



Publikationen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Eva Lange-Athinodorou

A Provincial Residence at Bubastis from the 4th and 5th Dynasties and the Issue of the Administration of the Old Kingdom Nile Delta

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo Bd. 79 (2023), 1–74 (§)

<https://doi.org/10.34780/ki3c-i70l>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Copyright (Digital Edition) © 2024 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
Email: info@dainst.de | Web: <https://www.dainst.org>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die [Nutzungsbedingungen](#) von iDAI.publications an. Sofern in dem Dokument nichts anderes ausdrücklich vermerkt ist, gelten folgende [Nutzungsbedingungen](#): Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeber*innen der jeweiligen Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de). Etwaige davon abweichende Lizenzbedingungen sind im Abbildungsnachweis vermerkt.

Terms of use:

By downloading you accept the [terms of use](#) of iDAI.publications. Unless otherwise stated in the document, the following terms of use are applicable: All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de). Any deviating terms of use are indicated in the credits.

IMPRESSUM

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo

erscheint seit 1930/*published since 1930*

MDAIK 79, 2023 • 320 Seiten/*pages* mit 147 Abbildungen/*illustrations*

Herausgeber/*Editors*

Dietrich Raue • Ralph Bodenstein
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo
31, Sharia Abu el-Feda
11211 Kairo-Zamalek
Ägypten
www.dainst.org

Peer Review

Alle für die Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo eingereichten Beiträge werden einem doppelblinden Peer-Review-Verfahren durch internationale Fachgutachterinnen und -gutachter unterzogen./*All articles submitted to the Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo are reviewed by international experts in a double-blind peer review process.*

Redaktion und Layout/*Editing and Typesetting*

Gesamtverantwortliche Redaktion/*Publishing editor*:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Redaktion der Abteilung Kairo (<https://www.dainst.org/kairo/redaktion>)
Kontakt für Manuskripteinreichung/*Contact for article submissions*: redaktion.kairo@dainst.de
Redaktion/*Editing*: Elisabeth Wegner, DAIK
Übersetzung und Korrektur der arabischen Abstracts/*Arabic translation and proofreading of the abstracts*: Mahmoud Ibrahim, Mariam Adel
Satz/*Typesetting*: le-tex publishing services GmbH, Leipzig
Corporate Design, Layoutgestaltung/*Layout design*: LMK Büro für Kommunikationsdesign, Berlin (www.lm-kommunikation.de)

Umschlagfoto/*Cover illustration*: El-Marg falcon-headed deity (Photo and © S. Connor)

Druckausgabe/*Printed edition*

© 2024 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden
Druck und Vertrieb/*Printing and distribution*: Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden (www.harrassowitz-verlag.de)

P-ISSN: 0342-1279 – ISBN: 978-3-447-12197-2

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Eine Nutzung ohne Zustimmung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und/oder der jeweiligen Rechteinhaber ist nur innerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes zulässig. Etwaige abweichende Nutzungsmöglichkeiten für Text und Abbildungen sind gesondert im Band vermerkt./*This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright law is only allowed with the permission of the German Archaeological Institute and/or the respective copyright holders. Any deviating terms of use for text and images are indicated in the credits.*

Druck und Bindung in Deutschland/*Printed and bound in Germany*

Digitale Ausgabe/*Digital edition*

© 2024 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Webdesign/*Webdesign*: LMK Büro für Kommunikationsdesign, Berlin
XML-Export, Konvertierung/*XML export, conversion*: digital publishing competence, München (www.dpc-consulting.org)
Programmierung Viewer-Ausgabe/*Programming viewer*: LEAN BAKERY, München (www.leanbakery.com)

E-ISSN: 2943-7970 – DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/8671-90u7>

Zu den Nutzungsbedingungen siehe/*For the terms of use see*: <https://publications.dainst.org/journals>



ABSTRACT

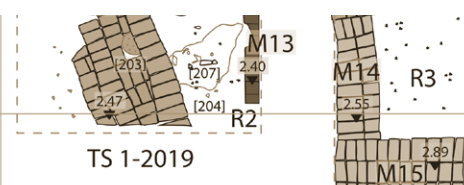
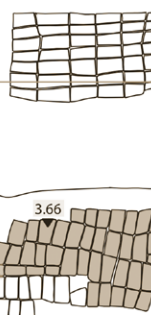
A Provincial Residence at Bubastis from the 4th and 5th Dynasties and the Issue of the Administration of the Old Kingdom Nile Delta

Eva Lange-Athinodorou

Excavations at Bubastis revealed evidence for the existence of a provincial residence of the 4th and 5th Dynasties, a time that is usually rather poorly represented in the provincial archaeological record, especially in the region of the Nile Delta. For the first time now, this new discovery opens up the possibility to investigate the role of local residences as drivers of the evolution of central places and key elements of provincial administration from the Early Dynastic Period until the late Old Kingdom in the Nile Delta. Especially intriguing is the question of the relation between provincial residences and provincial temples. The latter are acknowledged in scholarly research and literature as important institutions of the provincial administration for a long time, but they do not appear as such before the 5th Dynasty. Provincial residences, on the other hand, are attested already since the Early Dynastic Period. An archaeological and historical contextualisation shows that those buildings were, in fact, the original manifestations of royal influence and control of the provinces, and the power shift to the local temples was part of a complex and long-lasting dynamic process.

KEYWORDS

Early Dynastic Period, Old Kingdom, Nile Delta, provincial archaeology, provincial administration



TS 1-2019

A Provincial Residence at Bubastis from the 4th and 5th Dynasties and the Issue of the Administration of the Old Kingdom Nile Delta

1 As physical and institutional links between the royal residence at Memphis and the provinces, residential buildings held a key position in the provincial administration of the 3rd millennium B.C. They operated on multiple levels: as headquarters of officials of various institutions, governing the surrounding areas, as centres of territorial administration, and as assembly points where agricultural and other products were collected, registered, and transferred to the capital and other recipients. From the viewpoints of settlement evolution and hierarchy, residential buildings can, therefore, likewise be identified as drivers and markers of central places. Early sites such as Buto and Hierakonpolis are telling examples of this self-amplifying process¹.

2 Of the 3rd millennium B.C., archaeological remains of provincial residences are so far only known from the Early Dynastic Period and the 6th Dynasty, with no archaeological evidence of these buildings from the time of the 4th and 5th Dynasties. This patchy record might be a reason for the fact that, as yet, there are no comprehensive studies on the role and function of provincial residences in the administration of the Old Kingdom.

3 In the last four years, excavations within the precinct of the *Ka*-temple of Pepi I at Bubastis brought to light archaeological evidence of a residential building with occupation phases dating to the as yet unattested timespan from the middle of the 4th until the end of the 5th Dynasty². These new findings open up the possibility to explore the functions of provincial residences on a local level and their role within the provincial administration of the Old Kingdom. As for the latter, the focus of this study lies in the question of what the existence of a provincial residence at Bubastis might reveal about the provincial administration of the Nile Delta in the Old Kingdom in particular.

1 Another important example of the Predynastic Period is Tell el-Farkha with two residences, the earlier one dating into the occupation phase of the Lower Egyptian culture (Chłodnicki – Ciałowicz 2005, 134 f.; Chłodnicki 2011, 43; Mączyńska 2013, 87; Chłodnicki 2014, 61; Ciałowicz 2016, 41; Ciałowicz 2017, 232–234) and the later one mostly to Naqada IIIA1 (Dębowska-Ludwin 2013, 17 f.; Ciałowicz 2016, 42 f.; Ciałowicz 2017, 235–238), a time which is, however, beyond the scope of this study (cf. Hendrickx 2006, 89–92).

2 Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2018; Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2022.

4 An overview of the character and spatial distribution of the archaeological remains of Old Kingdom Bubastis will provide an introduction to the site, followed by the description of the recently discovered residential building and its place within the evolving city. A contextualising chapter will give an overview of the material evidence of provincial residences in Egypt as elements of central places from the Early Dynastic Period until the end of the Old Kingdom. Possible implications of the findings on the administration of the Nile Delta will be discussed in the last chapter.

Old Kingdom Bubastis

5 In terms of the number and extensiveness of preserved archaeological structures of the Old Kingdom, Bubastis surpasses all other cities and settlements of the Delta. Finds of bone labels in tomb U-j in the Predynastic cemetery U at Abydos, naming a place *Bꜣs.t*, most probably to be identified with Bubastis, indicate that settlement activities date back at least to the time of Naqada IIIA2 (around 3350 B.C.)³. Occupation seems to have started on the western part of the underlying *gezira*, where Ahmed el-Sawi excavated a mud brick tomb dating to the 1st Dynasty⁴. It is possible that the *gezira* had several elevations or *kôms*, divided by local canals. One of them might have separated the western *kôm* with the earliest settlement from the main elevation of the *gezira* to the east.

6 In the Old Kingdom, the western *kôm* was used for the erection of the royal *Ka*-temples of Teti and Pepi I, with tombs of the 6th Dynasty to the north⁵. Also to the north of the temple zone, el-Sawi excavated an administrative building in 1969 and 1970, naming it the ›great building‹. Its square ground plan shows a main living unit in the centre, accessible from the north-western corner of the building, with two smaller units to its south, surrounded by storage rooms and granaries. El-Sawi assumed the building was an Old Kingdom administrative centre of the city, related to tax collection of the area. Its date is difficult to pinpoint exactly, as the associated pottery published by el-Sawi without sufficient information on its contexts or layers shows a mixed picture with Meidum bowls of the 5th or 6th Dynasty, and a squat granite vessel with close 3rd Dynasty parallels from Saqqara and Beit Khallaf⁶.

7 To the south-west of the ›great building‹, el-Sawi excavated a cemetery (cemetery G on Fig. 1), containing several tombs of the Old Kingdom with burial chambers consisting of limestone slabs. The finding of copper tools bearing the inscription *smr-wꜥ.tj Mr(.jj)-(Mrjj-Rꜥw)|* ›the sole friend, *Mr(.jj)-(Mrjj-Rꜥw)|*‹ in one of these tombs⁷ sets the reign of Pepi I as a *terminus post quem* for this specific burial.

8 Further burial grounds of Old Kingdom Bubastis are located in the northern part of the *gezira*. Here, from 1979–1988, Mohammed I. Bakr, in cooperation with Walter F. Reineke, Erika Endesfelder, and other Egyptologists from the Zagazig University and the Akademie der Wissenschaften der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, excavated two elite cemeteries. The easternmost one, cemetery A⁸, came to light in very close vicinity of the tombs of the viceroys of Kush of the 20th Dynasty, Hori I and II⁹. In an area of 30 × 40 m, the excavators discovered 22 NNE-SSW-oriented tombs built of white-plastered mud brick¹⁰. The appearance of brick walls of further tombs in the section walls to

3 Dreyer 1998, 125 f. nos. 103. 104; 125 fig. 78, 103. 104; 139; pl. 31, 103–105; Lange 2016, 310.

4 El-Sawi 1979, 63; Kroeper 1989, 18.

5 Habachi 1957, 11–32; el-Sawi 1979, 19. 64. 72–76; Lange 2006; Bussmann 2010, 103 f.

6 El-Sawi 1979, 74 f. figs. 156–163.

7 El-Sawi 1979, 72.

8 Bakr designated the area as the ›western cemetery‹: Bakr 1992.

9 On those: Habachi 1957, 97 f.

10 Bakr 1989, 41.



1

the south and north indicates that this is, however, only a part of the original cemetery¹¹. The excavated tombs were either multiple or single vaults, i. e., containing up to four vaulted burial chambers¹². Apart from a large mastaba measuring 15.5 × 12 m and containing several burials, the majority of the tombs had modest dimensions between 1.6–max. 7.15 × 5.8 m and min. 1.6 × 1.2 m¹³. Shafts at the northern side of the tombs lead to passages and burial chambers within. The palaeographical analysis of stelae found within recesses of the eastern walls of tombs nos. 1, 4, and 17 points to a dating of these tombs and maybe the larger part of the cemetery in a timespan from the very end of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th Dynasty. According to the inscriptions on these stelae, the owners of these tombs held offices in the administration of the local temple of Bastet¹⁴. At some point in the later 6th Dynasty, a period of reuse seems to have started, in which the massive walls of the large mastaba were used for several secondary burials, covered by additional brickwork¹⁵.

Fig. 1: Spatial distribution of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom structures at Tell Basta (scale 1 : 5,000)

11 Bakr 1989, 35–49; Bakr 1992.

12 For this type, cf. Alexanian 2016, 246 f.

13 Bakr 1992, 59. The excavator mentioned two burial vaults at the northern and one at the southern side of the large mastaba (Bakr 1989, 38). During a recent documentation, the author detected two more vaults in the south-western corner.

14 Bakr 1992, 57–91; Bakr – Lange 2017, 32–34. 36–41. The excavators never published any pottery analysis, therefore, the dating presented here is still tentative.

15 With thanks to Ashraf el-Senussi for the analysis of pottery samples coming from bricks in cemeteries A and B.

9 Just 30 m to the north-east, in the early 1990s a team from the Zagazig University, led by Mahmoud Omar, excavated a part of another cemetery (cemetery B) containing twelve NE-SW-oriented vaulted brick tombs measuring 22 × 18 m, most probably of the later 6th Dynasty and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period¹⁶. Vaulted walls visible in the southern wall of the section indicate that cemetery B continues further into the yet unexcavated area to the south¹⁷.

10 In the early 1980s, Bakr discovered another area with mud brick tombs of the 6th Dynasty around 140 m to the east of cemetery B: cemetery C (Bakr's ›eastern cemetery‹). Again, only a part of the original cemetery, measuring 35 × 37 m, with a multitude of NE-SW-oriented mud brick tombs, was excavated¹⁸. Bakr identified five main tombs with decorated burial chambers built of limestone blocks and surrounded by brick tombs of mostly smaller dimensions, some of them having limestone chambers as well, although without any decoration. All tombs seem to have had vaulted roofs, but the unpublished state of the excavations does not allow the development of a comprehensive typology. Even the number of excavated tombs is difficult to determine.

11 Taking into account Bakr's short description of one of the tombs¹⁹ and observations of the recent preliminary survey and epigraphic work, we are able to establish, however, at least a basic typology of the main tombs in cemetery C: the tombs had a two-storeyed burial chamber built of limestone blocks with dimensions of around 3.5 × 1.6 m. The lower chamber, containing the actual burial, had plain walls and was of smaller dimensions than the upper chamber. The latter, probably used for the storage of grave goods, showed decoration on all walls with the exception of the northern side, where an undecorated block closed the sloping passage leading down from the shaft of the tomb. The southern side of the chamber had a canopic niche²⁰.

12 According to the inscriptions on the walls of the upper burial chambers, the tombs of cemetery C belonged to the highest provincial elite. Their titles combine duties on a local and residential level, i. e.: *ḥꜣ.tj-ꜥ sꜥꜥw.tj-bj.tj jm.j-rꜣ gs-pr smr-wꜥ.tj jm.j-rꜣ ḥm(.w)-ntr (Ppjj)* | »sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, overseer of the place of production, sole companion, overseer of the priests of (the *Ka*-temple of) Pepi«²¹. Most probably, these were the governors of Bubastis from the time of the reign of Pepi II to the end of the 6th Dynasty or the beginning of the First Intermediate Period.

