



Sudan

Scott Pearson
Professor Emeritus
Stanford University

This essay focuses on the political and economic history of Sudan – ancient Nubia and Kush, Christian Makuria, colonial Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and independent Sudan. It was written for the participants in Stanford Travel/Study’s program, Sudan, January 8-23, 2019.

The essay has four sections. I first explain how Nile agriculture provided wealth in ancient Egypt and Nubia (during the 2nd millennium BCE), discuss the supplemental sources of ancient Egyptian and Nubian wealth, and show how Nubia contributed to the wealth of dynastic Egypt. Next I look at why dynastic Egypt declined and fell (1st millennium BCE-6th century CE), what roles Nubia (then Kush) played in that process, and how the new rulers of independent Kush created and enjoyed wealth. I go on to explain how Christian Nubia became Arabized Sudan (6th century-1956), how medieval Sudan created wealth, and how Anglo-Egyptian rule (1898-1956) impacted the country. Finally, I discuss independent Sudan (1956-present) – what approaches Sudan’s three military dictators shared, how the economy has fared under their rule, and why Sudan has been afflicted by civil wars. A time line, a bibliography, and a description of sites visited are appended.

Nubia and Dynastic Egyptian Wealth (2nd Millennium BCE)

The Nile River and Delta. The annual inundations of the Nile River provided two essential contributions – water and silt – to the agriculture of the Nile Valley and Delta. Most of the Nile’s water and silt originated in Ethiopia, the source of the Blue Nile branch of the river. The annual rise and fall of the Nile gave natural irrigation and fertilization to Egyptian farmers in the valley and delta.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crop_limit,_Nile_Valley-2.jpg>

*Crop Limit of the Nile River Valley at Luxor –
Rich Silt for Natural Fertilizer*

The ancient Egyptians recognized three seasons: *akhet*, the flood season, occurred between July and October; *peret*, the time of planting and growing, followed during November through February; and *shemu*, the harvest season, took place between March and June. The yearly Nile flood was a boon for agriculture in Egypt, but the hydraulic system required careful organization of labor and was highly risky.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:El-Kab_Necheb_1_P1120570.jpg>

Nile River and Limestone Cliffs, El-Kab, Upper Egypt

To make effective use of water and silt, farmers had to build and maintain dikes, create basins, move water in canals, and operate drainage systems. In ancient Egypt, all of those tasks were done manually, using picks, hoes, baskets, and water-jars. That labor-intensive system was time-specific since critical tasks had to be accomplished just before the Nile waters rose or shortly after they receded. The hydraulic system thus required specialists to organize and supervise the work.

Egyptologists speculate that authoritarian political organization evolved from the necessities of water control. The risks were great. Too much water damaged dikes and flooded fields and villages, whereas too little water meant a loss of planted area. In Egyptian cosmology, the annual inundation of the Nile was interpreted as a reenactment of the creation of the world. Transportation on the Nile River unified the valley, where there was only one route, but divided the delta, where there were many branches.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ancient_Egypt_map-en.svg>

*Ancient Egypt (Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt and Kush),
c. 3150-332 BCE*

Agriculture and Food. The power and wealth of the ancient Egyptian dynasties was based principally on the taxation of agriculture. The inundations of the Nile River contributed to very high agricultural productivity and large taxable surpluses. In average years most Egyptian farmers produced about three times the amount needed by their families for subsistence.

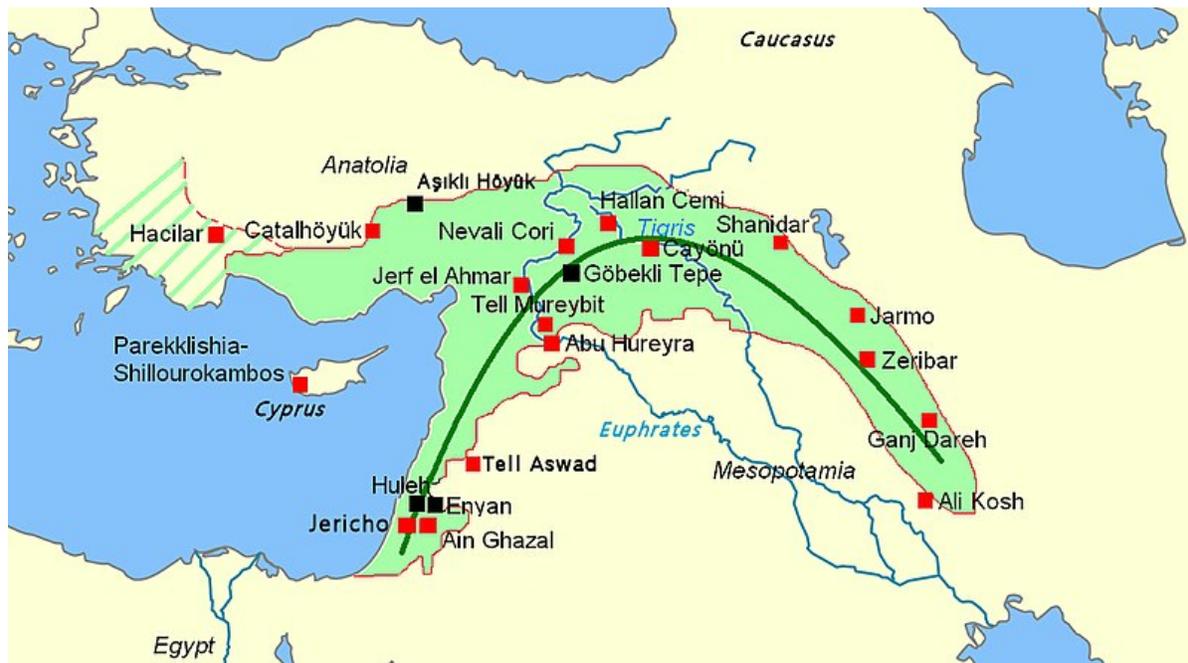


Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rope_stretching.jpg>

*Ancient Egyptians Recording the Harvest –
Wall Painting in the Tomb of Menna, Thebes, 18th Dynasty*

Agriculture was first practiced in the Fertile Crescent region of southwestern Asia 10,500 years ago, and the domesticated plants and animals were transferred from there to Egypt between 6000 and 5000 BCE. Ancient Egyptian agriculture relied heavily on the Fertile Crescent package: three cereals (emmer wheat, einkorn wheat, and

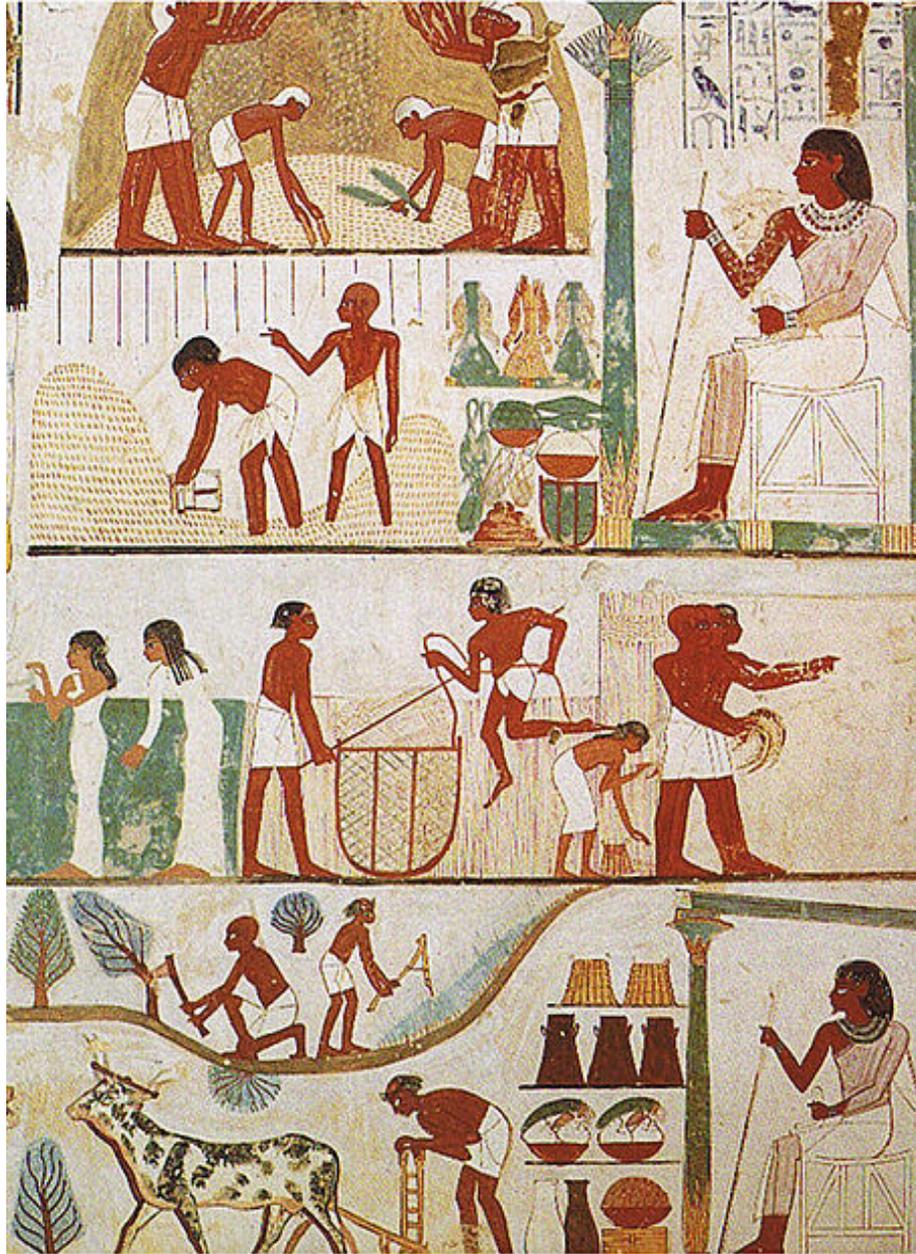
barley); four pulses (lentils, peas, chickpeas, and beans); one oilseed (flax, for linseed); four animals (cows, sheep, goats, pigs); three fruits (grapes, dates, and figs); and numerous vegetables (especially onions and garlic). The cereals provided carbohydrate and some vegetable protein, the pulses contained much more protein, and the animals offered milk, wool, plowing, and transport. This diversified agricultural package thus easily met Egypt's basic human needs – carbohydrate, protein, fat, clothing, traction, and transportation.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fertile_crescent_Neolithic_B_circa_7500_BC.jpg>

Agriculture Originated in the Fertile Crescent, c. 8500 BCE

The early Egyptians also made and drank beer (brewed from barley and flavored with dates) and wine. A wide variety of beers was consumed by all strata of the population, whereas the few wines produced were consumed only by the rich. Grapes and wine were transferred from Georgia (in the Caucasus Mountains), where both originated, to Egypt via the Fertile Crescent in the third millennium BCE. Agricultural taxation was heavy (from 10-50 percent of output) and paid in-kind (usually in grain, sometimes in honey).



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tomb_of_Nakht_\(2\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tomb_of_Nakht_(2).jpg)>

*Agricultural Scenes in Ancient Egypt –
Tomb of Nakht, Luxor, 18th Dynasty*

Agricultural Productivity and Taxation. Throughout the three millennia of dynastic Egyptian history, agriculture remained the primary

source of the country's – and the pharaoh's – wealth. Yields (crop output per cultivated area) were very high, even by modern standards, because of the natural fertilization of the Nile silt. But there is no evidence of much yield growth due to better technology. Agricultural output grew, however, because the area cultivated expanded. As means of water control gradually improved, more land was irrigated or reclaimed from marshy areas. Area expansion, not yield improvements, thus widened the agricultural tax base.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vallee_fertile_du_Nil_a_Louxor.jpg>

*Nile River Flood Plain At Luxor –
Pharaohs and Temples Had Large Estates*

At the outset of the dynastic era (in the Old Kingdom), the pharaoh owned most of the cultivable land. With the passage of time, kings gradually reduced the crown holdings. Much was given to religious foundations for the establishment and maintenance of temples and temple cults. By the middle of the New Kingdom, temples controlled about one-third of Egypt's productive land and labor force. Pharaohs also rewarded nobles for services rendered by providing them with leases to royal land and laborers. Some workers were slaves, captured as prisoners of war in Nubia or Asia, but most were free peasants.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egyptian_harvest.jpg>

Harvesting Papyrus in Ancient Egypt – Wall Painting, Tomb of Sennutem, Deir el-Medina, Egypt, 13th-11th centuries BCE

Large, self-sufficient estates thus dominated the ownership of Egypt's farmland. But independent peasants (or employees of temples or the state) operated most farmland. An average family of eight farmed about three acres. Farming and irrigation decisions were made in local communities, not dictated by the central government. Up to half of harvests were paid in taxes. All landowners, except temples and state granaries, paid taxes. The tax rates varied according to land size, crop grown, and height of the Nile inundation.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cairo_Nilometer_2.jpg>

Nilometer With Measuring Shaft – At Rawda, Near Cairo

Mining and Artisanry. Mining and artisanry were valuable complements to agriculture as sources of domestic wealth in ancient Egypt. Egypt had a diverse but limited endowment of mineral resources, mostly found in the eastern desert (between the Nile River and the Red Sea). Gold was the most valuable Egyptian mineral, but its limited local deposits were depleted early in the dynastic era.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chair_from_tomb_of_Tutankhamun_reproduction_-_Fitchburg_Art_Museum_-_DSC08613.JPG

Gold from Nubia – Reproduction of Tutankhamun’s Gold-covered Throne, Original Discovered in His Tomb, 1922

Copper was essential for early Egyptian metallurgy and tool-making. The Egyptians imported tin (which was not available locally), alloyed it with copper, and formed bronze, which was easier to cast because it had a lower melting point and greater hardness than copper. Egypt's most ample mineral resource was galena (lead sulphide), used to make eye paint (*kohl*).

