

THE ORIGINS AND AFTERLIVES OF KUSH

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INTRODUCTION

The origin of the second Kingdom of Kush (c. 850 BCE to 350 CE) has been the subject of much discussion and debate over the years. The kingdom that arose at Napata lasted over a thousand years, evolving over time and shifting its primary capital south to Meroe in c. 300 BCE, continuing to influence the polities that emerged after the kingdom broke apart in c. 350 CE. One of the kingdom's legacies continues on today as an early example of an African state, allowing for an exploration of theoretical questions surrounding state formation, religion and ideology, political economy, identity and intercultural interaction. At the same time, the Kingdom of Kush has played an important and controversial role in the development of Black Studies, the discourse of Afrocentrism, and a consideration of the asymmetries in the racial discourse surrounding Egypt in particular and Africa more generally in both their historical and contemporary incarnations. This conference aims to examine the origins and afterlives of the second Kingdom of Kush by using a wide array of evidence and bringing together archeological and historiographical research while engaging with recent advances in Black Studies.

MOHAMED ALI - MEROITIC POLITICAL ECONOMY FROM A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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Scholars have constructed different models for the Meroitic political economy based on studies of the main urban centers. However, the lack of data outside of the Meroitic core leaves these models untested from a regional perspective. Archaeological data from West bank, east of the Meroitic hinterland, Sinner, the Khartoum region, the white Nile, and the Fourth Cataract provide evidence that the Meroitic Kings practiced different political strategies in different areas to maintain their political power. Here, I examine how regional resources, exploited previously by the Napatan state, influenced Meroitic regional interconnections and significantly shaped the Meroitic administrative system and political economy through an analysis of mortuary practices, ritual performance, ceramics and the distribution of exotic goods recovered from settlements and burials.

BRENDA J. BAKER - KUSH ABOVE THE FOURTH CATARACT: INSIGHTS FROM THE BIOARCHEOLOGY OF NUBIA EXPEDITION

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The region above the Fourth Cataract was long considered abandoned from the late Kerma to Post-Meroitic periods prior to excavations associated with the Merowe Dam campaign. Fieldwork conducted from 2014-2016 by the Arizona State University Bioarchaeology of Nubia Expedition (BONE) shows that cemeteries attributed to the Kerma period based on the style of grave superstructures have differences in construction, body position and orientation, and the variety and placement of accompaniments. Dome graves (mostly ruined) also were identified on ridges in proximity to the presumably associated tumuli. Dome and semi-dome graves typically are associated with the Napatan period, although ceramic data suggest their construction in the area around al-Asaliyah and Al-Qinifab in the eastern portion of the BONE concession may have begun in the latter phases of the Kerma period. Radiocarbon dates and ceramics demonstrate that the dead were interred in formal cemeteries from Early Kerma into the Napatan period, with later cemeteries showing use from at least the late Meroitic onward. Therefore, no hiatus in the occupation of this area occurred. Artifacts from these cemeteries indicate long-standing links with extensive trade networks, evidenced by shell beads from Red Sea mollusks, carnelian beads, as well as Egyptian, Butana and Gash group ceramics. Preliminary analysis of strontium and oxygen isotope data indicates a very mobile population from the Early to Classic Kerma phases, with decreased mobility in the Late Kerma to Napatan period sample. The presence of carnelian beads and numerous Egyptian and Gash group ceramics in cemeteries dated to these phases, however, shows continued involvement in established trade networks. Ties to trade networks persist into

the Meroitic and Post-Meroitic periods despite construction of forts and evidence of conflict during this time. These findings have implications for understanding the nature of state formation and dissolution, particularly in areas viewed as peripheral to the core of the Kushite kingdoms.