A Residential Building from the 4th Dynasty in the Temple Area on the Western *Kôm*

13 In the later Old Kingdom, the erection of the *Ka*-temples of the Kings Teti and Pepi I of the 6th Dynasty on the western *kôm* established a sacred zone there. We have no certain knowledge of the architecture of the temple of Teti, as the only evidence for it is a limestone pillar el-Sawi excavated directly to the north of the remains of the temple of Pepi I (see Fig. 2)²².

14 It seems feasible, though, to imagine a building made of mud bricks with certain elements of limestone, i. e., thresholds, doorframes, lintels, and pillars as in the case of the temple of Pepi I. Labib Habachi discovered the latter in 1939 by noticing lime-

16 Again, the dating depends on the analysis of sherds coming from the bricks of the tombs, as the results of the excavations and finds are unpublished.

17 Bakr – Lange 2017, 32 f.

18 Bakr's ›eastern cemetery‹: Bakr 1989, 31–35.

19 Bakr 1989, 31–35.

20 Bakr – Lange 2017, 33. 35 f.

21 For a detailed account, see Bakr – Lange 2017, 41 f.

22 El-Sawi 1979, 75 f.

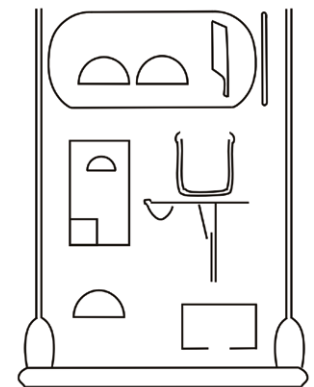
stone blocks scattered on the (at that time) unexcavated western *kôm*²³. In the following season, he excavated the surrounding area, unearthing a 4 m thick, massive enclosure wall of 84.5 × 64 m, oriented NNE-SSW. The ENE-WSW-oriented sanctuary of the temple, consisting of a transversal double row of eight limestone pillars with either three or five chapels²⁴ following to the west, was in the north-western corner of the enclosure wall. The main entrance to the temple was in the northern part of the eastern enclosure wall. There, Habachi found two bases and several fragments of a doorway made of limestone, decorated with the titles of Pepi I²⁵. Functioning as a side entrance, another passage built of limestone blocks led through the still intact eastern part of the southern wall. Its doorjamb and lintels had relief decorations on both sides. The inner lintel listed the titles of the king and identified the building as *ḥw.t-kꜣ Pꜣjꜣ m Bꜣs.t* »the *Ka*-temple of Pepi at Bubastis«²⁶. The outer one showed the king in the company of two goddesses: the local deity Bastet and Hathor²⁷, who, together with the king, were most probably venerated at this royal temple. The orientation of both Bastet and the king is most telling in terms of identifying the location of the temple of the lioness goddess at that time: on the relief in question, she approaches the king from the east, i. e., from the direction of her own sacred dwelling. Therefore, it is very likely that the Old Kingdom temple of Bastet was on the main *kôm* at the centre of the *gezira*, just to the east of the *Ka*-temple of Pepi I, more or less on the same spot where the remains of the temple of Bastet from the 1st millennium B.C. are still visible on the ground.

15 The existence of the side entrance also indicates that there were subsidiary buildings in the south-western part of the *kôm* for the service of the temple, such as magazines, butcheries, bakeries as well as possibly archives and housing for priests and other cult personnel.

16 As Habachi's excavations were not very detailed, many questions about the layout of the temple of Pepi I still remained, particularly regarding possible earlier construction levels under the building. Therefore, in 2018, the temple became the focus of the archaeological work of the Tell Basta Project²⁸. In fact, three seasons of cleaning and excavation within the sanctuary revealed traces of the suspected earlier building. Although only a relatively small area could be excavated until now, it became clear that the temple was actually built on the remains of a large residential building, which dates back at least into the middle of the 4th Dynasty. As the detailed report on those finds and the associated pottery is published elsewhere²⁹, the following account will summarise the most important contexts and findings.

17 The features appearing on the deepest levels reached so far lie directly to the west and south-west of the sanctuary chambers of the temple of Pepi I. These are a column foundation of light-coloured sand and mud [247], measuring almost 1 m in diameter, and another pair of column foundations [262, 263] of 0.6 m in diameter and of the same making, 4.3 m to the north placed within a distance of 4.4 m to each other (Fig. 3). A lens of limestone chipping [249] close to the largest column foundation [247] indicates that these columns probably had limestone bases; the column itself could have been made of wood. According to the pottery associated with these contexts, these columns belonged to a building that dates to the middle of the 4th Dynasty (Figs. 4. 5).

18 In two test trenches (TS 1-2018 and TS 1-2019) to the south-west of the largest column foundation, further structures of the same period appeared, i. e., parts of walls



2

Fig. 2: Inscription naming the building: *ḥw.t-kꜣ (Tꜣjꜣ) »Ka-temple of Teti«* on a limestone pillar

23 Habachi 1957, 11.

24 On the number of sanctuary rooms, see Lange 2006, 122; Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2018, 21 f.

25 Habachi 1957, 11–32; annex pl.; Lange 2006, 121 f.

26 Habachi 1957, 19 f. fig. 3 A.

27 Habachi 1957, 15 f. fig. 2.

28 Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2018.

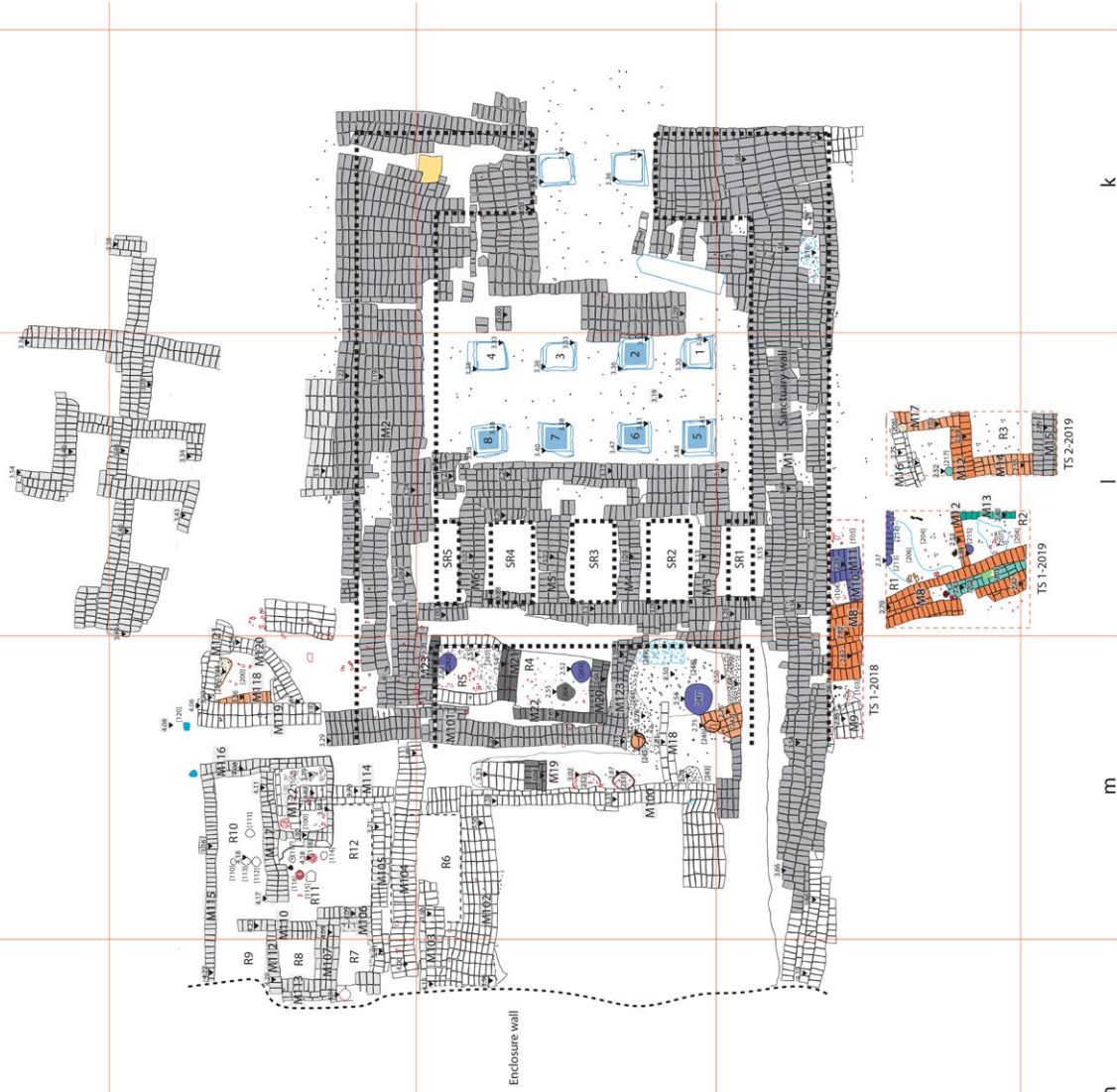
29 Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2022.

Enclosure wall (idealized)



- Groundplan of the sanctuary of the 6th Dynasty
- Undefined
- Phase Ia-b): Later usage; late 6th dyn. and FIP
- Phase II: Ka-temple Pepi I., 6th dyn.
- Phase III: Earlier Ka-temple of 6th dyn. (?)
- Phase IV: Residential building IIIa; late 5th dyn.
- Phase V: Residential building IIIb; second part of 5th dyn.
- Phase VI: Residential building IIIa; 5th dyn.
- Phase VII: Residential building IIb; first part of 5th dyn.
- Phase VIII: Residential building I; middle of 4th dyn.

- limestone
- pottery fired clay
- sand
- ash
- gravel



Enclosure wall



n

m

l

k



10

Fig. 3: General plan of the sanctuary of the temple of Pepi I with the structures and contexts excavated from 2018–2020 (scale 1 : 250; explanations of context numbers in the text)

(M10–11), at least 0.96 m thick, and two small column foundations [213, 215] of around 0.4 m in diameter made of dark mud. These features are not sufficient to reconstruct the layout of the building of the 4th Dynasty in any detail yet. However, they bear testimony of the former existence of columned rooms or courtyards and indicate the existence of a residential building at Bubastis already in the 4th Dynasty, a fact that naturally leads to further questions on its scale, character, and function, which will be discussed below in further detail.

19 Our excavation showed that this early³⁰ building was levelled and overbuilt at some point in the first part of the 5th Dynasty. The new building seems to have been of the same character, although in the excavated area, we did not detect column foundations as large as the one mentioned above but of moderate dimensions and dark mud: [203] and [217] of 0.38–0.4 m in diameter in TS 1-2019 and TS 2-2019. The associated pottery shows that this building was in use in the first part of the 5th Dynasty before being levelled and reconstructed again. Substantial walls (M8) of up to 2.62 m thickness appeared in TS 1-2018 and TS 1-2019. They were part of the newly erected structure along with two column foundations of dark mud [245, 246], 0.48–0.5 m in diameter, and a brick floor [242], the latter being directly associated with column foundation [246].

20 This residential building lasted until the end of the 5th Dynasty. After that, the structure was levelled and then used as a building ground, yet this time not for another residence but for the *Ka*-temple of Pepi I. The WNW-ESE orientation of the sanctuary of the temple deviated significantly from the general N-S orientation of the underlying older building. The new orientation is the result of the need to connect the royal temple to the temple of the local main goddess directly to the east³¹.

21 Based on the results of the latest archaeological excavations, we are now able to observe a very significant change in the use of the area at the beginning of the 6th Dynasty. The western *kôm* at Bubastis, the location of a residential building since at least the 4th Dynasty, was transformed into a temple area. This process might have already started before the reign of Pepi I: excavations of seasons 2019 and 2020 have shown the existence of walls directly predating the sanctuary of Pepi I (M19–23) in grid squares m/10–m/9 (cf. Fig. 1). In clear contrast to the structures of the residential building below, the ESE-WNW orientation of these walls deviates only slightly from the orientation of the sanctuary of Pepi I. As stated above, el-Sawi reported the finding of a limestone pillar with an inscription mentioning that the *ḥw.t-kꜣ Tj* was close by to the north, probably in a secondary position (Fig. 2)³². Thus, we could assume these walls belong to the royal *Ka*-temple of Pepi I's predecessor. However, without further excavation, this is still speculative for the time being.

Spatial Organisation of the Old Kingdom Settlement of Bubastis

22 In the past, archaeological excavations of settlements have shown that such places consisted of different functional areas which formed the substructure of the place, i. e. temples, cemeteries, industrial areas, residences, living quarters, and so on, depending on the settlement's size and complexity. It is obvious that in the perception of the inhabitants, those areas must have been tagged with certain attributes: temples and cemeteries forming sacred zones, residential quarters were understood as a space mainly occupied by the local elite and so on. Consequently, it is easy to imagine how these attributions resulted in the development of a certain kind of spatial hierarchy,

30 The appearance of the sand surface of the *gezira* at 1.02 m ASL in TS 1-2018, 1.37 m below walls M10 and M11, still leaves room for earlier phases to be explored in the future.

31 For a detailed description and discussion on the pottery, see Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2022, 30–36.

