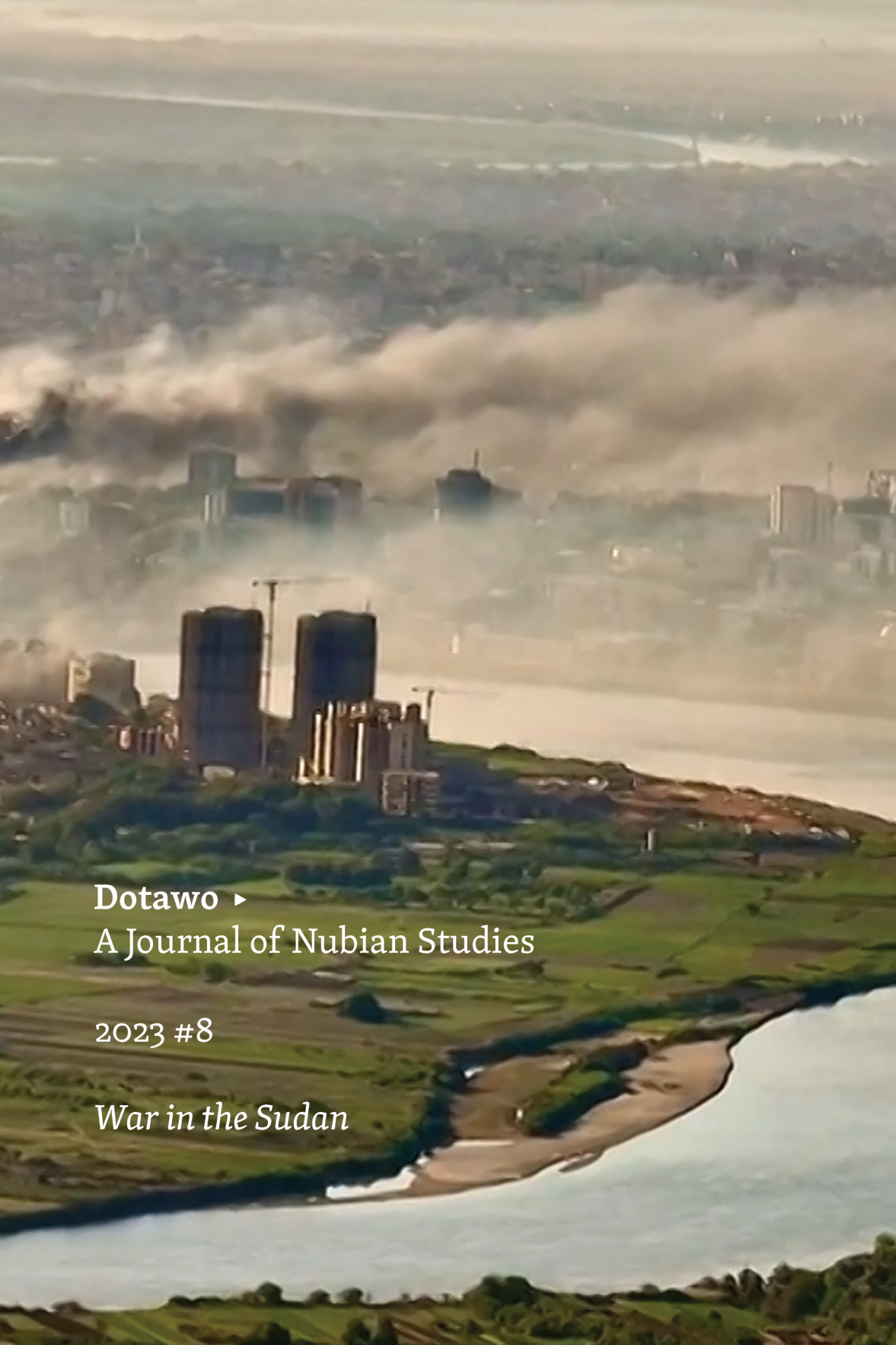


Dotawo ▸
A Journal of Nubian Studies

2023 #8

War in the Sudan

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Edited by
Henriette Hafsaas

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ISBN-13: 978-1-68571-168-9 (print); 978-1-68571-169-6 (ePDF)
ISSN: 2373-2571 (online)
LCCN: 2023940889

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Dotawo ▸

1. A medieval Nubian kingdom controlling the central Nile Valley, best known from Old Nubian documents excavated at Qasr Ibrim and other sites in Lower Nubia.
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1. Ammiki Nuba-n sirki Tungula-n Bahar aal poccika anda kannim, ne poccika an ammikin Nuba-n kitaaba an Kasr Ibrimiro poon isshi Nuba aro-n ammiki ir kar əəl koran əəllooyanero poccikare əəl oddnooyim.
2. Ele ne Nuba poccikan muɟallayane, aal poccika yaa əərngaanyatn, taariikiro, aallo, elekon poon ammik(i) ir ayin ir kanniyam pirro, poon ammik(i) aallo, elek(i) aallo poccikaa yaa əərngaanyatn.**

* Translation into Nobiin courtesy of Mohamed K. Khalil.
** Translation into Midob Nubian courtesy of Ishag A. Hassan.

issue/ *Dotawo 8: War in the Sudan*

editor/ *Henriette Hafsaas, Volda University College*

has articles/

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1. Preface by the Editor

As this volume on war in the Sudan materializes, there is war in the Sudan. In April 2023, armed conflict started between rival factions of the military regime in the country. The population is trapped on the battlefield between the military leaders at war with each other. We are deeply concerned for the people of the Sudan - among them are friends and colleagues. The escalation of the conflict has caused ourageous civilian casualties, and more than a million have already

become refugees. We publish the volume in a grim context, and the aspiration of our research is now to raise awareness of how destructive war is for the people and their means of living. We can only hope for the rapid restoration of peace and a peaceful transition to democracy for the country.

War has been a recurring form of violent interaction between communities in the Sudan since the Stone Age, and many chronological divisions in the history of the country are set at events such as wars, battles, conquests, and peace treaties. Still, warfare has often been an overlooked topic among researchers working in Sudan and Nubia. An explanation is possibly that periods of stability or evolving complexity are usually longer than episodes of war, which occur during relatively short time spans at irregular intervals. Another reason may be that contemporary Sudan has been a violent place, and this has possibly made war in the country a sensitive topic and restrained researchers from making warfare their research object.

The modern borders of the Sudan are a construct of war. First through the conquests by the Ottoman rulers of Egypt between the 1820s and the 1870s. Then the Anglo-Egyptian conquest in 1898, which also incorporated the independent sultanate of Darfur in 1916.[1] The borders of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium were maintained when Sudan became independent in 1956, but the northern and southern parts of the independent country thereafter fought on and off in the longest civil war in Africa. The war was terminated with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, which culminated with a referendum where the southern part of the country voted for secession. The country was split in two in 2011. Nevertheless, violent conflict and war continued as the new states of South Sudan and Sudan were fighting over territory and oil fields in the border regions. Since late 2013, South Sudan has become deeply split in a civil war that is dividing the country along ethnic boundaries with great human sufferings. In the north, Sudan had a central government at war with systematically marginalized peripheries and a suppressed population. Increasing resistance from the inhabitants resulted in the toppling of the old regime in 2019. However, the transitional government failed to install civilian rule in Sudan, and the military took full control of the government in a coup in October 2021. The Sudanese people have taken to the streets numerous times since 2019 demanding civilian rule, and their persistence brings hope for a civilian government and democratic state in Sudan.

War has deep roots in Sudan. An Upper Paleolithic cemetery at Jebel Sahaba in the far north of the country is often referred to as the earliest evidence of war in world history.[2] Around 25 victims at Jebel Sahaba exhibited injuries from attacks with bows and arrows.[3] The extremities of the earliest war and the violent conflicts in modern times demonstrate that war in the Sudan covers a great time span and various levels of organization – from violent clashes between ethnic groups to warfare between states and civil wars. However, exact evidence for violent conflict and war in Nubia and Sudan is limited for all periods. Iconography and texts are often our only indications for warfare, but these data are indirect sources and not always reliable information. Although historians have researched the wars that have ridden the country in modern times, the time is ripe to study wars in the Sudan from a broader academic perspective. I hope the articles in this volume of Dotawo will stimulate to provide more attention to warfare in scholarship on the Sudan, as this will increase our understanding of interaction between people in this land.

2. About the Issue

Despite being delayed by the pandemic and its consequences for research, we are delighted to finally publish this *Dotawo* volume on "War in Sudan". Five articles are included after three contributors were prevented from completing their articles.

We are deeply saddened by the passing of Karin Willemse (1962-2023).[4] She wished to contribute to the volume with an article from her inspiring anthropological research on gender and war in Sudan: *"Women of value, men of renown": The social construction of gendered notions of gendered personhood in Darfur and Nubia in times of duress.* Karin's contributions to Sudan Studies will be greatly missed, but we are confident that her work will continue to inspire and influence others. Our thoughts are with her family and close colleagues.

The aim of this thematic collection is to offer new insights on wars and violent conflict in the Sudan either as case-studies or as broader historical patterns.

The volume is chronologically structured, beginning with the editor's contribution on the mid-4th millennium BCE border war between peoples in Nubia and Egypt. Then follows Matthieu Honegger's presentation of the famous

archers from Kerma during the latter half of the 3rd millennium BCE. The bows and arrows in these earliest Kerma graves have never been presented in such detail before, and the appearance of the archers are linked to the emergence of the kingdom of Kerma. Next, Uroš Matić offers a fresh perspective on warfare and gender in textual and visual media during the Napatan and Meroitic periods (8th century BCE to 4th century CE), followed by Alexandros Tsakos' article on warfare terms in medieval sources (ca. 5th century CE to 15th century CE). The volume concludes with Roksana Hajduga's presentation of the art of the 2018/2019 revolution in Sudan. She explores how the war between non-violent protesters and a brutal regime caused a change in the freedom of expressions and greater creativity in Fine Arts, Street art, and online art. The volume thus covers some major chronological phases of Nubia and Sudan from the earliest Bronze Age until today.

The articles in this issue also span a wide geographical area along the Nile. The first article by Hafsaas focus on the First Cataract region in the northernmost part of Nubia and outside the borders of today's Sudan. Honegger's article on the archers is set at Kerma above the Third Cataract. In the article by Matić, we move further south to Napata below the Fourth Cataract and Merowe between the Fifth and the Sixth Cataracts. The article on the medieval era by Tsakos covers all of Nubia, while the last article by Hajduga considers the southernmost region in the volume by focusing on the capital Khartoum.

Dotawo's Open Access Commitment

Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies has been a journal with open access to both readers and authors since its launch in 2014. Since the previous volume, *Dotawo* has been even more committed to open scholarship by linking the references in the journal to records with open access, as far as possible. The aim is to give access to research to those without privileged access to institutional libraries.[5] This great work to make the research openly available has largely been undertaken by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei, managing editor from 2014 to 2022. I am grateful to managing editor Alexandros Tsakos for the typesetting in an open-source infrastructure. Personally, publishing openly in this way is fulfilling despite the additional efforts. I hope the readers find the result accessible and appealing.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the peer-reviewers who spent their time and used their knowledge to improve the quality of the articles in this issue of *Dotawo*.

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Endnotes

1. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 3. ↩

2. E.g., Otterbein, *How War Began*, pp. 74-5; Gat, *War in Human Civilization*, p. 15. ↩

3. Crevecoeur et al., "New Insights on Interpersonal Violence in the Late Pleistocene Based on the Nile Valley Cemetery of Jebel Sahaba." ↩

4. Gewald et al. "In Memoriam Karin Willemse (1962-2023)." ↩

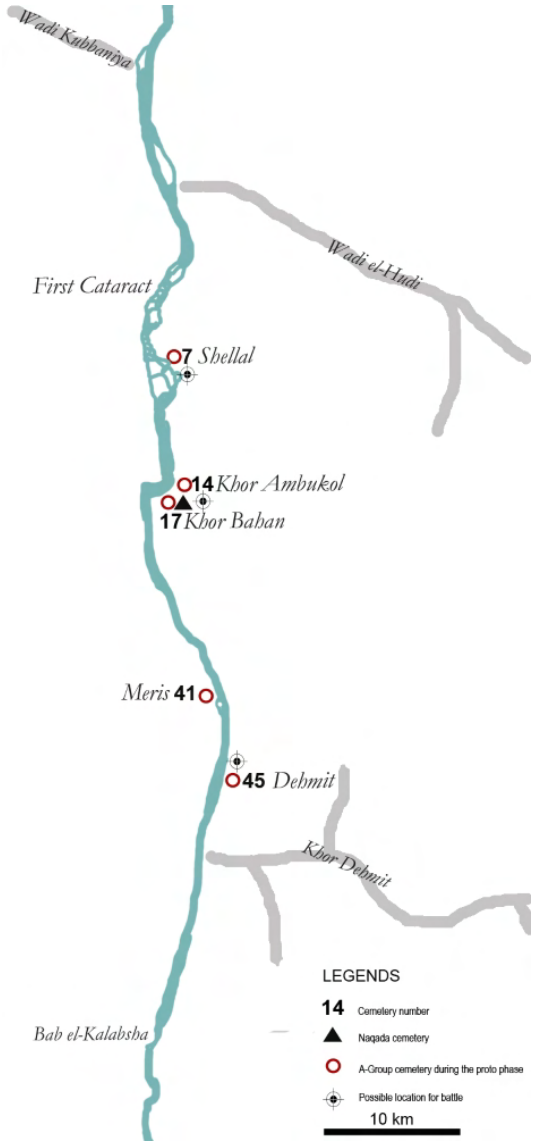
5. Van Gerven Oei, "Preface by the Editor," pp. 1-3. ↩

article/ # The Role of Warfare and Headhunting in Forming Ethnic Identity: Violent Clashes between A-Group and Naqada Peoples in Lower Nubia (mid-4th millennium BCE)

author/ Henriette Hafsaas, Volda University College

abstract/ *This article reassesses the earliest cemeteries dating to the 4th millennium BCE in northern Lower Nubia. Remains from two cultural groups have been found in the region – native predecessors of the A-Group people and Naqada people arriving from Upper Egypt. The evidence presented suggests that Naqada people from the chiefdom at Hierakonpolis conducted a violent expansion into Lower Nubia in the mid-4th millennium BCE. The violent encounters with the natives are testified through evidence of interpersonal violence in five cemeteries of the predecessors of the A-Group people, young males buried with weapons in a Naqada cemetery in A-Group territory, and a settlement pattern shifting southwards. The author argues that the violence led to an ethnogenesis among the native population of northern Lower Nubia, and the ethnic boundary between the two groups became even more defined through headhunting provoking a schismogenesis. This case study provides new insights into warfare in ancient Nubia and an opportunity to discuss ethnic identity, ethnogenesis, and schismogenesis in the Nile Valley at the beginning of the Bronze Age.*

keywords/ Warfare, ethnicity, headhunting, schismogenesis, Early Bronze Age, Nubia, Egypt



Map 1. Northern Lower Nubia with sites dating to the mid-4th millenium BCE. Graphic: Henriette Hafsaas.

1. Introduction

Lower Nubia in today's southern Egypt has been studied by archaeologists since the beginning of the 20th century. Yet, the collective self-awareness and group identity of the people inhabiting the northernmost part of Lower Nubia in the 4th millennium BCE is still elusive. In this article, I will argue that the region from the First Cataract to Bab el-Kalabsha was the setting of violent encounters between peoples who increasingly came to view each other as culturally different during the mid-4th millennium BCE. I will demonstrate that the predecessors of the A-Group people were attacked by a band of Naqada warriors from Hierakonpolis in several deadly clashes that ultimately drove the A-Group predecessors south of Bab el-Kalabsha while Naqada peoples settled in the area between Bab el-Kalabsha and the First Cataract (Map 1).

The evidence for the violent expansion is interpersonal violence leading to deaths and injuries among the A-Group predecessors, young males belonging to the Naqada people buried with weapons in a cemetery of the A-Group predecessors, and a shifting settlement pattern with the A-Group predecessors retreating southwards as the Naqada people expanded into their territory. I will argue that the formation of the ethnic identity of the A-Group people was an ethnogenesis,[1] as the distinctive material culture of the A-Group people became archaeologically visible around the middle of the 4th millennium BCE (Table 1).[2]

A-Group phases		Contemporary	Years BCE
Southern Lower Nubia	Northern Lower Nubia	Egyptian phases	(calibrated)
Terminal Abkan	Early proto-phase	Naqada IA-IB	3750-3650
	Late proto-phase	Naqada IC-IIA	3650-3530
Early phase		Naqada IIB-IIC	3530-3425
Middle phase		Naqada IID1-IIIA2	3425-3200
Early terminal phase		Naqada IIIB	3200-3085
Late terminal phase		Naqada IIIC1	3085-3000

Table 1. Chronology for the A-Group people including cross-dating with Egypt.

After the first violent clashes near the First Cataract, headhunting appears to become part of the warfare practices as the Naqada people continued their expansion southwards. Headhunting probably affected the consolidation of ethnic identities among the A-Group and Naqada peoples, and the practice

contributed to defining an ethnic boundary between the two ethnic groups in a process of schismogenesis.

The topic of this article is ethnogenesis, and especially how conflicts and competition affected the formation of ethnic identity. Ethnogenesis is a dynamic process where continuity and change are encompassed in forging a new ethnic identity.[3] The ethnogenesis among the A-Group predecessors was enhanced in a process of schismogenesis, which made the A-group and Naqada peoples diverge further from each other. Schismogenesis is a process of differentiation first described by Gregory Bateson[4] and recently expanded upon by David Wengrow and David Graeber.[5] Ethnogenesis and schismogenesis are related concepts of identity formation through intercultural contact, but schismogenesis more specifically refers to the process where two groups of people who already are different diverge further due to interaction with each other.

The geographical focus in this article is limited to the region between the First Cataract and Bab el-Kalabsha, which I will refer to as northern Lower Nubia. *Bab el-Kalabsha* means 'Gate of Kalabsha' in Arabic. The toponym is descriptive as granite cliffs constricted the river to a width of only 220 metres, making this one of the narrowest passages of the Nile (Figure 1), while rocks and shoals broke the flow of the water.[6] The rising cliffs of Bab el-Kalabsha were thus a distinctive geographical marker, and a position for exercising territorial control.



Figure 1. The landscape at Bab el-Kalabsha. Painting by Edward Lear (1871). Public domain, downloaded from Artvee.com.

For more than a century, scholars have overlooked the instances of violent injuries and lethal weapons in the cemeteries in northern Lower Nubia dating to the mid-4th millennium BCE.[7] The omission of this evidence has limited our understanding of the role of warfare in the formation of an ethnic boundary through processes of ethnogenesis and schismogenesis. Furthermore, a warfare perspective will provide new knowledge on violent practices in the Nile Valley at the beginning of the Bronze Age and the emergence of the A-Group people as an ethnic group in the mid-4th millennium BCE.

2. Background

The core area of ancient Egypt was the lower reaches of the Nile, where the river flows like an elongated oasis through the Sahara. Travelling from the north, the islands and rapids of the First Cataract formed the first serious obstacle to riverine navigation. To the south of the First Cataract, the landscape is different. This is Nubia. The floodplain is narrower resulting in less fertile land. Six cataracts with granite boulders and treacherous rapids make travelling more difficult on water and over land along the Nubian stretch of the Nile. Furthermore, the cataracts divide Nubia into several smaller regions where the northern part of Lower Nubia is the closest southern neighbour of ancient Egypt.

Around 4000 BCE, people in Upper Egypt adopted agriculture as the main form of food production.[8] New forms of a shared material culture emerged from around 3750 BCE, although regionality was still present.[9] The transition to food production was followed by the gradual emergence of centralized forms of political organization, and three chiefdoms appeared around 3650 BCE.[10] The political centralization culminated with the formation of the territorial state of dynastic Egypt around 3085 BCE.[11] The time span from ca. 3750 to 3085 BCE is termed the Naqada period in Upper Egypt (see Table 1).[12] I will call the population in Upper Egypt during this epoch for *the Naqada people* to signal their cultural unity and increasing communal self-awareness.[13]

In the latter half of the 4th millennium BCE, Lower Nubia was inhabited by the so-called A-Group people.[14] Before the inhabitants of Lower Nubia came into more frequent contact with the Naqada people during the Early A-Group phase,[15] the predecessors of the A-Group people in northern Lower Nubia appear less conscious about displaying a collective identity through material culture.

Nevertheless, the A-Group predecessors had a distinctive tradition of pottery making, and they appear to have shared beliefs about death and practiced similar burial rituals. In contrast to the agricultural Naqada people, these A-Group predecessors probably maintained a pastoral way of life in continuation of the traditions encompassing the Nile Valley in the 5th millennium BCE.[16] Although both groups inhabited quite similar ecological environments along the Nile, the differences in modes of food production suggest that the daily tasks of the people living in northern Lower Nubia was different from that of the Naqada people in Upper Egypt.

Archaeologists have diverging interpretations of the collective identity of the people living on the banks of the 130 kilometers long stretch of the Nile from Bab el-Kalabsha in Lower Nubia to Gebel es-Silsila in Upper Egypt during the 4th millennium BCE. Some scholars suggest an expansion of Naqada settlements or colonies into northern Lower Nubia.[17] Others consider all sites in Lower Nubia and north to Kubbaniya[18] or Gebel es-Silsila in Upper Egypt to belong to the A-Group people.[19] Maria Gatto has fronted a third explanation and suggests a hybrid identity or entanglement of Naqada and A-Group identities in the region north of the First Cataract.[20] In an elaboration of these positions, I argue that an ethnic boundary was established between the two groups in northern Lower Nubia. This boundary was a social construction, and the distribution of sites changed over time as the Naqada people expanded and the A-Group people retreated southwards. Both peoples inhabited northern Lower Nubia, but their sites were not contemporary.[21] This blend of sites has given rise to the opposing conclusions based on the difficulty in drawing a border. Inconsistencies also exist in how collective identities are perceived among archaeologists working in the Nile Valley, so I will explain how ethnic identity will be understood in this study.

3. Ethnic Identities, Groups, and Boundaries

Ethnic identities seem to become more pronounced from the beginning of the Bronze Age. This development has been linked to the formation of more complex societies.[22] The political communities engaged in wars against each other during the Bronze Age were often ethnic groups, so warfare studies focusing on this period need to consider ethnicity. In historically particular circumstances, war could be crucial for constructing and modifying ethnic identities, and warfare could also be responsible for the disappearance of ethnic groups.[23]

Siân Jones has formulated a renowned definition of ethnic groups by combining subjectivist and objectivist perspectives on ethnicity. Accordingly, ethnic groups are based on mutual perceptions of cultural differences between groups that are interacting or co-existing.[24] The subjectivist approach to ethnicity is attributed to Fredrik Barth. He criticized the understanding of ethnic groups as comparable to the outdated equation between race, culture, and language. Barth emphasized self-ascription as fundamental for the forging of ethnic identity.[25] However, ethnic identification is also dependent on ascription by others since ethnicity will only make an organizational difference if the ethnic identity is recognized by others and they act on this difference.[26] Furthermore, Barth argued for shifting the focus of research away from differences between cultures and their historical boundaries. Instead, scholars should address the processes involved in forming and maintaining ethnic identities and upholding ethnic boundaries despite interaction.[27] This perspective can also be seen as a critique against culture-historical approaches in archaeology.[28]

Since Barth's seminal article, ethnicity is generally understood as an aspect of social relationships between people who perceive themselves as culturally different from each other in contact situations,[29] such as exchange relationships and inter-group competition. The cultural characteristics that symbolize the ethnic identity remain unexplained in subjective perspectives, where ethnic identities are seen as fluid and situational.[30] The subjective approach can thus be complemented by an objective perspective incorporating the cultural contexts and social structures in which ethnic groups interact. G. Carter Bentley applied Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus for explaining ethnicity.[31] Habitus is a "*system of durable, transposable dispositions*" that characterize life in a particular environment.[32] In this way, habitus can provide an objective grounding for the subjective construction of ethnic identity.[33] The structural dispositions of habitus permeate the cultural practices and social relations typical for a distinct lifestyle,[34] and habitus is thus a factor in forging ethnic identities.[35] A relevant example of habitus for archaeologists is "*ethnically specific suites of motor habits*" that develop with intentional and intensive training, such as pottery making.[36]

Ethnic identities of past peoples can leave traces in the archaeological record through obvious signs used intentionally to exhibit ethnic identity through material culture.[37] More subtle remains can materialize through habitus as culturally structured practices.[38] Ian Hodder has demonstrated through

ethnoarchaeological fieldwork in Baringo (Kenya) that people actively maintain certain forms of material culture as expressions of ethnic identity, while other forms of material culture cross-cut ethnic boundaries.[39] Objects that cross ethnic boundaries can be explained as foreign goods imported into the assemblage of an ethnic group from another group through trade, intermarriage, or raiding. The archaeological identification of an ethnic group becomes more convincing if the association between material culture and ethnic identity is based on a careful contextual analysis of a combination of objects and practices in multiple categories,[40] although the remains of a site are rarely monocultural due to intercultural interaction. Contact with "others" is after all a prerogative for ethnicity.[41]

4. Ethnic Identity in Lower Nubia

I have previously examined the ethnic identity of the people inhabiting Lower Nubia in the 4th millennium BCE through a contextual approach. When the material culture and cultural practices were corresponding across several categories and at several sites, then the similar sites were most probably made by a group of people with a collective identity. For Lower Nubia in the latter part of the 4th millennium BCE, I propose that this group identity was ethnicity.[42] The ethnonym that this group used for themselves is unknown to us, but their land was called "Ta-Sety" – *Land of the Bow* – according to Egyptian inscriptions from the beginning of the First Dynasty.[43] The geographical distribution of pottery vessels, cosmetic palettes, and burial positions in Lower Nubia in the latter half of the 4th millennium BCE shows that Naqada traditions were prevalent north of Bab el-Kalabsha, while A-Group traditions dominated south of Bab el-Kalabsha. These results combined with less widespread grave goods give us a probable distribution of the two ethnic groups in Lower Nubia.[44] I thus try to overcome the reduction of ethnic identity to techniques for manufacturing and decorating pottery.[45] The aim is to bring the actors behind the material culture to the foreground. The interpretation of cultural differences as manifesting ethnic identity for the A-Group and Naqada peoples is strengthened by later expressions of ethnic differences between peoples in Nubia and Egypt in written sources.[46] I thus propose an ethnic boundary between the A-Group people and the Naqada people in the latter half of the 4th millennium BCE.[47] This boundary was social, and people and objects could cross the border. Still, the ethnic boundary probably also reflected ideas of territoriality, and Bab el-Kalabsha

seems to be the location of the border. The situation was different earlier in the 4th millennium BCE, as we will see in the next section.

5. The A-Group Predecessors in Northern Lower Nubia

According to David Wengrow, funerary rites were remarkably similar in the Nile Valley from the confluence of the Blue and White Niles to Middle Egypt during the 5th millennium BCE. Deceased individuals were placed in contracted positions on their sides, and often accompanied by portable objects related to the decoration and ornamentation of the body – especially the skin and hair. This uniformity suggests a widespread and consistent set of beliefs and practices connected with a pastoral way of life, which fostered a mobile, body-centred habitus. Among the body-related objects were combs for the hair and cosmetic palettes used for grinding pigments for painting the skin.[48] A coherent cultural group in Lower Nubia is difficult to distinguish at the beginning of the 4th millennium BCE.[49] The area was thinly populated and other collective identities than ethnicity probably prevailed, such as corporate lineage groups.

Harry S. Smith realized that the sites in northern Lower Nubia initially termed 'B-Group'[50] actually constituted the earliest A-Group phase.[51] He later dated these graves more accurately as contemporary with Naqada I in Upper Egypt.[52] After reassessing the excavation reports from these B-Group sites, I agree with the dating presented by Smith, in accordance with other scholars.[53] The material culture and cultural practices at these sites resemble the A-Group people more than the Naqada people, and these peoples were likely the direct forebearers of the A-Group people. I have therefore termed this earliest phase for *the proto-phase of the A-Group* (see Table 1).[54]

The earliest cemetery dating to the 4th millennium BCE in northern Lower Nubia has been identified as the graves on the south-eastern knolls of Cemetery 7 at Shellal – the widest plain and thus most attractive habitat in the First Cataract region.[55] Between Shellal and Bab el-Kalabsha, four other sites originally attributed to the B-Group by Reisner belong to the proto-phase of the A-Group people.[56] I will briefly describe these proto-phase sites.

5.1. Cemetery 7 at Shellal

The earliest graves in Cemetery 7, which spanned several periods, consisted of 50 human and nine animal burials. These earliest graves at Shellal were placed higher in the terrain than the later cemeteries of the plain. The deceased were buried in a contracted position. Out of 29 individuals with recorded burial position, 62 per cent were placed on the left side. The orientation of the head appears random. The individuals in the graves were often covered by goat skins or mats.[57]

Small spiral shells were used as personal decoration – often as necklaces – in 17 graves. [58] Most of the pots found at the site were similar in shape to the A-Group pottery tradition, but no types were distinctive of its later phases, such as rippled or eggshell wares.[59] A fragment of a white cross-lined pot of the Naqada people was found in the debris and indicates a Naqada IA date.[60] Seven out of twelve palettes were made of various unidentified hard stones in the cultural traditions of the Neolithic in Upper Nubia and Central Sudan,[61] as well as in the later A-Group phases. The other five palettes were made of grey-green siltstone. The only known quarry for siltstone used for palettes is Wadi Hammamat, midway between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea in Upper Egypt.[62] The palette shapes were described as rough, irregular, oval, oblong, and ovoid,[63] which fit a Naqada I date.

In Cemetery 7, four weapons or tool-weapons were found in three graves – two maces and two ground stone axes (Figure 2). The mace-heads were of the disc-shaped type and made of black and white speckled stone. The shape is similar to the disc-shaped maces of Neolithic Sudan.[64] Maces were specialized striking weapons, while ground stone axes could have been used as both weapons and tools. However, the size of these stone axes, with lengths of ca. 8 and 10 centimetres respectively, suggests that they could have been effective as weapons.

The few Naqada objects found at the site suggest that the cemetery was used contemporary with Naqada I.

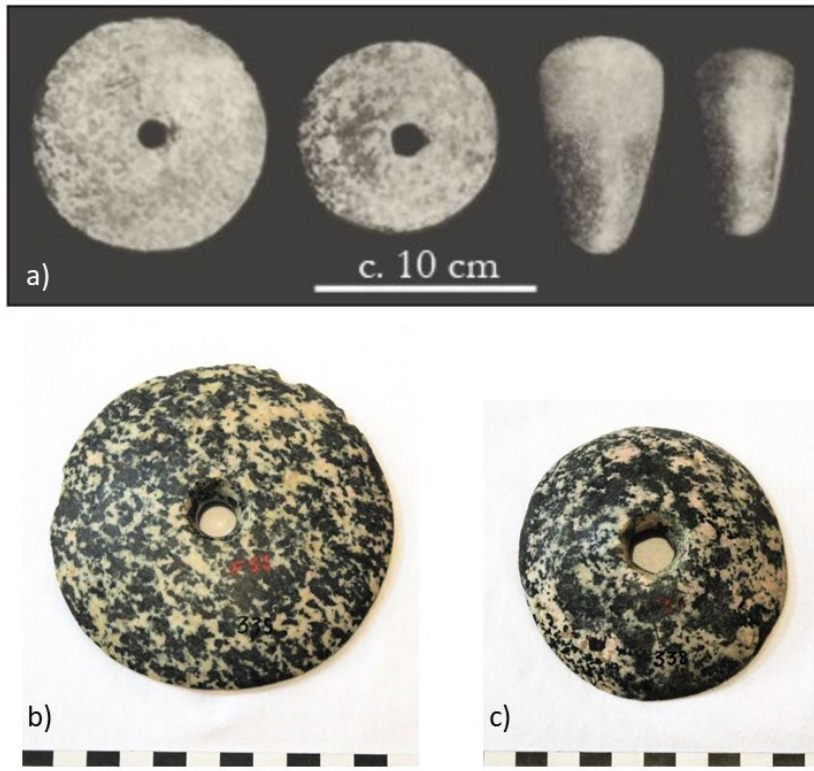


Figure 2: a) The mace-heads and axe-heads uncovered in Cemetery 7. From the left: grave 229, grave 230, grave 230, and grave 234. Photo from Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, plate 63/d. b) The disc-shaped mace-head from grave 229 at Cemetery 7. Photo by Alexandros Tsakos. Courtesy of Nubia Museum, Aswan. c) The disc-shaped mace-head from grave 230. Photo by Alexandros Tsakos. Courtesy of Nubia Museum, Aswan.

5.2. Cemetery 14 at Khor Ambukol

Cemetery 14 with 23 human burials was located on the east bank at Khor Ambukol – ca. 9 kilometers upstream from Cemetery 7 at Shellal. The burial position was preserved for seventeen bodies, with 47 per cent placed contracted on the left side and the remaining on the right side. The orientation of the head appears random. The deceased were usually placed on matting and almost always accompanied by sewed leather.[65] I have previously noticed a segregation

between females and males in this cemetery. The females were buried in the north-eastern part of the cemetery and the males in the south-western part.[66] The identification of the biological sex was based on the examination of the human remains.[67] However, gender differentiations in the grave goods have not been identified so far,[68] but the separation of the sexes in death may suggest a gendered division of labour.[69]

Only six pots were uncovered in four graves at Cemetery 14.[70] Three black-mouthed pots and two black pots with a pointed base fit the A-Group pottery repertoire.[71] No pots were diagnostic for the pottery produced by the Naqada people. Furthermore, four graves contained small spiral shells. Two rectangular palettes of indeterminable stone show affiliation with the traditions of Neolithic Nubia and Central Sudan.[72] Two rhomboidal siltstone palettes originated from Upper Egypt, and this shape was used for some of the earliest palettes.[73] Two ivory combs with carved animals, probably gazelles,[74] belong to the shared features of the Neolithic in the Nile Valley.[75] The finds from the cemetery are in accordance with the A-Group of the proto-phase, while two palettes from Upper Egypt suggest a date contemporary with Naqada I.

5.3. Cemetery 17 at Khor Bahan

Khor Bahan is a large khor coming down from the high desert on the east bank ca. 10 kilometers south of Shellal. The alluvial fan below the khor offered considerable fertile land, [76] and Cemetery 17 was located here (Figure 3).

I have previously argued that predecessors of the A-Group people used the highest terrace at Khor Bahan as a burial ground during the proto-phase, while the Naqada people reused the cemetery.[77] Of the ca. 100 graves on the highest terrace, 24 human burials can be attributed to the proto-phase of the A-Group. I have presented several lines of evidence for this identification in addition to pottery and palettes: goat skin wrappings, small spiral shells, tortoise-shell bracelets, and the burial of males and females in different parts of the cemetery, like at nearby Cemetery 14.[78] These graves also had a general lack of material culture from the Naqada people.[79]

The bodies were placed on the left side in eight graves and on the right side in five graves, which means that 63 per cent of the deceased with preserved burial position were placed on the left side.[80] No complete pots were found in these

graves, but potsherds with a red exterior and black interior were recorded in four graves.[81] The description of these pots could fit the traditions of pottery making of both the A-Group predecessors and the Naqada people. Eight cosmetic palettes were uncovered.[82] Five palettes were made of white stone, black and white speckled stone, or other hard stones in continuation of earlier practices and in accordance with later A-Group traditions. Three palettes were made of siltstone from Upper Egypt and of shapes dating to Naqada I. Weapons were absent as grave goods in these graves.



Figure 3: Cemetery 17 at Khor Bahan on the higher terrace of the khor, to the right of the white tents. The alluvial plain was already flooded behind the Aswan Dam as the palm trees would have lined the riverbank. Photo from Reisner (1910: plate 23/b). Colorized by cutout.pro.

5.4. Cemetery 41 on the Meris Plain

Cemetery 41/200 was located on the central knoll of the Meris plain, ca. 25 kilometers south of Shellal.[83] A total of 37 human graves and three animal graves were excavated. The bodies with recorded burial positions were placed on the left side in 13 graves and the right side in 12 graves, which means that 52 per cent were placed on the left side. The grave goods consisted of items for personal decoration: small spiral shells, tortoise-shell bracelets, and cosmetic palettes.[84] Only two complete pots were uncovered. Unfortunately, these pots were undiagnostic and coming from unsecure contexts. Potsherds with red exteriors

and black interiors as well as black polished wares were found in several graves.[85] Red-polished wares with black interiors were used by both Naqada and A-Group peoples, but the black polished wares are closer to the A-Group pottery tradition.[86] Three of the palettes were made of siltstone and two of other stones. The Naqada objects in this cemetery consisted of three siltstone palettes with elongated rhomboidal shape and two copper needles.[87] The copper needles are probably the earliest copper objects uncovered south of the First Cataract.[88]

No specialized weapons were uncovered in these graves. However, six graves contained flint blades.[89] For the bodies where the sex could be established, flint blades were found with males in four of five cases, and the flint blades were deposited singly in five of the six instances. One of these blades was also described as "broad". These flint implements were probably used both as tools and weapons – so-called tool-weapons. I suggest that these blades were linked to masculine practices and identity,[90] since they mainly occurred with males. A comparative case comes from the contemporary Copper Age cemetery Tiszapolgár-Basatanya on the Hungarian Plain. Flint blade knives longer than seven centimeters were restricted to males in this cemetery, and archaeologists have interpreted the longest blades at Tiszapolgár-Basatanya as knives used as weapons.[91]

The few datable objects suggest that the site was used in the latter part of the proto-phase, contemporary with Naqada IC-IIA.

5.5. Cemetery 45 on the Dehmit Plain

Cemetery 45/200 at Shem Nishai on the plain of Dehmit was located ca. 32 kilometers south of Shellal. A total of 33 human burials were published.[92] Of the bodies with preserved burial position, 17 bodies were placed on the left side and 12 bodies on the right side, so 59 per cent of the burials were placed on the left side. Several orientations of the head were practiced.[93] Goat skins covered the bodies.

