

The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt

From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom

In this book, Nadine Moeller challenges prevailing views on Egypt's nonurban past and argues for Egypt as an early urban society. She traces the emergence of urban features during the Predynastic Period up to the disintegration of the powerful Middle Kingdom state (ca. 3500–1650 BCE). This book offers a synthesis of the archaeological data that sheds light on the different facets of urbanism in ancient Egypt. Drawing on evidence from recent excavations as well as a vast body of archaeological data, the volume explores the changing settlement patterns by contrasting periods of strong political control against those of decentralization. It also discusses households and the layout of domestic architecture, which are key elements for understanding how society functioned and evolved over time. Moeller reveals what settlement patterns can tell us about the formation of complex society and the role of the state in urban development in ancient Egypt.

Nadine Moeller is Associate Professor of Egyptian Archaeology at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. She has been directing excavations at the urban settlement of Tell Edfu in Egypt since 2001. She has also participated in excavations of settlement and cemetery sites in Egypt, such as Abu Rawash, Memphis, Zawiet Sultan (Zawiet el-Meitin), the Theban necropolis, and the Valley of the Kings. Her work has been published in journals including the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (JARCE)*, *Near Eastern Archaeology*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *Ägypten und Levante*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (BIFAO)*, and *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-07975-5 - The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom

Nadine Moeller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-07975-5 - The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom

Nadine Moeller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt

From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom

NADINE MOELLER

University of Chicago



Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-07975-5 - The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom

Nadine Moeller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107079755

© Nadine Moeller 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Moeller, Nadine, author.

The archaeology of urbanism in ancient Egypt : from the predynastic period to the end of the Middle Kingdom / Nadine Moeller, University of Chicago.

New York : Cambridge University Press, 2015. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

LCCN 2015011157

LCSH: Urbanization – Egypt, Ancient. | Architecture, Ancient – Egypt. | Egypt – Antiquities.

LCC DT61 M578 2015 | DDC 307.760932–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015011157>

ISBN 978-1-107-07975-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-07975-5 - The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom

Nadine Moeller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To my teacher and mentor, Barry Kemp, and in memory of Michel Baud –

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-07975-5 - The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom

Nadine Moeller

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>		xvii
Introduction		I
1 Ancient Urbanism and the Case of Egypt		6
1.1 General considerations relating to urbanism in early civilizations		6
1.2 The case of ancient Egypt		9
1.3 Categories of ancient Egyptian settlements		14
2 Current and Past Studies of Egyptian Settlements		31
2.1 Historical overview of settlement archaeology in Egypt		31
2.2 The role of Egyptian settlements in interdisciplinary studies on ancient urbanism		38
3 The Environmental Setting		44
3.1 Introduction		44
3.2 Environmental settings for ancient settlements in Egypt		44
3.3 Settlement archaeology in Egypt: Problems and priorities		53
4 The Origins of Urban Society		59
4.1 Introduction		59
4.2 The first appearance of urban elements		59
4.3 The case of Hierakonpolis		81
4.4 Evidence for an Early Dynastic building complex at Buto		103
4.5 The Early Dynastic settlement remains at Elephantine		108
4.6 General conclusions concerning the emergence of urban features in Predynastic and Early Dynastic settlements		108
5 The Settlements of the Old Kingdom		113
5.1 Introduction		113

