1 General remarks

As observed at other Egyptian Nubian towns, e.g. Buhen or Askut, objects of Egyptian type dominate the material assemblage at Sai. However, some aspects of the material remains from the town attest to the complex nature of archaeological cultures on Sai during the New Kingdom, illustrating the dynamic settings, shifting identities and permeable borderlines between Egyptian and Nubian lifestyle on the island. The rich material from SAV1 North may serve as a representative case study for Sai, although it faces several challenges.

Like the ceramics, the finds from SAV1 North cover a time period from the 18th Dynasty to Meroitic, Post-Meroitic and Christian periods, all the way to Ottoman and sub-recent times. It is not the purpose of this publication to present all of the recorded finds from SAV1 North. The focus of this chapter, like the last, is instead laid on objects deriving from the discussed building units of Level 3. A general introduction highlights the potential of a concise analysis of the material remains. It must be stressed, however, that the same problems mentioned for the pottery (shortcomings in documentation, the lack of stratified deposits, mixed material, see III.1) also apply to the assessment of objects and small finds from SAV1 North. Thus, the originally envisaged detailed contextual analysis, presenting associations and specific percentages of object types from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view was unfortunately not feasible.

2 Categories of finds

A total of 2,405 objects have been recorded in the database for SAV1 North until 2016 (Fig. 84). In registration, the finds are labelled “SAV1N” and assigned a continuous number (starting from SAV1N 001). This sequence is dependent on the chronology of excavation and does not distinguish between Pharaonic and Post-Pharaonic finds by number. The variability of finds derived from SAV1 North will be illustrated in the following. Of particular interest is the reconstruction of the circumstances placing the objects into the archaeological record – whether they attest a primary function as in situ-deposits, as primary refuse of activities or as evidence for other discard criteria. Deliberate refuse of objects is often the case, occurring in several variants. Similar to the ceramics, most of the objects from SAV1 North were recovered from Level 2, from disturbed contexts or fills and therefore include Post-Pharaonic material as well. Despite the problems of dating these finds, thoughts about their significance in establishing the function of structures and activities at the site will be presented, with possible considerations about its occupants.

All in all, the material from SAV1 North that can be safely dated to the New Kingdom represents a

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Number of objects</td>
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<td>320</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2,405</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
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<td>54.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 84 The distribution of objects from SAV1 North according to levels
IV. Selected finds from SA V1 North

2.1 Main categories of finds
The six main categories established for finds from SA V1 North follow a modified system as developed by Lisa Giddy for Memphis.537

A) Figurines and statuettes
Manufactured in clay and mud, figurines in both human and animal shapes are attested. Especially noteworthy is a group of a dozen female figurines in low-fired clay or mud, finding close parallels in Nubia.538 Rudimentary figures in the shape of simple sticks with an incised or dotted area representing the pubic region, sometimes with dotted circles resembling breasts (e.g. SAV1N 589),539 are of a common Egyptian style as are the bed figurines (SAV1N 613).540 The simple hand-modelled clay sticks with indications of the female genitalia (Fig. 85) are already attested from the earliest level of SAV1 North, Level 5 (SAV1N 2306, Fig. 85 top). Well preserved examples like SAV1N 2189 (Fig. 85 middle) and SAV1N 1217 derive from Level 2. One example, SAV1N 664 (Fig. 85 bottom), was found in the wall street of SAV1 North, between Enclosure Wall N4 and Wall 18N, from a deposit of Level 3.

All together, these figurines can clearly be dated to the early to mid-18th Dynasty, both by the archaeological context from SAV1 North and through numerous parallels.541 The majority at SAV1 North represent classical Egyptian types. Interestingly, some of the figurines (e.g. SAV1N 2186) combine a typical Nubian pattern of wavy incised lines542 with Egyptian stylistic features (see below, Fig. 94).543 A group of female figurines in distinctive “Nubian style”, identified at Askut,544 is currently missing at SAV1 North. However, another group — the so-called pottery fertility figurines, well-attested in Egypt and Nubia — was found at SAV1 North. SAV1N 071 and SAV1N 457 (Pls. 35–36) are two fragments preserving the upper part/head of such clay figurines, Type 3 after Geraldine Pinch.545 Though fragmentary, the head is itself a characteristic feature of these figures,546 marking them as a type common during the 17th Dynasty. The heads of these figurines are always flattened, with rudimentary facial features: a bead-like nose and slits for the eyes and eyebrows. The disc surmounting the face is always pierced with a series of holes, through which better preserved examples indicate that artificial hair was threaded.547 According to Pinch this hairstyle might suggest a Nubian origin of these figurines.548 Although more common from tomb contexts, parallels for the domestic context of SAV1 North are also found at Abydos, Deir el-Medina, Karnak and Memphis.549 SAV1N 071 has three well preserved holes for strands of hair and was found in silo N7 from Level 2. SAV1N 457 was also found in Level 2, from the area of building unit N24. The figurine again exhibits perforations for adjoining the hair, with an intact neck and the typical facial features.