Small white shells were uncovered in two graves, and two quartzite palettes were found. The excavation report describes 16 pots, so pottery vessels were more common in this cemetery than at the other A-Group sites of the proto-phase. Fourteen pots were made following A-Group traditions. A red-polished black-topped vase (Petrie's B19a) and a coarse red bowl (Petrie's R23a) were the only

Naqada style pots.[94] Both date within Naqada IC-IIA. The identity of the people buried in this cemetery is comparable to the other A-Group sites of the proto-phase.

5.6. Summary

Burial positions and orientations are unreliable for determining ethnic identity during the first half of the 4th millennium BCE. The standardized burial position among the Naqada people, contracted on the left side with the head to the south, was only applied from Naqada II onwards.[95] The A-Group predecessors placed the deceased contracted on either sides, like the later A-Group people, but without the head oriented to the south or southwest like the standard for the A-Group people from the early phase.[96] The positioning of the dead in the grave for both the A-Group predecessors and the Naqada people probably derived from shared features in the burial traditions along the Nile during the Neolithic.[97] Most of the pots and palettes found in the cemeteries examined here were made in accordance with the later A-Group traditions, but with a few Naqada imports. The use of animal skins and small spiral shells in these burials seems typical for the A-Group people of the proto-phase.

The imported Naqada finds suggest that the sites of the A-Group proto-phase had a chronological progression where the cemeteries were established further south with time. The A-Group predecessors apparently retreated southwards. I relate this migration to a violent expansion of Naqada people into Lower Nubia. A contemporary Naqada site in northern Lower Nubia is examined in the next section.

6. The Earliest Naqada Cemetery in Lower Nubia

Nine cemeteries in northern Lower Nubia were used by the Naqada people during the 4th millennium BCE. The dating of these sites suggests a gradual expansion southward.[98] In this article, I will only discuss the site contemporary with the proto-phase of the A-Group people. The other Naqada sites were established after the A-Group predecessors had retreated from northern Lower Nubia.[99]



Figure 4: Some of the mace-heads uncovered in the Naqada graves in Cemetery 17. a) Mace-head from grave 89. b) Mace-head from grave 70. c) Mace-head from grave 50. D) Mace-head from grave 88. Photos by Alexandros Tsakos. Courtesy of Nubia Museum, Aswan.

6.1. Reuse of Cemetery 17 at Khor Bahan

I have previously argued that Naqada people reused the A-Group cemetery of the proto-phase at Khor Bahan. Cemetery 17 is the earliest known Naqada site south

of the First Cataract, and the site is significant in terms of warfare.[100]

The 29 graves belonging to the Naqada people and dating to Naqada IC were placed between the two clusters of A-Group graves of the proto-phase.[101] Of the seventeen skeletons completely or partially preserved, sixteen were males in the age range from youth to adult. Only one individual was female, and she was middle-aged. Human remains were absent in twelve graves (Appendix 1). Notably, each of the graves without human remains had an empty area intended for a body. I have proposed that these empty graves were cenotaphs for warriors whose bodies were lost on the battlefield and the burial rituals thus performed in absentia.[102]

This Naqada cemetery is extraordinary regarding war since several graves contained numerous weapons. Sixteen mace-heads were uncovered in twelve graves, and other weapons were found in four graves (see Appendix 1 and Figure 4).

Weapons were thus found in 55 per cent of the graves. Other weapons uncovered were flint daggers, flint knives, flint and chalcedony blades, and various types of arrowheads. Except for the lunates, these weapons were characteristic of the Naqada people. Some of the arrowheads had their closest parallels at Hierakonpolis in southern Upper Egypt, suggesting that this was the homeland of the individuals buried in Cemetery 17 (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Arrowheads typical for Hierakonpolis found in Naqada graves in Cemetery 17 in Lower Nubia. a) Large concave-base arrowhead with long straight lobes found in grave 50. b) Three tanged arrowheads with barbs found in grave 78. Photos by Alexandros Tsakos. Courtesy of Nubia Museum in Aswan.

In the cemetery, five males were interred with a single mace, while seven graves without human remains contained eleven maces (see Appendix 1). The latter graves may have been the cenotaphs for eleven warriors whose remains were not retrieved after the battle. Weapons are rare in Naqada graves in Upper Egypt.[103] Being killed in action and buried in foreign territory was probably a context that made it necessary to provide these Naqada warriors with their weapons in the afterlife.

The predominance of male burials in this cemetery is exceptional. I suggest that the reason is that they derive from a warrior band. Warriors dispatched to fight far from the homestead would usually be males.[104] The anatomists recorded no pathologies or trauma in this osteological material, since they, unfortunately, concentrated their attention on racial characteristics rather than pathology and trauma.[105]

Based on the contextual data, I have argued that Cemetery 17 was a burial ground for Naqada warriors who had made a violent expansion into the A-Group predecessors' territory.[106] Despite the lack of evidence for violent trauma, so many dead males is suspicious. Violence, also in war, is often the commonest cause of death for young adult males. The A-Group predecessors probably attacked the Naqada warriors with bows and arrows that would only leave microscopic traces on the bones, like the victims at Jebel Sahaba in southern Lower Nubia during the Upper Palaeolithic.[107] Graves of fallen warriors are usually placed close to the battlefield,[108] so the fighting probably happened near Khor Bahan.

In Cemetery 17, archaeologists also found 21 dogs in twelve graves. Several dogs had remains of collars and leashes.[109] Gnawed bone fragments were found under the ribs of these dogs, suggesting that they were sacrificed on full stomachs when their owners were buried.[110] A parallel has come to light at the elite Cemetery HK6 at Hierakonpolis. Around the large and richly equipped tomb 16, dating to Naqada IC-IIA, was a complex of associated graves belonging to humans and animals. Among the sacrificed animals were 27 dogs, often buried together with young males.[111] The plundered graves of these young males still contained some tanged arrowheads characteristic for Hierakonpolis.[112] Similar tanged arrowheads were also found in Cemetery 17 (see Figure 5b). These individuals in Cemetery HK6 have thus been interpreted as hunters.[113] I find it probable that

some, perhaps all, of these young males also were warriors. The difference between hunters and warriors was probably minor during the Naqada period. Both warriors and hunters were skilled in weaponry and cooperation. The chieftains in Upper Egypt probably raised, equipped, and led hunting expeditions and war parties to achieve their political ends.[114] Indeed, the nineteen men depicted on the unprovenanced Hunters' Palette carry the same types of weapons as found in Cemetery 17 at Khor Bahan and HK6 at Hierakonpolis: maces, spears, bows and arrows, and throw sticks. Furthermore, three hunting dogs were partaking in the lion hunt together with the men (Figure 6).



Figure 6: The Hunters' Palette (BM EA 20790) depicting nineteen men and three hunting dogs in a lion hunt. Length: 30,5 cm. © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Since dog burials are associated with graves of males with weapons at Khor Bahan and Hierakonpolis, I will suggest that Naqada people trained dogs to assist with hunting and warfare. Dog burials are also attested at Neolithic cemeteries in Sudan[115] and at Cemetery 7 of the proto-phase of the A-Group,[116] so dog burials are not exclusively a Naqada practice.

7. Evidence for Violence in the Earliest A-Group Cemeteries

The violent injuries recorded in the cemeteries of the A-Group predecessors have been categorized according to whether the bodily harm was caused by blunt

force, i.e., striking, or sharp force, i.e., stabbing/slashing/piercing.[117] Not all injuries obtained in warfare would be deadly, although the aim of war is usually to defeat the enemies by killing or expelling them.[118] Comparative research has demonstrated that the head is the preferred body part to attack in most societies.[119] Preferences may vary for attacking the vault of the skull or the face.[120] Fractures to the skull are thus a well-known indication of violence.[121] Moreover, blunt force trauma to the skull is more easily attested archaeologically than injuries from arrows, spears, and daggers, which often affect soft tissues.[122] In northern Lower Nubia, several violent deaths caused by fractures to the skull after blunt force violence, probably with a mace, are attested during the mid-4th millennium BCE.[123] The practice of attacking the head also led to distinctive defensive injuries.[124] Fractures of the distal ulna in the lower arm can derive from fending a blow to the head. This characteristic injury is often referred to as a parry fracture – especially if the radius is unaffected and the fracture line is transverse.[125] Fractures of the middle of the clavicle can also be defensive injuries caused by avoiding blunt force violence to the head.[126]

The violent injuries testified on the bones could be lethal or nonlethal. Antemortem injuries have had time to heal. Perimortem injuries have had no time to heal and occurred around the time of death and may also have been the direct cause of death.[127] Blood-stained bones sometimes testify to the perimortem infliction of the injuries.[128] Postmortem damages to the bones occur after the individual is dead.[129]

Nubiologists have overlooked the data on violent injuries in northern Lower Nubia during the mid-4th millennium BCE for more than a century, although some attention has been given to the scientific value of the anatomical examinations by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith and Frederic Wood Jones in the last decades.[130] The report on the human remains from northern Lower Nubia shows ample evidence of violence in the proto-phase graves of the A-Group people.[131] The evidence is overwhelming when considering that only a limited range of violent injuries cause changes on the skeleton.[132] The study of the human remains by Elliot Smith and Wood Jones has probably been disregarded for so long because archaeologists wish to distance themselves from the racist paradigm these anatomists worked in.[133] Without the evidence dealing with violence, however, archaeologists have had the impression that the contact zone between peoples in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia during the mid-4th millennium BCE was more peaceful than the violent cases I will present

suggest. In this analysis of the human remains, osteological case descriptions are only provided for individuals with evidence of healed or unhealed trauma related to interpersonal violence. Most of these injuries are unambiguous traces of violence, but I cannot rule out that some resulted from accidents.

The human remains in Cemetery 7 included two violent cases (Appendix 2). The male in grave 257 died from multiple blows to the head that fractured several bones in his face. Besides the blunt violence, a piece on the back of his skull had been cut away by a sharp weapon – probably a copper-alloy implement.[134] The female in grave 263 had a healed parry fracture of her right ulna. This fracture is a typical defensive injury.[135] The graves of both victims were on the fringe of the cemetery, and the male in grave 257 was probably the last individual to be buried in the cemetery before abandonment.[136] The male in grave 267 had a healed fracture probably unrelated to interpersonal violence.

Injuries caused by violence were also recorded at Cemetery 14 (Appendix 3). The male in grave 10 died from excessive blunt force violence to the skull, eight fractured ribs on his right side, and a fracture on the right side of the pubis. The violence had caused much bloodstaining of the bones.[137] The female in grave 13 had a perimortem fracture of a rib on the left side that had caused blood stains on the bones.[138] The injury happened at the time of her death. The female in grave 19 had a healed fracture of the left ulna just above the mid-point, which is most probably a parry fracture.[139] The male in grave 23 had a healed fracture of his right cheekbone,[140] which is an injury seen in assaults with blunt force violence.[141]

In the A-Group graves of the proto-phase in Cemetery 17, two individuals had antemortem fractures related to violence (Appendix 4). The male in grave 29 had fractured the distal portion of the right ulna,[142] which suggests a parry fracture caused when fending a blow to the head.[143] Additionally, the mid-point of the left clavicle had a healed fracture (Figure 7a).[144] A direct frontal blow with a heavy device,[145] like a mace, could inflict this injury. Both injuries seem related to interpersonal violence and may have occurred during a single attack. The male in grave 24 also had a healed fracture of the middle of the right clavicle (Figure 7b).[146]

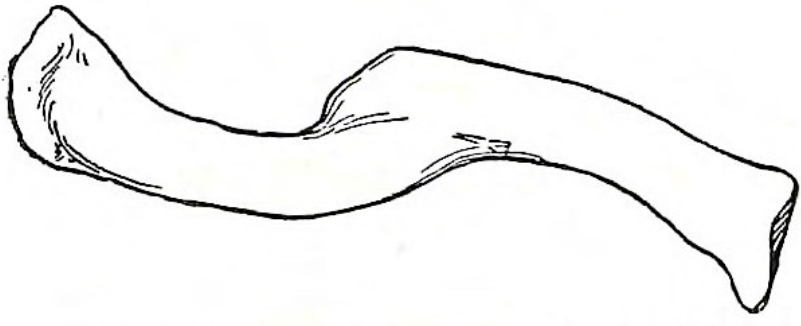


Figure 7a: Healed fracture of clavicle from proto-phase A-Group graves in Cemetery 17. Male in grave 24. No scale. Drawing from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910: figure 74).

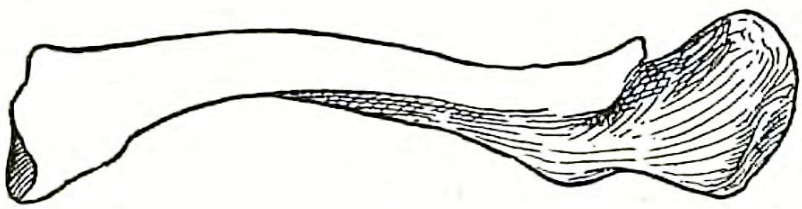


Figure 7b: Healed fracture of clavicle from proto-phase A-Group graves in Cemetery 17. Male in grave 29. No scale. Drawing from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910: fig. 75).

The archaeologists recorded no injuries related to interpersonal violence at Cemetery 41/200, but the skeletal remains were fragmentary and not prioritized for detailed anatomical study (Appendix 5).[147]

Abundant skeletal evidence for interpersonal violence was recorded at Cemetery 45 (Appendix 6). The elderly male in grave 211 appears to have been executed by having the back of his neck cut with a sharp instrument. This individual received seven incisions across the posterior surface of two of the cervical vertebrae (Figure 8).[148]

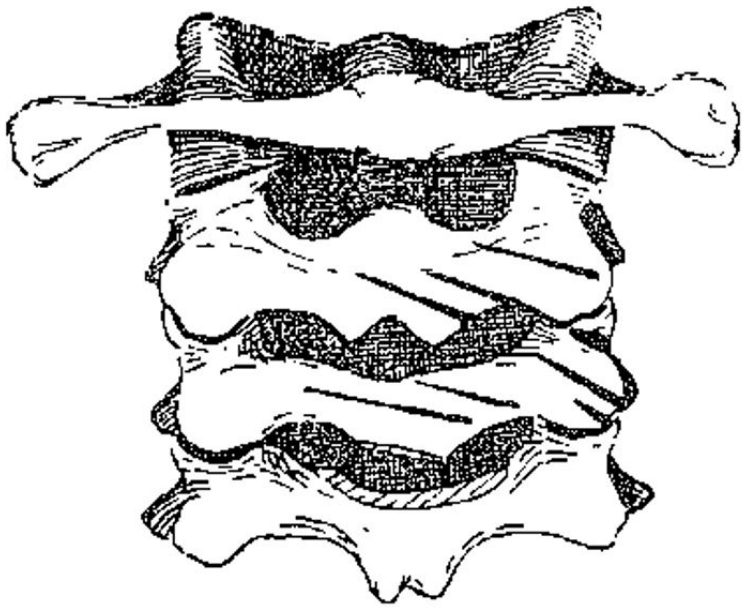


Figure 8: The male in grave 211 in Cemetery 45 had seven cut marks on his third and fourth cervical vertebrae. Drawing from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910: fig. 69).

This practice of execution has in recent years been revealed on a large scale at Hierakonpolis.[149] The anatomists suggested that a copper-alloy weapon had been used.[150] The lowest cut probably caused death as it "passed into the spinal canal by cutting off the tip of the spine".[151] Furthermore, the male in grave 202 had perimortem injuries on the right side of his chest. Five ribs were fractured and had caused much blood-staining – especially around the nares suggesting bleeding from the nose.[152] The female in grave 201 had a healed fracture through the left cheekbone,[153] which is a common injury in an assault with blunt force violence.[154] Individuals in grave 204 and 235 had healed fractures most likely unrelated to interpersonal violence.

7.1. Absent Skulls in the A-Group Cemeteries of the Proto-Phase

In addition to the violent deaths just described, the skull was missing from several graves in the cemeteries of the A-Group predecessors. In Cemetery 7, all skulls were present, but the skull of an adult male in grave 226 was distorted and broken. In Cemetery 14, the skull was absent from the male individuals in graves 8 and 12.[155] In Cemetery 17, the unsexed individual in grave 19 was missing the skull.[156]

Cemetery 41/200 appears to have been vandalized in ancient times. The bodies were all greatly disturbed, and skulls and other body parts were missing. The male individuals in graves 227 and 238 lacked their skull.[157] Broken or smashed skulls were recorded in graves 205, 206, 216, 218, 219, 224, 235, and 236.[158] These damages to the bones occurred postmortem – possibly in acts of desecrating the corpse. Moreover, the pots seem to have been broken intentionally in this cemetery since only two were found complete. The later Naqada inhabitants of the plain possibly vandalized the cemetery of the A-Group predecessors.[159]

In Cemetery 45/200, the skull was missing from the bodies of females in graves 204, 223, 232, and 241, and of the male in grave 228.[160] Furthermore, the individuals buried in graves 203, 205, 212, 217, 218, and 232 had their skulls broken postmortem.[161] We saw above that the male in grave 211 had been stabbed in the back of his neck seven times with a sharp implement. The assault weapon was almost certainly a copper-alloy dagger or spear. The attacker probably came from Upper Egypt, since no large copper implements are known from the proto-phase of the A-Group people. Copper-alloy daggers and spears have been found in Upper Egypt in contexts dating to slightly later in the Naqada period.[162]

In the human skeleton, the joint between the skull and the atlas vertebra is among the first fixtures to fall apart. Decomposition was perhaps the means through which the skulls were separated from the bodies.[163] A pattern of vandalizing the bodies through removing or crushing the head is appearing in the proto-phase cemeteries of the A-Group people in northern Lower Nubia.

7.2. Capital Punishment at Hierakonpolis

Examinations of skeletal remains at Hierakonpolis show that stabbing in the throat or full decapitations were relatively common in Cemetery HK 43 during Naqada IIA-C.[164] In the excavated parts of the vast cemetery, 21 individuals out of 453 had lacerated vertebrae, i.e. 4,6 per cent.[165] The cut marks were observed on males in 52 per cent of the cases, while 10 per cent were females. The remaining 38 per cent had unidentified sex. Most of the people killed in this way were young adults. The cut marks were found on several vertebrae, usually the second and the third. The numerous lacerations suggest "repeated blows with a lighter blade".[166] Based on the available weapon technology during Naqada II, I suggest that the implements used were sharp pointed weapons like daggers or spears of copper-alloy or flint.[167] At Hierakonpolis, the purpose of the stabbing was to sever the neck, although complete decapitation also occurred.[168]

The practices of decapitation and/or dismemberment in Upper Egypt are often interpreted as rites of human sacrifice, like retainer sacrifices in connection with the First Dynasty royal burials.[169] David Wengrow has suggested that dismembered bodies had received an alternative treatment in death when the individual had established a greater social network in life than the complete body could satisfy during the funerary rituals. Different parts of the body could then be buried in different locations and thus provide funerary ceremonies for more people.[170] The bodies with lacerated vertebrae in Cemetery HK43 seem incompatible with these interpretations. The individuals at Hierakonpolis were not sacrificed retainers, since elite graves were absent.[171] Furthermore, the graves of people with lacerated vertebrae in Cemetery HK43 had hardly any grave goods, so they were not themselves belonging to an elite with a large network. The violence performed on these poor people at Hierakonpolis thus seems related to ceremonial executions of criminals, which are later attested in Egypt.[172] Sean P. Dougherty and Renée Friedman indeed suggest that the people with severed necks in Cemetery HK43 had received capital punishment.[173]

I propose that we consider the possibility that the bodies without heads dating to the proto-phase in northern Lower Nubia belonged to A-Group predecessors killed in action and decapitated on the battlefield.[174] Decapitation of prisoners of

war certainly was a later practice in Egypt, as attested in iconography such as the Narmer palette from the very beginning of the First Dynasty (Figure 9).

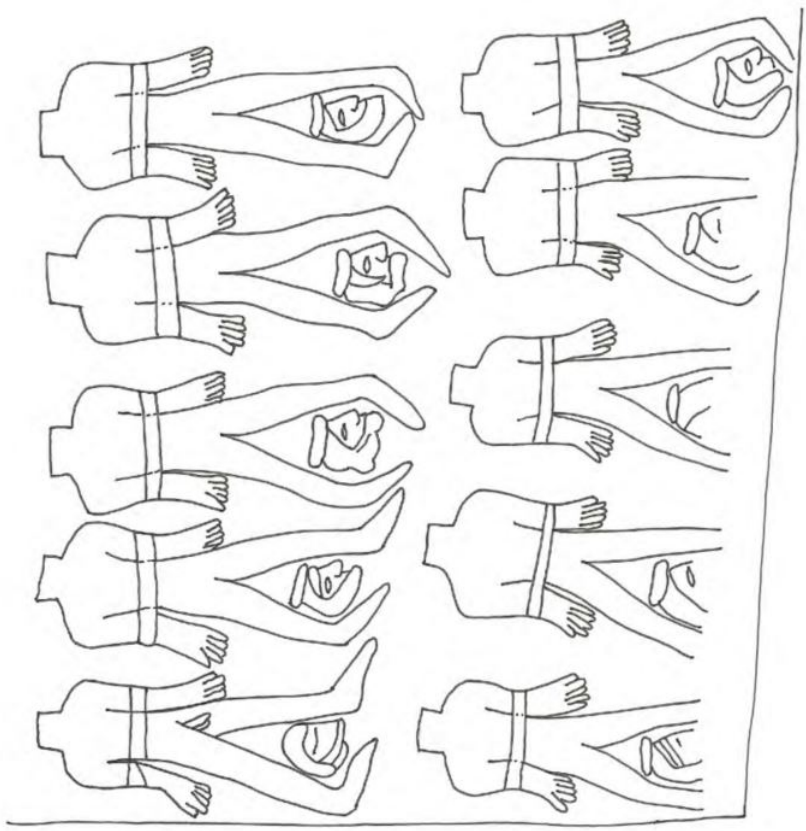


Figure 9: Detail of decapitated corpses on the obverse face of the Narmer palette (Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 32169). Drawing by Henriette Hafsaas.

The head could also have been removed after some time of exposure on the battlefield. The Naqada people may have collected the skulls of fallen victims of violence before their kinsmen could return to bury their remains. Neither capital punishment nor dismembered and divided bodies seem likely explanations for the missing skulls in the small-scale and decentralized society of the A-Group predecessors.

7.3. Summary

The reassessment of the anatomical examination of the human remains from the five A-Group cemeteries of the proto-phase demonstrates that of the sample of preserved and examined bodies, five individuals had died of violence and another six individuals had survived a violent attack (Table 2). The sample consisted of 167 burials, and 7 per cent of the population was affected by violence attested in the osteological material. Most of the injuries seem to have been caused by blunt force violence – most probably stone maces. However, two individuals died in attacks where sharp force violence also was used – most likely copper-alloy weapons. Both males and females were injured and killed in these cemeteries (see Appendices 2-6).

Site		Number of burials	Violent deaths		Violent injuries antemortem		Absent skulls		Broken skulls	
Cemetery 7		50	1	2 %	2	4 %	0	-	1	2 %
Cemetery 14		23	2	9 %	1	4 %	2	9 %	2	9 %
Cemetery 17		24	0	-	2	7 %	1	4 %	0	-
Cemetery 41		37	0	-	0	-	2	5 %	8	22 %
Cemetery 45		33	2	6 %	1	3 %	4	12 %	6	18 %
Total	Per cent	167	5	3 %	6	4 %	9	5 %	17	10 %

Table 2. Violent deaths, violent injuries antemortem, missing skulls, and broken skulls in total and in per cent in A-Group cemeteries dating to the proto-phase. Data from Appendices 2-6.

Furthermore, nine individuals appear to have been buried without their skull, and seventeen individuals were uncovered with their skull broken (see Table 2). In the sample of 167 burials, the skull was missing in 5 per cent of the graves. Additionally, 10 per cent of the burials were found with the head broken. Relevant comparative evidence from the Bronze Age is hard to find. Most cemeteries in Lower Nubia have been plundered in ancient and modern times. Furthermore, the human remains in Lower Nubia received less scientific attention after the first investigation by Elliot Smith and Wood Jones and before the UNESCO salvage campaign in the 1960s.[175]

However, the data on violent deaths and injuries in these five cemeteries shows that a high per centage of the population was affected by violence, which is

compatible with a context of inter-group violent conflict. The frequency of interpersonal violence and missing skulls in cemeteries in Lower Nubia is difficult to assess due to both the widespread disturbances of the cemeteries and the inadequate attention given to the human remains in many cemeteries further south.

8. Discussion of the Violent Clashes between A-Group Predecessors and Naqada People

The previous sections have emphasized three main sources of evidence for war between Naqada intruders and native A-Group predecessors in the region between the First Cataract and Bab el-Kalabsha in the mid-4th millennium BCE. The most obvious evidence is the individuals killed or injured by violence in the A-Group cemeteries of the proto-phase (see Table 2). The second line of evidence is the Naqada cemetery consisting of young males with weapons at Khor Bahan. The third source of evidence is contextual with the shift in the settlement pattern as the Naqada people expanded into northern Lower Nubia and the A-Group predecessors retreated. I will now discuss how these findings can be interpreted as a historical sequence with several episodes of violence in a war between the Naqada people and the A-Group predecessors.

The Naqada people in Hierakonpolis and the A-Group people were aware of each other even before they came into closer contact in northern Lower Nubia in the mid-4th millennium BCE, since both groups sporadically used the area between the First Cataract and Gebel es-Silsila in Upper Egypt before the mid-4th millennium BCE.[176] Imports in the graves also demonstrate interaction. The region north of the First Cataract thus appears as the first contact zone between the two populations.[177] Ongoing archaeological investigations north of the First Cataract may provide further evidence for interaction between the A-Group and the Naqada peoples throughout the 4th millennium BCE.[178]

The peoples from the nearest Naqada center at Hierakonpolis were probably responsible for the violent Naqada expansion into Lower Nubia. Hierakonpolis was the southernmost of the Predynastic centers in Upper Egypt, and the site is situated around 130 kilometers downstream from the First Cataract. During Naqada IC, Hierakonpolis had grown to a large urban settlement, and the first elite cemetery including a tomb worthy of a chieftain was established. The

developments at Hierakonpolis caused a rapid increase in the population,[179] as confirmed by a palaeodemographic examination of Cemetery HK43.[180] Archaeobotanical analyses demonstrate that the inhabitants subsisted on cereals, especially emmer wheat, supplemented with herding livestock and collecting wild plants.[181] The flood plain was probably reaching the carrying capacity needed to sustain the growing population with the agricultural technology used at the time. Hierakonpolis needed more land, but possibilities for expansion were limited in all directions. Deserts encroached from the east and west, and the Nile Valley to the north and south was already inhabited. To the north, the Naqada people living in the Qena Bend were forming a chiefdom under the big man at Naqada. Since the A-Group predecessors lived dispersed with a decentralized organization, the chieftain of Hierakonpolis must have calculated that it was possible to conquer northern Lower Nubia by killing or displacing the inhabitants.[182] Slightly before the expansion into northern Lower Nubia considered in this article, Naqada people had settled and established a cemetery at Kubbaniya between Gebel el-Silsila and the First Cataract.[183] Nubiologists often interpret the Naqada cemetery at Kubbaniya in southern Upper Egypt as an A-Group site,[184] but the material culture is overwhelmingly Naqadian. For instance, 31 palettes were made of siltstone, seven of other materials, and only four of quartzite.[185] Siltstone was the preferred material for the Naqada people, while the A-Group people used other stones – mainly white quartzite.[186] The fertile plain at the mouth of Wadi Kubbaniya was probably settled by Naqada people expanding southwards.[187] Another Naqada cemetery and settlement with potsherds dating to Naqada IC was recently discovered at Nag el-Qarmila just to the north of Wadi Kubbaniya.[188] We do not know if the Naqada people had to expel – violently or not – a native population before they settled in this area.[189]

I propose that the chieftains of Hierakonpolis dispatched several warrior bands to fight the communities between the First Cataract and Bab el-Kalabsha with the purpose to incorporate this territory into the chiefdom of Hierakonpolis. The A-Group predecessors at Shellal probably faced a violent attack by the Naqada people at the beginning of Naqada IC. Two individuals in Cemetery 7 carried traces of violence on their bones (see Appendix 2). The earliest A-Group occupation in this area appears to have ended with the burial of a male killed by excessive violence. His head was hit repeatedly with weapons causing both blunt and sharp force injuries. According to both pictorial and archaeological sources,

the mace was the favoured weapon in hand-to-hand fighting in the Nile Valley during the 4th millennium BCE.[190] The final blow at the back of his head was delivered with a copper-alloy axe or adze. This weapon of prestigious metal signals high social status, so it was probably the leader of the warrior band who gave him the final blow. This sharp force injury is furthermore one of the earliest attested uses of copper-alloy weapons in the Nile Valley. The A-Group predecessors appear to have retreated southwards after this violent clash – probably to the vicinity of Khor Ambukol and Khor Bahan where two contemporary cemeteries are placed in proximity. These cemeteries were soon afterwards abandoned due to new violent attacks.

The Naqada peoples buried in Cemetery 17 at Khor Bahan appear so uniformly equipped with mace-heads and other weapons that they probably formed a band of warriors under central command acting on the orders of the chieftain of Hierakonpolis. Males constituted a majority of 94 per cent of the burials in this cemetery (see Appendix 1). In addition, seven graves with weapons but no body have been interpreted as cenotaphs for killed warriors.[191] The Naqada warriors buried at Khor Bahan appear to have died young, which strongly suggests that the A-Group predecessors fiercely fought back the intruders. Outnumbered by the Naqada warriors, the A-Group predecessors probably attacked in ambushes. The preferred weapons of ambushes during the Bronze Age were bows and arrows.[192] Warrior bands dispatched to foreign territory traditionally consist of men,[193] like the Naqada warriors in this study. In defensive warfare in the vicinity of habitation sites, women can participate in the fighting and thus be wounded or killed.[194] Females were among the killed and wounded in the cemeteries of the A-Group predecessors in this study (see Appendices 2 to 6).

Violence can contribute to formalizing group identities.[195] The forging of new collective identities can take the form of ethnogenesis. The A-Group predecessors needed to distinguish between friends and enemies after the Naqada people attacked them. Moreover, it became crucial to belong to a community larger than corporate lineage groups to be protected, and thus essential to be recognized visually as different from the enemy, whom the A-Group people appear to have attacked in ambushes. The ethnic identity of the A-Group people was probably established as they perceived themselves as culturally different from the Naqada people and perhaps the A-Group predecessors saw themselves as having common descent in accordance with a former lineage organization of the society.[196] The A-Group predecessors thus

appear to have conceived themselves as a distinctive cultural group in accordance with the definition of ethnic groups presented initially. I thus see the ethnogenesis of the A-Group predecessors from an emic perspective placing the A-Group predecessors as actors forging their own ethnic identity.[197] The Naqada people also treated the A-Group predecessors as culturally different, so the ethnic identity made an impact on their relationship.

Interpreted together, the evidence presented strongly suggests that the communities of native A-Group predecessors at Shellal, Khor Ambukol, and Khor Bahan at first attempted to defend their territory when the Naqada people entered the region during Naqada IC. The Naqada warriors buried in Cemetery 17 indicate that the A-Group predecessors resisted the expansion at a high cost of lives for the intruders. Despite opposition, the warriors from Hierakonpolis achieved their mission – likely because they were better organized by being trained for combat and better equipped with specialized weapons of war, and they probably outnumbered the A-Group predecessors. The first clashes ended when the native people retreated, first from Shellal and then from Khor Ambukol and Khor Bahan. The decisive battle probably took place near Khor Bahan where the Naqada warriors were buried in the cemetery recently abandoned by the A-Group predecessors. The graves of fallen warriors are usually located close to the battlefield,[198] and the graves without bodies suggest that not all fallen warriors were brought back to the site for burial. After the battle near Khor Bahan, the A-Group predecessors appear to have resettled on the plains of Meris and Dehmit further south.

The next clashes took place soon afterwards at Meris and Dehmit. Beside the violent deaths and injuries, I have identified a pattern where up to 12 per cent of the individuals in the cemeteries of the A-Group predecessors in northern Lower Nubia were recorded with the skull absent (see Table 2). Furthermore, up to 22 per cent of the individuals had their skull broken post-mortem. Especially cemeteries 41 and 45 have high numbers of missing and broken skulls. Archaeologists usually explain the absence of the skull in Nubia as an effect of grave plundering, and this explanation may in many instances be valid. However, the systematic pattern seen in the five cemeteries investigated here may require a different explanation for why the skull was absent or broken in so high numbers on a frontier with violent conflict.

As we saw in the examination of violence in the earliest A-Group cemeteries, a male in grave 211 in Cemetery 45/200 had been stabbed in the back of his neck seven times with a sharp implement – possibly a copper-alloy dagger or spear (see Appendix 6). A reconstruction of the violence placed the man prostrate with his face down in front of his assailant who struck him seven times. If the weapon indeed was a copper-alloy dagger or spear, as suggested from the cut marks and comparable decapitations at Hierakonpolis,[199] then his attacker was probably coming from Upper Egypt. Only the Naqada people had access to copper-alloy weapons at this time. By considering the context of war between the Naqada people and A-Group predecessors, the male had probably been wounded by an arrowshot or taken captive, and then finished off by the stabbing in the neck. The missing skulls in other A-Group cemeteries of the proto-phase could have been executions of wounded warriors in skirmishes with Naqada people. More in line with the evidence, the head was possibly removed postmortem after some time of decomposition on the battlefield before the body was buried by the next of kin. The removals of the heads were probably undertaken in acts of ritual violence. Postmortem violence and humiliation of the enemy is also attested in Syria in the mid-4th millennium BCE.[200]

The seizure, modification, and display of human body parts as trophies have been practiced worldwide since prehistoric times.[201] Decapitation was also practiced in Upper Egypt – even at the contemporary and neighbouring center of Hierakonpolis.[202] The head is considered the most prestigious trophy since the head is believed to contain the individual's spirit.[203] Simon Harrison has argued that headhunting is a device to mask or deny the humanness of a chosen category of people in societies where male identity is related to hunting animals.[204] Moreover, Harrison suggests that actors created and negotiated group boundaries and thus the groups themselves through such practices:

> "[H]eads were taken not because the victims were distant strangers, but to make them distant, to generate estrangement, and 'produce' a category of people as enemies with whom to fight."[205]

This quote seems analogous to the war between the Naqada people and the A-Group predecessors in northern Lower Nubia after the first clashes. Masculine

identity at Hierakonpolis appears associated with hunting and warfare during Naqada IC-IIA, and I suggest that headhunting in northern Lower Nubia was related to creating and negotiating a boundary between the A-Group predecessors and the Naqada peoples. The Naqada people needed to make the A-Group predecessors more distant to justify expelling them from their land.

The presence of competition and conflict can intensify ethnic polarization.[206] The Naqada people and the A-Group predecessors shared cultural similarities from a Neolithic body-centred habitus, like contracted burials on the side and cosmetic palettes.[207] Although the first violent confrontation provoked an ethnogenesis among the A-Group predecessors, the Naqada people proceeded to make them more different after the first clashes. The next process of differentiation between the A-Group and the Naqada peoples is comparable to a schismogenesis, whereby cultural groups define themselves against each other.

9. Concluding Remarks on Ethnogenesis and Schismogenesis in Lower Nubia

In this article, I have argued that two culturally related, but distinctive populations – the Naqada people and the A-Group predecessors – clashed in deadly battles in northern Lower Nubia in the mid-4th millennium BCE. Since the first violent clashes of the two groups, the people north and south of the First Cataract region came to perceive themselves as culturally different. The violent conflict arose from increased contact and intensive competition for territory and resources. This context furthermore created the social environment where the forging of an ethnic identity became necessary for the A-Group predecessors. The Naqada people also recognized the A-Group predecessors as different from themselves, and ethnicity became an organizational factor in the relationship between the two groups.

The war was instigated by a violent expansion of the Naqada people from Hierakonpolis. Several episodes of violence can be detected with probable battles at Shellal, Khor Bahan, and Dehmit. The first violent clashes at Shellal and Khor Bahan instigated the confrontational ethnogenesis of the A-Group predecessors. The conflict escalated with new violent clashes near Meris and Dehmit. Headhunting appears to have contributed to a schismogenesis by dehumanizing the other. The A-Group predecessors and the Naqada people increasingly came to

define themselves in opposition to each other, and their cultural and social differences continued to widen with time. For the latter half of the 4th millennium BCE, the A-Group people left a distinctive archaeological heritage in the region between Bab el-Kalabsha in northern Lower Nubia and Batn el-Hajar above the Second Cataract.