The pharaohs in the early New Kingdom (16th and 15th centuries BCE) conquered Nubia, mainly to gain access to its gold deposits. They employed Egyptian soldiers and slaves to mine Nubian gold, especially at Wadi el-Allaqui, and traded that gold to the Levant for timber. Ancient Egypt had a well-deserved reputation as a storehouse of gold that was displayed for opulence and used in funerary treasures, but most of that gold came from Nubia.

Artisanship provided key material goods (vehicles, clothing, kitchen utensils) for Egyptian society, but hand crafting of goods was not an important source of Egyptian wealth. Some artisans were urban male specialists (woodworkers), but most were rural women (weavers and potters). They wove mainly linen from local flax, some woolens

from new breeds of sheep (from the Hyksos), but no silk or cotton in the dynastic era. The most important task for woodworking craftsmen were building boats and chariots (after the Hyksos), from imported cedar and juniper, to be used for transportation and warfare.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lepsius-Projekt_tw_1-2-108.jpg>

*Ancient Egyptian Architectural Capitals –
From Expedition by Egyptologist Karl Richard Lepsius, 1842-1845*

Foreign Trade – Africa. The wealth of dynastic Egypt during the New Kingdom was derived primarily from agriculture and secondarily from foreign trade. New Kingdom pharaohs focused on foreign affairs much more than their Old and Middle Kingdom predecessors had done.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EgyptTombOarboat.jpg>>

*New Kingdom Egypt Focused on Foreign Affairs –
Oar Boat, Tomb Painting, Luxor, c. 1450 BCE*

Egypt first looked south into Africa. Its imperial objectives in Nubia (in the Nile River kingdoms of Wawat and Kush) were to exploit the rich Nubian mineral resources directly (as noted above) and to gain control over the Nubian apex of a highly lucrative African trading network of goods from Nubia and further south in tropical Africa. The most prominent goods imported into Egypt from Africa via Nubia were gold, slaves, ebony, ivory (elephant), skins (leopard), live animals (elephants, lions), and feathers (ostrich). To pay for these valuable African goods, Egypt exported linen textiles, weapons, furniture, leather,

and grain (wheat, barley). The pharaohs knew that Egypt would receive better terms of exchange if it controlled the Nubian commercial centers.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_NK_edit.svg>

*Dynastic Egypt at Its Peak – The New Kingdom, 16th-11th c. BCE,
Linked Africa (Kush) With the Mediterranean (the Levant)*

Egypt carried on a sporadic and far less important commerce with another African kingdom, the mysterious land of Punt (probably located

on the coast of modern Eritrea). Occasionally pharaohs sent fleets down the Red Sea to Punt to trade. The Egyptians did not attempt to gain political control over this remote kingdom but still received favorable terms of trade. Egypt exported linen textiles, weapons, trinkets, and jewelry to Punt. In addition to the typical African trade goods (gold, ebony, ivory, skins, live animals, slaves, and gums), Punt was the source of two extremely valuable incense commodities – frankincense and myrrh. Very wealthy Egyptians used those expensive incenses for religious ritual, perfume, fumigants, medicines, and mummification.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Men_from_Punt_Carrying_Gifts_Tomb_of_Rekhmire_MET_30.4.152_EGDP013029.jpg>

*Men from Punt (Northeast Africa), Carrying Exotic Trade Goods –
Tomb of Rekhmire, 15th c. BCE*

Foreign Trade – Asia. During the New Kingdom, Egypt became a commercial giant linking northeast Africa with southwest Asia. Foreign trade was a significant generator of wealth as Egypt exploited its geographical location to become an entrepôt – a center for the re-export of other regions’ produce. The Egyptian state first gained control over the African trading networks to its south (noted above). Egypt sought, with intermittent success, to control – or at least to have free access to – an even more important trading network in southwestern Asia.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:West_Asian_tribute_bearers_tomb_of_Sobekhotep_18th_Dynasty_Thebes.jpg>

*Southwestern Asiatic Goods for Pharaoh –
Tomb of Sobekhotep, Luxor, 1400 BCE*

By the 16th c. BCE, that network was centered in the ports (Byblos, Tyre) of Syria-Palestine (the region known as the Levant) and connected Egypt with Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Aegean islands – the world’s main trading centers, outside China.

Egypt’s plan was to re-export African goods, notably gold, to the Levant along with its own exports of grain, linen textiles, leather, and papyrus.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Headband_with_Heads_of_Gazelles_and_a_Stag_Between_Stars_or_Flowers_ca._1648%E2%80%93931540_BCE.jpg

Hyksos Gold Diadem, Tomb of Tell el-Dab'a, Avaris, 16th c. BCE – Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

In return, Egypt imported from the Levant needed timber and resin (from Lebanon) plus silver (Aegean islands), copper (Cyprus), olive oil

(Syria), wine (Syria), pottery (Palestine), and lapis lazuli (Afghanistan via the Levant). There is some archaeological evidence that Egypt might have traded with Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece, but it is doubtful that those trading links were important.

The New Kingdom pharaohs' international strategy, therefore, was to conquer and control critical parts of Nubia (Wawat and Kush) and then to control the key Levantine ports (Byblos, Tyre, Sumur) where they could re-export African goods in exchange for critical imports.

Military and political pressure was continuously and successfully applied to achieve the goal of linking the African and Asian trade networks.

Foreign Conquest. A third source of wealth in Egypt's New Kingdom was the conquest of foreign territory. Pharaonic Egypt had differing objectives in carrying out its aggressive military incursions into Africa and Asia. In Nubia, the New Kingdom pharaohs gradually expanded their area under control until Thutmose III reached the Fourth Cataract in the 15th century BCE and established a fortified trading center, Napata. The central aim of this foreign conquest was to establish

long-term rule over Nubia, not to extract booty from actual raids, tribute from threatened raids, or taxation by an imposed government. Nubia offered Egypt access to minerals and control of the African trade.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amun.svg>>

*Cult Image of Amun, Carrying the Ankh Symbol and a Scepter—
New Kingdom, c. 1300 BCE*

In Syria-Palestine, however, Egypt had a different objective. Its military raids were intended primarily to ensure privileged access to the Levantine trading network within southwest Asia. Egyptian kings never attempted to install a permanent colonial government in the Levant.

Instead, they raided for booty, forced the city-states to pay tribute to forestall retribution, and collected taxes, often by timing their raids to occur during the harvest. There were two major series of incursions into the Levant. Thutmose III personally led seventeen campaigns in the 15th c. BCE, defeated the Mittani foe (from northern Syria) at the Battle of Megiddo (c. 1457 BCE), and transferred enormous wealth to Egypt.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Near_East_1400_BCE.png>

*Thutmose III's Conquest of Syria-Palestine –
Egypt Defeated Mittani at Megiddo, c. 1418 BCE*

Two centuries later, Ramesses II confronted the Hittites (from Anatolia, modern Turkey) at the Battle of Kadesh (c. 1275 BCE), fought a draw, and concluded a peace treaty that divided the Levantine trade routes between the two powers. The Egyptians and Hittites honored that pact for 200 years until the New Kingdom ended.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hitt_Egypt_Perseus.png>

*Ramesses II's Incursions in Syria-Palestine, c. 1275 –
Egypt (Green) Stalemated by Hittites (Red) at Kadesh*

Nubia and Egypt (2nd millennium BCE). The Nubian Kingdom of Kush, with its capital at Kerma, began as early as 2500 BCE and reached its peak by controlling Lower and Upper Nubia between 1700 and 1550 BCE. Egypt's imperial objectives in Nubia (in the Nile River provinces of Wawat and Kush) were to exploit the rich Nubian mineral resources (gold, copper, gemstones) and to gain control over the Nubian apex of a lucrative African trading network of goods from Nubia and further south in tropical Africa. In Nubia, the Egyptian pharaohs expanded their control until Thutmose III reached the Fourth Cataract in the 15th c. BCE and established a fortified trading center at Napata.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CairoEgMuseumTaaMaskMostlyPhotographed.jpg>>

*Tutankhamun's Golden Mask –
Egyptian Wealth from the Conquest of Nubia*

The central aim of that foreign conquest was to establish long-term rule over Nubia, not to extract booty from actual raids, tribute from threatened raids, or taxation by an imposed government. The pharaohs in the early New Kingdom conquered Nubia mainly to gain access to its gold deposits. They employed Egyptian soldiers and Nubian slaves to mine Nubian gold, especially at Wadi el-Allaqui in Lower Nubia. Most

of Dynastic Egypt's gold came from Nubia. Egypt also taxed Nile-based agriculture in Nubia and imported Nubian cattle.

The most prominent goods imported into Egypt from Africa via Nubia were gold, slaves, ebony, ivory (elephant), skins (leopard), live animals (elephants, lions), and feathers (ostrich). To pay for those African goods, Egypt exported linen textiles, weapons, furniture, leather, and grain (wheat, barley). The pharaohs knew that Egypt would receive better terms of exchange if it controlled the Nubian commercial centers. Led by Piankhy, Nubia regained its independence from Egypt in 1070 BCE. But Nubia continued to trade with its northern neighbor, which thereafter was in continuing decline.



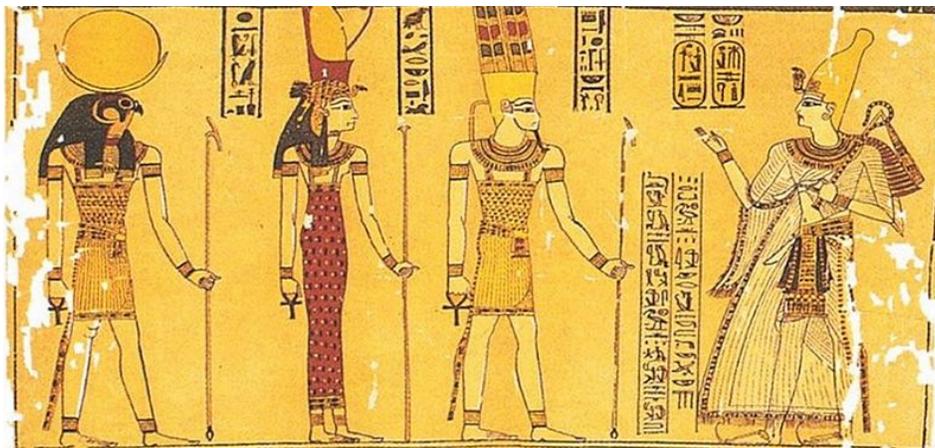
Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_1450_BC.svg>

*New Kingdom Egypt Conquered Nubia –
 Gold Mining, Quarry Stones, and African Trade*

Kush and Dynastic Egyptian Decline (12th century BCE-6th century CE)

The Decline of Dynastic Egypt (12th-4th centuries BCE).