The fragmentary bed figurine (SAV1N 613)550 represents a nude woman with her left hand crossed over the chest in typical Egyptian style551 and is so far unique in the corpus of finds from the town of Sai. This mould-made pottery figurine seems to be a bit later in date than the rudimentary examples, probably belonging to the late 18th Dynasty or Ramesside era.552

537 GIDDY 1999. See already BUDKA and DOYEN 2013, 183–188.
539 Cf. DOYEN 2016, pl. 7 (SAVIN 589).
540 Cf. Elephantine (KOPP 2005a, 88–90); Amarna (STEVENS 2006, 85–91, figs. II.3.7, II.3.10–11); Memphis (GIDDY 1999, 28–31, pls. 8–12); Askut (SMITH 2003, 131–133). For more parallels and a typology of the figurines from SAV1 North see DOYEN 2016, 133–157.
541 See KOPP 2005a, 89, note 291 with further parallels from domestic contexts. The examples from Amarna (STEVENS 2006, 89–91, figs. II.3.10, II.3.11) date to the late 18th Dynasty. For a summary of the figurines from SAV1 North see also DOYEN 2016.
542 See, e.g., a net-weight found at Elephantine in Nubian fabric and with un-Egyptian incised decoration; see von PILGRIM 1996a, 276, fig. 120b.
543 BUDKA and DOYEN 2012, 183.
544 SMITH 2003, 131–134, fig. 5.31.
549 PINCH 1993, 229, List 3.
550 DOYEN 2016, pl. 6.
551 Cf. STEVENS 2006, 85–88, fig. II.3.7; WARAKSA 2009, 25–26, Type 2; TEETER 2010, 41–48, Type C, pls. 10–11. Such figurines have been found at Quban, see EMERY and KIRWAN 1935, fig. 32.
552 Cf. KOPP 2005a, 89 for stratified examples from Elephantine (oldest examples from the late 18th–19th Dynasty; but more common in the 20th–21st Dynasties); for Memphis see GIDDY 1999, 31 (mid-18th–20th Dynasties); for Medinet Habu see TEETER 2010, 41–48 (all from the Third Intermediate Period).
Among the hand-modelled animal figurines of poorly fired clay, small ram statues appear, possibly depicting the god Amun (SAV1N 2221). The clay figurines of bulls, on the other hand, might fall into a well-attested Nubian tradition of cattle representations (e.g. SAV1N 588).

B) Personal adornment

Beads are attested in various shapes (disc/ring, conical, drum-, barrel- and tube-shaped) and in a range of materials (49 in faience; 30 in other materials, including clay and bone). Some examples are quite large and of irregular shape, possibly representing pendants. At present, all of the beads seem to be Egyptian in style, and the small number of the amulets from SAV1 North probably postdates the New Kingdom. Only four scarabs were found at SAV1 North, one of which is from Level 1 and is probably Post-New Kingdom in date. Two pieces derive from Level 2, leaving only one scarab originally attributed to Level

553 Cf. Giddy 1999, 307–315, pls. 68–70. See also some figurines from Buhen, Millard 1979, 146–148, pl. 52.
554 Cf. Stevens 2006, 61, 110.
555 Cf. cattle representations from Quban: Emery and Kirwan 1935, fig. 33 and Askut: Smith 2003, 132, fig. 5.32. At Amarna, over 70 figurines were unidentifiable, but might have included cows (Stevens 2006, 110).

556 For cylindrical pottery beads see Giddy 1999, pl. 25.
557 Cf. Smith 2003, 106–110 who differentiated a Nubian from the Egyptian style for the personal adornments at Askut. For a selection of Egyptian beads from New Kingdom funerary contexts in Nubia with parallels for SAV1 North see Williams 1992, 123–130, fig. 17.
3. The latter, SAV1N 693 (16 × 12 × 7mm), shows a symmetric floral design on its base and should be 18th Dynasty in date (Pl. 37). This scarab was documented as found north of Wall 035N, placing it just outside building unit N27. However, during the post-excavation processing this wall was established as being younger than Level 3. All in all, none of the scarabs can be archaeologically associated with the 18th Dynasty at SAV1 North. However, SAV1N 615 (Pl. 38), a well-preserved steatite scarab (1.6 × 1.2 × 0.8cm) shows the royal name of Thutmose III on its base. Though it was excavated in Level 2, leaving some doubts about its date, the discovery of good parallels for its design on seal impressions from SAV1 East (Feature 15) make it almost certain that SAV1N 615 is a relic of the period of Thutmose III.