When the ethnic boundary was in place, the Naqada people established at least eight sites in northern Lower Nubia.[208] The narrow passage with towering cliffs at Bab el-Kalabsha was a natural position for exercising territorial control, and the distribution of sites suggests that this was the border between A-Group and Naqada territory. During the Early A-Group phase, the A-Group people and the Naqada people started interacting in peaceful ways across the ethnic boundary.[209] Exchange between the Naqada people and the A-Group people made it profitable to belong to the A-Group people as the whole community prospered.[210] The Naqada people retreated from northern Lower Nubia with the establishment of the southern border of the dynastic and territorial state of Egypt at the First Cataract at the shift between Naqada IIIB and IIIC around 3085 BCE.[211] The A-Group people became eradicated as an ethnic group when the newly founded state of ancient Egypt undertook a violent expansion into Lower Nubia after ca. 3085 BCE.[212]

10. Appendices

Cemetery 17: Naqada graves dating to Naqada IC					
The human remains were in an extremely disintegrated state. M = Male, F = Female, U = Mature individual with undeterminable sexual diagnosis.					
Grave	Ind.	Human remains	Sex	Age	Weapons
5	1 2	Disturbed	M M	Adult Adult	1 x disc-shaped macehead of black and white speckled stone 2 x flint blades 1 x possible bow of decayed wood
6		None			1 x disc-shaped macehead of pink limestone 2+ x flint blades 1 x chalcedony flakes set in wooden edge
7	3 4	Undisturbed	M M	Youth Adult	
10		None			
26	5	Disturbed	M	Young adult	
35	6	Fragmentary	M		1 x macehead, possibly of diorite 2 x flint blades
37	7	Fragmentary	M	Youth	
43	8	Complete	M	Adult	
49		None			2 x bifacial flint knives
50		None			1 x disc-shaped macehead of diorite **(Fig. 4 c)** 1 x concave base arrowhead of flint **(Fig. 5 a)** 1 x long flint blade 115 x lunate arrowheads of chalcedony
56	9	Fragmentary	M	Young adult	1 x double-ended macehead of breccia w/traces of handle binding 5 x bifacial flint knives
57	10	Fragmentary	U		1 x bifacial comma-shaped knife of flint 1 x blade knife of flint
58	11	Complete	M		1 x disc-shaped macehead 3 x rhomboidal flint daggers
60	12	Fragmentary	M		
61	13	Disturbed	M	Young adult	
62	14	Undisturbed	M	Youth	
68		None			1 x hexagon-shaped macehead of alabaster 2 x fishtail flint daggers 2+ x slingshots (described as stone marbles of hematite balls) 2 x decayed horns (possibly bow tips from a composite bow)
70		None			2 x disc-shaped maceheads **(Fig. 4 b)** 1 x rhomboidal flint dagger 2+ x lunate arrowheads of chalcedony 2+ x flint blades 2+ x slingshots (ivory tusk filled with porphyry marbles)
74	15	Fragmentary	M	Adult	2+ x chalcedony blades 2 x slingshots of breccia
78		None			2 x disc-shaped maceheads 2+ x lunate arrowheads of chalcedony 3 x barbed and tanged flint arrowheads **(Fig. 5 b)** 2 x decayed horns (possibly bow tips from a composite bow)
79	16	Fragmentary			
81	17	Fragmentary	M	Young adult	
82		None			
83		None			
84		None			1 x flint blade 15 x slingshots (described as manganese nodules) 2 x broken horns (possibly bow tips from a composite bow)
86	18	Undisturbed	F	Middle-aged	
88		None			1 x disc-shaped macehead of diorite **(Fig. 4 d)** 1 x double-ended macehead of breccia 1 x double-ended macehead of porphyry 2 x mace-handles 2 x decayed horns (possibly bow tips from a composite bow)
89	19	Disturbed	M	Adult	1 x disc-shaped macehead **(Fig. 4 a)**
95		None			1 x broken macehead 1 x broken flint knife

Appendix 1: Human remains and weapons in the Naqada graves in Cemetery 17. Data from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910) and Reisner (1910).

Cemetery 7: Graves 200-267 of A-Group predecessors							
The anatomists noted more than 33 bodies in very fragmentary states that were not studied. Conditions of human remains not described for all cases. M = Male, F = Female, U?=?Mature individual with undeterminable sexual diagnosis.							
Grave	Ind.	Human remains	Sex	Age	Antemortem injury	Perimortem injury	Skull
202	1	Fragmentary	F	Adult			
	2	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
203	3	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
204	4		M	Adult			
205	5	Undisturbed	M	Old			
206	6	Disturbed	F				
207	7	Undisturbed	F				
208	8	Undisturbed	M				
209	9	Undisturbed	F	Young adult			
	10	Undisturbed		Fetus			
210	11	Fragmentary		New born			
211	12	Fragmentary	U	Young adult			
212	13	Fragmentary	U	Young adult			
213	14	Undisturbed		Child			
214	15	Disturbed	M	Adult			
215	16	Fragmentary	F				
216	17	Fragmentary					
217	18	Fragmentary	F				
218	19	Fragmentary	M				
219	20	Fragmentary	M				
220	21	Fragmentary		Infant			
221	22	Fragmentary	M				
222	23	Undisturbed	M				
	24	Undisturbed	F				
224	25	Disturbed	F	Young adult			
226	26	Undisturbed	M	Adult			Broken
229	27	Disturbed	M				
233	28	Disturbed	M				
234	29	Undisturbed	M				
235	30	Undisturbed		Child			
236	31	Fragmentary	F	Young adult			
237	32	Fragmentary	F	Young adult			
238	33	Disturbed	F	Old			
239	34	Disturbed		Young child			
240	35	Undisturbed		Infant			
241	36	Fragmentary	M	Old			
250	37	Undisturbed	F	Adult			
251	38	Disturbed		Young child			
253	39	Fragmentary	M				
254	40	Undisturbed		Child			
257	41		M	Adult		Fractured facial bones Two fractures of mandible Cut in right parietal bone	
258	42	Disturbed		Young child			
259	43	Disturbed		Child			
260	44		U	Adult			
261	45	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
262	46	Fragmentary	U	Adult			
263	47	Undisturbed	F	Adult	R. ulna fractured		
265	48	Fragmentary	F	Adult			
266	49	Fragmentary	U	Adult			
267	50		M	Adult			

Appendix 2: Burials with human remains and osteological case descriptions for individuals with evidence of healed or unhealed trauma related to interpersonal violence in Cemetery 7. Data from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910).

Cemetery 14							
Conditions of human remains not described for all cases. M = Male, F = Female, L = Left, R = Right.							
Grave	Ind.	Human remains	Sex	Age	Antemortem injury	Perimortem injury	Skull
1	1			Infant			
2	2			Infant			
3	3		F	Adult			Broken
4	4	Fragmentary	F	Adult			Broken
5	5	Disturbed	F	Adult			
6	6	Fragmentary		Child			
7	7	Fragmentary		Youth			
8	8	Fragmentary		Fetus			
	9			Child			
	10		M	Adult			Absent
9	11			Young adult			
10	12		M	Adult		Mortal injuries to r. side of face 8 fractured ribs on r. side Fracture on r. side of pubis	
12	13	Fragmentary	M	Adult			Absent
13	14		F	Adult		1 fractured rib l. side Much blood-staining	
14	15	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
	16			Fetus			
16	17		F	Aged adult			
17	18		F	Aged adult			
18	19	Fragmentary		Child			
19	20	Fragmentary	F	Aged adult	L. ulna fractured		
20	21	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
21	22			Fetus			
41	23		F	Young adult			

Appendix 3: Burials with human remains in Cemetery 14. Osteological case descriptions for individuals with evidence of trauma related to interpersonal violence and absent or broken skulls. Data from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910).

Cemetery 17: Graves of the A-Group predecessors						
Conditions of human remains not described for all cases. M = Male, F = Female, U = Mature individual with undeterminable sexual diagnosis, L = left, R = right.						
Grave	Ind.	Human remains	Sex	Age	Antemortem injury	Skull
9	1	Fragmentary	M	Adult		
12	2	Disturbed	M	Adult		
13	3			New-born		
14	4			New-born		
18	5	Undisturbed	M	Adult		
19	6		U	Adult		Absent
21	7	Fragmentary				
22	8		M	Adult		
24	9		M	Adult	R. clavicle fractured	
25	10	Disturbed	F	Adult		
27	11		F	Adult		
28	12	Disturbed	F	Adult		
29	13		M	Adult	R. ulna fractured L. clavicle fractured	
30	14	Disturbed	F	Adult		
	15		F	Adult		
34	16	Disturbed	F	Adult		
48	17		M	Adult		
51	18	Disturbed	F	Adult		
55	19		F	Aged adult		
59	20			Youth		
63	21	Disturbed	M	Adult		
65	22		M	Adult		
87	23			Infant		
90	24		F	Aged adult		

Appendix 4: Burials with human remains in the A-Group predecessor part of Cemetery 17. Osteological case descriptions for individuals with evidence of trauma related to interpersonal violence and absent skull. Data from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910).

Cemetery 41					
The contents of the graves were in a badly damaged and extremely disintegrated state. Conditions of human remains not described for all cases. M = Male, F = Female, U = Mature individual with undeterminable sexual diagnosis.					
Grave	Ind.	Human remains	Sex	Age	Skull
202	1	Fragmentary		Fetus	
203	2		M	Aged adult	
204	3	Fragmentary	M		
	4	Fragmentary	F		
205	5		M	Adult	Broken
206	6	Disturbed	F	Adult	Broken
207	7	Fragmentary	F		
208	8			Child	
209	9	Fragmentary	F	Adult	
210	10	Fragmentary	F	Adult	
212	11	Disturbed	M	Adult	
213	12		F	Young adult	
214	13	Fragmentary	F		
215	14		M	Adult	
216	15		F	Adult	Broken
217	16	Disturbed	F	Adult	
218	17	Fragmentary	M	Adult	Broken
219	18		F	Adult	Broken
220	19	Disturbed		Infant	
221	20	Disturbed	M	Adult	
222	21	Fragmentary	M	Adult	
223	22	Disturbed	M	Adult	
224	23		F	Adult	Broken
225	24	Fragmentary	U	Adult	
226	25			Infant	
227	26		M	Adult	Absent
228	27	Fragmentary		Child	
229	28	Fragmentary	F	Adult	
231	29	Fragmentary	M	Adult	
232	30	Disturbed		Infant	
233	31	Fragmentary	M	Adult	
234	32	Fragmentary			
235	33	Disturbed	M	Adult	Broken
236	34	Disturbed	F	Adult	Broken
238	35	Fragmentary	M	Adult	Absent
	36	Fragmentary	M	Adult	
239	37	Fragmentary		Child	

Appendix 5: Burials with human remains and individuals with absent or broken skulls in Cemetery 41. Data from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910).

Cemetery 45							
The bodies were in a better state of preservation than the other cemeteries with some naturally mumified corpses. Conditions of human remains not described for all cases. M = Male, F = Female, L = left, R = right.							
Grave	Ind.	State	Sex	Age	Antemortem injury	Perimortem injury	Skull
201	1		F	Aged adult	Fracture of l. zygomatic process		
202	2		M	Adult		4th-8th r. ribs fractured and blood-stained. Copious blood-staining at the margins of the nose.	
203	3		F	Adult			Broken
204	4		F	Adult			Absent
205	5		F	Adult			Broken
206	6		F	Young adult			
207	7		M	Adult			
208	8		M	Adult			
209	9		F	Adult			
210	10		F	Adult			
211	10		M	Adult		Cuts on 2nd-4th cervical vertebrae	
213	11	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
	12		F	Adult			
215	13		M	Adult			
216	14		F	Adult			
217	15	Disturbed	M	Adult			Broken
218	16	Disturbed	M	Adult			Broken
219	17	Disturbed	M	Adult			
	18	Disturbed	F	Adult			
220	19	Disturbed	F	Adult			Broken
221	20	Disturbed	F	Adult			
222	21	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
223	22	Disturbed	F	Adult			Absent
227	23	Fragmentary	M	Adult			
228	24	Fragmentary	M	Adult			Absent
229	25		F	Adult			
232	26		F	Adult			Broken
233	27			Child			
235	28	Disturbed	F	Adult			
236	29			Child			
238	30	Fragmentary	M				
240	31		M	Adult			
241	32		F	Adult			Absent
	33		M				

Appendix 6: Burials with human remains in Cemetery 45. Osteological case descriptions for individuals with evidence of trauma related to interpersonal violence and absent or broken skulls. Data from Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (1910).

11. Acknowledgements

This article is an expansion of ideas first presented in my ph.d.-thesis *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt* (2015). I would like to express my gratitude to Stuart Tyson Smith and Rennan Lemos for conducting an open peer-review of this article. They provided thoughtful suggestions, and their constructive comments helped to improve the quality and clarity of the argument. I also wish to thank Alexandros Tsakos for handling the peer-review process of this article and reading the final draft. His attention to detail has improved the final product. Any remaining errors are my own.

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Endnotes

1. For general discussions of the concept ethnogenesis, see Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity*, and Weik, "The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis." ↩

2. Nordström divided the A-Group into three stages, Early, Classic/Middle, and Terminal, in his seminal work *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, p. 18. ↩

3. Voss, "What's new?" p. 656. ↩

4. Bateson, *Naven*. ↩

5. Wengrow and Graeber, "Many Seasons Ago," p. 238. See also Graeber and Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything*, especially Chapter 5. ↩

6. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, p. 14. ↩

7. See Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, p. 19 for a brief reference to the violent cases noted by Elliot Smith and Wood Jones (see below). ↩

8. Wengrow et al., "Cultural Convergence in the Neolithic of the Nile Valley," pp. 102-3. ↩

9. Stevenson, "The Egyptian Predynastic and State Formation," p. 431. ↩

10. Bard, "Political Economies of Predynastic Egypt and the Formation of the Early State," p. 6 and p. 12. ↩

11. Bard, "Political Economies of Predynastic Egypt and the Formation of the Early State," p. 1; Köhler, "Prehistoric Egypt," p. 144; Stevenson, "The Egyptian Predynastic and State Formation," p. 451. ↩

12. See Dee et al., "An Absolute Chronology for Early Egypt," for absolute dates. ↩

13. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 123. ↩

14. Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group sites*; Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Hierarchy and Heterarchy"; Roy, *The Politics of Trade*; Glück, "The Heritage of the A-Group"; Gatto, "The A-Group and 4th Millennium BCE Nubia." ↩

15. See for instance Takamiya, "Egyptian Pottery Distribution in A-Group Cemeteries," p. 56 for the establishment of the contact, and Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 337. ↩

16. Wengrow et al., "Cultural Convergence in the Neolithic of the Nile Valley," p. 98; Gatto, "The A-Group and 4th Millennium BCE Nubia," p. 129. ↩

17. Some examples from the last 20 years: Hendrickx, "Predynastic—Early Dynastic Chronology," p. 71 and p. 76; Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt*, p. 75; Bard, "Political Economies of Predynastic Egypt and the Formation of the Early State"; Gatto, "The A-Group and 4th Millennium BCE Nubia," p. 127 and p. 129. ↩

18. Also spelled Kubaniya and Kubaniyeh. ↩

19. Some examples from the last 20 years: Edwards, *The Nubian past*, pp. 68-9; Nordström, "The Nubian A-Group," p. 134; Takamiya, "Egyptian Pottery Distribution in A-Group Cemeteries," p. 41; Friedman, "The Nubian Cemetery at Hierakonpolis," p. 62; Török, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 35; Roy, *The Politics of Trade*, p. 49; Glück, "The Heritage of the A-Group," p. 199; Meurer, "Nubians in Egypt from the Early Dynastic Period to the New Kingdom," p. 290. ↩

20. Gatto, "Cultural Entanglement at the Dawn of the Egyptian History," p. 117; Gatto, "The A-Group and 4th Millennium BCE Nubia," p. 130. ↩

21. See also Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 336. ↩

22. Earle and Kristiansen, "Organizing Bronze Age Societies," p. 243. ↩

23. Otto, Thrane, and Vandkilde, "Warfare and Society," pp. 16-7. ↩

24. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, p. xiii. ↩

25. Barth, "Introduction," pp. 10-1. ↩

26. Barth, “Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity,” p. 12; Smith, “Ethnicity,” p. 1. ↩

27. Barth, “Introduction,” pp. 10-1. ↩

28. E.g., Smith, *Wretched Kush*, p. 14. ↩

29. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, p. 12. ↩

30. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, p. 75 and p. 78. ↩

31. Bentley, “Ethnicity and Practice.” ↩

32. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, p. 72. ↩

33. Bentley, “Ethnicity and Practice,” p. 27. ↩

34. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, p. 120. ↩

35. Smith, *Wretched Kush*, pp. 18-9. ↩

36. Maceachern, “Scale, Style, and Cultural Variation,” p. 123. ↩

37. See Barth, “Introduction,” p. 14. ↩

38. Gosselain, “Materializing Identities.” ↩

39. Hodder, *Symbols in Action*, p. 22 and p. 58. ↩

40. Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies,” p. 318; Manzo, “Clash of Civilization on the First Cataract?,” p. 103; Smith, *Wretched Kush*, p. 31; Stevenson, *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of el-Gerzeh*, p. 77. ↩

41. Smith, *Wretched Kush*, p. 19. ↩

42. See Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, Chapters 8-10. ↩

43. Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, p. 17. ↩

44. For a more detailed analysis, see Chapter 8 in Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*. See also Gatto, "Egypt and Nubia in the 5th-4th Millennium BCE," p. 132. ↩

45. See Matić, *Ethnic Identities in the Land of the Pharaohs*, p. 28. ↩

46. Smith, "Ethnicity." ↩

47. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 253. ↩

48. Wengrow, "Rethinking 'Cattle Cults' in Early Egypt," p. 96; Wengrow et al. "Cultural Convergence in the Neolithic of the Nile Valley," p. 105; Haaland and Haaland, "Early Farming Societies along the Nile," p. 548. ↩

49. Stevenson, "The Egyptian Predynastic and State Formation," p. 432. ↩

50. In the first systematic excavations in northern Lower Nubia, George Reisner gave the different material assemblages the letters A, B, C, D and E to indicate their relative chronological sequence. The so-called A-Group and C-Group have since been used as the terms for the indigenous populations inhabiting Lower Nubia during the Bronze Age. Junker was the first archaeologist dating the B-Group graves earlier than the A-Group in *Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von El-Kubanieh-Syd*, p. 26. ↩

51. Smith, "The Nubian B-Group." ↩

52. Smith, "The Development of the A-Group Culture in Northern Lower Nubia." ↩

53. E.g., Gatto, "Cultural Entanglement at the Dawn of the Egyptian History," p. 110; Raue, "Cultural Diversity of Nubia in the Later 3rd-mid 2nd Millennium BC," p. 294. ↩

54. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 73. ↩

55. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 278. ↩

56. Smith, "The Development of the A-Group Culture in Northern Lower Nubia," p. 98 and p. 101; Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, table 1. ↩

57. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 33-42. ↩

58. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 33-45. ↩

59. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 257-9. See also Smith, "The Development of the A-Group Culture in Northern Lower Nubia," p. 98; Roy, *The Politics of Trade*, pp. 68-9. ↩

60. See Hendrickx, "Predynastic-Early Dynastic Chronology," table II/1.4b. ↩

61. Usai, "Other Stone Tools," pp. 56-7. ↩

62. Aston, Harrell, and Shaw, "Stone," p. 57. ↩

63. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 33-8. ↩

64. Usai, "Other Stone Tools," pp. 55-6 ↩

65. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 141-4. ↩

66. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 77. ↩

67. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 257-62. ↩

68. See Nordström, "Gender and Social Structure in the Nubian A-Group," for later gender differences among the A-Group people. ↩

69. See Hodgson, "Gender, Culture, and the Myth of the Patriarchal Pastoralist," p. 10 for pastoral labor structured by gender (and age). ↩

70. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 142-4. ↩

71. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, fig. 92/1-2. ↩

72. Usai, "Other Stone Tools," pp. 56-7. ↩

73. Stevenson, "Social Relationships in Predynastic Burials," p. 191. ↩

74. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 142, p. 144, and plate 66/b/31 and 33. ↩

75. Wengrow et al. "Cultural Convergence in the Neolithic of the Nile Valley," p. 103. ↩

76. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 113-4. ↩

77. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 269 and p. 285. ↩

78. See above. ↩

79. Hafsaas-Tsaoks, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 266-70. ↩

80. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, table 18. ↩

81. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 134-5. ↩

82. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 133-7. ↩

83. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 271-3. ↩

84. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 211. ↩

85. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 211-4 and fig. 145. ↩

86. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 272. ↩

87. See Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 212-3. ↩

88. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 272. ↩

89. Reisner described these flint implements as flakes. The published photos of other flint flakes identified by Reisner are in fact blades, see Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, plate 62/b/1 depicting blades called flakes in the description. ↩

90. See Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Edges of Bronze and Expressions of Masculinity," for a later example of expressions masculine in Nubia. ↩

91. Vandkilde, "Warriors and Warrior Institutions in Copper Age Europe," p. 405. ↩

92. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 169-73. ↩

93. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 258 and pp. 262-5. ↩

94. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, fig. 212/2-5, 12. ↩

95. Stevenson, *The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of el-Gerzeh*, p. 145. ↩

96. Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, p. 130. ↩

97. Wengrow et al., "Cultural convergence in the Neolithic of the Nile Valley," p. 105. ↩

98. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 316-7. ↩

99. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, Chapter 9. ↩

100. See Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 285-94 for more details. ↩

101. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 285. ↩

102. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 291. See also Hårde, "Funerary Rituals and Warfare in the Early Bronze Age Nitra Culture of Slovakia and Moravia," p. 358, for a similar interpretation. ↩

103. Gilbert, *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in Early Egypt*, p. 83. ↩

104. McMahon, “State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict,” p. 181 ↩

105. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 116. ↩

106. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 327-8. ↩

107. Crevecoeur et al., “New Insights on Interpersonal Violence in the Late Pleistocene Based on the Nile Valley Cemetery of Jebel Sahaba.” ↩

108. McMahon, “State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict,” p. 181. ↩

109. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 137-9. ↩

110. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 116-7. ↩

111. Friedman, “Hierakonpolis,” pp. 38-9. ↩

112. Droux and Pieri, “Further Adventures at HK6: The 2010 Season,” p. 4. ↩

113. Friedman, “Hierakonpolis,” p. 39. ↩

114. Gilbert, *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in Early Egypt*, p. 84. ↩

115. Chaix and Reinold, “Animals in Neolithic Graves.” ↩

116. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 37-42. ↩

117. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*. ↩

118. Helbling, “War and Peace in Societies without Central Power,” p. 115. ↩

119. Judd, “Continuity of Interpersonal Violence between Nubian Communities,” p. 324 with references. ↩

120. Judd, “Trauma in the City of Kerma,” pp. 46-8. ↩

121. Martin and Harrod, “Bioarchaeological Contributions to the Study of Violence,” p. 121. ↩

122. McMahon, “State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict,” p. 182. ↩

123. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 330-2. ↩

124. Filer, “Ancient Egypt and Nubia as a Source of Information for Cranial Injuries,” p. 70. ↩

125. Judd, “Trauma in the City of Kerma,” p. 46; Judd, “The Parry Problem,” p. 1661; Martin and Harrod, “Bioarchaeological Contributions to the Study of Violence,” p. 121. ↩

126. Robinson, “Fractures of the Clavicle in the Adult,” table 3. ↩

127. Martin and Harrod, “Bioarchaeological Contributions to the Study of Violence,” p. 124. ↩

128. Blood-stained bones were observed in some well-preserved human remains, see Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 329-30. However, stains from decomposed blood are usually absent in violent deaths uncovered from archaeological contexts, see Walker, “A Bioarchaeological Perspective on the History of Violence,” p. 578. ↩

129. Martin and Harrod, “Bioarchaeological Contributions to the Study of Violence,” p. 124. ↩

130. E.g., Molleson, “The Nubian Pathological Collection”; Filer, “Ancient Egypt and Nubia as a Source of Information for Cranial Injuries”; Judd and Redfern, “Trauma,” p. 362; Cockitt et al. “Capturing a Century of Study.” ↩

131. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 331-2. ↩

132. See Martin and Harrod, “Bioarchaeological Contributions to the Study of Violence,” p. 118. ↩

133. Marshall and Buzon, “Bioarchaeology in the Nile Valley.” ↩

134. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 331-2. ↩

135. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 313. ↩

136. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 259. ↩

137. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 331. ↩

138. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 108. ↩

139. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 312. ↩

140. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 299. ↩

141. Punjabi et al., "Causes and Management of Zygomatic Bone Fractures," p. 36. ↩

142. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 313 and fig. 87. ↩

143. Judd, "The Parry Problem," p. 1661. ↩

144. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 305 and fig. 74. ↩

145. Robinson, "Fractures of the Clavicle in the Adult," p. 476 and table 3. ↩

146. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 306 and fig. 75. ↩

147. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 152. ↩

148. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 301. ↩

149. See below. ↩

150. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 334. ↩

151. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 301. ↩

152. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 334. ↩

153. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 299. ↩

154. Punjabi et al., "Causes and Management of Zygomatic Bone Fractures," p. 36. ↩

155. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, p. 108. ↩

156. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 134. ↩

157. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, pp. 212-4. ↩

158. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 155-6; Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 213. ↩

159. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 274. ↩

160. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 262 and pp. 264-5 ↩

161. Elliot Smith and Wood Jones, *Report on the Human Remains*, pp. 170-3. ↩

162. Gilbert, *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in Early Egypt*, pp. 42-3. ↩

163. McMahon, "State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict," p. 182. ↩

164. Dougherty and Friedman, "Sacred or Mundane." ↩

165. Dougherty and Friedman, "Sacred or Mundane," p. 310 and p. 313. ↩

166. Dougherty and Friedman, "Sacred or Mundane," p. 316. ↩

167. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 279-80. ↩

168. Dougherty and Friedman, "Sacred or Mundane," p. 313. ↩

169. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 266. ↩

170. Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt*, pp. 116-23. ↩

171. Dougherty and Friedman, "Sacred or Mundane," p. 327. ↩

172. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 266. ↩

173. Dougherty and Friedman, "Sacred or Mundane," p. 330. ↩

174. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 281. ↩

175. Buzon, "Bioarchaeology of Nubia," pp. 1052-3. ↩

176. Gatto, "Egypt and Nubia in the 5th-4th Millennia BCE." ↩

177. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 332. ↩

178. See Gatto, "Cultural Entanglement at the Dawn of the Egyptian History." ↩

179. Hoffman, Hamrouch, and Allen, "A Model of Urban Development for the Hierakonpolis Region," p. 181; Haaland and Haaland, "Early Farming Societies along the Nile," p. 546. ↩

180. Batey, *Population Dynamics in Predynastic Upper Egypt*, p. 31. ↩

181. Fahmy, "Missing Plant Macro Remains as Indicators of Plant Exploitation in Predynastic Egypt." ↩

182. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 324. ↩

183. Junker, *Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von El-Kubanieh-Syd Winter 1910-1911*. ↩

184. E.g., Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, p. 28; Edwards, *The Nubian Past*, p. 70; Glück, "The Heritage of the A-Group," p. 209. ↩

185. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 126 and n. 10. ↩

186. See above. ↩

187. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 123. ↩

188. Gatto, "Egypt and Nubia in the 5th-4th millennia BCE," pp. 129-30. ↩

189. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 324. ↩

190. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 325. ↩

191. See above. ↩

192. Hårde, "Funerary Rituals and Warfare in the Early Bronze Age Nitra Culture of Slovakia and Moravia," p. 372. See also Honegger, "The Archers of Kerma," in this volume. ↩

193. McMahon, "State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict," p. 181. ↩

194. McMahon, “State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict,” p. 181. ↩

195. Martin and Harrod, “Bioarchaeology and Violence,” p. 134. ↩

196. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, p. 334. ↩

197. See also Smith, *Wretched Kush*, p. 16, for a general observation. ↩

198. McMahon, “State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict,” p. 181. ↩

199. See Dougherty and Friedman, “Sacred or Mundane,” p. 316. ↩

200. McMahon, “State Warfare and Pre-state Violent Conflict,” p. 180. ↩

201. Pommerening and Hendrickx, “Kopf und Schädel im Alten Ägypten.” ↩

202. See above. ↩

203. Okumura and Siew, “An Osteological Study of Trophy Heads,” p. 685. ↩

204. Harrison, “Skull Trophies of the Pacific War.” ↩

205. Harrison, “Skull Trophies of the Pacific War,” p. 831. ↩

206. Smith, “Ethnicity: Constructions of Self and Other in Ancient Egypt,” p. 117. ↩

207. Wengrow et al., “Cultural Convergence in the Neolithic of the Nile Valley,” p. 105. ↩

208. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, chapter 10. ↩

209. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 336-7. ↩

210. Hafsaas-Tsakos, “Hierarchy and Heterarchy.” ↩

211. Seidlmayer, “Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom,” pp. 112-3. ↩

212. Smith, "Nubia and Egypt," p. 259; Edwards, *The Nubian Past*, p. 73; Török, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 50-1; Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 376-81. ↩

article/ The Archers of Kerma: Warrior Image and Birth of a State

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abstract/ *A research programme conducted by the Swiss archaeological mission in the oldest sectors of the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma has uncovered the tombs of several dozen archers. The appearance of these armed warriors dating from ca. 2300 BC onwards can be put in parallel with the resumption of commercial activities between Egypt and Nubia, illustrated by the Harkhuf expeditions. The archers and their warrior attributes probably participate in the emergence of kingship ca. 2000 BC, which takes control of the commercial axis along the Nile and is illustrated by the accumulation of wealth and the development of servitude. This article proposes to describe these Kerma archers and then to look at the evolution of funerary rites that show in their own way how a social hierarchy emerges that will lead to the birth of a state, in this instance the kingdom of Kerma.*

keywords/ archers, warriors, Kerma, kingdom, social stratification

1. Introduction

It is known that at the time of the Egyptian Kingdom, Nubia represented a neighbouring and often rival entity, extending from the 1st to the 5th Cataracts. Its renowned warriors are represented by archers and are depicted on numerous occasions in the Nile valley, on stelae, engraved rocks, bas-reliefs and painted

tomb walls. As early as the Old Kingdom, archers were enrolled in the Egyptian armies as mercenaries and probably formed troops, as shown by the model representing them in the tomb of Prince Mesheti (11th Dynasty). The territory of Nubia is itself designated from the beginning of the 3rd millennium by a hieroglyph in the shape of a bow, *Ta-Sety*, which means the land of the bow. Despite this evidence of the importance of these warriors and their weapons, archaeological attestations of tombs of Nubian archers contemporary with the Egyptian Kingdom are anecdotal. Only a few tombs from the Kerma period (2550-1480 BC) have been reported by Charles Bonnet in his excavation reports on the Eastern Cemetery of Kerma.[1] His most important discovery consists of an almost intact tomb of a naturally mummified archer (Figure 1). Also dating from the *Kerma ancien II* phase (2300-2150 BC), the same tomb contained the body of a young man, whose head had been displaced by grave-robbers.[2] He was accompanied by arrow remains and two bows of simple curvature, 120 cm long. One of the bows was decorated with a plume of ostrich feathers.



Figure 1. Reconstruction of the grave of the mummified archer excavated by Bonnet (1982), made with the original natural mummy, pottery and plume of ostrich feathers (Kerma ancien II, 2300-2150 BC)

The Eastern Cemetery of the Kingdom of Kerma[3] is known for the abundance of weapons found in its tombs[4] as well as the abundant evidence of trauma found on the skeletons there.[5]

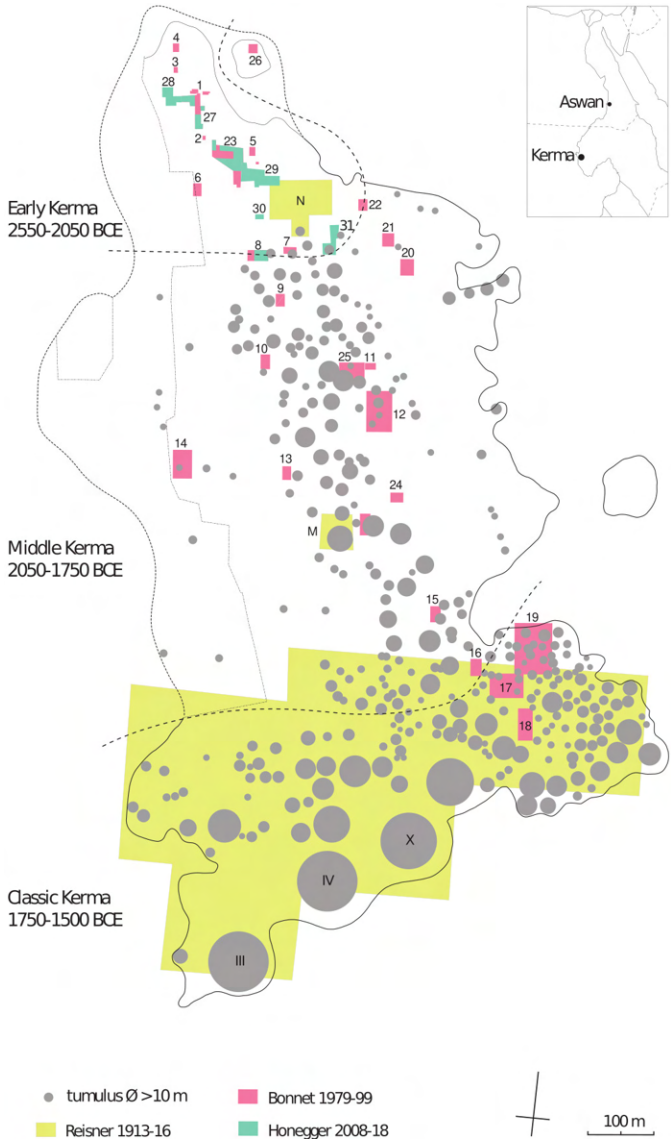


Figure 2. Plan of the Eastern Cemetery with the locations of large graves excavated since the early 20th century identified. The sectors investigated by Reisner between 1913-1916 are indicated. Sectors 1-27 were excavated by Bonnet between 1980-1997, whilst Sectors 27-31, as well as Sector 8, have been excavated or re-examined during our excavations which began in 2008.

These observations led to the view of this society as a warlike aristocracy, where testimonies of violence were common. These reflections have so far focused on the final phase of the cemetery and of the Kingdom (1750-1500 BC), best known thanks to the work of George A. Reisner, undertaken at the beginning of the 20th century.[6] Since then, excavations were undertaken between 1979 and 1999 by Charles Bonnet, who investigated 27 sectors spread over its entire surface (Figure 2), and between 2008 and 2018, we have undertaken systematic excavations in sectors of the early stages of the cemetery (2550-1950 BC), that correspond to the formation of the Kingdom of Kerma.[7] They provide previously unpublished information on the appearance of the first warriors in the form of the famous Nubian archers, on cases of violence, as well as on the phenomena of servitude, wealth, and funerary ostentation that was co-eval with the birth of the kingdom and its domination over a large part of Upper Nubia.

2. The Eastern Cemetery of Kerma and its New Excavation

As part of our programme on the evolution of society in Early Kerma, we have reinvestigated and completed the excavations of Sectors 23, 27, and 8, and have opened Sectors 28, 29, 30, and 31 (Figure 3). The tombs have been systematically excavated, taking into account information on the surface (burial mounds, ceramic deposits, bucrania, fireplaces, and post holes) and collecting the material contained in the tombs and infill of the pits. Knowing that more than 99% of the graves dating from this period of the necropolis' utilisation were subsequently looted, the infill of the pits is often the only way to get an idea of the contents of the tomb and of the ceramics placed on the surface beside the mound.

The work undertaken in recent years has made it possible to build a precise chronology for the early phases of the cemetery, from the beginning of Early Kerma to the beginning of Middle Kerma. The study and spatial distribution of the 409 tombs excavated since 2008 allows us to follow in detail each stage from the evolution of funeral rites. An absolute chronology was constructed using 23 ^{14}C dates that were confronted with the typology of Kerma pottery and Egyptian imports, and this makes it possible to distinguish five successive phases between 2550 and 1950 BC: *Kerma ancien 0, I, II, III,* and *Kerma moyen I* (Figure 3).[8]

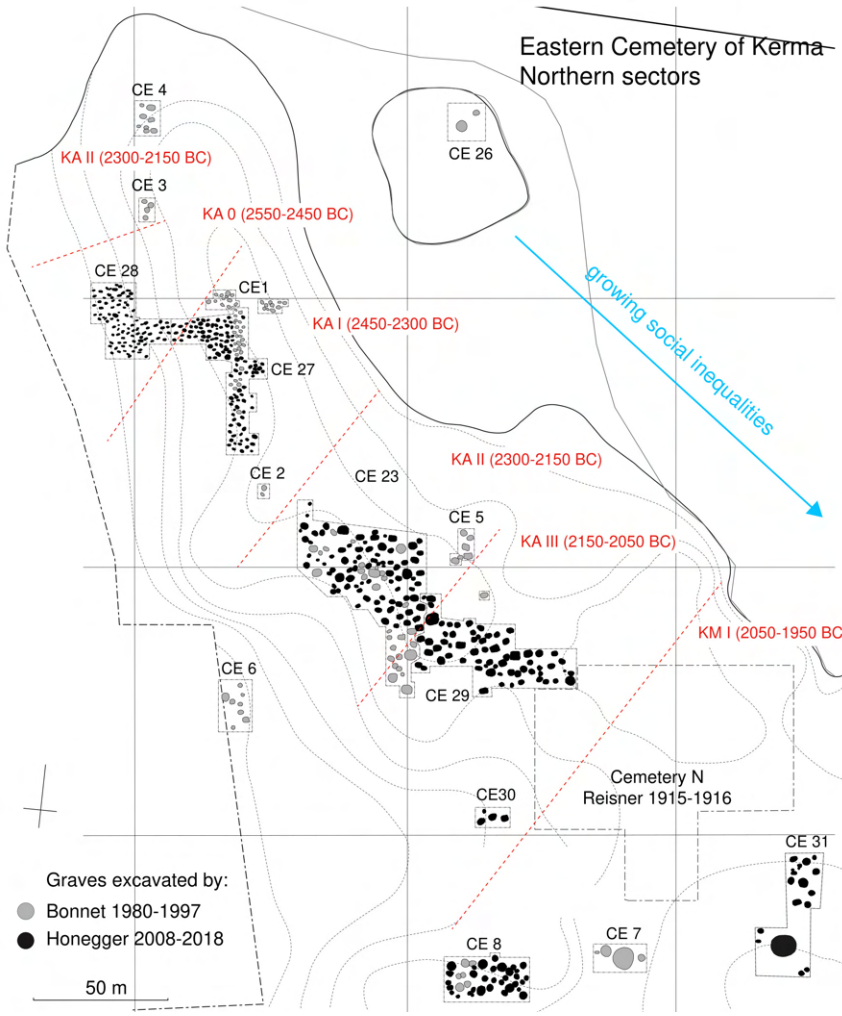


Figure 3. Map of the Early Kerma and early Middle Kerma sectors in the Eastern Cemetery. From the initial installation in Kerma ancien 0 (2550-2450 BC) to the emergence of the first royal tomb in Kerma moyen I (2050-1950 BC), the dimensions of the tombs increase, the rituals become more complex and the hierarchisation of society increases until the appearance of a royalty.