Dynastic Egypt came to an end in the 4th c. BCE after centuries of decline in pharaonic power. Two related forces – internal erosion and external invasion – caused the demise of a system that had endured for nearly three millennia. Those two forces undercut the ability of the pharaonic system to generate wealth and exert power. The declining system could no longer sufficiently tax agriculture, control foreign trade, and force tribute from conquered territories. A shift in tax revenues triggered the internal erosion of pharaonic power.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Great_Harris_Papyrus_Sheet_2.jpg>

*Great Harris Papyrus, From Tomb Near Medinet Habu –
Recorded Temple Donations Given by Ramesses III, c. 1150 BCE*

Beginning in the late New Kingdom, temples appropriated increasing amounts of the agricultural surplus – the primary source of ancient Egyptian wealth. By the time of Ramesses III (12th c. BCE), temples controlled one-third of all cultivated land; the powerful cult of the Theban god, Amun, alone owned three-fourths of all temple land. That shift in control over agricultural land followed a redefinition of religious power that decentralized control to temple foundations.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:KhonsuTemple-Karnak-RamessesIII-2.jpg>>

*Ramesses III, Temple of Khonsu, Karnak –
Peaceful Reign Because of the Absence of Foreign Powers*

The shift of wealth to the temples and regions created political fragmentation. The drain of wealth from the center weakened the military, which had fewer resources and then became involved in fighting the civil wars that ensued from fragmentation. The weakened military meant the loss of Egypt's two key foreign possessions, Nubia (11th c. BCE) and the Levant (10th c. BCE). Egypt then lost control of the Africa-Asia trade network, for which it had served as entrepôt, and it no longer could impose taxation on its neighbors. The intricate system of creating wealth and sustaining power had unraveled. But even a weakened dynastic Egypt could continue in the absence of strong foreign competitors. First Assyria (7th c. BCE) and then Persia (6th-4th c. BCE) conquered and ruled Egypt – Assyria indirectly and Persia directly. For the next millennium Egypt paid tribute to foreign powers.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Third_Intermediate_Period_map.svg

Dynastic Egypt Declined in the Third Intermediate Period (1064-664 BCE) – c. 730 BCE

Napatan Kush and Kushite Rule of Egypt (9th century BCE-6th century CE). In 1070 BCE, Panehsy, an Egyptian viceroy, revolted and

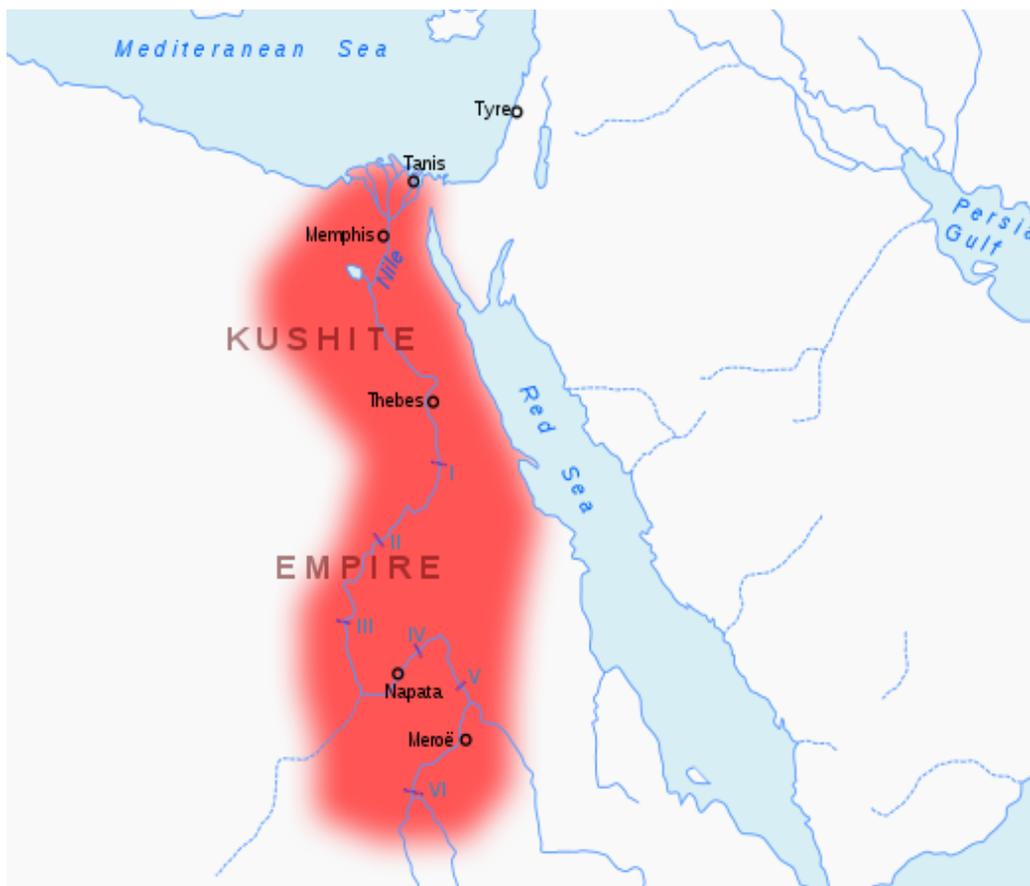
removed Nubia from Egyptian control. Egypt never again was able to reassert its dominance there. For two centuries, Nubia was fragmented. In the mid-9th century BCE, the Nubians unified under a revived kingdom of Kush. Napata, below the Fourth Cataract of the Nile, was the capital. The culture, language at court, and religion were Egyptian, and the rulers adopted the pharaonic system of autocratic divine rule. Near Napata, Jebel Barkal was the main religious site (home of oracles) and El Kurru was the royal cemetery.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypte_louvre_066.jpg>

Nubian Gold and Afghan Lapis Lazuli – Statues of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, Created For Osorkon II, 9th century BCE

From the 8th century BCE to the 4th century CE, all Kushite royal tombs were marked by pyramids. The Kushite kings began expanding northward into weakened Egypt. Kashta captured Thebes in 760 BCE, and Shabaqo took all of Egypt in 716 BCE and established the 25th (Nubian) Dynasty of Ancient Egypt. Nubian-ruled Egypt and Kush was the largest Nile-based state in ancient history.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_kush.svg>

Kushite Empire, the 25th (Nubian) Dynasty of Egypt (744-656 BCE) -- Pictured c. 730 BCE

But the Kushites had the misfortune of ruling when Egypt was invaded by Assyria, an expansionist power from the Tigris-Euphrates Valleys. Assurbanipal of Assyria defeated Taharka, the Nubian pharaoh, in 667 BCE, took Memphis, and sacked Thebes. In 664 BCE, the Assyrians installed as pharaoh a puppet ruler, Psamtek I of Sais. The Kushites retreated to Napata, never to rule Egypt again.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Neo-Assyrian_map_824-671_BC.png

Sargonid Assyria (911-612 BCE) – Ruled Egypt, 664-612 BCE

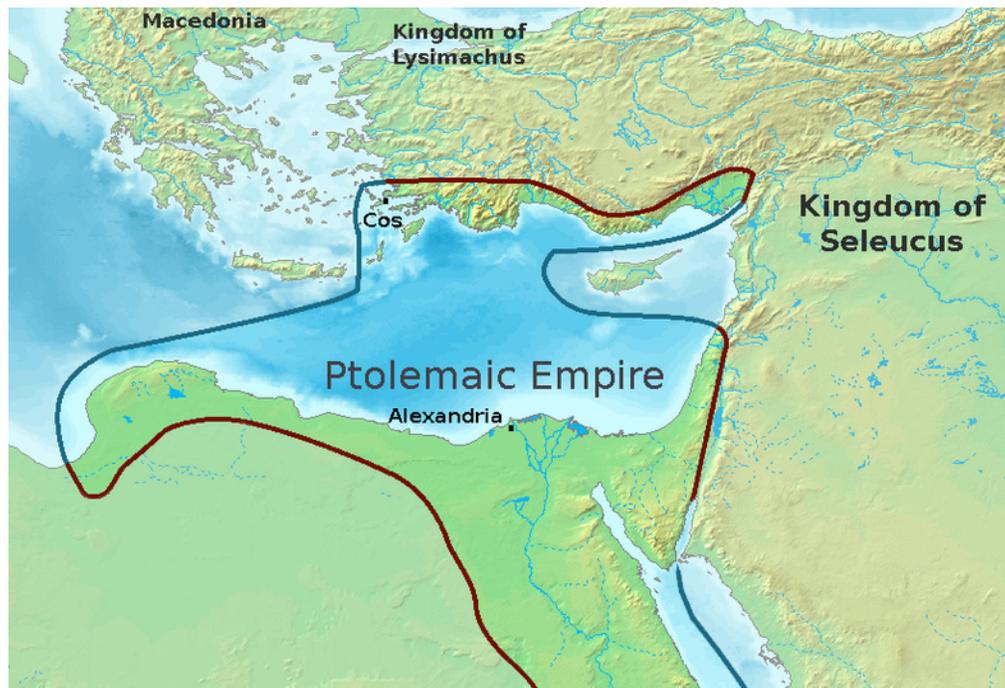
Egypt's invasion of Nubia in 593 BCE caused the Kushites to move their capital south to Meroë, but was unsuccessful in asserting Egyptian control. Cambyses of Achaemenid Persia invaded Egypt in 525 BCE. The first Persian occupation of Egypt (525-404 BCE) is termed the 27th Dynasty because the Persian kings claimed to be pharaohs. Kush became a vassal state and paid annual tribute to Persia. The second Persian occupation (343-332 BCE) was brief because Persia succumbed to a greater power. Most Egyptians and Nubians viewed Alexander the Great of Macedonia as a liberator.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons, available at*
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Western_part_of_the_Achaemenid_Empire.jpg>

Achaemenid Persian Control of Egypt, 525-404 and 343-332 BCE

Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Rule of Egypt (332 BCE-640 CE). Despite losing its political independence at the close of the dynastic era, Egypt had the potential to generate a high level of wealth during the millennium of Hellenistic (332-30 BCE), Roman (30 BCE-395 CE), and Byzantine rule (395-640 CE). The Nile-based hydraulic agricultural system and the country's key location at the crossroads of international trade routes did not change with foreign rule, and Egypt produced large economic surpluses when it was managed well.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ptolemaic-Empire-300BC.png>>

The Ptolemaic (Macedonian) Dynasty Ruled Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus – 332-30 BCE

The most fundamental transitions during this millennium were religious. Monotheistic Christianity replaced the pantheistic religions practiced by the ancient Egyptians and the Hellenes. In the 5th century, religion became a divisive force. Coptic Christians split from Byzantine Orthodoxy because of doctrinal and organizational differences.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Byzantine_-_Votive_or_Dedicatory_Cross_-_Walters_57630.jpg

Byzantine Votive Cross, c. 550 – The Orthodox Church in Constantinople Eclipsed the Coptic Church in Alexandria

The Egyptian economy expanded under both the Hellene and Roman regimes, helped by political stability, public investment, manageable rates of taxation, and growing international markets. Egypt

probably stagnated or declined somewhat under Byzantine rule because of political fragmentation, reduced public spending, over-taxation, and less favorable world markets. Egypt had been a very rich province in the Roman Empire. It was far less important to the Byzantines.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_harvester,_Trier.jpg

Roman Harvester – Egyptian Agriculture Was the Primary Source of Wealth during the Roman Era

As this millennium progressed, Egyptian resentment of foreign rule, always present, became more intense. The Egyptians tolerated the Hellenes because they adopted the Egyptian religion, practiced the pharaonic system, and ruled the country with reasonable effectiveness. The Egyptians were more unsettled under Roman rule because the Romans persecuted early Egyptian Christians, ran the economy for their own benefit, and ruled brutally if efficiently. Egyptian resentment

reached its height under Byzantine rule because of the religious schism, over-taxation, and ineffective governance.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aswan_St_Simeon_R01.jpg>

St. Simeon's Coptic Monastery, Aswan – 7th-13th centuries

Meroitic Kush and Kushite Peak and Decline (6th century BCE-mid-4th century CE). In the 6th century BCE, the Kushite kings moved their capital southward to Meroë, above the Sixth Cataract, and revived their kingdom. Meroitic Kush prospered from agriculture (millet, sorghum, cotton, and cattle), mining (gold and iron ore), iron-working, and entrepôt trade in African luxuries (ivory, slaves, ebony, skins, and live animals). Kush was a wealthy client kingdom under

Ptolemaic Egypt (4th-1st centuries BCE), trading regularly with the Greek pharaohs in Alexandria. The Ptolemies were especially keen to obtain elephants to train for military purposes.

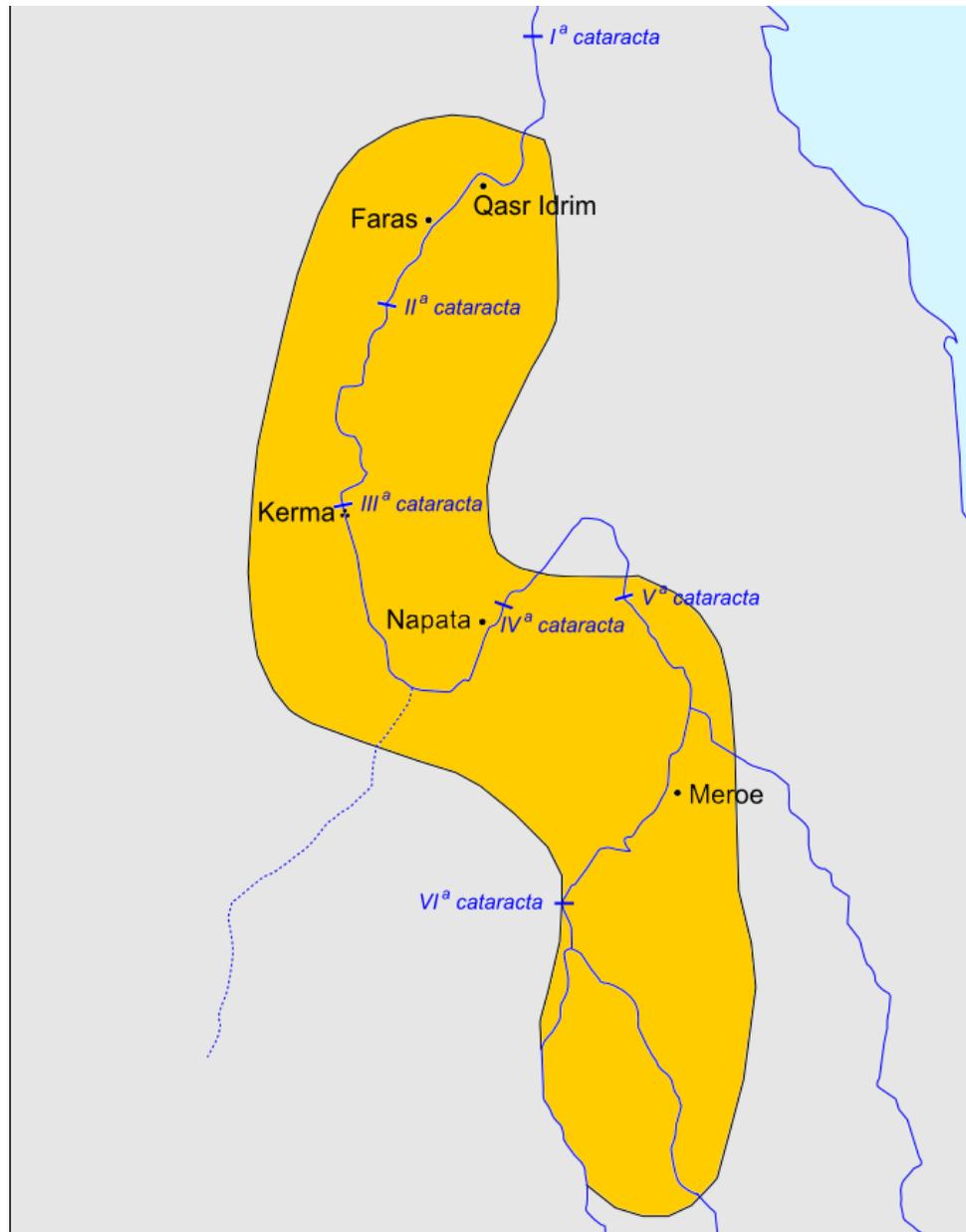


Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aswan_St_Simeon_R01.jpg>

*Pyramids in Meroë, Kingdom of Kush, 5th century BCE-4th century CE –
UNESCO World Heritage Site Since 2011*

