

# (Archaeology of) Religion in New Kingdom Nubia

also known as “Religious Experience in New Kingdom Nubia”

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In the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1070 BC), the ancient Egyptians colonized Nubia, the area which today comprises the south of Egypt from Aswan and the north of Sudan until Khartoum. Egyptologists have traditionally believed that, in this period, Nubians had been 'Egyptianized'. This presupposed that Nubians fully adopted Egyptian culture, consequently converting to Egyptian religion. In the New Kingdom, following an initial period of military expansion and conquest, the ancient Egyptians reoccupied previously built fortresses in Lower Nubia and erected temple-towns across Lower and Upper Nubia. These temple-towns included a temple and other cultic spaces, administrative and housing areas and associated cemeteries. Evidence for religion in New Kingdom colonial Nubia comes from three different levels: the temple (state religion), houses/workshops/magazines (personal piety) and cemeteries (mortuary beliefs and practices). From an archaeological viewpoint, an overall substitution of local Nubian to Egyptian styles and patterns is apparent. However, today, archaeology is revealing a more complex context of cultural interactions between Egyptian colonisers and Nubian populations, including negotiations of identities and cultural entanglements. Moving away from previous colonial perspectives based on ideas such as acculturation, today archaeologists emphasize Nubian agency in the adoption, choice, refusal and maintenance of cultural patterns, which includes religious affiliation. Therefore, it remains hard to determine whether local populations converted to Egyptian religion or not, especially as today we accept that artefacts behave in different ways independently of how they look like. Egyptian-style temples, houses and material culture offer us glimpses of religious experiences in New Kingdom colonial Nubia. However, only a contextual approach allows us to detect religious affiliations in the light of complex and diverse processes of cultural perpetuity and change in colonial Nubia. Temples were dedicated to Egyptian deities, most importantly Amun-Ra (e.g., Jebel Barkal), but also Hathor (e.g., Mirgissa), Horus (e.g., Buhen), the deified pharaoh (e.g., Soleb temple dedicated to Neb-Maat-Ra, Lord of Nubia) and even the Aten during the Amarna Period (evidence from Sedeinga, Sai, Sesebi and Kawa). Around 50 temples dedicated to Egyptian deities were found in Nubia. Temple ritual involved offerings to the gods (based on iconography), including incense and food (conical bread moulds are usually associated with temples) and votive offerings to Hathor at Mirgissa. Sai has been suggested as a solar cult centre: a non-funerary pyramid located in the New Kingdom cemetery on the island has been interpreted as a solar temple. Priests and other personnel associated with temples in New Kingdom Nubia lived in settlements across the Middle Nile and are known from titles on inscribed objects and architectural remains from settlements and cemeteries. Beyond cultic spaces, New Kingdom temples in Nubia also included a series of functional areas. Evidence for household religion includes pottery (incense burners with resin and offering platters), faience bowls potentially associated with domestic shrines, ancestor busts (which suggest a similar practice to Egyptian ancestor cult at home), female figurines usually associated with fertility rituals, and various amulets/pendants representing deities etc. Animal figurines (namely cattle), typically of previous Nubian cultures, are sometimes found at New Kingdom settlements. Evidence from cemeteries point to commemoration and memory during funerals, when graves goods would be displayed to the community. Ritual displays would allow people to express cultural affiliation. Offerings of food and beer were placed in tombs, as well as oil/perfume. Animal sacrifices are occasionally found, a typical Nubian practice. Pouring black resin onto bodies, coffins and other objects, including canopic jars, was also part of the funerary ritual. This would

point to mummification practices, although no mummified human remains were found in Nubia. Bodies were wrapped and placed in coffins. Remains of shrouds and the position of body members suggest manipulation of the body to fit communities' expectations of death. Grave goods included coffins (not often preserved), jewellery, cosmetic items, tools, and more specialized items such as shabtis and heart scarabs. The Egyptian Book of the Dead usually appears on these objects, but it is difficult to determine if Egyptian mortuary texts in Nubia indicate any Osirian beliefs locally. The position of certain objects around the body and the special placement of amulets in the hands or around the neck of individuals suggest some intention to protect the dead for the afterlife.