STANLEY M. BURNSTEIN - THE PHENON LETTER AND THE FUNCTION OF GREEK IN POST-MEROITIC NUBIA

California State University, Los Angeles

The question of continuity between the Meroitic and post-Meroitic period in Lower Nubia is difficult. For most of its history the region was exposed to influences from both the Meroitic heartland in the south and Egypt in the north, and that duality was expressed linguistically in the use of both Meroitic and Demotic in texts composed by and for its elite. With the disappearance of the kingdom of Kush sometime after the mid-4th century CE and the declining use of Demotic in Roman Egypt, however, the situation changed, particularly with regard to public texts. Except for the 5th century CE inscription of King Kharamadoye at Kalabsha, all known official Post-Meroitic texts in the region are in Greek, and this has led to the suggestion that Greek functioned as a *lingua franca* for the various groups in Lower Nubia, particularly the Blemmyes and the Nobatae, but is this true? The main evidence for this thesis is the so-called Phonen Letter, one of the most puzzling texts known from Post-Meroitic Nubia. Discovered at Qasr Ibrim in 1976, the letter is almost perfectly preserved and contains a message from the Blemmye king Phonen to Abourni, king of the Nobatae, demanding return of Talmis, that is, Qasr Ibrim, in accordance with an agreement made with Abourni's predecessor Silko. Initially, the Phonen Letter was interpreted as an *aide memoire* that would be used by Phonen's envoy, who would convey the Blemmye king's message orally to his Nobatae counterpart. This theory was rejected almost immediately, however, and the focus of scholarship shifted to study of the letter's peculiar form of Greek, which was explained as being a "pidgin" that served as a *lingua franca* between the Blemmyes and Nobatae, who would have had no other available written language in which to communicate. The interpretation of the Greek of the Phonen Letter as a "pidgin", however, rests on a misunderstanding of the nature of pidgins. Comparison of the letter with other Blemmye and Nobate Greek texts indicates that it represents a form of Greek used by the Blemmyes but not by the Nobatae, and that, therefore, Greek did not serve as a *lingua franca* in Post-Meroitic Nubia but was a special purpose language used by officials for whom it was relevant as evidence indicates probably also had been the case in Meroitic Nubia, when officials such as, for example, the "great ambassador's to Rome" would have known it.

MICHELE R. BUZON - COUNTERING THE RACIST SCHOLARSHIP OF MORPHOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN NUBIA

Purdue University

Early researchers of Nubian skeletal remains were predominantly interested in taking measurements of the cranium and observations on other anatomical features in order to investigate how and when “racial contrasts” arose, following the traditions of race science popular in the 19th century, which equated biological characteristics with achievements. Individuals and groups were generally characterized by the features associated with “Negroid” and “Caucasoid” races. A view of non-black Egyptians as “civilizers” continued in anatomical research. Some later researchers sustained this line of thinking with the argument for a post-Paleolithic “Negroid” invasion into upper Egypt and Nubia based on cranial measurements. Though certain applied contexts (such as forensic identification) make use of racial typology, many current researchers support the idea that such racial classifications are too broad to capture real human variation needed for holistic research. Rather than aligning particular physical features with race, research should be focused on providing explanations that account for variability and continuity in population histories of particular sites as well as environmental and social changes that may have affected their biology. Gene flow can occur without a major or notable effect on cranial morphology as morphology is not static but varies across space and time. As a result, there is no “Upper Nile Negroid type” or “Lower Nile Caucasoid” type; the consideration of gene flow through population movement at local and regional levels as well as changes in selective pressures (e.g., stress on chewing muscles) must be considered when interpreting variation in samples. Ongoing morphological analyses that refocus interpretations and suggestions for continuing research will be presented to demonstrate these ideas.

SUSAN K. DOLL - THE UNUSUAL TOMB OF IRTIERU AT NURI

Independent Scholar

The tomb of Irtieru at Nuri presents unusual decorative content, and the main motif of alternating mummiform figures and texts does not share the same purpose as other examples of the same motif, although they may look quite similar. Irtieru’s tomb provides an excellent example of the trap into which observers can fall when looking at Kushite materials: if, because it looks Egyptian, it is read as Egyptian, it yields apparent nonsense, a scenario which does not exist in Egypt, and which then suggests that the Kushites did not understand what they were doing. This paper suggests a way of looking at the motif which makes sense within a Napatan context, based on

already identified differences between the two cultures' uses of certain Egyptian concepts or devices.