CONTENTS

5.2	Settlements related to royal mortuary cults in the Memphite region	117
5.3	Discussion of Memphis versus a “capital zone”: The evidence for a “shifting capital” during the Old Kingdom	158
5.4	Evidence for Old Kingdom settlements in the Delta and the Nile Valley	161
5.5	Old Kingdom settlements in the marginal regions of Egypt	174
5.6	Concluding remarks	186
6	The Layout of Old Kingdom Houses	192
6.1	Introduction	192
6.2	Evidence from Giza	196
6.3	Houses at Elephantine	204
6.4	The layout of the residential part of the governor’s palace at Ayn Asil in the Dakhla Oasis	206
6.5	The layout of Building C at Ayn el-Gazzareen	210
6.6	Concluding remarks	211
7	The Development of Towns during the End of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2200–2050 BCE)	214
7.1	Introduction	214
7.2	The Memphite region: A widespread abandonment of settlement sites linked to royal mortuary cults	214
7.3	Middle Egypt: The evidence for settlements dating to the late Sixth Dynasty and First Intermediate Period	216
7.4	Evidence for settlement development in Upper Egypt	219
7.5	Evidence for First Intermediate Period activity at Ayn Asil/Balat in the Dakhla Oasis	241
7.6	Concluding remarks	244
8	The Middle Kingdom: Town Planning and Internal Colonization at Its Height	249
8.1	Introduction	249
8.2	State-planned settlements	252
8.3	Karnak: Evidence for a Middle Kingdom city	300
8.4	The town of Elephantine during the Middle Kingdom	305
8.5	Tell Edfu: The town of the Middle Kingdom	317
8.6	Tell el-Dab’a: The evolution of a major urban center in the eastern Delta region	321
8.7	Concluding remarks	327
	Further discussions and archaeological details relating to Chapter 8	334
8.I	The function of sinusoidal mud-brick walls dating to the Middle Kingdom	334
8.II	The purpose of the settlements at Qasr el-Sagha and the function of the stone-revetted mounds	335

CONTENTS

8.III	Further archaeological details discovered at the settlement of Lahun	335
8.IV	Further archaeological details noted at the settlement of Wah-Sut at South Abydos	339
8.V	Further archaeological details of the Middle Kingdom settlement at Elephantine	340
9	House Layouts in the Middle Kingdom	343
9.1	Introduction	343
9.2	Houses in the residential quarters of Tell el-Dab'a	347
9.3	Tell Basta: A palatial complex of the Middle Kingdom	356
9.4	Settlement remains at Lisht-North	360
9.5	Lahun: The layout of the large mansions	364
9.6	Wah-Sut: The governor's residence (Building A)	367
9.7	The layout of domestic buildings at Elephantine	369
9.8	Concluding remarks	373
10	Final Conclusions	376
10.1	The role of town planning	378
10.2	Urbanism in ancient Egypt	379
10.3	An outlook into cross-cultural comparisons: The case of urban society in Mesopotamia	380
	<i>Notes</i>	385
	<i>Index</i>	421

Figures

CHAPTER 3

3.1	View of the Nile Valley showing the receding floodwaters, from the top of the Khufu pyramid at Giza	46
3.2	Pyramid at Giza and the flooded Nile Valley in the foreground	47
3.3	Inundated floodplain at Dahshur	48
3.4	Idealized cross-section across the Nile in Upper Egypt	48
3.5	Aerial view of the inundated Nile Valley near Qena in 1964	49
3.6	Floodwaters surrounding houses in 1964	50

CHAPTER 4

4.1	Map of Predynastic and Early Dynastic sites in Egypt	60
4.2	Semisubterranean house at Maadi and detail of the mud-brick wall (Buto-Maadi culture)	62
4.3	Semisubterranean house with stone wall at Maadi (Buto-Maadi culture)	63
4.4a	Subterranean building at Maadi (Buto-Maadi culture)	63
4.4b	Entrance to the subterranean building at Maadi	64
4.5	Mud-brick building, Phase IIIId (Naqada IIIA period), at Buto	65
4.6	Satellite view (2009) of the archaeological area at Tell el-Farkha	66
4.7	Mud-brick buildings (Naqada III period), at Tell el-Farkha	66
4.8	Mud-brick structures in the area of the later Satet temple (Naqada IIIC1 period), at Elephantine	67
4.9	Satellite view (2006) of the archaeological area at Naqada and the South Town area at Nubt (late Naqada II–early Naqada III period)	69
4.10	First phase of breweries on the Western Kôm at Tell el-Farkha (Lower Egyptian culture)	70
4.11	Temple of Satet during the Early Dynastic Period at Elephantine	72
4.12a	Plan of the early shrine (Dynasty 0) at Tell Ibrahim Awad	73
4.12b	View of the early shrine (Dynasty 0) at Tell Ibrahim Awad	74
4.13	View of the Naqada period “residence,” Western Kôm at Tell el-Farkha	74
4.14a	Early Dynastic administrative-residential complex, Western Kôm at Tell el-Farkha	75
4.14b	Early Dynastic administrative-residential complex, Western Kôm at Tell el-Farkha	75
4.15	Early Dynastic fortress and settlement (second half of 1st Dynasty–early 2nd Dynasty) at Elephantine	77
4.16	Position of Tell es-Sakan in the Gaza region	79

