

CHAPTER 7: THE NEW KINGDOM TOWN IN ITS MACROCOSM – SAI WITHIN UPPER NUBIA

by *Julia Budka*

7.1. GENERAL REMARKS

As outlined above, the second objective of the AcrossBorders project after assessing Sai as a microcosm was to address the whereabouts of Sai Island from a macroscopic perspective (Chapter 1.5). To embed Sai into the macrocosm of the New Kingdom, one has to consider the corresponding historical and political situation and especially the site's relationship with other New Kingdom sites. The most acute question at the starting point of the project was definitely the date of the foundation of the town on Sai Island (see Chapter 1.1).

As discussed throughout this volume, much new information about the town's role in the Egyptian 're-conquest' was gained by a joint analysis of archaeological and textual sources as well as the combination of evidence from the town and the contemporaneous cemetery.¹³⁹⁹ This resulted in an improved understanding of the 'colonisation' of Nubia in the 18th Dynasty, of the relevant historical events and especially of the nature of the interrelationships between the Kingdom of Kerma and Egypt.¹⁴⁰⁰

The historical and political framework of Sai within the macrocosm of Upper Nubia (Kush) can be outlined as follows:¹⁴⁰¹ Prior to the New Kingdom, the Kerma Kingdom of Kush¹⁴⁰² with its capital at the Third Cataract is known as a substantial rival of the Theban 17th Dynasty. Among others, this is illustrated by the Kamose stela¹⁴⁰³ and by findings at Elkab.¹⁴⁰⁴ Kush (Upper Nubia) was ruled by the Kerma king and his vassals. The exact limits of Kerma influence towards the north are still partly unclear, but Wawat (Lower Nubia) seems to have been under independent control of several local rulers, cooperating with the ruler of Kerma.¹⁴⁰⁵ Sai, Egyptian *Š3̣.t*, is likely to represent the northernmost stronghold of the Kerma Kingdom with local princes in Upper Nubia. These appear with the toponym *Š3̣.t* already among the execration texts of the 12th Dynasty.¹⁴⁰⁶ Huge Kerma tumuli on the island illustrate the importance of the site throughout all periods of the Kerma culture, from Ancient Kerma to Classical Kerma.¹⁴⁰⁷

Coming back to the outline of the history of the Egyptian advances towards the south, it is generally assumed that Wawat was again already controlled by the Egyptians at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁴⁰⁸ Epigraphical sources from Buhen and other finds suggest that Kamose managed to extend his sphere of influence into Lower Nubia.¹⁴⁰⁹

¹³⁹⁹ Budka 2018e.

¹⁴⁰⁰ See Budka 2018f, 17–21; cf. also Williams 2018.

¹⁴⁰¹ See Spencer et al. 2017, 16–20. Cf. also the latest account of New Kingdom imperialism to the south: Morris 2018, esp. 223–248.

¹⁴⁰² For the town of Kerma, see most recently Bonnet 2014, 16–242, 250–253; Bonnet 2018; cf. also Morris 2018, 226–228.

¹⁴⁰³ Cf. O'Connor 1997, 62–63; Zibelius-Chen 2013, 136–137.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Davies 2010, 223–240. Cf. also Zibelius-Chen 2013, 135; Valbelle 2014, 107.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Smith 2003a, 80. See also the recent summaries by Morkot 2013b, 924; Valbelle 2014, 107.

¹⁴⁰⁶ See Devauchelle and Doyen 2009, 33–37.

¹⁴⁰⁷ For Kerma cemeteries on Sai Island, see Gratien 1986; see also above, Chapter 1.2.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Török 2009, 158–159.

¹⁴⁰⁹ See Smith 2003a, 80; Török 2009, 103–118; Fisher 2012, 24; Müller 2013, 5. Cf. also Williams 2018, 107.

The Egyptian ‘colonisation’ of Upper Nubia began with the reign of Ahmose Nebpehtyra introducing major changes for the local population as they were confronted with Egyptian culture and representatives of Pharaonic administration.¹⁴¹⁰ Based on recent evidence, it is safe to assume that Ahmose founded the Egyptian site on Sai Island.¹⁴¹¹ As northern stronghold of the Kerma Kingdom, Sai Island was in a very significant and strategic location just south of the Batn el-Haggar; it was probably a key site for the Egyptian expansion towards the south which was now secured for the Egyptian troops by Ahmose, gaining “more control over the buffer zone between Egyptian-held Lower Nubia and Kerma.”¹⁴¹² His father Amenhotep I was definitely also active at the site and left records which can be interpreted as firm evidence of Egyptian presence on Sai.¹⁴¹³ However, the first major campaigns against Kerma within the process of the ‘re-conquest’ happened during the reign of Thutmose I, probably with Sai as “a secure launching pad”¹⁴¹⁴ enabling the Egyptians to go much further south.¹⁴¹⁵ A number of texts refers to the activities of Thutmose I in Upper Nubia, among others royal stelae at Tombos and Kurgus.¹⁴¹⁶ A stela by his son Thutmose II at Aswan mentions fortresses, *mnw*, of Thutmose I.¹⁴¹⁷ The location of these fortresses is disputed: there are no archaeological remains at Tombos¹⁴¹⁸ or at Gebel Barkal. New finds at Dokki Gel indicate that one of these Egyptian fortresses might have been in close proximity to the capital Kerma (see below, Chapter 7.2).¹⁴¹⁹ Architecture and artefacts at Kerma attest to a contemporaneous heyday of power of the king of Kerma.¹⁴²⁰

Ongoing fieldwork at the major early New Kingdom sites in Upper Nubia (Sai Island, Sesebi, Tombos, Dokki Gel) has yielded structures and finds dating to the early 18th Dynasty, especially to Thutmose I¹⁴²¹ – the archaeological work therefore complements the textual evidence. By the time of Thutmose I, there was an increased presence of Egyptians in the area which went hand in hand with a rapid ‘Egyptianisation’,¹⁴²² although Egyptian influence in the area of the Third Cataract remained unstable and a Nubian rebellion is attested following the arrival of Thutmose I and being settled during the reign of Thutmose II.¹⁴²³ The Egyptian conquest of Upper Nubia came to an end with the final victory of Thutmose III against the Kingdom of Kerma – the realm of Egyptian domination now reached as far as to the area of the Fourth Cataract.¹⁴²⁴ Sai Island became one of the, if not the main, centres of the Egyptian administration which was now installed, being composed according to the Egyptian system.¹⁴²⁵ Recent work strongly suggests that the location of the main New Kingdom sites in the Abri-Delgo-Reach (Sai, Soleb, Sesebi and also Tombos) seems to be connected with the character of the area as a rich gold ore region (see below, Chapter 7.4).¹⁴²⁶

¹⁴¹⁰ Smith 2003a, 56–96; see also Budka 2015a; Spencer et al. 2017. For Ahmose’s activities in Nubia, cf. Kahn 2013, 17–18 with references and Davies 2014a. Note especially the cartouche of Ahmose found near the Kajbar cataract: Edwards 2006, 58–59, pl. 4.

¹⁴¹¹ See Budka 2017a, 19; Morris 2018, 119–120.

¹⁴¹² Morris 2018, 120.

¹⁴¹³ See Gabolde 2012, 127–129.

¹⁴¹⁴ Davies 2005, 51.