DENISE DOXEY AND SUSANNE GÄNSICKE - THE AULOI FROM MEROE: RECONSTRUCTING THE INSTRUMENTS FROM QUEEN AMANISHAKHETO'S PYRAMID

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and The Getty Villa Museum

Double reed pipes called *auloi* were among the most popular wind instruments in the ancient Mediterranean. In 1921 the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition discovered a collection of these instruments — the largest assortment found anywhere in the world — in the pyramid of Queen Amanishakheto at Meroe (Beg. N. 6). Due to the thin-walled nature of the objects, exposure to long-term burial, as well as handling and transporting, the pipes were fragmented beyond recognition. A collaborative research project began at the MFA in 2013, involving conservators, conservation scientists, metallurgists, curators, music archaeologists, and instrument makers. To date, the study has identified six pairs of *auloi*, each of which consisted of two divergent pipes. The group represents three different types of *auloi* of varying length, exhibiting different mechanisms. Scientific examination revealed the precise and complicated mechanical nature of the instruments, adding a new level of understanding of fine mechanics in ancient metalwork. This paper will discuss the discovery and excavation of the *auloi* and the process of conserving and reconstructing them. In addition, it will examine the instruments in the context of other Greek and Roman imports to Meroe with the goal of illuminating Meroe's relationship with the Mediterranean world and the significance of imports such as musical instruments to the rulers of Meroe. The final goal of the project, beyond physical reconstruction and stabilization, and historical interpretation, is the fabrication of modern, functional replicas to allow a rediscovery of the musical potential of such instruments.

FAÏZA DRICI - BETWEEN TRIUMPH AND DEFEAT: THE LEGACY OF THE EGYPTIAN NEW KINGDOM IN MEROITIC MARTIAL IMAGERY

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The kingdoms of Kush present the opportunity to study continuing long-term relations between a culturally African civilization and a several-thousand-year-old Egypt. Indeed, ancient Sudan had a complex series of political interactions and cultural exchanges with its northern neighbor, largely based on its position as an intermediary between the Mediterranean world and sub-Saharan Africa. Relations of trade and warfare are known as early as the beginning of the Dynastic Period in Egypt and continued throughout the Late Periods. Kushites selectively integrated and modified Egyptian characteristics in terms of iconographic representations and material culture.

The nature and the importance of this influence from the land of Pharaohs — and how art can be affected by political and conflict history — will be the main theme of this paper. From temple walls to artifacts found in graves, there are a whole range of images inked with the expressions of warlike power in Egyptian and Kushite arts: figures of triumphant and smiting sovereigns, fighting attributes such as weapons, defeated enemies, massacred and devoured prisoners, war animals, etc. Here, we will exploit our knowledge of warlike and violent representations in the traditional repertoire of Egyptian New Kingdom in order to identify the iconographic codes reinvested by the Kushites, and the features specific to Meroitic imagery. Attention to these cultural transfers will contribute to understanding military expressions in Meroitic civilization, as well as their origins, influences and connections with ancient Egypt and the Mediterranean world.

**SALIM FARAJI - WILLIAM LEO HANSBERRY, PIONEER OF
AFRICANA NUBIOLOGY: TOWARD A TRANSDISCIPLINARY NEXUS OF
NUBIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, AFRICANA STUDIES, AND AFRICANIST
SCHOLARSHIP**

California State University, Dominguez Hills

Concurrently with the inauguration of Nubian archaeology in the United States, and prior to the creation of the discipline of Nubiology in the European academy, there existed among African-descended scholars in the diaspora a history of scholarship, methodology and theoretical orientation that privileged the ancient civilization of Kush. Africana Nubiology emerged as a parallel tradition simultaneously with traditional Nubiology to provide an alternative perspective on ancient Nubia that did not view this civilization as an extension of the “Near East,” “Middle East,” “Mediterranean Europe” or the “Orient.” William Leo Hansberry whose two posthumously published books, *Pillars in Ethiopian History Vol. I* and *Africa and Africans as Seen By Classical Writers* represent the culmination of the career of a pioneer Nubiologist and Africanist. Hansberry was the first academician in the United States to teach courses in African history and the only African American scholar of his day to have studied Nubian archaeology with George Andrew Reisner at Harvard University. Hansberry interests were profoundly Nubiological and his thought and research demonstrated the organic links between Nubiology, Africana Studies and Africanist scholarship at a time when neither discipline existed. He presents a model for transdisciplinary engagement between the three disciplines that situates Kush in the context of African civilizations.