After Rome took over Egypt in 30 BCE, Kush continued as an independent client kingdom and reached its peak in the early 1st century CE. Rome set the border between Roman Egypt and Kush seventy miles south of the First Cataract (modern Aswan). The population of the Kush

at that time has been estimated at 80,000, including 20,000 in Meroë, the capital. But thereafter Meroitic Kush declined.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Reiaume_de_Kush_\(peri%C3%B2de_Napata-Meroe\).png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Reiaume_de_Kush_(peri%C3%B2de_Napata-Meroe).png)>

*Kingdom of Meröitic Kush, 5th century BCE-4th century CE –
Located Along the Nile River South of Egypt*

Starting in the 1st century CE, the Romans shifted much of the African trade away from the Nile basin to the Red Sea, and a new power, Axum, arose in Ethiopia to replace Meroë as a center for marketing slaves, ivory, and other African commodities. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* identified Axum as the leading commercial power in the southern Red Sea basin as early as the second half of the 1st century CE. The declining Nubian kingdom, which controlled the upper Nile basin but not any of the Red Sea coast, was further weakened by increasing invasions from nomadic desert tribes.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
< <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LocationAksumiteEmpire.png> >

Kingdom of Axum – At Its Peak, 6th century CE

Prosperous Axum became expansionist and expanded westward into territory claimed by Kush. King Ezana of Axum, who had recently converted to Christianity, invaded Kush and destroyed Meroë in the mid-4th century CE. Nubia split into two weak kingdoms, led by the desert-based Blemmyes and the Nile-based Nobatai, which were divided at the Third Cataract.

Christian, Arabic, Turco-Egyptian, and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (6th century-1956)

Christian and Arabic Sudan (6th-19th centuries). Most Nubians converted to Christianity in the 6th century and were linked to the Alexandria patriarchate of the eastern Roman (Byzantine) church. By the 7th century, Nubia had three prosperous Christian kingdoms – Alwa, Makuria, and Nobadia. All had absolute monarchies, used the Nubian, Greek, and Coptic languages, and created wealth from Nile agriculture.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dongola_Throne_Hall.jpg>

*Throne Hall of Dongola, Christian Kingdom of Makuria –
Converted into a Mosque after the Mamluk Invasion, 1276*

In 652, the Arabs ruling Egypt invaded, were defeated at Dongola, and negotiated a treaty (*baqt*) with Makuria and Nobadia, guaranteeing their independence in return for regular trade (slaves for grain). Makuria

absorbed Nobadia in the 9th century and, along with Alwa, continued to practice Orthodox Christianity. After taking control in Egypt, the Mamluks (former Turkish slaves) invaded Nubia in 1276, forced the Nubian kingdoms to accept Egyptian suzerainty, and opened Nubia to settlement of Arab peoples from Egypt. In the 14th century, the Nubian kingdoms splintered and Arab rulers gradually took control.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christian_Nubia.png>

*Christian Kingdoms of Nobadia, Makuria, and Alwa –
Kingdoms in Nubia (7th-14th centuries)*

Between the 16th and 19th centuries, other Arabized Nubians converted to Islam and formed two competing kingdoms, both based on local agriculture and long-distance trade. In 1504, cattle-herding pagan nomads, led by Amara Dunqas, defeated Arab migrants, formed the Kingdom of Funj (Black Sultanate), and established its capital at Sennar on the Blue Nile. They gradually became Arabized, converted to Islam, formed a decentralized state consisting of many small kingships, and engaged in agriculture, animal husbandry, and slave-raiding and trading.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Funj_Sultanate_1700.png

Kingdom of Funj (Black Sultanate), c. 1700

In the mid-17th century, Sulayman Solong set up the Keira sultanate to rule sedentary Fur farmers in the Darfur region of western Sudan. The multi-ethnic Sultanate of Darfur oversaw a gradual spread of Islam and Arabic, engaged in slave-raiding, and survived until 1916.

Turco-Egyptian (1820-1883) and Mahdist Sudan (1883-1898).

In 1820, Muhammad Ali, the ruler of Ottoman Egypt, conquered much of the Sudan to capture renegade Mamluks and soldier slaves, exploit Sudan's gold and iron, and expand trade.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ModernEgypt,_Muhammad_Ali_by_Auguste_Couder,_BAP_17996.jpg>

*Muhammad Ali Pasha (Ruled Egypt, 1805-1848) –
Painting by Auguste Couder, 1841, Palace of Versailles, France*

Sudan (formerly Nubia) had not been under Egypt's control since the 11th century BCE. In the 1820s, Uthman Bey established a new capital in Khartoum, strategically located at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. Muhammad Ali's officials invested in new plantations to grow sugar cane and indigo for export. The *zariba* system (of fortified commercial camps) permitted Turco-Egyptian exploitation of slaves and ivory from southern Sudan.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_under_Muhammad_Ali_map_de.png

Egyptian Expansion Under Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-1848)

Ali's son, Khedive Ismail Pasha (ruled Egypt, 1863-1879), expanded Egyptian rule in the south in hopes of obtaining ivory while curbing the slave trade. A reformer keen on introducing Western technology, Ismail hired Europeans (Charles George Gordon and Samuel Baker) to govern Sudan but failed to end the slave trade.

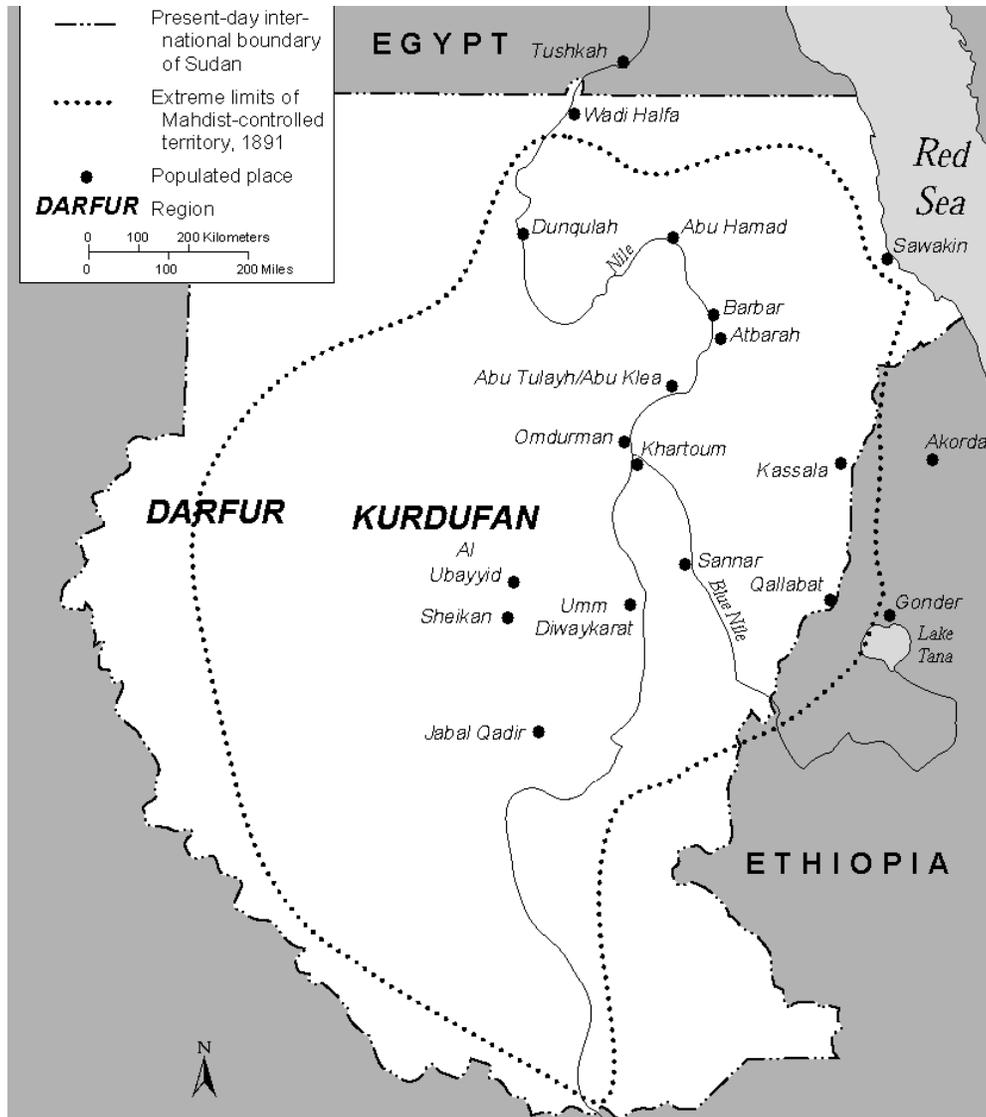


Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ismail_Pacha.JPG>

*Ismail Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, 1863-1879 –
Reformer and Debtor*

Muhammad Ahmad declared himself the Mahdi (Islamic messiah) in 1881 and led a jihad with his Ansar supporters (religious devotees, disgruntled Arab slave raiders, and Baqqara nomadic warriors). Turco-

Egyptian rule ended in 1883, following the Mahdi's decisive victory at El Obeid. The Mahdi took control, expanded his Mahdist State into much of Sudan, but died in 1885. Khalifa Abdallahi won the struggle to succeed him and ruled until the British takeover in 1898. Abdallahi was of Baqqari origin and thus gained the support of the key element of the Mahdist Ansar, the Baqqara warriors. He proclaimed himself the Khalifa (the Successor to the Mahdi) and sought to extend the Mahdia state throughout northeastern Africa. He conquered Darfur (in the west) but was stalemated in both Egypt (north) and Ethiopia (east).



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Mahdist_State,_1881-98,_modern_Sudan.png

The Mahdist State in Sudan, 1881-1898

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1898-1956) – British conquest. Britain took control of Egypt in 1882, just before the Mahdist takeover of Sudan. British officials then declared their desire to curb Mahdist expansion and to protect the headwaters of the Nile. Britain also hoped

to fend off expansion in Africa by France, Italy, and Germany. But Britain took no military action in Sudan until 1896 near the close of the European imperial scramble for Africa. Ethiopia had defeated an Italian invasion at Adowa, and the French were expanding in central Africa. Herbert Kitchener led the Anglo-Egyptian invasion of Mahdist Sudan, defeating Khalifa Abdallahi's armies at Dongola in 1896 and at Omdurman, the Mahdist capital, in 1898.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_of_Herbert_Kitchener,_1st_Earl_Kitchener.jpg>