Date Range: 1550 BCE - 1070 BCE

Region: Nubia

Region tags: Africa, Northern Africa, Egypt, Sudan

The Egyptian New Kingdom Nubian empire

### Status of Participants:

- ✓ Elite
- ✓ Religious Specialists
- ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Spencer, N., A. Stevens and M. Binder. 2017. *Nubia in the New Kingdom: Lived Experience, Pharaonic Control and Indigenous Traditions*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Source 2: Raue, D. ed. 2019. *Handbook of Ancient Nubia*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Source 3: Emberling, G. and B. Williams. 2021. *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## General Variables

### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: Before the ancient Egyptians colonized Nubia, the area was occupied by various 'cultures' (e.g. the C-Group, Pan-Grave and Kerma cultures). Groups inhabiting the deserts were also in contact with the main settlements in the Nile valley. It is very difficult to reconstruct religious contact between different groups, especially as archaeologists working in Nubia are currently redefining the ways we approach cultural diversity, beyond previous culture-historical perspectives.



Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Notes: Egyptian patterns and cultural practices became the norm over previous Nubian practices, although signs of resistance of local cultural identities remained at both settlements (e.g., shape of houses of foodways) and cemeteries (e.g., Nubian-style flexed burials or burials on a funerary bed).

↳ Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– Yes

Notes: Although Egyptian features were more prevalent in the New Kingdom colonial period, especially at cemeteries both Egyptian and Nubian burial rites could co-exist; see especially evidence from Tombos (Smith and Buzon 2017).

↳ Is the cultural contact neutral:

– No

Notes: In a colonial situation, colonisers' patterns and styles (from an archaeological perspective) have preeminence over local indigenous practices.

↳ Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Yes

Notes: In the early New Kingdom, Egyptian military campaigns were sent to Nubia to secure Egyptian power over the region. From the end of the 18th Dynasty, interactions were pacific, although marked by colonization.

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Notes: In the early New Kingdom, Egyptian military campaigns were sent to Nubia to secure Egyptian power over the region. From the end of the 18th Dynasty, interactions were pacific, although marked by colonization.

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Notes: The Egyptian imperial state built a series of temples and settlements throughout the Middle Nile as a way to support colonization in the area.

↳ Are the priests paid by polity:

– Yes

↳ Is religious infrastructure paid for by the polity:

– Yes

↳ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

– No

Notes: The main Egyptian god in the New Kingdom was Amun-Ra, whose main cult centre was Karnak temple at Thebes. Amun-Ra became the main god of Nubia, with his principal temple at Jebel Barkal in the Napatan region. The Egyptian pharaoh was deified and worshiped in Egypt, a practice which was brought to Nubia (e.g., Amenhotep III at Soleb and Ramses II at Aksha). See Rocheleau, C. 2008; Ullmann, M. 2019.

↳ Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

– Yes

Notes: It is difficult to reconstruct the social landscape of colonial Nubia. Originally Egyptian officials came to Nubia in the first phase of military expansion, but local officials, probably descendants of both Egyptian and Nubian individuals later occupied administrative and religious positions in colonial temple-towns in Nubia. Various officials bore more than one title, which could include both titles linked to political/administrative/economic and religious activities.

↳ Is religious observance enforced by the polity:

– No

↳ Polity legal code is roughly coterminous with religious code:

– No

↳ Polity provides preferential economic treatment (e.g. tax, exemption)

– Field doesn't know

Notes: In the New Kingdom, Nubians had to pay tribute to Egypt, as depicted in various painting in Theban tombs in Egypt (e.g., TT40). While some scholars have discussed the advantages of 'Egyptianization' among local Nubian elites, it lies beyond the scope of our sources to conclude that local elites displaying cultural affiliations with Egypt (e.g., Amenemhat, Prince of Debeira, Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991) had any actual economic benefit.