LIST OF FIGURES

4.17	View, plan, and northern profile of the different phases of enclosure walls, Area A at Tell es-Sakan	80
4.18	Satellite view (2009) of the archaeological area at Hierakonpolis	82
4.19	Development of the Predynastic–Old Kingdom settlement at Hierakonpolis	83
4.20	Brewing facility and pottery kilns at HK 11C – Square B5 (Naqada IC and IIB period) at Hierakonpolis	85
4.21	Food production installations at HK 24B (mid–Naqada I period) at Hierakonpolis	87
4.22	Plan of Phase I at HK 29 (Naqada IIA period) at Hierakonpolis	88
4.23	Early ceremonial center at HK 29A (late Naqada II–early Naqada III period) at Hierakonpolis	90
4.24	Satellite view (2009) of Kôm el-Gemuwia at Hierakonpolis, which shows the position of the excavation grid by W. Fairservis	92
4.25	Plan of the grid laid out by W. Fairservis at Kôm el-Gemuwia (ancient Nekhen) at Hierakonpolis	93
4.26	Plan of the Early Dynastic building complex at Kôm el-Gemuwia	97
4.27	Detail of the palace-façade gate of the Early Dynastic building complex at Kôm el-Gemuwia	98
4.28	Detail of the Early Dynastic building complex at Kôm el-Gemuwia	99
4.29	Stratigraphy of the deposit inside the niche of Room A5 (Square 15N6XW) at Kôm el-Gemuwia	100
4.30	Detail of the “clay platform” area, Early Dynastic building complex at Kôm el-Gemuwia	101
4.31	General plan of Buto and restitution of the possible limits of the occupation from the Predynastic Period to the Old Kingdom	104
4.32	Early Dynastic building complex at Buto	106

CHAPTER 5

5.1	Map of Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period settlement sites in Egypt	115
5.2	Map of the Memphite region	118
5.3	Plan of the pyramid complex of Radjedef (4th Dynasty) at Abu Rawash	120
5.4	Aerial view of the eastern side of the pyramid complex at Abu Rawash	121
5.5	Plan of the priests’ accommodations of the pyramid complex at Abu Rawash	122
5.6	Plan of the mortuary complex of Raneferef (5th Dynasty) at Abusir	124
5.7	Plan showing the two phases of the courtyard of the “Expanded Temple” at the Raneferef mortuary complex (5th Dynasty) at Abusir	125
5.8	Map of the royal necropolis at Dahshur	127
5.9	Plan of the “workhouse” and remains of the workers’ settlement south of the Red Pyramid complex of Snofru (early 4th Dynasty) at Dahshur	128
5.10	Plan of the Giza Plateau showing the locations of the Khentkawes monument, the Khentkawes townsite, the Menkaura Valley Temple, and the Heit el-Ghurab site	129
5.11	Plan of the Heit el-Ghurab settlement (HeG) at Giza	130
5.12	Western Town section at Heit el-Ghurab (HeG), showing House Units 1 to 3	131
5.13	Map and view of Gallery III.4 at Heit el-Ghurab (HeG)	132
5.14	Plan of the Royal Administrative Building (RAB) and surrounding areas at Heit el-Ghurab	133
5.15	Plan of House Unit 1 (4th Dynasty) in the Western Town at Heit el-Ghurab	135
5.16	Plan and view of the Eastern Town House, Eastern Town at Heit el-Ghurab (the core domestic unit is outlined with a dotted line)	137