¹⁴¹⁵ Vercoutter 1973, 7–38; see also Török 2009, 158–159; Morkot 2013b, 913; Davies 2017b.

¹⁴¹⁶ Davies 1998, 26–29; Budka 2005b, 108–109; Davies 2008, 47; Valbelle 2014, 107; Davies 2017b.

¹⁴¹⁷ Török 2009, 161 with note 32; see also Gabolde 2012, 136 with note 77.

¹⁴¹⁸ Cf. Budka 2005b, 113.

¹⁴¹⁹ Valbelle 2012, 447–464; Valbelle 2014, 107. See also Gabolde 2012, 135–136; Bonnet 2018; Morris 2018, 226–228.

¹⁴²⁰ Valbelle 2014, 107.

¹⁴²¹ See in particular Bonnet 2012, 67, fig. 9; Valbelle 2014, 107; Bonnet 2018, 72–77.

¹⁴²² Cf. Morkot 2013b, 947; Valbelle 2014, 107. Most recently, this was labelled as “conversion” and “transformation” of the Middle Nile valley which started already prior to Kamose by Williams 2018, 101.

¹⁴²³ Gabolde 2004; Bonnet 2012, 71; Zibelius-Chen 2013, 138 with further references; Valbelle 2014, 107; Bonnet 2018, 75–77; Morris 2018, 224.

¹⁴²⁴ Smith 1995, fig. 6.1; Török 2009, 165; Zibelius-Chen 2013, 138.

¹⁴²⁵ For the administrative system installed in Nubia, see Morkot 1991; Morkot 1995; Müller 2013.

¹⁴²⁶ Cf. Spence and Rose 2009, 38–39. See also Klemm and Klemm 2013, *passim*; Darnell 2013, 824–829; Vieth 2018.

7.2 SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN UPPER NUBIA

Until the 2000s, when new fieldwork started in Upper Nubia (Kush), the understanding of settlement patterns in the area was quite limited. The general organisation and administration were well understood, although it was unclear which site functioned as the administrative centre prior to Soleb (from Amenhotep III to the early 19th Dynasty) and Amara West (from Seti I until the end of the New Kingdom).¹⁴²⁷ There are several indications that Sai Island was the Egyptian headquarters in Kush from at least Thutmoseid times onwards.¹⁴²⁸ Most studies have concentrated on economic and strategic aspects of the sites, taking textual sources as main evidence. As it is for example well illustrated by the site of Soleb, there was a tendency to focus on stone temples and the cemeteries respectively.¹⁴²⁹ The urban remains and mud brick structures have been rather insufficiently studied. This has changed in the last decade. Settlement patterns in Nubia (northern Sudan) from the New Kingdom have been and are still currently investigated by diverse archaeological missions, in particular at Amara West, Sai, Sesebi, Tombos and Dokki Gel.¹⁴³⁰

The better-understood settlements in Kush all fall into the category of so-called Nubian temple towns (Fig. 139) which can, according to our present understanding, be considered as “elite residential, administrative and cult centres”.¹⁴³¹ Such sites are laid out on a regular grid plan and consist of an enclosure wall with towers/buttresses and main gates. The orthogonal layout clearly reflects urban planning.¹⁴³² The interior of these ‘temple towns’ is divided into several seemingly distinct areas which comprise a stone temple for an Egyptian deity, large magazines, administrative buildings and typical Egyptian houses.¹⁴³³ For most of the sites textual sources provide the Egyptian term *mnn.w*.¹⁴³⁴ In the mid-18th Dynasty, *mnn.w*, also attested for Sai, may simply indicate “a walled settlement erected in foreign territory.”¹⁴³⁵

Other than at these large urban sites in Upper Nubia, settlement patterns are still difficult to assess. In particular, the rural occupation and smaller villages of Kush are problematic to trace.¹⁴³⁶ With Gism el-Arba¹⁴³⁷ and H25 close to Kawa,¹⁴³⁸ important evidence for non-urban settlements in Upper Nubia was discovered, but these sites have only been partially explored until now. Significant data for some ‘rural style’ occupation remains were also documented in the hinterland of Amara West.¹⁴³⁹ Furthermore, indirect evidence for non-urban sites in Kush also derives from cemeteries.¹⁴⁴⁰

The new boom in urban archaeology in Upper Nubia since the 2000s, with an increase in archaeological fieldwork at sites like Amara West,¹⁴⁴¹ Sesebi,¹⁴⁴² Tombos¹⁴⁴³ and Sai Island,¹⁴⁴⁴ provided important

¹⁴²⁷ Cf. Török 2009, 180.

¹⁴²⁸ See below and cf. Budka 2013a, 78–87; Budka 2017a, 22.

¹⁴²⁹ Cf. Schiff Giorgini 1965; Schiff Giorgini 1971; Schiff Giorgini 1998; Schiff Giorgini 2002; Schiff Giorgini 2003.

¹⁴³⁰ See Budka 2018f, 16–17, 21–23 with references. For a concise overview see most recently Spencer 2019.

¹⁴³¹ Morkot 1995, 176.

¹⁴³² Cf. Moeller 2016, 378–379.

¹⁴³³ Cf. Kemp 1972, 651–656; Morris 2005, 5; Graves 2011, 63. See also Vieth 2018 for a discussion of the term ‘temple town’.

¹⁴³⁴ For the latest study on *mnn.w*, see Somaglino 2017.

¹⁴³⁵ Morris 2005, 213, 331.

¹⁴³⁶ For a summary of New Kingdom occupation in Upper Nubia, see Edwards 2012, 66–74, especially 67. Note that according to Williams 2017 the 18th Dynasty re-occupation of the Middle Kingdom fortress of Serra is a ‘rural’ settlement of the New Kingdom.

¹⁴³⁷ Gratien 1995; Gratien et al. 2003; Gratien et al. 2008.

¹⁴³⁸ Ross 2014.

¹⁴³⁹ Stevens 2014, 22; Stevens and Garnett 2017.

¹⁴⁴⁰ For the general importance of funerary remains to reconstruct settlement patterns, see Seidlmayer 2006. For cemetery sites in Lower and Upper Nubia, see Williams 2018. See also Williams 2017 for tombs at Serra.

¹⁴⁴¹ E.g. Spencer 2010, 15–24; Spencer 2014b, 457–485.

¹⁴⁴² E.g. Spence and Rose 2009, 38–46; Spence et al. 2011, 34–39; Spence 2017.

¹⁴⁴³ Smith and Buzon 2018.

¹⁴⁴⁴ E.g. Devauchelle and Doyen 2009, 29–49; Budka 2011, 23–33; Doyen 2014, 367–375.