C) Household items

Stands and supports appear at SAV1 North primarily as pottery vessels and are very common (see III.4.5). Large rectangular stands and basin-like installations are present as well (e.g. SAV1N 2313, Level 3, in burnt clay, Fig. 86). One fragment of a small unfired clay table or other piece of furniture has survived (SAV1N 720). Some pieces of large, tubular-shaped ovens were found, circular in diameter and in coarse, low fired Nile silt ware, but unfortunately come from fills rather than closed contexts. Sixteen mud stoppers for various vessels were recorded and are mostly of the common conical type or hemispherical (Fig. 87). SAV1N 418, from Level 3 in Square 180/2270, is a partly broken conical stopper (10.4 × 9.6 × 6.6cm, Fig. 87). Its front side shows traces of a rectangular stamp, unfortunately illegible, but confirming that the Egyptian practice of using stamped jar stoppers, mostly for wine jars, was also present at Sai.

A comparably small number of fragments of uninscribed seals were documented, which may have been primarily used for sealing small box-
Fig. 87 Mud stoppers (SAV1N 1343, SAV1N 2406 and SAV1N 418) from Level 2 and Level 3
es (27 pieces, including uncertain fragments, cf. Fig. 88). SAV1N 2058, found in Level 3 just north of building unit N12, is a hand-made mud object that seems to have previously held closed some kind of object (Fig. 88). During the course of excavation at SAV1 North by SIAM, no fragments of seal impressions were found (cf. end of this section).

**D) Tools and instruments**

The largest group of tools at SAV1 North is those made of stone and comprises weights, querns, grinders, hammer stones, pounders and pestles, polishers and burnishers, a small number of possible whetstones and finally miscellaneous and/or multifunctional stone tools (see IV.3).

Another small category of tools is the cosmetic instruments of typical Egyptian types, especially small palettes, grinders and dishes. A completely preserved example of a small granite dish with strong traces of use is SAV1N 323 (from Square 180/2270, Level 2, Fig. 89.1). A New Kingdom date for this rectangular palette (13.1 × 8.4 × 3cm) is

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**Fig. 88 Sealing (or miniature vessel?) SAV1N 2058, Level 3**

**Fig. 89 Cosmetic palette SAV1N 323 (1) and grinder SAV1N 761 (2)**

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likely, with parallels at Elephantine\textsuperscript{565} and Askut,\textsuperscript{566} but with slight variation: its inner depression is not rectangular like the cited comparisons, but ovoid. Such a shape for the outline is also attested at Sai for another cosmetic dish, SAV1N 1655.\textsuperscript{567} This example is much smaller in size than SAV1N 323 and may be in a local Nubian style, as proposed for similar pieces from Askut.\textsuperscript{568} For actually grinding material on palettes or dishes like SAV1N 323, a device like SAV1N 761 (Fig. 89.2) was possibly used, which again finds comparisons at Askut.\textsuperscript{569} As an object from Level 3, SAV1N 761 is significant for reconstructing cosmetic tools of the mid-18\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty on Sai.

38 objects were classified as weights, many of which are made of baked clay or re-used pottery sherds (21 objects, Figs. 90.3–4). Most common are clay axe head types, which were interpreted as net-weights at Elephantine (18 pieces of Cornelius von Pilgrim’s Type A).\textsuperscript{570} This is also the most like-

\textsuperscript{565} VON PILGRIM 1996a, 171–172, fig. 74, pl. 30b (from House H 46a, larger in size than SAV1N 0323).
\textsuperscript{566} SMITH 2003, 111, fig. 5.15E.
\textsuperscript{567} BUDKA and DOYEN 2013, 185–186, fig. 14.
\textsuperscript{568} See SMITH 2003, 111, fig. 5.15A citing parallels from Adindan.
\textsuperscript{569} SMITH 2003, 111, fig. 5.15F.
\textsuperscript{570} VON PILGRIM 1996a, 275–276, fig. 120.
ly classification for the pieces from SA V1 North, though at other sites such items have been labelled as loom weights or as multi-functional devices.\textsuperscript{571} Weights in stone are rare from SA V1 North (six pieces) though one example is the elongated piece SAV1N 1173, made in steatite (Fig. 90.5).\textsuperscript{572} No dating can be proposed since it derives from Level 1, but it falls into von Pilgrim’s Type B of net-weights.\textsuperscript{573} Von Pilgrim’s Type C is represented at SAV1 North by only three pieces of re-cut pottery sherds (e.g. Fig. 90.6).\textsuperscript{574} The small number of this type of weight is interesting, as it is typically very common in Egypt.\textsuperscript{575} The preference on Sai for the clay axe head type might indicate centralised organisation for the distribution of these objects, rather than \textit{ad hoc} production like Type C. A similar situation at Askut was interpreted by Smith as reflecting a “centralized system of food production.”\textsuperscript{576} One might add here that, according to the Nauri decree, fishing rights in Nubia were owned by temples\textsuperscript{577} and restricted access to fishing devices could correspond to this.