LIST OF FIGURES

5.17	Plan of the “Standing Wall Island” (a cattle corral?), south of the Western Town at Heit el-Ghurab	138
5.18	Satellite view of the Menkaura pyramid complex (4th Dynasty) at Giza with the location of the industrial settlement	139
5.19	Plan of the industrial settlement south of the Menkaura pyramid complex (4th Dynasty) at Giza	140
5.20	Settlement remains along the southern side of the Valley temple at the Snofru Bent Pyramid complex (4th Dynasty) at Dahshur	142
5.21	Plan of the Khentkawes town and the Menkaura Valley Temple (4th Dynasty) at Giza	145
5.22a	Isometric reconstruction of the lower approach to the Khentkawes town and the basin area	146
5.22b	View of the eastern part of the Khentkawes town and the basin in the foreground	146
5.23	Plan of the Khentkawes town, from the pyramid (west) to the lower town (east), and the settlement remains east of the basin newly discovered by the AERA excavations	147
5.24	Southern part of the Khentkawes southern town showing the location of Building K	148
5.25	Plan of the Menkaura Valley Temple and the lower part of the Khentkawes town at Giza	149
5.26	Plan of the ante-town of the Menkaura Valley Temple at Giza and view of the second vestibule during the excavations by AERA	152
5.27	Interface area between the Menkaura Valley Temple and the Khentkawes town	153
5.28	Satellite view and plan of the southern part of Memphis (Mit Rahina)	159
5.29	Satellite view of the region around Deir el-Bersheh	162
5.30	Location of the trenches and details of the Old Kingdom “industrial site” (S4) at Al-Shaikh Said	163
5.31	Plan of Elephantine during the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period	165
5.32	View of the eastern side of the step pyramid (end of 3rd–early 4th Dynasty) on the western island at Elephantine	166
5.33	Plan and section of the step pyramid (end of 3rd–early 4th Dynasty) and the “terraced” administrative building (2nd–3rd Dynasties) on the western island at Elephantine	167
5.34	Plan of the Old Kingdom settlement remains (early 3rd Dynasty), south of the former fortress gate on the eastern island at Elephantine	170
5.35	Expansion of houses and courtyards (3rd Dynasty) in the Old Kingdom settlement area, south of the former fortress on the eastern island at Elephantine	171
5.36	Houses and courtyards (late 3rd–early 4th Dynasty) in the Old Kingdom settlement area, south of the former fortress on the eastern island at Elephantine	172
5.37	Extramural settlement remains (6th Dynasty) outside the main gate, eastern island at Elephantine	173
5.38	Location and plan of the Old Kingdom buildings (late 4th–late 5th Dynasty) of the Kôm 14 at Ayn Sokhna	176
5.39	Map of the Dakhla Oasis	177
5.40	Plan of Balat – Ayn Asil	178
5.41a	Round tower of the northern enclosure (6th Dynasty) at Ayn Asil	179
5.41b	View of <i>ka</i> -chapels at the governor’s palace at Ayn Asil	180
5.42	Plan of the governor’s palace at Ayn Asil	181
5.43	Detailed plan of the outbuildings of the <i>ka</i> -chapels, northern part of the governor’s palace at Ayn Asil	183
5.44	Plan of Ayn Asil settlement and the Qila el-Dabba necropolis	184
5.45	Plan of Ayn el-Gazzareen	185

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 6

6.1	Plan of the Old Kingdom settlement remains, Area A at Kôm el-Hisn	193
6.2a	Examples of Old Kingdom house layouts	195
6.2b	Layouts of buildings in the Dakhla Oasis, late Old Kingdom	196
6.3	Plan of House E at the Khentkawes town at Giza, (Phases 1–3, late 4th to 6th Dynasty)	197
6.4	Reconstruction of the major occupation phases of House E at the Khentkawes town at Giza	198
6.5	Plan of House K at the Khentkawes town (late 4th Dynasty) at Giza	201
6.6	Plan of the North Street Gate House of Gallery Set II (4th Dynasty) at Heit el-Ghurab site at Giza	202
6.7	Bed platform with footrests in House Unit 1 (4th Dynasty), Western Town of Heit el-Ghurab site at Giza	203
6.8	Plan of the House Unit 3 (4th Dynasty), Western Town of Heit el-Ghurab site at Giza	205
6.9	Plan of the Eastern Apartments of the governor's palace (late Old Kingdom) at Ayn Asil	207
6.10	Plan of the Western Apartments of the governor's palace (late Old Kingdom) at Ayn Asil	208
6.11	Building of the 3rd row of the outbuildings (late Old Kingdom – 2nd Phase, preconflagration) at Ayn Asil	209
6.12	Building C (6th Dynasty) at Ayn el-Gazzareen	211