CAROLYN FLUEHR-LOBBAN - RACE AND GENDER IN KUSH AND THE SUDANS: RETHINKING AND RECONSTRUCTING COLONIAL AND AFROCENTRIC PARADIGMS

Rhode Island College and Naval War College

Colonial racial paradigms have shaped the past and present of the entirety of ‘the Sudan’, now North and South Sudan. During colonialism the African continent was racially divided into an “Arab/Muslim North Africa” and a “Sub-Saharan, Black Africa”, and the Sudan was likewise divided for colonial purposes, by race, language and culture. African Studies in the US and UK were historically dominated by white men. The racializing of the continent into a ‘white’, lighter-skinned Africa, with a darker-skinned, ‘black’ antipode has dogged the Sudan since its independence in 1956, and is at the heart of the inequality between Northern Arab-Muslim Sudan and African South Sudan. These regions were formally separated under colonialism in 1933 by the Closed Districts Ordinance, and ultimately settled with the separation into two countries after decades of war and resistance. Any potential reconstruction of relations between the two Sudans depends upon new paradigms of both race and politics, not only by scholars but also by Sudans’ citizens, as is being vigorously debated among the 2019 protesters in Khartoum trying to construct a new Sudan. Adding the important subject of gender to race, the notable queens of ancient Kush will be discussed for their story and symbolism to Women’s Studies and to African and African American studies. There were more regnant queens in 100 years of Sudanese history than in 3,000 years of Pharaonic rule in Egypt, and the queens of Kush were portrayed physically and culturally as African women. The Orientalism and racism of Egyptology, driven by pseudoscientific European models of race, will be contrasted with postcolonial Sudan/African-centered studies of Nubian archaeology and ethnography. The current era is ripe for the reconstruction of the old racial colonial paradigms, one that is driven as much by contemporary events as by the desire of scholars of the Sudans internationally to develop paradigms appropriate to the twenty-first century.

DEBORA DENISE HEARD - ‘BRAND NUBIANS’: THE HISTORIOGRAPHIC BATTLE TO DEFINE THE ROLE OF KUSH IN WORLD HISTORY

University of Chicago, Anthropology

Since Nubia entered the field of academic inquiry, there has been a struggle claim and define its place. To early Egyptologists, Nubia was the place for Egypt to acquire natural and trade resources and its people were populations to be conquered. In creating a narrative of the era of the Nubian-Kushite kingdoms, however, Egyptologists struggled with the need to maintain the racial

inferiority of the Kushites to the Egyptians while simultaneously creating a racial distinction between Kushites and Africans. For African-American and African-Caribbean writers of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Nubia and Egypt were a part of a long African history. Their efforts to restore Nubia to its place in African history, though largely ignored in mainstream academia, produced a counter-narrative to the historiographies created by their contemporary Egyptologists. The convergence of world circumstances at the time of the construction of the Aswan High Dam provided an opening and an opportunity to reevaluate the received traditions in Nubian historiography and move toward the development of new paradigms that accept the Africanity of the ancient Nubians and grant them agency in the unfolding of their history.

LISA HEIDORN - CONTINUATION OF EMPIRE: EGYPTIAN CONTROL OF LOWER NUBIA DURING THE NINTH-EIGHTH CENTURIES BC

Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology

The earliest fortification at Dorginarti was constructed either in the ninth or early eighth centuries BC. The pottery and small objects from the fortress cannot be more precisely dated at present (The fortress's Level IV was never fully exposed). There is minimal textual evidence to furnish historical context. The fortress looks like an Egyptian establishment and the prevalence of wheel-made Egyptian marl and silt vessels proves that Egypt was the source of supply for the fort. If, however, it was Kushites who established the fortress, then the pottery indicates that they already had strong links with Upper Egypt before the reign of Alara. Kush therefore would have had at least nominal control over Lower Nubia, and the military prowess and resources necessary to build large fortifications in the region at the beginning of the eighth century. But the evidence for this is speculative. On the contrary, I would argue that the continuity of the office of the Overseers of the Southern Foreign Lands down into the mid-eighth century points to Egyptian control over Lower Nubia during the period before the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Likewise, the Level II occupation of Dorginarti shows that northern control resumed in the sixth century BC and lasted until the Persian conquest in 526/525 BC. This overview will present evidence from the fortress of Dorginarti and the relevant texts from Egypt to show the continuity of Egyptian empire in the south. It aims to inform the audience about major results that have not yet been published (i.e., *The Second Cataract Fortress of Dorginarti*, OINE 14, forthcoming; submitted 2017).