We thus have a relatively precise chronological framework which highlights five distinct phases of relatively short duration from the beginning of Early Kerma to the Middle Kerma.

Regarding the spatial analysis, the first observed tendency during this evolution appears to be the progressive increase in the size of the graves' pits. These are small and rectangular during *Kerma ancien 0* (average surface of 0.9 m^2), becoming oval and only marginally larger during *Kerma ancien I* (average surface of 1.2 m^2). It is only from *Kerma ancien II* that they mostly become larger and more circular (average surface of 4.2 m^2), with this tendency continuing in *Kerma ancien III*, with the larger pits attaining a diameter exceeding 4 metres, occasionally more quadrangular than circular (average surface of 5 m^2). Then, in *Kerma moyen I* appeared the first royal graves with a diameter ranging between 7 to 10 metres.

In the oldest sectors (*Kerma ancien 0* and *I*) the tombs are all of equal size and their contents do not give the image of strong social distinction. As is the rule in the Kerma period, the bodies are laid on their right side, head towards the east. The objects found in the tombs are not very abundant and metal (gold, copper alloy) is very rare. With regards to pottery, there is a marked presence of C-Group pots, which becomes more discrete over time.[9]

The *Kerma ancien II* phase shows spectacular changes in the funerary rites, compared to the earlier phases in the cemetery. The tombs are generally larger and contain more objects. Metal is more regularly attested, notably in the form of bronze mirrors and gold necklaces or pendants. Animal sacrifices make their appearance (dogs, caprines) as well as bucrania in front of some tumuli. Tombs with multiple burials are also more frequent, indicating the development of accompanying or sacrificed people, which will increase significantly in the succeeding periods. The distinction between male and female graves becomes systematic and stereotyped (Figure 4). If the buried women are systematically endowed with a stick, an ornament, and sometimes particular objects or tools such as potter's tools, the male tombs are systematically endowed with a bow.[10]

During the *Kerma ancien III* phase, the same tendencies identified in the previous phase continued. In the sectors of this period, we noticed that young boys' graves were also accompanied by bows (Figure 5).

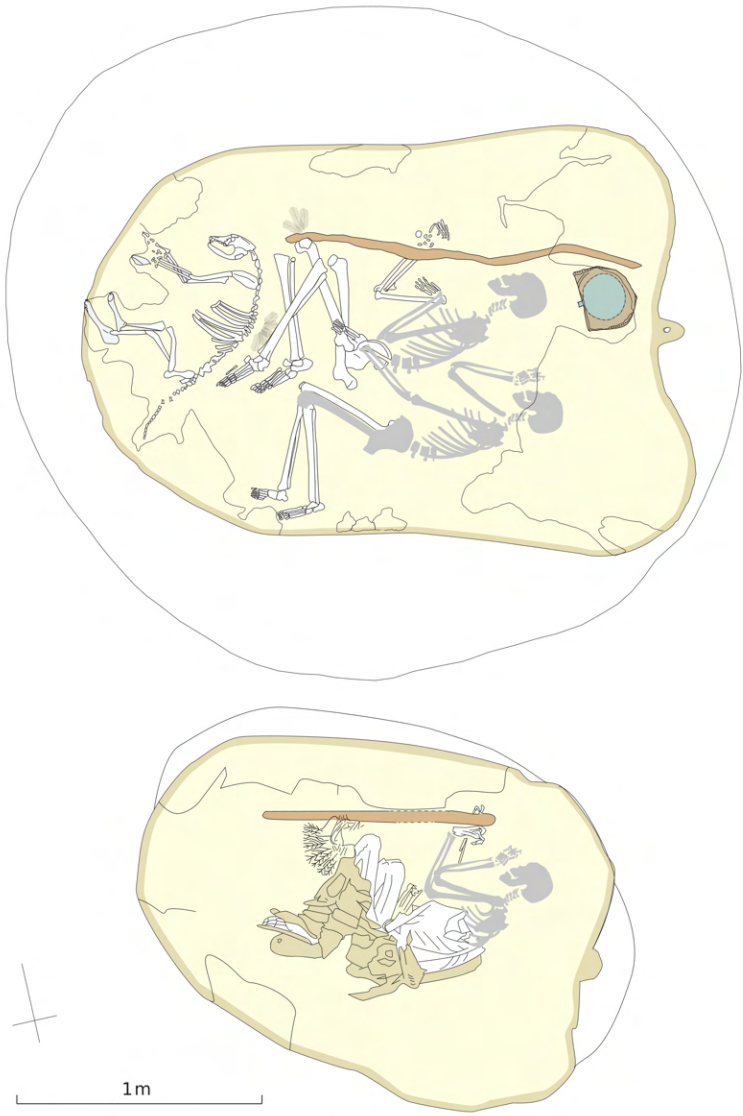


Figure 4. Graves of an archer and of a woman with a stick of the Kerma ancien II Phase (2300-2100 BC), found in Sector 23 of the Easter Cemetery of Kerma. The grave of the archer contained two individuals: a young man in the central position and a woman placed by his side. A dog, a bow, an ostrich feathers fan, and a bronze mirror accompanied the young man. The grave with a wooden stick contained a woman aged 20-29 years. Both graves were partially plundered and a part of the skeletons is here reconstructed.

The four youngest individuals with a bow are less than 4 years old and the one in Figure 5 has a bow that is too large for his age.



Figure 5. Intact grave of a 1.5-year-old child with a bow, a cushion made of vegetable matter, and a pot (Kerma ancien III, Sector 29). As is the rule in Kerma graves, the body was placed on a carefully cut piece of bovine pelt.

This observation and their age – less than two years for two of them – shows that these bows are not necessarily placed in tombs to express the activity of the deceased, but also have a symbolic connotation related to male status. The richest graves sometimes distinguish themselves in a more spectacular manner. One of them had 50 aligned bucrania to the south and 38 decorated pots on the surface. It is at the beginning of Middle Kerma (*Kerma moyen I*) that the first royal graves appeared, like that recently discovered in Sector 31 of which the diameter exceeds 10 metres and has over 1400 bucrania laid out in front of the tumulus.[11]

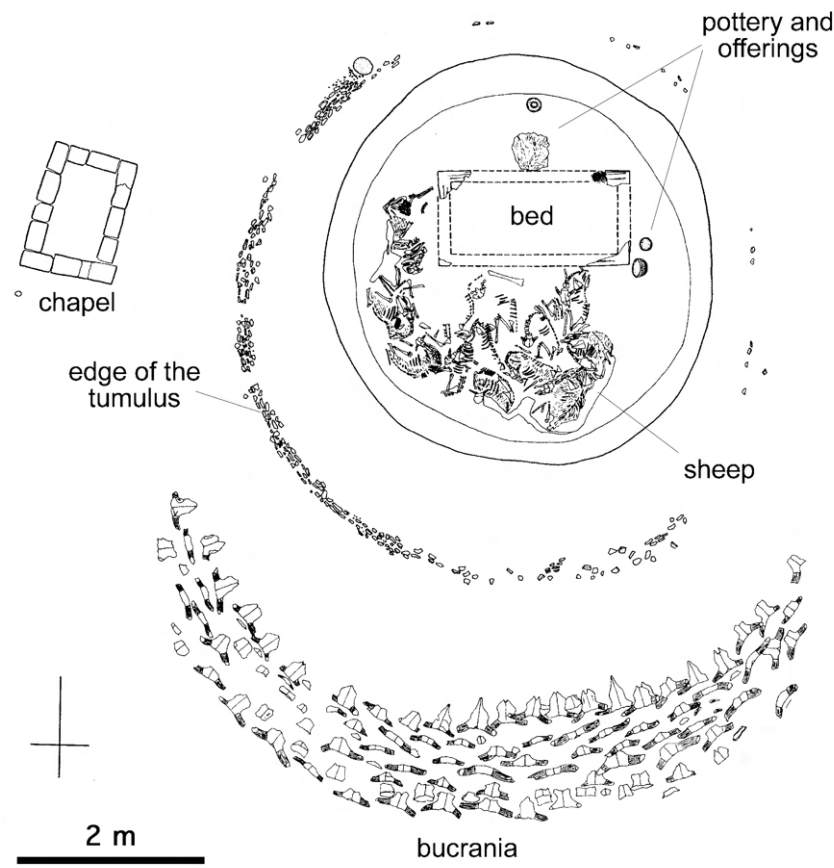


Figure 6. Middle Kerma grave with bucrania deposited south of the tumuli and a mud-brick chapel located to the west (ca. 1900 BC).

Differences between burials increase during Middle Kerma and for this period it is not rare to find grave-pits of up to 10-15 meters in diameter. This ranking between burials suggests a stratified society, which would culminate at the end of the Kingdom of Kerma. The central inhumations in the largest tumuli are supposed to be the graves of the rulers; the other tumuli could belong to high status individuals or to free men and women.[12] In certain instances a mud-brick chapel was erected on the west side of the tumulus (Figure 6).[13]

During Classic Kerma the diameter of the largest graves is between 30 and 90 meters. The three most famous ones were built to a uniform size with tumuli approximately 90 meters in diameter (KIII, IV, X). Composed of a complex internal structure of mud-brick walls with a corridor giving access to a central vaulted chamber, these tumuli are assumed to belong to the most powerful rulers of Kerma[14]. The grave goods found in these burials and in some subsidiary ones were particularly elaborate and the proportion of Egyptian imports high.[15] Two monumental funerary temples (KI, KXI) were erected north-west of the tumuli KIII and KX. The Eastern Cemetery was abandoned as a location for royal burials during the conquest of Kush by the Egyptians of the 18th Dynasty, about 1500 BC. A last royal grave was erected 4 km to the west, south of the ancient town of Kerma and dates about 1480 BC.[16]

3. The Archers' Graves

From the *Kerma ancien II* to the *Kerma moyen I* phases onwards (Figure 3) all male tombs that we excavated between 2008 and 2018 are equipped with a bow, even those of children.[17] Of course, many graves are too looted to conclude that archery equipment was present, but as soon as the grave is better preserved, the presence of archery elements is attested, the smallest clue being the presence of the string made of twisted sinews, probably from sheep or goats (Figure 7). In view of the number of graves excavated, we can therefore suppose that the presence of men or boys with weapons is systematic for the earlier phases. However, it is not possible to conclude definitively that the presence of male archers was systematic for all phases of the Eastern Cemetery without looking at the previous excavations of Reisner and Bonnet.



Figure 7. Bowstring made of sheep's or goat's sinew with a fixation system at one end.

The "Cemetery North", close to our excavations (2008-2018), was excavated in 1915 by Reisner and in 1916 by his assistant W. G. Kemp (135 graves). The documentation published after the death of Reisner[18] is of lesser quality than for the southern part of the cemetery, corresponding to Classic Kerma and excavated in 1913-1914.[19] The tombs excavated by Kemp have not been spatially located. Nevertheless, we know from our excavations that the "Cemetery N" covers the *Kerma ancien III* and *Kerma moyen I* phases. The documentation identifies the grave of a woman with a staff, but there is no evidence of bows. In view of the discreet nature of the evidence for archery, we believe that it has simply not been identified. It must be said that the tombs were systematically excavated by Egyptians from the village of Kouft, assisted by Nubians. It is therefore very likely that they simply did not observe these fleeting remains.

In the "Cemetery M" (Middle Kerma, see figure 3), the documentation, published with that of the "Cemetery N", is not better than the latter. No archer or bow was identified. It is only in Classic Kerma that this practice seems to disappear, according to Reisner's documentation,[20] which is of much better quality than that published by Dunham.[21] It must be said that this part of the cemetery is different from that of Early and Middle Kerma. Our demographic estimate for the Eastern Cemetery suggests at least 36,000 buried individuals, but those attributed to Classic Kerma envelops only 700 individuals. Simulations of burial recruitment show that this part of the cemetery is the most selective and contains only a small section of the ruling class, in contrast to earlier periods. At this time, the armed persons are accompanied by daggers, which led Hafsaas to conclude that there was a warrior elite displaying this type of weapon, as was the case in Europe in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.[22]

In the excavations of Bonnet, which involved just over 250 tombs, a few archers were identified. Again, the excavations were carried out almost systematically by Nubian excavators who were not trained to find small remains as bow stings. Nevertheless, Bonnet reports the presence of some archers in Early Kerma sectors, as well as in Middle Kerma sectors. The famous mummy of an archer (Figure 1) comes from Sector 4[23] (*Kerma ancien II*) and five other graves of archers were excavated in Sector 23 (*Kerma ancien II*).[24] For Middle Kerma, two graves of archers were discovered in Sector 9 and one in Sector 11 (*Kerma moyen I*), as well as another in sector 20 (*Kerma moyen IV*).[25] Finally, we had the opportunity to excavate a grave in sector 24 (*Kerma moyen V*) which contained 36 lunates corresponding to arrowheads.[26] From all these observations, we can assume that the tradition of male burials as archers started in the *Kerma ancien II* phase and must have continued until the end of Middle Kerma.[27]



Figure 8a. Plundered grave containing an adult with his leather loincloth and a double bend bow (Kerma ancien II, Sector 23). For detail of the bow, see figure 8b

Let us return to the archers' graves of the oldest sectors.[28] Their equipment consists of:

- One or two bows, single or double-curved (Figures 8a and 8b). It seems to us that not too much should be made of this distinction, because the double curvature can be achieved by deformation. It does not necessarily suggest a composite bow, attested in Egypt later and supposedly introduced by the Hyksos.[29] The bow with a double curvature does not necessarily imply that it is composite, which is a far more sophisticated manufacturing technique, since it is not attested in Africa at this time. On the other hand, ethnographic material describes simple techniques to obtain a strong incurvation of the extremities of the bow, which consist in bending the wood by means of ligaments and forms.[30] It is probably the use of similar techniques which explain the well-attested differences in the Nubian bows. The most common dimension is 120 cm, but two larger bows, about 150 cm long, have been found. In a child's tomb, a small model, about 90 cm long, was discovered. The remains of bow-strings have often been found in situ alongside the bow. In some instances, the extent of the bow's curvature leads one to believe that it was strung when placed in the tomb. The bow is always placed to the north of the body, close to the hands. It is occasionally decorated with a plume of ostrich feathers at its extremity (Figure 9). It has not been possible to identify the species of wood used to manufacture the bows since these had been too severely damaged by termites.



Figure 8b. Detail of a double bend bow whose length is over 1,5 m (Kerma ancien II, Sector 23).

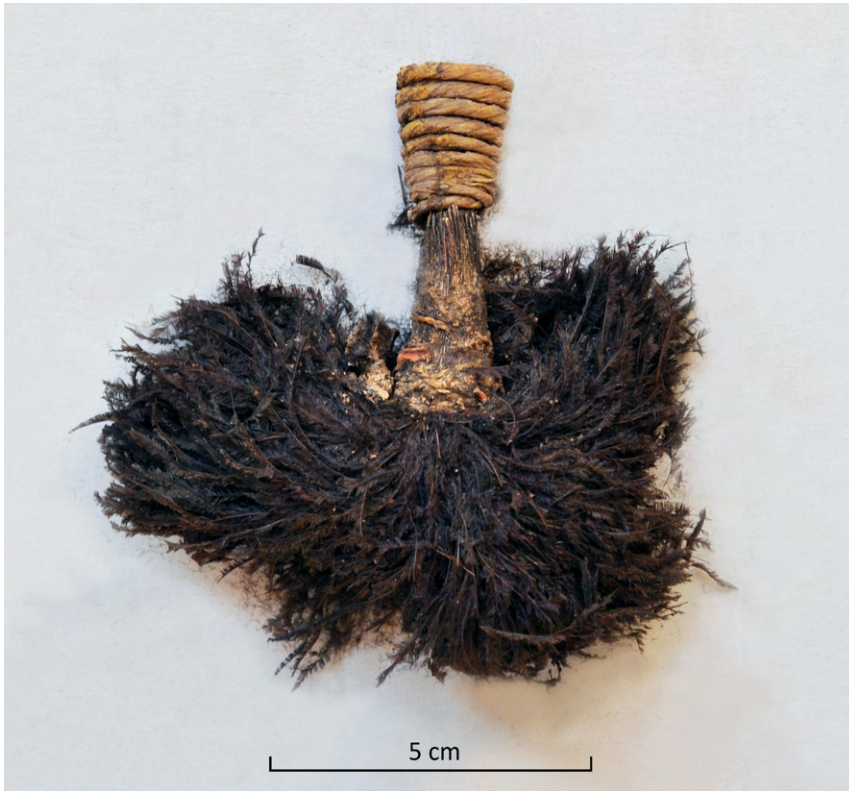


Figure 9. Plume of ostrich feathers with a string, which was rolled up at the extremity of the bow (Kerma ancien II, Sector 23).

- Reed arrows with a tail and several embedded microliths, similar to the arrows of Naga-ed-Der in Egypt, dated to the 6th to 12th Dynasty, i.e., a period contemporaneous with Middle Kerma.[31] The arrowheads are lunates made of quartz, carnelian, or sometimes flint (Figure 10). The few surviving examples correspond to the A3 type of fitting defined by Clark et al.[32] with one lunate placed at the tip of the arrow and the other two at the sides. The arrows would have been inserted in a quiver, but in at least one instance they were placed directly in the archer's left hand.

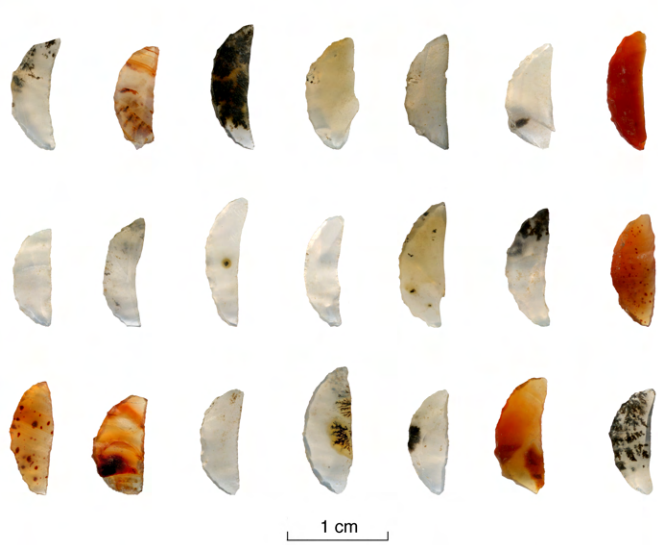


Figure 10. Middle Kerma quartz and carnelian lunates used as arrowheads (Kerma moyen V, Sector 24).

- A goat-skin leather quiver. Its presence in the tombs is not systematic, but we have been able to identify seven more or less complete ones. They are sewn, some wide and rather short, while others are more slender, like the example in Figure 11.



Figure 11. Leather quiver 72 cm long with braided leather strap attachment (Kerma moyen I, Sector 31).

- A leather archer's wrist-guard of a specific model that seems to be typical of the Kerma tradition (Figure 12). These have been found in a few cases *in situ*, on the left wrist of the deceased (Figure 13), they are always of the same design, with the protective part provided with two concave sides and a pointed end. Some similar specimens are known from Egypt in the mass grave of soldiers found at Deir el-Bahari of the 12th Dynasty.[33] This type of wrist-guard is unusual in Egypt

and some authors considered it to have come from the north, but it probably belongs to Nubian archers originally attached to the Kerma culture.[34]



Figure 12. Leather archer's wrist-guard (Kerma moyen I, Sector 8).



Figure 13. Intact grave of an 18 years old archer. He wore a necklace with a Red Sea shell pendant, an ostrich feather fan, an archer's wrist-guard on his left wrist, and a sheepskin loincloth covering his hips and legs. He held a few arrows in his hands and a bow was placed beside him, of which only a few traces were left by termites. At his feet, a sacrificial ram is tied with a rope that goes around the archer's waist several times (Kerma moyen I, Sector 31).



Figure 14. Detail of a Nubian archer depicted on a fresco from the Temple of Amun at Beit El-Wali that describes the expedition of Rameses II to Nubia (New Kingdom).

These observations will be the subject of more detailed descriptions in the future, especially the numerous leather objects, which are the subject of a recently started PhD thesis.[35] Of all the tombs excavated, only two adult tombs were almost (Figure 1) or completely intact (Figure 13). Enriched by the observations made on the other male tombs, it is possible to reconstruct the appearance of these archers, who resemble quite closely the representations made by the Egyptians, notably those on the temple of Amun at Beit El-Wali, which describe the expedition of Rameses II in Nubia (Figure 14). Although later than the tombs where we made our observations, the white earrings of the men depicted in these frescoes are the same as those that first appear in the *Kerma ancien II* phase and continue thereafter. In fact, these earrings obtained from a Nile shell were found only in male tombs (Figure 15).

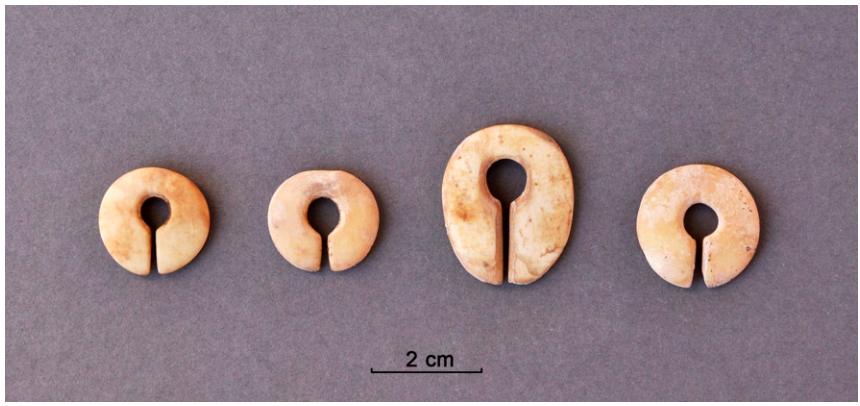


Figure 15. Shell earrings from male graves (Kerma ancien II, Sector 23). Their diameter is between 2 and 3 cm.

Similarly, the men of Kerma wear a sheep-skin loincloth that still has its wool, which can be dark brown, beige, or quite frequently bicoloured, with alternating black and beige spots (Figure 16).



Figure 16. Sheep-skin loincloth that still has its wool (Kerma ancien I, Sector 27). The bicoloured fur is composed of black and beige spots.

This bicoloured fur, which bears witness to a selection process resulting from advanced domestication,[36] could be a form of imitation of the coat of leopards

such as those found on Egyptian frescoes. However, we never found a leopard-skin loincloth during our excavations in the Eastern Cemetery. Moreover, we cannot exclude that some archers were naked and did not wear a loincloth, as suggested by an engraving from Wadi Sabu at the 3rd cataract where a series of six archers wearing a feather on their head, are rendered in a figurative style very close to that observed at Kerma (Figure 17);[37] among this group, only one archer is wearing a loincloth, while the others are naked. Finally, we did not have occasion to observe the presence of a feather belonging to the headdress of the buried, but Bonnet points out the trace of a headband in the tomb of a mummified archer (Figure 1) that could have served to attach a feather.[38]



Figure 17. Scene representing archers on a rock engraving at the 3rd cataract (Wadi Es-Sabu, 3rd or 2nd millennium BC, height of archers about 15 cm). One of them wears a loin-cloth and all have a head dress made of an ostrich feather, a typical Nubian adornment frequently used by the Egyptians when representing their southern neighbours.

4. Evolution of Funeral Rites and the Emergence of a State

At Kerma men and boys of all ages are systematically buried with their archers' equipment from about 2300 BC onwards and this continues for several centuries, probably until the end of Middle Kerma about 1750 BC. Clearly, there is a symbolic dimension to this display, underscored by the fact that even children as young as 1,5 years old are equipped with bows. Moreover, researchers have repeatedly pointed out that there are numerous instances of evidence for violence in the Classic Kerma part of the cemetery,[39] and the anthropologist working on the skeletons of Early Kerma has also noted the abundance of such evidence, especially on young men.[40] It must therefore be admitted that the presence of archers cannot only be symbolic and that it also reflects the status of these warriors who were perhaps trained in the handling of the bow from a very young age. As reported by the Egyptians, this weapon was of major importance in Nubia and at the time of Early Kerma, the hundreds of excavated tombs did not reveal many other kinds of weapons. Mace heads are exceptional in this period and we found only one in 409 excavated tombs. Spears must have been made of wood or composite material as we found a long point manufactured from a mammal long bone that could have been the apex of a spear. As for copper alloy daggers, they only appear at the end of Early Kerma and become more numerous during Middle Kerma, becoming more elongated, to finally be replaced by the daggers of Classic Kerma. We can also point out the wooden throwing sticks or the several bronze spearheads, but the aim is not to draw up a complete inventory of weapons, an exercise that has already been done for weapons in this necropolis.[41]

If we have already underlined that it is from the *Kerma ancien II* phase (2300-2150 BC) that the distinctions between the tombs begin to be marked, this tendency will be reinforced thereafter to culminate with the appearance of the first royal tombs of the *Kerma moyen I* phase (2050-1950 BC). These tombs, unfortunately looted, are notable for their size (7 to 10 m in diameter for the pit, 12 to 15 m for the tumulus), for the hundreds or even thousands of bucrania deposited to the south of the tumulus, but also for the quantity of fine ceramics laid out inside the pit and around the tumulus. Other criteria, such as the animal and human

sacrifices – which some prefer to call accompanying deaths – also underline the status of the individuals insofar as their number is proportional to the dimensions of the grave. Finally, the quantity of Egyptian ceramics gives an idea of the intensity of exchanges (Figure 18).

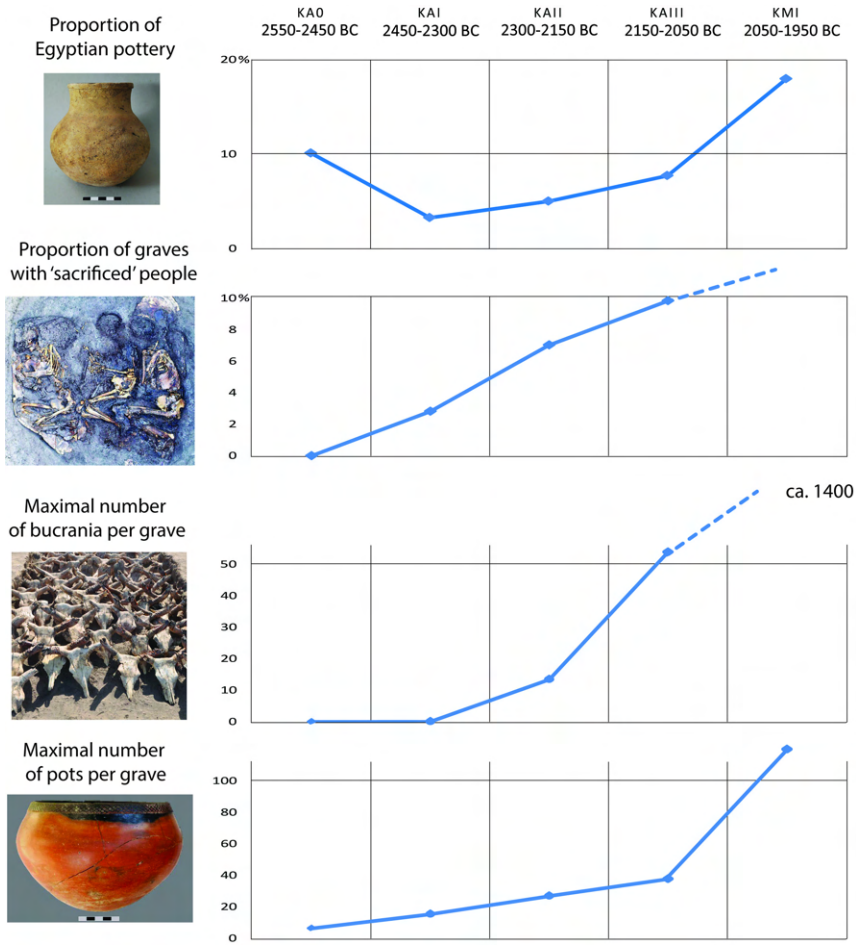


Figure 18. Competitive lavish funerals are evidenced by the increase of deposits of exotics goods in and next to the grave, 'sacrificed people', bucrania, and elaborate funerary pots. The proportions were calculated on the basis of 409 graves excavated between 2008 and 2018 (Honegger 2018b).

During the first phase of the Eastern Cemetery, exchanges with Egypt are already significant and it is possible that the presence of several C-Group features is evidence of important contacts between Upper and Lower Nubia.[42] During the

next phase exchanges decline, a sign of a certain loss of Egyptian control over Lower Nubia as has already been pointed out.[43] It is during the *Kerma ancien II* phase (2300-2150 BC) that imports increase again. It is also from this time onwards that the archers' tombs appear, that the distinctions between the tombs start to be significant, and that wealth becomes more important, notably through the presence of Egyptian copper alloy mirrors, which tend to attract the interest of looters.

It is precisely during this phase that Egyptian sources mention the famous expeditions of Harkhuf,[44] a high dignitary from Aswan. His tomb, covered with inscriptions, relates the story of his three journeys to Nubia commissioned by the pharaohs Merenre I and Pepi II around 2250 BC. These were obviously expeditions aimed at reopening trade routes by making contact and trading with the Nubian populations located south of the 2nd cataract[45]. The narrative tells us that several populations or tribes populate Nubia and do not necessarily maintain peaceful relations between them[46]. These groups are already hierarchical with dominant personalities capable of gathering armed men in quantity, goods, and donkeys by the dozen, to accompany Harkhuf and his escort. It is likely that Kerma then developed a coercive policy to ensure the control of the lucrative trade with the Egyptians in an atmosphere of conflicts between tribes or lineages. The valorisation of the role of warriors in funeral rites could be a consequence of this.

From this point onwards, indications of a more marked social stratification rapidly increase alongside a growth of imports, human sacrifices, bucrania in front of the largest tombs, as well as red fine ware with black rims, whose decorations multiply (Figure 18). One can imagine a competition between dominant lineages, as we have suggested in an analysis of the significance of fine ceramics and their decorations[47]. This competition would have lead to the emergence of a dominant lineage that concentrated wealth and showed it in funeral rites, as exemplified by the first royal tombs, which appear around 2000 BC (Figure 19). It is from this period onwards that the necropolis will undergo a spectacular development, much more important demographically than natural population growth could allow. Kerma must therefore have been the centre of the kingdom from this period onwards and attracted populations from its kingdom to settle in the region.



Figure 19. View of the first Kerma royal tomb (Kerma moyen I, 2050-1950 BC). One can see the edge of the burial tumulus made of earth and stones, the post holes of a wooden architectural structure inside the burial pit and more than 1400 bucrania to the south of the tomb. The diameter of the burial pit is about 10 metres.

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Endnotes

1. Bonnet, “Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan),” 1982, pp. 15-9; 1984, p. 17; 1986, p. 12; 1995, p. 44. ↩

2. Bonnet, “Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan),” 1982, pp. 15-9. ↩

3. Kerma is the name of the village next to the city of Kerma and its eastern cemetery. It gave its name to the culture of Kerma, defined by its ceramics and its funeral rites (see Gratien, *Les cultures Kerma. Essai de classification*). This culture is also referred to as the Kingdom of Kerma. In the context of anthropological theories on the evolution of societies, a kingdom can be equated with a state (see Testart, *Éléments de classification des sociétés*). It can also be considered as a secondary state, insofar as it seems to emerge as a result of its contacts with the Egyptian state, which originated more than five centuries before (Smith, “Nubia and Egypt: Interaction, acculturation, and secondary state formation from the third to first millennium BC”). ↩

4. Hafsaas-Tsakos, “Edges of bronze and expressions of masculinity: the emergence of a warrior class at Kerma in Sudan,” pp. 79-91; Manzo, “Weapons, ideology and identity at Kerma (Upper Nubia, 2500-1500 BC),” pp. 3-29. ↩

5. Judd, “Ancient Injury Recidivism: An Example from the Kerma Period of Ancient Nubia,” pp. 89-102. ↩

6. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma. Harvard African Studies 5-6*. ↩

7. This project was supported by the Swiss National Fund (SNF 100011_163021/1), the State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation of the Swiss Confederation, the Kerma Foundation, and the University of Neuchâtel (Switzerland). We also thank Dr Abdelrahman Ali, director of the National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums of Sudan (NCAM) for his support. ↩

8. Honegger, “La plus ancienne tombe royale de Kerma en Nubie,” pp. 189-94; Honegger, “New Data on the Origins of Kerma,” pp. 21-4. ↩

9. Honegger, “New Data on the Origins of Kerma,” pp. 25-8. ↩

10. Bonnet and Honegger, “The Eastern Cemetery of Kerma,” pp. 216-8. ↩

11. Honegger, “La plus ancienne tombe royale de Kerma en Nubie,” pp. 194-7. See also the end of this paper and figure 15. ↩

12. Hafsaas-Tsakos, “Edges of bronze and expressions of masculinity: the emergence of a warrior class at Kerma in Sudan,” pp. 79-91. ↩

13. Mud brick chapels were built in connection with the most important and largest graves, Bonnet, *Edifices et rites funéraires à Kerma*. ↩

14. Kendall, *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush 2500-1500 B.C. The Archaeological Discovery of an Ancient Nubian Empire*. ↩

15. See Minor, The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period and Walsh, “Techniques for Egyptian Eyes: Diplomacy and the Transmission of Cosmetic Practices between Egypt and Kerma.” ↩

16. Bonnet and Honegger, “The Eastern Cemetery of Kerma,” pp. 223-4. ↩

17. Sector 23 contained 122 individuals of which 90 were discovered by our team. Of these 90 individuals, 49 were mature (25 female and 20 male), 37 immature and 4 undetermined. The total number of archers' graves was 24, of which 15 were adult males, 3 were children under 10 years of age, 5 were between 10 and 19 years of age, and one grave did not yield enough human remains to determine age and sex. In the Sector 29 (*Kerma ancien III*), 18 archers were identified on a total of 72 individuals. In the Sector 31 (*Kerma moyen I*), 8 archers were identified on a total of 20 individuals. The bio-anthropological data are provided by Agathe Chen, in charge of the study of the skeletons of the Eastern Cemetery. ↩

18. Dunham, *Excavations at Kerma. Part VI*. ↩

19. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*. ↩

20. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*. ↩

21. Dunham, *Excavations at Kerma. Part VI*. ↩

22. Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Edges of bronze and expressions of masculinity: the emergence of a warrior class at Kerma in Sudan," pp. 79-91. ↩

23. Bonnet, "Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan)," 1982, p. 15-9. ↩

24. They were excavated in January 1996 but remain unpublished. ↩

25. Bonnet, "Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan)", 1986, p. 12; 1995, p. 44. ↩

26. Honegger, "Lunate Microliths in the Holocene Industries of Nubia: Multifunctional Tools, Sickle Blades or Weapon Elements?," pp. 169-71. ↩

27. The number of archers for Middle Kerma may seem low. However, it should be remembered that these tombs are often much more plundered than those of Early Kerma, and that we did not have the opportunity to excavate tombs later than Kerma moyen I during our programme conducted between 1998 and 2008. ↩

28. Honegger and Fallet, "Archers Tombs of the Kerma ancien," pp. 16-30. ↩

29. Le Quellec, "Arcs et archers sahariens: les représentations d'archers dans l'art rupestre du Sahara central," p. 62; Le Quellec, "Arcs et bracelets d'archers au Sahara et en Égypte, avec une nouvelle proposition de lecture des 'nasses' sahariennes," pp. 208-11. ↩

30. Ibid. ↩

31. Honegger, "Lunate Microliths in the Holocene Industries of Nubia: Multifunctional Tools, Sickle Blades or Weapon Elements?," pp. 169-71. ↩

32. Clark *et al*, "Interpretations of prehistoric technology from ancient Egyptian and other sources, part 1 : ancient Egyptian bows and arrows and their relevance for prehistory," p. 362 and fig. 9. ↩

33. The significance of this find of 59 soldiers is still debated and authors have sought to link it to one of the many conflicts during the 12th Dynasty, Winlock, *Slain Soldiers*. For a discussion on the interpretations of this find, see Vogel, "Fallen Heroes?: Winlock's 'Slain Soldiers' Reconsidered." ↩

34. Müller describes 5 wrist-guards, all made of leather, similar in shape to those of Kerma. He also presents another similar example from Gebelin. *Der 'Armreif' des Konigs Ahmose und der Handgelenkschutz des Bogenschützen im alten Ägypten und Vorderasien*, pp. 16-7 and pl. V. ↩

35. Théophile Burnat, "Manufacture et usages du cuir dans le royaume de Kerma (Soudan, IIIe et IIe millénaires av. n. è.)," Université de Neuchâtel. ↩

36. Louis Chaix, pers. comm. ↩

37. Honegger and Fallet, "Archers Tombs of the Kerma ancien," p. 20. ↩

38. Bonnet, "Les fouilles archéologiques de Kerma (Soudan)," 1982, p. 15. ↩

39. Cf. Judd, "Ancient Injury Recidivism: An Example from the Kerma Period of Ancient Nubia," pp. 89-102. ↩

40. Agathe Chen, pers. comm. ↩

41. Manzo, "Weapons, ideology and identity at Kerma (Upper Nubia, 2500-1500 BC)," pp. 3-29. ↩

42. Honegger, "The Eastern Cemetery of Kerma and its first Royal Grave," pp. 6-19; Honegger, "La plus ancienne tombe royale de Kerma en Nubie," pp. 185-98. ↩

43. Török, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 53-73. ↩

44. There is still some debate about the country of destination of these expeditions, called *Iam* by the Egyptians. Kerma is one of these possibilities, and one of the only ones that provides early evidence of contact with the Egyptians in Upper Nubia. Other scholars have proposed the Western Nubian Desert or a region further south, towards Kordofan and Darfur. For a summary and discussion of these different hypotheses, see Obsomer, "Les expéditions d'Herkhouf (VIe dynastie) et la localisation de Iam", pp. 39-52. ↩

45. Lacovara, “The Stone Vase Deposit at Kerma,” pp. 118-28. ↩

46. Török, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 69-70. ↩

47. Honegger, “Style and Identity Symbols: an Attempt to Define the Social Meaning of the Kerma Funerary Fineware and Its Decorations”, forthcoming. ↩

article/ Gender as Frame of War in Ancient Nubia

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abstract/ *Gender research in Sudan archaeology and Meroitic studies is a nascent field. Studies of gender are especially lacking in investigations concerning war and violence, which are usually written from an androcentric perspective, and often focus solely on soldiers, army, weaponry, and images of battles and enemies. The experiences of non-combatants in the context of war in ancient Nubia are rarely considered; nor is the gender background of war. This paper deals with gender structure in the lists of spoils of war, women and children as prisoners of war, feminization of enemies in royal texts, participation of royal women in war, and depictions of royal women smiting enemies. In gender as a frame of war, Kushite kings were represented as masculine and their enemies as feminine. This binary opposition has also been observed in ancient Egyptian and Neo-Assyrian sources, and was clearly a shared vocabulary of the great powers of the second and first millennium BCE. Such a frame of war was based on a gender disposition of men as active and strong, and women as passive and weak. It "naturalized" Kushite domination over their enemies just as it "naturalized" male domination in Kush. However, the participation of Meroitic queens in conflicts and their depictions smiting enemies shows how the visual vocabulary of violence can be utilized even by some women, in their own expressions of power.*

keywords/ ancient Nubia, war, violence, gender, women, children

1. Introduction

Gender studies in archaeology have moved a long way from the initial criticism of androcentrism (criticism of androcentric and heteronormative interpretations of the past, giving voices to ancient women, recognizing different genders behind the archaeological record), to viewing gender as a system or a result of performative practices.[1] These developments in gender archaeology are not necessarily the same in all archaeological communities. In studies of ancient Sudan, gender studies have been introduced first through research of prehistoric and protohistoric societies[2] and then through focus on Kushite royal women and the concept of queenship.[3] The topic has been broadened by analyzing gender crossed with other aspects of identity, such as age, resulting in an intersectional understanding of identity in ancient Sudan.[4] The focus in studies of ancient Sudan still seems to be largely on men (implicitly or explicitly), although recently, overviews on women, including non-royal women, have been published.[5] Only few authors focused on masculinity.[6] However, studies of gender are still far from being fully acknowledged in research on ancient Sudan. This is demonstrated by the lack of an entry on gender in even the most recent handbooks.[7]

In recent years, gender archaeologies are tackling a wide variety of different problems, offering equally varied approaches.[8] Two related topics which have lately attracted the attention of several scholars are gendered violence and gender as a form of symbolic violence.[9] Whereas scholars of the first search for evidence of quite specific gender patterns behind violent acts, scholars of the second argue that gender itself is a form of violence, because gender brings different people into asymmetrical relations of power in different domains. The idea that gender can be a form of symbolic violence is inherited from sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and philosopher Slavoj Žižek and has been only recently applied to archaeology.[10] These discussions remind us that it is fruitful to think about gender from the point of view of violence, and to think about violence from the point of view of gender.