CHAPTER 7

7.1	Satellite view of Zawiet Sultan/Zawiet el-Meitin archaeological area (2006) with location of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period settlement remains	215
7.2	Plan of the late Old Kingdom storage installations at Zawiet Sultan	218
7.3	Plan of the governor's residence (6th Dynasty) at Elephantine	220
7.4a	Western wall of the governor's residence at Elephantine (view to the north)	221
7.4b	Stone threshold marking the main entrance of the governor's residence	221
7.5	Barren interior of the governor's residence, which was to a large extent destroyed by the sebbakhin (view to the northeast)	222
7.6	Plan of the governor's residence (House H2) at Elephantine, from the early First Intermediate Period	223
7.7	Deposit of cult objects inside the governor's residence	224
7.8	First Intermediate Period decorated wooden panels at the main entrance of the governor's residence (a); detail of the wooden panel (b); and facsimile of the complete scene (c)	225
7.9	Satellite view and schematic plan of the Tell Edfu archaeological area	227
7.10	First Intermediate Period town enclosure wall area (Zone 3) at the northern limit of Tell Edfu	228
7.11a	First Intermediate Period town enclosure wall at Tell Edfu during the excavations in 2011	229
7.11b	Middle Kingdom wall built against the exterior of the First Intermediate Period town enclosure wall	229
7.12a	Different phases of storage installations built against the interior of the First Intermediate Period town enclosure wall	230
7.12b	Floor remains of a small room used for administrative activities built against the First Intermediate Period enclosure wall	230
7.13	First Intermediate Period enclosure wall built above the late Old Kingdom cemetery, south of Tell Edfu	231

LIST OF FIGURES

7.14	Different phases of Old Kingdom town wall remains and First Intermediate Period addition (Zone 2)	232
7.15	Satellite view of Kôm Ombo archaeological area (2010) with location of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period settlement remains	233
7.16	Satellite view of ElKab archaeological area (2010)	234
7.17	Views of the intramural area of the temple of Hathor at Dendera showing the location of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period settlement remains	236
7.18	Plan of Dendera with an enlargement of the settlement area east of the temple of Hathor	237
7.19	Schematic plan of a First Intermediate Period domestic unit (Sondage 1) in the urban area at Dendera	238
7.20	View of the First Intermediate Period urban area east of the Hathor sanctuary enclosure wall at Dendera	238
7.21	Plan of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period settlement remains at Abydos (a) and plan of the First Intermediate Period buildings, Level Ia/b, of the settlement site at Kôm es-Sultan (b)	240
7.22	Detailed plan of the First Intermediate Period occupation and reconstruction of the governor's palace at Ayn Asil	243
7.23a	Overview of workshop complex in the southern part of the governor's palace at Ayn Asil	244
7.23b	Plan of the workshop complex, southern part of the governor's palace at Ayn Asil	245

CHAPTER 8

8.1	Map of Middle Kingdom settlement sites in Egypt	251
8.2	Tell el-Dab'a archaeological site with the two Middle Kingdom areas, F/I and R/I, at Ezbet Rushdi	253
8.3	Early Middle Kingdom planned settlement (Phase e/2–3), area F/I at Tell el-Dab'a	254
8.4	Two house units of the settlement in area F/I at Tell el-Dab'a	255
8.5	Phase e/2 of the planned settlement in area F/I at Tell el-Dab'a	256
8.6	Phase e/2 of the planned settlement with added silos and storage magazines, area F/I at Tell el-Dab'a	257
8.7	Phase e/1 of the settlement, showing large houses with courtyards, area F/I at Tell el-Dab'a	257
8.8	Geophysical survey of Ezbet Rushdi North showing the orthogonally laid-out settlement	260
8.9	Sinusoidal walls and silos of the courtyards belonging to the houses of phase e/1–2, area R/I, at Tell el-Dab'a	261
8.10	Satellite view of the northern part of the Fayum depression showing the position of Qasr el-Sagha	263
8.11	Satellite view of the settlements in relation to the temple of Qasr el-Sagha	264
8.12	Plan of the Western Settlement at Qasr el-Sagha	265
8.13	Courtyard of Unit C-I, Western Settlement at Qasr el-Sagha	266
8.14	View of the courtyard of Unit C-I, Western Settlement at Qasr el-Sagha	266
8.15	Detail of the northern part of the courtyard of Unit C-I, Western Settlement at Qasr el-Sagha	267
8.16	Sinusoidal wall remains close to the enclosure wall of the Western Settlement at Qasr el-Sagha	268