Of the 46 artefacts classified as re-used pot sherds, most were probably used as scrapers (Fig. 90.2). Re-cut pot sherds are common tools with multiple functions at New Kingdom domestic sites, attesting to material-saving recycling processes within Pharaonic culture (e.g. at Qantir\textsuperscript{578} and Elephantine\textsuperscript{579}). Such re-use of ceramics is also attested in Nubian cultures, e.g. for cosmetic palettes.\textsuperscript{580} Three examples of the 46 re-cut sherds from SA V1 North are made from Nubian wares. SAV1N 594 (Fig. 90.2) is a body sherd from a Canaanite amphora, recycled as scraper at Sai. The sherd selected for this piece probably held some advantages for both its future use and the production as a tool: a hard fabric with low porosity, a thin wall thickness and a convenient bend for a good grip of the scraper.

In addition to authentic tools, further re-shaping of ceramics is notable in SAV1 North for the production of lids. As is commonly known from Egypt, dishes and plates were sometimes re-cut to be used as lids or covers (see SAV1N 2312 from building unit N12, Pl. 45).

E) Non-ceramic vessels

A small number of stone (twelve) and faience (eleven of various types + 49 Nun bowls) vessels were excavated in fragmented condition at SAV1 North. Especially noteworthy is a small calcite beaker with a ledge (SAV1N 0064), which finds parallels in both Egypt and Egyptian sites in Nubia.\textsuperscript{581} Six lids for small cosmetic vases (kohl vases) were recorded (see SAV1N 2194 from N12D, Pl. 46).\textsuperscript{582} Within the group of faience vessels, several fragments represent Nun (or marsh) bowls (Fig. 91) which are common from the 18th Dynasty to the Late New Kingdom. Unfortunately, almost all of the 49 such pieces come from the uppermost Levels 1 and 2 and are therefore not conclusively datable. Only a single piece was derived from Level 3 and is clearly of 18th Dynasty date (SAV1N 465, a small body-sherd with a geometric pattern). The best preserved rim sherd is SAV1N

\textsuperscript{571} E.g. Giddy 1999, 193; Millard 1979, 127 and pl. 103. For loom weights, which are different in shape, see e.g. Kemp and Vogelsangs-Eastwood 2001, 392–403.

\textsuperscript{572} Cf. Budka and Doyen 2013, 186, fig. 15.5.

\textsuperscript{573} Von Pilgrim 1996a, 26–278, fig. 121, especially fig. 121c.

\textsuperscript{574} Von Pilgrim 1996a, 278, fig. 121.

\textsuperscript{575} Smith 2003, 101.

\textsuperscript{576} Cf. Morkot 1995, 177.

\textsuperscript{577} Raedler 2007; Prell 2011, 92.

\textsuperscript{578} Smith 2003, 111, fig. 5.15B.

\textsuperscript{579} Such cosmetic items are common burial gifts; see on Sai cemeteries SAC4 (Gratien 1985, pl. IVa) and SAC5 (Minault-Gout 2004; Minault-Gout and Thill 2012). For further kohl pots in New Kingdom tombs in Nubia see e.g. Williams 1992, passim.
2 Categories of finds

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F) Models, games and unidentified pieces

16 small tokens or pottery discs of unclear function and twelve miniature balls in both fired and unfired clay (possibly to be identified as game stones) fall into this category. The miniature clay balls (Fig. 92) find exact parallels from Egyptian sites like Amarna and are probably related to the ritual of the first haircut. Two pieces from Level 3 derive from building units discussed in Chapter II, SAV1N 2176 (N27) and SAV1N 2198 (N12) (see IV.4), and are datable to the mid-18th Dynasty.

Implications of the most common objects for reconstructing activities at SAV1 North, especially for weaving, fishing and grinding corn, were already discussed elsewhere. An interesting aspect that should be emphasised related to the location of Sai in Upper Nubia is the scarcity of textual evidence within the categories of small finds. Jar dockets are extremely rare, as are traces of sealing practices – no seal impressions are so far documented from SAV1 North and only four scarabs represent these objects, which are usually numerous at Egyptian domestic sites of the period. However, analysis of this situation must be cautious due to the excavation technique: sieving was not conducted for the deposits in SAV1 North, while systematic sieving of fill from pits, silos and cellars at SAV1 East and SAV1 West has resulted in the discovery of numerous seal impressions. Thus, seal impressions are likely to have been also part of the material remains of SAV1 North.