War is typically a sphere of past social action about which archaeologists and historians usually write from a male perspective and with the sole focus on men. The participation of women and their experiences are rarely addressed.[11] War

and violence in ancient Sudan are fields still largely dominated by male authors.[12] This androcentric perspective rarely takes into account gender as a social category and tends to implicitly focus only on combatant men. As a result, we are left with numerous valuable contributions on Kushite representations of war, enemies, weaponry etc. However, a gender perspective is lacking in almost all of them. This does not mean that the effort to find women in such contexts or to relate these contexts to women is that which is lacking, although this is true too. What is missing, is a perspective on both masculinity and femininity as socio-culturally determined categories coming from a specific gender system. Until recently, this was also the case in Egyptology. However, some recent studies focusing on war in ancient Egypt have shown the potential of implementing ideas and concepts coming from gender studies.[13] One of these concepts is the 'frames of war'. The concept of the frames of war was developed by American philosopher Judith Butler, who demonstrated the way some political forces frame violence in modern media. Frames of war are operations of power which seek to contain, convey, and determine what is seen and what is real.[14] They are the ways of selectively carving up experience as essential to the conduct of war.[15] Butler argues that, by regulating perspective in addition to content, state authorities are clearly interested in controlling the visual modes of participation in war.[16] The study by Butler on frames of war is essential for our understanding of how modern media creates the experience of war, whether and where they find a place for non-combatants, and how victory and defeat are presented. In this process, different genders are represented as differently positioned, depending on other identity categories such as age or status in an intersectional manner. According to Butler, we should undertake "a critique of the schemes by which state violence justifies itself".[17]

In this paper, I will argue that gender was a frame of war that was also observable in the textual and visual media of ancient Sudan during the Napatan and Meroitic periods. I will first focus on non-combatants in texts, by analysing the attestations of prisoners of war of differing ages and genders. The lists of spoils of war demonstrate a structure based on a hierarchy based on status, age, and gender intersectionality. Intersectionality is one of the central tenets of black feminist theory. It is based on the fact that oppression is not monocausal, as for example in the USA it is not based either on race or on gender. Rather, an intersection of race and gender makes some individuals more oppressed or oppressed in a different way than others.[18] This analysis of the attestations of

non-combatants is followed by an analysis of a currently unique representation of women and children as prisoners of war found on the reliefs of Meroitic temple M250 in Meroe. After this, I turn to the feminization of enemies in Napatan and Merotic texts in order to demonstrate how gender was used to structure hierarchy and to position the Kushite king as masculine and his enemies as feminine. I argue that, in this way, gender framed both relations in war and hierarchies within the society of ancient Sudan. I also discuss evidence for the participation of Kushite royal women in war and stress that the sources at our disposal are providing us with an outsider (Graeco-Roman) perspective rather than a local perspective. Finally, I discuss the specifics of scenes in which Meroitic royal women are smiting enemies by comparing these scenes to others from ancient Egypt. I argue that the observed differences relate to a different understanding of the relation between kingship and queenship in these two societies.

2. Men, Women and Children as Prisoners of War

2.1. Textual Evidence

The taking of prisoners of war is a well-attested ancient war practice.[19] Enemies of different gender, age, and status were also imprisoned during war in ancient Nubia. Although the practice surely must have been older, the first textual attestations come from the reign of Taharqa (690-664 BCE), and continue until the Meroitic period. The mentioning of men, women, and children as prisoners of war is mostly part of the lists of spoils of war. Since there is no space in this paper to thoroughly analyze these lists and present them in a systematic manner, I will concentrate only on prisoners of war, and especially on women and children, since they are often entirely neglected.[20]

The Kawa III stela of Taharqa (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1707, Columns 22-23) informs us that the king provided the temple of Amun with male and female servants, and the children of the rulers (*ḥḳ3.w*) of Tjehenu (Libyans).[21] The Kawa VI (Khartoum SNM 2679, line 20-21) stela informs us that the temple of Amun in Kawa was filled with, among other others, female servants, wives of the rulers of Lower Egypt (*T3-mḥw*), and the children of the rulers of every foreign land.[22] A granite stela from Karnak (line 3), attributed to Taharqa by Donald B. Redford, also mentions children of rulers, and later (lines

11-13) refers to the settling of a population with its cattle in villages. This possibly refers to the settlement of the prisoners of war among which were the above-mentioned children.[23] A more securely-dated example of men and women (total: 544), seemingly presented as spoils of war during the reign of Taharqa, and enumerated according to ethnonyms or toponyms, can be found in his long inscription from Sanam.[24]

On the Enthronement stela of Anlamani (late 7th century BCE) from Kawa (Kawa VIII, lines 19-20, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 1709), it is stated that his soldiers gained control of all the women, children, small cattle and property in the land Bulahau (*b-w-r3-h-3-y-w*) and that the king appointed the captives as male and female servants of the gods.[25] This indicates that Anlamani, like Taharqa, appointed at least some prisoners of war to the temples.[26]

In the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864, lines 68-70) from his 35th regnal year in the early 4th century BCE, the king states that he gave booty (*ḥ3ḳ*) to Amun of Napata, 50 men, 50 women, together making 100.[27] The text (line 87-88) further states that the king took, among others, male and female servants in the land of Metete.[28] Likewise, in the Annals of Nastasen (Stela Berlin ÄMP 2268, lines 44-46), from his 8th regnal year in the last third of the 4th century BCE, the king states that he gave a total of 110 men and women to Amun of Napata.[29] As noted by Jeremy Pope, there is no reason to impose here an artificial distinction between a donation text and a record of war.[30] In fact, there is also no such division in ancient Egyptian records of war and the Kushite records of war bear many similarities to those of ancient Egypt, especially when lists of spoils of war are concerned. Nastasen also claims (lines 46-49) that he captured Ayonku, the ruler connected to the rebels and that he took all the women, all the cattle, and much gold. The list mentions 2,236 women.[31] Compared to the number of men and women given to the temple of Amun at Napata, this is a significantly larger number, which indicates that a majority of the prisoners actually did not end up as property of the temple. We can only speculate that they were distributed elsewhere, possibly even among the soldiers.[32] Nastasen also seized the ruler Luboden and all the women in his possession (line 51).[33] He also seized Abso, the ruler of Mahae, and all their women (line 53).[34] Nastasen went against the rebellious land of Makhsherkharta and seized the ruler, as well as all of that by which the ruler sustained people, and all the women (line 55).[35] Finally, Nastasen seized Tamakheyta, the ruler of the rebellious land Sarasarat, and caused the plundering of all their women (line 58).[36]

Common to all these Napatan and Meroitic texts written in Egyptian is the order in which different prisoners of war are listed, which is always the same. The enemy ruler is listed first, followed by the enemy men, women and children. No difference is made between male and female children. This demonstrates an intersectional hierarchy based on status, gender, and age. The enemy ruler was the most valued, then came enemy men, women and children, in that same order. An interesting question is if this intersectional hierarchy mirrors that of ancient Sudanese society or if it was only imposed on its enemies. That male and female prisoners of war feature together with children, including even those of foreign rulers donated to temples, comes as no surprise. The individual temples of Amun in Kush also functioned as centres of territorial government and redistribution.[37] Some lines in the Annals of Nastasen refer to imprisoned women in a rhetorical manner, stating rather generally that all women of the enemy were taken, instead of providing a number like in earlier sources.

Currently, the textual evidence written in Merotic script is very scarce, and our understanding of the language is not on a level which allows for a detailed reading for most preserved texts. Nevertheless, several experts in Meroitic language and script have recognized the mentioning of prisoners of war in the Hamadab Stela of Amanirenas and Akinidad (British Museum 1650) from the late 1st century BCE.[38] According to the new reading of Claude Rilly, the second (small) Hamadab stela (REM 1039) mentions Akinidad and the sites where the Roman prefect Petronius fought against the Meroites, namely Aswan (Meroitic "Sewane"), Qasr Ibrim (Meroitic "Pedeme"), and Napata (Meroitic "Npte"). According to Rilly, the stela also mentions the beginning of the war in its 3rd and 4th lines: "the Tmey have enslaved all the men, all the women, all the girls and all the boys".[39] Interestingly, if Rilly´s reading is correct, this would mean that when Meroitic folk were taken as prisoners by enemies, a gender differentiation was made among children and/or adolescents. The following discussion will focus on the possible iconographic evidence of the conflict between Meroe and Rome.

2.2. Iconographic Evidence

Unlike in ancient Egypt, ancient Nubian iconographic evidence for the taking of prisoners of war is rather scarce when the bound prisoner motif is excluded from

the corpus. Even less attested are depictions of women and children being imprisoned.

One rare instance of such a depiction is found in temple M250, located about 1km to the east-southeast of the centre of the city of Meroe. John Garstang first investigated the temple in 1910-1911 together with Archibald H. Sayce. The temple M250 was investigated further by Friedrich Hinkel from 1984 to 1985. He dated it to the late 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE because of the royal cartouches of Akinidad found on fallen blocks of the cella's north wall.[40] The earliest temple on the site, which is northwest of M250, had probably already been built in Aspelta's reign (the beginning of the 6th century BCE) in the form of a cella on top of a podium.[41] According to László Török, the temple was dedicated in its later form to the cult of Re or, more precisely, to the unification of Amun with Re.[42] Hinkel interpreted it more carefully as a temple of Amun.[43]

So far, the battle reliefs of M250 were analyzed by several authors. It is Hinkel who published the temple and gave the most detailed description and analysis of the relief blocks to date.[44] According to Török, the decoration of the façades had a "historically" formulated triumphal aspect.[45] Before the publication of the temple by Hinkel, Steffen Wenig assigned them to the reign of Aspelta because his stela was found on the site. Wenig related the reliefs to the ones from the B500 temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal, not knowing at that time that they predate M250.[46] Inge Hofmann analyzed the war reliefs in detail regarding the weapons and equipment worn by the Meroites and emphasized that the weapons they use are post-Napatan. Based on the kilts and hair feathers worn by some of the enemies of Meroites in these scenes, she concluded that they are southerners, but that they cannot be associated with any specific Sudanese community.[47] This type of enemy wearing a kilt and feathers is also found as a bound prisoner on the pylon of the tomb chapel of Begrawiya North 6 (the tomb of Amanishakheto).[48] It is also depicted on the east wall painting from the small temple M292, better known because of the head of a statue of Augustus, which was buried in front of its entrance.[49] According to Florian Wöß, this type of enemy can be classified as an Inner African Type. It is most numerous among Meroitic depictions of enemies and Wöß argues that it could have therefore represented a real threat to the Meroites.[50] This conclusion resonates well with the interpretation of the Meroitic kingdom as having a heartland in the Nile Valley, at Keraba, and perhaps also the southland. The Meroitic kingdom was surrounded by various neighbouring communities that could have posed a real

threat and were only occasionally under Kushite control.[51] As we have already seen, numerous texts refer to conflicts with these communities outside the realm of the Kushite kingdom.

Hinkel has already concluded that the north wall of M250 depicts women and children taken by the Meroites in their raid of the First Cataract, as reported by Strabo in *Geography* (17. I. 54),[52] and that the south wall depicts a conflict with some population that the Meroites encountered in Lower Nubia.[53] However, if Meroe is understood as the centre of the axis, then the enemies depicted on the southern wall are unlikely to depict Lower Nubians. We know that during the last decades of the 1st century BCE Lower Nubia was not hostile to Meroe, but on the contrary, that it rebelled against Rome. Gaius Cornelius Gallus reports in his trilingual stela from Philae, erected in 29 BCE, that he placed a local tyrant to govern Triakontaschoinos (Lower Nubia), which became part of the province of Egypt and established a personal patron/client relationship with the king of Meroe.[54] This arrangement obliged inhabitants of Triakontaschoinos to pay taxes.[55] Roman emperor Augustus then ordered Lucius Aelius Gallus, the second prefect of Egypt, to prepare a military expedition against province Arabia Felix. Aelius Gallus regrouped the forces stationed in Egypt and took c. 8000 of the 16800 men in three legions and 5500 of the auxiliary forces. The expedition was carried out in 26-25 BCE and ended with Roman defeat. The inhabitants of Triakontaschoinos received the news of Aelius Gallus' failure in Arabia and revolted in the summer of 25 BCE. The aim of the revolt was to end the previously established status of Triakontaschoinos and the obligation of paying tax to Rome. Concurrent with this revolt, there were local rebellions against the pressure of taxation in Upper Egypt.[56] The rebels might also have received help from the king of Meroe. Meroe probably tried to use the opportunity presented by the revolt in Triakontaschoinos and Upper Egypt to establish the northern frontier in the region of the First Cataract.[57] Therefore, it is unlikely that the southern enemy depicted on the walls of temple M250 represents Lower Nubians. They were not hostile toward Meroe at the time before the building of the temple M250 under Akinidad. On the contrary, they were its allies in war with Rome.

Regarding the representations of women and children as prisoners of war in temple M250, Török found parallels in New Kingdom Egyptian (ca. 1550-1070 BCE) reliefs,[58] whereas Hinkel found parallels both in New Kingdom Egyptian and Neo-Assyrian reliefs (ca. 911-609 BCE).[59] One must, however, stress that in the case of the New Kingdom Egyptian reliefs, the parallels are both thematic and

iconographic, whereas in the case of Neo-Assyrian reliefs, the parallels are strictly general and thematic (e.g. imprisonment). In this paper, I will focus more closely on the thematic and iconographic parallels from New Kingdom Egypt and Nubia, considering the fact that general thematic parallels (e.g. imprisonment) are found in many cultures and are not particularly helpful in better understanding the decorative program of M250.

Women and children are found both on the south and the north wall of the temple M250. The blocks with representations of women and children are part of the preserved *in situ* lowest register of the north wall. Its preserved height is ca. 110cm above the crepidoma.[60] Its register depicts an east-west oriented procession of armed men, horse riders, and chariots who join a battle. After the battle scene, the same register continues with the procession of armed men, with nude women and children in front of them (Figure 1).

The women and children are preceded by men with oval shields and cattle in front of them, after which comes one more group of nude women and children. They are approached by oppositely-oriented men, probably in a battle. After them, the register continues in an east-west orientation towards a columned building, which is presumably a representation of a temple.[61] The register continues behind this columned building and there is a break here, after which comes poorly preserved representations of round huts and trees.[62] Only the lower parts of the figures of women and children are preserved on the north wall, so it is hard to say more about them. However, the women and children seem to be nude. The gender of the children cannot be identified because the representations were later damaged in the genital area. There are two groups and in between them there are cattle. The groups are flanked with men who lead them forward.



Figure 1. Relief blocks from the north wall of M250 in the sequence east-west (redrawn after Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*: 140-141, Abb. 39, 40, 41, 42).

The blocks of the southern wall, with representations of women and children, are not found *in situ*, but rather in the vicinity of the south wall. Some of them can be joined and some of these joints present evidence for at least two registers. In one case, the upper register of the two depicts both women and children as prisoners of war, while the lower register depicts ship-fragments 198, 322, 323, 319, and 190.[63] The figures in the two registers are differently oriented. Additionally, one more boat representation with a head of a ram possibly indicates a relation to Amun (fragments 113 and 106).[64] It is oriented in the same direction as the previous boat. On the blocks of the south wall, both men and women are depicted as prisoners of war next to children (Figure 2).

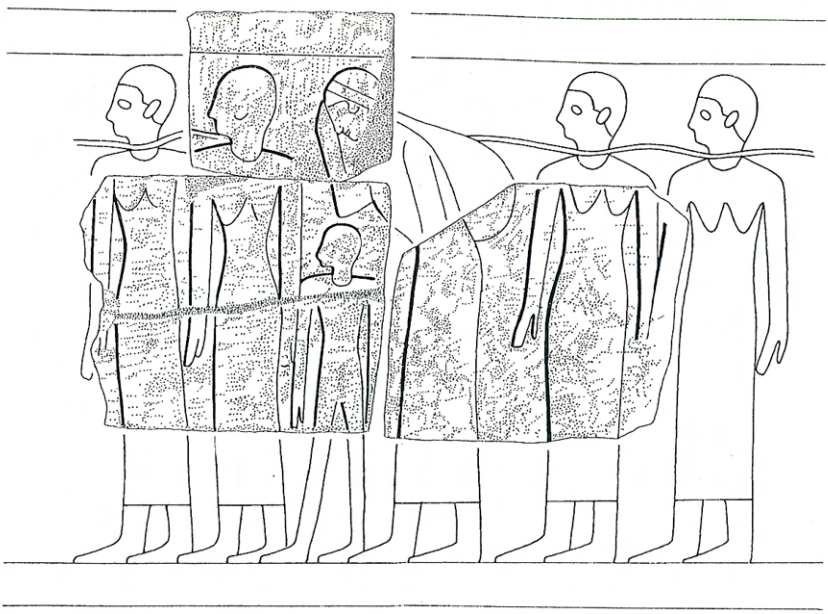


Figure 2. Relief blocks (fragments 943+185+180 and 222) of the south wall of M250 with fragmented depictions of imprisoned women and children, line drawing (redrawn after Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 2b*: C11).

Unlike the women from the north wall, the women from the south wall are half-dressed. The breasts depicted on some of them (fragments 188, 214, 136, 943, 185, 222, 199, 847, 849, 811) indicate their sex, while the sex of some of the children figures is depicted via smaller breasts (fragment 236). Some of the women from the south wall are carrying baskets with children on their backs, held with the help of a tumpline (fragment 943, 849). In New Kingdom Egyptian iconography, this is a characteristic of Nubian women when depicted with children in tribute scenes.[65] Women are depicted with children either next to them, held in their arms, raised high in the air (fragments 210, 849), or in between them (fragments 185, 189, 230, 175). Both men and women on the south wall have ropes tied around their necks, with several people in a row being tied on the same rope (fragments 136, 943, 189, 34, 102, 39, 408, 847, 844, 849, 811).

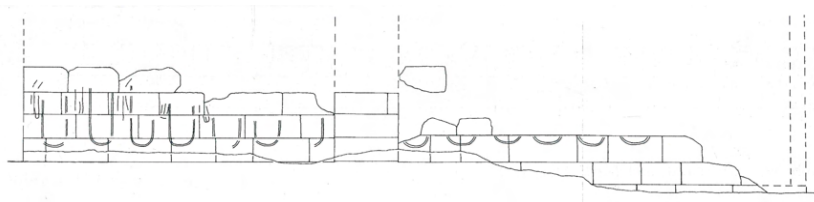


Figure 3. Empty oval name rings on the northern part of the pylon of M250 (redrawn after Hinkel, Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1: 139; Abb. 37b).

Hinkel related the construction of the M250 temple to the treaty that the Meroites negotiated with Augustus on Samos in 21/20 BCE. He relates the taking of women and children as prisoners on the north wall to the sacking of Philae, Elephantine, and Syene by the Meroites,[66] as reported by Strabo in Geography, 17. I. 54.[67] The context of the war reliefs on the northern wall of the temple indeed indicates a northern conflict. It is interesting that the oval name rings for the toponyms or ethnonyms of defeated enemies are left blank on the northern part of the temple pylon (Figure 3),[68] and were only filled in with Meroitic hieroglyphs on the southern part of the temple pylon, which have thus far not been identified with certainty.[69] In the light of Strabo's Geography 17. I. 54, in which he writes that when told that they should go to Augustus, the Meroites answered they do not know who that was,[70] one has to consider that the Roman dominated world beyond the province of Egypt was unknown or insufficiently known to the Meroites. This explains the empty oval name rings on the northern part of the temple pylon. Except for the generic *Arome* referring to Rome[71] and *Tmey* referring to the Northeners,[72] we do not know of any other Roman toponyms from Meroe so far and it is likely that in the first century BCE and first century CE the Meroites indeed did not know of any others. If the reliefs on the northern walls of the temple depict a Meroitic raid on the First Cataract sites, then we have to take into account that they imprisoned the local population, consisting also of women and children and not only of men. These women and children could also have been local and not necessarily immigrants after the Roman takeover of Egypt. The iconographic evidence from M250 corresponds well with the textual attestations for the taking of prisoners of war of different ages and genders, and allocates them to temples of Amun. Interestingly, just like in ancient Egyptian iconography of the New Kingdom, there is an absence of violence against women and children.[73] Bearing in mind the idea that frames of war regulate what is reported and represented in various media, we can consider

the possibility that some realities of war such as violence against non-combatants were censured due to socially determined taste. Hurting women and children was probably considered a form of illegitimate violence and although it probably occurred, it was not communicated to local audiences.

3. Feminization of Enemies in Texts

The feminization of enemies is a common cross-cultural motif in war discourse, both textual and visual. As anthropologist Marilyn Strathern argued, "relations between political enemies stand for relations between men and women".[74] Numerous examples are known for this from ancient Egypt and Neo-Assyria and these are extensively dealt with elsewhere.[75] Here, the focus will be on the feminization of enemies in Kushite war discourse.

One attestation for the feminization of enemies without parallels, to the best of my knowledge, is found on the Triumphal Stela of Piye (Cairo JE 48862, 47086-47089, lines 149-150), the founder of the 25th Dynasty of Egypt, who ruled between 744-714 BCE: "Now these kings and counts of Lower Egypt came to behold His Majesty's beauty, their legs being the legs of women." *js gr nn <n> nswt ḥ3(tj).wˁ nw T3-mḥw jj r m33 nfr.w ḥm=f rd.wj=sn m rd.wj ḥm.wt.*[76] Nicolas-Christophe Grimal has translated this part of the text in a way that suggests that the legs of the kings and counts of Lower Egypt trembled like those of women.[77] One has to stress that the adjective *tremblant* (French for "trembling") is not written in the text, but is rather assumed by Grimal. On the other hand, Hans Goedicke's translates *rd.wj=sn* not as legs, but knees instead.[78] According to Robert K. Ritner, this means that they were trembling in fear,[79] and similarly, according to Amr el Hawary, this could indicate that enemies of Piye had their legs bent at the knees from fear.[80] However, David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke understand the text as a metaphor for the femininity of Piye's enemies, because the legs of women are smooth-skinned.[81] Yet, although both men and women shaved in Egypt and Nubia, we cannot assume that body hair removal was restricted only to women. For Nubia, at least, this is indicated by the description of Kushites in the Bible as tall and smooth-skinned people (Isaiah 18:7).[82] Later in the text, it is stated that three of these kings and counts stayed outside the palace "because of their legs" (*r rd.wj=sn*), and only one entered. El Hawary postulates that this could be related to the previous comparison with the legs of women.[83] Another case is possibly alluded later in the same text when it states "You return having conquered

Lower Egypt; making bulls into women" (*jw=k jy.twḥ3q.n=k T3-mḥwjr=k k3.w m ḥm.wt*).[84] Bearing in mind that in the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy (X, 20), an Egyptian text of the Ptolemaic period (305-30 BCE), bulls are contrasted to the vulvas which should receive them,[85] we can argue that, in both cases, bulls stand for men, or at least masculinity, in both the human and animal world. It is interesting that on the Triumphal stela of Piye, men from the palace of the Lower Egyptian king Nimlot paid homage to Piye "after the manner of women" (*mḫtḥm.wt*).[86] Maybe this indicates that there was also a manner in which men are supposed to pay homage to the king, and that the defeated kings and counts of Lower Egypt failed to do this, or at least the text wants us to believe that. The failed masculinity of Nimlot in the text of the stela was extensively studied most recently by Mattias Karlsson. Next to the motives already mentioned, additional arguments are rich and complex. Piye is representing ideal masculinity, contrasted with failed masculinity of Nimlot. This can be observed both in the text and in the iconography of the stela. For example, Nimlot is holding a sistrum, a musical instrument usually linked to women (e.g. priestesses of Hathor), while he is standing behind his wife and not depicted in the usual front-facing manner. His wife speaks for him and appears as the head of his household.[87] To these arguments one can also add the fact that the silhouette of the defeated Egyptian princes in proskynesis differs in shape from usual representations of men. Their bodies seem to be curvier as in Kushite depictions of women. An allusion of sexual domination is not directly communicated, but it might have been implied.

There are other attestations of the feminization of enemies in texts composed for the Kushite kings. In the Annals of Harsiyotef (Cairo JE 48864, line 89) we are informed about his conflicts with the Mededet people in his 6th regnal year. After taking spoils of war, the ruler of Mededet was sent to Harsiyotef, saying: "You are my god. I am your servant. I am a woman. Come to me" (*ntk p(3)=j nṯr jnk p(3)=k b3k jnk sḫm.t my j-r=j*).[88] In this attestation, we have a direct speech of the enemy, who, according to the text, identifies himself with a woman. Of course we are safe to assume that these words were put in his mouth by the composer of the text of the stela. El Hawary has already made a connection between the passage from the Annals of Harsiyotef and this passage from the Triumphal stela of Piye, describing the homage to Piye in a womanly manner. Interestingly, no such attestations, as far as I am aware, are known from Egyptian sources.[89]

4. Meroitic Non-royal and Royal Women in War

In Diodorus Siculus (1st century BCE), Agatharchides reports how the Aethiopians employed women in war: "They also arm their women, defining for them a military age. It is customary for most of these women to have a bronze ring through one of their lips".[90] This is repeated by Strabo in first century CE.[91]

The conflict between Meroe and Rome was mentioned in the discussion of the iconography of temple M250. One interesting aspect of this conflict is the Roman perspective on the rulership of Meroe. Strabo mentions the participation of a Meroitic queen in war against Rome, describing Queen *Kandake* here as "a manly woman who had lost one of her eyes".[92] We should be careful with crediting such descriptions much value. Not only did Strabo confuse a Meroitic royal title that probably indicated a mother of a king,[93] but there is also a tendency among Graeco-Roman authors to depict foreign women as masculine thus creating an inverted image to gender expectations in their own society. Such inversions could have served the purposes of shocking their audience and enhancing the otherness of foreign lands and peoples. This is evidently an example of ideological gender inversion used as a sign of barbarism, especially towards foreign women, in the works of Strabo.[94]

Still, that the soldiers in the Roman army knew of a woman that was referred to by her subjects simply as *kandake* is also demonstrated by a ballista ball (British Museum EA 71839) with a carbon-ink inscription ΚΑΝΔΑΞΗ/Kandaxe from Qasr Ibrim. On the ball, the second and third lines of text can be understood as a personal message for the queen: "Just right for you Kandaxe!".[95] Clearly, it is questionable if the ones who actually found themselves in Nubia during the conflict with Meroe knew the name of the enemy ruler. It is also possible that they knew, but referred to her as everyone else.

5. Meroitic Queens and Enemies: Iconographic Evidence

The smiting of an enemy scene originates from ancient Egyptian iconography, with its earliest known evidence found in tomb 100 in Hierakonpolis in Upper

Egypt, dated to the Naqada IIC period, around 3500 BCE. In Egypt, the motif has remained in the decoration of temple pylons, private and royal stelae, and small finds for more than 3500 years. Its latest known appearance is found on temple reliefs from the Roman period when emperors Domitian, Titus, and Trajan are depicted smiting. Kushite kings are also depicted smiting enemies and the motif was adopted from ancient Egyptian art.[96]

What differentiates the use of this motif in ancient Nubia during the Meroitic period from its use both in the contemporary Roman province of Egypt and in earlier periods of Nubian history is the fact that certain queens are depicted smiting male enemies in Meroitic iconography. Some ancient Egyptian queens are also depicted smiting enemies. However, these enemies are always female when the figure who is delivering the blow is depicted as a woman.[97] This is because a king is never depicted delivering harm to foreign women and children, at least in the New Kingdom. The king always defeats the supposedly stronger enemy.[98] Although the inclusion of queen Nefertiti smiting female enemies alongside scenes of Akhenaten smiting male enemies probably indicates the elevation of her status during the period of his rule,[99] Nefertiti is nevertheless not the dominant figure in such depictions; the dominant figure remains the smiting king because of the gender of the enemies he smites. Male enemies were considered more dangerous than female. When a female ruler like Hatshepsut (ca. 1479-1458 BCE) of the 18th Dynasty is depicted smiting or trampling male enemies, she herself is depicted as a king –a man– and her identity is indicated by the accompanying text that lists her name and royal titles.[100]

The Meroitic case is interesting precisely because certain royal women can be depicted smiting and spearing male enemies. Amanishakheto (1st century CE) is depicted spearing enemies on the pylon of her pyramid Begrawiya North 6 in Meroe, both to the left and right of the pylon entrance (Figure 4). On the left, she holds a bow, arrow, and rope in her left hand and a spear in her right hand. The rope in her left hand extends to the necks of the enemies to which it is tied. Seven enemies are depicted with rope tied around their necks and with their arms tied behind their backs. On the right, Amanishakheto holds a rope in her left hand which binds four enemies around their necks. Their arms are also bound behind their backs. In her right hand, she holds a spear with which she spears the enemies.[101] On her stela from Naqa she is depicted before the enthroned Lion God above a group of bound enemies.[102]

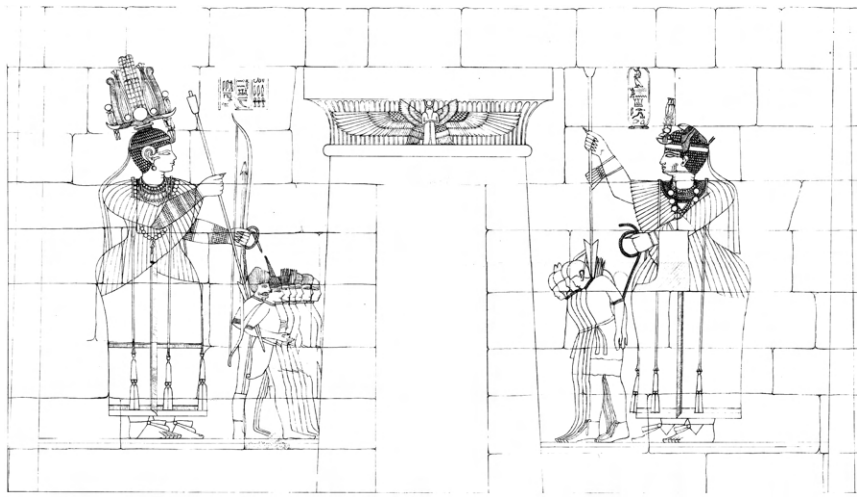


Figure 4. Amanishakheto spearing enemies, pylon, pyramid Begrawiya North 6, line drawing (Chapman & Dunham. *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, Pl. 17).

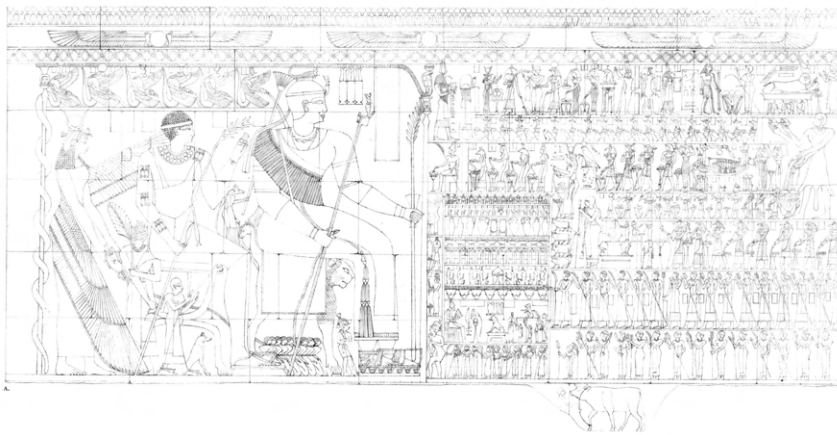


Figure 5. Shanakdakheto (?) sitting on a throne with bound enemies underneath, north wall, pyramid Begrawiya North 11, line drawing (Chapman & Dunham. *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, Pl. 7A).

Bound enemies are additionally depicted under the throne of the queen on the north wall of pyramid Begrawiya North 11 attributed to Shanakdakheto (Figure 5).[103] Nine bows, the traditional symbol for enemies originating from ancient

Egypt, are depicted under the throne of Amanitore of the 1st century CE (Figure 6), just as they are depicted under the throne of Natakamani in the pyramid Begrawiya North 1 of queen Amanitore.[104]

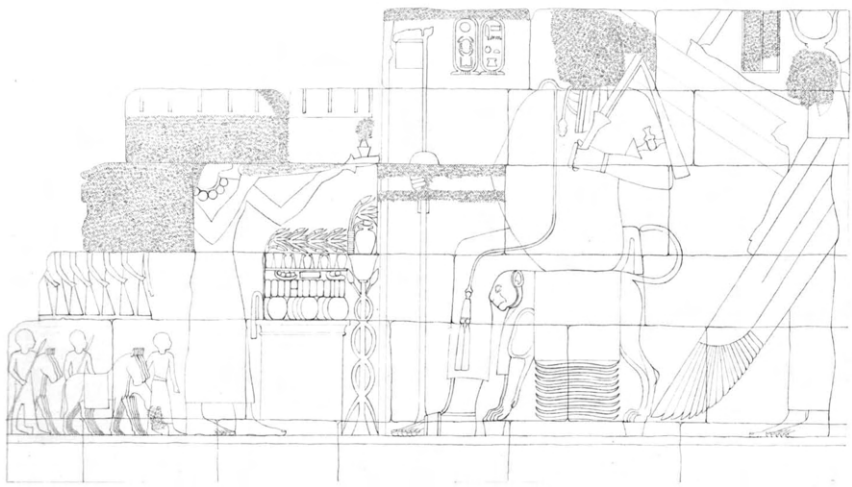


Figure 6. Amanitore sitting on a throne with the nine bows underneath, south wall, pyramid Begrawiya North 1, line drawing (Chapman & Dunham. *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, Pl. 18B).