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Some scholars would argue that previous local Nubian beliefs were abandoned in favor of Egyptian religion (e.g., Doyen and Gabolde 2017; Williams 2017). However, especially at cemeteries, archaeologists can clearly detect permanent Nubian material culture and practices (e.g., flexed burials, adornments, animal offerings). The question of whether Nubians converted to (imposed?) Egyptian religion during the colonization of Nubia remains to be answered.

## Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population,

numerical):

– Field doesn't know

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

## Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also “oral scriptures” (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– No

Notes: Prior to the New Kingdom, Nubian populations did not produce textual records. Especially at cemeteries, fragments of the Egyptian Book of the Dead can be found, but the role of textual items in local beliefs and practices seems to have been more complex than expressing religious affinities.

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– Yes

↳ In the average settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– Percentage: 9

Notes: Roughly 9% (Sesebi used as example of New Kingdom temple town)

↳ Size of largest single religious monument, square meters:

– Square meters: 1900

Notes: Approximation based on plan of Jebel Barkal area (temple B500)

↳ Height of largest single religious monument, meters:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Size of average monument, square meters:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Height of average monument, meters:

– Field doesn't know

↳ In the largest settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– Field doesn't know

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

↳ Tombs:

– Yes

Notes: From pyramid and courtyard tombs with multiple subterranean chambers at elite sites such as Aniba, Sai and Soleb to simple pit graves at non-elite sites such as Fadrus (see Spence 2019).

↳ Cemeteries:

– Yes

↳ Temples:

– Yes

↳ Altars:

– Yes

↳ Devotional markers:

– Yes

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

– Yes

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

– No

Is iconography present:

– Yes

↳ Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

– Only religious public space

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Egyptian iconography found in temples and some elite tombs

↳ Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:

– No

Notes: Iconography follows Egyptian standards.

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes

↳ Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– Yes

Notes: Jebel Barkal, the sacred mountain, birth place of god Amun

Are pilgrimages present:

– Field doesn't know

## Beliefs

### Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body.

Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Yes

Notes: One would presume so on the grounds of elaborate burial practices, especially concerning the body (see answer below)

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other body parts:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Other spirit-body relationship:

– Field doesn't know

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: The existence of burial rituals attest to beliefs in the afterlife. Grave goods such as Egyptian-style beer jars, plates and other food containers, alongside other grave goods would point to Egyptian funerary rituals. However, in the context of colonial Nubia, it is difficult to determine the extent to which Egyptian belief and practice (documented in textual sources and iconography) apply in the same way to Nubia.

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

– No

Notes: New Kingdom Egyptian texts account for the topography of afterlife spaces, but these cannot be applied to colonial Nubia.

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

↳ Cremation:

– No

↳ Mummification:

– No

Notes: Some scholars have assumed the practice of mummification was part of colonial Nubia's mortuary landscape. Such assumptions are based on evidence from cemeteries, which include wrapping the body, pouring bitumen onto bodies, coffins and other objects including canopic jars, which were containers for internal organs removed in the mummification process in Egypt. However, no actual artificially mummified human remains were found in New Kingdom cemeteries in Nubia (see Lemos 2020; cf. Smith and Buzon 2017; Fulcher et al 2020; Fulcher and Budka 2020)

↳ Interment:

– Yes

↳ Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

– Yes



Notes: Flexed burials are typical in Nubian cemeteries prior to the New Kingdom. With the colonization of Nubia, the vast majority of bodies started to be buried in an extended position. Flexed bodies in New Kingdom contexts are interpreted as remaining Nubian cultural markers.

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

– Yes

Notes: Most bodies in all New Kingdom cemeteries in Nubia (both elite and non-elite burial grounds) house bodies buried in an extended position, typical of contemporary ancient Egyptian cemeteries.

↳ Corpse is upright (where body is interred in standing position):

– No

↳ Corpse is interred some other way:

– Yes [specify]: Pot burials were detected at Askut fortress site

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– No

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

↳ Secondary burial:

– Yes

Notes: Tombs in all New Kingdom cemeteries in Nubia were essentially collective and heavily reused, both within the New Kingdom and in later periods. This means that bodies were usually rearranged inside tombs to make space for other burials placed inside the same tomb.