32 El-Sawi 1979, 75 f.

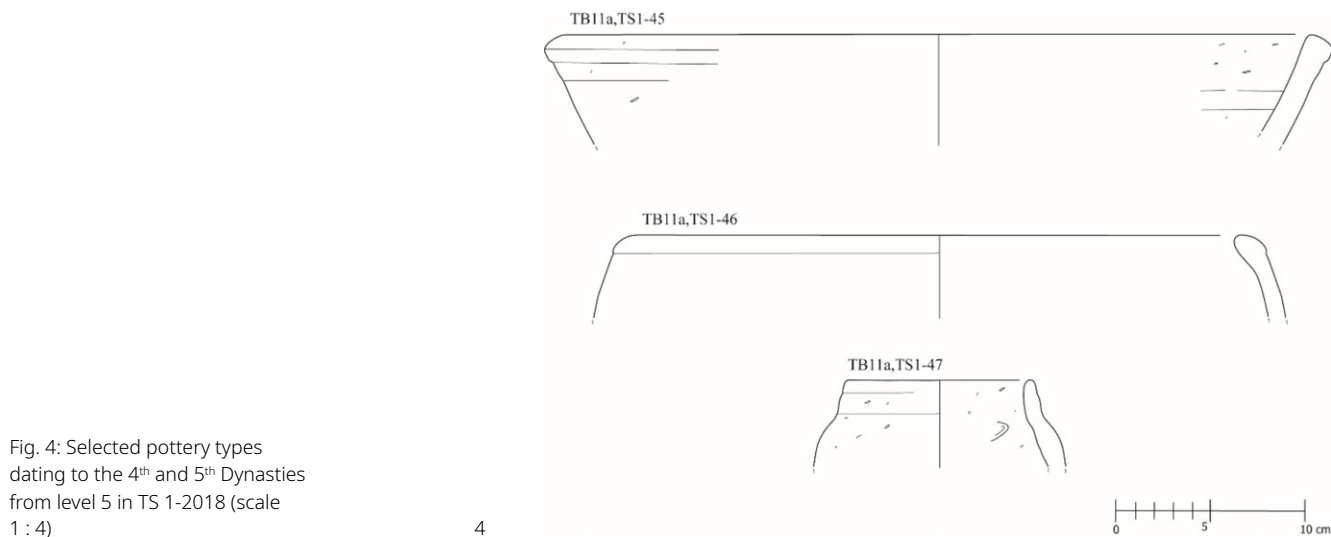


Fig. 4: Selected pottery types dating to the 4th and 5th Dynasties from level 5 in TS 1-2018 (scale 1 : 4)

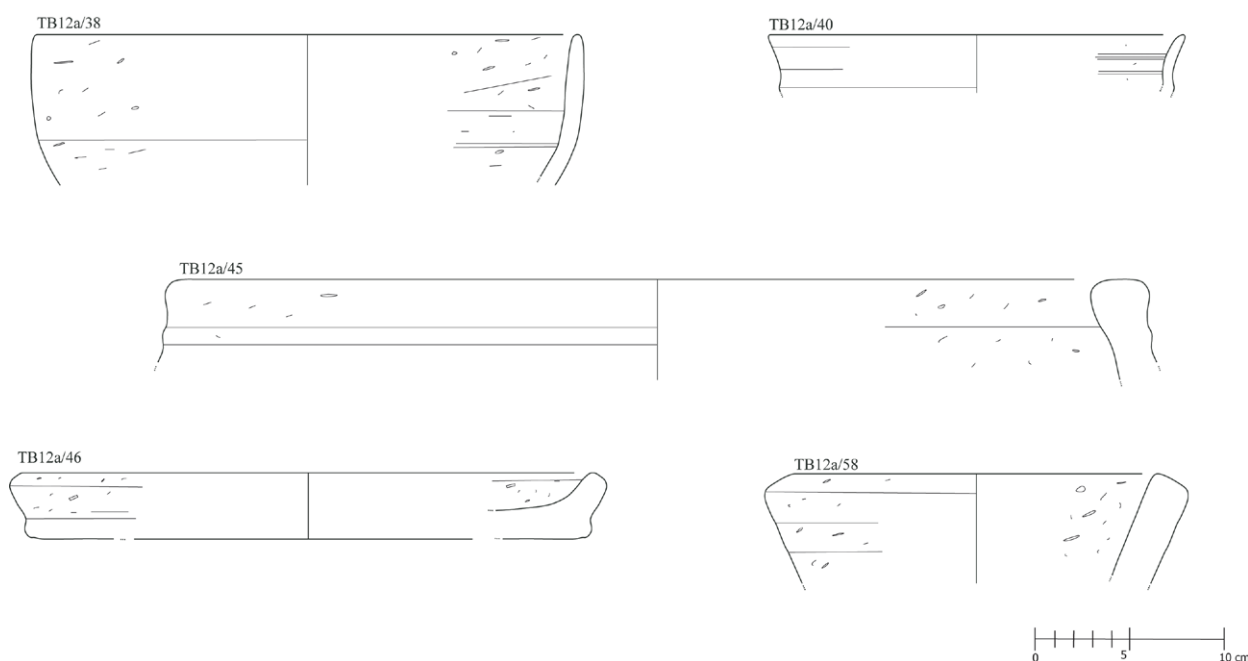


Fig. 5: Selected pottery types dating to the 4th Dynasty from level 3 in TS 1-2019 (scale 1 : 4)

with the areas of temples, cemeteries, and residential buildings or palaces on the top and the actual settlement, where the majority of the people lived, workshops, and industrial areas further down along the line. A decisive factor for a higher rank could have been the existence and degree of the restriction of access, as in the case of sacred or palatial/residential buildings.

23 In the Nile Delta, the custom of establishing temples and cemeteries on the higher parts of the *geziras* and other elevations³³, where they were safe from the annual flood while the settlement was built on the *gezira* slope, closer to the alluvial plain, bears testimony to that. While it is true that from a pragmatic point of view, it made sense to have the settlement closer to the agricultural area to shorten everyday walks, it is also

33 From a strictly geomorphological point of view, the term *gezira* usually refers specifically to the highest elevations of the Pleistocene Delta relief (the Mit Ghamr Formation), protruding above the Holocene alluvial sediments, mostly to be found in the eastern Delta: Said 1981, sheet 4; van den Brink 1986, 26–30; van Wesemael 1988, 126 f. fig. 2; 130 f. fig. 3; Andres – Wunderlich 1991, 122. 126 fig. 4, 12. 13; Andres – Wunderlich 1992, 159 fig. 2; 163; de Wit 1993, 310–313. 315; Pennington 2017, 99–101.

undeniable that the houses there were more vulnerable to higher flood levels. Based on the choice of locations, we can safely conclude that the houses of the living were deemed expandable and easier to replace than the dwellings of the deities and deceased. Thus, when trying to reconstruct the ancient perception of settlement zones, the choice of location within the natural landscape of the settlement should be considered as an important indicator.

24 According to our current knowledge, urban zones of high importance at early Bubastis were on the western and northern *kôms* (Fig. 1). These were the locations of residential and palatial buildings, elite cemeteries, and royal *Ka*-temples. Pictorial evidence from the temple of Pepi I indicates that the temple of Bastet was on the central *kôm*, certainly because the highest plateau of the underlying *gezira* was there³⁴. No archaeological evidence of the actual settlement of the Old Kingdom exists so far. The orientation of tomb stelae in cemetery A to the east, however, point to a possible location of the living quarters somewhere to the east of the cemetery area, at least for the later part of the Old Kingdom. This could have been at or close to the eastern *gezira* slope³⁵.

25 When integrating the new excavations on the western *kôm* into the results of earlier archaeological research and including the monuments of the Middle Kingdom, we can identify certain settlement areas and their probable perception by the inhabitants as well as their spatio-temporal movement from the 4th to the 12th Dynasty, i. e., over a period of roughly eight centuries: already in the Early Dynastic Period, the western *kôm* was an area of special significance and where the cemetery area was established, as the discovery of a mud brick tomb of the 1st Dynasty shows. The following era of the Old Kingdom, at least from the middle of the 4th Dynasty, saw the erection of a large residential building, perhaps a provincial palace. The building was in use until the end of the 5th Dynasty and underwent several renovations before it was finally abandoned and overbuilt by one or two succeeding royal *Ka*-temples in the beginning of the 6th Dynasty.

26 On the northern *kôm*, the oldest structures excavated so far are mud brick tombs of the late 5th or early 6th Dynasty (cemetery A). In the following years, further cemeteries of the late 6th Dynasty and probably the beginning of the First Intermediate Period were established, marking the northern *kôm* as the funerary area of the elite. For that reason, the erection of a large residence in the early 12th Dynasty, the so-called governors' palace³⁶, on the same *kôm* in the middle of those earlier cemeteries seems very peculiar. Although one could argue that the old cemeteries were not in use anymore, the northern *kôm* still had not lost its funerary character: two Middle Kingdom cemeteries, the cemetery of the governors of Bubastis of the 12th Dynasty (cemetery E), directly attached to the palace³⁷, and another elite cemetery (cemetery D), 200 m to the southwest, directly west of cemetery A (see Fig. 1)³⁸, existed there. In this context, it is most interesting that during the cleaning of the eastern part of the governors' palace of the Middle Kingdom, underlying walls of a large structure were detected. These belong to a residential or palatial building of the Old Kingdom, possibly of the later (?) 6th Dynasty³⁹. As a consequence, cemetery C, in close proximity to these remains, could be interpreted as the resting place of the governors of late Old Kingdom Bubastis, with its highest provincial officials buried in a cemetery close to their seat of power in their lifetime, setting up a custom the governors of the Middle Kingdom would follow.

34 Lange et al. 2016, 365; Ullmann et al. 2019, 190. 195 fig. 6; 198.

35 Ullmann et al. 2019, 198.

36 Farid 1964; van Siclen III 1996; Bietak – Lange 2014; Bietak 2014/2015; Lange-Athinodorou 2018, 45 f. fig. 1; 48. 50 fig. 2; 53 fig. 3.

37 Farid 1964; van Siclen III 1991; Lange 2015.

38 The cemetery was discovered by Shafik Farid in the 1960s and remains yet unpublished: cf. Bakr 1992, 20.

39 Bietak – Lange 2014, 7.

27 Additionally, if there was a provincial palace of the 6th Dynasty on the northern *kôm*, we can cautiously reconstruct the spatio-temporal development of the early city in more detail: the early residential building of the 4th and 5th Dynasties on the western *kôm* was abandoned at the beginning of the 6th Dynasty. The reason was that the kings of that era, Teti and Pepi I, chose to establish royal *Ka*-temples connected to the cult of the local main deity Bastet, which over time had considerably gained in importance. The western *kôm* obviously provided the best possibility to establish a clear axial connection between the temple of Bastet on the central *kôm* and the new royal *Ka*-temples on the western *kôm*. Therefore, the old provincial residence of the 4th and 5th Dynasties, still occupying the area, simply had to move, assumedly to the northern *kôm*, where remains of a large building of residential or palatial character exist. Looking at this development from the viewpoint of settlement zones, an interesting change in the character of the western *kôm* from the 1st to the 6th Dynasty can be observed: it started as a funerary zone and transformed into a residential zone and later into a temple, i. e., a sacred zone. What never changed was the distinction of this area, once it was established in Early Dynastic times. In this context, it is interesting to ponder the question of what the specific spatial relation between the royal *Ka*-temples and the local temple actually was. Is it possible that the main entrance to the temple of Bastet was in that time not in the east as in its later stages⁴⁰, but in the west, where the *Ka*-temples were built? In this way, the royal chapels would have been linked to the entrance area rather than to the back of the temple, maybe even connected to a processional way. On the other hand, if the entrance was already in the east at that time, the sanctuary was in the west and the *Ka*-temples, even if facing the back of the building, were closest to the actual dwelling of the goddess. Unfortunately, as there are no other archaeologically preserved *Ka*-temples attached to temples of local deities of the Old Kingdom which could serve as parallels⁴¹, there is no possibility, however, to further analyse what would have been the favourable position of royal *Ka*-temples in relation to the elements of the local temple.

Contextualisation

Early Egyptian Provincial Residences

28 The newly discovered residential building at the western *kôm* at Bubastis adds valuable information on aspects of the location, architecture, use, and role of provincial residences of the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom Egypt. Parallels from the 3rd millennium B.C. that allow contextualisation in terms of architecture as well as location within the settlement structure come from Buto (Tell el-Fara^cin) in the north-western Delta, Hierakonpolis and Elephantine in the southern Nile Valley, and ^cAyn Asil in Dakhla Oasis.

29 At Buto, a palatial building was erected on the south-western spur of the northern ridge of a consolidated dune⁴² at the beginning of the 1st Dynasty. The building underwent several stages⁴³. Of those, the phase dating into the later 1st Dynasty is the most elaborate. Due to its incomplete excavation, its exact dimensions are unknown; only its width can be estimated to have measured at least 50 m. The building had a very distinctive ground plan with a multitude of rooms and courtyards, oftentimes with out-of-axis entrances, which has led to its designation as the ›labyrinth building‹.

40 Lange-Athinodorou 2019, 8–10.

41 Lange 2006, 134–137.

42 Wunderlich 1989, 57–65; Wunderlich – Ginou 2014/2015, 494.

43 Von der Way 1997, 126–173; Hartung 2018, 103–106.

30 The whole structure, oriented on a north-south axis, was surrounded by an enclosure wall with an entrance in the north-west corner. A large two-part room, possibly a reception hall, was in the centre of the building. It was accessible from the north by a long corridor leading around the corner several times, preventing any direct view inside. To its south was another, narrower room, equipped with doorjambs of either wood or limestone. The walls of these central rooms were plastered white and decorated with colourful ornaments in red and yellow. As suggested by the excavators of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, these were maybe rooms of the private area of the building⁴⁴.

31 Several complexes consisting of small rooms, connected by long narrow corridors, surrounded the central area. The eastern part of the building encompassed a storage area with four long, possibly vaulted storage rooms. The living quarters and workshops for stone vessel production, existing here at a previous building stage, were moved to the western side of the storage rooms. The excavators discovered limestone blocks, possibly bases of statues, as well as a small, partly subterranean chamber with a mud brick structure built into it near the entrance to the building complex. These might be the remains of a chapel, although it is impossible to say who the beneficiary of the cult was⁴⁵.

32 So far, there is also no firm evidence about the identity of the inhabitants of the palatial building itself. Thomas von der Way has suggested that the labyrinth building may have been a kind of royal station palace where the early kings temporarily stayed when visiting Buto, while high administrative officials resided there permanently⁴⁶. If this was in fact the case, the so-called governors' palace of the Middle Kingdom at Bubastis could provide us with a good, albeit much later parallel: the ground plan, findings, and the wider archaeological context of the palace at Bubastis give reason to belief that the building also served as the residence of the local governors and a ›mooring‹ palace of the king when visiting the city⁴⁷.

33 From the reign of Djer until the 3rd Dynasty, a building or institution named *ḥw.t p Ḥrw-msn(w)* ›palace: seat of Horus-the-Harpooner‹ appears in connection to Buto in the written sources, for which an interpretation as the name of the labyrinth building at Buto is widely accepted⁴⁸. Although clear evidence for this is yet missing, the size and complexity, as well as the dating of the building, which coincides with its appearance in the texts, make this suggestion very convincing⁴⁹. Interestingly, during the reign of Djoser, the name of the building is written with the sign ☉ as the determinative, indicating a settlement. This fact led Peter Kaplony to the conclusion that at that time, the name of the labyrinth building had been transferred to the surrounding settlement and persisted even after the complex was abandoned. Later on, of *ḥw.t p Ḥrw-msn(w)*, only the element *P* continued to be used as the toponym of the area⁵⁰. Consequently, one could further speculate with Ulrich Hartung whether *P* designated the north-western part of the underlying sandy elevation, while *Dp*, a place name that appears probably as early as the 1st Dynasty on ivory labels and seal impressions⁵¹, was the name of

44 Moeller 2016, 95–97; Hartung 2018, 105 with further literature.

45 Hartung 2018, 104–110.

46 Von der Way 1996, 252; Hartung 2018, 104–108.

47 Lange-Athinodorou 2018, 42.

48 Kaplony 1992, 23 f.; Engel 2008, 109–112. 119–123 with further literature, a compilation of sources, and a critical discussion. See also Engel 2017, 264–268. 289.

49 Hartung 2018, 109. See, however, Engel 2008 who has objections to this identification.

50 Kaplony 1992, 23 f.

51 Kaplony 1963; Kaplony 1966, 189 f. no. 277; Helck 1987, 152; Kaplony 1992, 25 f.; Kahl 1994, 217 f. no. 682; 228 no. 833; 460.

the southern elevation and the toponym *Db-w.t*, which is also found in the early text material, was the northern part of the tell⁵².