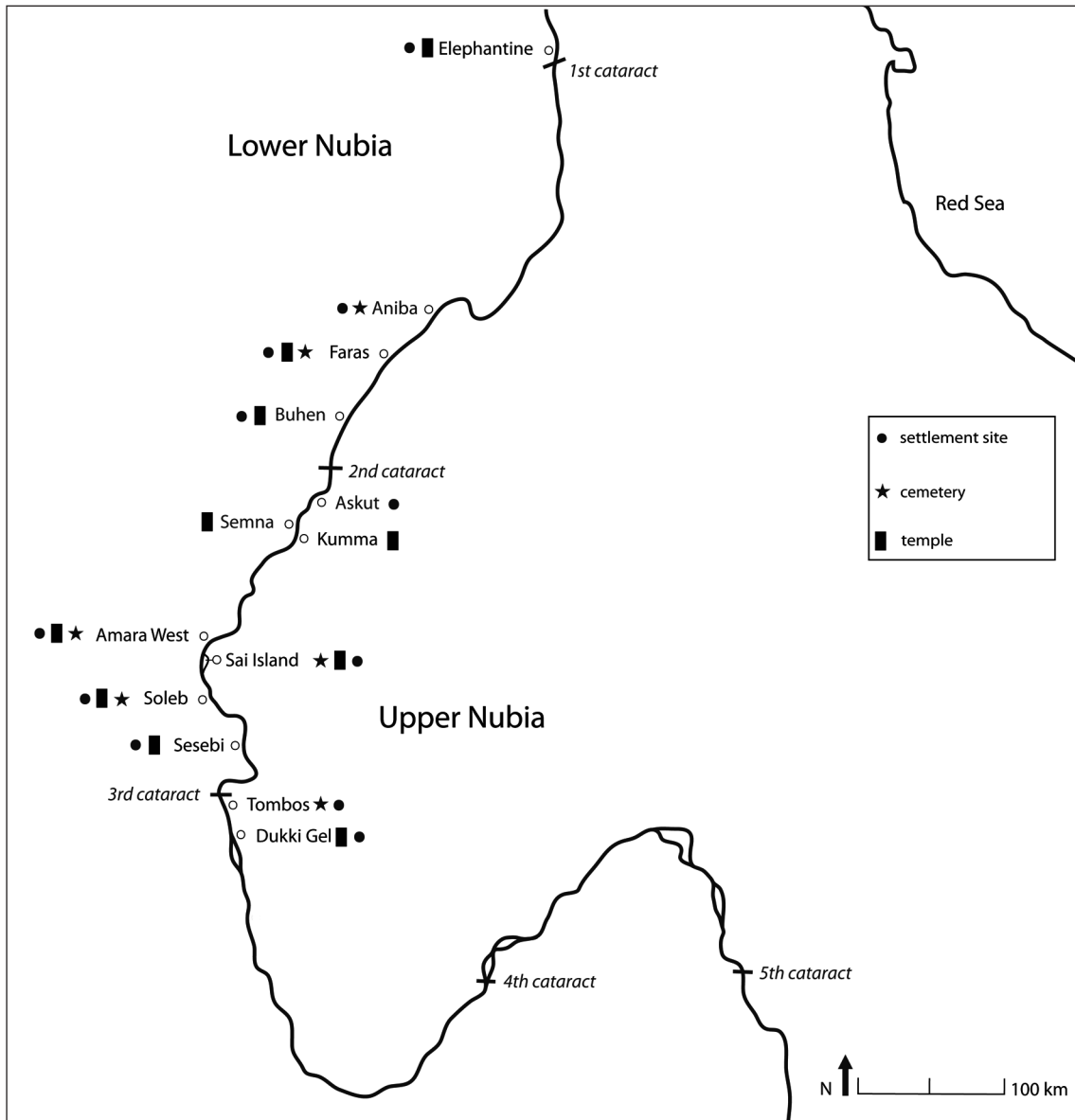


Fig. 139 Map of the most important New Kingdom sites between the First and Third Nile Cataracts, with a focus on settlement sites

clues for a better understanding of settlement patterns in the region (see Chapter 1.4).¹⁴⁴⁵ The diachronic and regional developments of the settlements in the area have been studied as well as the local properties of the individual sites at a synchronic level. The most important new results are outlined here.

Three major phases of the Egyptian involvement in Nubia are traceable by the settlement sites and can be reconstructed as follows for the period of the 18th and the 19th Dynasties: A) the ‘re-conquest’ of Nubia in the early 18th Dynasty, prior to Thutmose III, with several throwbacks based on Nubian revolts; B) the heyday of establishing the Egyptian administration in Nubia following the defeat of the Kerma Kingdom by Thutmose III (period of Thutmose III to Amenhotep III); C) a re-organisation starting with the time of Seti I in the 19th Dynasty with the foundation of a new site at Amara West (19th Dynasty).

¹⁴⁴⁵ Just at the beginning of its research on settlement remains is the team directed by Timothy Kendall working at Gebel Barkal, see Kendall et al. 2017.

For questions related to settlement patterns in Kush of Phase A, the early New Kingdom prior to Thutmose III, three sites are essential (from north to south): Sai, Sesebi and Dokki Gel. Evidence from Sai has been discussed above and will also be summarised below. New work at Sesebi since 2008, under the direction of Kate Spence and Pamela Rose, concentrates on a re-assessment of the work by the Egypt Exploration Society in the 1930s. The most important result of this new mission is that structures and material remains, especially pottery, have been found which pre-date the reign of Akhenaten. It is, therefore, very likely that the site was already founded at the very beginning of the 18th Dynasty.¹⁴⁴⁶ This early site of Sesebi was possibly still without an enclosure wall, perhaps corresponding to the early phase of Sai.¹⁴⁴⁷

Substantial remains including major temples and subsidiary structures were recently excavated at Dokki Gel by the team led by Charles Bonnet and have been dated to the period before Thutmose III.¹⁴⁴⁸ The site is in particular interesting because it combines Egyptian architecture with structures of indigenous, African character, illustrating complex formation processes during the early 18th Dynasty.¹⁴⁴⁹ If the interpretation of Dokki Gel as an Egyptian *mnn.w* is correct,¹⁴⁵⁰ this town and ceremonial place provides very significant data for diverse architectural layouts of the ‘temple towns’ in Nubia.¹⁴⁵¹

The role of Tombos within the ‘colonisation’ of Upper Nubia in the periods pre-dating Thutmose III still remains uncertain because of only limited excavations in the town area.¹⁴⁵² However, the inscriptions of Thutmose I mentioned above clearly illustrate that it was an important border region at the Third Cataract, of strategic importance from the very early 18th Dynasty onwards and thus also possibly comparable to Sai in the North.

For aspects of settlement patterns in Kush during Phase B, the mid- and late 18th Dynasty, the most relevant sites are again Sai and Sesebi, but also Tombos and Soleb.¹⁴⁵³ The latter is difficult to assess from an urban perspective – only the stone temple and New Kingdom burials in the cemetery have been studied (see below, Chapter 7.3). Comparably complicated is the assessment of Gebel Barkal where New Kingdom occupation started from year 33/35 of Thutmose III onwards, but where mostly temple buildings have been investigated until today.¹⁴⁵⁴ According to textual evidence, we know of a *mnn.w* of king Thutmose III at Gebel Barkal, but this important Egyptian outpost remains for now archaeologically unattested.¹⁴⁵⁵ Phase B clearly marks the heyday of Sai (Thutmose III to Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III), of Soleb (Amenhotep III) and of Sesebi (Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten). These sites were most probably the administrative headquarters of the respective periods. Recent excavations at the site of Tombos, directed by Stuart T. Smith and Michele Buzon, have yielded settlement remains possibly from Thutmose III onwards.¹⁴⁵⁶ Based on the funerary evidence at the site, Tombos was also one of the important Egyptian centres in the second half of the 18th Dynasty, being contemporaneous to both Sai and Soleb.¹⁴⁵⁷

The major site of Ramesside Upper Nubia is clearly Amara West, which marks the turnaround in settlement patterns during Phase C. This newly-founded town is located in the close neighbourhood of Sai, but seems to have replaced the 18th Dynasty sites as administrative centre from Seti I onwards.¹⁴⁵⁸ Both the New Kingdom town and cemeteries have been explored since 2006 by the team led by Neal Spencer

¹⁴⁴⁶ Spence and Rose 2009, 39, 42; Rose 2017; Spence 2017.