Another aspect of the material culture from SAV1 North contrasting to contemporaneous sites in Egypt is that moulds for small faience objects are missing. One may conclude that, unlike the

584 Cf. Giddy 1999, pls. 72–73.
585 Cf. a large number of model balls from Amarna, of which some are similar to the ones from SAV1 North; Stevens 2006, 112–115.
586 See Arnst 2006.
587 Budka and Doyen 2013, 198–201.
588 Budka and Doyen 2013, 198–199. Cf. also the small amount of dockets (two) from the complete material of The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia (both from the cemetery of Fadrus, site 185), see Honthoer 1977, 58, 82.
589 Cf. Giddy 1999, 54–76, pls. 15–17, 64. Cf. the same number of scarabs (four) found in New Kingdom levels at Askut (Smith 2003, 113). Smith proposed a direct link between this phenomenon and changing organisational patterns of Egyptian control, in contrast to the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. For scarabs from tomb contexts on Sai, see: Second Intermediate Period examples from cemetery SAC4, Gratien 1985, pl. IV; New Kingdom and Napatan pieces from SAC5, Thill 2004.
590 Cf. Budka 2015b, 45.
591 Only a single mould (SAV1N 1823) was recorded from Level 2 and is of unclear date, most probably Post-Pharaonic. For faience moulds common at Egyptian sites see Giddy 1999, 243–250, pls. 55–54 with diverse parallels.
main residential sites in Egypt like Memphis and Amarna, no faience production was carried out in the New Kingdom town of Sai. However, the presence of faience beads from SAV1 North, including “double ring beads”, may attest to a local bead production on a small scale (see IV.4.4).

3 Macrolithics from SAV1 North

The variety of types and materials of stone tools found in SAV1 North is limited, mainly to pounders or hammers, grindstones, handmills, whetstones and abrasive stones. Some of these objects were likely also multi-purpose tools. The most common materials noted here are natural quartz boulders, sandstone and quartzite (silicified sandstone).

3.1 Pounders/hammers

The outline and sections of pounders/hammers from SAV1 North are often naturally oval, round, plano-convex or bar-shaped. The natural surface of the objects is typically smooth and even, an important factor for good handling. Concentrations of percussion marks attest to the use as a tool. According to the shape of the boulder, these marks can be arranged circumferentially, especially if the pounder was used over a longer period. Some well-worn pieces have only small remains of the original surface of the boulder left, while other examples were barely used and show only few small concentrations of percussion marks.

The large quantity of hammer stones (320 pieces) from SAV1 North finds close parallels at Qantir. The functional use of these hammer stones was recently discussed by Andreas Tillmann, who suggests an industrial use in relation with metal production. While this is possible for material found at Qantir, at SAV1 North another function is more likely – hammer stones were also used for napping the surface of smoothed grindstones. At SAV1 North, this functional use might explain the large quantity of pounders, their association with numerous grindstones/querns (444 pieces) and their provenance of domestic structures with silos and grinding emplacements (cf. IID.1).

3.2 Whetstones

Whetstones, of which a minimum of 19 pieces were found at SAV1 North, are mainly made from sandstone (white, yellow, red), a material on which sharpening stone knives does not produce grooves. Whetstones that do contain the distinctive grooves, like SAV1N 2174 and SAV1N 2031 (see IV.4.1), likely result from use with metal tools or fish hooks. Since no metal objects dating to the New Kingdom were documented at SAV1 North, this remains tentative. In addition, with only three pieces exhibiting grooves, evidence from SAV1 North is rather scarce. A minimum of six abrasive stones in quartzite were documented from SAV1 North, deriving mostly from Level 2. As Silvia Prell has demonstrated for the material from Qantir, “Schleifsteine” made of quartzite are a distinctive group of abrasive stones. The material resulted in smooth and almost polished surfaces, which differ from the rough surfaces of whetstones made in sandstone.

3.3 Grindstones

The 440 grindstones known from SAV1 North are mainly made from quartzite (red, yellow, white, pinkish), showing a medium to coarse graininess; only a few examples are made of sandstone. The outline of the grindstone is often ovoid, while the grinding surface can be flat or concave.