LIST OF FIGURES

8.17	Upper part of an unfinished female statuette in basalt found at the Eastern Settlement QS VIIIH/80 at Qasr el-Sagha	269
8.18a	Stone-revetted mound on the eastern side of the Western Settlement at Qasr el-Sagha	270
8.18b	Details of the stone-revetted mound	270
8.18c	L-shaped ridge with stone cover 700 m south of the Qasr el-Sagha temple	270
8.18d	Basalt fragments at the southern end of the quarry road	270
8.19	Satellite view showing the location of Lahun and its relation to the pyramid of Senwosret II	272
8.20	Satellite view and plan of Lahun and its relation to the Valley temple of Senwosret II	274
8.21	Details of the northwest corner recorded by Ludwig Borchardt	275
8.22	Plan of the western and the central parts of Lahun, showing the temple and the administrative areas	277
8.23	Detail of the main gate area at Lahun	279
8.24	Wall remains of the “acropolis” at Lahun	280
8.25	Wall remains of the temple building at Lahun	282
8.26	Plan of the center of the town of Lahun showing the temple, the “acropolis,” and the elite residences	284
8.27	Remains of external stairs on the northern side of the enclosure wall at Lahun	286
8.28	Plan of the Valley temple area and the southwest corner of the town of Lahun	288
8.29	Mortuary complex of Senwosret III and associated town of Wah-Sut at Abydos	291
8.30	Plan of the settlement of Wah-Sut at Abydos	292
8.31	Plan of Building A at Wah-Sut showing different building phases	293
8.32	Schematic reconstruction of the settlement of Wah-Sut showing possible size of the town (currently known buildings are marked in gray)	294
8.33	Satellite view of Lower Nubia showing the locations of the Middle Kingdom fortresses	298
8.34	Citadel of the Middle Kingdom fortress at Buhen, Nubia	299
8.35a	Middle Kingdom institutions at the fortress of Shalfak, Nubia	300
8.35b	Middle Kingdom institutions at the fortress of Askut, Nubia	300
8.36	Middle Kingdom fortress at Uronarti, Nubia	301
8.37	Middle Kingdom palatial buildings at Uronarti and Kor, Nubia	302
8.38	Location of the settlement remains at Thebes around the Karnak Temple during the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period	303
8.39	Middle Kingdom settlement remains east of the Sacred Lake at Karnak	304
8.40	Late Middle Kingdom settlement at Elephantine	306
8.41	Late Middle Kingdom houses southwest of the governor’s residence at Elephantine showing distribution and size of sealing deposits (Area HGS, Level XIII)	310
8.42	Late Middle Kingdom domestic quarter at Elephantine showing distribution and size of sealing deposits (late 13th Dynasty)	312
8.43	<i>Ka</i> -chapel of Sobekemsaf (late 13th Dynasty) at Elephantine	313
8.44	Administrative complex H84 with storage facilities (Area B IV, Level 13, Phase b, 13th Dynasty) at Elephantine	314
8.45	Plan of the two columned halls of the Middle Kingdom administrative building complex (mid-12th to mid-13th Dynasty) at Tell Edfu	318
8.46	General views of the silo courtyard of the 17th Dynasty and underlying Middle Kingdom administrative building complex at Edfu	319
8.47	Site of Tell el-Dab’a within the eastern Delta region	321
8.48	Plan of Tell el-Dab’a showing the different excavation areas and harbors	322
8.49	Late Middle Kingdom temple precinct and cemeteries (late 13th Dynasty?) in area A/II at Tell el-Dab’a	325