Amanitore is depicted smiting enemies on the pylon of the Lion Temple in Naga.[105] There, she is paired with Natakamani, who is also depicted smiting enemies (Figure 7). Natalia Pomerantseva interpreted this as "hero worshiping of the woman-image", adding that "it is impossible to imagine the frail Egyptian woman's figure in the part of chastisement of enemies".[106] Yet, as we have seen, some Egyptian royal women are depicted in violent acts such as the smiting and trampling of female enemies and the reason they are not depicted doing the same to male enemies is status-related. If they would be depicted as women smiting or trampling male enemies, this would elevate their status to the one of kings; clearly, attention was paid to avoid this. In the case of the Meroitic queens, the gender of the enemy was not an issue. Jacke Phillips has also emphasized that the smiting of enemies by Merotic queens is among the corpus of scenes, which were formerly restricted to kings, but Phillips did not take the argument further. The reason for the creation of these scenes can be seen in the specific status of royal women in Meroitic ideology.[107] However, we also have to bear in mind that, considering the number of known Napatan and Meroitic royal women, the

smiting scenes of Amanishakheto and Amanitore in the 1st century CE are an exception rather than rule. Interestingly, the smiting and trampling scenes of Tiye and Nefertiti are also an exception rather than the rule, and this exception in ancient Egyptian iconography has so far been explained as a consequence of the increasing importance of royal women both in politics and religion.[108] We can certainly say Amanishakheto and Amanitore also lived in exceptional times, during and after the conflict of Meroe with Rome. It is possible that in these times certain exceptional women rose to unparalleled positions.[109]

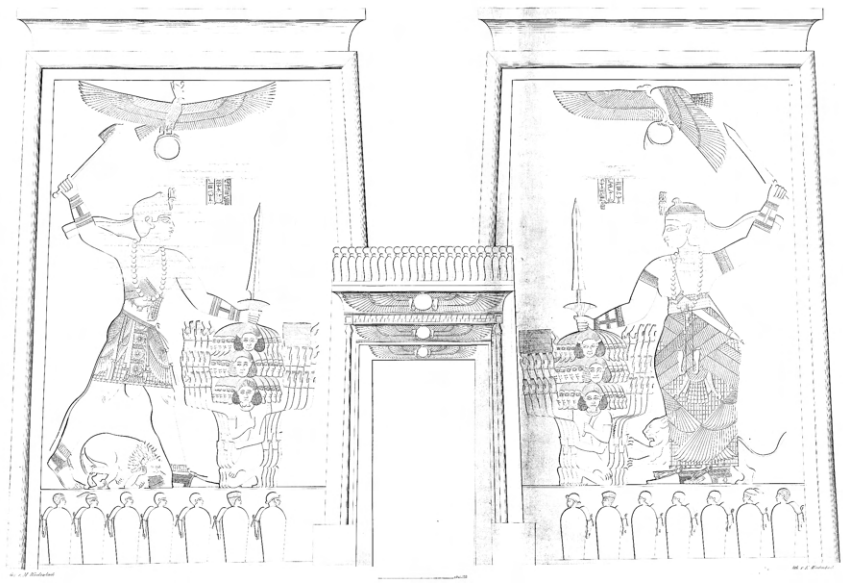


Figure 7. Natakamani and Amanitore smiting enemies, pylon of the temple of Naqa, line drawing (Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* 10, B1. 56).

6. Conclusion

Gender as a frame of war has structured both Napatan and Meroitic texts, from lists enumerating the spoils of war to texts dealing with military campaigns. In the first case, this is observable in the order that different categories of prisoners of war are listed, namely enemy rulers (men), then enemy men, women, and children. This same structure for prisoners of wars is found with only slight differences in ancient Egyptian spoils of war examples,[110] which can hardly be taken as a coincidence. Since the earlier Napatan texts were written in Egyptian,

their structure, at least when lists of spoils of war are concerned, could have been based on an Egyptian pattern. This, then, continued into the Meroitic period. In the second case, namely the texts dealing with military campaigns, how gender as a frame of war operates can be observed in the discursive feminization of enemies in Napatan texts. Just like in ancient Egyptian and Neo-Assyrian texts,[111] enemies are discursively framed as women or effemininate. This is in fact a metaphor found in many cultures in which strength is associated with men and weakness is associated with women. Rather than just framing the power relations between the Kushite kings and their enemies, such metaphors strengthen the gender structure of the society itself, privileging men and masculinity. By discursively taking away masculinity from the enemy, these texts are framing them as subordinate and thus legitimizing the subordination of women to men. Unfortunately, the present state of knowledge of the Meroitic language does not allow us to investigate possible feminizations of enemies in the Hamadab stelae written in Meroitic. It would indeed be interesting to know if the same metaphors are used.

The reports of Graeco-Roman writers such as Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus and Strabo could have been a misunderstanding of Meroitic royal ideology and the figure of *kandake*. We should, however, not entirely exclude the possibility that women could have participated in war, although we do not have any explicit ancient Nubian textual attestations for this. We also do not have any burials attributed to "warrior women" or "warrior queens", based on the placement of weapons as grave goods in graves of women.[112] Even if such burials were to be found, one would have to be cautious in assigning military activity to women (or men) simply because of the associated weapons. Muscular stress markers or potential traces of trauma on the skeletons would be more indicative, however both could also be found in burials without such associated weapons. Nevertheless, one should not exclude the possibility that Meroitic queens made military decisions, just like, for example, the 17th Dynasty queen Ahhotep or the 18th Dynasty female pharaoh Hatshepsut in Egypt,[113] though they probably did not fight in war. The depictions of Meroitic queens smiting enemies should be seen in the context of royal ideology. Unlike Egyptian queens, who are depicted as women smiting enemies only when these enemies are also women, both Meroitic kings and certain Meroitic queens are shown smiting and spearing enemy men. There is no difference in the gender of the enemy and therefore no hierarchy. This can be explained with an elevated status of queenship in Kush, in

comparison to ancient Egypt. Unlike in Egypt, where a ruling woman like Hatshepsut had to be depicted as a man when smiting enemies, a ruling woman in Meroe could be depicted as a woman smiting male enemies.

Clearly, gender was one of the frames of war in ancient Nubia, with a tradition spanning several centuries and possibly even having ancient Egyptian roots, at least where the structure for listings of the spoils of war and some metaphors for enemies are concerned. However, as I have shown, there are certain expressions without parallels in ancient Egyptian texts, which testify to an independent, but equally male-privileging discourse. Gender as a frame of war (sensu Judith Butler) justified state violence against enemies by discursively representing them as women. In this manner, asymmetrical power relations in one domain (war) were tied to asymmetrical power relations in another domain (gender). This is a prime example of symbolic violence (sensu Pierre Bourdieu and Slavoj Žižek). Gender relations which place Kushite and enemy women as subordinate to Kushite men are naturalized through a reference to a subordination of enemy men to Kushite men. Simultaneously, the lack of explicit violence conducted against enemy women and children was in a way "the cosmetic treatment of war", to use the words of Jean Baudrillard. The frame of war such as this one clearly influenced how war and violence is represented and consequently experienced by local audiences who did not participate in war. Some forms of violence are communicated to local audiences in specific manners relying on asymmetrical power relations of gender. Other forms of violence which probably occurred, such as violence against non-combatants, are carefully avoided in texts and images as it was probably hard to justify them.

7. Acknowledgments

I would like to express my enormous gratitude to Jacqueline M. Huwyler, M.A. (University of Basel) for proofreading the English of my paper. I am also grateful to Angelika Lohwasser and Henriette Hafsaas for their help in acquiring some of the references.

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Endnotes

1. For criticism of androcentrism, see Conkey & Spector, “Archaeology and the Study of Gender,” pp. 5-14; for criticism of heteronormative interpretations of the past, see Dowson, “Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction,” pp. 161-65; for giving voices to ancient women and recognizing different genders behind the archaeological record, see Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*; Sørensen, *Gender Archaeology*; Díaz-Andreu, “Gender identity,” pp. 1-42; for viewing gender as a system, see Conkey & Spector, “Archaeology and the Study of Gender,” pp. 4-16; for gender as a result of performative practice, see Perry & Joyce, “Providing a Past for Bodies that Matter: Judith Butler's Impact on the Archaeology of Gender.” The literature in gender archaeology is vast and these are only some frequently quoted studies. ↩

2. Haaland and Haaland, “Who Speaks the Goddess’s Language?”; Haaland, “Emergence of Sedentism”; Nordström, “Gender and Social Structure in the Nubian A-Group.” ↩

3. Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen*; Lohwasser, “Queenship in Kush: Status, Role and Ideology of Royal Women,” pp. 61-76; Lohwasser. “The Role and Status of Royal Women in Kush,” pp. 61-72. ↩

4. Lohwasser, “Gibt es mehr als zwei Geschlechter? Zum Verhältnis von Gender und Alter,” pp. 33-41. ↩

5. Phillips, “Women in Ancient Nubia,” pp. 280-98. The necessity of studying gender, rather than focusing solely on women has also been emphasized recently, Lohwasser and Philipps, “Women in Ancient Kush,” pp. 1015-32. ↩

6. Hafsaas-Tsakos, “Edges of Bronze and Expressions of Masculinity”; Karlsson, “Gender and Kushite State Ideology.” ↩

7. The contributions in the volume are entirely devoid of gender perspectives, Raue, *Handbook of Ancient Nubia*. For example, the new *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia* has an entry on women in ancient Kush and on the body, but no entry on gender. Other contributions are entirely devoid of gender perspectives. ↩

8. Among these, are the questions of ability and disability, gender and intersectionality, and masculinity. Danielsson & Thedéen, *To Tender Gender*. ↩

9. Jensen and Matić, “Introduction: Why do we need archaeologies of gender and violence, and why now?,” pp. 1-23. ↩

10. Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, pp. 1-2; Bourdieu, “Symbolic Violence,” pp. 339-42; Žižek, *Violence. Six Sideways Reflections*, pp. 1-2; for the application of these concepts in archaeology and Egyptology, see Jensen and Matić, “Introduction: Why do We Need Archaeologies of Gender and Violence, and Why Now?,” pp. 1-23; Matić, “Traditionally Unharmed? Women and Children in NK Battle Scenes,” pp. 245-60; Matić, *Body and Frames of War*, pp. 139-48; Matić, *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. ↩

11. For example, see Kuhrt, “Women and War,” pp. 1-25. ↩

12. Matić, “Die ''römische'' Feinde in der meroitischen Kunst,” pp. 251-62; Spalinger, *The Persistence of Memory in Kush*; Spalinger, *Leadership under Fire*, pp. 201-42; Wöß, “The Representations of Captives and Enemies in Meroitic Art,” pp. 585-600. ↩

13. Matić, "Her Striking but Cold Beauty: Gender and Violence in Depictions of Queen Nefertiti Smiting the Enemies," pp. 103-21; Matić, "Traditionally Unharmed? Women and Children in NK Battle Scenes," pp. 245-60; Matić, *Body and Frames of War in New Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 139-48; Matić, *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. ↩

14. Butler, *Frames of War*, pp. 1-10. ↩

15. Butler, *Frames of War*, p. 26. ↩

16. Butler, *Frames of War*, p. 65. ↩

17. Butler, *The Force of Non-Violence*, p. 6. ↩

18. Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." ↩

19. Matić, "The Best of the Booty of His Majesty: Evidence for Foreign Child Labor in New Kingdom Egypt," pp. 53-63; Matić, "Begehrte Beute. Fremde Frauen als Raubgut im Alten Ägypten," pp. 15-8. ↩

20. The author is currently working on a comprehensive study of the ancient Egyptian and Nubian lists of spoils of war from the Egyptian Early Dynastic to Nubian Meroitic period, Matić, "Pharaonic Plunder Economy". ↩

21. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I. Text,* p. 9; Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I. Plates*, Pls. 5-6. ↩

22. Macadam. *The Temples of Kawa I. Text*, p. 36; Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I. Plates*, Pls. 11-12; FHN I, pp. 172-73. ↩

23. Redford, "Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya," p. 190. The stela actually does not bear the name of Taharqa and Jean Revez attributed it to an entirely different dynasty, Revez, "Une stèle inédite de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire à Karnak: une guerre civile en Thébaïde?". ↩

24. Pope, *The Double Kingdom under Taharqo*, 98-106. ↩

25. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I. Plates*, Pl. 15; FHN I, p. 222. ↩

26. For appointing prisoners of war to temples and temple workshops in New Kingdom Egypt, see Matić, "The Best of the Booty of His Majesty: Evidence for Foreign Child Labor in New Kingdom Egypt," pp. 53-63. ↩

27. FHN II, p. 447. ↩

28. FHN II, p. 449. ↩

29. FHN II, p. 487; Peust, *Das Napatanische*, p. 40. ↩

30. Pope, *The Double Kingdom under Taharqo*, p. 105. ↩

31. FHN II, p. 488. ↩

32. It is also possible that some of them ended up enslaved in the Mediterranean world, Burstein, "The Nubian Slave Trade in Antiquity: A Suggestion." ↩

33. FHN II, p. 489. ↩

34. FHN II, pp. 489-90. ↩

35. FHN II, p. 490. ↩

36. FHN II, 491. ↩

37. Török, "Sacred Landscape, Historical Identity and Memory," p. 161; For the same practice in ancient Egypt, at least until the New Kingdom, see Matić, "The Best of the Booty of His Majesty: Evidence for Foreign Child Labor in New Kingdom Egypt," pp. 53-63. ↩

38. FHN II, pp. 722-3; The connection to the conflict with Rome has been challenged since, Zach, "A Remark on the 'Akinidad' Stela REM 1003 (British Museum EA 1650)," p. 148. ↩

39. Rilly, "New Advances in the Understanding of Royal Meroitic Inscriptions"; Rilly, "Meroitische Texte aus Naga"; Rilly, "Fragments of the Meroitic Report of the War Between Rome and Meroe." ↩

40. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, p. 209; see also Török, *Meroe City*, p. 104. ↩

41. Török, *Meroe City*, p. 104. ↩

42. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, p. 401; Török, *The Image of the Ordered World*, pp. 219-20. ↩

43. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, p. 262. ↩

44. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*; Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 2b*. ↩

45. He adds that the archaizing iconography and style of the war reliefs of the south and north walls of M250 were based on 25th dynasty Kushite monuments, and supposes that this archaizing iconography was mediated by the early temple at the site, which was built during Aspelta's reign, and whose reliefs could have been copied on M250, Török, *The Image of the Ordered World*, p. 213. The 25th dynasty connections are seen, for example, in the motif of spearing the enemy using a lance by piercing the enemy almost horizontally from above-fragments 809, 876, 828, 808, 857, 836, 916, 917, 928, Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 2b*. This motif is known from the Amun temple at Gebel Barkal B500, from the reign of Piye, Spalinger, "Notes on the Military in Egypt during the XXVth Dynasty," p. 48, Figs. 3 and 4. ↩

46. Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity*, pp. 59-60. ↩

47. Hofmann, "Notizen zu den Kampfszenen am sogenannten Sonnentempel von Meroe," pp. 519-21. ↩

48. Chapman and Dunham, *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, Pl. 17. ↩

49. Shinnie and Bradley, "The Murals from the Augustus Temple, Meroe," p. 168, Fig. 1; Matić, "Der Kopf einer Augustus-Statue aus Meroe," p. 70, Abb. 7. ↩

50. Wöß, "The Representations of Captives and Enemies in Meroitic Art," p. 589. ↩

51. Lohwasser, "Kush and her Neighbours beyond the Nile Valley In The Fourth Cataract and Beyond," p. 131. ↩

52. FHN III, p. 831; Jones, *Strabo. The Geography Vol. VIII*, p. 139. ↩

53. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, pp. 189-90. ↩

54. Minas-Nerpel and Pfeiffer, "Establishing Roman Rule in Egypt: The Trilingual Stela of C. Cornelius Gallus from Philae," pp. 285-8. ↩

55. Kormysheva, "Political Relations between the Roman Empire," p. 306; Török, *Between the Two Worlds*, pp. 434-6. ↩

56. Jameson, "Chronology of the Campaigns of Aelius Gallus and C. Petronius," p. 77; Török, *Between the Two Worlds*, p. 441. ↩

57. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*, p. 449; Török, *Between the Two Worlds*, p. 441. ↩

58. Török, *Meroe City*, p. 185. ↩

59. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, p. 142. ↩

60. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, p. 139. ↩

61. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, pp. 140-1, Abb. 39, 40, 41, 42; p. 257, Abb. 95. ↩

62. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, p. 140, Abb. 38; p. 257, Abb. 95. ↩

63. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 2b*, C10. ↩

64. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 2b*, C10. ↩

65. For example, in tribute scenes from the tombs of Useramun-TT 131, Rekhmire-TT 100, Horemhab-TT 78 but also the Beit el-Wali temple of Ramesses II, Matić, "Children on the Move: *ms.w wr.w* in the New Kingdom Procession Scenes." pp. 378-9, Fig. 12. ↩

66. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, p. 189. ↩

67. FHN III, p. 831; Jones, *Strabo. The Geography Vol. VIII*, p. 139. ↩

68. Hinkel, *Der Tempelkomplex Meroe 250. I. 1*, pp. 138-9, Abb. 37b. ↩

69. Török, *The Image of the Ordered World,* p. 220; Breyer, *Einführung in die Meroitistik*, p. 67. ↩

70. FHN III, p. 831; Jones, *Strabo. The Geography Vol. VIII*, p. 139. ↩

71. Rilly and De Voogt, *The Meroitic Language and Writing System*, p. 185. ↩

72. Rilly, "Meroitische Texte aus Naga," p. 190; Matić, "Die ''römische'' Feinde in der meroitischen Kunst," p. 258. ↩

73. Matić, "Traditionally Unharmed? Women and Children in NK Battle Scenes," pp. 245-60; Matić, *Body and Frames of War in New Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 139-48. ↩

74. Strathern, *Before and After Gender*, p. 21. ↩

75. Parkinson, "Homosexual' Desire and Middle Kingdom Literature"; Matić, *Body and Frames of War*, pp. 139-48; Matić, *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. ↩

76. Grimal, *La Stèle Triomphale,* p. 177; FHN I, p. 111. ↩

77. Grimal, *La Stèle Triomphale*, p. 176. ↩

78. Goedicke, *Pi(ankhy) in Egypt*, p. 172. ↩

79. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, p. 492. ↩

80. El Hawary, *Wortschöpfung*, p. 243. ↩

81. O'Connor and Quirke, "Introduction: Mapping the Unknown in Ancient Egypt," p. 18. ↩

82. For a detailed analysis see Lavik, *A People Tall and Smooth-Skinned*. ↩

83. El Hawary, *Wortschöpfung*, p. 281. ↩

84. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*. pp. 477 and 490. ↩

85. Dieleman, "Fear of Women?," p. 14. ↩

86. FHN I, p. 84. ↩

87. Karlsson, "Gender and Kushite State Ideology." ↩

88. FHN II, p. 450. ↩

89. Matić, *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. ↩

90. FHN II, p. 653. ↩

91. FHN III, p. 816. ↩

92. FHN III, p. 831; Jones, *Strabo. The Geography Vol. VIII*, p. 139. ↩

93. Lohwasser, "The Role and Status of Royal Women in Kush," p. 64; Lohwasser and Philipps, "Women in Ancient Kush," p. 1021. ↩

94. McCoskey, "Gender at the Crossroads of Empire". pp. 61-8. ↩

95. Wilkins, Barnard, and Rose, "Roman Artillery Balls from Qasr Ibrim, Egypt," pp. 71 and 75, Pl. 8, 4F. ↩

96. Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemy*, p. 44. ↩

97. Queen Tiye (ca. 1398-1338 BCE) of the 18th Dynasty is depicted trampling over enemies in the guise of a female sphinx. Queen Nefertiti (ca. 1370-? BCE) of the same dynasty is depicted both smiting enemies and trampling over them in the guise of a sphinx. I argued that we can observe a clear gender structure behind such images, and that the status of queens smiting enemies is lower than the status of the king smiting male enemies, Matić, "Her Striking but Cold Beauty: Gender and Violence in Depictions of Queen Nefertiti Smiting the Enemies," pp. 103-21. ↩

98. Matić, "Her Striking but Cold Beauty: Gender and Violence in Depictions of Queen Nefertiti Smiting the Enemies," pp. 103-21; Matić, "Traditionally Unharmed? Women and Children in NK Battle Scenes," pp. 245-60; Matić, *Body and Frames of War in New Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 139-48. ↩

99. Williamson, "Alone before the God: Gender, Status, and Nefertiti's Image," pp. 179-92. ↩

100. Matić, *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. ↩

101. Chapman and Dunham, *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, Pl. 17. ↩

102. Rilly, "Meroitische Texte aus Naga," Abb. 218. ↩

103. Chapman and Dunham, *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, Pl. 7A. ↩

104. Chapman and Dunham, *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, Pls. 18B and 18D. ↩

105. Gamer-Wallert, *Der Löwentempel von Naqa in der Butana (Sudan) III*, Bl. 1-2. ↩

106. Pomerantseva, "The View on Meroitic Kings and Queens as it is Reflected in their Iconography," p. 625. ↩

107. Phillips, "Women in Ancient Nubia," p. 292. ↩

108. Matić, "Her Striking but Cold Beauty: Gender and Violence in Depictions of Queen Nefertiti Smiting the Enemies," pp. 116-7. ↩

109. For exceptionality and the possible divinization of Amanirenas (1st century CE), see Zach, "A Remark on the 'Akinidad' Stela REM 1003 (British Museum EA 1650)," p. 149. ↩

110. Matić, "Pharaonic Plunder Economy." ↩

111. Matić, *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. ↩

112. For weapons in female burials of the Kerma period interpreted as symbols of status, see Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Edges of Bronze and Expressions of Masculinity," p. 89. Henriette Hafsaas has in personal communication informed me that she considers investigating this topic further and maybe revising her conclusions. ↩

113. For the military activities of Ahhotep and Hatshepsut see, Matić, *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt*; Taterka, "Military expeditions of King Hatshepsut," pp. 90-106. ↩

article/ Words on Warfare from Christian Nubia

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abstract/ *This article is an attempt to assemble the vocabulary related to war found in Nubian written sources (primarily manuscripts) and discuss the insights it offers about warfare in Christian Nubia. All four languages used in medieval Nubia are examined, but the focus is on Old Nubian. Saint Epimachos, Saint Mercurios, Saint George, and the Archangel Michael are the personae around which pivot the narratives that offer insights into weapons, offices, and practices in the otherwise very scarcely documented military of Christian Nubia.*

keywords/ Christian Nubia, Makuria, Old Nubian, Greek, Coptic, Weapons", Military Offices, Military Saints, Eparch, General, Admiral, Esquire

The purpose of this paper is to present textual evidence from Christian Nubia relating to issues of warfare, weaponry, and military functions. This evidence will be gleaned mainly from manuscripts, and secondarily from monumental epigraphy. From the four languages used in Christian Nubia, the present study will focus primarily on Old Nubian and partly on Greek, while occasionally evidence from sources in Arabic and Coptic will also be used. Although the material is not particularly rich, it may add to and/or nuance the picture of warfare in Nubia during the medieval era (ca. 5th to 15th centuries), which otherwise lacks a systematic study.

Moreover, evidence of warfare in the archaeological record from Nubia is scarce.[1] One of the major reasons is the abandonment of the ancient custom of accompanying the dead with tomb furnishings already from the very beginnings of the Christian era in Nubia,[2] whereas it was precisely tombs that provided the richest material evidence for warfare in terms of weaponry, as can be seen in A-Group,[3] Kerma,[4] Napatan,[5] Meroitic,[6] and post-Meroitic burials.[7] Wars were, however, far from absent from Christian Nubia.

Warfare in Nubia is marked on the landscape by the numerous castles and forts of the Middle Nile region,[8] although their function was also as sites of power, sights of might, centers of authority[9]; it was witnessed by the historians who recorded the frequent wars between Christian Nubia and the Caliphate[10]; it is related with slavery and slaving expeditions that have impregnated the image of the past in Sudan from prehistory until modernity[11]; it was recorded implicitly on the walls of the Nubian churches, where military saints, most often on horseback, parade as martyrs of the Christian faith and as guarantors of the security, longevity and prosperity of the Makuritan realm.

These military saints will set off the presentation of the textual evidence on warfare in Old Nubian,[12] because there has also been preserved textual evidence of their cult, in the form of both shorter texts (dedications, prayers) and longer hagiographic works,[13] as well as legal documents. From the sanctified humans that populated the celestial army, we will then move to the *archistratēgos* of the heavens, the archangel Michael, whose cult in Nubia has produced texts that offer important insights into the military organization of the Makuritan state. Finally, a question about the possibility of discerning evidence of Makuritan naval forces in our epigraphic material will conclude this modest contribution on warfare in Christian Nubia.

1. The Protector of the Four Corners of the Nubian Nation

One of the most impressive documents of legal practice from Christian Nubia is a Royal Proclamation found at Qasr Ibrim (P.QI 3 30) and dated to the 23rd of August 1155.[14] Through this legal act, king Moses George proclaims the rights and privileges of the church of Saint Epimachos at Ibrim West.[15] The king

threatens anyone who "speaks against and denies my statement" (P.QI 3 30, l. 30) that Epimachos will "stab him with his spear" (ll. 30-1). The action is described by the verb ϣⲁⲣ and the weapon by the noun ϣⲓⲣ̄, but whether the latter refers to the "spear" indeed and not to any other weapon is uncertain. Without parallel texts in other languages, it is difficult to confirm the definitions in OND, which seem to try to conform with the fact that the spear was the diagnostic iconographic attribute of Epimachos in Nubian iconography (see below). There is moreover another word in the OND for "spear" or "lance," i.e. ϣⲁ, which possibly has a related root, but again it does not necessarily mean "spear." Finally, it should be noted that an Old Nubian term for "ruler" is ϣⲓⲕⲉⲣⲓ, and although in the OND this is etymologically linked with a variant ϣⲏⲕⲕ of the term ϣⲁⲗ for "administrative unit," a verb ϣⲓⲕ, meaning "to rule" has recently been identified in P.QI 4 93.4 and P.QI 4 108.7. It is tempting to associate this verb with the noun ϣⲓⲣ̄ and thus suggest that ϣⲓⲕⲉⲣⲓ was a military ruler, but for the time being this hypothesis remains speculative.

In any case, the king's threat to invoke Saint Epimachos is presented in the royal proclamation from Qasr Ibrim as even more powerful than the King's curse; a heart attack; the sharing of Judas Iscariot's faith; and the rejection of the trespasser by the society. Again, after all these threats/curses, it is Epimachos who is called upon "on the day of judgment" to "come great in battle against him" (ll. 34-5). Here, the Old Nubian word for battle is used, i.e. ⲡⲏ̄ⲅ. There is also attested a verb form ⲡⲏ̄ⲕ, i.e. "to fight," as well as a synonym ⲇⲓⲥⲉ (or ⲇⲓⲥⲁⲣ).[16] One instance of the use of the latter term in the Old Nubian corpus translates the Greek participle πολεμουμένων, which derives from the term πόλεμος, i.e. "war." In Nobiin, the verb ⲇⲓⲥ also translates as "Krieg führen," [17] and it is not inconceivable that a derivative of the root ⲇⲓⲥ was also used to define "war" or "warfare." A military victory can also be discerned behind the meaning of the term ⲇⲓⲥⲁⲣⲧ, attested once in the OND translating the Greek word νῖκος.[18] In the same semantic field as ⲇⲓⲥⲉ (or ⲇⲓⲥⲁⲣ), there is the verb ⲉⲥⲕ meaning "to conquer," which seems rather related with the ability to win rather with the fight necessary to mark a military victory. However, in one instance, the term is directly linked with the quality of a weapon, namely a shield (about the Old Nubian terms for this weapon, see below): P.QI 1 11.ii.2 ⲥⲟⲩⲗⲗⲟⲩ ⲏⲉⲗⲗⲕ̄ⲧⲓⲛⲁ ⲅⲟⲩⲉⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲥⲕⲓⲥⲣⲉⲛⲛⲗ̄, that can be translated as "the staff which is the victorious *shield* of readiness."

Conversely, the Greek term for "war," i.e. πόλεμος, was surely known in Christian Nubia, since it appears several times in the Septuagint and the New Testament. It is important to note that the Greek term is also used in the Sahidic New Testament, suggesting that it is not impossible that it had remained untranslated in the Old Nubian version of the Bible too (for further evidence, see the section on Saint George).

Moreover, the adjective πολέμιος for "enemy," deriving from the noun "πόλεμος" is attested in a prayer to Raphael from Banganarti, composed in "extremely corrupted" Greek. In the same text, a participle "πολεμόντων" (sic) also appears.[19] From the rich textual corpus recorded at the same site one can also glean a couple of instances of the use of the Greek noun ἐχθρὸς, meaning «enemy».[20] These instances seem to rather refer, however, to the devil and other demonic forces as the *par excellence* enemies of the Christians.

The term πολέμιος – denoting real, earthly enemies – is read in the text on the back of a small wooden plaque found at the late Christian settlement of Attiri, where Saint Epimachos is called upon "to protect the roads from the enemies." [21] At the same time, there is also an Old Nubian term for "enemy," i.e. ⲟⲩⲕⲕⲁⲧⲧ stemming apparently from the verb ⲟⲩⲣ meaning "to oppress."

The reference to "the roads" in the text of the Attiri plaque seems to invest Epimachos with the role of the protector of the territory that the ruler and/or the inhabitants of Attiri controlled. This role is confirmed and expanded to the entire Makuritan realm in the text of P.QI 3 30.26-7, where the king makes an invocation "in order that Epimachos might arise, come and place the four corners of the nation for care under my feet."

Although there are several saints with the name Epimachos, it is generally thought that the Nubian Epimachos is the same with Epimachus of Pelusium, who was not initially a warrior-saint, but a weaver from Pelusium who martyred for the Christian faith under Diocletian.[22] Perhaps through his association with other martyrs under Diocletian, like Saint George, Epimachos became a warrior saint in the belief system of the Christian Nubians; perhaps this was due to his name, including the Greek word for battle, i.e. μάχη; or perhaps thanks to some local miracle that was not preserved to us due to the loss of the relevant written source. In any case, the cult of Epimachos was widespread at least in Lower Nubia and in the later centuries of Christianity there (first half of the second

millennium CE), as can also be seen from a fragment of a stela in Coptic,[23] two fragmentarily preserved texts witnessing an Old Nubian version of his Martyrdom,[24] as well as from two painted representations at Aballah-n Irqi and Abu Oda, where the saint is spearing a fallen figure, like in the plaque from Attiri.[25]

There were, however, other military saints who were at least equally venerated in Christian Nubia as Saint Epimachos, and it seems that the idea of Epimachos spearing the enemies is inherently linked with the function of such saints who speared the adversary, in the form of a dragon, a pagan or an apostate, symbolizing in general terms the evil itself.

2. The Saint *Stratēlates* Mercurios and George

The spearing of an adversary of the Christian faith is exemplified in the Acta of Saint Mercurios.[26] Mercurios was a Roman soldier who martyred under Decius. The locality of his martyrdom was near Caesarea in Cappadocia. Thence, he was linked in one legend with Saint Basil of Caesarea. Basil was a contemporary of Julian the Apostate and, according to a version of his Life, during Julian's Persian campaign, Basil was informed in a dream that Mercurios was chosen by the Theotokos to kill the emperor. Basil rose and went to the martyrion of Mercurios, but neither his body nor his weapons were there. Later on, the news of Julian's death reached him.

An exegesis for this miracle may be linked with the report by Ammianus Marcellinus that Julian was killed by a lance "no one knows whence" (Res Gestae XXV.3.6: incertum inde).[27] Obviously, this vagueness gave room to speculation for divine intervention, while the reason that Mercurios was chosen may allegedly be linked with the role of Basil and the geographical proximity of the martyrion with Julian's Persian campaign.

In any case, when the narrative about the assassination of Julian reached Egypt, it was still linked with both the dream of Basil and the spear of Mercurios, but rather seen as part of the History of the patriarchate of Athanasios, apparently in order to invest the miracle with local references. An even further alienation from the narrative in Basil's Life is to be found in a Greek version of the Acta of Saint Mercurios discovered at Qasr Ibrim. There, Basil has disappeared from the miracle story, and the person who sees the dream is Pachomios. When this dream

comes, the father of coenobitic monasticism is together with Athanasios, during the exile of the latter in the second half of Julian's reign, i.e. 362-3 CE. The Theotokos has also disappeared from the narrative and it is now an angel of God who reveals things to Pachomios. Whether this new narrative is a local, i.e. Nubian, invention or an Egyptian contextualization of the legend around the assassination of the Emperor Julian cannot be investigated in this context.

It can be mentioned, however, that while Mercurios is represented in Egyptian iconography both as a holder of a spear,[28] and as Abu Sayfayn, i.e. the Father with the two swords,[29] in Nubia he appears as the slayer of Julian with his spear in all known mural representations, i.e. from Faras, Abdel Qadir and the Central Church of Abdallah-n Irqi.[30] The mural from Faras is of special importance, because it has been suggested that the story of Abu Sayfayn was already part of the complete iconographical concept in that section of the cathedral (see below). Thus, the iconography of Mercurios spearing Julian unites a type of weapon with the miracle story of the saint and underlines the identification of Mercurios with the act of eliminating pagans and the threat of the old religion.

This identification is relevant for the purpose of this paper, when one considers that Mercurios was the name of a very important royal figure in the history of medieval Nubia: King Mercurios ruled during the turn from the 7th to the 8th century and the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* calls him the New Constantine, who "became by his beautiful conduct like one of the Disciples".[31] Although this characterization has been linked with the annexation of Nobadia by Makuria and the integration of the united kingdom in the hierarchy of the Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria, I have suggested that the name Mercurios might have been given to him as indeed a New Constantine who turned away from heathen practices the Nubian people remaining to be Christianized, stamping out paganism like his name-sake saint speared the last pagan emperor.[32] In sum, for Christians of the Nile Valley, the name Mercurios must have sounded extremely heroic, belligerent and war-like.

Finally, there are three words that are attested in the Greek version of the Acta S. Mercurii from Qasr Ibrim, which are of direct relevance for the present investigation, namely:

- the noun πόλεμον for "war" commemorating the Persian campaign of Julian and confirming the knowledge that the Nubians must have had of this term.

- the noun λόγχαριν for "spear" identifying the miraculous weapon of the martyr in Greek. About the Old Nubian term, see discussion in previous section.

- the adjective στρατηλάτης for "general" referring to Mercurios and linking him with the other famous "general" of the Christian faith, saint George.

Saint George is perhaps the most renowned military saint. He belongs to the circle of Roman soldiers who martyred for the Christian faith under Diocletian, but his fame far surpassed that of others, for reasons that also surpass the scope of this article. His cult reached of course Christian Nubia too, as is witnessed by fragments of both a Greek and an Old Nubian version of his Acta that have been unearthed at Qasr Ibrim and Kulubnarti respectively.[33]

The Old Nubian fragments of the Martyrdom of Saint George have been reconstructed on the basis of the Greek *editio princeps*, but find also parallels in witnesses in several other languages.[34] As to the Greek version, it exhibits a text written in a Greek language characteristic of late Christian Nubia,[35] while its content seems to be a combination of Greek and Coptic versions. This observation led the editor of the Qasr Ibrim fragments to the hypothesis that the text is either the result of a free choice from both sources or a Nubian edition of an original narrative of the martyrdom antedating the Greek *editio princeps*.[36]

In terms of vocabulary, the Martyrdom of Saint George offers interesting attestations in both versions:

In the Greek one, the term κομητοῦρα,[37] a Latin loan-word also attested in the *editio princeps*, is worthwhile to comment upon, because it confirms the acquaintance of Nubians with Latin military jargon, most probably as a result of an influx of Latin terms in medieval Greek. Moreover, it is interesting that Roman military correspondence has been unearthed at Qasr Ibrim,[38] the site of provenance of the Greek version of the Nubian martyrdom of Saint George. The influence of Roman military practices in the Middle Nile region has also been marked on the ground through the apparent similarities between Roman forts and those built in the Middle Nile region during Late Antiquity.[39]

As far as the Old Nubian version of the Acta S. Georgii is concerned, the most interesting term is ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲓ[ⲗⲟⲩⲗ], which stands for the Greek term σπαθάριος, or etymologically "those (soldiers) who carry sword," combining the

terms ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲯ for “sword” and ϭⲁⲣ from ⲕⲁⲣⲣ for “to grasp, hold”.[40] The shift from *kappa* to *jima* can be explained as progressive assimilation under influence of the palatal nasal *nia*, while the phenomenon of the incorporation of a noun into a verbal root complex is attested in Old Nubian.[41]

This etymological analysis may be compromised by the existence of the Old Nubian word ⲕⲁⲣ meaning “shield,” which could translate the term as “the holder (sic) of the sword and the shield,” but without any morpheme explicating the coining of the two terms, unless it can be found in the reconstructed part of the manuscript. Moreover, the existence of a Greek Vorlage for the Acta S. Georgii gives good ground for accepting the original etymological analysis, while the term ⲕⲁⲣ is only attested in a passage of the Stauros-text, that the Coptic parallel text does not preserve.[42]

Finally, the analysis of ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲯϭⲁⲣⲓ[ⲗⲅⲟⲩⲗ] as “those (soldiers) who carry sword” opens the path for a new interpretation of another office from the titulature used in Christian Nubia, namely ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲕⲟⲗ.

This term is attested in P.QI 3 30.37 & 41 and seems to derive its etymology from the word ⲅⲟⲩⲉⲓ for “shield” or “armor” more generally. The last element ⲕⲟⲗ defines “the one who has,” forming a sort of a participle. And the remaining three letters could again be interpreted either as ⲕⲁⲣ meaning “shield” or as ⲕⲁⲣⲣ meaning “to grasp/hold”. In my opinion, it makes better sense to use the latter etymology and to see ⲅⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲕⲟⲗ as a term defining the officer who is wielding the shield.[43] For this etymology to work, one must account for the dropping of the final glide, a phenomenon which is not unattested.

The relation of this office with the “shield” brings to mind the Greek title ὑπασπιστής, which means “the one who is under the shield” and derives from the Macedonian military organization, where the hypaspistēs were a sort of esquires.[44] The office continued into the Byzantine period and, according to Maspero the hypaspistēs were the guard of the duces in Egypt,[45] often composed of mercenaries, also including “Ethiopians”, a term used for the peoples leaving south of Egypt, but which remains vague whether it denoted in the medieval era the Nubians or the inhabitants of modern-day Ethiopia or both.[46] The meaning “guard” for hypaspistēs appears also in Byzantine sources of the 11th century,[47] while in later times the hypaspistēs were important individuals close to the ruler, sort of retainers of the king. Interestingly, the most renowned chronicle of the

Fall of Constantinople in 1453 was written by Georgios Frantzis who was – among other things – the hypaspistēs of the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Paleologos.[48]

This interest lies with the fact that both instances of the term ⲣⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲕⲟⲗ in the Old Nubian corpus derive from the royal proclamation from Qasr Ibrim, examined in the section about Epimachos. Now, the first instance is only preserved partially as ⲣⲟⲩⲕ̀ⲕ́ and has been deciphered based on the second one, although they apparently refer to different persons, first to someone called Papasa and then to someone called Ounta. The first one accumulates several titles, mainly monastic, palatial, and bureaucratic; the second one is a scribe. It is not improbable that such individuals in Christian Nubia may also have exercised military functions, as the etymology based on ⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓ for "shield, armor" may indicate and the history of the term hypaspistēs in Byzantine Egypt underlines, but it is equally probable that the office meant in Makuria the same as in the later centuries in Byzantium, namely an esquire. At least this seems, in my opinion, more fitting with Papasa and Ounta in the service of king Moses George.