SHOMARKA KEITA - THE PHENON LETTER AND THE FUNCTION OF GREEK IN POST-MEROITIC NUBIA

Smithsonian Institution

“Race” and the ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley is an ongoing topic of interest to some scholars and non-academics with varying purposes and projects. Data from texts, osteology and now molecular biology have all been used to comment on this subject. There can be constructed a historiography of what could be called the practice of “racially” identifying the ancient Kushites. This paper presents an exploration of the idea of "race" and the inhabitants of the Nile Valley with a special focus on Kush. Analysis of the discourse based on old and newer literature reveals variation by discipline and over time. Egyptologists and Nubiologists have varied in how they “racially” classify the Kushites (and by extension other southern Nile Valley non-Egyptians). Contradictions are easily identified in the literature. Anthropologists have varied in their opinions on the "race" of the Kushites. Notably the Kushites and other southern non-Egyptians, have been called "Negro" and "non-Negro", "black" and "non-black", African but not Negro, "black African" and even non-African. The Kushites have sometimes been placed in the same taxon as the ancient Egyptians, but also seen as different with conflict between the entities being stated to be due to “racial animosity”. Although human variation in Africa is or should be well known, examples can be found of contemporary scientific work and popular opinion presenting reductionist notions about biological variability and identity, including presentist ideas which treat the Egyptians as self-conscious white Europeans who were ashamed of having been ruled by Kushites, in this case called "black Africans.”

TIMOTHY KENDALL - JEBAL BARKAL AND THE NUBIAN KAMUTEF: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE ORIGINS OF KUSHITE KINGSHIP

NCAM Mission at Jebal Barkal

The paper presents evidence (admittedly circumstantial) that just before the Egyptian conquest of Kerma, the national gods and kingship ideologies of Egypt and Kush were very closely related. The god of Kush seems to have been a creator god and sun god, closely associated with the Nile and fertility, the ram and the phallus. Like the Egyptian Amun, the Nubian god was probably also considered the father of the kings, which meant that the king of Kush (prior to the Conquest), like the king of Egypt, had godlike status among his people. Both the Egyptian kings and the Kerma kings wore the White Crown and obviously, during the Second Intermediate Period, made rival claims to the Middle Nile and perhaps even to Upper Egypt. We may suspect (but cannot prove) that from Prehistoric times Nubian kings derived their White Crown (and hence royal authority over the South) from the god imagined to dwell at Jebel Barkal (given the “White Crown” shape of

the pinnacle), and that this crown, by the late 4th millennium BC, had also been adopted by the Egyptians. After the Egyptian conquest of Kush, the pharaohs locally claimed their royal authority from the same god at Jebel Barkal (whom they now identified as a primeval form of Amun of Karnak) in order to prove to the Nubians that they were now their rightful rulers by authority of their own native god. Thus they merged the ancient Nubian god (a criocephalic form of Min/Kamutef) with Amun of Karnak, so that Egyptian and Kushite kingship would appear to come from the same divine source: namely the god of Thebes, whose “ka” was resident within Jebel Barkal and who generated the royal “ka” By seizing Jebel Barkal in the early fifteenth century BC, and by uniting it conceptually with Karnak, the Egyptians in the New Kingdom may have been able for a time to unify Kush and Egypt under a single “divine” kingship and a single supreme god. But unwittingly, they set the stage for a future time when the same kingship – by authority of Amun at Thebes and Napata – would be given back to Kushite kings in a period of Egyptian political fragmentation. As the new possessors of the “royal ka,” the Kushite kings would now become the new heirs to the revived united kingship of Kush and Egypt as it was in the New Kingdom, of which the Cap Crown was its new symbol.