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 9

9.1	Typology of Middle Kingdom house types	345
9.2	Courtyard houses and “three-row” houses from the Middle Kingdom at Elephantine	346
9.3	House layouts of the early Middle Kingdom settlement (phase e/2–3), area F/I at Tell el-Dab’a	348
9.4	Houses of the first half of the 12th Dynasty (phase e/3), area R/I (Ezbet Rushdi) at Tell el-Dab’a	349
9.5	“Mittelsaalhaus” of Palestinian origin (phase d/2, late 12th Dynasty), area F/I at Tell el-Dab’a	350
9.6	“Egalitarian” settlement pattern with two-room houses of phase G/1–3, area A/II at Tell el-Dab’a	351
9.7a	Simple two-room house (phase G/1–3, 13th Dynasty), area A/II at Tell el-Dab’a	352
9.7b	Two-room house with vestibule (phase c, 13th Dynasty), area F/I at Tell el-Dab’a	352
9.8	Houses of the late 13th Dynasty (phase E/3), area F/I at Tell el-Dab’a	353
9.9	Houses of the early Second Intermediate Period (phase E/2), area F/I at Tell el-Dab’a	354
9.10	Palatial complex of the early 13th Dynasty (phase d/1), area F/I at Tell el-Dab’a; general plan of the excavated area, including gardens and cemeteries south of the buildings	355
9.11	Plan of the Middle Kingdom palace at Tell Basta	357
9.12	View looking west into the main columned hall (f) with statues of the mayors in situ, Middle Kingdom palace at Tell Basta	358
9.13	Lintel and doorjamb fragment of Amenemhat III, Middle Kingdom palace at Tell Basta	358
9.14	Drainage traps to the north of the Middle Kingdom palace at Tell Basta	359
9.15	Water basin in the peristyle court (i), Middle Kingdom palace at Tell Basta	359
9.16	Middle Kingdom cemetery complex at Tell Basta	360
9.17	Plan of the cemeteries at el-Lisht	361
9.18	House A 1.3 of the 13th Dynasty at el-Lisht	362
9.19	Development of House A 3.3 of the 13th Dynasty at el-Lisht: (a) Phase 1: initial construction; (b) Phases 2–3: later alterations and additions	363
9.20	Mansion 10, southern row of mansions at Lahun	365
9.21	Mansion 2, northern row of mansions at Lahun	366
9.22	Internal layout and room functions of Building A, settlement of Wah-Sut at South Abydos	368
9.23	Comparison between Buildings A and D at Wah-Sut and the large mansion and smaller houses at Lahun	368
9.24	Layout of the central core residence and adjacent areas of Building A at Wah-Sut	369
9.25	Different examples of “three-row” houses at Elephantine	371
9.26	Courtyard houses at Elephantine	372
9.27	Houses of the 17th Dynasty (Phase 11) at Elephantine	373

Preface

This study is the result of more than ten years of research and six years of teaching graduate seminars on ancient urbanism at the University of Chicago. My first interest in settlement archaeology arose during my time as an undergraduate student at the University of Heidelberg in Germany, where the main focus of research centered on the ancient Egyptian religion and mortuary culture. With the firm intention (and with much motivation) for delving further into ancient Egyptian archaeology, I applied in 1997 for the MPhil program in Egyptology at the University of Cambridge in order to study under Barry Kemp. With the generous support of a grant from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) – for which I am deeply grateful – I started the MPhil program at St. John’s College in the fall of 1998. I still remember the reading list I was sent to prepare for my first term in Cambridge, which included one of Kemp’s most influential works, entitled *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of a Civilization*, confirming to me that this was the kind of research I wanted to pursue in my future career. After the MPhil I was accepted in the PhD program at Christ’s College and therefore remained in Cambridge until 2004. Under Barry’s guidance, I applied to work at the site of Tell Edfu in Upper Egypt, a large tell settlement that he had investigated in the late 1970s and that still had a lot of interesting data to offer in the form of Pharaonic-period settlement remains. The decision to work in Edfu came at a crucial moment and has had a great impact on the development of my career until the present time. In this respect I will forever be grateful to Barry Kemp, who was my PhD advisor and mentor throughout the formative years of my academic career. Another friend and colleague who provided much advice and support, especially during my time in Cambridge, is Kate Spence, to whom I express my gratitude. I also thank Pamela Rose, Janine Bourriau, and Will Schenck for their encouragement and first lessons on pottery.

My first season at Tell Edfu took place in the spring of 2001, and I started out with a team of two – myself and my friend and colleague Alison Gascoigne, who taught me a lot about getting around in Egypt in addition to coping with difficult work conditions. I am deeply grateful for her encouragement and support during the first season at Edfu, and I also thank Renee Friedman, who generously offered the two of us accommodation at Hierakonpolis while we worked at Edfu. In the following years, a small team was formed, with Barbara Böhm, Candy Hatherley (to whom I owe my first experience in using a Leica Total Station), and Andreas Jansen (our faithful cook). These first years at Edfu would have not been possible without them, and I am sincerely grateful to them for supporting me in my endeavors.