In any case, a military aura of the Makuritan royal court is very plausible, given, among other things, the certainly important role that the king played in warfare, as is attested in the Arabic sources referring to Christian Nubia, where the king always appears as the leader of the Nubian armies. We could look for example at this same king Moses George who stamped with hot iron a cross on the hand of the emissary of none less than Saladin, when he was asked to subdue and convert to Islam[49]; or much earlier in the 8th century, when king Kyriakos invaded Egypt and caused chaos there attempting to liberate the imprisoned patriarch Michael[50]; or even in the heroic defense of Dongola in the 7th century by king Qalidurut who signed the much-discussed *baqt* with Abdalla ibn Sa'd.[51] During the siege, the world came to know the might of the Nubian archers who were praised by the Arabic chroniclers and poets for centuries to come. The Old Nubian word for bow is attested once in a passage translated from Greek Patristic literature: ⲇⲁⲛⲁⲣ. Interestingly, in the OND, this term is linked etymologically with the Dongolawi/Andaandi *tungur*, which has a striking phonetic similarity with the Old Nubian toponym for the Makuritan capital, namely ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟⲩⲗ. Although the term tungur for "bow" seems unrelated to the accepted etymologies of ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟⲩⲗ,[52] it cannot be excluded that the inhabitants of Dongola associated their city with the war technique that their ancestors became famous

for, and they themselves surely still practiced. This is a line of thought that might be worth investigating further in a future study.

3. The ϲⲟⲗⲟϭ of Heavens and the Archistratēgos of the Makuritan King

Mercurios and George were sanctified and as stratēlates were posthumously surely manning the celestial hosts in their perennial and eternal fight against evil, along with Epimachos and the other military saints of Nubia. In this superhuman afterlife, the martyrs would thus be expected to join forces with the archistratēgos of heavens, the leader of the angelic hosts, the archangel Michael.

Characteristically, the swords that Mercurios holds in his representations in Coptic art as Abu Sayfayn are given to him by Michael as narrated in the *Encomium of Acacius, Bishop of Caesarea, on Mercurius the Martyr*.[53] It seems that the Nubians were aware of that story and while preserving the spear as weapon of the mounted Saint Mercurios in the cathedral of Faras, they represented on the adjoining wall Michael offering the sword to the saint.[54]

The archangel Michael is the most venerated celestial being in the Christian pantheon of medieval Nubia with innumerable sources dedicated to his cult.[55] One of the most popular aspects of the archangel's cult is an apocryphal work called "The Book of the Investiture of the Archangel Michael," which describes – among other things – the fall of Mastema (i.e. the devil) from Heaven due to his objection to venerate Adam as an image of God and his replacement by Michael who thence becomes protector of the humans and leader/archistratēgos of the angelic hosts.[56]

A lot has been written about the importance of this work in Nubia.[57] One important element in the discussion is the coincidence that the focal passage of the entire work – the scene of the Investiture of Michael – is the only thing narrated in the two versions fragmentarily preserved in two Nubian manuscripts: one in Greek from Serra East and one in Old Nubian from Qasr Ibrim.[58] Among other insights that this coincidence offers, there is one that obtains a special importance in the context of the present paper, namely that the word that translates the Greek term ἀρχιστράτηγος in Old Nubian is ϲⲟⲗⲟϭ, which is most probably the term used to define an Eparch of the Makuritan kingdom,[59]

more often than not (but not exclusively) linked with the Late Antique kingdom of Nobadia controlling between the 4th-5th and the 6th-7th centuries Lower Nubia.

There are, however, more Eparchs attested in the Nubian sources than just the Eparch of Nobadia. Whether all Eparchs were Songoj or whether all Eparchs had (also) a military function, it is impossible to ascertain. The Eparch of Nobadia though (the Migin Songoj of the Nubian texts) seems to be the same term as the "Lord of the Mountain," which is attested in Arabic sources and although apparently linked with economic activities (an idea based on the nature of the documents in which the title appears) he was also understood as a military officer and also called "Lord of the Horses."[60] Suffice to be reminded here that military saints in Nubia were mostly depicted on horseback.[61]

One more detail from the field of Nubian iconography: a mural from Faras housed at the National Museum of Warsaw represents an unnamed Eparch who holds a bow,[62] perhaps the weapon par excellence of Nubians, as we mentioned in the reference to the successful defense of Dongola against the invading Islamic army in the 7th century. Admittedly, this is not the only representation of an Eparch from Christian Nubia, but the sole iconographic witness of the links between the Eparch and warfare.

So, although the title of the Eparch may have been used for a variety of functions in the Makuritan state, the military one should not be doubted based on the translation of ἀρχιστράτηγος as ⲥⲟⲗⲟϭ in the Book of the Investiture of the Archangel Michael. All this is of course the result of the identification of the titles Eparch and ⲥⲟⲗⲟϭ. This identification is quite certain for some contexts, but during the centuries (at least six) that it was in use the terms may have shifted semantic fields. So, it is plausible that the term ⲥⲟⲗⲟϭ translating the Greek ἀρχιστράτηγος was a military office that supplemented the civil functions of the Eparch, an office for which the Old Nubian term is unknown – if it ever existed. On the same token, one may be reminded of the existence of the offices of *peseto* and *pelmos* in Meroitic Lower Nubia, the former having civil functions and the latter military ones.[63]

Leaving aside this necessary and eventually inevitable nuancing for a different venue, it may be concluded in the context of the present paper that the

Songoj/Eparch was (also) the archistratēgos of the Makuritan king, a sort of a *præfectus prætorio* or ἔπαρχος στρατευμάτων.[64]

Hence, a complementary working hypothesis can be advanced. In the Greek version of the Book of the Investiture of the Archangel Michael, we get a detailed description of the celestial ceremony of investiture, where Michael is receiving the garments of his new function, the uniform of the archistratēgos. In the first instance that the military character of the archangel's dress is mentioned, the garments are called στρατοπεδαρχίας ἀμφιάσματα, "the clothes of the chief of the military encampment." The Old Nubian text prefers again to state that Michael was dressed in the garment of the office of the ⲥⲟⲅⲟⲟ̅. So, it seems that for the Makuritans the Songoj was an army general presiding over an encampment. Was this encampment permanent? Or did the role apply to the leadership of a special type of unit stationed at a given locality? And to what degree such στρατοπεδαρχίαι reflect the local authority that eventually the various Eparchs attested in our sources had? These questions should remain open until new discoveries and a more thorough study of the material takes place.

4. War on the Nile

There is a last aspect that is worthwhile a comment in the framework of the present paper. The dimensions of warfare discussed hereby all seem to refer to land forces. However, the most characteristic element of the Nubian civilization is its relation with the River Nile. Therefore, its navigation cannot have left unaffected the military exploits of Christian Nubians. Actually, it has already been suggested that the placement of the fortresses of Makuria along the banks of the Nile necessitated the existence of a fleet which could transport the army and vital provisions in case of a land attack from intruders, be they desert marauders or the Egyptian army.[65] Unfortunately, there is very little in our sources that gives information about the naval forces of the Makuritans. Moreover, what is known about navigation on the Nile in terms of Old Nubian vocabulary has already been presented and this material includes nothing that points with certainty to warfare.[66]

There exists, however, one title in Greek, namely ναυάρχης, for ναύαρχος, meaning "admiral," who has been already seen as the leader of the fleet transporting goods and military units to the Makuritan fortresses.[67]

Furthermore, there should be no doubt that an "admiral" was always in existence in Nubia, since we know of a "strategos of the water" from Meroitic times.[68] Now, it has been shown in an early study of the titles and honorific epithets from Nubia that ναυάρχης, albeit of apparently Byzantine inspiration, was not the preferred *terminus technicus* for a Byzantine "admiral," but it was mainly to be found in literary works.[69] Thus, it is worthwhile enquiring whether the Makuritans did not make some bookish research in order to find the term that they would use for their admiral, as it seems that they have done in other occasions, like in the accumulation of terms for "king" in the renowned Kudanbes inscription, which – rather unsurprisingly under this light – is one of the places where the term ναυάρχης is being attested.[70]

5. Concluding Remarks

It would be difficult to pronounce a set of conclusions from this study that aimed primarily at assembling lexicographical data about warfare in Christian Nubia. Previous research has already traced the outlines of the influence of Greek terminology upon the way Nubians created their own titles and honorific epithets and there has not been found any new military terms or words of weaponry that can be added to OND. However, new apprehension of a couple of words on war was proposed here, while the revisiting of both literary and documentary sources has offered a reappraisal of some others and the nuancing of their contextualization against the background of the Makuritan Christian kingdom, undoubtedly involved in wars along its history and across the classes of its social stratification. Finally, it is perhaps the main contribution of this paper to show the potential of teasing out information about neglected aspects of the Nubian past from a careful and educated but also bold and imaginative reading of the available material.

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Endnotes

1. For a general presentation, see Welsby, *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia*, pp. 78-82. ↩

2. Edwards, "The Christianisation of Nubia: Some Archaeological Pointers," p. 89 ↩

3. Hafsaas-Tsakos, *War on the Southern Frontier of the Emerging State of Ancient Egypt*. ↩

4. Hafsaas-Tsakos, "Edges of Bronze and Expressions of Masculinity: The Emergence of a Warrior Class at Kerma in Sudan." ↩

5. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush*, pp. 39-50. ↩

6. Francigny, *Les coutumes funéraires dans le royaume de Méroé*. ↩

7. Lenoble, *El-Hobagi*. ↩

8. Crawford, *Castles and Churches in the Middle Nile Region*. ↩

9. Drzewiecki, *Mighty Kingdoms and their Forts*. ↩

10. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*; Seignobos, *L'Égypte et la Nubie à l'époque médiévale*. ↩

11. Edwards, "Slavery and Slaving in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Kingdoms of the Middle Nile." ↩

12. All the Old Nubian words assembled in this study can be found in Browne, Old Nubian Dictionary (hence OND). ↩

13. Frend, "The Cult of Military Saints in Christian Nubia." ↩

14. For the correction of the date from 1156, see Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia: A Social and Economic History*, pp. 265-70. ↩

15. The same church may be the object of two more documents, i.e. P.QI 3 40 & P.QI 3 53. ↩

16. Here a corrigendum to P.Attiri 1.ii.1 from [ⲁⲙ] to [ⲁⲇ] should be noted, see Van Gerven Oei e.a., *The Old Nubian Texts from Attiri*, p. 39. ↩

17. Khalil, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache*, p. 41. ↩

18. The word ⲁⲓⲥ-ⲧ̄ for "wrestling" is totally reconstructed in OND and is not considered in the present discussion. ↩

19. Łajtar, *A Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre in Nubia. The Evidence of Wall Inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti*, pp. 383-5 (inscription nr. 578). The citation is from p. 384. ↩

20. Idem, p. 562-3 and inscription 964. ↩

21. Tsakos, "Miscellanea Epigraphica Nubica III: Epimachos of Attiri: a Warrior Saint of Late Christian Nubia," pp. 215-7. ↩

22. Esbroeck, "Epimachus of Pelusium, Saint," pp. 965b-7a. ↩

23. Van der Vliet, *I. Khartoum Copt.*, pp. 83-4 (nr. 24). ↩

24. Browne, “An Old Nubian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Epimachus” and “An Old Nubian translation of the Martyrdom of Saint Epimachus.” ↩

25. See Tsakos, “Miscellanea Epigraphica Nubica III: Epimachos of Attiri: a Warrior Saint of Late Christian Nubia,” p. 213 with an image of the plaque and pp. 220-1 for the other representations with references ↩

26. Frend, “The Cult of Military Saints in Christian Nubia,” pp. 156-8. ↩

27. For the reference, see Idem, p. 157 and note 9. ↩

28. Piankoff, “Peintures au monastère de Saint Antoine,” p. 160 and ill. IV. ↩

29. Esbroeck, “Mercurius of Caesarea, Saint,” pp. 1593b-4a. ↩

30. See Frend, “The Cult of Military Saints in Christian Nubia,” p. 157 for references. ↩

31. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, p. 40; Seignobos, *L’Égypte et la Nubie à l’époque médiévale*, p. 96. ↩

32. Tsakos, “The Christianization of Nubia.” ↩

33. For the find from Qasr Ibrim, see Frend, “Fragments of a version of the Acta S. Georgii from Q'asr Ibrim.” For the find from Kulubnarti, see Browne, *The Old Nubian Martyrdom of Saint George*. ↩

34. Browne, ibid., p. 1-3. ↩

35. For the general characteristics of Greek in Late Christian Nubia, see Łajtar, *A Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre in Nubia. The Evidence of Wall Inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti*, pp. 20-30. ↩

36. Frend, “Fragments of a version of the Acta S. Georgii from Q'asr Ibrim,” pp. 103-4. ↩

37. Idem., p. 94. ↩

38. See Derda and Łajtar, "Greek and Latin papyri from the Egypt Exploration Society excavations at Qasr Ibrim: A testimony to the Roman army in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia in the first years of Augustus," p. 185; Derda and Łajtar, "The Roman Occupation of Qasr Ibrim as Reflected in the Greek Papyri from the Site," pp. 105-6 and notes 1 and 2 for references. ↩

39. Drzewiecki, "Roman Type Forts in the Middle Nile Valley. Late Antique Fortlets between Patterns of Roman Military Architecture and Local Tradition." ↩

40. Browne, *The Old Nubian Martyrdom of Saint George*, p. 11. ↩

41. For the phenomenon of "incorporation", see Van Gerven Oei, *A Reference Grammar of Old Nubian*, §15.1.3.4. ↩

42. This passage has been interpreted as a later interpolation by the copyist of the original work in Old Nubian, see Van Gerven Oei and Tsakos, "Apostolic Memoirs in Old Nubian." ↩

43. It should be noted that two more terms may be linked with ⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓ for "shield": the first is ⲣⲟⲩⲱ (or ⲣⲟⲩⲥ), perhaps from ⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓ for "shield" and ⲱⲗ for "spear", but Osman, "The Post-Medieval Kingdom of Kokka: A Means for a Better Understanding of the Administration of the Medieval Kingdom of Dongola," p. 191 proposes an alternative explanation of the word, albeit still interpreted as a military title; and the second is ⲣⲟⲩⲗⲁ, about which there is even less certainty. ↩

44. Foulon, "Hypaspistes, peltastes, chrysaspides, argyraspides, chalcaspides." ↩

45. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*, pp. 66-8. ↩

46. For an up-to-date discussion of the issue, see Simmons, *Nubia, Ethiopia, and the Crusading World, 1095-1402*. ↩

47. Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," pp. 13-4 ↩

48. Koukounas, *Georgios Phrantzes, Chronicon*. ↩

49. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, pp. 369-70. ↩

50. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, p. 329; Seignobos, *L'Égypte et la Nubie à l'époque médiévale*, pp. 93-112. ↩

51. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, p. 639; Seignobos, *L'Égypte et la Nubie à l'époque médiévale*, pp. 53-91. ↩

52. Łajtar, "On the Name of the Capital of the Nubian Kingdom of Makuria." ↩

53. Budge, *Miscellaneous Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, pp. 858-61. ↩

54. Zielińska and Tsakos, "Representations of the Archangel Michael in Wall Paintings from Christian Nubia," pp. 85-6. ↩

55. See Hafsaas and Tsakos, "Michael and Other Archangels behind an Eight-Pointed Cross-Symbol from Medieval Nubia: A View from Sai Island in Northern Sudan"; Tsakos, "Sources about the Cult and Persona of the Archangel Michael in Nubia." ↩

56. For the use of the title archistratēgos for the archangel Raphael, see Łajtar, *A Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre in Nubia. The Evidence of Wall Inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti*, p. 46. ↩

57. Tsakos, "The Liber Institutionis Michaelis in Medieval Nubia." ↩

58. About this coincidence, see Browne, "Old Nubian literature," p. 382; Tsakos, "Textual finds from Cerre Matto." ↩

59. Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia: A Social and Economic History*, pp. 34-5. ↩

60. Seignobos, *L'Égypte et la Nubie à l'époque médiévale*, p. 198 and note 158. ↩

61. For examples of the contrary, see Martens-Czarnecka, *The Wall Paintings from the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola*, pp. 207-13. ↩

62. Michalowski, *Faras - Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw*, nr. 61, p. 263; Jakobielski e.a., *Pachoras/Faras: The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros*, nr. 138, pp. 419-22. ↩

63. For a discussion framed as background for an analysis of the title "Eparch of Nobadia," see Hendrickx, "The 'Lord of the Mountain'. A Study of the Nubian *eparchos of Nobadia*." ↩

64. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis*, pp. 138-40. ↩

65. Żurawski, "Strongholds on the Middle Nile: Nubian Fortifications of the Middle Ages," pp. 115-8. ↩

66. Tsakos, "Terms for Boats and Navigation in Old Nubia." ↩

67. Żurawski, "Strongholds on the Middle Nile: Nubian Fortifications of the Middle Ages," p. 116. ↩

68. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush*, p. 40 ↩

69. Hägg, "Titles and Honorific Epithets in Nubian Greek texts," pp. 161-2. ↩

70. Griffith, "Christian Documents from Nubia," pp. 134-45; Łajtar, "The so-called Kudanbes Inscription in Deir Anba Hadra (St. Simeon Monastery) near Aswan: An Attempt at a New Reading and Interpretation." ↩

article/ # The Art of Revolution: The Online and Offline Perception of Communication during the Uprisings in Sudan in 2018 and 2019

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abstract/ *The article deals with art from the Sudanese revolution in 2018 and 2019 (the December Revolution). The focus is on the most recognizable and widespread images from the uprising and their presence on the streets of Sudanese cities and social media. The article shows how freedom of expression exploded on the Sudanese streets after years of censorship, suppression, and violations of freedom of speech, media, and civil rights. Art and social media had significant roles in covering the uprising. Issues related to the importance and value of art in transmitting social discourse and dissent in a tightly controlled society are raised. These issues should be the subject of wider research on conflict and social media in Sudan. This article focuses only on a small part of this vast and important topic.*

keywords/ Sudan, revolution, uprising, street art, social media, protests, murals, graffiti, images, iconic

1. Introduction

This article focuses on the images, graphics, and photos circulating on the internet – often photographs of murals and graffiti from the walls of Sudanese

streets. I discuss how street art manifested the discourse of public opinion in Sudan during the revolution and how social media became a significant part of contemporary communication. Images from social media conveyed by the international media represented the voice of Sudanese people outside the country. I will show how social media helped stage events, control activities, and back the official policy of the Sudanese government to create a different narrative of events in Sudan. This article engages with the question of how the reach of social media platforms has changed the nature of political disobedience, and how it provided new tools to overcome the repression imposed by the regime and allowed quick, safe, and anonymous going out from hiding as public opposition.

2. Methodology

In this study, I will use an analytical approach to examine articles and social media concerning the 2018/2019 December Revolution in Sudan. International media used several terms to describe the events that began in Sudan in December 2018, depending on whether the events resulted in fundamental social changes or just political change. In my understanding, the events in Sudan should be called a 'revolution', because it was a dynamic and major shift of political power and directly related to social changes.

In this study, I employed various data collection methods, relying on an extensive review of news articles, reports, and social media content. At the same time, I conducted a comparative study on international media and its interpretation of revolutionary art. I observed social media reactions to threads related to the Sudanese revolution; spoke with Sudanese people in Khartoum and the provinces; followed the art groups created on the streets and online; analysed what happened to both street and digital art after the protests ended. All of this was the basis of the analysis of art's impact on the Sudanese people during the revolution and more than two years after these events. How strong emotional charge do they still have? For the article, I limited myself to the artwork directly related to the causes of the revolution, its most important events, and the participation of women, as they were strongly represented on the streets of Sudan. Chosen street art was posted on social media in the form of photographs, paintings, graphics, cartoons, etc. I have chosen the most frequently reproduced

artworks and the creations that had the longest impact on public opinion, because over time these have become symbols of the revolution.

3. Politics and Social-Economic Context

The concept of revolution and the struggle to gain freedom is not a new phenomenon in Sudan. In 1964, the first president of Sudan, Ibrahim Abbūd was brought down during the October revolution.[1] In 1969, Jafar al-Numayri overthrew the democratic rule of al-Azhari, and then was removed from power by the popular movement in 1985.[2] Omar al-Bashir also came to power through a military coup in 1989.[3] Many reasons contributed to the revolution in 2018. As in 1964 or 1985, the political and social situation was complex, and many of those problems are still relevant in 2021.[4] However, during the 30-year reign of Omar al-Bashir, a new threat to democracy appeared while Sudan was becoming a fundamentalist dictatorship, which led to the economic sanctions imposed by the US and limited the inflow of foreign capital and opportunities for economic diversification. Media censorship and the rise of Islamic conservatism led to systemic changes dividing citizens into classes by origin, sex, and religion. Progressive changes in the law allowed the authorities to censor the citizens. In 2009, the Press and Publication Acts was introduced. This law established the National Council of the Press and Publication, which is responsible for regulating the media and licensing the newspapers. This Council is not independent, and the government appoints its members.[5] During protests in 2019, 79 journalists were arrested based on this law. In 2015, Law on Access to Information was introduced to the public, a law restricting citizens' access to information.[6][7] This was a time of high censorship and suppression. All of this meant silencing the political opposition and any criticism.

The independence of South Sudan in 2011, after the devastating Second Civil War lasting 22 years, had a dramatic effect on Sudan's economy. The Sudanese pound was devalued, and inflation rose to 70 per cent. Before that, since 1999, oil fueled the economic growth in Sudan. There was a period of relative prosperity, but the government missed this 'oil boom' and the opportunity to diversify the economy. Oil deposits are mainly located in today's South Sudan, and with the secession of South Sudan, Sudan's economy lost its main driving force and primary income. In addition, US sanctions, corruption, and government inefficiency limited any changes that would improve citizens' lives. The economic crisis aggravates the

additional costs of fighting the insurgents in the city streets and the continuous strengthening of the security sector.[8] All this resulted in currency depreciation and hyperinflation.

Thus, in the economic crisis, the government tried to recover by drastically reducing social financing. In 2010, the activist Mohammed Hassan 'Al Boushi' Alim, accused Nafi' Ali Nafi, the Former Assistant to the President, of corruption and human rights violations.[9] Enas Satir, the Sudanese artist, refers to this event in her work explaining the causes of the 2018 revolution. On her Instagram profile, she writes: "(...) Al Boushi, when facing Nafi' Ali Nafi' (...), asked him: *Tell me about the bread, that is now the size of an ear*." Every word uttered by Al Boushi is as powerful today as it was years earlier.[10] The reduction in the size of the bread referred to by Enas Satir was associated with the reduction in government subsidies on basic goods, followed by an increase in grain prices. At the same time, bakers were forbidden to raise the price of bread. Having no other choice, they began to reduce the size of the bread. Nevertheless, bread shortages were not the main reason leading to the uprising in 2018. The reason should be sought in the Sudanese economy's long-term deterioration. Many years of Islamist military regime activities have allocated more funds to the security apparatus than to economic development strategies. The corrupt system hit all citizens and significantly increased living costs, such as food and gas. Deteriorating living conditions spurred the development of a strong and conscious civil society. Professionals began forming trade unions to mobilize action for better pay and working conditions. The protesters demanded to overthrow the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) and a president who had held power for three decades. Without doubt, the lack of trust in the government and mounting tensions due to no prospects, economic collapse, and lack of access to reliable information, forced people into the streets. In 2013, 2014, and 2016, the police and the military brutally crushed the strikes in Khartoum.

In December 2018, the government, wanting to save the country from financial collapse, gave up subsidies for bread and fuel, which caused public outrage and started protests.[11] These austerity measures were initially introduced in smaller cities. The government believed that the citizens from outside the urban areas would accept the measures without protests because they wouldn't be able to mobilize. That is why the protests started in Atbara and other smaller cities. Before the protest moved to the capital, the people united in these smaller cities to demand radical political and social change. Referring to these events, artist

Abdul Rahman Al Nazeer released '*www/*The Bread Loaf', inspired by Michelangelo's painting 'The creation of Adam'.[12] In the original, God stretches out his hand towards Adam sitting in Eden. His hand has an outstretched finger to transfer the spark of creation to Adam. This image has penetrated pop culture worldwide, and the symbol of conveying the 'divine particle' or 'spark of life' is often paraphrased in visual artworks. For Abdul Rahman, this scene takes place at a typical Sudanese bus station – a Sudanese pound in God's hand, which symbolizes the spark of life necessary for human survival. In waiting for being created, Adam's limp hand holds a bread loaf.



Figure 1: 'Train'. Credit: Mounir Khalil. Source: *www/* https://twitter.com/TheMantle/status/1166501152537620480

The uprising started with the protests in Atbara, home of the Railway Workers Union, the most vital trade union in Sudan and the libertarian driving force that fuelled the 1964 and 1985 uprisings.[13] Responsible for the protests' organized activities, the Sudanese Professionals Association, established in 2018, follows the Union tradition.[14] Entry in Khartoum of a train from Atbara full of people chanting: "*The dawn has come, Atbara has arrived*" has become one of the 2018-2019 revolt symbols. This event is also a reference to the October 1964 strike, when

citizens from Kassala boarded their freedom train to Khartoum to help oust General Abbūd from power.[15]

One of the most recognizable images of the train is the art piece by Mounir Khalil (Figure 1), which captures the joy of the people on the train and the tense anticipation of the crowd gathering at the tracks.[16] Hussein Merghani (Figure 2) immortalized this moment in a painting showing hundreds of people welcoming the train filled with waving flags. Merghani's painting exudes strength, energy, and a sense of community – it reflects the atmosphere in Sudan during the revolution.[17]



Figure 2: 'Freedom Train'. Credit: Hussein Merghani. Source: www/ https://www.usip.org/blog/2020/11/how-art-helped-propel-sudans-revolution

Protests broke out in Sudan in December 2019, calling for the stepdown of President Omar al-Bashir and his regime.[18] In particular, large numbers of young people, especially women, took to the streets. The mobilization of people in Atbara began the pursuit of political change for the entire nation. On December 19, girls from one of the schools in Atbara marched in one of the largest markets in the city chanting slogans against cutting subsidies. This was the result of increasing grain and bread prices and thus increasing prices for school meals. The girls were joined by others, and photos from the demonstration quickly

circulated on social media and sparked protests in al-Gedarif, Madani (near Khartoum), Nyala (Darfur), and Port Sudan.[19]

Contrary to the uprisings of 1964 and 1985, where trade unions played a leading role, the uprisings in 2013, and especially that of 2018, were driven by masses of young people and activists organizing protests and providing up-to-date information. As far as the uprising of 2019 is concerned, the protests had a unique character because they were a combination of efforts by professional and social groups – those that were first mobilized in 2013, community-based structures and initiatives training from the beginning in non-violent civil engagement. The Sudanese Professional Association (SPA) showed extraordinary leadership skills, however, it was the involvement of civil society that made it possible to sustain a decentralized campaign based on non-violent protests.

The collaboration of local groups and trade unions (which always were a very strong part of civil society organizations) was particularly noticeable. SPA mobilized the people and actively participated in the activities against al-Bashir's regime, as during previous revolutions in which professional organizations took an active part. However, despite the similarities, the situation in 2019 was different due to the organizational structure. Decentralized activities in social media influenced the spread of information and mobilization of people across the country. Youth became more politically involved and joined volunteers and professional associations in training and organizing civil society during the protests. Even threats of arrest and attacks on protesters did not stop Sudanese citizens from going out in the streets.

The dramatic situation in which the Sudanese found themselves and the exhaustion of their trust in the government is shown in Khalid Albaih's artwork (Figure 3).[20] In his graphic, people are queuing for bread and other necessities and this queue ends with a bomb. The graphic is inspired by everyday life because people are forming a tight queue. There is already a fuse lit at the end of the queue, illustrating that citizens' patience has its limits, that the process of social awakening has already started, and that there is no turning back.

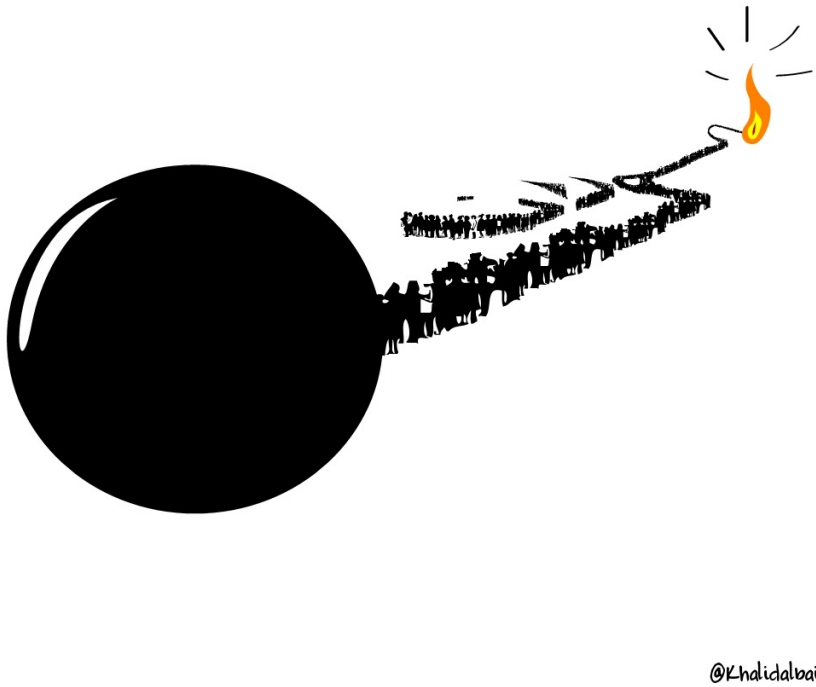


Figure 3: Cartoon by Khalid Albaih. Source: https://kultwatch.se/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/KhalidAlbaih_QueuingBomb_Sudan.jpg

In the face of widespread frustration and anger, president al-Bashir dissolved the government and appointed military officers in its place to avoid stepping down from power. However, on April 10, a military coup led to his resignation. History has come full circle, and al-Bashir was removed from power the same way that he seized power 30 years earlier. The protests continued as the army that forced al-Bashir to step down was engaged in the Transitional Military Council (TMC), chaired by General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, also known as Hemeti.[21] Hemeti is known in Sudan for his ties to The Rapid Support Forces (RSF), a paramilitary group descended from the infamous Janjaweed militias. Protesters demanded civilian participation in the transitional government and the dissolution of TMC. Among the protesters were young women seen on the frontline of the marches, women whose rights were systematically violated by the Bashir regime. Female

protesters have been verbally and sexually harassed by the police and security forces. This meant that each of the protesting women had to face great fear. They had to be strong, and their strength emanated from the other women sharing the struggle. Each woman shouting anti-government slogans led masses of protesters behind her.

The protests continued nationwide despite the increasing acts of aggression from the armed forces. On June 3, the RSF cordoned off sit-in protesters and used firearms. This attack on peaceful protesters in front of the military headquarters in Khartoum resulted in the killing of at least 127 people, and the attack is called the Khartoum massacre.[22] The RSF could not have acted on their own, and it seems that the TMC had approved the attack. Khartoum was cut off from the world by an internet blackout. Suddenly, all social media platforms updating daily on the situation in Sudan went silent. There was no possibility to use traditional media, television did not broadcast information, and newspapers were suspended. Acts of violence escalated, and shocking descriptions of attacks, shootings of protesters, and rapes of women appeared in reports of witnesses calling for international help.[23] Increasing social tensions prolongated peace talks that were completed with the signing of the Draft Constitutional Declaration on August 4 by the Forces of Freedom and change – consisting of the uprising movement and the TMC.[24] The agreement stipulated that a Transitional Government of four civilians and three military officers would oversee changes in the country during a three-year transition period. The declaration did not contain specific economic reforms, specific mandates to improve the rights of women and youth, any plan to prosecute those guilty of war crimes, or a rigorous investigation into the June 3 massacre.[25] However, changes began with dissolving al-Bashir's NCP party and the repealing of the Public Order Act[26], which targeted women drastically and restricted their freedom.[27] Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) was prohibited under penalty of imprisonment.[28]

Strikes are over, but the Sudanese still fear that history will repeat itself and that the military will try again to usurp power. Democratization in Sudan has begun, but the elites associated with al-Bashir's regime can slow down the process significantly. The failure to include social and economic reforms in the constitution may compromise the main postulates of the movement. The agreement also avoids issues of war and peace, racism, and the marginalization of minorities and refugees. However, solving such important and challenging problems requires time and careful observation of the government's actions, and

Sudanese activists seem to be watching. Such a high civic mobilization may allow the building of a strong democracy because public opinion will hold both transitional and elected political leaders accountable. The Constitutional Charter from 2019 established a government consisting of a civilian cabinet, a Sovereignty Council, and a Legislative Council. Decisions regarding domestic and foreign policy are taken by Lieutenant General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, the head of the army and the chairman of the Sovereign Council, which bypasses civilian leadership and calls for the dissolution of the government. Meanwhile, citizens continue to demand a civilian government with full executive powers.

4. Art beyond Divisions and Prejudices

The core of the uprising and the source of its strength was the equality of all Sudanese people. No protests in Sudan had previously included every ethnic group and social class included. The Sudanese have emphasized that not only the people of Khartoum took protests to the streets, but also the peoples of Kordofan, Nuba Mountains, and Darfur. In a video from the protests, a woman chants: "*From Kordofan [the revolution] has emerged after we have been hit by gunfire. This is a government with no feelings... and the Nuba mountains, like Darfur, their blood is very expensive. We will protect our land, oh farmer. Our Sudan will be set free!*"[29] Three decades of hate speech used on generations of people was an easy and effective way to turn people against each other. NCP promoted ethnic, religious, and social discrimination and justified hatred and violence against minorities and refugees. Government propaganda polarized the country and aroused distrust between different ethnic groups while emphasizing the supremacy of Sudan's Arabic-speaking Muslims. Ethnic identification has been used by al-Bashir's regime for decades, dividing the country and fuelling inequality. During the civil war in Darfur, the rebel tribes were called by the government "Black Africans". In opposition to them, the Sudan army was identified as Arabs.[30] Attempts to implement the same ethnical division on young people impacted the social response and became a double-edged weapon. The opposite, as expected, brought people closer under the slogan: "We want a country free of racism!" [31] Young activists created a new quality of communication and collective disobedience. No one felt excluded, and a concept of peaceful demonstrations, so different from the terror used by the security apparatus, appealed to all people. The opposition to al-Bashir's rule formed a fertile ground for the unification of all Sudanese people and pushed them to act as one.

The long-lasting civil war in Darfur was used as a government excuse for the deepening economic crisis and the stricter racist policy towards non-Arabs.[32] During the sit-in, protesters have often stressed that, as a result of long-term government campaigns targeting ethnic minorities, the division of society is a severe problem.[33] Currently, there are studies on the Arab Islamist Sudanese government inspiring the conflict in Darfur.[34] In 2018, the government accused ten young Darfur men of planning a terrorist attack on protesters on the streets of Khartoum. According to public records, they planned to use self-made bombs. The plot was exposed in social media and showcased the same race-based politics that the al-Bashir regime was known for. The friends of the young Darfurians identified them as peaceful students rather than terrorists.[35] In response to such a despicable attempt to spark ethnic riots, protesters called for unification with a special message to the government: *You racist egomaniac! We are all Darfur!*[36] As a counter-narrative to the regime's propaganda, artists embraced Sudan's cultural diversity and appreciation for uniting differences. One of the murals by Mughira, a fine arts student, shows a series of figures standing next to each other in traditional and contemporary clothes and headgear – symbolizing participation in protests regardless of origin.[37]

Racism in Sudan is a complex issue due to the mixture of various populations. Deep-rooted racism, discrimination, and intolerance are the results of years of government propaganda emphasizing racial and ethnic superiority. With the spread of the internet, propaganda moved to social media. Pages responsible for spreading ethnic propaganda were often exposed on Facebook during the revolution in 2019. Sudanese knew the regime's methods and remembered many cases when fake news and hate speech started violence between ethnic groups, especially in the South.[38] The exclusionary policy not only covered non-Arab tribes but also women, who were the primary victims of the Public Order Act.[39] Coupled with physical and verbal abuse, women were gradually forced out of society.[40] Women were in the front of the protests from the first day of the revolution; they became symbols of strength and muses for the artists. 60-70% of the participants were women, so there is a reason why this revolution is often described as the Women's Revolution.[41] Women inspired artists with their steadfastness when facing the oppressive army officers, strength during the long sit-in and ululation, kindness, and readiness to help the wounded and those in need. Female artists' perspective was crucial for showing women's everyday life without beautifying it and of priceless value for understanding their motivation

and hopes. The artist Almoger Abdulbagey painted 17 images of walking women in traditional and contemporary clothes – reflecting their ethnic diversity. These abstract figures painted with vivid colours emanate power, as reporters who witnesses the marches and chanting described the women's presence in the demonstrations.[42] This is an example of how fake news targeting ethnic groups spread by the regime backfired during the protests. Art began to express the opposition to the state propaganda, and this became a turning point in the perception of social divisions by the Sudanese themselves. There is no consent to racist propaganda in these artworks.