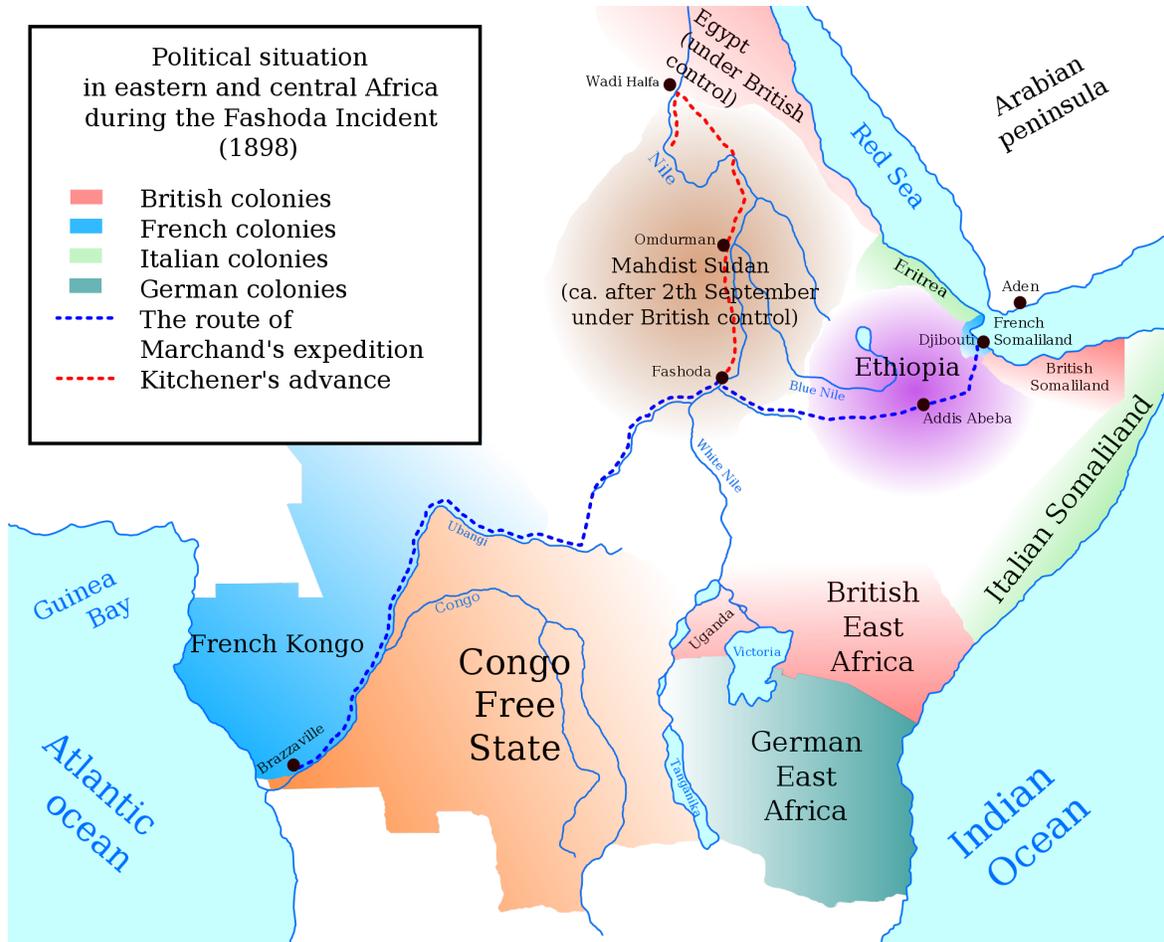
Herbert Kitchener, British Victor at Dongola, Omdurman, and Fashoda

Britain used a military railway, repeating rifles, and Maxim machine-guns. The Battle of Omdurman, in which the death toll was 11,000

Ansar warriors versus 49 Anglo-Egyptian troops, ended the Mahdist State.

Meanwhile, France was planning to expand into southern Sudan, gain access to the Nile, and create a west-to-east African corridor of French territory. Jean-Baptiste Marchand and 130 men made an incredible two-year journey across 2,400 miles of Africa (starting at Loango, Congo on the Atlantic coast), reached Fashoda in southern Sudan in 1898, expelled the Mahdist garrison, and planted the French flag to claim the upper Nile region for France.

Kitchener led a British gunboat flotilla up the Nile, confronted Marchand, and demanded French evacuation. The two young heroes fraternized over French brandy. Kitchener offered Marchand's army passage down the Nile, but they chose to march out 800 miles to French Djibouti on the Red Sea. France backed down in the face of superior British naval power. Six years after nearly going to war, Britain and France signed the Entente Cordiale (1904) and became close allies.

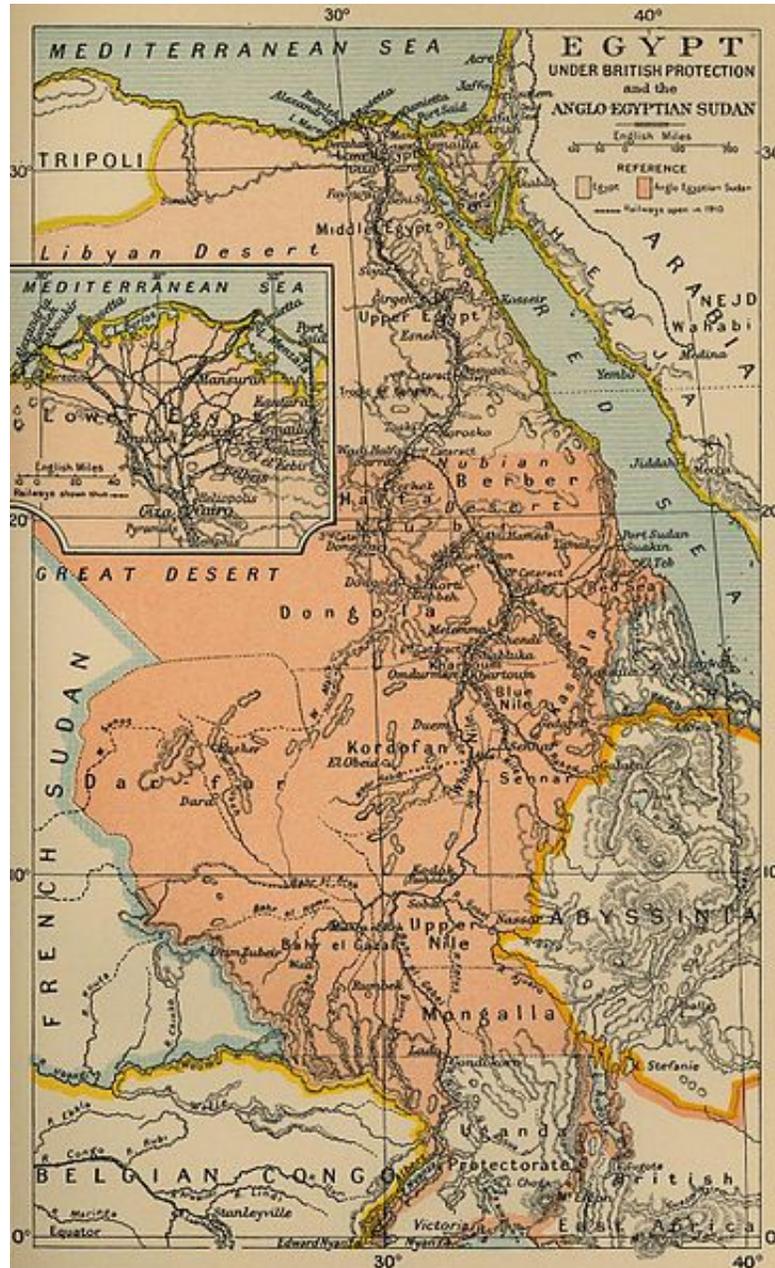


Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fashoda_Incident_map_-_en.svg

The Fashoda Incident (1898) – Jean-Baptiste Marchand (France) vs. Herbert Kitchener (Great Britain)

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1898-1956) – British rule. Under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1899, Britain and Egypt jointly ruled Sudan until 1955, although the British governor-general had full power. The Condominium arrangement ensured British control while honoring Egypt's claim to Sudan. Policy focused on development

in the Islamic and Arabic-speaking North and on imposing security, Christianity, and the English language in the South.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_sudan_under_british_control.jpg

*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (1898-1956) –
Map from Cambridge Modern History Atlas, 1912*

The main British accomplishment was the Gezira Scheme, a government-funded irrigation project that started in 1926 and produced cotton for export on cooperative farms on 2.2 million acres between the White and Blue Nile Rivers. Male tenants had 40-acre farms and planted 10 rotating acres in cotton. For decades, the project was the cornerstone of British agricultural development schemes in Africa. But the Gezira Scheme eventually failed because of deferred maintenance, silt build-up, and low cost-recovery.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons, available at*
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Main_canal_Gezira_scheme_-_panoramio.jpg>

Main Canal, Gezira Irrigation Scheme – Pictured in 2003

In 1946, when Egypt asserted its right to absorb Sudan, Britain countered by giving Sudan the right of self-determination. Following the Naguib military coup in 1952, Egypt supported Sudan's independence. In the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953, Britain gave Sudan the choice of receiving independence or uniting with Egypt within three years. Hence, there was not a prolonged nationalist struggle in Sudan and thus no need to forge compromises between Northern and Southern interests.

Political power in the new parliamentary democracy was contested between two Northern Islamic-based parties – the Umma Party (Ansar) and the Democratic Unionist Party (Khatmiyya). In 1954, the Southern Sudanese Conference voted for a federation (with autonomy for the South, Darfur, Nuba Mountains, and Blue Nile regions) or, if federalism was not granted, full separation.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sudan_independence_2.png>

*Sudan's Independence, January 1, 1956 –
Prime Minister Ismail al-Azhari Raised Sudan's New Flag*

Independent Sudan (1956-present)

Revolving Military Dictators (1958-present). During most of its six-plus decades of self-government, Sudan was led by military dictators – Ibrahim Abboud (1958-1964), Jaafar Nimeiri (1969-1985), and Omar al-Bashir (1989-2019). Each coup’s causes were the ineptness of politicians, economic mismanagement, ongoing civil wars, and military arrogance. The bloodless coups met little public opposition, promised significant reform, but continued vesting power in the privileged center. Although promising reform, each coup brought repression – suspension of the constitution, banning of most political parties, control of the press, and more military spending.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LocationSudan.svg>>

Repressive Sudan – Located in Northeastern Africa

General Ibrahim Abboud led the first coup in November 1958, less than three years after independence. He asserted that cynical political parties (Umma and the Democratic Unionist Party) had led Sudan into economic crisis (after falling world commodity prices had resulted in a huge drawdown of foreign exchange reserves). Abboud attempted to overcome opposition in the South by imposing the Islamic religion and the Arabic language.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:JFKWHP-KN-C18988.jpg>>

*President Ibrahim Abboud (1958-1964) –
With US President John F. Kennedy at the White House, 1961*

Following five years of divisive civilian rule, Jaafar Nimieri staged the second military coup. Nimeiri's heavy-handed rule went through four phases. Between 1969 and 1972, communist influence led to the nationalization of most industries and banks. Nimieri reversed direction after a failed communist coup attempt. From 1973 through 1976, he liberalized the economy and accepted an IMF loan package. At the peak of his popularity, he shifted again in 1977 and began five years of highly personalized rule, undercutting most institutions of government. By 1983, Nimieri had converted to fundamental Islam and introduced sharia law in Sudan. In 1985, the army supported a popular revolt that ousted Nimeiri. Few lamented his departure.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nimeiry,_Nasser_and_Gaddafi,_1969.jpg>

President Jaafar Nimeiri (1969-1985), from Socialism to Islamism – With Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt) and Muammar Gaddafi (Libya), 1969

Omar al-Bashir (1989-2019) and Hassan al-Turabi. Omar al-Bashir had a turbulent relationship with his political mentor, Hassan al-Turabi. Turabi, a brilliant lawyer, transformed Sudan's Muslim Brotherhood into the National Islamic Front (NIF). Bashir and Turabi

led a bloodless coup in 1989. Under Turabi's guidance, Bashir encouraged the NIF to introduce extreme Islamist policies.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons, available at*
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HassanAlTurabi_Feb2015RomanDeckert.jpg>

Hassan al-Turabi (1932-2016), Islamist Lawyer and Leader of the National Islamic Front (1964-1999) – Pictured in 2015

For five years (1991-1996), Sudan hosted Osama bin Laden, allowed duty-free imports for his 30 businesses (construction, farming, and trading), and supported his training of Al Qaeda terrorists in 19 camps. Bashir curried Western favor in 1996 by exiling bin Laden, who relocated in Afghanistan. In August 1998, the United States bombed a

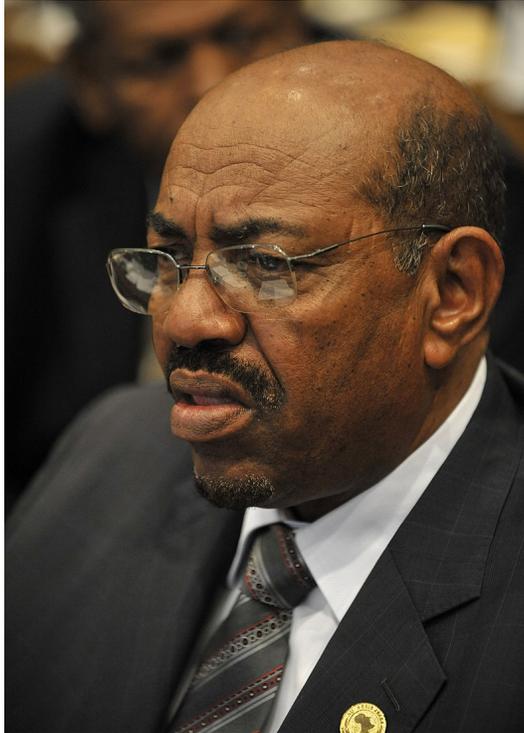
pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum in retaliation for al Qaeda bombings of the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons, available at*
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Osama_bin_Laden_portrait.jpg>

*Osama bin Laden (1957-2011), Leader of Al Qaeda –
Businesses and Training Camps in Sudan, 1991-1996*