¹⁴⁴⁷ See Budka 2017c, 79.

¹⁴⁴⁸ See Bonnet 2017; see also Williams 2018, 105.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Bonnet 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁰ As proposed by Bonnet 2017; Somaglino 2017; Bonnet 2018, 72.

¹⁴⁵¹ See also Morris 2018, 226–228.

¹⁴⁵² See Smith and Buzon 2018. Cf. also Spencer 2019, 433.

¹⁴⁵³ See Williams 2018, 105–106.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Kendall et al. 2017.

¹⁴⁵⁵ See Kendall et al. 2017, 162–163 who stresses the strategic importance of this *mnn.w*.

¹⁴⁵⁶ See Smith and Buzon 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Smith and Buzon 2017; Smith and Buzon 2018. For Gebel Barkal in the second half of the 18th Dynasty, see Kendall et al. 2017, 165–178.

¹⁴⁵⁸ The foundation of Amara West by Seti I is well attested by means of stamped mud bricks in the enclosure wall with the name of the king; see Spencer 1997, 15–17, pl. 8; Spencer 2017, 325.

and have revealed new finds of much significance for understanding aspects of domestic life in Rameside Kush.¹⁴⁵⁹ Within the formal walled settlement, Spencer could trace “less formal areas”¹⁴⁶⁰ from the earliest phases onwards. These zones comprised houses and high-temperature industries on a small scale.¹⁴⁶¹ All in all, the new investigation of Amara West has clearly shown the necessary re-assessment of how individuals and households shaped a new town (see also Chapter 8).¹⁴⁶²

Taking all the evidence in account, it seems safe to propose that the evolution of the New Kingdom town of Sai, as preliminarily and fragmentarily as it is currently understood, actually reflects the major three phases of Egyptian involvement in Nubia (see also Chapter 8.3).¹⁴⁶³ The assessment of settlement patterns in Nubia has profited substantially from modern technical advances, which have become important for settlement archaeology in Nubia and have resulted in new data.¹⁴⁶⁴ Especially relevant are geoarchaeological approaches and the exploration of the environmental settings.¹⁴⁶⁵ Analysing spatial relationships of the sites by means of GIS has much potential¹⁴⁶⁶ and can already build upon a model of distances between Egyptian sites in Nubia developed by Irmgard Hein.¹⁴⁶⁷ New scientific analyses enable investigations on the micro-scale and site-specific approaches, which are in particular significant when combined with a view from the macro-scale. Neal Spencer rightly pointed out: “A re-assessment of the role of individual/household agency in creating and shaping a new town in Pharaonic Nubia is necessary.”¹⁴⁶⁸ This aspect will be discussed in more detail below (Chapter 8).

It is highly relevant for this up-to-date summary of settlement patterns in Upper Nubia that evidence from both Amara West and Sai Island suggest that real developments within Egyptian towns in Nubia may differ considerably from theoretical urban planning.¹⁴⁶⁹ Although a hierarchy of diverse sizes of houses is present at these state foundations, a dissonance of houses from ‘standard layouts’ seems to have actually been common and integral parts of very dynamic worlds.

Thanks to the combined bottom-up and comparative approaches of the AcrossBorders project, it became in particular evident that the ‘planned’ appearance of Sai as ‘temple town’ with an orthogonal layout is not as uniform as previously thought. AcrossBorders’ excavations at sectors SAV1 East and SAV1 West unearthed varied areas within the town with an orthogonal grid system which are most likely the results of a number of dynamic factors characterising a social fabric which is more complex than the macro approach towards an Egyptian town in Nubia would suggest.¹⁴⁷⁰ Furthermore, we have to keep in mind that not all sites in Nubia fell into the category of ‘temple towns’.¹⁴⁷¹

As was mentioned above (Chapter 5), research on the agriculture, animal husbandry and food production at New Kingdom sites in Nubia is at most sites still ongoing.¹⁴⁷² These topics are closely related to the still unknown characterisation of the hinterland of New Kingdom towns in Kush.¹⁴⁷³ The question of the hinterland is in turn highly relevant for the supply and administration of the Egyptian sites (see also below, Chapter 7.4). The faunal remains can give information regarding the local or external supply with livestock. On Sai there would in general be plenty of space and availability for husbandry, espe-

¹⁴⁵⁹ See, e.g., Spencer 2009, 47–61; Spencer 2010, 15–24; Spencer 2014a, 42–61; Spencer 2014b, 457–485; Spencer et al. 2014, *passim* with further references; Spencer 2017.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Spencer 2017, 349.

¹⁴⁶¹ Spencer 2017, 349.

¹⁴⁶² Spencer 2015; Spencer 2017, 352.

¹⁴⁶³ Budka 2015d.

¹⁴⁶⁴ For the general impact of new technologies on Egyptian settlement archaeology, see also Moeller 2016, 36–38.

¹⁴⁶⁵ See Spence and Rose 2009, 43–45; Spencer, Macklin and Woodward 2012, 37–47. Cf. also Edwards 2012, 67 and this volume, Chapters 2 and 5.

¹⁴⁶⁶ See Vieth 2018.

¹⁴⁶⁷ See Hein 1991, 129–134.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Spencer 2017, 352.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Spencer 2015, 201–202; Budka 2017h, 17; Budka 2018f, 21.

¹⁴⁷⁰ See Budka 2017h; Budka 2018f, 21.

¹⁴⁷¹ Cf. Snape 2014, 224.

¹⁴⁷² Cf. Cartwright and Ryan 2017; Spencer 2017, 349.

¹⁴⁷³ See Spencer 2019, 444–446.

cially for pigs and herds of sheep and goats. However, the pigs found in the early 18th Dynasty levels of the town were most likely brought from Egypt at the beginning (see Chapter 5.2).

Fishing and hunting at New Kingdom temple towns is another topic related to the location of the sites and their possible advantages compared to other places. Unsurprisingly, Sai as an island in the Nile shows a rather rich ichthyofauna with a larger number of diverse species (Chapter 5.2.1).¹⁴⁷⁴ According to the evidence from the faunal remains, tilapiine fish were of minor importance for the diet at New Kingdom Sai. This is interesting, since the faience nun bowls from the town frequently show tilapiine fish as decorative motifs, but functioned here as symbol of fertility and regeneration (see Chapter 4.3.2).

Among possible game animals, gazelles are well-attested in the faunal remains from the New Kingdom town of Sai, in particular dorcas gazelles (see Chapter 5.2.1). Although a possible direct link remains hypothetical, it is striking that at sector SAV1 West three animal figurines in the shape of gazelles (or ibexes) were found (Chapter 4.3.2). Obviously, these animals were of some importance to the inhabitants of Sai. In line with this, the hippopotamus may be mentioned. This wild animal species is attested within the faunal remains from the cellars at SAV1 East, as raw material for amulets (SAV1E 0971) and as a clay figurine (SAV1E 0851). It might be accidental that all of the attestations for hippopotamus derive from sector SAV1 East with its large scale magazines and cellars; however, a connection with the town's role within the Egyptian administration and its function to collect the so-called tributes (see below, Chapter 7.4) seems possible as well.