3.4 Handmills

Like the grindstones, the 122 handmills from SAV1 North are mainly manufactured from quartzite, with a small number of sandstone examples. The outline is again often ovoid and the grinding surface can be flat, convex or concave according to the wear. Sections from the handmills are predominately plano-convex. They come in a variety sizes and can be quite large, making it difficult to distinguish them...
from grindstones. However, differentiation is possible by the nature of the surface treatment of the back: the convex back of handmills is always smoothed, at least at the raised parts, to facilitate the grip. Several pieces from SAV1 North are much worn and only a few centimetres thick.

4 Selected objects from Level 3

Similar to the ceramics, only fragmented information is currently available for the objects discovered in the building units of Level 3. Most of the material is associated with structure N12.

4.1 Finds from building unit N24

The objects from Level 3 in building unit N24 are at the first glance rather insignificant. Two stone tools were found south of Wall 8N: a small fragment of a much eroded sandstone grindstone (SAV1N 297, 8.9 × 8.9 × 4.3cm) and a schist hammer (SAV1N 299, 9.4 × 7.3 × 5.4cm). Close by, west of Wall 08W, a large double-handed stone pounder (SAV1N 2427, 21.3 × 11.3 × 9cm) was found, broken at one end. Its use is attested by percussion marks at the preserved end (Pl. 39).

Most interesting, however, are the four grindstones and two handmills discovered along Wall 08W during fine cleaning in N24. One of these grindstones (SAV1N 2432, 30.7 × 17.4 × 11cm, Pl. 40, see IIB.3.4.1) was almost intact and set perpendicular to the wall. It is a large fragment of a sandstone grindstone with a smooth, flat top surface through use, while the remaining sides are roughly shaped. Below SAV1N 2432, covered by a 3cm thick occupational deposit, was a second, more fragmentary example (18 × 16 × 5cm), which was found lying parallel to the western wall. Two additional broken sandstone grindstones were found nearby and are complemented by the fragment of a handmill, SAV1N 2430, which is broken at both ends. The top surface of the handmill is flat and somewhat rough, while the base is rounded and slightly smoother – perhaps the mill was not well used. Another handmill, SAV1N 2428 (Pl. 41), was found in a slightly higher position along Wall 08W. It is largely complete and almost rectangular in shape. It was well used, as it is smooth and flat on the top and bottom surfaces while rough around the circumference.

These macrolithics from N24, which attest to grinding activities within the structure and clearly belong to its early phase of use, are complemented by an adornment piece. Within Installation N24A, a small faience disc bead with a diameter of 8mm was found at the bottom of the installation, along Wall 07S (SAV1N 2426, Pl. 42).

4.2 Finds from building unit N12

Within N12, no differentiation was made for which part of the building unit the objects were found, making a functional interpretation impossible. In addition, similar to the pottery, the objects recovered from the area of N12 are numerous, but often associated with the upper levels, especially Level 2. For example, sandstone fragment SAV1N 2031 (8.2 × 7.3 × 4.1cm) comes from the interior of N12, but at Level 2. This fragment has one smooth surface, interrupted by two grooves that intersect off-centre. This object finds a parallel from Level 3, west of Wall 53, also from the interior of N12: SAV1N 2174 is a similar sandstone piece (4.7 × 6.4 × 2.7cm) with two intersecting grooves on a smoothed surface (Pl. 43). Both objects could be whetstones – a similar piece from the delta site Tell el-Retaba was labelled as tool sharpener and some of the whetstones from Qantir also possess grooves (see above). Prell has stressed that sandstone is well suited for whetting and sharpening metal tools, such as knives and adze. Otherwise well attested at New Kingdom settlement sites in Egypt and Nubia, no fishing hooks or other metal tools were found at SAV1 North, making any connection to these whetstones tentative.

Besides SAV1N 2174, 38 other objects from the interior of N12 can be dated to the early to mid-18th Dynasty according to parallels (Fig. 93). Most common are the macrolithics, mainly in sandstone and quartz: three pestles, two palettes, nine grindstones, one handmill, four hammer stones and one possible polishing stone. In combination with the quern emplacement, these objects confirm grinding activities within N12. The remaining finds from N12 show more variety, with two beads, two axe head type of clay weight (SAV1N 2045, Fig. 90.3 and SAV1N 2046, Pl. 44), one seal (SAV1N 2270; 8.1 × 5.15 × 5.1cm) very similar to SAV1N 2058 (Fig. 88), three small mud balls (e.g. SAV1N 2198, see Fig. 92) and

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604 Its top was levelled at 159.93m, its base at 159.88m, lying over the gravelled ground.
605 Its top was levelled at 159.99m, its base at 159.96m.
606 Rzepka et al. 2013, 267–268, figs. 34–35.
607 Prell 2011, 48 and 52–53.
608 Prell 2011, 48, 50 and 52.
609 Cf. Smith 2003, 101–103, fig. 5.5.
two very small, undiagnostic fragments of clay animal figurines. The re-used ring base of a pottery dish, SAV1N 2312 (Pl. 45), re-worked to function as a lid, is well dateable to the early to mid-18th Dynasty.