Bashir and Turabi engaged in a power struggle between 1995 and 2001. The falling out began when Turabi supported a (failed) attempt to assassinate Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's leader. In 1999, Bashir removed Turabi as Speaker of the Assembly after he introduced legislation to curb presidential powers. When Turabi supported self-determination for South Sudan in 2001, Bashir put him under house arrest, ending his political career.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Omar_al-Bashir,_12th_AU_Summit,_090202-N-0506A-137.jpg>

*Omar al-Bashir (1944–), President of Sudan (1993-2019) –
Pictured in 2009*

Bashir then shifted from extreme Islamism to pragmatism. He expelled international jihadists and offered support to the US after the 9/11/2001 terrorist attacks. He signed the 2005 agreement to end the civil war with South Sudan. In 2009, the International Criminal Court issued a warrant for Bashir's arrest on charges of war crimes. But in 2015, he was re-elected president with 94 percent of the vote. In October 2017, the US lifted its sanctions on Sudan, which had

embargoed trade, frozen Sudanese assets, and curbed international financial transactions.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sudanese_President_Omar_al-Bashir_met_with_Ali_Khamenei_01.jpg>

*President Omar al-Bashir and Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei (Iran) –
Pictured in Tehran in 2012*

Following massive protests against his government, Bashir declared a state of emergency in February 2019. The Sudanese military toppled Bashir in a coup in April 2019 and began a transition to democracy. In August 2019, Abdalla Hamdok, a former United Nations

administrator, became Prime Minister under a three-year power-sharing agreement between the military, civilian, and protest groups.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mark_Green_and_Abdalla_Hamdok_at_USAID_HQ_\(2\)_cropped.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mark_Green_and_Abdalla_Hamdok_at_USAID_HQ_(2)_cropped.jpg)

Abdalla Hamdok, Prime Minister of Sudan (2019 –)

Disappointing Development – Stagnation and Oil-based

Growth. Jaafar Nimeiri's bread-basket strategy (1975-1985) to increase food production with mechanization was a costly failure. The government and businessmen invested \$6 billion to mechanize 8 million acres, smallholders were dispossessed, erosion created dust bowls, and agricultural exports fell.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons, available at*
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gezira_cattle.jpg>

Cattle Grazing in a Sorghum Field – Gezira, Sudan, 2008

Petroleum was discovered in 1979, production began in 1996, and exports started in 1999. Between 1999 and 2010, oil-fueled growth averaged 6 percent per year and Sudan's GDP doubled. In 2010, oil output peaked at 486,000 barrels per day (bpd), oil exports were valued at \$11 billion, and oil provided 47 percent of government revenue.

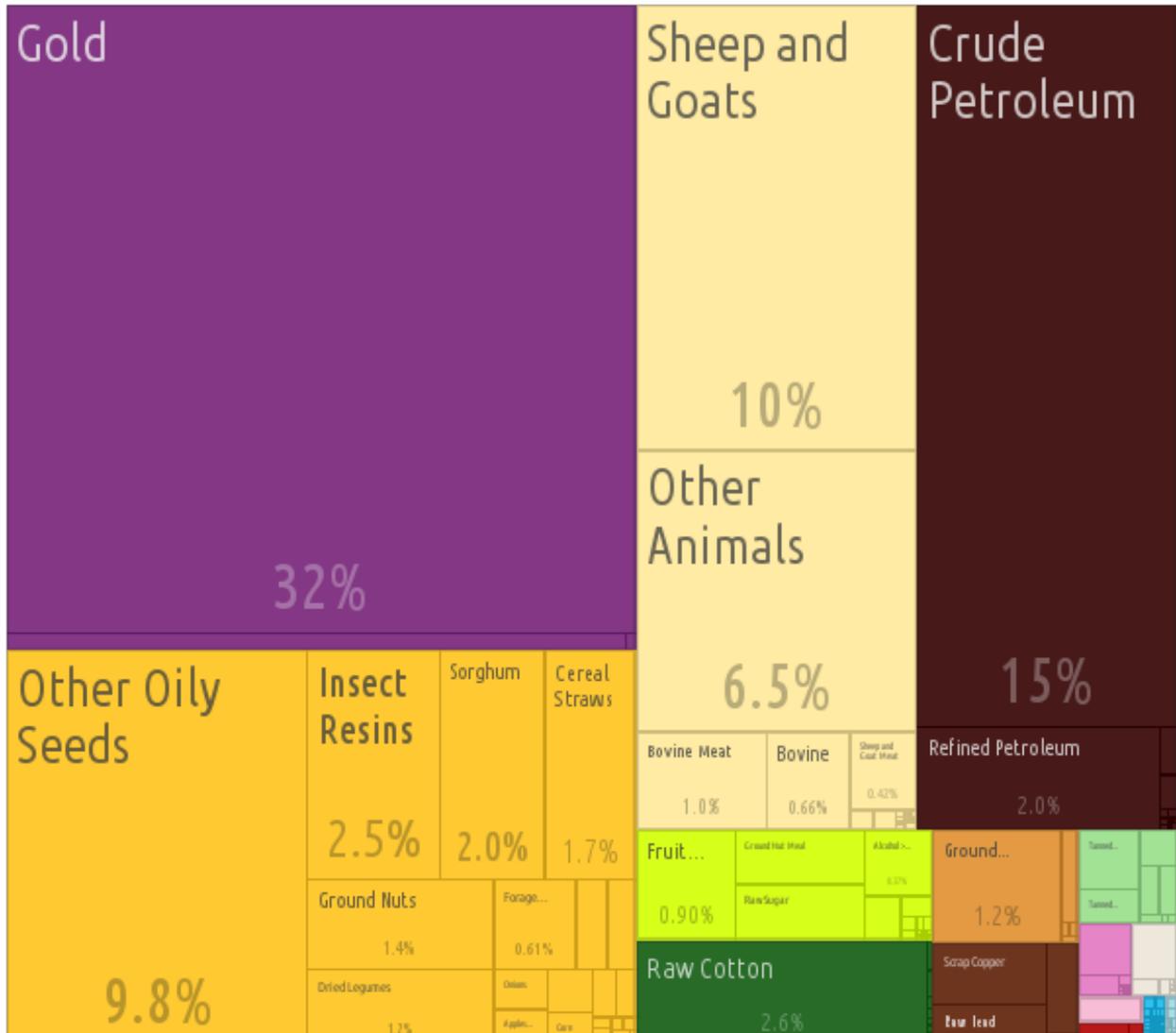
South Sudan, the site of 70 percent of Sudan's of proved oil reserves (5 billion barrels), became independent in 2011. In 2019, Sudan produced 70,000 bpd (and South Sudan 157,000 bpd), and the oil sector contributed less than one-tenth of Sudan's government revenue.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Oil_fields_and_infrastructure_in_Sudan_and_South_Sudan.png

*Oil Fields and Pipelines in Sudan and South Sudan in 2014 –
 South Sudan Has 70 Percent of Proved Reserves*

After contracting by 3 percent in 2009, Sudan's GDP per capita (measured by the World Bank at Purchasing Power Parity in constant 2017 dollars) grew at an annual rate of 3.5 percent between 2009 and 2017. But then it fell by 7 percent between 2017 and 2019. In 2019, per capita income (price adjusted) was \$4,123 (6 percent of the US level), life expectancy was 65 years, and the literacy rate was 61 percent. Sudan ranked only 170th of 189 countries in the United Nations' Human Development Index (based on income, health, and education indicators) in 2019. An estimated 36 percent of the population subsists below the poverty line. Sudan ranked a disappointing 171st of 190 countries in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business List and a shameful 173rd of 198 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index. With that unattractive investment climate, Sudan attracted only \$1.1 billion in foreign direct investment (2019).



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sudan_Exports_Treemap_2017.svg>

Proportional Representation of Sudan's Export Earnings in 2017 – Leading Exports Were Gold, Crude Petroleum, Livestock, and Oilseeds

In 2015, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan signed a treaty to study the impact of the half-built, \$4.8 billion Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam on the Blue Nile. Sudan supports Ethiopia because it will receive part of

the electricity generated and be able to access more Nile water with flow controls. Ethiopia began filling the reservoir with water in July 2020. The dam is the seventh largest in the world and will support the largest hydro-electric project in Africa.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GERD-Men-at-Work.jpg>>

*Construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam on the Blue Nile
– Sudan Sides with Ethiopia Against Egypt*

Civil Wars (1960-present). Leaders in the South rebelled against police oppression, economic mismanagement, and sharia law. In the first civil war (1960-1972), the Anyanya (“poison”) guerrilla movement

fought for self-determination in the South. The Addis Ababa Agreement (1972) ended the war but created a weak Southern government.

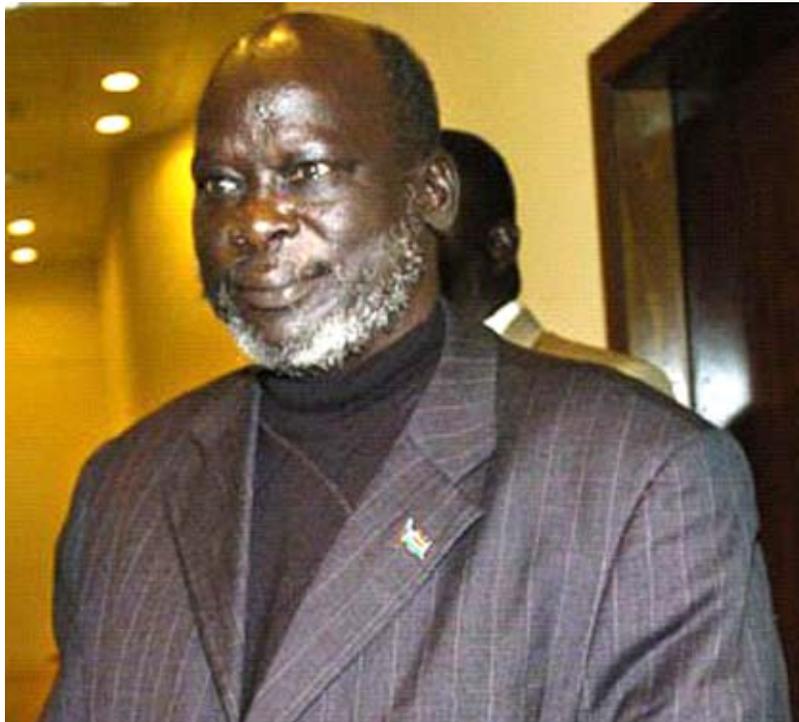


Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sn_anyanya1.PNG>

*The Anyanya Flag – Red for Spilled Blood, Green for the Land,
White for Peace, and Black for Africa*

War resumed in 1983. John Garang led the Southern Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) from Ethiopian bases. Southern prospects dimmed when the SPLA split into two factions in the 1990s. A Comprehensive Peace Agreement was agreed in January 2005, promising self-determination for the South, a new constitution, and a Government of National Unity with Omar Bashir as President and

Garang as Vice-president. But Garang died in a helicopter crash in July 2005, and Salva Kiir replaced him. The South-North wars resulted in 2 million deaths, 4-5 million displaced persons, and 0.5 million refugees.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Garang_of_Sudan.jpg>

*John Garang (1945-2005), Charismatic Leader of SPLA –
Died When the Ugandan Presidential Helicopter Crashed, July 2005*

In 2003, civil war erupted in Darfur (western Sudan) between two rebel groups and the *janjawiid* militias, armed by the government. The brutal war caused 300,000 deaths and 2.5 million displaced people. A land conflict in 1988 between Fur farmers and Baqqara pastoralists (both

Muslim but neither Arab) led to the bloodbath. An African Union-United Nations peace-keeping force has overseen a tenuous peace in Darfur since 2008. A comprehensive peace agreement between the new Sudanese government and rebel factions was signed in August 2020.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sudan-Darfur2009-_assistenza_sanitaria-uomini_COSV.jpg>

*Darfur Men Enjoying a Respite from a Brutal Civil War –
Tenuous Peace Since 2008*

In South Sudan, 98 percent of voters chose independence in a 2011 referendum. But in 2013, the president, Salva Kiir (a Dinka), dismissed the vice-president, Riek Machar (a Nuer), triggering a civil war.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:President_Barack_Obama_and_First_Lady_Michelle_Obama_greet_His_Excellency_Salva_Kiir_Mayardit,_President_of_the_Republic_of_South_Sudan.jpg>

Salva Kiir, President of South Sudan (2011 –) – With US President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama, White House, 2014

Africa's newest country has suffered a disaster. Since 2013, South Sudan's GDP has halved, inflation has been 300 percent annually, some regions have had famine, and one-third of the country's 12.6 million people have been uprooted refugees (2 million internally and 2 million

abroad). In 2019, South Sudan had a life expectancy of only 58 years, a per capita income of about \$2,000, and ranked a dismal 185th of 189 countries in the UNDP's Human Development Index.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sudan-CIA_WFB_Map.png