The sources of the agricultural products consumed by the inhabitants of the New Kingdom temple towns are presently still unclear. Archaeobotanical research at Sai has shown certain similarities, but also differences with sites like Kerma and Amara West (see Chapter 5.1). Although there are, according to the geoarchaeological research, possible agrarian lands to the south of the town (see Chapter 2.6), it is at present unclear which of the agricultural products were produced locally and which were imported to the island. From the historical point of view, the question whether communities in the newly founded towns could live self-sufficiently was probably of little priority for the Egyptians. These state foundations designed for “a primarily imported Egyptian population”¹⁴⁷⁵ were always thought to be part of well-established trade networks and had a functional connection with the exploitation of raw materials and the collection of *jnw* (see below, Chapter 7.4). However, some aspects of the flourishing of the New Kingdom sites could also be related to the sustainability of the respective agricultural systems and livestock farming. Compared to Soleb and possibly also to Sesebi, the heyday of Sai is in particular very long and the use of the island as settlement place is much older than the New Kingdom, attesting the very convenient living conditions on the island.¹⁴⁷⁶

To conclude, the settlement patterns traceable in Upper Nubia at the present state of research seem to reflect the historical and political phases of the New Kingdom, but also allow stressing the importance of understanding the local microhistories which might deviate from the general development and superior plans. For the 18th Dynasty, Sai clearly mirrors the development from a simple supply station for Egyptian troops and location to collect gold and sandstone to a major Egyptian temple town and elite burial ground of clearly urban character (see Chapter 7.3).

7.3 CEMETERIES AND TOMBS IN UPPER NUBIA

At all major New Kingdom sites in Kush cemeteries have also been found in close proximity to the towns. These cemeteries are of typical Egyptian character. In the case of Sai, the pyramid cemetery SAC5 is located approximately 800m south of the New Kingdom town.¹⁴⁷⁷ Its size and qualitative data

¹⁴⁷⁴ The eastern side of Sai Island along the main branch of the Nile with its rapid water flow offered since Holocene times good opportunities for fishing, see Florenzano et al. 2019, 30.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Snape 2014, 224.

¹⁴⁷⁶ For research on the early plant food production at Sai, see Hildebrand 2007; Garcea and Hildebrand 2009 (see also this volume, Chapter 5.1).

¹⁴⁷⁷ Minault-Gout and Thill 2012, 3; Budka 2014b; Budka 2015e; Budka 2017k.

underline the importance of Sai as administrative centre during the mid-18th Dynasty in Upper Nubia.¹⁴⁷⁸ The Pharaonic style tombs of SAC5 find close parallels at the Lower Nubian site of Aniba and in Kush at Soleb, Tombos and Amara West,¹⁴⁷⁹ but also in Egypt, e.g. in the Theban necropolis.¹⁴⁸⁰ The burial remains in the tombs cover almost the entire New Kingdom and the site was still used into the Pre-Napatan and Napatan periods.¹⁴⁸¹ 24 rock-cut shaft tombs with mud brick chapels and mostly pyramidal superstructures were excavated by the French Mission at SAC5;¹⁴⁸² one tomb of the same type was discovered and studied by the AcrossBorders project (Pl. 145).¹⁴⁸³

According to the material unearthed until today, SAC5 was not in use prior to Thutmose III and flourished until the late 18th Dynasty, reflecting the general heyday of New Kingdom Sai.¹⁴⁸⁴ The pyramid cemetery is, therefore, contemporaneous to the extensive building activities in the town, traceable in all town areas with a stone temple, an enclosure wall, magazines and cellars as well as the governor's residence (see above, Chapters 1.1 and Chapter 3.2.2). Most tombs in SAC5 also testify a phase of re-use in Ramesside and Late New Kingdom times and the usurpation of older structures seems to represent the Ramesside standard at Sai.¹⁴⁸⁵ As yet, no structure has been found in SAC5 that was built as a new tomb after the 18th Dynasty.¹⁴⁸⁶

Like at the other sites mentioned above, SAC5 is a necropolis of Egyptian type with a preferred extended position for burials, pyramid superstructures resembling the New Kingdom Theban model and typical Egyptian installations for funerary offering cult. The assumption that Egyptian administrative staff and their families were buried here is very likely and seems to be reflected in high quality objects such as heart scarabs and stone shabtis.¹⁴⁸⁷

Of different character is the 'mixed' cemetery SAC4, located to the north of the Egyptian town. This cemetery was more of Nubian-Egyptian type with rectangular shafts, but no pyramids. However, the grave goods are Egyptian and no Nubian pottery was found. This contrasts to the presumed elite tombs at SAC5 where small amounts of Nubian pottery can be noted. According to Brigitte Gratien, graveyard SAC4 probably served for interments of Kerma people who were in contact with the Egyptians living on the island (and maybe for less high-ranking Egyptians as well).¹⁴⁸⁸

Another major Egyptian site in Upper Nubia with pyramid tombs and Egyptian-style burials is Soleb.¹⁴⁸⁹ Remarkable parallels can be noted between the newly discovered Tomb 26 on Sai and Tomb 15 at Soleb. These correspondences in both architecture and finds imply a close connection between the two sites during the second half of the 18th Dynasty. Furthermore, the respective elite cemeteries also illustrate the almost identical status of both sites as administrative Egyptian centres.¹⁴⁹⁰

The pyramid necropolis of Tombos was investigated in the last decade and yielded burials from Thutmose III to Ramesside times (as well as Napatan interments). The New Kingdom tombs and the cemetery burials at Tombos are predominantly 'Egyptianised'¹⁴⁹¹ and well comparable to Soleb and Sai. However,

¹⁴⁷⁸ Minault-Gout and Thill 2012, 418; Budka 2014b; Budka 2015a, 51; Budka 2015b, 77–80.

¹⁴⁷⁹ See Steindorff 1937; Schiff Giorgini 1971; Smith 2003a, 136–166; Binder 2017. See also Budka 2017k; Budka 2018e.

¹⁴⁸⁰ See Budka 2015e, 56–58. For dating such tombs with pyramidal superstructures not before the mid-18th Dynasty, see Näser 2017, 560. Recently, Williams 2018 dated the first occurrence of pyramid tombs in Nubia already to the early 18th Dynasty; this dating issue seems at present still open.

¹⁴⁸¹ Thill 2007, 353–369; Budka 2014b; Budka 2015e.

¹⁴⁸² Minault-Gout and Thill 2012.

¹⁴⁸³ See Budka 2018e.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Budka 2018e with references.

¹⁴⁸⁵ The re-use of older structures as a mode of burial is also attested at Soleb, see Schiff Giorgini 1971, 100. The re-use of Tomb 26 from Sai will be published elsewhere: Budka forthcoming c. At Amara West, pyramid tombs, simple shaft tombs and also a 'Nubian' tomb with a tumulus superstructure are attested for the Ramesside period, see Binder 2017.

¹⁴⁸⁶ See Budka 2017k, 127.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Budka 2018e.