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

– Yes

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

– No

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– Yes

↳ Human sacrifices present:

– No

↳ Animal co-sacrifices present:

– Yes

Notes: Animal sacrifices placed inside one's tomb were common of previous Nubian cultures (C-Group, Kerma and Pan-Grave). Sacrificed animals were mostly cattle, sheep, goats and dogs. The presence of animal sacrifices in New Kingdom cemeteries can be interpreted as a remaining Nubian cultural markers. For example, horse burials were found at Soleb and an animal cemetery associated with a non-mortuary pyramid in the New Kingdom cemetery existed at Sai Island.

Are grave goods present:

– Yes

Notes: The most common grave goods are Egyptian-style pottery vessels, jewelry and scarabs/seals. These categories appear at all cemeteries in elite and non-elite burials. At elite cemeteries, restricted types appear, such as shabtis and heart scarabs (see Lemos 2020)

↳ Personal effects:

– Yes

Notes: Amulets and pendants were common in New Kingdom graves. At elite cemeteries we would find a few personal pendants bearing the owners name, e.g., at Sai

↳ Valuable items:

– Yes

↳ Significant wealth (e.g. gold, jade, intensely worked objects):

– Yes

Notes: Most tombs across New Kingdom Nubia were plundered. One could assume a high amount of valuable items, especially gold. At cemeteries housing the highest elites, such as Aniba, the number of restricted objects such as shabtis and heart scarabs is much higher in comparison with other elite cemeteries and non-elite cemeteries. Golden jewelry and gold mounted rings/bezels and heart scarabs occur in such contexts.

↳ Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):

– Yes

Notes: Occasional golden beads and repurposed restricted/imported items may appear outside elite cemeteries. Objects circulated within Nubia in the New Kingdom,

e.g. a faience shabti inscribed for Viceroy Messui was found in a simple burial at Wadi es-Sebua, while other shabtis of Messui were found at the elite cemetery of Aniba, the seat of the Viceroy of Kush (see Lemos 2020)

↳ Other grave goods:  
– No

Are formal burials present:  
– Yes

↳ As cenotaphs:  
– Field doesn't know

Notes: The non-funerary pyramid at Sai has been interpreted as a solar cult centre, however such an interpretation should not be considered final.

↳ In cemetery:  
– Yes

↳ Family tomb-crypt:  
– Yes

Notes: Most tombs at sites like Aniba, Sai and Soleb seem to be family tombs

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):  
– Yes

Notes: Pot burials at Askut's ceremonial wall

↳ Other formal burial type:  
– No

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:  
– Yes

Notes: Spiritual beings included major Egyptian gods worshiped in colonial towns, such as Amun-Ra, Horus and Hathor. Personal deities such as Bes and Taweret also appear, majorly as pendants and other representation in jewelry both at settlements and cemeteries. Ancestors probably were part of the supernatural landscape of colonial Nubia.

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↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– Yes

Notes: Although we do not know the nature of interactions between living humans and spirits, we know a few ancestors busts from Amara West and Sesebi. Domestic shrines were found at Askut and Mirgissa, and faience bowls found at Sai might be associated with domestic cult.

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits possess hunger:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: If offerings of food were placed on domestic shrines, one could assume this was the case. However, we do not have enough evidence to reconstruct religious practice in New Kingdom colonial Nubia.

↳ Human spirits possess/exhibit some other feature:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: If ancestor cults took place at temple-towns, one could assume living humans communicated with spirits.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: Again, we don't know the nature of the relationships between living humans and spiritual beings, but temples were dedicated to Egyptian gods in New Kingdom Nubia and priest and other temple personnel lived in temple-towns. Representations of various deities in pendants, seals and other amulets are common in urban contexts and cemeteries. At Mirgissa, votive offerings were dedicated to Hathor and the iconography of temples in New Kingdom Nubia offer glimpses of daily ritual carried out by priests worshipping and offering to the gods or the deified king.