Contemporary Sudan and South Sudan

Time Line for Sudan

from 8500 BCE	origins of agriculture – Fertile Crescent
c. 6000-5000 BCE	agriculture spread to Egypt – from Fertile Crescent
3000-2900 BCE	proto-dynastic Egypt – political unification
2900-332 BCE	Dynastic Era – peak period of ancient Egyptian power
2900-2195 BCE	Old Kingdom – early Pharaonic power, Egyptian artistic and engineering creativity
2500-1550 BCE	Nubian Kingdom of Kush – capital at Kerma
2195-2066 BCE	First Intermediate Period – Egypt splintered after Pepy II's 94 years of ineffectual rule
2066-1650 BCE	Middle Kingdom – Montjuhotep II of Thebes reunified Upper and Lower Egypt
1700-1550 BCE	Nubian Kingdom of Kush peaked – controlled Upper and Lower Nubia
1650-1559 BCE	Second Intermediate Period – Palestinian Hyksos invaded, ruled
1559-1064 BCE	New Kingdom – Kamose and Ahmose of Thebes reunified Upper and Lower Egypt
16 th century BCE	Egypt conquered Nubia – trade network between Egypt and Nubia

16 th century BCE	trade network between Egypt and the Levant – centered in ports of Syria-Palestine
15 th century BCE	Hatshepsut, female pharaoh – trade expedition to Punt, Temple at Deir el-Bahri in Western Thebes
15 th century BCE	Thutmose III – reached Fourth Cataract and established fortified trading center at Napata
15 th century BCE	Thutmose III – led 17 campaigns in 21 years to control the Levant
c. 1457 BCE	Thutmose III – defeated the Hurrians at the Battle of Megiddo
14 th century BCE	Amarna heresy – Akhenaten worshipped only one sun-god, Aten
c. 1275 BCE	Ramesses II – fought a draw with the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh
13 th -11 th c. BCE	Egyptian/Hittite peace treaty – divided Levantine trade routes
12 th century BCE	Ramesses III – temples controlled one-third of cultivated land
1064-664 BCE	Third Intermediate Period – foreign dynasties, brief reunification
c. 1070 BCE	Peoples of Nubia revolted – removed Nubia from Egyptian control
10 th century BCE	Levantine city-states revolted – Egypt lost control of southern Levant

10 th -8 th c. BCE	22 nd Dynasty – Libyan rule of Egypt
mid-9 th century BCE	Nubia re-unified under revived kingdom of Kush – capital at Napata, religious center at Jebel Barkal, necropolis at El Kurru
760 BCE	Kashta of Nubia captured Thebes – conquered Upper Egypt
716 BCE	Shabaqo of Nubia conquered all of Egypt – established 25 th (Nubian) dynasty of Egypt
667 BCE	Assurbanipal of Assyria – invaded Egypt, defeated Taharka, Nubian pharaoh
664 BCE	Kushites retreated to Napata – never ruled Egypt again
664-525 BCE	Psamtek I of Sais – installed by Assyrians as puppet pharaoh, declared independence and reunified Egypt under Saite dynasty
605 BCE	Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon – defeated Egypt at the Battle of Carchemish, ending Egyptian attempt to dominate the Levant
593 BCE	Egypt invaded Nubia – Kushites moved capital south to Meroë, retained control of Nubia
525 BCE	Battle of Pelusium – Cambyses of Persia – invaded Egypt, defeated Egyptian army

525-404 BCE	First Persian Dynasty – Persian kings claimed to be pharaohs (27 th dynasty) – Nubia a vassal state, paid annual tribute to Persia
404-343 BCE	Egypt regained independence – Sais rulers returned to power
343-332 BCE	Second Persian Dynasty – Artaxerxes III reasserted Persian control
332 BCE	Alexander the Great – conquered Egypt, asserted Hellenistic rule
332 BCE-640 CE	Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Era – Greek official language of Egypt
332-30 BCE	Hellenistic (Ptolemaic) Period – Hellenes ruled Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus – traded regularly with Meroitic Kush, client kingdom of Egypt
305-222 BCE	first three Ptolemies – exercised effective leadership, Egypt stable
271 BCE	Ptolemy II – forged alliance with upstart Roman Empire
222-30 BCE	last twelve Ptolemies – internecine warfare, widespread civil strife
51-30 BCE	Cleopatra VII ruled – last Ptolemaic pharaoh of Egypt
31 BCE	naval Battle of Actium – Octavian (Augustus Caesar) of Rome defeated Antony of Rome and Cleopatra of Egypt

30 BCE	Octavian invaded Egypt – Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide, Egypt became Roman province
30 BCE	population of Meroitic Kush about 80,000 – 20,000 at capital of Meroë
30 BCE-395 CE	Roman Rule of Egypt – Egypt attained peak of agricultural output – Meroitic Kush continued as independent client kingdom of Egypt
2 nd century CE	population of Egypt – 5 million, including 1 million Greek-speaking Hellenes
2 nd century CE	Christianity spread throughout Egypt
3 rd century CE	Egyptian Christian (Coptic) Church founded
c. 330	Meroë destroyed – King Ezana of Axum invaded – Meroitic Kush split into two weak kingdoms (led by desert-based Blemmyes and Nile-based Nobatai)
395	Emperor Theodosius I divided Roman Empire – Egypt governed as part of eastern empire, from new city of Constantinople
395-641	Byzantine Rule of Egypt – inefficient and unpopular
early 5 th century	Roman legions left Egypt – Greek garrisons manned major towns

451	Council of Chalcedon divided Christianity – Egyptian Christians believed Christ had one nature that was both divine and human
6 th century	Most Nubians converted to Christianity – linked to Alexandria patriarchate of Byzantine church
7 th -14 th centuries	Christian kingdoms in Nubia – Alwa, Makuria, and Nobadia – absolute monarchies, Nubian, Greek, and Coptic languages, wealth from Nile agriculture
634	Muslim Arabs began Islamic diaspora and jihad
639-641	Muslim Arabs invaded Egypt – defeated Byzantine rulers, ruled
641-1805	Arabic, Mamluk, and Ottoman Era in Egypt and Nubia
641-1250	Egypt ruled under Islamic Caliphates
641-661	four successors of Muhammad ruled Egypt – centered in Medina
652	Arabs ruling Egypt invaded Nubia – defeated at Dongola – negotiated a treaty (<i>baqt</i>) with Makuria and Nobadia, guaranteeing their independence in return for regular trade (slaves for grain)
661-750	Umayyad Caliphate ruled Egypt – Arabs centered in Damascus
750-868	Abbasid Caliphate ruled Egypt – Arabs and Persians centered in Baghdad

9 th century	Makuria absorbed Nobadia – continued to practice Orthodox Christianity, along with Alwa
868-969	Tulunid Dynasty ruled Egypt – Turks centered in Cairo
969-1173	Fatimid Caliphate ruled Egypt – Berbers centered in Cairo
1036-1094	Caliph al-Mustansir ruled Egypt – Fatimid Empire peaked
1173-1193	Salah al-Din ruled Egypt – established Ayyubid Caliphate
1173-1250	Ayyubid Caliphate ruled Egypt – Kurds centered in Cairo
1187	Salah al-Din defeated Crusaders – recaptured Jerusalem
1250-1517	Mamluk Rule of Egypt – Mamluks were freed ex-slave apprentices
1260	Battle of Ain Jalut (“Eye of Goliath”) – Mamluk General Baybars defeated Hulegu Khan, leader of Mongol Ilkhanate state
1276	Mamluk Egypt invaded Nubia – forced Nubian kingdoms to accept Egyptian suzerainty – opened Nubia to settlement of Arab peoples from Egypt
14 th century	Nubian kingdoms (Makuria, Alwa) splintered – Arab rulers gradually took control

1453	Turkish Ottoman Empire captured Constantinople – ended Byzantine Empire
1504	Pagan nomads, led by Amara Dunqas, defeated Arab migrants, formed Kingdom of Funj – capital at Sennar on Blue Nile – gradually Arabized, converted to Islam, formed decentralized state
1517-1805	Ottoman Rule of Egypt
1517	Ottoman Turks conquered Egypt, Syria – faced little resistance
mid-17 th c.-1916	Keira Sultanate of Darfur, western Sudan – established by Sulayman Solong – gradual spread of Islam and Arabic, slave-raiding
1630-1805	Mamluk military leaders regained effective political power – Egypt remained under Ottoman suzerainty
1805-1882	Muhammad Ali's and Khedives' Rule of Egypt – nominally under Ottoman Empire
1805-1848	Muhammad Ali Pasha ruled Egypt – reformed public administration, created modern military
1818-1833	Muhammad Ali conquered the Hijaz (western Arabia), Sudan, Crete, Cyprus, and Syria
1820-1883	Turco-Egyptian rule of Sudan

- 1820 Muhammad Ali conquered much of Sudan – captured renegade Mamluks, exploited Sudan’s gold and iron, and expanded trade
- 1820s Uthman Bey established new capital at Khartoum – at the confluence of Blue and White Nile Rivers
- 1854-1863 Said Pasha ruled as Viceroy of Egypt – supported Suez Canal
- 1859-1869 France, led by Ferdinand de Lesseps, constructed the Suez Canal
- 1863-1879 Ismail Pasha ruled as Khedive of Egypt – opened Suez Canal, developed and bankrupted Egypt
- 1863-1879 Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha – hired Europeans (Charles George Gordon and Samuel Baker) to govern Sudan – but failed to end the slave trade
- 1869 Suez Canal opened – Khedive Ismail Pasha and Empress Eugénie of France presided over 46-ship ceremony
- 1875 Khedive Ismail faced a fiscal crisis – sold 44 percent of Suez Canal shares to Great Britain, led by Benjamin Disraeli
- 1876 Dual Control System imposed on Egypt by four creditor nations – one British and one French controller oversaw Egyptian finances
- 1881 Muhammad Ahmad declared himself the Mahdi (Islamic messiah) – led jihad, Ansar supporters

- 1883 Battle of El Obeid – Mahdi defeated Ottoman-Egyptian army – ended Turco-Egyptian rule of Sudan
- 1882 Great Britain invaded Egypt – imposed British imperial control of Egyptian finances and trade and military control of Suez Canal
- 1882-1914 British Military Occupation of Egypt
- 1885-1898 Khalifa Abdallahi ruled Sudan – after death of the Mahdi – supported by Baqqara warriors – conquered Darfur (in the west) but was stalemated in Egypt (north) and Ethiopia (east)
- 1896 Herbert Kitchener led Anglo-Egyptian invasion of Mahdist Sudan – defeated Khalifa Abdallahi’s armies at Dongola
- 1898 Battle of Omdurman – Kitchener defeated Khalifa Abdallahi – 11,000 Ansar warriors killed – British victory ended the Mahdist state
- 1898 Fashoda Incident – Kitchener vs. Jean-Baptiste Marchand – France occupied southern Sudan – Britain retaliated, but two nations avoided war
- 1898-1956 Anglo-Egyptian joint rule of Sudan – focused on developing Islamic and Arabic-speaking North and imposing security, Christianity in the South
- 1899 Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement – ensured British control, honored Egypt’s claim to Sudan

1904	Entente Cordiale – Great Britain and France became close allies against Germany
1914-1922	British Protectorate over Egypt
1919	800 Egyptians killed in massive anti-British protests – Egyptian nationalists, led by Saad Zaghloul, formed Wafd Party
1922	Great Britain granted Egypt independence – British retained control of economy, military, foreign affairs, Suez Canal
1922-1952	Constitutional Monarchy in Egypt – led by Kings Fuad and Faruq
1926-present	Gezira Scheme in Sudan – government-funded irrigation project – produced cotton for export on cooperative farms on 2.2 million acres between White and Blue Nile Rivers
1952	military coup in Egypt, led by General Muhammad Naguib – anti-monarchy, anti-British
1952-present	Arab Republic of Egypt
1952-1954	President Muhammad Naguib – head of military council in Egypt
1953	Anglo-Egyptian Agreement – Britain gave Sudan choice of independence or uniting with Egypt within three years – peaceful transition – no prolonged nationalist struggle in Sudan

- 1954 Southern Sudanese Conference – voted for federation (with autonomy for the South, Darfur, Nuba Mountains, and Blue Nile regions) – or full separation from Northern Sudan
- 1954-1970 President Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt – Arab Socialism, non-alignment
- 1956 Sudan received independence from Britain – Ismail al-Azhari first Prime Minister
- 1956 Suez Crisis – Nasser nationalized Suez Canal, US and USSR forced British, French, and Israeli invaders to retreat
- 1958-1964 Sudan ruled by Ibrahim Abboud – military dictator – blamed ruling parties for Sudan’s economic crisis – imposed Islam in South
- 1959-1971 High Aswan Dam constructed – Soviet aid, expanded Egypt’s hydropower capacity
- 1960-1972 First North-South civil war in Sudan – Anyanya guerrilla movement – Addis Ababa Agreement (1972) ended war – weak Southern government
- 1969-1985 Sudan ruled by Jaafar Nimeiri – military dictator – nationalization of industries and banks – reform and IMF support – personalized rule – sharia law
- 1979 Petroleum discovered in central and southern Sudan