34 Kom el-Gemuwia, situated in the alluvial area of Hierakonpolis, is the location of another Early Dynastic palatial building. The NW-SE-oriented mud brick structure to the north of the temple mound was first excavated by Walter A. Fairservis in 1969⁵³. The 40 m long preserved part of the massive north-western outer wall of the building had a white-plastered niched façade with a monumental gateway leading to an inner court, which belongs to the first stage of construction, most probably dating to the early part of the 1st Dynasty⁵⁴. The interior of the building consists of walls dating to subsequent building phases, making the definition of the layout of each individual stage difficult. However, the long narrow passages connecting several inner courts and rooms find a close parallel in the palace at Buto described above, although lacking the distinct ›labyrinth‹ style of the latter.

35 While there were reception rooms to the east of the gateway, probably occupying the centre of the building with a chamber sunken in the floor connected to it, the northern part seems to have comprised magazines and other storage facilities. Further to the east was a possible administrative area, with a niched façade platform functioning as a visible separation between these two compartments, further accentuated by a ›plaza‹ with a stone-paved passageway⁵⁵. René F. Friedman and Richard Bussmann have pointed out similarities in the structure of the reception rooms and partly subterranean constructions with possible cultic functions of both early palaces at Hierakonpolis and Buto⁵⁶. The palace at Hierakonpolis seems to have been in use until the late 2nd Dynasty⁵⁷.

36 Within the settlement of the 6th Dynasty on the eastern part of the island of Elephantine, archaeologists of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo discovered a building (H2) in 1972 with an unusual entrance enhanced with a wooden panel bearing decoration and a threshold of sandstone, leading to an area partly paved with granite. As there was not much of the building preserved apart from two massive outer walls of mud brick and the aforementioned entrance, the ground plan and interior organisation are difficult to reconstruct. The excavated remains led to the conclusion that the structure once covered around 600 m² ⁵⁸.

37 The decoration of the fragmented wooden panels on the recesses of the entrance shows two registers with the depiction of at least one larger-sized official in the upper one⁵⁹, accompanied by smaller figures carrying fowl and objects. The lower register has a row of several officials, the first and second of which bear the titles *sꜣb jm.j-rꜣ shꜣ jm.j-rꜣ pr [hm]-ntr* »judge, overseer of the scribes, overseer of the house, priest« and *shꜣ-c nsw.t hf.t-ḥr* »personal scribe of royal records«⁶⁰. In addition, the wooden panels of the doorjambs had traces of further inscriptions containing a cartouche (*Ppjj*). However, it is unclear if this was part of the royal titlature or a basilophoric personal name and what it was referring to exactly⁶¹.

38 Taking into account the fact that the sanctuary of the deified official *Hkꜣ-jb* of the late 6th Dynasty was only around 80 m to the north-west as well as the discovery of objects used for the cult of several high officials of that time⁶², the excavators interpreted

52 Petrie 1905, 36; von der Way 1997, 53 no. 152; Hartung et al. 2009, 179–182; Hartung 2018, 108 f.

53 Weeks 1971/1972; Fairservis 1986; Bussmann 2010, 42; Moeller 2016, 96.

54 Friedman – Bussmann 2018, 80–82 with further literature. See also Moeller 2016, 96–103.

55 The ›plaza‹: Friedman – Bussmann 2018, 85.

56 Friedman – Bussmann 2018, 85.

57 Moeller 2016, 96–101; Friedman – Bussmann 2018, 85–87.

58 Dorn 2015, 23–32; Moeller 2016, 220–222; Raue 2018, 141 f.

59 Cf. Dorn 2015, 34.

60 On this title, see Jones 2000, 839 f. no. 3063.

61 Dorn 2015, 35.

62 Cf. Dorn 2015, 51–55.

building H2 as a *Ka*-chapel⁶³. Andreas Dorn and Dietrich Raue have since challenged this view, pointing to the fact that there is no clear evidence for the existence of a *Ka*-chapel of private individuals within the settlement. They prefer to identify H2 with either a governmental administrative building (Dorn)⁶⁴ or are generally cautious to label it anything other than »large, planned compound structures« for the time being, especially as surrounding housing units show comparable features (Raue)⁶⁵.

39 Since 1978, at the site of ʿAyn Asil in Dakhla Oasis, the Institut français d’archéologie orientale has been excavating a large palatial building of the 6th Dynasty that served as a residence for the local dynasty of governors. Building activity started in the northern part of the area at the beginning of the 6th Dynasty with the erection of a fortlike enclosure wall. It encircled the area where the residence of the earlier governors was most probably situated, although there is no archaeological evidence yet for it. Due to the local topographic situation, however, further development had to move to the south, where a large NNE-SSW-oriented structure was built in the reign of Pepi II and saw several extensions and changes in the subsequent periods⁶⁶.

40 The new building of the first phase was accessible from a gateway in its western enclosure wall and screened off by another, inner wall. Here, in the northern part of an area of 242 × 100 m, was the actual residence, consisting of a sequence of three units of domestic character which were evidently used for administrative purposes as well, each equipped with pillared rooms and halls. To the west and south-east were magazines, while a large central court connected the residential apartments with the southern part of the enclosure, filled with regular units of small, roomed structures of uncertain function to the south-east. The south-western quarter was occupied by magazines⁶⁷.

41 A remarkable feature of the residence at ʿAyn Asil is the existence of *Ka*-chapels of governors. Three chapels (1–3) lie between the outer and inner enclosure wall, directly to the west of the so-called western apartment, adjacent to the entrance gate of the outer wall with another chapel (4) to the north. Further to the south, abutting the southern wall of the western magazines was a fifth *Ka*-chapel⁶⁸. The latter belongs to the governor *jm.j-jr.ty ʿpr wjz h̄kz whz.t* »ship’s captain of the crew, chief of the oasis«, *Mdw-nfr*⁶⁹, the names of the owners of chapels 1–4 are uncertain. However, the finding of part of a doorjamb made of sandstone with the name and depiction of the governor *Hnt.j-kz* that would fit in with the remains of the threshold of chapel 1 closest to the western wall of the residence⁷⁰ could be proof that this structure was dedicated to the veneration of *Hnt.j-kz*, who is also known as the owner of a mastaba in the governors’ cemetery at Qilaʿ el-Dabba, as is the case for *Mdw-nfr*⁷¹.

42 All sanctuaries are oriented to the north and of a uniform layout with two columns between protruding walls marking the entrance, leading to a small court and a tripartite vaulted sanctuary, consisting of a central room flanked by an annex on either side. After the destruction of the residence by a fire which happened around the end of the reign of Pepi II⁷², another *Ka*-chapel was built directly to the north of the above-mentioned south-eastern structures⁷³. It seems, however, that the *Ka*-chapels in

63 Kaiser et al. 1976, 98–107; Kaiser et al. 1999, 85–90; Raue 2018, 141.

64 Dorn 2015, 37.

65 Raue 2018, 142–146.

66 Moeller 2016, 241–244; Jeuthe 2018, 125–127.

67 Jeuthe 2018, 127–134.

68 Soukiassian et al. 2002.

69 Soukiassian et al. 2002, 317. Cf. Eichler 1993, 163–177.

70 Soukiassian et al. 2002, 38. 49 fig. 33.

71 Valloggia 1986; Soukiassian 2013, 12.

72 Moeller 2016, 179.

73 Soukiassian 2013, 11–24.

the residence of the time of Pepi II were not a new invention but followed a tradition established in the time of Pepi I: Georges Soukiassian points out that the presence of a door lintel with the titles of an oasis governor discovered in the area of the northern residence at ʿAyn Asil might prove that *Ka*-chapels were also part of the older residence building. Chapel 4 to the north of the gate might belong to the older residence as well⁷⁴.

43 As the brief survey of the hitherto available archaeological evidence on early provincial residences has shown, ʿAyn Asil offers the best comparisons for the excavated parts of the residence at Bubastis. Similarities can be found in the size and spacing of column foundations (Bubastis) or rather column bases (ʿAyn Asil). For example, in the eastern apartment of the southern residence at ʿAyn Asil, diameters of column bases range from 0.5–1 m, the distance between them from 2.5–5 m⁷⁵. The largest column foundation [247] detected so far in the newly discovered residential building at Bubastis measures 1 m in diameter, the smallest 0.38 m. The space between two column foundations [262] and [263], each measuring 0.6 m in diameter, is 4.4 m⁷⁶. At any rate, given the early stage of the excavations at Bubastis, this is only a very preliminary observation.

44 The lack of archaeological information on the spatial relation between the early residences and other areas of the settlement of Bubastis, Buto, Hierakonpolis, Elephantine, and ʿAyn Asil impede a detailed inter-site comparison in terms of the choice of location within the settlement. Therefore, we can only list some general remarks. The spatial situation is best comparable for the two Delta towns: at Bubastis, the residential building was on the western *kôm*, within an area that bore importance for the settlers of Bubastis since the Early Dynastic Period and which held its prestigious rank until the end of the Old Kingdom. Also at Buto, the palace of the 1st Dynasty was located on the western *kôm*⁷⁷. An obvious reason for this would be that the western part of the *gezira* at Bubastis as well as at Buto offered the most favourable settlement conditions. Being settled on first, the area on the western *kôms* at both Bubastis and Buto became attractive as it was considered esteemed in terms of ancestry in the subsequent periods and, therefore, was chosen for the establishment and installation of the most prestigious structures and buildings of the settlement.

45 At Hierakonpolis, the residence is situated within the floodplain, only 50–60 m to the north of the local temple⁷⁸, where it seems to have been embedded in an Early Dynastic settlement⁷⁹. It would be very interesting to assess the spatial relation between settlement, residence, and temple. Unfortunately, it still remains unclear whether the temple of the Early Dynastic Period was situated exactly at the same spot as the later temple or not. Although this is certainly very possible, especially when considering the finds of deposits with Pre- and Early Dynastic objects within the later temple, the complicated stratigraphy and the insufficient reports of the original excavation of the temple by James E. Quibell and Frederick W. Green from 1898–1900 hinder the definite identification⁸⁰.

46 In a way, the situation on the island of Elephantine in the southern Nile Valley recalls the situation in the Delta, where the settlements were established on sandy elevations raised over the alluvial plain, hence the term *gezira* ›island‹⁸¹. Space was limited in both cases. At Elephantine, it is apparent that the residential building, if we

74 Soukiassian 2013, 65–68.

75 Measurements taken from the ground plan in Jeuthe 2018, 131 fig. 4.

76 Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2022.

77 In general, elevations in the Nile Delta, of whatever geomorphological character and origin, have almost always first been settled on starting from the western part.

78 Moeller 2016, 93 fig. 4, 25.

79 Cf. Moeller 2016, 96.

80 Quibell – Green 1900–1902, 3–14; Bussmann 2010, 43. 52–57; Moeller 2016, 96.

81 See fn. 32.

can indeed identify it as such⁸², formed the central part of an Old Kingdom settlement on the south-western part of the island, built within an enclosure wall. Here, we may observe a difference to the spatial organisation of the two Delta towns: at Bubastis as well as at Buto, the residences seem to have been removed from the actual living quarters⁸³.

Residences as Markers of Central Places

47 The discovery of a provincial residence of the 4th and 5th Dynasties in Bubastis also sheds new light on the role of such buildings in terms of establishing the rank of a settlement as a central place within a given territory. Additionally, provincial residences can be considered not only a constituent of central places, but likewise as drivers of their evolution. To investigate this topic further, it is important to recall the main arguments of scholarly discussion about what makes a place a ›central place‹.

48 When dealing with settlement patterns and hierarchies in a certain region, archaeologists apply a theoretical concept that originally goes back to the geographer Walter Christaller. In short, this theory states that under ideal or actually sterile circumstances, i. e., settlements developing in a non-diverse landscape that offers the same conditions everywhere, an even mathematical pattern would evolve, with a central place surrounded by smaller satellite settlements in an exactly uniform distance to the centre, hereby generating a hexagonal shape⁸⁴. Of course, this ideal situation does not exist in reality and the different characteristics of the natural landscape always have a significant impact on the development and distribution of settlements therein. Still, in the settlement archaeology of Ancient Egypt, we can doubtlessly observe the veracity of the underlying idea of settlement patterns defined by a central place⁸⁵ with smaller localities in their closer environment.

49 While the drivers of the evolution of a central place can be defined as a complex combination of environmental and historical advantages, the important question remains: what exactly qualifies as a central place⁸⁶? Oftentimes, albeit not always⁸⁷, size is a basic marker. More important, however, is the existence of a certain and diverse infrastructure, including architecture as, for example, administrative buildings, residences, temples, elite cemeteries, and other places that attest to the presence of a socially stratified community with members of the local elite, specialists, and officials of different kinds at the topmost level.

50 As geoarchaeological research has shown, central places developed in the Nile Delta where favourable environmental conditions existed. Most important were the accessibility of Nile branches that were effective and stable over long periods of time and the location on spacious elevations over the alluvial plain, where the settlement was safe from the annual Nile flood⁸⁸. If those favourable conditions remained constant over extended periods of time, settlements at such locations had the chance to evolve into centres of communication, trade, and economy that controlled and directed the influx and transition of goods and raw materials produced in smaller settlements in its environs to the royal residence and other regions.

82 Cf. Raue 2018, 142–146.

83 This is, however, the current state of excavation. The location of the settlements contemporary to those provincial residences are yet unknown.

84 Renfrew – Bahn 2012, 174.

85 On the ongoing scholarly discussion on applying terms as ›capital‹, ›town‹, ›city‹, ›village‹, and the like to settlements in Ancient Egypt and useful preliminary definitions on the basis of key elements and functional aspects, likewise see Moeller 2016, 6–26.

86 Fundamental on the subject: Müller-Wollermann 1991, 48–50.

87 In some cases, settlements of the same size might still have different places in the hierarchy: Renfrew – Bahn 2012, 175.

88 Pennington et al. 2016, 34 f.; Bunbury 2019, 94–97.

51 At Bubastis, the remains of temples, elite cemeteries, and now also a residence of the Old Kingdom are proof of the fact that the site was a central place of the Nile Delta. Before the excavation of the provincial residence of the 4th and 5th Dynasties, however, archaeological and epigraphic evidence pointed to the late Old Kingdom as the time of the ultimate rise of the city, when the kings of the early 6th Dynasty erected their *Ka*-chapels in the vicinity of the temple of the local lioness goddess. This seeming chain of events is in accordance with the general scholarly opinion on the rise of provincial temples in terms of religious, administrative, and economic importance all over Egypt from the 5th Dynasty onwards⁸⁹. Accounts of endowments to temples in the early 5th Dynasty in the royal annals as, for example, of 54 *arouras* to the deities of *Dbꜣw.t*-Buto and the erection of a temple at the same place in the time of Userkaf were seen as indications on the rise of provincial temples, which did not benefit from any significant royal patronage before⁹⁰. Bussmann further identifies the reign of Neferirkare as a crucial moment of this policy, when the king decreed an exemption for the personnel of the temple of Osiris at Abydos from *corvée labour*⁹¹.