RICHARD LOBBAN - OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS OF QUEEN AMANITORE AND KING NATAKAMANI

Rhode Island College

While the newly discovered temple at Abu Erteila was unknown until our recent excavation, this royal Meroitic couple ruled jointly as contemporary of Christ during the prosperous period of 12 BCE to 12 CE. Scholars have argued that Amanitore may also have been a royal mother, royal sister or co-regent wife. They were already very well known for many new constructions and extensive restoration projects during this golden age of Meroitic civilization before its slow and steady decline and final collapse in the 4th century CE. These included restoration of the Napatan temples that had been destroyed during Roman attacks and the construction of their impressive lion-gated palace near to the Great Amun temple (B0500) there at Jebel Barkal. They also made additions and improvements to the main royal temple of Amun at Meroe, which it is assumed that they made their royal residence. They also built the famed ‘Lion Temple’ at Naga and they are also attested at another temple further up a nearby slope there. This temple shows King Natakamani before the lion-headed god Apedemak and the gods Horus and Amun. Several well-known holy bark stands and altar stones are also known from their temples that have their cartouches. Further upstream along the Nile at Wad ben Naqa there are two additional temples, major storerooms, and a palace that are attributed to this royal pair. This iconography illustrates the replacement of Egyptian royal costumes and writing forms with Meroitic styles. Their ruined temples far to the north, at ancient Amara East and Faras, also has inscriptions for this royal couple that indicate the territorial extent of Meroe at this time. Maintenance of the water flow for Meroe no doubt

required periodic excavation of water storing *hafirs* as well as functioning canal systems for the so-called 'royal bath' that was presumably functioning in their time. Not a great deal is known about their (first?) son, Prince Arikankharer ("Born of the Living Horus") except for an inscribed plaque showing him slaying enemies with the assistance of a dog who is shown eating some victims. Arikankharer also appears at the Lion Temple at Naqa. Prince Arikankharer was shown with a royal cartouche, perhaps he ruled from 12 to 20 CE, and was buried at Pyramid 5. Their third (?) regnant son Shorkaror, may have ruled from 20 to 30 CE is also attested at Abu Erteila, is not very well known, but his threatening and warlike inscription at Jebel Geili, deep in the Butana, suggests the main direction of his defensive concern and that Meroitic security was already at some risk from the east. King Natakamani was buried in Pyramid 22 of Bejrawiya North, this is the northernmost position in the royal burial ground. Queen Amanitore's Pyramid 1 also at Bejrawiya North occupies the southernmost position of these royal pyramids. This suggests that they were among the very last to be buried on these sacred hills. It is not known which one may have died first or what ages they may have reached. The King's tomb is bigger than that of the Queen. This is one of the most productive and wealthy times in the Meroitic period. Beside the number of known buildings, the names of either Natakamani or Amanitore or both, are probably the very most common in this Empire that stretched about 700 miles north to south, and some 200 miles west to east into the Butana. Interestingly, virtually all construction sites known for this royal Meroitic pair, and Meroe in general, are on the right (i.e., usually eastern) bank of the Nile. The exception is only at Jebel Barkal because of the big S-turn of the river, where the right bank rotates to the west side of the River. While the discoveries at Abu Erteila are only known for a few years, it is clear that the geo-political context of their reigns had more than a dozen new or repaired temples, several palaces and major infrastructural facilities and technologies for water, agriculture, animal husbandry, local and long-distance trade and industries of a very wide variety including iron and metal production, weaving, carpentry, stone-work and food production. The historical record, known mostly through archaeology, is always fragmented and partial. In time we will know more, but what is now known is both extensive in scale and impressive in achievements.

ANGELIKA LOHWASSER - KUSHITE KINGS BEFORE THE 25TH DYNASTY

Institute for Egyptology and Coptology, University of Muenster

Dealing with the sandstone stela Khartoum SNM 1851, I suggest that the founder of this stela was a king who ruled before Pi(ankh)y, since all three preserved names of the royal titulary are not attested for Pi(ankh)y, and the latter's name has been inserted secondarily. Looking at the reliable sources, we have to recognize that only the sequence of the kings Shebitqo-Shabaqo-Taharqo-Tanwetamani is attested continuously. The kings before the 25th dynasty, namely Alara, Kashta and Pi(ankh)y, are known by few inscriptions, but if there were other rulers between them (even between Pi(ankh)y and Shebitqo) or not is not clear. The archaeological evidence concerning monumental funerary installations changed in recent years, most prominently by the substantial tomb structures found in Tombos, Kawa and Et-Tameer. That El Kurru functioned as the only pre-royal cemetery and hosted all the chiefs who were responsible for the expansion of the realm is a supposition based on the situation having for a long time only these graves available for a ruling class. Apart from having possible gaps in the line of the known kings there is the question of the chronological position of the so-called Neo-Ramesside kings. In total five kings are dated in the early Meroitic period, although some expressions in their inscriptions have parallels in the Ramesside phraseology — therefore they are summarized as “Neo-Ramessides”. In recent years, the chronological placement of two kings was challenged and they were re-dated to the period before the 25th dynasty. Even more, one of these kings, namely Ary-Amani, mentioned on two stelae in Kawa, was tentatively identified with Alara. With this paper, I seek to evaluate all these sources in order to present gaps, proofs, and assumptions of the period immediately before the 25th dynasty.