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: Supernatural beings in New Kingdom Nubia religious landscape included main state gods such as Amun-Ra and Horus, but also other deities such as Hathor, which appears both in cultic spaces and domestic/funerary spaces, especially in the shape of Hathor-head pendants. Personal gods such as Bes and Taweret also appear, especially in burials. The pharaoh was worshipped as a deity at sites like Soleb. A few known ancestor busts would also indicate a contact with spirits. In the absence of textual sources produced by Nubians themselves before and during the New Kingdom colonial rule, it is very hard to reconstruct indigenous beliefs that potentially differed from ancient Egyptian beliefs.

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: It has been suggested that the temple at Sesebi was dedicated to the Theban triad - Amun, Mut and Khosu (Fairman 1938).

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– Yes

Notes: From an Egyptian perspective, Amun-Ra would be the most prominent god of Nubia. From a Nubian perspective, we do not know.

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

– No

Notes: From the point of view of temples, no, as for instance Amun had many forms in Nubia.

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

– Field doesn't know

## Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Field doesn't know

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Field doesn't know

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Field doesn't know

### **Messianism/Eschatology**

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Is an eschatology present:

– Field doesn't know

### **Norms and Moral Realism**

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

## **Practices**

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### **Membership Costs and Practices**

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual

abstinence):

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– I don't know

Notes: Tattooing is attested among Nubian cultures prior to the New Kingdom colonization and in later periods of Nubian history. In New Kingdom Egypt, tattoos are well attested and included representations of deities and other symbols. I am not aware of any tattooed remains found in New Kingdom Nubia.

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Kerma royal tumuli included human sacrifices. No clear evidence for such practice exists for the New Kingdom colonial period.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– Field doesn't know



Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Potentially yes, not enough evidence to reconstruct domestic religious practices.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale “ceremonies” and “festivals.”

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Potentially yes, but we do not know whether local populations had access to temples. Funerals might have involved community engagement (materialized for examples in offerings to the dead) and maybe processions.

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Field doesn't know

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

– Field doesn't know

## Society and Institutions

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### Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– Other [specify in comments]

Notes: A colony

## Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

– Field doesn't know

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

– Field doesn't know

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

– Field doesn't know

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

## Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: However, based on religious/administrative titles held by 2nd and further generation officials, one might expect some sort of training taking place at local temples as was the case in Egypt.

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

## Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– Yes

Notes: Local temples at colonial settlements seem to have been the main institution responsible for redistribution and other economic activities such as internal distribution of imported goods, local production and consumption

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– Yes

Notes: Local Nubian populations would interact on a daily basis with Egyptian priest and temple personnel or descendants of Egyptians living in the colony.

## Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– Yes

Notes: Magazines and other functional areas associated with temples at colonial settlements

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

– Yes

Notes: Temple as main economic institution

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– Yes

Notes: Movement of goods from Egypt to Nubian temple-towns and vice versa

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

## Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– Yes

Notes: Nubians had to pay tribute to Egypt in the form of gold and other resources, as well as labour.

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

## Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– Yes

Notes: Military control over Nubia in the New Kingdom

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– Yes

Notes: The Viceroy of Kush

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– Yes



Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

– Yes



Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

– Field doesn't know



Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

– Yes

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

– Field doesn't know

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

## Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– Yes

↳ Does the religious group in question have the power to conscript:

– Yes

↳ Does the religious group in question maintain a full-time military corps (e.g. Swiss Guard):

– Yes

Notes: Egyptian army

↳ Does the religious group in question maintain a standing army:

– Yes

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

### Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

– Yes



Is use of this distinct written language confined to religious professionals:

– Yes

Notes: Local colonial administrative and religious staff were literate, but the prominence of inscribed material in colonial Nubia is much less extent than in comparison with Egypt.

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

### Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: From a Nubian point of view, we do not know.

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

### Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

– Pastoralism

– Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

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