52 The gain of power of provincial temples was most probably based on the fact that over time, starting from an originally insignificant and limited religious and economic role, they functioned more and more as institutions for the administration of the royal domains in their vicinity as well as of their own agricultural lands and offered revenues to the officials and other personnel of the temples⁹². Hratch Papazian, for instance, describes the new role of provincial temples as evolving nexus points between residence and province and their entrance into a formerly solely palace-based economic system. Eventually, this process led to an increasing interest of the residence and royal patronage which manifested in endowments of land and the dedication of statues and other objects and culminated in the erection of royal cult chapels (as *Ka*-temples) close to or inside provincial temples all over the country. Consequently, the degree of royal benefactions of any given temple can be seen as an indicator for its supra-regional economic value, as Papazian suggests⁹³.

53 Provincial residences, on the other hand, were so far only known from the Early Dynastic Period and the late 6th Dynasty, but not from the 4th and 5th Dynasties. It is exactly for this period that the provincial archaeological record, as a whole, is generally quite meagre, which makes the identification of the degree of influence from the royal residence difficult, although textual evidence, such as the titles of officials and the names of domains, is abundant⁹⁴. This gap in the archaeological sources explains the focus on provincial temples in older and recent research on provincial administration, while the role of provincial residences is mostly overlooked in scholarly discussion. The newly discovered presence of a provincial residential building at Bubastis that had already been established in the middle of the 4th Dynasty now opens the possibility to reconsider the model described above on the agents and transformation of the socio-economic relations between province and capital throughout the Old Kingdom.

89 Seidlmayer 1996a, 213 f.; Bussmann 2010, 509; Bárta 2013, 167.

90 Urk. I, 241, 13–15 (= Palermo Stone *verso* II, 2). Cf. also Zibelius 1978, 266; Wilkinson 2000, 153; Moreno García 2013, 107–111. Summarising information on further endowments in nomes of the Delta in the time of Sahura: Martinet 2017, 221.

91 Bussmann 2010, 468. 583. On the decree, see Goedicke 1967, 22–36.

92 Also summarising older research: Bussmann 2010, 3–12. 509–512; Papazian 2012, 18–25. 37–54. Cf. Moreno García 2013, 116 f.

93 Papazian 2012, 18–25. On the subject of royal *Ka*-temples of the 6th Dynasty: Seidlmayer 1996b, 125 f.; Lange 2006; Bussmann 2010, 154.

94 For instance, the lack of tombs of court officials who were buried in residential cemeteries instead: Kanawati 1980, 2; Seidlmayer 2000, 121 f.; Moreno García 2013, 103; Willems 2014, 13–18; Alexanian 2016, 487. A similar picture evolves when investigating the seal impressions from that period from provincial sites: Bussmann 2010, 453 f. See also below.

54 It becomes clear that the rise of provincial temples in the later part of the Old Kingdom was only the final part of a much longer and complex process, the details of which still elude us. From the Early Dynastic Period onwards, provincial residences still held crucial positions in terms of the economic and administrative control on a regional level in the 4th and 5th Dynasties, if we are allowed to extrapolate the case of Bubastis at least to the region of the Nile Delta. Provincial residences were thus the actual institutional forerunners of provincial temples. At that time, the influence of the court at Memphis on the provinces all over the country did not manifest itself by royal donations to the local temple, but by initiating the installation of provincial residential buildings and dispatching court officials there. Investigating titles on seal impressions from Elephantine, Elkab, Hierakonpolis, Naqada, and Abydos, Bussmann came to the conclusion that the officials combining titles on a local and residential level attested at those sites did not include the priests of the local temples, which had, in contrast, no apparent relation to the royal residence⁹⁵. Moreover, at Elephantine in the Early Dynastic Period and the early Old Kingdom, the record reflects a subordinate status of the temple under the local residence, a result that fits our observations for Bubastis⁹⁶.

55 Court officials and their local counterparts would have resided in such provincial residences, which were equipped with representational rooms alongside additional structures for the uses of administration, storage, and the production of various goods and foodstuffs. Additionally, it is possible that the kings themselves might have stayed in these palatial residences when visiting the place, as the excavators of the palatial building at Buto have suggested.

56 Consequently, when investigating the relation between Memphis and the provinces, provincial residences have to be taken into the equation as important variables, alongside provincial temples. On the one hand, however, particularly due to several gaps in the archaeological record, many open questions on the nature of the relations of these two institutions still remain. The residences at Buto, Hierakonpolis, Elephantine, and ʿAyn Asil either date to the time before the rise of provincial temples or to the time when the latter were already the object of royal patronage. On the other hand, with the new finds at Bubastis from the 4th and 5th Dynasties, a fuller picture evolves: at this time, there was a provincial residence that was most probably the centre of the provincial administration and the link to the royal residence, while the local temple of Bubastis still played a minor role⁹⁷. It is only in the time of the reign of Teti at the beginning of the 6th Dynasty that the local temple at Bubastis gained considerably in importance, probably causing the provincial residence to move from the western to the northern *kôm* in order to make way for the erection of the *Ka*-temple of this ruler close to the temple, to be followed by another *Ka*-temple of his successor Pepi I. It is as yet unclear what exactly caused this shift in power⁹⁸, if there was any, because it is not at all

95 Bussmann 2010, 429–451.

96 Bussmann 2010, 451.

97 Martinet 2017, 226 discusses a passage on the Palermo Stone (Urk. I, 239, 2. 3; cf. Wilkinson 2000, 228 f.) with an entry for King Radjedef of the 4th Dynasty, mentioning endowments in favour of the Goddess Bastet that Émilie Martinet locates at Bubastis. This, however, is far from certain: although Bastet appears on royal objects already in the 2nd Dynasty, these early sources should by no means simply be regarded as attestations of her cult in Bubastis. It is more likely that they refer to a cult of Bastet as a protective deity of the royal sphere at the residence in Memphis. The inscription on the northern door jamb of the main entrance of the Valley Temple of Khafre shows that this was probably also the case in the 4th Dynasty: Lange 2016, 310–313. Even in later times, when her cult centre was firmly established in Bubastis, her cult continued to exist uninterruptedly in Memphis: de Wit 1951, 293. 314. 434; Lange 2016, 303.

98 It is interesting to note that at ʿAyn Asil, *Ka*-chapels of the governors were integrated into the residential complex. Could that have been the case at the earlier residence at Bubastis as well, establishing a general tradition of erecting *Ka*-chapels on the western *kôm* that was picked up by Teti and Pepi I, only with another reference point (the local temple of Bastet)?

certain that the local temple of Bastet actually took over all economic and administrative importance, as a residential building still existed, albeit in another location. At any rate, only future excavations can lead to further conclusions on these aspects.

The Issue of the Administration of the Old Kingdom Nile Delta

57 The exact nature of the provincial administration of the Nile Delta in the earlier parts of ancient Egyptian history is yet to be defined more clearly, a task that is severely hampered by the fact that written sources are scarce and rather vague on the subject and archaeological records difficult to interpret in that matter. In scholarly opinion, there is little doubt that at least since the 2nd Dynasty, the so-called nomes, i. e., territorial units of the country, served as backbones of the provincial administration throughout the country, although their age and origins are still debated⁹⁹. From the late 3rd and early 4th Dynasties onwards, we know of the existence of high-ranking officials carrying titles like *hkꜣ-spꜣ.t* and *sꜣm-tꜣ* for the regions of Upper Egypt. Based on such titles, scholars developed a model of the provincial administration of the nomes of Upper Egypt, reaching back to at least the 3rd Dynasty, with a nomarch at the top of the hierarchy, supervising officials with gradually lower ranks. These officials would act on behalf of the king and residence in order to carry out the authority of the king in those provincial territories, guaranteeing access to agricultural and other material resources of the nome in question¹⁰⁰. However, as Harco O. Willems recently argued, there is no real evidence for a certain official holding the position of a nomarch as Egyptologists would define them until the 6th Dynasty¹⁰¹.

58 Besides textual sources, archaeological evidence on the system of provincial administration provides further information, for example, an administrative building of a royal domain, including a small pyramid dating to the later part of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th Dynasties at Elephantine¹⁰², a settlement belonging to a royal domain of the 4th Dynasty at Sheikh Said¹⁰³, the settlement at Kom el-Hisn administered by the residence from the 4th to the 6th Dynasty¹⁰⁴, and the elite cemeteries at Bubastis¹⁰⁵ and Mendes¹⁰⁶ from the late 6th Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period. The aforementioned work of Bussmann on early provincial temples deals with a wide range of archaeological evidence, ranging from architecture to seal impressions¹⁰⁷. New epigraphic evidence on nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt and their *phw* comes from reliefs of the causeway of the pyramid complex of Sahura, recently excavated and published by Mohamed I. Khaled¹⁰⁸.

59 At any rate, funerary architecture forms an important aspect of the archaeology of the provincial culture and administration. Most helpful for the topic of this

99 For a concise overview and discussion of the extensive literature, see Willems 2014, 5–13.

100 Helck 1954, 78–91; Pardey 1976, 11 f. 18. 24. 41–73; Moreno García 2013, 88. 92–94; Martinet 2019a, 194. 222 f.

101 Willems 2014, 12–33. Also Martinet argues that the use of the term nomarch before the 6th Dynasty should be avoided altogether: Martinet 2019a, 275–278.

102 Seidlmayer 1996a; Seidlmayer 1996b, 119–124.

103 Willems 2009; de Meyer 2011, 49.

104 Wenke et al. 1988; Wenke – Brewer 1996; Cagle 2003; Cagle 2016a; Cagle 2016b.

105 Bakr – Lange 2017.

106 Chabân 1910; Hansen 1965, 35. 37; Hansen 1967, 12–14; pl. 6; Soghor 1967, 25–29; de Meulenaere – Mackay 1976, 16. 152. 172. 191 tab. 9 c; Allen – Wilson 1982, 141 f.; Willems 1988, 246 fn. 23; Redford 1996, 679; Silverman 1996, 137; Adams 2007, 93 f.; Redford 2010, 28–32; Adams 2020, 69 fig. 3, 1.

107 Bussmann 2010.

108 Khaled 2018; Khaled 2020; Khaled 2021.

study is Nicole Alexanian's extensive analysis of mastaba tombs at provincial cemeteries. Here, she works out in detail the fact that there are large provincial tombs of the 3rd and early 4th Dynasties whose owners had strong ties to the royal residence at Memphis, which are not attested anymore after the middle of the 4th Dynasty. She also points out that in the 5th and 6th Dynasties, medium-sized tombs became much more numerous than in the 3rd and 4th Dynasties in provincial cemeteries. Alexanian identifies provincial officials of middle ranks as the owners of these tombs, a newly developing social class which was the outcome of the expansion of the provincial administration in the 5th Dynasty¹⁰⁹ and the new, mid-level administrative positions and offices this process brought on¹¹⁰. The funerary record thus confirms the expansion of provincial administration in the 5th Dynasty which has been described before, mostly on the basis of titles and textual sources¹¹¹.

60 As the majority of the sources come from Upper Egypt, scholarly discussion naturally focused on this geographical part of Egypt, while Lower Egypt and especially the Delta did not play a major role in previous research. The few available studies mostly focus on the nomes of this area¹¹². One of the reasons for this is that, apart from the Memphite cemeteries, all kinds of sources from the northern part of Egypt are much scarcer than from Upper Egypt, written as well as archaeological ones.

61 In fact, from the 3rd to the 5th Dynasty, we know of *sšm-t3* of Upper Egyptian provinces¹¹³, but until now, there is no record of a matching *sšm-t3* of a nome of Lower Egypt. Instead, the title *ꜥd-mr*, with its earliest appearance in the 1st Dynasty¹¹⁴, held by officials who carried out certain tasks in Lower Egypt and within the Delta proper, has since long been generally understood as a kind of substitute¹¹⁵.

62 Also, the title *jm.j-r3 sp3.wt T3-mḥw* »overseer of the nomes of Lower Egypt« appears as late as the 6th Dynasty and only one time¹¹⁶. Therefore, no system comparable to the Upper Egyptian administration of nomes is known for the Delta. Martinet refers to the frequently held view that the supposed proximity to the residence in Memphis ensured that no nomarchs were appointed, but instead that the Delta districts were administered by residential officials who bore other titles¹¹⁷.

63 What might have been the reasons for such different administration in both parts of the country? Juan C. Moreno García has conveyed the idea that the north was in a more direct and firm grip of the residence in Memphis at the apex of the Delta, in a way that there was no need for the elaborate administrative ranks we know from Upper Egyptian provincial administration, consequently leaving a void of comparable sources¹¹⁸. Arguing in a less abstract way, Martinet identifies the existence of a multitude of royal domains in the Delta as an influencing factor: according to her, court officials

109 Kanawati 1980, 128; Moreno García 2013, 109–111; Martinet 2019a, 429 f. Also Martinet argues for an earlier onset of this development at the end of the 4th Dynasty: Martinet 2019a, 559 f.

110 Alexanian 2016, 479–486. Still, a transfer of elements of residential tomb architecture to provincial cemeteries is attested for that time: Alexanian 2016, 431 f.

111 Bárta 2013, 169 f.; Moreno García 2013, 8–121; Martinet 2019a, 429 f. 559–564. An in-depth analysis of the provincial elites of Upper Egypt with regards to their links to the court offers Martinet 2019b.

112 For a summary of previous research, see Martinet 2017, 219.

113 Jones 2000, 975 no. 3603.

114 Kahl 1994, 552 no. 938.

115 Kaplony 1963, 292–297; Gödecken 1976, 105–111; Pardey 1976, 43–54; Helck 1987, 244 f.; Jones 2000, 354 no. 1316; Kahl 2003, 100; Regulski 2010, 134 K3 doc. 1393; Engel 2013, 29. However, Willems 2013, 362 argues that this might be an oversimplification of a complex reality. According to him, *ꜥd-mr* should not generally be seen as an equivalent to *sšm-t3* but only in those cases where a specific Lower Egyptian nome is attached to the title. He also points out the example of *Mḥn* (Willems 2013, 362 fn. 54), who bears the title combination *ꜥd-mr* + nome and *ꜥd-mr* + place name likewise, demonstrating the fact that the meaning of the title *ꜥd-mr* is not defined and set in itself but varies according to its specification.

116 Jones 2000, 227 no. 843; Martinet 2019a, 47.

117 Martinet 2017, 227.

118 Moreno García 2013, 125. 144; Martinet 2017, 225.

controlling royal domains multi-tasked and administered the surrounding areas as well, securing the flow of products and information to the royal residence at Memphis, thus *de facto* doing the work that nomarchs and comparable high provincial officials would take over later on¹¹⁹.

64 In the last decades, excavations at Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom sites have revealed archaeological and epigraphical attestations, which have not yet been included in the research cited above on the provincial administration of the Nile Delta at an adequate level. Although the record is still sketchy and not very detailed, a closer look reveals some useful information on the topic and provides further pieces of this apparent puzzle as the following summary shows.