ELIZABETH MINOR - POSSIBLE PRECURSORS OF NAPATAN AND MEROITIC RELIGION: RAMS, LIONS, AND WINGED HIPPOPOTAMI AND GIRAFFES IN CLASSIC KERMA CONTEXTS

Wellesley College

An analysis of key elements of Classic Kerman religious imagery can provide suggestions of possible precursors for some aspects of Napatan and Meroitic religion. The connections between Kerman and later Kushite cultural practices are difficult to determine with certainty, and a one-to-one relationship between elements cannot be established with the current set of archaeological evidence. However, exploring the Kerman use of indigenous animal forms does reveal

concentrations of religious emphases that may have echoes in later Kushite religion. Previous scholarship has focused on the possible Nubian origins of the ram form of Amun. This paper will also address the use of lions, hippopotami (Taweret), and the Kerman emphasis on flying animal deities. Evidence for a ram deity in early Nubian cultures is widespread, and by the Classic Kerma Period rams and ram horn imagery were included in royal sculpture, mortuary sacrifices, and at least one high-status woman's headdress. The link between this Kerman ram deity and later forms of Amun as a ram has been—and will continue to be—debated. Lions similarly spanned royal and elite Kerman use, with faience tile lions leading into the royal Funerary Chapel KII and other royal sculpture in a range of scales. A painted jar from elite grave K318 depicts two lions ripping apart a human enemy. A singularly complex and richly equipped elite grave, K334, included a unique funerary bed with rows of inlaid bronze lions. A hat with mica appliqués of lions, either with doubled/quadrupled heads or meant to depict the animals as a dangerous pack, was worn by an elite Kerman in grave K1044. The importance of lions in Kushite religion comes to a peak in the Meroitic Period with the worship of Apedemak, a god associated with war who was also shown with multiple lion heads in the cultic focus of the Naga Temple. An adapted Kerman form of the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taweret was featured on funerary beds, some known to be for women. By the last generation of the Classic Kerma Period, Taweret and giraffes were transformed into fantastical winged forms. The transformation of Egyptian deities into winged forms is prevalent in Napatan faience amulets. Without further archaeological evidence of Nubian religious imagery in the transitional post-Kerma/pre-Napatan period, direct connections are difficult to establish. At the same time, underlying religious commonalities and themes can help highlight the long-term continuities in Nubian religion and cultural practices.

NADEJDA RESHETHIKOVA - PYRAMID COMPLEXES ON THE TERRITORY OF ANCIENT SUDAN: RESEARCH, PRESERVATION, AND METHODS OF DISPLAY

Architect, Independent Researcher

Several seasons of excavations in Tombos have revealed rich archaeological and anthropological material, as well as numerous architectural remains. Analyses of architectural structures of Tombos cemetery and comparison with New and Middle Kingdom structures in Thebes and later structures of Meroitic period, give better understanding of development of sacral architecture in Ancient Sudan and ways of connection between cultures upstream of 1st Cataract and Egypt in ancient times. Tombos as an important and interesting place for exploring these questions, from the point of view of specialists but also to the public. Work on different archaeological sites in Sudan and Egypt provide examples that can lead to real possibilities of developing sites like Tombos as an archaeological park or open air museum, which could help to show its importance, and that of Kush and its legacy, to a wider audience.

CYNTHIA MAY SHEIKHOESLAMI - ASPECTS OF KUSHITE RULE IN THE 25TH DYNASTY

Independent scholar

This paper considers some aspects of the Kushite rule in 25th Dynasty Thebes with particular focus on the impact of Thebes on the Kushites and of the Kushites on Thebes. Included will be discussion of the Theban and Kushite influences on the representations of the Kushites, Kushite involvement in Theban religious institutions and ideology, Theban administration during Kushite rule, and the impact of Theban burial customs on the Kushites.