¹⁴⁸⁸ See Gratien 2002; cf. Williams 2018, 2015.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Schiff Giorgini 1971.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Budka 2017k, 128.

¹⁴⁹¹ Smith and Buzon 2018; Williams 2018, 105.

similar to the site of Amara West, there is also evidence for “biological entanglement” of the people buried at Tombos.¹⁴⁹² The autochthony or allochthony of the skeletal remains was also tested with Strontium isotope analyses.¹⁴⁹³ In general, fresh research in the Egyptian cemeteries at Tombos¹⁴⁹⁴ and Amara West¹⁴⁹⁵ has shown a complex social diversity during the entire period of the New Kingdom (both in the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside era). AcrossBorders’ findings at SAC5 of Sai also correspond to this picture.¹⁴⁹⁶ Strontium isotope analysis has identified the overseer of goldworkers and presumable family members buried in Tomb 26 as autochthonous individuals.¹⁴⁹⁷ A complete assessment of these finds still needs to be undertaken, but at present it seems likely that Khnummose was an offspring of an Egyptian ‘colonist’ who came to Sai during the time of Thutmose III. It is, however, equally possible that a person like Khnummose, who appears completely Egyptian based on his burial style and burial gifts in Tomb 26 and has an Egyptian title (overseer of goldsmith), actually has roots in the indigenous population of Upper Nubia who were confronted with Egyptian culture ever since the campaigns of Ahmose. This corresponds well to the overall assessment of the mortuary evidence from the cemeteries of the New Kingdom sites in Kush: The funerary record supports the assessment of the material culture, especially the pottery, from the town sites that the respective occupants represented a multifaceted community, including both Egyptians and Nubians.¹⁴⁹⁸

Especially in line with this complex ‘entanglement’ of cultures, a recent account by Bruce Williams on evidence from burial sites in Lower and Upper Nubia is noteworthy. He argues that the adoption of Egyptian culture, and here especially of religious culture traceable very well in the funerary remains, was not begun by the Egyptians themselves during the New Kingdom but started already earlier. According to Williams, the roots for the very quick “conversion” and “transformation” in New Kingdom Nubia into Egyptian culture can be sought prior to the 18th Dynasty in the colonies/the vassal regions attached to the Second Cataract sites where people were working for the Kerma rulers.¹⁴⁹⁹

Similar to the topic of settlement patterns and settlement types, several questions about cemeteries of the New Kingdom sites in Kush still remain open. Recent research has, however, clearly pointed out that tombs and burials are of prime significance for understanding life in New Kingdom Nubia. Despite of a general Egyptian character of the tombs and burials, case studies from Amara West, Tombos and Sai illustrate that at the local level social, economic and cultural identities were changing, interacting and merging with each other and that there was a complex intermingling of Egyptians and Nubians.¹⁵⁰⁰

7.4 TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION IN UPPER NUBIA

Nubia is famous for its rich supply of gold and it is well known that Nubian gold was among the main Egyptian economic interests during a long time span.¹⁵⁰¹ There is increasing evidence that the rich gold occurrence in the Abri-Delgo-Reach influenced the foundation of the New Kingdom sites there¹⁵⁰² and that the dense distribution of New Kingdom temples in this region might be connected to the gold of

¹⁴⁹² Smith and Buzon 2017; Smith and Buzon 2018.

¹⁴⁹³ See Buzon 2016; Smith and Buzon 2017, 618–619, fig. 5.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Buzon 2008; Buzon 2016; Smith and Buzon 2014; Smith and Buzon 2017; Smith and Buzon 2018.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Binder and Spencer 2014; Spencer et al. 2014; Binder 2017, especially 606–609.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Budka 2018e with references.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Budka 2018e, 192.

¹⁴⁹⁸ See Budka 2018e.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Williams 2018.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Binder 2017, 606–611; Smith and Buzon 2017; Smith and Buzon 2018; Budka 2018e.

¹⁵⁰¹ Cf. Vercoutter 1959, 120–153; Müller 2013, 74–79; Morris 2018, 130.

¹⁵⁰² See Klemm and Klemm 2013, 569–570; Klemm and Klemm 2017, 266; also Darnell 2013, 828.

Kush.¹⁵⁰³ Recent archaeological fieldwork at Sesebi,¹⁵⁰⁴ Sai Island,¹⁵⁰⁵ Tombos¹⁵⁰⁶ and Amara West¹⁵⁰⁷ seems to support this association of the sites with gold exploitation. According to the Klemms, a significant change in gold processing and prospecting took place in the New Kingdom with the important “introduction of the grinding mill to the mining industry.”¹⁵⁰⁸ This new type of mill allowed the increased exploitation of auriferous quartz vein systems and is attested in all New Kingdom sites mentioned above.¹⁵⁰⁹

According to Egyptian texts, the amount of gold coming from Kush seems to differ from the one from Wawat.¹⁵¹⁰ This is especially the case during the reign of Thutmose III when much more gold of Wawat was registered.¹⁵¹¹ From the time of Amenhotep III onwards, Kush seems to have gained in importance as a gold mining area as, for example, representations in the Theban tomb of viceroy Huy illustrate.¹⁵¹² Textual evidence implies a decline in gold production in Ramesside times;¹⁵¹³ future archaeological fieldwork has the potential to confirm or modify this perception.

Another important raw material which was desired by the Egyptians in Nubia was sandstone (see Chapters 2.3 and 2.4). Epigraphical sources attest that the sandstone from Sai was also used for at least one of the northern temples in Lower Nubia, the temple of Kumma. As outlined by Martina Ullmann in the present volume (Chapter 2.4), such a presumed long-distance transport of stone blocks needs to consider the geology and landscape of the respective sites. Within the cataract region of the Batn el-Haggar, no sandstone formation is known and no traces of Pharaonic quarrying was found. North of this natural barrier sandstone is again attested. For example, the temples at Buhen could rely on building material from near-by sandstone formations. The situation was completely different for the Egyptian temples of Kumma and Semna, located at the southern end of the Second Cataract. For these structures, building material needed to be transported from a long-distance, either from the region of Wadi Halfa in the north or from the south. In the south the nearest sandstone quarries attested for being in use during the 18th Dynasty are the ones on Sai Island (see Chapters 2.3 and 2.4). These were used for the local building activities of the Egyptians such as Temple A, but as was demonstrated above, it is also very likely that the “white stone from Sai” was transported towards the north and was actually used at Kumma (Chapter 2.4). All in all, the sandstone formations on Sai might have been another trigger for choosing to set up an Egyptian town at this island (Chapter 2.6).

In relation with the Pharaonic building activities in Nubia, the highest official of the Egyptian administration, the viceroy or King’s son, must be mentioned.¹⁵¹⁴ This official was also responsible for building activities, as it is well attested on Sai for viceroy Nehy (see Chapter 1.2 and Chapter 6.4.1.2). The title King’s son (King’s son of Kush, *s3-nswt n K3š*) seems to go back to earlier models in the Second Intermediate Period, when it was used for military commanders of the troops. A direct relationship, as expressed in the term “son”, seems to be a reference to a special position regarding the king, maybe used in contrast to local mayors.¹⁵¹⁵ The title in the New Kingdom is King’s son of the southern foreign lands/King’s son and overseer of the southern lands and from Thutmose IV onwards King’s son of Kush.¹⁵¹⁶

An extension of the viceregal realm during the reign of Thutmose III is evident – prior to this king, the viceroy was only engaged with the supervision of Lower Nubia, but with Thutmose III plenty of

¹⁵⁰³ Klemm and Klemm 2013, 568–570.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Spencer 1997, 106, pl. 81d; Spence and Rose 2009, 38–39.