65 As described above, Buto, as the location of a residential building probably named *ḥw.t p Ḥrw-msn(.w)*, was a central place of the 1st and 2nd Dynasties in the Early Dynastic north-western Delta. Judging by seal impressions and bone labels, this local palace seems to have administered several further institutions, domains, and settlements of the Early Dynastic Period, for instance, the domain *grg.t nb.tj* »foundation: the two mistresses«¹²⁰, a settlement or domain *sh*¹²¹, and the institution *ḥw.t jpw mnw*¹²².

66 Kom el-Hisn in the south-western Delta, on the other hand, provides information on a residence-governed provincial settlement dating from the 4th to the 6th Dynasty¹²³. An American mission led by Robert J. Wenke (1984–1988) in the south of the *gezira* led to the discovery of an Old Kingdom settlement. Domesticated structures of a relatively uniform size made of mud bricks were documented on a total area of about 900 m². Especially important in this matter are the finds of plant remains revealing the presence of large quantities of cattle dung, which are disproportionate to the small number of cattle bones found. Likewise, the age determination of the bones of goats and sheep showed that, compared to other settlements of a similar period, they more often survived to the age of a juvenile, i. e., they were not slaughtered as young animals and presumably served more for milk and wool production¹²⁴. Therefore, the excavators concluded that in Kom el-Hisn, cattle were kept in large numbers but were intended less for consumption on site than for use elsewhere. They suggested that Kom el-Hisn was a specialised settlement for raising cattle, i. e., a kind of cattle domain¹²⁵. Seals, clay seals, and seal impressions show that this domain was under the direct administration of the residence in Memphis from where it also received provisions¹²⁶.

67 At first glance, it seems surprising that the excavations did not discover the presence of a provincial residence at Kom el-Hisn, given the apparent involvement of the royal residence in the administration of this place. However, remains of a mud brick enclosure wall in the south-west of the *gezira* show that this area may have been separated from the rest of the settlement as an area with a special cultic or administrative function. The location of the late temple in the south-west corroborates this interpretation further. In 1998, Christopher J. Kirby conducted drillings that revealed that the settlement of the Old Kingdom probably extended to the south-eastern slope of the *gezira*¹²⁷. If there was a provincial residence at Kom el-Hisn, it could have been located there.

119 Martinet 2017, 225.

120 Engel 2008, 118.

121 Engel 2017, 264–267. 320–322.

122 Helck 1987, 164; Engel 2008, 113; Engel 2017, 324. 326–337.

123 Wenke et al. 1988; Cagle 2003; Cagle 2016a; Cagle 2016b; Kroeper 2016; Wodzińska 2016.

124 Redding 2016, 162 f; Wetterstrom – Wenke 2016.

125 Redding 2016, 163–172. See also Moreno García 2015.

126 Wenke et al. 1988, 32–34; Wenke 1999, 417; Kroeper 2016, 136–138.

127 Kirby et al. 1998, 24 fig. 1; 37.

68 Besides Bubastis, another important central place of the eastern Delta was Mendes. Since 1966, ongoing excavations of several American missions, the current one led by Donald B. Redford from the Pennsylvania State University, explored the western part of the *gezira* that was occupied from the end of the Neolithic until the First Intermediate Period. The main building in this area was the temple of the local main deity *Bꜣ-nb-dd.t*, the foundations of which could date back to the transitional period between the 2nd and 3rd Dynasties¹²⁸ with verified building activities in the 4th and 5th Dynasties¹²⁹. Directly to the west of the temple, the excavators uncovered eight construction phases. The oldest of these phases (VIII–V) date to the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods, the youngest (Ia) to the early Middle Kingdom. Of those, phases IV–III/II are of concern here. Phase IV, dating from the 3rd to the 4th/5th Dynasty, contained two domestic buildings with several rooms equipped with storage pits and hearths. The following phase III (4th/5th to 6th Dynasty) also includes two buildings separated by a street. Each building was equipped with a semi-circular and a circular silo. The excavators believe the buildings of these two phases to be breweries, which functioned as the *pr-šnꜥ* of the temple, together with a bakery dating to phase III as well, which came to light to the south of these structures¹³⁰.

69 From the end of the 5th Dynasty, cemeteries of the local elite developed in close proximity to the temple. The older cemetery with mastaba tombs of the local priests was established east of the temple¹³¹. Either at the same time or a little later, further mastaba tombs were erected to the north-west of the temple; the cemetery flourished until the beginning of the First Intermediate Period. Several tombs had burial chambers made of limestone blocks and were decorated with inscriptions bearing the names and titles of the owners. In contrast to the owners of the mastabas east of the temple, they did not display titles connected to the cult of the local deity but were officials connected to the court¹³².

70 At the end of the 6th Dynasty, the cemetery east of the temple was abandoned and covered with rubble from the destruction of the temple. The destruction level dates from the end of the 6th Dynasty to the Heracleopolitan Period¹³³. On top of the debris, two buildings were excavated during the seasons of 1965–1966 but remained mostly unpublished. According to Matthew J. Adams, the scarce documentation allows the ceramic forms of the latest of the three occupation phases of the building to be identified as comparable to types from Stephan J. Seidlmayer's Sedment IIA–B phases. This indicates that the building was in use during the late First Intermediate Period, i. e., the first half of the 11th Dynasty; its earlier phases might therefore date to the Heracleopolitan Period¹³⁴. At this time, the building had a two-part transverse central room with two column bases, surrounded by several smaller room complexes. A functional identification of the building is difficult. It could have been an administrative building or a kind of residence for members of the local elite, i. e., a provincial residence, perhaps both in combination¹³⁵. Adams compares it to the so-called great building in Bubastis, whose ground plan indeed shows many similarities to the building in Mendes (cf. above § 29–57).

128 Hansen 1967, 10–12; Allen – Wilson 1982, 141 f.; Adams 2007, 73–75.

129 Adams 2020, 53. 56 f.

130 Adams 2007, 97; Redford 2008, 200 f. 203 fig. 4; Adams 2009, 163–174. 202; Adams 2020, 55.

131 Hansen 1967, 12 f.; Allen – Wilson 1982, 141 f.; Redford 1996, 679; Adams 2007, 93 f.; Redford 2010, 29.

132 Chabân 1910; Hansen 1965, 35. 37; Hansen 1967, 14; pl. 6; Soghor 1967, 25–29; de Meulenaere – Mackay 1976, 16. 152. 172. 191 tab. 9 c; Willems 1988, 246 fn. 23; Silverman 1996, 137; Redford 2010, 28–32; Adams 2020, 69 fig. 3, 1.

133 Hansen 1965, 35–37; Hansen 1967, 13 f.; Redford 1996, 681; Adams 2007, 82–84. 93 f.; Adams 2009, 175–178; Redford 2010, 46; Adams 2020, 66–68.

134 Adams 2009, 205. Adams incorrectly places this phase in the Heracleopolitan Period, which does not agree with Seidlmayer's chronology he uses as reference: cf. Seidlmayer 1990, 394 f. fig. 168; 396 f.

135 Adams 2009, 203–205; Adams 2020, 58 f. 67 f.

71 The buildings at Mendes are of great importance because they indicate that a Heracleopolitan administration of the eastern Nile Delta could have existed in the First Intermediate Period that might have followed the general principles of the provincial administration of the Old Kingdom. This is all the more fascinating as literary sources of the early Middle Kingdom, i. e., passages of »The Teaching for Merikare«, which speaks of activities of the kings of the Heracleopolitan Dynasty to secure the Delta, have been known for a long time, yet their reliability was widely discussed¹³⁶. The archaeological evidence from Mendes, although mostly overlooked even in more recent studies on this topic, supports the view that there is at least some historicity in the literary accounts.

72 It becomes clear that in the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Nile Delta, the royal residence successfully accessed the human and material resources flowing in from the hinterland to the central places as, for example, Bubastis and Mendes in the eastern Delta. Buildings and structures of special importance and significance reflected the high status of those settlements: temples, cemeteries of the provincial elite, and provincial residences. As the example of Buto in the western Delta shows, already in Early Dynastic times, provincial residences were not only markers of central places as the impressive living quarters of local leaders but also key institutions of the provincial administration of this geographical area. They served as bases and footholds for residential and provincial officials forming a nucleus around which administrative and economic tasks and capacities coalesced. It would be a fascinating topic for future research to investigate the possibility that such provincial residences were in fact the *ḥw.t-ꜥ3.t* known from a multitude of textual sources¹³⁷. As the biographic inscriptions of the official *Mtn* inform us, there were several *ḥw.t-ꜥ3.t* in the Nile Delta of the early 4th Dynasty. Of those, some are identifiable or at least locatable into a certain region, so, for instance, at *Dp* (Buto)¹³⁸, at *Št.wy*, a place in the Mendesian nome¹³⁹, and at *Hw.t-jh.(w)t*¹⁴⁰, a settlement in the western Delta, probably close by (yet most probably not identical) with Kom el-Hisn¹⁴¹.

73 Likewise, the titles of the official *Ph-r-nfr* speak of a *ḥw.t-ꜥ3.t* at *R3-wr*, probably in the Sebennytic nome¹⁴², and a *ḥw.t-ꜥ3.t* at *Hw.t-snj*, possibly in the Busiritic nome¹⁴³.

74 The new results from Bubastis strongly suggest that this was still the case in the 4th and 5th Dynasties. Thus, although the exact timeline as well as many other details still remain in the dark, it becomes apparent that any future structural model of the provincial administration of the Nile Delta needs to consider provincial residences at

136 Quack 1992, 126–130; Parkinson 2002, 215 f.; Quack 2013, 414 f. 440–442; Stauder 2013, 175, 198 f. with further literature.

137 On this institution, see Moreno García 1999, 36–39. 234–242; Moreno García 2013, 88 f.

138 Schäfer 1913, 78. 80; Urk. I, 1, 1. 2; Gödecken 1976, 8 f. 105; Helck 1987, 270; Jones 2000, 365 nos. 1348. 1349.

139 Schäfer 1913, 73. 78. 82; Urk. I, 2, 2; 6, 4; Goedicke 1961, 83; Gödecken 1976, 105. 165 no. 198. Cf. Fischer 1961, 22, 1; Zibelius 1978, 235 f.; Jones 2000, 678 no. 2480; Martinet 2019a, 702.

140 Schäfer 1913, 81 IV; Urk. I, 6, 7; Goedicke 1966, 30 f.; Gödecken 1976, 8. 91; Zibelius 1978, 149; Moreno García 1999, 136; Jones 2000, 675 no. 2471; Moreno García 2015, 91.

141 The identification of *Hw.t-jh.(w)t* with Kom el-Hisn, which is readily made in literature (see, for example, Moreno García 2015, 69), depends entirely on the location of the site in the western Delta and its interpretation by the excavators as a specialised cattle rearing facility. However, the toponym *Hw.t-jh.(w)t* is not attested at Kom el-Hisn, in contrast to *Jm3.w*, which certainly was the name of the settlement in ancient times. Therefore, *Hw.t-jh.(w)t* could just as well have been a locality close to Kom el-Hisn. Also in later periods, *Hw.t-jh.(w)t* was never identified with *Jm3.w*. On the contrary: in the Ptolemaic papyrus in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, I.3079, *Hw.t-jh.(w)t* is described as lying to the north of *Jm3.w*, both being treated as two separated localities (Gomaà 1987, 78).

142 Junker 1939, 69, 31–70, 32; Zibelius 1978, 64. 137 f.; Strudwick 1985, 85, 46; Helck 1987, 278, 7. 8; Baud 1999, 449 no 64; Jones 2000, 672 no. 2461; 674 f. no. 2470; Martinet 2019a, 686. For the localisation, see Junker 1939, 70, 32; Zibelius 1978, 137 f.; Helck 1987, 278, 8.

143 Junker 1939, 69, 31–70, 32; Zibelius 1978, 165; Strudwick 1985, 85, 46; Helck 1987, 277, 1; Baud 1999, 449 no 64; Jones 2000, 497 no. 1859; 7676 no. 2475; Martinet 2019a, 686.

central places as important neuralgic points of the economic-administrative system of the time span from the Early Dynastic Period to the 5th Dynasty. It was seemingly after that period that the gradual rise of the provincial temples was transforming that same system, with the latter developing into institutions that took on significant functions of the earlier provincial residences.