STUART TYSON SMITH - RACISM, EGYPTOLOGICAL STEREOTYPES, AND THE INTERSECTION OF LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL IN KUSHITE MATERIAL CULTURE

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Herodotus' description of "barbaric" Kushite warriors in the Persian army has over the years reinforced Egyptological and more popular perceptions of Nubia and Nubians as a periphery to civilized Egypt, interlopers in the broader Mediterranean world. For Egyptologists, it would reinforce the perception of Nubia as a backwater and helped support the incorrect notion that iron was rare and not produced in any quantity until the fourth century BC. Similarities with depictions of Nubians from earlier periods of Egyptian history, like Tutankhamen's painted box, reinforced these ideas and surely served, along with Herodotus, as an inspiration for recent National Geographic illustrations and other popular media. But to what extent was Nubia a "backwater" to "effete and sophisticated" Egypt as Wilson once asserted? It is important to recognize that both Herodotus and Tutankhamen's (and other king's) artisans had a specific purpose in mind, the creation of negative ethnic stereotypes that emphasized the inferiority and disorganization of the "barbarians" who surrounded the inner order. The Persians themselves, however, had a different idea when depicting Nubians. Instead, Nubians and other foreigners presenting gifts at Persepolis represent the diversity of the empire paying homage to the Persian king as an all-lord whose rule encompasses numerous peoples. Archaeological evidence supports the more cosmopolitan Persian view of Kush against older racist Egyptological stereotypes. It is clear from recent archaeological work at Tombos and elsewhere that Nubia was not an unsophisticated backwater. Objects with Egyptianizing motifs in the international style asserted a cosmopolitan social status that connected their owners to an international elite culture that spanned Nubia, Egypt and extended to Mesopotamia and across the Mediterranean during the Iron Age. Yet consumption of this material culture was mediated by cultural preference, and balanced by monuments and objects like pyramids and black topped pottery that reflected ties to an Egyptian colonial and deeper Nubian

past, but had by this time become thoroughly incorporated into local practices and belief systems.

BRUCE WILLIAMS - CLASS AND CULTURE IN THE EARLY NAPATAN PERIOD

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Much of the period between the fall of the New Kingdom and the Napatan Period has been discussed in an absence of evidence, in part because evidence has been lacking or fragmentary and in part because of confusion in the archaeological chronology. Heidorn's change in the chronology of earlier levels at Dorginarti offers the opportunity to assign many contexts to narrower bands of time than previously possible using the largely debris and strata-based contexts available in Egypt. A major problem has been the social makeup of the country, whether a relative monolith with only nuances of wealth and location separating peoples or whether diverse social and cultural groups can be traced. After the New Kingdom and before the Assyrian invasions, evidence, mostly funerary, exists for five or six archaeological groups apart from the centers of Gebel Barkal and Dorginarti. One, distributed from near Wadi Halfa to near Sanam — with a gap at the Great Bend — is based on Egyptian funerary traditions and we can ask if it represents a new immigration or a continuation of the New Kingdom occupation. A second, near Serra East at Debeira, is clearly Nubian (regionally), with distinct characteristics that may be related to the earlier Pan Graves. A third, also Nubian, is represented by a tumulus field at Tumbos, but is distinct from the Serra East-Debeira cemeteries. The fourth, which could be related to the other two is represented only in sherds from survey work at the Great Bend, between Old Dongola and Banganarti. Above the Fourth Cataract was another group known best by its "dome graves," which also dot at least parts of the Bayuds. Finally, there is the tradition of Napatan Kush itself. This diverse situation can now be analyzed from both the standpoints of chronology and culture to raise new questions for research.

JANICE YELLIN - ORIGINS AND AFTERLIVES OF KUSH: HISTORY AND DYNAMICS UNDERLYING THE INTEGRATION OF EGYPTIAN BELIEFS IN EARLY MEROITIC RELIGION

Babson College

Egyptian temple and Book of the Dead ritual scenes are a distinctive feature of early Meroitic Northern Cemetery royal pyramid chapel decorations that date from the end of the III century BCE-early II century BCE – I century CE. Egyptian religious concepts and practices illustrated by these images demonstrates that there was a complex interplay between Napatan and contemporary Ptolemaic Egyptian religious beliefs and practices. Unthreading the meanings and

uses of these sources offers glimpses into the dynamics and intentions underlying the expression of Meroitic religious beliefs through the adaptation and integration of Egyptian ones.