I continued to develop my research interest in settlement archaeology during my time at the University Oxford, where I held the Lady Wallis Budge Junior Research Fellowship at University College. I am very grateful to the Master of University College, Robin Butler, and Mark Smith at Univ for giving me a chance to pursue archaeological fieldwork and research on ancient urbanism, which laid the groundwork for being offered the position of Assistant Professor at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, in 2007. Over the past six years of teaching at the University of Chicago, I have been lucky to have had a number of wonderful students participating in numerous discussions about various theories and ideas concerning Egyptian urbanism, which has provided a very stimulating and fresh environment for the subject research. In this respect I thank Natasha Ayers, Kathryn Bandy, Jonathan Winnerman, Lindsey Weglarz, Janelle Wade, Jessica Henderson, Elise MacArthur, Susan Penacho, and Oren Siegel for their enthusiasm and support.

P R E F A C E

The Oriental Institute has been an invaluable resource for my research and has also offered continuous support for the Tell Edfu Project, which by 2009 had developed into a larger fieldwork project with a regular group of international archaeologists, specialists, and students. A special thank-you goes to Aurelie Schenk (Coucou), Eslam Mohamed Hassan (our *reis* for many years), Valérie Le Provost, Georges Demidoff, Daphna Ben-Tor (for all her help and support with analyzing our clay sealings), Jean-Francois Rousseau (who managed to find funding in a bleak moment in 2004), Michel Baud (a dear friend and colleague who pointed out the silo remains on site and worked at the tomb of Izi), and all the other team members who have participated in the Tell Edfu Project since 2005.

For three years (2009–2011), funding was generously provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) in the form of a collaborative research grant – for which I am very thankful. This funding was in addition to the continuous support in financial matters and equipment that came through Gil Stein, director of the Oriental Institute. Gil also provided much advice on research questions related to ancient urbanism over the years and guided me through the tenure process, for which I am very grateful. Furthermore, I thank my colleagues here at the Oriental Institute and the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, who never stopped believing in me and stood by me with much guidance and support through innumerable discussions: Janet Johnson, Donald Whitcomb, Robert Ritner, Brian Muhs, Emily Teeter, Chris Woods, Theo van den Hout, David Schloen, Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee, Petra Goedegebuure, and McGuire Gibson. My big thank-you also goes to Steve Camp and Mariana Perlinac, whose friendship is very precious to me. Without this tremendous help on all levels, this book would not have been possible.

I also express my deep gratitude to the members of Chicago House in Luxor – foremost my dear friend and colleague Ray Johnson, but also Jay Heidel, Tina Di Cerbo, Brett McClain, Jen Kimpton, Krisztián Vértes, Julia Schmied, and Keli Alberts. For the past seven years, the advice and training in epigraphy they were able to provide to the students has been invaluable. In addition, by always offering us a place to stay and keeping a large amount of our equipment, Chicago House has truly helped us in many ways to continue our annual seasons at Edfu, while at the same time providing a “home” for us in Luxor. They also kept our morale going with various festive occasions in the fall, such as for Halloween and Thanksgiving.

Toward the final stages of preparing this manuscript for publication, I thank Beatrice Rehl and Asya Graf (Cambridge University Press) for all their time and effort in making this publication possible, in addition to the numerous friends and colleagues who were very generous in allowing me to use their images and illustrations: Mark Lehner, Wilma Wetterstrom, Daniel Polz, Felix Arnold, Joe Wegner, Barry Kemp, Manfred Bietak, Irene Forstner-Müller, Ernst Czerny, Renee Friedman, Dieter Eigner, Zoltán Horváth, Joachim Śliwa, M. Chłodnicki, K. M. Ciałowicz, Michel Valloggia, Georges Soukiassian, Clara Jeuthe, Miroslav Verner, and Cornelius von Pilgrim. I also sincerely thank the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) for awarding me an AEF grant to support the publication of the numerous plans and figures in this book, which is crucial for this kind of study. And of course I also owe many thanks to Topy Fiske who did the first editing and to all the other people involved in the final production processes of this book, especially Sathishkumar Rajendran and Lois Tardío.

Last but not least, I owe a lot to Gregory Marouard, my husband and codirector of the Tell Edfu Project, who supported me in many ways throughout the writing of this book and in sharing the burden of running a project of the scope of the excavations at Edfu. His time and effort in helping me with the final preparation of the illustrations for this book have been considerable. I also thank him for all his moral support and patience over the years, especially during the tenure process.