Bibliography

- Adams 2007** M. J. Adams, *The Early Dynastic through Old Kingdom Stratification at Tell Er-Rubā, Mendes* (Ph.D. diss. Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania 2007)
- Adams 2009** M. J. Adams, *An Interim Report on the Naqada III–First Intermediate Period Stratification at Mendes 1999–2005*, in: D. Redford (ed.), *Delta Reports I. Research in Lower Egypt* (Oxford 2009) 121–206
- Adams 2020** M. J. Adams, *The Naqada III–First Intermediate Period Stratification*, in: D. Redford – S. Redford (eds), *Excavations at Mendes II. The Dromos and Temple Area* (Leiden 2020) 48–72
- Alexanian 2016** N. Alexanian, *Die provinziellen Mastabagräber und Friedhöfe im Alten Reich* (Heidelberg 2016)
- Allen – Wilson 1982** S. J. Allen – K. Wilson, *Excavations at Mendes, 1976–1979*, in: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (ed.), *L'égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches. Actes du colloque organisé par le CNRS dans le cadre du 2^e Congrès international des égyptologues, Grenoble, 10–15 September 1979, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 595* (Paris 1982) 139–151
- Andres – Wunderlich 1991** W. Andres – J. Wunderlich, *Late Pleistocene and Holocene Evolution of the Eastern Nile Delta and Comparisons with the Western Delta*, in: H. Brückner – U. Radtke (eds), *Von der Nordsee bis zum Indischen Ozean. Ergebnisse der 8. Jahrestagung des Arbeitskreises »Geographie der Meere und Küsten«*, 13.–15. Juni 1990, Düsseldorf, *Erdkundliches Wissen* 105 (Stuttgart 1991) 121–130
- Andres – Wunderlich 1992** W. Andres – J. Wunderlich, *Environmental Conditions for Early Settlement at Minshat Abu Omar, Eastern Nile Delta, Egypt*, in: E. C. M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition, 4th–3rd Millennium BC. Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Cairo, 21–24 October 1990, at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies* (Tel Aviv 1992) 157–166
- Bakr 1989** M. I. Bakr, *The Old Kingdom at Bubastis. Excavations Since 1978. Outline*, in: A. Nibbi (ed.), *Proceedings of Colloquium »The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times«*. Wadham College, 29–31 August, 1988, Oxford, *DE Special Number 1* (Oxford 1989) 29–52
- Bakr 1992** M. I. Bakr, *Tell Basta I. Tombs and Burial Customs at Bubastis. The Area of the So-Called Western Cemetery* (Zagazig 1992)
- Bakr – Lange 2017** M. I. Bakr – E. Lange, *Die Nekropolen des Alten Reiches in Bubastis*, in: F. Feder – G. Sperveslage – F. Steinborn (eds), *Ägypten begreifen. Erika Endesfelder in memoriam, IBAES 19* (Berlin 2017) 31–48
- Bárta 2013** M. Bárta, *Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers. Executive Power in the Third Millennium BC*, in: J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration, HdO I 104* (Leiden 2013) 153–175
- Baud 1999** M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire*, *BdE* 126, 1/2 (Cairo 1999)
- Bietak 2014/2015** M. Bietak, *Nord und Süd – königlich und profan. Neues zum Palast des Mittleren Reiches von Bubastis*, *MDAIK* 70/71, 2014/2015, 49–57
- Bietak – Lange 2014** M. Bietak – E. Lange, *Tell Basta. The Palace of the Middle Kingdom*, *EgA* 44, 2014, 4–7
- van den Brink 1986** E. C. M. van den Brink, *A Geo-Archaeological Survey in the North-Eastern Nile Delta*, *MDAIK* 43, 1986, 7–31
- Bunbury 2019** J. Bunbury, *The Nile and Ancient Egypt. Changing Land- and Waterscapes, from the Neolithic to the Roman Era* (Cambridge 2019)
- Bussmann 2010** R. Bussmann, *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis zur 11. Dynastie. Archäologie und Geschichte einer gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz*, *PÄ* 30 (Leiden 2010)
- Cagle 2003** A. J. Cagle, *The Spatial Structure of Kom el-Hisn. An Old Kingdom Town in the Western Nile Delta, Egypt*, *BARIntSer* 1099 (Oxford 2003)
- Cagle 2016a** A. J. Cagle, *Human Burials at Kom el-Hisn. Chronology and Context*, in: R. J. Wenke – R. W. Redding – A. J. Cagle (eds), *Kom el-Hisn (ca. 2500–1900 BC). An Ancient Settlement in the Nile Delta of Egypt* (Atlanta 2016) 343–362
- Cagle 2016b** A. J. Cagle, *Stratigraphic Analysis*, in: R. J. Wenke – R. W. Redding – A. J. Cagle (eds), *Kom el-Hisn (ca. 2500–1900 BC). An Ancient Settlement in the Nile Delta of Egypt* (Atlanta 2016) 71–133
- Chabân 1910** M. Chabân, *Monuments recueillis pendant mes inspections*, *ASAE* 10, 1910, 28–30
- Chłodnicki 2011** M. Chłodnicki, *The Central Kom of Tell el-Farkha. 1000 Years of History (c. 3600–2600 BC)*, in: R. F. Friedman – P. N. Fiske (eds), *Egypt at Its Origins III. Proceedings of the Third International Conference »Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt«*, London, 27th July–1st August 2008, *OLA* 205 (Leuven 2011) 41–57
- Chłodnicki 2014** M. Chłodnicki, *Tell el-Farkha. The Changes in Spatial Organisation of the Settlement. From the Predynastic to the Early Dynastic Periods*, in: A. Mączyńska (ed.), *The Nile Delta as a Centre of Cultural Interactions between Upper Egypt and the Southern Levant in the 4th Millennium BC*, *SAArch* 13 (Poznan 2014) 57–72
- Chłodnicki – Ciałowicz 2005** M. Chłodnicki – K. M. Ciałowicz, *Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala). Season 2004*, *PolAMed* 16, 2005, 131–145
- Ciałowicz 2016** K. M. Ciałowicz, *Beginnings of the Naqadan Occupation of the Nile Delta. A View from Tell el-Farkha*, in: M. D. Adams (ed.), *Egypt at Its Origins IV. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference »Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt«*, New York, 26th–30th July 2011, *OLA* 252 (Leuven 2016) 33–45
- Ciałowicz 2017** K. M. Ciałowicz, *New Discoveries at Tell el-Farkha and the Beginnings of the Egyptian State*, *EtTrav* 30, 2017, 231–250

- Dębowska-Ludwin 2013** J. Dębowska-Ludwin, Early Burial Customs in Northern Egypt. Evidence from the Pre-, Proto-, and Early Dynastic Periods, BARIntSer 2571 (Oxford 2013)
- Dorn 2015** A. Dorn, Elephantine XXXI. Kisten und Schreine im Festzug. Hinweise auf postume Kulte für hohe Beamte aus einem Depot von Kult- und anderen Gegenständen des ausgehenden 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr., AV 117 (Wiesbaden 2015)
- Dreyer 1998** G. Dreyer, Umm el-Qaab I. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse, AV 86 (Wiesbaden 1998)
- Eichler 1993** E. Eichler, Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, GOF IV 26 (Wiesbaden 1993)
- el-Sawi 1979** A. el-Sawi, Excavations at Tell Basta. Report of Seasons 1967–1971 and Catalogue of Finds (Prague 1979)
- Engel 2008** E.-M. Engel, Das *hwt pi-hr.w-msn.w* in der ägyptischen Frühzeit, in: E.-M. Engel (ed.), Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer, Menes 5 (Wiesbaden 2008) 107–126
- Engel 2013** E.-M. Engel, The Organisation of a Nascent State. Egypt until the Beginning of the 4th Dynasty, in: J. C. Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, HdO I 104 (Leiden 2013) 19–40
- Engel 2017** E.-M. Engel, Umm el-Qaab VI. Das Grab des Qaꜣa. Architektur und Inventar, AV 100 (Wiesbaden 2017)
- Fairservis 1986** W. A. Fairservis Jr., The Hierakonpolis Project, Season January to May 1981. Excavation on the Kom el Gemuwia, Occasional Papers in Anthropology 3 (New York 1986)
- Farid 1964** S. Farid, Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Tell Basta (Season 1961), ASAE 58, 1963, 85–98
- Fischer 1961** H. G. Fischer, Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre, ZÄS 86, 1, 1961, 21–31
- Friedman – Bussmann 2018** R. Friedman – R. Bussmann, The Early Dynastic Palace at Hierakonpolis, in: M. Bietak – S. Prell (eds), Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Palaces I. Proceedings of the Conference on Palaces in Ancient Egypt, Held in London 12th–14th June 2013, Organised by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the University of Würzburg and the Egypt Exploration Society, DÖAW 83 = CAENL 5 (Vienna 2018) 79–99
- Gödecke 1976** K. B. Gödecke, Eine Betrachtung der Inschriften des Meten im Rahmen der sozialen und rechtlichen Stellung von Privatleuten im ägyptischen Alten Reich, ÄA 29 (Wiesbaden 1976)
- Goedicke 1961** H. Goedicke, Die Siegelzylinder von Pepi I, MDAIK 17, 1961, 69–70
- Goedicke 1966** H. Goedicke, Die Laufbahn des *Mtrn*, MDAIK 21, 1966, 1–71
- Goedicke 1967** H. Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich, ÄA 14 (Wiesbaden 1967)
- Gomaà 1987** F. Gomaà, Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches II. Unterägypten und die angrenzenden Gebiete, TAVO Beih. 66, 2 (Wiesbaden 1987)
- Habachi 1957** L. Habachi, Tell Basta, SASAE 22 (Cairo 1957)
- Hansen 1965** D. P. Hansen, Mendes 1964, JARCE 4, 1965, 31–37
- Hansen 1967** D. P. Hansen, The Excavations at Tell el-Rubʿa, JARCE 6, 1967, 5–16
- Hartung 2018** U. Hartung, Recent Investigations of Early Dynastic Building Structures at Tell el-Faraʿin/Buto, in: M. Bietak – S. Prell (eds), Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Palaces I. Proceedings of the Conference on Palaces in Ancient Egypt, Held in London 12th–14th June 2013, Organised by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the University of Würzburg and the Egypt Exploration Society, DÖAW 83 = CAENL 5 (Vienna 2018) 101–112
- Hartung et al. 2009** U. Hartung – P. Ballet – A. Efland – P. G. French – R. Hartmann – T. Herbich – H. Hoffmann – E. Hower-Tilmann – C. Kitagawa – P. Kopp – W. Kreibitz – G. Lecuyot – S. Löscher – G. Marouard – A. Zink – A. Nerlich – M. Pithon, Tell el-Faraʿin – Buto. 10. Vorbericht, MDAIK 65, 2009, 83–190
- Helck 1954** W. Helck, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, ÄF 18 (Glückstadt 1954)
- Helck 1987** W. Helck, Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit, ÄA 45 (Wiesbaden 1987)
- Hendrickx 2006** S. Hendrickx, Predynastic–Early Dynastic Chronology, in: E. Hornung – R. Krauss – D. A. Warburton (eds), Ancient Egyptian Chronology, HdO I 83 (Leiden 2006) 55–93
- Jeuthe 2018** C. Jeuthe, The Governor’s Palaces at Ayn Asil/Balat (Dakhla Oasis/Western Desert), in: M. Bietak – S. Prell (eds), Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Palaces I. Proceedings of the Conference on Palaces in Ancient Egypt, Held in London 12th–14th June 2013, Organised by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the University of Würzburg and the Egypt Exploration Society, DÖAW 83 = CAENL 5 (Vienna 2018) 125–140
- Jones 2000** D. Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, BARIntSer 866, 1/2 (Oxford 2000)
- Junker 1939** H. Junker, *Phrnfr*, ZÄS 75, 1939, 63–84
- Kahl 1994** J. Kahl, Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.–3. Dynastie, GOF IV 29 (Wiesbaden 1994)
- Kahl 2003** J. Kahl, Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch II m–h (Wiesbaden 2003)
- Kaiser et al. 1976** W. Kaiser – G. Dreyer – R. Gempeler – P. Grossmann – H. Jaritz – E. Junge, Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. Sechster Grabungsbericht, MDAIK 32, 1976, 67–112
- Kaiser et al. 1999** W. Kaiser – F. Arnold – M. Bommas – T. Hikade – F. Hoffmann – H. Jaritz – P. Kopp – W. Niederberger – J.-P. Paetznick – B. von Pilgrim – C. von

- Pilgrim – D. Raue – T. Rzeuska – S. Schaten – A. Seiler – L. Stalder – M. Ziermann, *Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine*. 25./26./27. Grabungsbericht, MDAIK 55, 1999, 63–236
- Kanawati 1980** N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, *Modern Egyptology* (Warminster 1980)
- Kaplony 1963** P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I–III*, ÄA 8 (Wiesbaden 1963)
- Kaplony 1966** P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, ÄA 15 (Wiesbaden 1966)
- Kaplony 1992** P. Kaplony, *Archaische Siegel und Siegelabrollungen aus dem Delta*. Die Arbeit an den Siegeln von Buto, in: E. C. M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition, 4th–3rd Millennium BC*. Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Cairo, 21–24 October 1990, at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies (Tel Aviv 1992) 23–30
- Khaled 2018** M. I. Khaled, *The Earliest Attested Pehou List in the Old Kingdom*, in: P. János – H. Vymazalová (eds), *The Art of Describing. The World of Tomb Decoration as Visual Culture of the Old Kingdom*. Studies in Honour of Yvonne Harpur (Prague 2018) 235–247
- Khaled 2020** M. I. Khaled, *Abusir XXVI. The Funerary Domains in the Pyramid Complex of Sahura. An Aspect of the Economy in the Late Third Millennium BCE* (Prague 2020)
- Khaled 2021** M. I. Khaled, *Nomes of Lower Egypt in the Early Fifth Dynasty*, *E&G Quaternary Science Journal* 70, 1, 2021, 19–27
- Kirby et al. 1998** C. J. S. Kirby – E. Orel – S. T. Smith, *Preliminary Report on the Survey of Kom el-Hisn 1996*, *JEA* 84, 1998, 23–43
- Kroeper 1989** K. Kroeper, *Settlement in the Nile Delta to the End of the Old Kingdom. According to Contemporary Archaeological Evidence* (Warsaw 1989)
- Kroeper 2016** K. Kroeper, *A Selection of Ceramic Types Found at Kom el-Hisn*, in: R. J. Wenke – R. W. Redding – A. J. Cagle (eds), *Kom el-Hisn (ca. 2500–1900 BC). An Ancient Settlement in the Nile Delta of Egypt* (Atlanta 2016) 263–293
- Lange 2006** E. Lange, *Die Ka-Anlage Pepis I. in Bubastis im Kontext königlicher Ka-Anlagen des Alten Reiches*, *ZÄS* 133, 2006, 121–149
- Lange 2015** E. Lange, *The So-Called Governors' Cemetery at Bubastis and Provincial Elite Tombs in the Nile Delta. State and Perspectives of Research*, in: G. Miniaci – W. Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC). Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion, and Written Sources I*, *MKS* 1 (London 2015) 187–203
- Lange 2016** E. Lange, *The Lioness Goddess in the Old Kingdom Nile Delta. A Study in Local Cult Topography*, in: S. L. Lippert – M. Schentuleit – M. A. Stadler (eds), *Sapientia felicitas. Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016*, *CENiM* 14 (Montpellier 2016) 301–323
- Lange et al. 2016** E. Lange – T. Ullmann – R. Baumhauer, *Remote Sensing in the Nile Delta. Spatio-Temporal Analysis of Bubastis/Tell Basta*, *ÄgLev* 26, 2016, 377–392
- Lange-Athinodorou 2018** E. Lange-Athinodorou, *Palaces of the Ancient Mind. The Textual Record Versus Archaeological Evidence*, in: M. Bietak – S. Prell (eds), *Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Palaces I. Proceedings of the Conference on Palaces in Ancient Egypt*, Held in London 12th–14th June 2013, Organised by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the University of Würzburg and the Egypt Exploration Society, *DÖAW* 83 = *CAENL* 5 (Vienna 2018) 39–63
- Lange-Athinodorou 2019** E. Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Königtum. Die Reliefdekoration am Torbau Osorkons II. im Tempel der Bastet von Bubastis*, ÄA 75 (Wiesbaden 2019)
- Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2018** E. Lange-Athinodorou – A. el-Senussi, *A Royal Ka-Temple and the Rise of Old Kingdom Bubastis*, *EgA* 53, 2018, 20–24
- Lange-Athinodorou – el-Senussi 2022** E. Lange-Athinodorou – A. el-Senussi, *First Preliminary Report on the Excavations in the Ka-Temple of Pepi I in Tell Basta/Bubastis. The Discovery of a Residential Building of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties*, *JEA* 108, 2022, 23–43
- Mączyńska 2013** A. Mączyńska, *Lower Egyptian Communities and Their Interactions with Southern Levant in the 4th Millennium BC*, *SAArch* 12 (Poznan 2013)
- Martinet 2017** É. Martinet, *L'administration des nomes de Basse-Égypte sous l'Ancien Empire*, in: M. Bárta – C. Filip – J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015* (Prague 2017) 219–236
- Martinet 2019a** É. Martinet, *L'administration provinciale sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, *PÅ* 38, 1/2 (Leiden 2019)
- Martinet 2019b** É. Martinet, *Social Differentiation and Degree of Integration in Court Society. Towards a Sociology of the Provincial Elites in the Old Kingdom*, in: P. Piacentini – A. D. Castelli (eds), *Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology VII. Proceedings of the International Conference, Università degli studi di Milano 3–7 July 2017* (Milan 2019) 260–273
- de Meulenaere – Mackay 1976** H. de Meulenaere – P. Mackay, *Mendes II. Addenda and Errata & Additional Bibliography and Abbreviations* (Warminster 1976)
- de Meyer 2011** M. de Meyer, *Two Cemeteries for One Provincial Capital? Deir el-Bersha and el-Sheikh Said in the Fifteenth Upper Egyptian Nome during the Old Kingdom*, in: N. Strudwick – H. Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150 BC* (Oxford 2011) 42–49
- Moeller 2016** N. Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt. From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York 2016)
- Moreno García 1999** J. C. Moreno García, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire*. *Économie*,

administration et organisation territoriale, BEHE 337 (Paris 1999)