**N12D**

A total of twelve objects were documented from N12D (Fig. 95), the silo that also yielded a large amount of pottery. Six of these are stone tools: one pestle, one hammer stone, two grindstones and two handmills. These finds correspond nicely to the functional interpretation of building unit N12 connected with bread making and grinding (IID.1).

The other objects from N12D include one fragment of a small animal figurine (possibly a bull), a fragmented lid of a kohl pot in calcite (SAV1N 2194, Pl. 46), one rudimentary female figurine, a faience bead and a fragmented axe type net-weight (see IV.2.1). The rudimentary female figurine (SAV1N 2186, 5.48 × 2.48 × 2.6cm) is especially noteworthy, despite its broken state of preservation, because it combines a typical Nubian pattern of wavy incised lines with Egyptian stylistic features (Fig. 94). Similar rudimentary figurines with comparable decoration were found at Buhen.

### 4.3 Finds from building unit N26

Nine objects were recovered from Level 3 in building unit N26. Of these, two fragments of leather, SAV1N 2202 and 2212, are clearly of Post-New Kingdom date (probably quite recent) and attest to the dis-

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**Table: List of finds from building unit N12, Level 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excavation number</th>
<th>Object type</th>
<th>Material</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 1896</td>
<td>artefact</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 1910</td>
<td>artefact</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 1936</td>
<td>artefact/weight?</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2176</td>
<td>artefact</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2174</td>
<td>whetstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2201</td>
<td>artefact</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2312</td>
<td>re-used pot sherd (lid)</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2273</td>
<td>lid</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2156</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2197</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2198</td>
<td>ball</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2034</td>
<td>pestle</td>
<td>quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2035</td>
<td>pestle</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2275</td>
<td>figurine? (leg of animal?)</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2284</td>
<td>animal figurine?</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 1871</td>
<td>pestle?</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 1894</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 1895</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2043</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2054</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2061</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2063</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2131</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2140</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2150</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2044</td>
<td>handmill?</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2062</td>
<td>palette?</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2179</td>
<td>palette?</td>
<td>shist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2024</td>
<td>hammer stone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2026</td>
<td>hammer stone</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2050</td>
<td>hammer stone</td>
<td>quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2141</td>
<td>hammer stone?</td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 1903</td>
<td>bead</td>
<td>faience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2155</td>
<td>bead</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2181</td>
<td>polishing stone?</td>
<td>quartz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2045</td>
<td>weight</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2046</td>
<td>weight</td>
<td>clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAV1N 2270</td>
<td>sealing</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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610 See, e.g., a net-weight found at Elephantine in Nubian fabric and with un-Egyptian incised decoration; see von Pilgrim 1996a, 276, fig. 120b.
611 Budka and Doyen 2012, 183.
612 E.g. Millard 1979, no. 747, pl. 53.
turbed state of the deposits in N26. A small bead, SAV1N 2256, is also of unclear date. The other objects here are mostly stone tools: two pounders, one handmill and one polishing stone. Finally, a small clay ball (SAV1N 2176, Fig. 92) and a jar stopper of hemispherical shape (SAV1N 2256) were also found.

4.4 Finds from building unit N27

Only two small items from building unit N27 were documented as Level 3. SAV1N 730 is a sherd of Medieval date that was recut to a disc (possibly as a token or game piece), illustrating that mixed and disturbed contexts are also found in Level 3 (cf. III.1). SAV1N 2154 is two adjoined faience ring beads (8 × 4.1 mm). Although this is clearly not a sealed context, a New Kingdom date is likely for these beads and they could attest to local faience production, despite the lack of moulds from SAV1 North (see IV.2.1).

5 Functional aspects of finds from SAV1 North

In general, objects known from New Kingdom settlements in Nubia cover a large spectrum of functions, from personal items and tools, to storage and food production, and references to fertility and religious acts.613 Several groups of objects from Sai fall into the category of rebirth, fertility and well-being, comparing nicely to finds from Amarna in Egypt.614 Firstly, rudimentary female figurines, faience Nun bowls and specific ceramic vessels like duck-bowls and feminiform vessels can be highlighted.615 All of these objects are known from domestic, funerary and temple contexts.616 Interestingly, several domestic contexts of the 18th Dynasty (Memphis, Amarna, Elephantine and Sai Island) show female figurines archaeologically associated specifically with Nun bowls.617 Nude female figurines are not only connected with sexuality and childbearing, but with a complex ideology that is difficult to define in the modern mind-set.618