1983-2005	Resumption of North-South civil war – John Garang led Southern Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) from Ethiopian bases
1989-present	Sudan ruled by Omar al-Bashir – military dictator – bloodless coup, with Hasan al-Turabi (leader of National Islamic Front) – extreme Islamism
1991-1996	Sudan hosted Osama bin Laden (1957-2011) – allowed duty-free imports for his 30 businesses – supported training of Al Qaeda terrorists
1996	Petroleum production began in Sudan – oil exports commenced in 1999
1998	US bombed a pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum – retaliation for al Qaeda bombings of American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam
2001	Bashir placed Turabi under house arrest – ended his political career after long personal struggle
2003-2008	Civil War in Darfur (western Sudan) – two rebel groups vs. government militias (<i>janjawiid</i>) – 300,000 deaths and 2.5 million displaced people
2005	Comprehensive Peace Agreement – ended North-South civil war – self-determination for South, new constitution, Government of National Unity
2005	John Garang died in helicopter crash – Salva Kiir became leader of South Sudan
2009	International Criminal Court issued a warrant for Bashir's arrest on charges of war crimes

- 2011 South Sudan voted for independence – 98 percent – Salva Kiir became President, Riek Machar Vice-president of new country of South Sudan
- 2013-present Civil War in South Sudan – Kiir fired Machar – kleptocratic followers fighting for control
- 2015 Bashir re-elected president – 94 percent of vote
- 2015 Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan signed treaty – to study impact of half-built, \$4.8 billion Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam on the Blue Nile
- 2017 US lifted its sanctions on Sudan – ended trade embargo, freeze of Sudanese assets, and curb of international financial transactions
- 2020 Following massive protests, Sudan’s military ousted Bashir in April in a coup d’état – began a transition to democracy
- 2020 Abdalla Hamdok became Prime Minister in August – three-year power-sharing agreement between the military, civilian, and protest groups

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Sites Visited in Sudan

Sudan, Kingdom of Nubian Pharaohs

Stanford Alumni Association Travel/Study Program

January 8-23, 2019

Land-based

Kushitic Kingdom of Kerma (2500-1550 BCE) and Egyptian Kush (1550-1070 BCE)

The Nubian Kingdom of Kush, with its capital at Kerma, began as early as 2500 BCE and reached its peak between 1700 and 1550 BCE by controlling Lower and Upper Nubia. Egypt's imperial objectives in Nubia (in the Nile River provinces of Wawat and Kush) were to exploit Nubian gold and copper and to gain control over Nubia's African trading network. The Egyptian pharaohs established a fortified trading center at Napata in the 15th century BCE. The pharaohs in the New Kingdom used Egyptian soldiers and Nubian slaves to mine Nubian gold, especially at Wadi el-Allaqi in Wawat. Egypt also taxed Nile-based agriculture in Nubia and imported Nubian cattle. Egypt received better terms of trade by controlling the Nubian commercial centers. Led by Piankhy, Nubia regained its independence from Egypt in 1070 BCE.

Kerma. Kerma, the first capital of the Kingdom of Kush, housed 10,000 residents at its peak in 1600 BCE. Charles Bonnett led a team from the University of Geneva that carried out archaeological digs in Kerma between 1977 and 2003 and discovered innovations in funerary and architectural practices and in artisanal industry (bronze and pottery). The Western Defuffa (mud-brick building) was the enormous (52x27x18 meters) and elaborate main temple complex. The Eastern Defuffa was a huge royal necropolis, the site of more than 30,000 graves. The Kerma Museum contains seven statues of later Kushitic rulers (the Black Pharaohs).

Soleb. Soleb, an ancient town in Kushitic Nubia, was the site of many temples and a large necropolis with pyramid tomb-chapels. The sandstone temple of Amenhotep III (late 14th century BCE) is considered to be the most beautiful Egyptian temple in Nubia. Built in the 9th century, it was consecrated to the god, Amun, depicted with ram horns, and modeled after the Karnak temple in Luxor. Amenhotep III's son, Akenhaten, re-dedicated the temple to the sun-god, Aten, during the Amarna Heresy, but his son, Tutankhamen, reversed the dedication back to Amun. Two red-granite lions that guarded the temple are in the British Museum.

Tombos. Tombos, a city on an island near the Third Cataract, was an important administrative center for Egypt. It was the site of black granite quarries for stone used widely in the New Kingdom. Its most outstanding artifact is a 2,700-year-old statue of Pharaoh Taharqo. The existence of numerous stele with hieroglyphic inscriptions reflects the town's administrative importance. Archaeologists have discovered Mycenaean jars and potsherds in Tombos, attesting to the widespread trade network of Dynastic Egypt. American archaeologist Stuart Tyson Smith excavated an Egyptian burial pyramid in Tombos that is 3,500 years old.

Kushitic Kingdom of Napata (1070-315 BCE)

In the mid-9th century BCE, the Nubians unified under a revived kingdom of Kush. Napata was the capital, the religion was Egyptian, and the rulers adopted the pharaonic system of autocratic divine rule. The Kushite kings soon expanded into Egypt. Kashta captured Thebes in 760 BCE, and Shabaqo took all of Egypt in 716 BCE and established the 25th Dynasty of Egypt. But Assurbanipal of Assyria defeated Taharqo, the Nubian pharaoh, in 667 BCE and sacked Thebes. In 664 BCE, the Assyrians installed as pharaoh a puppet ruler, Psamtek I of Sais. Egypt's invasion of Nubia in 593 BCE caused Kush to move its capital southward to Meroë. After Cambyses of Achaemenid Persia conquered Egypt in 525 BCE, Kush paid annual tribute to Persia. Most

Egyptians and Nubians saw Alexander the Great of Macedonia as a liberator in 332 BCE.

Napata. Thutmose III established an Egyptian garrison at Napata in the 15th century BCE, and his Great Temple complex and stela are Napata's earliest artifacts. Napata remained a key outpost until the 12th century, but fell into disuse until the Kingdom of Kush relocated its capital there (750-593). The 25th Egyptian Dynasty, led by Nubian pharaohs, ruled from Napata and Thebes. Nubian Pharaoh Piye re-built the Great Temple in the 8th century. In the 7th century, Pharaoh Taharqo constructed a pylon and kiosk, seen today. Napata remained the coronation and religious center of Kush until those functions were moved to Meroë (about 315 BCE).

Jebel Barkal. Jebel Barkal is a sandstone table mountain (104 meters high). Napata was sited at its base. The area surrounding the mountain was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2003. Thutmose III declared Jebel Barkal to be an iconic religious site – the home of Egyptian god Amun and a center of Egyptian creation – and called it the “Pure Mountain.” As a result, Napata became a center for temples and palaces and a site for a royal necropolis. Existing ruins around Jebel Barkal include thirteen temples and three palaces. Jebel Barkal also served as a royal cemetery during the Meroitic Kingdom (3rd-1st centuries BCE).

El-Kurru. El-Kurru is the site of the royal necropolis for kings ruling Kush and their families from 795 to 315 BCE. Most of the tumulus tombs have (or had) royal pyramids, a funerary custom introduced from Egypt. More than thirty tombs and pyramids can be observed today, although all have been pillaged by grave-robbers. There are also a series of graves for horse burials. Early archaeological work at El-Kurru was carried out by George Reisner and his colleagues from Harvard-Boston Museum (1916-1920). Recently, archeologists from the Universities of Michigan and Copenhagen have continued excavating at El-Kurru.

Nuri. The last Nubian ruler of Egypt, Taharqo, who was ousted by the Assyrians in 664 BCE, founded a new royal necropolis at Nuri, near Napata but east of the Nile. To date, archaeologists working at Nuri have unearthed 82 tombs, and 73 have associated pyramids. The tallest pyramid in Sudan is Taharqo's at Nuri. It was 220 feet high (the Great Pyramid of Giza in Egypt is 455 feet high). Taharqo's grave held more than 1,000 *shawabtis*, carved figures to serve the king in his afterlife. The necropolis at Nuri was the burial place of Kushitic royalty after Taharqo's death (664 BCE) and before the royal burials were moved to Meroë (315 BCE).

Kushitic Kingdom of Meroë (315 BCE-330 CE)

In 593 BCE, the Kushite kings moved their capital to Meroë and revived their kingdom. Meroitic Kush prospered from agriculture (sorghum, millet, cotton, and cattle), mining (gold and iron ore), iron-working, and entrepôt trade in African luxuries (ivory, slaves, ebony, and live animals). Kush was a wealthy client kingdom under Ptolemaic Egypt (4th-1st centuries BCE). After Rome took over Egypt in 30 BCE, the Romans shifted the African trade to the Red Sea. An Ethiopian power, Axum, replaced Meroë as the entrepôt for African luxuries. Meroitic Kush was further weakened by invasions from nomadic desert tribes. King Ezana of Axum invaded and destroyed Meroë in the mid-4th century CE. Nubia split into two weak kingdoms, divided at the Third Cataract – led by the desert-based Blemmyes and the Nile-based Nobatai.

Meroë. Meroë was the capital and religious center of the Meroitic Kingdom of Kush for a millennium (6th century BCE-4th century CE). Its city wall enclosed an area of one square mile, much of it not yet excavated. Meroë was a center of artisanal industry – iron-working, pottery, and jewelry – and artifacts provide evidence of trade with India and China. Its Royal Necropolis features 40 pyramids, some in excellent condition, chapels with bas reliefs, and vestiges of Kushite kings. Excavations at the site have uncovered a Temple of Amun and palaces

on a riverside quay. Meroë was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2011.

Naga. Naga, first settled in 135 BCE, was a center of agriculture and trade in the Meroitic Era. Its site is unusual because it is not alongside the Nile River. Naga has two notable temples that demonstrate the syncretic religion of Meroitic kings and queens. The Temple of Apedemak is dedicated to an indigenous lion-headed deity, worshipped mainly in southern Meroë. The Temple of Amun is dedicated to the primary Egyptian god. Both temples contain representations of King Natakamani and Queen Amanitore (1st century CE). Naga also features an unusual kiosk with elements of Nubian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman architecture.

Musawwarat es-Sufra. Near Naga and also sited away from the Nile is Musawwarat es-Sufra (the “Island of Meroë”), a labyrinth-like temple complex that dates back to the 3rd century BCE, when Meroë was consolidating its power. Its Great Enclosure (460,000 square feet) is one of the most impressive ancient ruins in Sudan and Egypt. The site has three large temples (with sculptures of elephants) and numerous ramps, courtyards, and corridors. Historians speculate that it might have been the residence of Meroitic queens. Musawwarat also is home to the Great Hafir, a technically-advanced water reservoir with an 820-foot diameter.

Christian Kingdom of Makuria (6th-14th centuries)

Most Nubians converted to Christianity in the 6th century and were linked to the Alexandria patriarchate of the eastern Roman (Byzantine) church. By the 7th century, Nubia had three Christian kingdoms – Makuria, Nobadia, and Alwa. All had absolute monarchies, generated wealth from Nile agriculture, and used the Nubian, Greek, and Coptic languages. In 652, the Arabs ruling Egypt invaded, were defeated at Dongola, and negotiated a treaty (*baqt*) with Makuria and Nobadia, guaranteeing their independence in return for regular trade (slaves for grain). Makuria absorbed Nobadia in the 9th century. After taking

control in Egypt, the Mamluks (former Turkish slaves) invaded Nubia in 1276 and forced the two Nubian kingdoms to accept Egyptian suzerainty. In the 14th century, Arab rulers took control of Makuria and Alwa.

Old Dongola. Old Dongola was the capital of the Kingdom of Makuria (6th-14th CE) and a center of artisanal industry (pottery). Today it is a deserted ruin on the east bank of the Nile. Archeologists have discovered many Coptic Christian churches – very different from Meroitic temples because they are laid out as basilicas on an axial plan – and religious paintings with Greek and Nubian inscriptions. A mud-brick building, since 1317 known as the Mosque of Old Dongola, was built in the 8th or 9th centuries and served earlier as the throne hall of Makurian kings. The impressive structure has mud-brick walls that are a meter thick.

Mahdist (1883-1898) and Anglo-Egyptian (1898-1956) Sudan

Muhammad Ahmad declared himself the Mahdi (Islamic messiah) in 1881 and led a jihad with his Ansar supporters (religious devotees, Arab ex-slave-raiders, and Baqqara nomadic warriors). The Mahdi defeated the Egyptians at El Obeid in 1883, ending their rule of Sudan. After the Mahdi died in 1885, Khalifa Abdallahi ruled until 1898. He conquered Darfur (in the west) but was stalemated in Egypt (north) and Ethiopia (east). Britain took control of Egypt in 1882 to curb Mahdist expansion and fend off imperialism by France and Italy. But Britain took no military action in Sudan until 1896. Aided by repeating rifles and Maxim machine-guns, Herbert Kitchener defeated Khalifa Abdallahi at Dongola (1896) and at Omdurman (1898) and ended the Mahdist State. Britain and Egypt then jointly ruled Sudan until 1956.

Khartoum and Omdurman. Khartoum is the capital and largest city in Sudan (3.6 million). Including Omdurman and Bahri, the population of metropolitan Khartoum is 5.3 million (of 42 million in Sudan). Omdurman was the capital of Mahdist Sudan (1881-1898) and is now

the site of the Mahdi's Tomb, the Khalifa House Museum (former home of Khalifa Abdallahi), the Souq Omdurman (Africa's largest market), and the Tomb of Hamad Al Nil (Sufi Dervish dancing). Khartoum houses the National Museum of Sudan (Kushite, Christian, and Arabic exhibits), two outdoor markets (Souq al-Arabi and Souq al Farange), and Nuba wrestling.