs. 9, 10, and 11 elicited a number of reactions—fondness for a past relative of the present Umda, sadness at not remembering the full name, and discussions about the Wellcome years. Images of power dynamics and people at work eventually led to conversations about the past that were more critical and in-depth.

During the project's first season, the villagers were fairly reserved until a more solid relationship developed between archaeologists and villagers. As the work progressed, this division became less pronounced, with a number of people actively participating in the project. One key result of these encounters was a number of people pointing to photographs and telling us "you are not Henry" (on building community relationships, see Vella Gregory, 2025). The more people were able to examine photographs, the more they eventually came forward with their stories. The senior leaders spoke openly about the colonial past as a time of injustice. Other people showed us a number of medallions issued by Henry Wellcome (Fig. 12). These bear Wellcome's site logo and a number—every non-white worker was identified only by a number, not name. Initially, the villagers showed ambiguous reactions towards these medallions. They were seen as a memory of their loved ones more than anything else. Eventually though, people spoke up and started mentioning their ancestors by name. Discussions were held over the number system. People wondered if it was normal "in Europe" to refer to employees by number rather than by name. It is hoped that when fieldwork resumes we can explore this further. In particular, we hope to identify people shown in photographs of labor. This would provide a corrective demonstration of presence (Riggs, 2019: 157), moving away from Indigenous people being portrayed as servants and laborers, as per the established visual repertoire of the empire.

Looking at photographs from Jebel Moya, it is striking how no effort is made to acknowledge the diversity of tribes and cultures within Sudan—a sentiment also voiced by the current senior leadership in the village. Indeed, several elders pointed out the different "types" of Sudanese in photographs, exclaiming "this man is a Dinka" or "he is Fulani." A number of Dinka inhabit the fringes of the village, and the Umda invited them to the heritage festival, seeing it as an opportunity to create more connections between the different groups. Another effect of sharing photographs is a new understanding of the surrounding landscape. Photographs that, on the surface, only show trees or cattle led to a discussion about particular locales. Many people recognized trees in specific locales, leading to discussions about paths taken to graze cattle. In the coming seasons, we aim to explore these in more detail. Overall, the archive is designed to show efficiency and attention to detail. There are long lists relating to equipment and provisions—at first glance, it looks complete. In reality, it shows a very distilled version of Sudan, one that focuses on order and uniformity rather than its complexity. This research has highlighted the need to further engage with archives. Current research is focused on Sudanese responses to photographs, paying particular attention to the views of people in Jebel Moya. As the project delves deeper in time into the history of Jebel Moya, so too does our pursuit of engaging with the complexities of Sudan in the present.

Acknowledgements The authors are grateful to Wellcome Collection Archives (funded by the UK-based charity the Wellcome Trust), in particular the staff who have facilitated research over the years. Prof. Al-Amin Abu Manga generously shared his time and knowledge on matters relating to Jebel Moya. We are grateful to the community at Jebel Moya for welcoming us to their homes and their participation in excavations. The excavations were funded by the British Institute for Libyan and North African Studies. We acknowledge the labor and knowledge of our team members over the years, whose names appear on all published field reports. In the present circumstances, our concern remains with our colleagues and friends in Sudan. Finally, we thank the reviewers who provided constructive and informative feedback.

Funding The fieldwork mentioned in this article was funded by the British Institute for Libyan and Northern African Studies, however, this piece was written independently and no funding was received.

Declarations

The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

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