¹⁵⁰⁵ See Klemm and Klemm 2013, 570–572; Budka 2017k, 127.

¹⁵⁰⁶ See Smith and Buzon 2018, 207, 222.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Spencer et al. 2017, 32.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Klemm and Klemm 2013, 9. See also Klemm and Klemm 2017, 261–266; Klemm and Klemm 2018, 60.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Spencer et al. 2017, 32.

¹⁵¹⁰ Vercoutter 1959, 135; Klemm and Klemm 2017, 261.

¹⁵¹¹ See Morris 2018, 128–130.

¹⁵¹² Cf. Zibelius-Chen 2013, 140.

¹⁵¹³ Vercoutter 1959, 135.

¹⁵¹⁴ For general aspects of the Egyptian administration in Nubia, see Morkot 1995; Morkot 2013b; Müller 2013.

¹⁵¹⁵ See Budka 2015b, 69–71.

¹⁵¹⁶ Morkot 2013b, 925 with note 39.

relevant evidence comes from several places in Upper Nubia. This is most probably connected with the defeat of Kerma and a corresponding shifting of powers (see above, Chapter 7.1).¹⁵¹⁷ From the mid-/late 18th Dynasty onwards, the viceroy had two deputies: one *jdn.w-n-W3w3.t* and one *jdn.w-n-K3s*.¹⁵¹⁸

The viceroy of Kush had a very special and close relationship to the king:¹⁵¹⁹ he was directly appointed by the ruler and also received straight orders from the king. Besides the building activities in the name of the king and the general supervision of activities in the area, the viceroy was primarily responsible for collecting and transporting gold and other goods from Nubia to Egypt, the so-called *jnw*.¹⁵²⁰ The most common of these benevolences sent to Egypt from Nubia were gold, cattle, desert animals, Nubian exotica, minerals and also people.¹⁵²¹ At Sai, it was suggested that the large scale magazines and cellars at SAV1 and SAV1 East of the New Kingdom town were probably connected with the Egyptian administration and the *jnw* (see above, Chapter 3.2.2).¹⁵²² The same possibly applies to the large-scaled sectors of magazines in the other Egyptian ‘temple towns’. At Sesebi, the large cellars of the houses have been interpreted as being related to the gold mining/crushing quartz at the site.¹⁵²³

The local administration on the regional level of the New Kingdom towns in Nubia is still poorly understood, but mayors (*ḥ3tj-ʿ*) are for example attested at Aniba, Buhen, Faras, Sai and Soleb.¹⁵²⁴ Especially well known is a scene of Nubian officials in the Theban tomb of viceroy Huy, including a number of *ḥ3tj-ʿ*s from different sites.¹⁵²⁵ The title “overseer of the towns of Kush”¹⁵²⁶ suggests a specific hierarchy for these officials, which still remains uncertain. As it was suggested by Kemp for the general group of Egyptian mayors, it seems likely that mayors of Egyptian towns in Nubia “acted as a buffer between the external demands of the state and the wellbeing of the local community of which they were the symbolic head.”¹⁵²⁷ In Egypt, the king’s chief representative was the vizier,¹⁵²⁸ in Nubia the mayors would have turned directly to the viceroy. Installing loyal people in this position could, therefore, facilitate good relations between the local communities and the Egyptian representatives. Here it is significant that, as Ingeborg Müller has proposed, there had been a development concerning the mayors in Nubia¹⁵²⁹ – at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, mayors as the local chiefs of the towns can be identified as Egyptians who returned to Egypt after their mission in Nubia.¹⁵³⁰ By the mid-18th Dynasty, holders of the title mayor are known to have been buried in Lower and Upper Nubia¹⁵³¹ – thus these persons may be either Egyptians who decided to stay away from home, or, and this seems to be more likely, they are ‘Egyptianised’ Nubians who were working as ‘Egyptian’ officials at the Egyptian site (see also Chapter 8).¹⁵³²

Besides the mayors, the so-called *wr:w* – Nubian chieftains with an Egyptian title and integrated in the Egyptian administration – played a role in Egyptian towns at the local level.¹⁵³³ A tomb scene in the monument of viceroy Huy at Thebes depicts both *wr:w* of Wawat and *wr:w* of Kush on the occasion of the *jnw*-presentation to the viceroy.¹⁵³⁴ Hekanefer is the best-attested of all *wr:w*, having left an

¹⁵¹⁷ Cf. Morkot 2013b, 912–915.

¹⁵¹⁸ Morkot 2013b, 925–926 (system established during the time of Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV). Cf. also Budka 2001, 72.

¹⁵¹⁹ Budka 2001, 78; Török 2009, 179; Müller 2013, 18–31.

¹⁵²⁰ Cf. Smith 2003a, 70–73; Morris 2018, 128–131.

¹⁵²¹ Morris 2018, 130.

¹⁵²² See Budka 2017e, 443.

¹⁵²³ Blackman 1937, 150; Spencer et al. 2017, 32.

¹⁵²⁴ Cf. Müller 2013, 48. For a concise list of all New Kingdom mayors in both Egypt and Nubia, see Auenmüller 2013, 652–775 (see also this volume, Chapter 6.4.3).

¹⁵²⁵ O’Connor 1983, 183–278.

¹⁵²⁶ Morkot 2013b, 925.

¹⁵²⁷ Kemp 2006, 282.

¹⁵²⁸ See Kemp 2006, 282.

¹⁵²⁹ Müller 2013, 47–48, 209.

¹⁵³⁰ Müller 2013, 48, Tab. 2.5.2 Nr. 16; see also Auenmüller, this volume, Chapter 6.5.

¹⁵³¹ Especially at Aniba and Soleb; see Minault-Gout and Thill 2012, 413–418 and Auenmüller, this volume, Chapter 6.4.3.

¹⁵³² Müller 2013, 48; Budka 2018e, 193.

¹⁵³³ Morkot 2013b, 944–950.

¹⁵³⁴ O’Connor 1983, 261, fig. 3.20. Cf. Morkot 2013b, 947.

Egyptian-style tomb, funerary equipment and various graffiti at Toshka.¹⁵³⁵ Robert Morkot has argued that Kushite princes like Hekanefter held a major influence in Nubia, especially in the area south of Sai, between the Third and Fourth Cataracts.¹⁵³⁶ They should be considered as an integral part of the Egyptian administration system in Nubia, but many aspects still remain unclear. For example, their way of dwelling is still uncertain: Nubian chieftains and their families might very well have been settled and integrated within the walled Egyptian towns, but maybe some of the settlements outside of the enclosures are also connected with indigenous people at New Kingdom sites (see Chapter 8).¹⁵³⁷

One type of building which is attested at several New Kingdom ‘temple towns’ and can be associated with elite representatives of the Egyptian administration is the so-called governor’s residence, also documented at Sai (see Chapter 1.2). As already suggested by Manfred Bietak,¹⁵³⁸ the location of these buildings seems to be one of their characteristics as they are most often situated in the southeastern corner of the walled area. Other than for the commander’s buildings in Middle Kingdom fortresses, this location is not a strategic one with a real military character, but a prominent position stressing the importance and high status of both the built architecture and its owner.