Regeneration is also closely related to ancestor cult and the commemoration of individuals. At Amara West and Sesebi, anthropoid busts attest to the invocation of ancestors within the houses,619 while domestic shrines have been identified at Askut and Mirgissa.620 No such installations have been identified to date at Sai, though pot stands and footed bowls with a gypsum-coating found at SAV1 North621 might be related to such shrines.622

All in all, the functional aspects of finds from SAV1 North seem to correspond to their counterparts at Elephantine and Amarna. However, there

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615 See BUDKA 2016a.
616 Cf. BUDKA 2016a with references.
619 SPENCER 2014b, 49.
620 CT. SMITH 2003, 124–133.
621 BUDKA and DOYEN 2013, 201.
622 CT. SMITH 2003, 127, fig. 5.25; STEVENS 2006, 193–194.
are elements of private religion specific to sites like Sai, with Egyptian votive objects appear side by side with Nubian style objects, as well as hybrid-types that combine both traditions. This local aspect of a complex mixture of lifestyles finds parallels in other Egyptian sites located in Nubia, for example at Askut, and corresponds with the ceramic evidence from SAV1 North (cf. Chapter III). The local style of some objects and pottery vessels seems to suggest that both Egyptians and Nubians settled at SAV1 North. However, “postulating hybridity from changes in the material culture” generally faces considerable problems. Taking Amara West as case study, Neal Spencer has recently argued that individual choices and group dynamics may sometimes be more significant than cultural identities. This probably also holds true for SAV1 North and underlines how little we still know about the occupants of this sector of the New Kingdom town of Sai.

6 The character of the material culture from SAV1 North

Even though only part of the material from SAV1 North could be processed, the information gained from the objects is significant for the reconstruction of certain activities, which may also be relevant for the function of the architecture and buildings. As mentioned in Chapter II, the building units of SAV1 North at Level 3 are frequently associated with grinding activities. The large quantity of stone tools found here – querns, pounders and hammer stones – find comparisons in Egypt, but are also known in the indigenous Nubian tradition. The attested quern emplacements at SAV1 North are typical Egyptian, as is the surrounding architecture.

The very high number of grindstones (444 from SAV1 North) indicates that these were used for more tasks than just cereal grinding: some of the grindstones are probably connected with extracting gold from quartz stones and others show traces of pigments. The numerous pounders/hammers (320 from SAV1 North) are perhaps associated with the cutting and trimming of the grindstones. It must be stressed that pounders/hammers of the same types as those from SAV1 North are also frequent at the Christian sites on Sai, making an exclusive New Kingdom date for all of the material from SAV1 North very unlikely.

The assumption that grindstones were used at SAV1 North for purposes other than grain seems to be supported by the insignificant number of functional ceramics associated with bread. Conical bread moulds are nearly absent, whereas the quantity of flat bread trays is larger (see III.4.5). The abundance of conical bread moulds recently excavated at SAV1 East clearly illustrates that this type of functional pottery was common within the town, but not in SAV1 North. Since these bread moulds are more common for temple and ritual contexts, it is likely that SAV1 East represents the place of use/deposition of these cones in connection with Temple A. However, it cannot be ruled out that the actual bread was produced somewhere else. Other than building unit N12, no rooms suitable for baking were found in SAV1 North, again supporting the idea that it was not grain that required such numerous grinding tools at the site.

In summary, the material remains from SAV1 North demonstrate that life in a New Kingdom Egyptian town in Upper Nubia included a variety of activities besides the common household tasks like cooking, bread making, fishing and spinning. The artefacts and pottery found here cover a large spectrum of functions, from personal items, games, cosmetic instruments and tools, to storage, food production and consumption, with additional references to fertility, regeneration, feasting and religious acts.

Household and cooking devices should always be considered in context, here within their find spot and architectural framework in the New Kingdom town of Sai. As demonstrated by the contrasting examples of SAV1 East and SAV1 North, the architectural remains of sectors within the town of Sai can differ considerably in size – for example, in the wall thickness of the buildings – but compare well for the material remains (pottery, stone tools, small finds), though with certain dissimilarities regarding the quantities and proportions. This suggests that the prime usage of distinct areas within a town is not always reflected clearly in the material evidence, but may be diluted in the archaeological record.

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625 This can also be observed for the official cult in the Egyptian temples set up in Nubia, see Török 2009, 228–229.
627 Papin 2013, 36.
628 Spencer 2014b, 47. Cf. also Spencer 2014a.
629 Cf. Klemm and Klemm 2013, 8–11.
632 Personal observation, Sai Island 2013.