Moreno García 2013 J. C. Moreno García, The Territorial Administration of the Kingdom in the 3rd Millennium, in: J. C. Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, HdO I 104 (Leiden 2013) 85–151

Moreno García 2015 J. C. Moreno García, *hwt jh(w)t*, the Administration of the Western Delta and the ›Libyan Question‹ in the Third Millennium BC, JEA 101, 2015, 69–105

Müller-Wollermann 1991 R. Müller-Wollermann, Präliminierungen zur ägyptischen Stadt, ZÄS 118, 1991, 48–54

Papazian 2012 H. Papazian, Domain of Pharaoh. The Structure and Components of the Economy of Old Kingdom Egypt, HÄB 52 (Hildesheim 2012)

Pardey 1976 E. Pardey, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB 1 (Hildesheim 1976)

Parkinson 2002 R. B. Parkinson, Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt. A Dark Side to Perfection, Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies (London 2002)

Pennington 2017 B. T. Pennington, Environmental Change in Deltaic Settings and the Emergence of Civilisation. A Study in Paleolandscape Focussing on the Mid-Holocene Nile Delta (Ph.D. diss. University of Southampton, Southampton 2017)

Pennington et al. 2016 B. T. Pennington – J. Bunbury – N. Hovius, Emergence of Civilization. Changes in Fluvio-Deltaic Style, and Nutrient Redistribution Forced by Holocene Sea-Level Rise, Geoarchaeology 31, 3, 2016, 194–210

Petrie 1905 W. M. F. Petrie, Ehnasya. 1904, Memoir EEF 26 (London 1905)

Quack 1992 J. F. Quack, Studien zur Lehre für Merikare, GOF IV 23 (Wiesbaden 1992)

Quack 2013 J. F. Quack, Irrungen, Wirrungen? Forscherische Ansätze zur Datierung der älteren ägyptischen Literatur, in: G. Moers – K. Widmaier – A. Giewekemeyer – A. Lümers – R. Ernst (eds), Dating Egyptian Literary Texts. Göttingen, 9–12 June 2010 I, LingAeg SM 11 (Hamburg 2013) 405–469

Quibell – Green 1900–1902 J. E. Quibell – F. W. Green, Hierakonpolis I/II, ERA 4/5 (London 1900–1902)

Raue 2018 D. Raue, The Central Building Unit in the City of Elephantine from 2300–2000 BC, in: M. Bietak – S. Prell (eds), Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Palaces I. Proceedings of the Conference on Palaces in Ancient Egypt, Held in London 12th–14th June 2013, Organised by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the University of Würzburg and the Egypt Exploration Society, DÖAW 83 = CAENL 5 (Vienna 2018) 141–148

Redding 2016 R. W. Redding, The Vertebrate Fauna from the Excavations at Kom el-Hisn, Giza, and Other Sites, in: R. J. Wenke – R. W. Redding – A. J. Cagle (eds), Kom el-Hisn (ca. 2500–1900 BC). An Ancient Settlement in the Nile Delta of Egypt (Atlanta 2016) 139–203

Redford 1996 D. B. Redford, Mendes & Environs in the Middle Kingdom, in: P. Der Manuelian (ed.), Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II (Boston 1996) 679–682

Redford 2008 D. B. Redford, Some Old Kingdom Sealings from Mendes I, in: S. H. D’Auria (ed.), Servant of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini, PÄ 28 (Leiden 2008) 198–203

Redford 2010 D. B. Redford, City of the Ram-Man. The Story of Ancient Mendes (Princeton 2010)

Regulski 2010 I. Regulski, A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt, OLA 195 (Leuven 2010)

Renfrew – Bahn 2012 C. Renfrew – P. G. Bahn, Archaeology. Theories, Methods and Practice 6 (London 2012)

Said 1981 R. Said, The Geological Evolution of the River Nile (New York 1981)

Schäfer 1913 H. Schäfer, Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I. Inschriften von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Ende der Hyksoszeit (Leipzig 1913)

Seidlmayer 1990 S. J. Seidlmayer, Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich. Studien zur Archäologie der Ersten Zwischenzeit, SAGA 1 (Heidelberg 1990)

Seidlmayer 1996a S. J. Seidlmayer, Die staatliche Anlage der 3. Dyn. in der Nordweststadt von Elephantine. Archäologische und historische Probleme, in: M. Bietak (ed.), Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten/ House and Palace in Ancient Egypt. International Symposium in Cairo, April 8. to 11. 1992, DÖAW 14 = UZK 14 (Vienna 1996) 195–214

Seidlmayer 1996b S. J. Seidlmayer, Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom. A View from Elephantine, in: J. Spencer (ed.), Aspects of Early Egypt (London 1996) 108–127

Seidlmayer 2000 S. J. Seidlmayer, The First Intermediate Period (c. 2160–2055 BC), in: I. Shaw (ed.), The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt (Oxford 2000) 118–147

van Siclen III 1991 C. C. van Siclen III, The Mayors of Basta in the Middle Kingdom, in: S. Schoske (ed.), Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985, SAK Beih. 4 (Hamburg 1991) 187–194

van Siclen III 1996 C. C. van Siclen III, Remarks on the Middle Kingdom Palace at Tell Basta, in: M. Bietak (ed.), Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten/House and Palace in Ancient Egypt. International Symposium in Cairo, April 8. to 11. 1992, DÖAW 14 = UZK 14 (Vienna 1996) 239–246

Silverman 1996 D. P. Silverman, Coffin Texts from Bersheh, Kom el Hisn, and Mendes, in: H. Willems (ed.), The World of the Coffin Texts. Proceedings of the Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck, Leiden, December 17–19, 1992, EgUit 9 (Leiden 1996) 129–141

Soghor 1967 C. L. Soghor, Inscriptions from Tell el Rub‘a, JARCE 6, 1967, 16–32

- Soukiassian 2013** G. Soukiassian (ed.), *Balat XI. Monuments funéraires du palais et de la nécropole*, FIFAO 72 (Cairo 2013)
- Soukiassian et al. 2002** G. Soukiassian – M. Wuttmann – L. Pantalacci, *Balat VI. Le palais des gouverneurs de l'époque de Pépy II. Les sanctuaires de ka et leurs dépendances*, FIFAO 46 (Cairo 2002)
- Stauder 2013** A. Stauder, *Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts. Göttingen, 9–12 June 2010 II*, *LingAeg SM 12* (Hamburg 2013)
- Strudwick 1985** N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and Their Holders* (London 1985)
- Ullmann et al. 2019** T. Ullmann – E. Lange-Athinodorou – A. Göbel – C. Büdel – R. Baumhauer, *Preliminary Results on the Paleo-Landscape of Tell Basta/Bubastis (Eastern Nile Delta). An Integrated Approach Combining GIS-Based Spatial Analysis, Geophysical and Archaeological Investigations*, *Quaternary International* 511, 2019, 185–199
- Urk. I** K. Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I. Urkunden des Alten Reichs I* (Leipzig 1933)
- Valloggia 1986** M. Valloggia, *Balat I. Le mastaba de Medou-Nefer*, FIFAO 31 (Cairo 1986)
- von der Way 1996** T. von der Way, *Early Dynastic Architecture at Tell el-Fara'in – Buto*, in: M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten/House and Palace in Ancient Egypt. International Symposium in Cairo, April 8. to 11. 1992*, *DÖAW 14 = UZK 14* (Vienna 1996) 247–252
- von der Way 1997** T. von der Way, *Tell el-Fara'in – Buto I. Ergebnisse zum frühen Kontext. Kampagnen der Jahre 1983–1989*, AV 83 (Mainz 1997)
- Weeks 1971/1972** K. R. Weeks, *Preliminary Report on the First Two Seasons at Hierakonpolis II. The Early Dynastic Palace*, *JARCE 9*, 1971/1972, 29–33
- Wenke 1999** R. J. Wenke, s. v. *Kom el-Hisn*, in: K. A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London 1999) 415–418
- Wenke – Brewer 1996** R. J. Wenke – D. J. Brewer, *The Archaic-Old Kingdom Delta. The Evidence from Mendes and Kom el-Hisn*, in: M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten/House and Palace in Ancient Egypt. International Symposium in Cairo, April 8. to 11. 1992*, *DÖAW 14 = UZK 14* (Vienna 1996) 265–285
- Wenke et al. 1988** R. J. Wenke – P. E. Buck – H. A. Hamrour – M. Kobusiewicz – K. Kroeper – R. W. Redding, *Kom el-Hisn. Excavation of an Old Kingdom Settlement in the Egyptian Delta*, *JARCE 25*, 1988, 5–34
- van Wesemael 1988** B. van Wesemael, *The Relation Between Natural Landscape and Distribution of Archaeological Remains in the Northeastern Nile Delta*, in: E. C. M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta, Egypt. Problems and Priorities. Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Cairo, 19–22 October 1986, on the Occasion of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo* (Amsterdam 1988) 125–139
- Wetterstrom – Wenke 2016** W. Wetterstrom – R. J. Wenke, *Kom el-Hisn's Plant Remains*, in: R. J. Wenke – R. W. Redding – A. J. Cagle (eds), *Kom el-Hisn (ca. 2500–1900 BC). An Ancient Settlement in the Nile Delta of Egypt* (Atlanta 2016) 205–253
- Wilkinson 2000** T. A. H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments*, *Studies in Egyptology* (London 2000)
- Willems 1988** H. O. Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, *MVEOL 25* (Leiden 1988)
- Willems 2009** H. O. Willems, *Un domaine royal de l'époque de Khéops/Khoufou à el-Cheikh Saïd/Ouadi Zabeida*, *BSFE 175*, 2009, 13–28
- Willems 2013** H. O. Willems, *Nomarchs and Local Potentates. The Provincial Administration in the Middle Kingdom*, in: J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration, HdO I 104* (Leiden 2013) 341–392
- Willems 2014** H. O. Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture. Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*, *CHANE 73* (Leiden 2014)
- de Wit 1951** C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden 1951)
- de Wit 1993** H. E. de Wit, *The Evolution of the Eastern Nile Delta as a Factor in the Development of Human Culture*, in: L. Krzyżaniak – M. Kobusiewicz – J. Alexander (eds), *Environmental Change and Human Culture in the Nile Basin and Northern Africa until the Second Millennium B.C.*, *Studies in African Archaeology 4* (Poznan 1993) 305–320
- Wodzińska 2016** A. Wodzińska, *Notes on the Kom el-Hisn Ceramics*, in: R. J. Wenke – R. W. Redding – A. J. Cagle (eds), *Kom el-Hisn (ca. 2500–1900 BC). An Ancient Settlement in the Nile Delta of Egypt* (Atlanta 2016) 295–301
- Wunderlich 1989** J. Wunderlich, *Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des westlichen Nildeltas im Holozän*, *Marburger Geographische Schriften 114* (Marburg 1989)
- Wunderlich – Ginau 2014/2015** J. Wunderlich – A. Ginau, *Paläoumweltwandel im Raum Tell el Fara'in/Buto. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven geoarchäologischer Forschung*, *MDAIK 70/71*, 2014/2015, 485–497
- Zibelius 1978** K. Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, *TAVO Beih. 19* (Wiesbaden 1978)

A Provincial Residence at Bubastis from the 4th and 5th Dynasties and the Issue of the Administration of the Old Kingdom Nile Delta

Eva Lange-Athinodorou

كشفت أعمال التنقيب التي أُجريت في تل بسطة عن أدلة على وجود مقر إقامة ملكي إقليمي للأسرة الرابعة والخامسة، وهو وقت عادةً ما يكون تمثيله ضعيفًا إلى حد ما في السجل الأثري للأقاليم، خاصة في منطقة دلتا النيل. ولأول مرة، يفتح هذا الاكتشاف الجديد إمكانية دراسة دور الإقامة الملكية المحلية بوصفها دوافع لتطور المناطق المركزية والعناصر الرئيسية للإدارة الإقليمية من عصر الأسرات المبكرة حتى أواخر عصر الدولة القديمة في دلتا النيل. ومن المثير للاهتمام بشكل خاص مسألة العلاقة بين مقرات الإقامة الإقليمية والمعابد الإقليمية. حيث اعتبرت المعابد الإقليمية في الأبحاث والمراجع العلمية مؤسسات مهمة لإدارة الإقليم لزمان طويل، لكنها لم تكن على هذا النحو قبل عصر الأسرة الخامسة. من ناحية أخرى، فإن مقرات الإقامة الإقليمية موجودة ومثبتة بالفعل منذ عصر الأسرات المبكرة. يُشير السياق الأثري والتاريخي إلى أن تلك المباني كانت في واقع الأمر مظاهر للنفوذ الملكي والسيطرة على الأقاليم، وكان انتقال السلطة إلى المعابد المحلية جزءًا من عملية نشطة معقدة وطويلة الأمد.

الكلمات المفتاحية

عصر الأسرات المبكرة، الدولة القديمة، دلتا نهر النيل، آثار الأقاليم، إدارة الإقليم

SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Title Page: Plan E. Lange-Athinodorou; © Tell Basta Project

Fig. 1: Plan E. Lange-Athinodorou; © Tell Basta Project

Fig. 2: Drawing E. Lange-Athinodorou after A. el-Sawi 1979, fig. 167

Fig. 3: Plan E. Lange-Athinodorou; © Tell Basta Project

Fig. 4: Drawings A. el-Senussi; © Tell Basta Project

Fig. 5: Drawings A. el-Senussi; © Tell Basta Project

ADDRESS

Eva Lange-Athinodorou
Universität Würzburg, Lehrstuhl für Ägyptologie
Residenzplatz 2
97070 Würzburg
Germany
eva.lange@uni-wuerzburg.de
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2608-1158>

METADATA

Titel/Title: A Provincial Residence at Bubastis from the 4th and 5th Dynasties and the Issue of the Administration of the Old Kingdom Nile Delta

Band/Issue: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 79, 2023

Bitte zitieren Sie diesen Beitrag folgenderweise/
Please cite the article as follows: E. Lange-Athinodorou, A Provincial Residence at Bubastis from the 4th and 5th Dynasties and the Issue of the Administration of the Old Kingdom Nile Delta, MDAIK 79, 2023, § 1–74, <https://doi.org/10.34780/ki3c-i70l>

Copyright: Alle Rechte vorbehalten/All rights reserved.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/ki3c-i70l>

Schlagworte/Keywords: Early Dynastic Period, Old Kingdom, Nile Delta, provincial archaeology, provincial administration