On 8 April 2019, Lana Haroun took the photo of Alaa Salah in front of the military headquarters in Khartoum. The iconic photo shows Alaa Salah standing on the car's roof, with her hand up, leading the chant and making the crowd cheer together.[43] Alaa Salah was then a 22-year-old architecture student who advocated for women's rights. Her photo became a symbol of protests in Sudan and sparked a new trend in artworks focusing on women's rights, strength, steadfastness, and constant motivation to get the people around them involved. Of course, there are many photos and videos from this event. However, this photo widely echoed around the world. Alaa Salah's white tobe is associated with professions such as teachers, nurses, and midwives – they adopted it as their uniform and is still considered a modest garment for educated and independent women. The thoughtful selection of Alaa Salah's clothing makes reference to the tradition of Sudanese female activists from the 1940s and 1950s, and the dress emphasizes the legacy of women's fight for social justice.[44] "*At a national conference in 1969, activist and first female member of Sudan's Parliament, Fatima Ahmed Ibrahim, argued that women's rights were in keeping with Sudanese traditions. As evidence of this, Ibrahim asked the audience to compare her tobe with the western business suit of then-President Gaafar Numeiri, who stood next to her*."[45] The choice of the outfit was undoubtedly a well-thought-out move and its message spread widely and drew attention to the feminist movement in Sudan. This image of a young student is still the most recognizable and most shared image in social media of the 2018/2019 revolution. The only downside to the attention the image attracted is that the focus was not on the words spoken by Alaa Salah but only on her outfit. She was quoting the reaction of Sudanese poet Azhari Mohamed Ali against the Public Order Act: "*They imprisoned us in the name of religion, burned us in the name of religion ... killed us in the name of religion*".[46] Lana Haroun's photo, referred to as a symbol of the revolution, was repeatedly adapted and changed by

artists worldwide, sometimes in an optimistic or satirical way, and sometimes in a more serious and sublime manner. For example, in Ali Hamra's cartoon where Alaa Salah replaced the Statue of Liberty on the pedestal, al-Bashir runs away in panic upon seeing her. Kesh Malek's mural presents Alaa Salah standing among the flashes of mobile phones commemorating the event with a slogan next to it: "*Liberty is not a statue anymore. She is alive with flesh and blood".* In an impressionist manner, a painting by Fatima Abdullahi shows Alaa Salah raising her arm in the air amidst a mostly female crowd of protesters, holding their phones with a flashlight, which creates a magical glow and gives the picture a nearly mystical expression. Of course, Alaa Salah is one of the thousands of women taking part in the revolution, standing up against uniformed men. However, this image became viral, and Alaa Salah became an icon of the revolution, a symbol of women's fights for equal rights. Thanks to her recognition, she also became an activist raising Sudanese women's rights to the international agenda. "*Every revolution inspires another revolution,*" Alaa Salah says in an interview, stressing that women will not hesitate to take to the streets again when needed.[47]



Figure 4. An adaptation of Bint El Sudan perfume label. Credit: Amado Alfadni. Source: www/ https://twitter.com/shambat2000/status/1251838673362001921/photo/1

A unique adaptation of Alaa Salah as "The scent of the revolution" was created by artist Amado Alfadni (Figure 4). He brilliantly turned the renowned Bint El

Sudan perfume emblem into a powerful message of revolution. The exhibition of Bint El Sudan perfume labels created by Amado shows how the iconography has changed over the decades, from the original to a censored version of an Arabian woman dressed from head to toe. This collection reflects the political discourse and social changes in Sudan without words and helps realize the extent of changes and restrictions in the lives of all Sudanese women.[48]

A billboard with a photo of Alaa Salah next to the sign: “My grandmother was a Kandaka.” In a powerful way, this picture emphasizes Sudanese women’s strength.[49] These words were also chanted during the demonstration, empowering, and connecting generations of women walking together. On a mural painted by artists Amir Saleh and Belal Abdelrahman it is stated: *Our history returns back with Kandaka*. It shows a woman wearing a helmet and brandishing a sword for her enemies.[50]

Sudanese artist Yasmin Elnour’s Instagram account is Kandaka Khronicles. The nickname is inspired by the Kushite queen. Her works beautifully and harmoniously draw on Nubian traditions and combine ethnic aesthetics with modern symbols.

The art piece “Kandaka factory" emphasizes the participation of women in strikes (Figure 5). She traces the women's ancestry back to the pyramids of Ancient Kush, where she placed the factory producing all the brave Sudanese warriors. With the art piece 'Women rights?' Yasmin Elnour asks where are women's rights, and why are Sudanese women second-class citizens? She writes on her Instagram account: *"A surprising status quo in the old stomping ground of the Kandakes - Nubian Warrior Queens that fought off foreign powers and steadfastly ruled the Kingdom of Kush. We cannot blindly accept oppressive frameworks but instead carve a path of resistance, in the glowing spirit of our female ancestors.”*[51]



Figure 5: 'Kandaka Factory'. Credit: Yasmin El Nour's aka Kandaka Khronikles. Source: www/https://www.instagram.com/p/B6gu7tBHds7/

A collage by Mahammed Mahdi shows women in white tobes and modern clothes marching with their fists raised in protest and as signs of anger. Above them, in the air, as if freed and freely soaring upwards, there is a woman in white and next to her the inscription: *Long live the women's struggle!*[52] The artist emphasizes women's daily battle for equality, free speech, and fair governance (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Graphic by Mahammed Mahdi reading 'Long live the women's struggle'. Source: www/https://kultwatch.se/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/866BFC8F-AF67-4463-8BDA-08D5CAD648B6-760x1024.jpeg

Artist Alaa Satir focused on the socio-political aspects of women's lives in Sudan. Her series of cartoons, "*We are the revolution*", honours female protesters' centrality in uplifting and sustaining the resistance through their strength, courage, and commitment.[53] In her graphic, she also refers to Sudan's

Independence Flag, which no longer represents the state. Gaafar Nimeiry replaced this flag with the tricolor black-white-red flag with a green triangle at the hoist in 1970. The Independence Flag, as seen on the Alaa Satir graphics, resembled the flags of Rwanda and Tanzania, emphasizing the racial diversity of Sudan and the joining of all ethnic groups, while Nimeiry's flag derives from purely Arab aesthetics and refers to the Sudanese Arab identity.[54] Many protesters waved the Independence Flag during the rallies. Its colors emphasize the combination of Arab and African roots, which was also reflected in the people's outfits on the streets. Like many young activists, Alaa Satir raised a very important issue regarding identity and ethnicity, which was widely discussed during the sit-in. For the first time, these matters were discussed openly and emphasized that multi-ethnicity is what makes Sudan stronger. In her works, Alaa Satir also shows the everyday life of protests and the enormous influence of women who took the fight to the streets and for whom giving up is not an option. One of the murals with the inscription: 'We are the revolution, and the revolution continues' portrayed women in traditional clothes with their hands raised and their fists clenched in a gesture of victory.[55]

Another mural, painted on a blue background, shows a woman with a raised hand in a sign of victory with slogans next to this like: 'Freedom, peace, and justice', 'Tasqut Bas' and 'Ladies, stand your ground; this is a women's revolution'. The artist writes about the events in Sudan: "*We are not here just to overthrow a political regime but the corrupt social system that came along with it, that targeted women and used all techniques to try and push them backwards!*"[56]

Mergani Salih chose a different form of expression by creating a mosaic with thousands of photos of women protesting and suffering from an oppressive government. With dedication, he searched the Internet to choose the right photos to create a representation of Sudan's embodiment. The character is deeply rooted in Sudan folklore – Habouba, grandmother and caretaker. He adopted a photo of an older woman in a traditional headdress, with a calm expression on her face, curious eyes, and a face bearing traces of work and time – like Sudan itself, tired and aged but still with a sparkle in the eyes looking to the future. This video mosaic is available online and even now makes an unforgettable impression on the onlooker.[57]

An anonymous female artist who adapted Banksy's 'Mona Lisa with rocket launcher' created a mural deeply inspired by pop culture. After all, Banksy's

London mural was referring to Da Vinci's 'Mona Lisa'. The mural in Khartoum shows a figure whose outline resembles Banksy's 'Mona Lisa', but her face is that of a Sudanese woman with a scarf on her head and a rocket launcher in her hands. This simple image has a powerful and direct message: beware of women's power.

5. Online Art

A new generation of young activists looks back to the Girifna (meaning 'we are fed up') movement, founded by students in Khartoum in 2009, for inspiration. Their fight shifted the protest onto completely different tracks than those known from previous uprisings. Girifna volunteers organized just before the elections that would take place in 2010, realizing that the society was under-informed, and deciding to change this situation.[58] Awareness campaigns quickly expanded to organizing protests and publishing news without censorship. Within a few years, these activists became the main opposition force, and they are now visible on the political scene in Sudan. Contemporary opposition groups significantly differ from classical parties such as the National Umma Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, and the Communist Party.[59] The SPA distinguished itself through their activities in social media, thanks to which Sudanese people were allied to their demands. At the beginning of the revolution, SPA formed alliances with many political parties. As a result, 'The Forces of Freedom and Change' was formed.[60] Very quickly the SPA started expressing the voices of all Sudanese and published daily on Facebook the public opinion on the current situation in Sudan.

The activists arousing political awareness among young people and manifesting their social needs come from various regions of Sudan and even the diaspora. Thanks to such participation of young people, revolutionary agitation was very effectively transferred to social media and developed countless forms of expression. These tactics have so far been entirely ignored by political parties, but young innovative activists identify themselves without any problems with them. Elusive on the web, they are free to report on events in Sudan and strengthen international support for the protesters. Online communication has been constantly changing over the years, adapting to the situation and guaranteeing optimal and safest oppositionist conditions. NISS (National Intelligence and Security Service) created cyber units called *jihadist cyber units*. Members created false accounts on Facebook or Twitter to disinform protesters,

spread propaganda, or lure individual activists into traps. These efforts did not go unnoticed. The SPA has created applications for contact between members and a website that broadcasts protests live. Social media became the primary source of information about events in Sudan and the main communication tool for revolutionaries. One can say that they even fuelled their activities. The regime controlled the state media and for a long time provided only propaganda to improve its image. At the same time, information was published on Twitter and Facebook, simultaneously translated from Arabic to English.[61]

Al Jaili 'Jaili' Hajo is an artist who has pointed out the lack of information about the situation in the country in the media. In his collages, he compares public television news with photos from protests, showing how the reality on the streets of Khartoum is diametrically different from government propaganda broadcasted on television.[62] In one of his collages, we see people injured after the June 3 2019 crackdown. In a manner, such artworks replace public media, which had no information about this event.

The live-streaming massacre on 3 June 2019 was an unprecedented case made possible by the courage of the protesters who shared photos and videos in social media. Journalists producing "Africa Eye" for BBC have collected several videos from the attack by RSF in a shocking short documentary about the revolution.[63] The documentary shows the ruthless and planned actions of the militia and the terror of the protesters. Live posts on Twitter reported a minute-by-minute escalation of violence by the RSF. Photos showed people injured and killed on the streets, overcrowded hospitals, and bodies pulled out from the Nile. All this, seen almost live, confronted the world with what was happening in Sudan in an unprecedented manner. Social media flooded with digital art after these horrifying events.

The artist Enas Satir created the series 'Kaizan and why they are bad for you' – a compilation of drawings explaining the origin of the word 'kaizan' (metal mug) and why the Sudanese use it as a name for the government (see also below). This series is aesthetically appealing and, for those from abroad, also very informative. Enas Satir put a broader context on Sudan's situation in a simple and clever manner.[64] She writes on one of her drawings: *If Sudan was a person, it would by now be gravely ill* next to a metal cup ('Kaizan') filled with blood.[65]

Under al-Bashir's rule, any political expression was forbidden, so artists developed a way to spread anti-government content, in an indirect way. However, during the uprising, the freedom of expression replaced all restrictions, and artists finally could speak their minds, and via social media they could reach people anywhere. Visual and audio-visual forms of documentation attracted a larger group of people and had a more significant impact on the audience than TV news. Never has such an extensive range of information resources been used to show the power of the people in Sudan. An online mobilization aimed at identifying the aggressors who were attacking protesters, another unprecedented method of exercising justice. Based on photos and videos available online, a group of women recognized the RSF officers and published their data on Facebook. For this reason, operations' officers began to wear masks to hide their faces and prevent their identification.[66]

There has been an unstoppable flow of drawings, cartoons, and memes, fuelling the protests with bold images and intelligent retorts. This uprising sparked a social, political, and cultural awakening that intertwined with each other, creating an image of the marginalized before pressing problems and underlining the power of social resistance. In art, we can find traditional symbols and African indigenous motifs. Also, the modern cultural references blend poetically with traditional Sudanese aesthetics, creating bold and authentic artwork. Thanks to the influence of tradition, so deeply rooted in Sudanese consciousness, art reached everyone, regardless of age or origin. Artists found a way to spread ideas and share their views in an accessible and universal way. We can distinguish references to the history of Sudan, be it ancient (the kingdom of Kush) or more modern (independence and earlier revolutions). For example, a collage by Merghani Salih with a young boy reciting poetry during protests superimposed on Kushite pyramids refers to the ancient history of Sudan (Figure 7). It is an adaptation of the photo entitled 'Straight Voice,' a powerful image made by Yasuyoshi Chiba, who won World Press Photo in 2020, in the Photo of the Year category.[67]



Figure 7. Adaptation of 2020 World Press Photo by Yasuyoshi Chiba. Credit: Merghani Salih. Source: www/ https://twitter.com/Merg_Salih/status/1251875224838176771/photo/1

A famous slogan appearing on social media: *Make Sudan Great Again*, on the background of monumental buildings from the Kush period, is an ironic comment on Donald Trump's slogan "Make America Great Again", but it also emphasized the reliance on the powerful Sudanese ancestors dominating in north-eastern Africa during the Kushite period. The people of ancient Nubia were captured as slaves by Egypt. Then the power dynamics between Nubia and Egypt shifted, and Kush ruled Egypt as pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty (about 747-656 BCE). Thus, art teaches history; the Sudanese cannot live in chains, and they are capable to regain their freedom. Ben Jones, with his artworks, alludes to modern times in world history. His graphics portray al-Bashir and his military allies as Nazis. It is a powerful and terrifying combination, but it is indisputably associated with the racist rhetoric of the NCP authorities and the genocide committed in Darfur and Kordofan.

The global movement #BlueForSudan started in solidarity with Sudanese martyr Mohamed Mattar, whose favourite colour was blue. An artist known as Kandaka Khronicles (see above), created a photomontage with a young boy crying in a boat floating on a bloody river. It is a homage to those killed in the crackdown

and their families. The dark blue backdrop honours Mohamed Mattar, the boy's endless tears remind of the ongoing aggressions against peaceful protesters. Also, 'Blue Night' by Mounir Khalil, an impressionist painting, shows people waving flags against a starry sky background. It is a beautiful art piece full of tranquillity and dedicated to those fallen during the uprising (Figure 8).

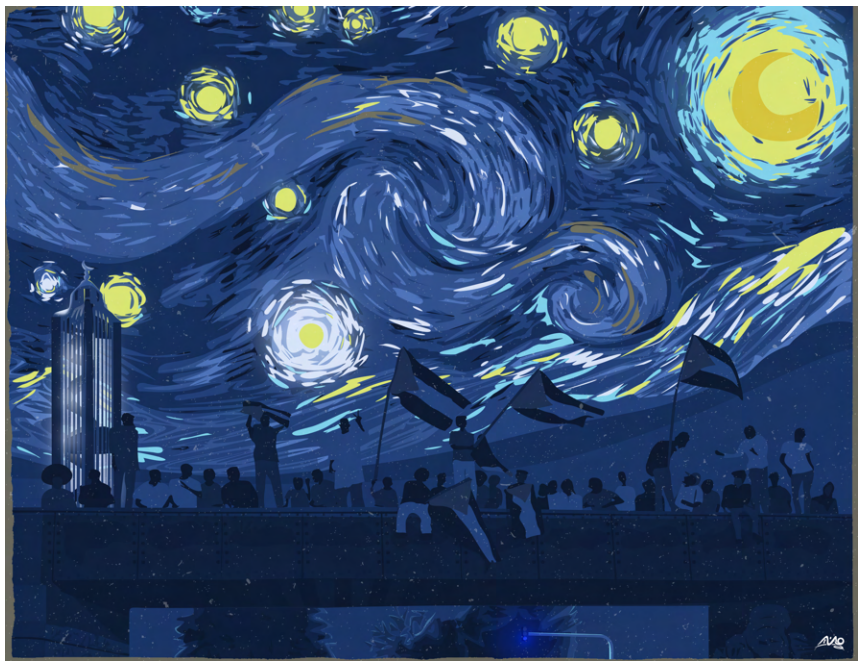


Figure 8: 'Blue Night'. Painting by Mounir Khalil. Source: www/ https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/635992778614196359/s

A graphic by Jaili Hajo is a collage of a viral photo made on the streets of Khartoum. In a pickup truck used by security services lies a protester knocked over on the car's back but still holding the Sudanese flag high in the air. On the car roof, covered by the waving Sudanese flag, stands an enormous figure of al-Bashir. He is not essential for the artist; his face does not even deserve to be shown; he is only a symbol of oppression. The artist thoughtfully depicts the sense of fear that people must have felt when faced with the armed forces. We can notice an officer with a long truncheon with a split end on the side of the car – the truncheon was probably used against the crowd.[68]

When the news broke out on social media that a NISS car killed the 3-year-old boy Muayed Yasir and seriously injured his 5-year-old brother, people worldwide were shocked and mobilized against the impunity of the security services in Sudan. Artists decided to react too.[69] The 'Hanz' graphic designer on his Twitter account condemned this event and asked for public support to the mother of the two boys, one of which was still in intensive care at the hospital (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Death 3-year-old boy Muayed Yasir. Credit: Hanz. Source: www/ https://twitter.com/mr_hanzala/media

Mustafa Alnasry created a poignant graphic of Bashir dancing on stage during his '1 Million People March' organized to underline people's support for the government. Alnasry shows the coldly calculated dance of the President, posing as a kind leader, at the same time, ruthlessly attacking peaceful resistants.[70]

Drawings inspired by pop culture reached the most remarkable popularity online. For example, in the work of Ibrahim Jihad (known as hxmaside), there is a reference to the Transformers' universe of the DC comics. His graphic entitled 'Fallen' presents the symbolic metal cup, "Kaizan" (see above) damaged by bullets, dropped on the ground or thrown away, thus no longer needed.[71] This art piece resembles a movie poster, and as with any poster of that kind, we can find out that "Kaizan Fall" was produced and directed by Sudanese people – a clever artistic move. Another point of inspiration from pop culture is the reference to the KFC restaurants: The slogan "Al-jidād al-iliktrūni" means "The electronic chicken", and it is referring to people hired by the regime to spread fake news on the Internet. In a satirical manner, the revolutionaries created posters portraying Omar el-Bashir on a KFC flyer, where KFC was replaced by KEC (Kaizan Electronic Chicken).[72] What is 'Kaizan'? It is a traditional mug made of steel and called 'koz' (singular of Kaizan). There are different theories on why Sudanese started calling the ruling party 'Kaizan'. Alshaheed Alimam Alhassan Albana, the Muslim Brotherhood founder, once said: "*Knowledge is a sea and we are its kaizan*", which back then described Muslim Brotherhood members but now refers to Omar al-Bashir and the National Congress Party (NCP).[73]

Among the artists who commented on the events in Sudan were cartoonists. Cartoons are sarcastic, often on the verge of absurdity or insult, but their message refers often to tragic events. They have sometimes been made without any inscriptions because the image itself is universal and does not need any explanation. Khalid Albaih shows how General Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, also known as Hemeti, climbs on the corpses of the Sudanese people to attain power (symbolized here as a throne).[74] A pile of bodies wrapped in shrouds is a very powerful and upsetting image. In a violent manner, the artist addresses the civilian casualties, which are part of the brutal rise of Hemeti to power in Sudan. Hemeti, together with general Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, are responsible for armed attacks in Darfur and took part in the war in Yemen. Their rise to power was a blow for the Sudanese and, at the same time, a call for mobilization to continue the struggle for democracy. Sudanese cartoonist Boushra Al-Mujahid commented daily on the events in Sudan. His images were always on point, clever, and understandable even for foreigners unfamiliar with Arabic.[75] The security forces were so obedient that they even arrested a donkey that the protesters had marked with revolutionary slogans. The event recorded by the phone of an onlooker set in motion a wave of satirical cartoons ridiculing the absurd

attempts of the government to keep order on the streets. This image transformed into all sorts of memes and cartoons to mock the soldiers and express disrespect for their actions.[76]

Participating in sit-ins was associated with the risk of an attack by the security forces using tear gas and rubber bullets and all kinds of physical and mental aggression. A video available online shows a group of protesters on one side of the street and police forces on the other, throwing tear gas canisters into a crowd. We see the brave woman Rifka Abdel Rahman taking a tear gas canister (which is about to explode) and throwing it back. She was named 'Bumban Catcher' ('Bumban' means tear gas in Sudan). Merghani Salih returns to these events in his art after the revolution using 3D models. The series is called "Living with Revolutionaries" and, as he describes himself, it was created to capture the icons of the Sudan Revolution. One of these 3D models, posted on Merghani's Twitter account, commemorated the courage of Rifka 'Bumban Catcher'.[77]

6. Street Art

During the uprising, alongside regular verbal and written communication, a flood of sketches, murals, graffiti, and cartoons spread the word about the revolution across Sudan. Art became a platform for transmitting information in a highly censored environment, reflecting social tensions, and forming political discourse. Slogans were everywhere, on people's clothes or bodies, but mainly on all urban structures. Sudanese people expressed their emotions on the building walls, streets, public transport, fences, and even trees and animals. Anti-government slogans appeared in every space that it was possible to draw, even the smallest ones. The slogan *Tasqut bas* addressed to el-Bashir and his regime can be translated as: *Just fall, that's all* or *You'd better fall.*[78] This slogan was repeated and hash-tagged many times on different kinds of brochures and online flyers. Almost equally famous was: *Ash-shaab yurid isqat an-nizam*, which means: *The people want the regime to fall.*[79] It appeared on the buildings and bus stops not only in Khartoum but in other towns and even villages. Activists created the hashtags #BlueForSudan and #KeepEyesOnSudan, which appeared widely both on the streets and online. These hashtags attracted world attention on Sudan and kept up the mobilization in favour of the revolution. #BlueForSudan represents the favourite colour of the martyr Mohamed Mattar, who was shot protecting two women during a police attack (see above). Another hashtag formed during

the protests was #Sudaxit. This alluded to Brexit and emphasized that protesters identified more with African peoples than with Arabs and demanded the separation of Sudan from the Arab League.[80]

Due to the restrictions imposed on Internet and the censorship practised in public television, the flow of information had to find other ways to spread. The activists used brochures, postcards, or leaflets, sometimes minor marks on clothes or on their bodies. That information included the dates and places of protests, comments on current events, revolutionary slogans or symbols, and glorifications of the martyrs. Women, for example, used the henna painting (traditionally made before weddings) and designed anti-government slogans or images on the hands or feet of protesters.[81] Also women wove revolution symbols into their traditional clothes, adding victory signs or *Tasqut bas* slogans to their toubes, which gained over the years representative status as a reminder of feminist values fought by their mothers and grandmothers.[82] Older generations wore the white toube during the previous popular uprising, which once again linked traditions with modern times.

The artists felt responsible for showing the emotions of the Sudanese people and spreading the revolutionary messages. Such a message can be found on a mural in Khartoum, which is an interesting adaptation of www/Eugène'a Delacroix', 'La Liberté guidant le peuple'. The accompanying text reads: The revolution will go on. These artworks were an expression of despair and hope. They were born out of a desperate need for change and the necessity of speaking the truth. Street art, impermanent and unique, could be removed at any time, and the artists who made it were in constant danger of being caught and imprisoned. All of this was evanescent. It emphasized the fragility of human existence and made it even more inclined to reflect on the values of life and what is worth fighting for. Assil Diab, a graffiti artist, known as 'sudalove', was one of the many female Sudanese artists courageously creating art on the streets of Khartoum.[83] Diab painted murals and immortalised the memory of Sudanese killed by security forces during the uprising. Sometimes the families were taking part in creating the martyrs' portraits, which allowed them to add something personal to commemorate their loved ones. The portraits are reminders of the loss and sacrifice, of government brutality and their disrespect for human life, and the price of freedom and democracy.

One of the most high-profiled cases of police and intelligence services brutality was the death of Ahmed al-Khair, a 36-year-old teacher from Kashm al-Qirba. He was arrested at his home after the protest he was taking part in and died on 2 February 2019, after a week of detention. The police stated that the cause of Ahmed's al-Khair death was the result of his poor health condition and was not related to his imprisonment. However, the examination of Ahmed's body, first by his family and then by pathologists, indicated death by beating and torture to which he was subjected during the interrogation. The horrifying details of the torture shocked and infuriated the public and Ahmed's story was told nationwide.[84] Sudanese still recall these events in conversations, emphasizing that this was the turning point of the revolution. There was nationwide mobilization and awareness that nothing would stop the regime to silence the voice of the nation. Anger and opposition to violence united the Sudanese people more than before. Images of Ahmed were held by the protesters during the rallies, were reproduced on the city's walls, and circulated in social media. When, on 30 December 2020, 29 intelligence agents and police officers responsible for Ahmed al-Khair's death were sentenced to death, a crowd rallied outside the court in Omdurman. This event went down in history as a moment of national mourning from which Sudanese rose resiliently. After the revolution ended, Ahmed's story was taught in schools and drawings of his face appeared on the walls of school buildings. These paintings were often painted over by the security services but were always recreated by the people, determined and in strong opposition to the regime's brutality and their efforts to censor history.

The 3 June 2019 massacre has left a deep mark on everyone who participated in the sit-in and watched the live streaming. RSF militia forces opened fire on unarmed protestants, beat many of them, and raped 48 women. In their works, Galal Yousif and Amel Bashier condemned cruelty and rape as tactics for pacifying women. Following these events, the African Union degraded Sudan's rights as a member.[85] The daily news about atrocities committed by the RSF is reflected in the artists' work following these events. The mural of Galal Yousif, destroyed during the June 3 crackdown, shows people shouting or screaming. Above them, huge hands try to silence the figure in the centre. The inscription in Arabic on the side explains: *You were born free, so live free*.[86] Yousif painted several murals in Khartoum. One of them was placed under the bridge near the sit-in and depicts screaming figures with horrified and distorted faces. The incomprehensible anxiety can be compared with Edward Munch's 'Scream'.[87]

Colourful murals, graffiti, sculptures, and installations within the sit-in created a whole new space in the centre of Khartoum, a city within a city. Space where people felt free, expressed their political views with no fear, and experimented with new forms of artistic expressions. It was an unprecedented phenomenon – there has never been such a concentration of artists from all over Sudan with different cultural backgrounds covering various fields of fine art. Space within the sit-in became an exhibition on a vast scale, with paintings, graffiti, sculptures and installations, various traditional crafts, regional costumes, poems, songs, and dances.

In the face of a military crackdown, protesters opposed the aggression in a very clever way. They collected military equipment and reused it differently, peacefully changing its meaning and creating an utterly different dichotomy between them and the government forces. They made it possible to find a bit of humour in these difficult moments and ridiculed the militia on the other side of the barricade. Such acts gave people a different perspective; they began to let go of fear and regained the dignity that was taken from them by years of oppression. Empty tear gas canisters that were used to separate protesters have been transformed into flower vases, containers, or electrical connectors.[88] There was an impressive increase of photos on social media showing an endless creativity, among these one may pick the "tasqut bas" slogan made with tear gas canisters. The protesters were utterly changing the functions and common perceptions of military equipment, almost straightforwardly saying objects themselves are not dangerous but only become so in the hands of dangerous people. An example is a photo of a ring made from a bullet. Art, therefore, did not embellish reality and did not avoid showing the violence and terror in which everyday protesters functioned.

In 2019, merchandise with symbols of the revolution started to appear in the street markets. They were mainly produced abroad by the diaspora, but some handmade products also circulated, albeit in a limited range, also in Sudan: stickers, phone cases, bags, and T-shirts, on which symbols and hashtags spread the message of the revolution. Street art became popular and functioned as a reference to political ideas and the current situation in the country.

7. Summary

The 2018/2019 revolution in Sudan was one of the most significant and best-organized revolts in the Arab world in recent years. There were large-scale protests, which showed social commitment and the effectiveness of opposition by activists. The political engagement of young activists changed the approach to protests in Sudan. They showed extraordinary creativity and commitment, and thanks to that, they reached vast sections of the society. Resistance groups, which have been emerging since 2009, moved their activities to the streets, showing their opposition through slogans, murals, and leaflets. Most of their activities quickly spread online, where they joined forces with other groups to create an efficient machine of resistance and for spreading information without the fear of governmental censorship. Their actions in the streets and online created a foundation for mass resistance, which was used to the full during the protests in 2018-2019.

This article shows the phenomenon of revolutionary art in shaping public opinion, transferring information, political discourse, and calls for mass disobedience. The photos of the revolution, murals, and graphics are still circulating in social media and the events related to them are still present in the consciousness of the Sudanese.[89] Most of the murals have been painted over by the police, but the ones in the University of Khartoum campus have remained untouched. They were protected from destruction by the people and can also be seen in galleries online.[90] These murals are examples of the strong emotions evoked in the Sudanese people, even after the end of the revolution. Their preservation can be understood as a tool for remembering, for commemorating the loss of loved ones and the tragedies of many families, raising people's spirits, and keeping resistance alive.

The artwork that was created out of this revolution has a significant role in civil disobedience. Sudanese people lived under constant control, repression, and racism-based politics. The need to talk about it loudly and be heard was unbearable. Art helped them express themselves and brought people together for a common cause. It also changed the information flow and created a dialogue with the government. The protesters' actions inspired the artists who, over time, mobilized the people. It was a mutually reinforcing relationship that gave birth

to a freedom movement that emanated strength and bravery. Art became an integral part of this movement as the artists raised awareness and became a voice of the people. Art was inclusive, anti-conformist, and empowering, and it was used as a censorship-free source of news and expression.

Street art and graffiti glorify people and their sacrifice, challenge them during the revolution and after, and remain a constant memento of the events in Sudan. War has many faces, but whether it is a cultural, ideological, or religious war, it is associated with social change and never leaves the country unchanged. In Sudan, during the uprising, this change took place in the freedom of expression, greater self-awareness of citizens and creativity in all areas of fine arts. Poetry, songs, photography, collages, and street and online art during the revolution in the blink of an eye responded to the ever-changing situation in Sudan. Art inspired by actual events evokes instant connection and understanding between the artist and the viewer. Apart from anti-government slogans, art reflects the revolutionary reality. It shows sadness and fear; there are visible references to police brutality, excessive use of force, tear gas, ammunition, torture, and mental and physical exhaustion of people. It is an incredibly moving picture, without glorifying a peaceful uprising but considering the dangers associated with it. Devoid of the romantic vision of the freedom struggle in which all protesters happily return home.

The events in Sudan inspired and still inspire artists. 'Kejer's Prison' – a short film by Mohamed Kordofani, in a moving way shows the social tear during the revolution, especially among the military soldiers.[91] Many years of indoctrination or compulsion to obey the order have caused the soldiers to turn against their fellow citizens. Everyone should be held accountable, there is no doubt, but Mohamed Kordofan's film changes a bit our perspective on the events. We want to hear their stories and find out how they became torturers for those they should protect. Abu'Obayda Mohamed, known as OXDA, in his graphic shows the burning Khartoum, where the militia's attack on the sit-in on 3 June 2019 took place. The graphic was created a year later with a dedication to all the fallen and the shed blood on the dangerous road to democracy. Also, in 2021, the anniversary of the June 3 massacre was celebrated, emphasizing that the memory of these events is still alive, and the victims of the regime's violence will not be forgotten.

Even after the revolution, the role of the artists has not changed. On the contrary, the artists have gained more momentum, and they are using the newly acquired freedom. However, social and political change is a long process, and Sudan's future remains unknown. The economy is suffering from inflation and the continued devaluation of the Sudanese pound. The locust plague and the flood disaster hit agricultural production, and the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated the health crisis in the country. All this contributed to the deepening of the recession in 2020 and 2021. On the other hand, the U.S. removed Sudan from the list of states assisting terrorism and mediated the signing of a peace agreement with Israel, after which Sudan received $ 1 billion in financial aid. The situation in Sudan will not change dramatically overnight, however, the government has proposed fuel subsidies and tax law reforms, as well as social protection programs. New fiscal and monetary policies were introduced while renewing diplomatic relations and attempts to stabilize the economic situation. Sudan is ready for fundamental economic and institutional reforms and the first changes have already been noticed in August 2021, when the inflation decreased by 35 points. International media were talking about stabilization in the country.

8. 2022 update. The conflict in Sudan is not over.

In October 2021 the Sudanese army carried out a coup against the civilian leadership. Prime Minister Adballa Hamdook and his cabinet were arrested. Strikes broke out again and the actions of the army were condemned. This situation provoked a reaction from the international financial institutions supporting Sudan and forced the cessation of financial aid totaling $4.6bn. Furthermore, $700m of financial aid from the US has been blocked, along with the supply of grain to be used in subsidizing bread.[92] The cost of living began to rise dramatically, and inflation soared.

The Sudanese still protest against the military coup on a weekly basis. Currently carried out by professional groups, students, and women's rights groups. Protests still rely on non-violent tactics and the use of social media is still crucial for wider media coverage. The rise of local activism in Sudan is a phenomenon that continues to grow and reach even larger circles. Protests re-emerged and

Sudanese people demand a constitution and a democratically elected government.

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Endnotes

1. Berridge, *Civil Uprising in Modern Sudan*, pp. 13-34. ↩

2. Deshayes, Etienne, and Medani, "Reflection on the Sudanese Revolutionary Dynamics." ↩

3. Bolatito, "Sudan Revolution." ↩

4. In 1964, the so-called 'Southern Problem' became the cause of the conflict. The increasing discrimination against the Christian South of Sudan was the result of the policy of Abbud's regime. A 'Southern problem' became widely discussed at the time, which led to clashes between students and the police at the University of Khartoum. A very important factor depending on the conflict was the government's ineffective economic policy and the rising costs of living. Eventually, the protests led to the president's resignation. ↩

5. Any newspaper under this law could be suspended without any court order and its employees arrested. ↩

6. CIPESA, "Sudan's Bad Laws." ↩

7. For more information see: Reporters without Borders, "Sudan: Press freedom still in transition a year after Omar al-Bashir's removal." ↩

8. Wilde Botta, "The Revolution Has Emerged." ↩

9. Copnall, *A Poisonous Thorn in Our Hearts*. ↩

10. www/https://www.instagram.com/p/BtBLM5cFNG-/ ↩

11. Karar, *Protesters Dismantling Modus Operandi of Sudan's Oppressor*: *...the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the government adopted austerity measures that resulted in cutting fuel and bread subsidies. However, the adjustment plan has immensely hit the extremely poor, estimated to be around 36.1 per cent of the population. In December 2018, the inflation rate has risen to 72.94 per cent, the second worst rate worldwide after Venezuela*. ↩

12. Elhassan, "How Sudanese Art Is Fueling the Revolution." ↩

13. Berridge, *Civil Uprising in Modern Sudan*. ↩

14. Elhassan, “Sudan’s Revolution Isn't a Fluke, It's Tradition.” ↩

15. Ibid. ↩

16. Lamensch, “Sudan's Artists of the Revolution: An Interview with Mounir Khalil.” ↩

17. Murray, “How Art Helped Propel Sudan’s Revolution.” ↩

18. Africa News, “Anti-Bashir Protesters Tear Gassed in Omdurman.” ↩

19. Hassan and Kodouda, “Sudan’s Uprising: The Fall of a Dictator,” pp. 97-100. ↩

20. Häggström, “Art for the Revolution.” ↩

21. Norbrook, “Sudan: Who Is Hemeti.” ↩

22. Wilde Botta, *The Revolution has Emerged*. ↩

23. Human Rights Watch, “‘They Were Shouting ‘Kill Them.’” ↩

24. Powell, *Sudan Constitutional Declaration: Draft Constitutional Charter for the 2019 Transitional Period*. ↩

25. Policy and military attacked sleeping protesters and destroy the site of the sit-in. People were shot and wounded by machetes and their bodies were thrown into the River Nile. For more information see: Physicians for Human Rights, “Chaos and Fire”: An Analysis of Sudan's June 3, 2019, Khartoum Massacre." Videos made by protesters during the massacre (contains disturbing scenes): htpp://bbc.com/news/av/worls-africa-48956133 ↩

26. The Public Order Law was proposed in 1989 and created as a set of legal provisions from the Sudanese Criminal Law Act. A restrictive public law that controlled how women acted and dressed in public, violating their privacy and freedoms. Promotes discrimination against women and limits their social activities. For more information see: www/http://democracyfirstgroup.org ↩

27. Dabanga, “Prosecution Denounces Call to Revive Sudan’s Repealed Public Order Law.” ↩

28. Staff writer, "Sudan Just Criminalised Female Genital Mutilation in a Landmark Victory for Women." Cartoon by Alaa Satir condemning FGM with a sign: female body cannot be edited, available: www/ https://www.instagram.com/p/BjHpwZjFxD9/ ↩

29. Wilde Botta, *The Revolution Has Emerged*. ↩

30. Propaganda is not in the scope of this article, for more information on this matter see: Goldstein, "Exploiting Darfur Genocide for Propaganda." ↩

31. Osman and Bearak, "Omar Al-Bashir Exploited Sudan's Ethnic Division for Decades. Now Sudan Is United Against Him." ↩

32. Bolatito, *Sudan Revolution*. ↩

33. Latif, *You Arrogant Racist, We are All Darfur'; Human Rights Protests as Nation-Building in Sudan,* pp. 54-67. ↩

34. Idris, *Conflict and Politics of Identity in Sudan*. ↩

35. Carmichael and Pinnell, "How Fake News from Sudan's Regime Backfired." ↩

36. Bishai and Elshami, "'We Are All Darfur!" – Sudan's Unity Protests Stand a Real Chance." ↩

37. Hashim, "In Pictures: The Art Fuelling Sudan's Revolution." ↩

38. For more information see: Reeves, "Online fake news and hate speech are fuelling tribal 'genocide' in South Sudan." ↩

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41. Salih and Wilson, "Sudanese Women Take Lead in Protests Against Bashir." ↩

42. Hendawi, "Sudan: An Artist's Tribute to Women Leaders of the Pro-Democracy Movement." ↩

43. For more information see: Salih, "'I was raised to love our home'"; Reilly, "The Iconic Photo of Her Helped Fuel Sudan's Revolution." ↩

44. Jaafari, "Here's the Story Behind the Iconic Image of the Sudanese Woman in White." ↩

45. Brown, "History Stands Alongside the Woman in the White Tobe." ↩

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