Especially noteworthy for governor’s residences like the example from Sai, SAF2, is the large central hall (15.57 × 16.17m)¹⁵³⁹ with formerly six columns, whereby only two of the stone column bases (diam. of 87–89cm) are still in situ.¹⁵⁴⁰ Similar central halls of large building complexes are attested at other sites – column bases have been found at Amara West, building E.13.2,¹⁵⁴¹ but also at earlier fortresses in Lower Nubia. Buhen, Semna and Uronarti yielded columned halls.¹⁵⁴² Another parallel can be named with the fortress of Askut and its “commandant’s quarter”.¹⁵⁴³ In Egypt proper, sites like Amarna illustrate the importance of columned halls as representative rooms in the centre of villa-sized houses.¹⁵⁴⁴ There are, furthermore, “centre-hall houses” attested as elite dwellings at Sesebi.¹⁵⁴⁵ A columned audience hall is one of the elements illustrating similarities and links between palaces, temples, the Kahun elite houses of the Middle Kingdom and the Amarna villas.¹⁵⁴⁶ Resemblances of the so-called governor’s palaces in Nubian fortresses and towns and the large Kahun houses are, therefore, not surprising.¹⁵⁴⁷ Associations based on the architectural layout seem also possible with the so-called campaign palaces attested at Uronarti and Kor.¹⁵⁴⁸

The columned halls in the governor’s palace at Buhen have axial entrances as it is typical for representative architecture, including palaces and the Amarna villas.¹⁵⁴⁹ In contrast, in SAF2 at Sai and also in the residence at Askut the access into the hall is located at one of the corners of the rooms which is normally characteristic for domestic buildings and medium-sized houses.¹⁵⁵⁰ All in all, the governor’s residences of New Kingdom towns like the example in Sai seem to reflect a rather complex function of

¹⁵³⁵ Morkot 2013b, 947 with references; Smith 2015.

¹⁵³⁶ Morkot 2013b, 944–950. See also Edwards 2004, 111; Morris 2018, 224. Archaeological research in the Debba Bend also yielded no archaeological traces of Egyptians during the New Kingdom and thus seems to support Morkot’s theory of a different kind of organisation in the area south of the Third Cataract; see Grzymalski 1997.

¹⁵³⁷ See Budka 2018a.

¹⁵³⁸ Bietak 1984, 1247.

¹⁵³⁹ Adenstedt 2016, 58, 62, fig. 18.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Azim 1975, 107–108; Adenstedt 2016, 58.

¹⁵⁴¹ Spencer 1997, 163–167.

¹⁵⁴² See Vogel 2010; Vogel 2012.

¹⁵⁴³ Smith 1995, 140, fig. 6.2; Fuchs 2009, fig. 101; Vogel 2012, 155–156; Adenstedt 2016, 58.

¹⁵⁴⁴ See Arnold 1989; Bietak 1996; von Pilgrim 1996, 211; Koltzida 2007, 57–61. See also Vogel 2004, 129 for the columned halls within Nubian “commandant’s palaces” as “Wohn- und Repräsentationsbereich.”

¹⁵⁴⁵ Morris 2005, 338.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Bietak 1996, 37; cf. Fuchs 2009, 47. For Kahun and the so-called palace there, see Arnold 2005.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Cf. Vogel 2004, 145.

¹⁵⁴⁸ See Kemp 1989, 178–179, with fig. 64 (with literature) = Kemp 2006, 241–242, fig. 89; Morris 2005, 187; Fuchs 2009, 71–72; Lacovara 2009, 107–108; Budka 2018a.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Cf. von Pilgrim 1996, 211, citing some examples and literature.

¹⁵⁵⁰ von Pilgrim 1996, 211.

the building that is of a representative character, but being merged with basic dwelling purposes.¹⁵⁵¹ For example, at Amara West there are functional rooms such as bathrooms and kitchens attested.¹⁵⁵² Storage facilities illustrate functional aspects of daily life in such building complexes which also included service rooms.¹⁵⁵³ The residences first of all illustrate that there was the need for a representative building offering certain luxury to the local elite, the mayor and/or possibly the viceroy within the fortified towns.¹⁵⁵⁴ Such structures probably held more than one storey and were equipped with special types of pavements.¹⁵⁵⁵ Stone column bases and lintels, thresholds and door jambs in stone are all expressions of the elite status of these palatial residences.¹⁵⁵⁶ SAF2 and the other so-called governor's residences in the New Kingdom 'temple towns' provide diverse insights into aspects of the local administration, including religious establishments in very specific circumstances.¹⁵⁵⁷

To conclude, this survey of aspects connected with trade and administration allows placing New Kingdom Sai into the macrocosm of New Kingdom Nubia, finding on the meso-scale close parallels to Sesebi, Soleb and Tombos and illustrating a complex evolution throughout the New Kingdom reflecting historical events and complex, evolving social structures. Much new evidence for trade and administrative tasks was unearthed by the AcrossBorders project on Sai Island. The Egyptian town set up on the island can, therefore, be regarded as the administrative centre of Upper Nubia (Kush) during the Thutmoside Period and most probably as the predecessor of Soleb and Amara West.¹⁵⁵⁸ Founded at a strategic position on the east bank of the island, the New Kingdom town functioned from the beginning as a control point and landing place for ships. Besides the importance of seizing Sai, which was the northern stronghold of the Kerma state empire, the Egyptians seem to have preferred the site also because of the natural resources of the area. Egypt's strong interest in gold and sandstone is well known and both materials were available in the region of Sai. Nubian gold was among the main Egyptian economic interests during a long time span.¹⁵⁵⁹ Like other 'temple towns', Sai also offered supplementary opportunities to collect desired items, such as cattle, desert animals and people, for shipment to Egypt.¹⁵⁶⁰ In addition, last but definitely not least, the New Kingdom installations on Sai, such as the Amun temple and the fortified town enclosure, embodied the successful conquest of former Kerma land, one of the actions of the victorious kings of the 18th Dynasty, which was continuously celebrated, and being incorporated in the royal ideology of the New Kingdom.¹⁵⁶¹ This last aspect could explain the continuous importance of Sai, even when it was replaced as formal administrative centre by Soleb and then by Amara West.

¹⁵⁵¹ See Budka 2018a.

¹⁵⁵² Spencer 1997, 163.

¹⁵⁵³ See evidence for silos, bakeries and service rooms in the governor's palaces at Balat: Soukiassian et al. 1990, 355.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Vogel 2012.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Budka 2018a.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Cf. Budka 2001, 6 with further literature.

¹⁵⁵⁷ See Budka 2018a.

¹⁵⁵⁸ See Minault-Gout and Thill 2012, vol. 1, 415, fn. 27; Budka 2013a, 78–87; Budka 2014a, 36; Budka 2015b, 74–81; Budka 2015d, 57.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Cf. Müller 2013, 74–79; Budka 2018f, 23.

¹⁵⁶⁰ For the possibility that Sai was also connected with mineral-extraction in the desert of the west bank around Amara West, see Stevens and Garnett 2017, 304.

¹⁵⁶¹ Cf. Morris 2018, 131. On the New Kingdom towns as "architecture of control", see also Spencer et al. 2017, 20.

